

FILENAME: AN.001

CHENG AN

4? November 1978

1959: trained that CIA will overthrow SIHANOUK and make Kampuchea a happy place

End of 1959: joins CIA with KAEV CHÀ'N alias SAY of the Northwest (arrested) as gaurantor

CIA assignments: get people to stop reading progressive media; build up forces among workers; keep secrets; infiltrate revolutionary organizations by pretending to be a progressiveopponent of imperialism and the CIA

recruited people as revolutionaries and then turned them against the revolution and convinced them that the progressive journals weren't credible

February 1964: told to infiltrate the "Khmer Rouge" ranks, and, accomodating to them he is sent out to the bases in the SOUTHWEST

Meets brothers KHIEV, VAN VON, the contemptible TUM, borther KEU and the contemptible TIV OL

1964-1968: doesn't dare to carry out any activities

1968: armed struggle begins

1968-69: doesn't dare to carry out any activities

1969: does propaganda for guerilla warfare in PHNUM SRUOCH district

1969: sent north to PHNUM AURAL and sends letter to SAY in the NORTHWEST

1970: after coup is sent by Zone organization back south of Route 5 to PHNUM SRUOCH; assesses situation as favourable because US imperialism has succeeded in overthrowing SIHANOUK, and three or four months later the Yuon reach PHNUM SRUOCH as well

June 1970: after the attack on KAMPUNG SPEU, transferred to PHNUM TRAPEANG LVEA/ TRAPEANG TNAOT; goes north with young people from CHHOUK district and 60 Yuon, arriving in July

Assessment is that coup is favorable, but intervention of Vietnamese is unfavourable, although in the long run the imperialists will win because the US is stronger than the Vietnamese and the Vietnamese have not won after years of fighting

Instructed to resume activities using forces already in hand while continuing to do revolutionary things in order to avoid exposure

Creates contradictions by opposing the Yuon because of anger that the Yuon are attacking the contemptible Lon Nolites

Simultaneously agitates among the youth to fear the battlefield

In October-November the contradiction with the Yuon is unresolvable, and the

Organization calls for separation from them; after the Yuon return from KAMPUNG

SPEU in around January 1971, there are about 20 of them left

November-October: Expands the base area and makes contacts with bad elements

(gamblers, womanizers, former police informers) among villagers

January 1971, these elements are recruited for CIA work by intimidation: if you don't work with us, the organization will smash you

Many former police informers become subdistrict chairmen and carry out activities

to prevent the revolution from winning

They were to do propoganda to scare the people into not having faith in the revolution.

End of the year: rathered together young people and got agreement of Zone to organize them into sector units.

Leaders of these units are taught not to believe in the victory of the revolution because of the great strength of US imperilism; they fear death and saw the contemptible Lon Nol as powerful; they are recruited into the CIA as the way to survive because even if Lon Nol falters, then the Americans will come to help; they join the CIA in January 1972

The units brought about excessive casualties while pretending to attack the Lon Nolites in order to make village youth afraid to join up and the people afraid to put their sons into the troops

But starting from 1972 the revolution is strong everywhere and a lot of the people's children join up

The Zone agrees to a proposal to set up the first Sector battalion

This unit never defeats the enemy in battle and the youth in it suffer tremendous casualties

Mid 1972: a second battalion is set up with similar results

End of 1972: a third battalion established, with leadership appointed by the Organization

End of 1972: first regiment established

In 1973: ever more youth join and two more battalions are set up

These expanding armed forces never defeat the enemy because infiltrators are in every unit, and they units lose a lot of young men on every battle-field

Around the end of 1973 the RI'T who is currently at Commerce takes over all these troops as forces of the new SPECIAL ZONE

Put in charge of the Sector, the base area, and has a lot of opportunities to carry out activties

Sets up new sector forces, instructing leaders to fear strength of Lon Nol's firepower, and when spirit is broken, recruits them into CIA

Does propoganda work among network of infiltrators to convince them that US imperialism has never lost anywhere, and even if it does it will make a comeback by carrying out a coup from within

During 1973 VON moves his headquarters to Sector 25; RIT goes with him, and AN is put in chage both of the Zone's troops and the base areas

At the end of 1973, brother KHIEV comes to take charge of the troops in the norther part of the Zone together with the base areas, and AN becomes a

member of the Committee for this part of the Zone with him

In 1974, the Organization launches attack on PHNUM PENH; AN holds secret meeting with infiltrators in the military; they are to do whatever they can to make it obvious to the enemy what is happening so it will be forewarned, grasp our forces, and we are to retreat on whatever front they counterattack

The attack on PHNUM PENH from the northwest fails, and heavy losses are sustained

Attacks on Routes 4 and 5 in early 1974 similarly fail

The Organization withdraws AN from the military and sends him back to the base areas because it no longer trusts him

In 1975 the Organization gathered all the troops together and won a complete victory

About one week after liberation, VON calls AN to PHNUM PENH and he is made vice chairman of the Industry Ministry (VON was Chairman)

About a month later brother in law SAY is called in from the NORTH, and AN is appointed Chairman

He tells SAY that after joining the revolution, the person he became closest to was VON

VON tells AN he is a CIA agent and about all his traitorous forces so that he can prepare a counter-revolutionary coup

VON names TEANH and SAOM of Division 11 and NAT and PIN of Division 12.

VON names THUCH in the NORTH.

VON names PHÙ'M, Sà~G and REUANG, saying the first two have been infiltrators since they were built up in the bases at DANGKAO district

AN says forces that he built up in the army were smashed by the Organization in "early 1975", leaving only MÀ'K, RAEN and So'NG; and he adds that the units were dissolved and reconstituted by the Organization

VON assigns AN to do whatever he can to keep factories from moving quickly and to destroy material, and to build up forces, particularly chairmen, in the factories

There is a plan to have a coup on the Party anniversary in 1975, but it fails due to lack of coordination and the heavy guard put on by the Organization.

After the failure of this coup bid, AN meets THUCH together with Ri'T, EUAN, SUONG and others at THUCH's house, where THUCH is criticized for his opening drinking and womanizing. They all get drunk.

AN says he instructs his factory chairmen to make sure factories are not operating rapidly and well, to destroy material, to wreck machines, to do whatever they can to stymie the work of factories

AN's forces and those of his deputy KHMAV are brought into PHNUM PENH from the outside. They are enrolled in the CIA in December 1976

AN says that after the failure of the coup plan, THUCH and his group were all arrested, leaving only the forces of NAT's and PIN's units, where as TEANH's unit was about to be dissolved and reconstituted as Division 502.

Most of the old urban forces are gradually lost, leaving only a few left.

CHAKREI is also exposed and arrested, and he had previously worked with NAT and PIN

In around 10 1977 VON calls a meeting at the Industry Ministry Office, attended by AN, TEANH, Ho~, RIT, PRANG, CHUN, SAVAT, KHMAV, REUANG, neary CHEUAN, KR~'N.

VON talks about past successes in building up forces and sabotage. He talks of sabotage in all "ministries", railways, industry, warehouses, agriculture. He cites destruction of tractor spare parts, train collisions and derailments involving petroleum tank cars and destruction of cars and locomotives, incorret measurements for new tracks, incorrect bridge construction, destruction of iron and cement, disruption in transport of cement and other material from KAMPUNG SAOM, leading to constant contradictions with the bases, destruction at the warehouses of material transported by rail, chaotic stocking leading to confusion between things belong to Commerce and Chinese aid and the inability to find needed itesm, leaving things out in the open and exposed to the rain and sun so that its quality is destroyed.

VON says the plan for late 1977 and 1978 is to build up more forces in the minsitries, to destroy the upper levels of the leadership and subordinate cadres in the city and in the zones, to destroy material in the ministries, particularly in Industry, Railways, State Warehouses and Electricity, but also in other important places like Agriculture, Ports, Commerce. He gives as an example the good work of RIT and SOK at Commerce, who whether buying on last year's or the new year's list, purchase behind schedule, purchase in excess and buy the wrong items. He says a lot's been done at Industry, where they spend all the dollars so that the factories don't get the important things they need /??/. The examples cited are in chemicals, tyre manufacture, and spare for the fibro/cement?/ factory, where most importantly needed items has never been purchased in three years. KRIN at the port is said to have done a good deal of sabotage as well, breaking hoisting lines /??/ causing crates and cars to fall and smashing machinery /??/, particularly Chinese aid.

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"Kâ" tells the meeting that although many forces have been detained by the Organization, forces remain both on the outside and the inside, and to leave the problem of communication to him.

A week later, "Kâ" calls a meeting of CHUN, PRANG, AN, R~T, KHMAV, TEANH and Ho'K and tells them that the major external forces are in the EAST, and they are joined by the forces fo the WEST under the leadership of SI.

He says the second plan is that to kill the leading organization, particularly Brother Number One, Brother Number Two and other Brothers, using pistols, grenades, automobile and train accidents, either collisions or derailments. This plan must be prepared in every ministry and on every front.

AN says he carried out sabotage on all fronts and had CHÙN mare sure that the large electrical generators didn't function well and there were burnouts /??/ in factories' motors.

At Railways and Agriculture, there was a preference to use only American and Japanese tractors, and all the Chinese ones were ruined.

The plan to kill the Organization could never be brought to fruition up to the present. AN says the railways cadres PRANG and SÀNG succeeded in causing an accident in in train transporting dirt from from the SOUTHWEST Zone to Batdambang in which three people were severely injured and one slightly injured. Moreover, transport was slow at all times and always being interrupted.

AN says that as for Industry, after the Organization took notice of KHMAV and SAY and the chiefs of the "Dâ" factories and textile factories, wrecking activities were weak due to fear.

AN provides a list of forces in the northern part of the SPECIAL ZONE. They include AN from VEAL PUNG, formerly secretary of southern KANDAL STEUNG district, who was transferred by the Organization to be Secretary of SECTOR 41 in the current CENTRAL ZONE. They include PIN, described as currently in the EAST ZONE, from DÂNGKAO District. He says that all those in DÂNGKAO district were in charge of base areas before the establishment of sector troops in the south, and that then when Sector troops were established, HÂM put PIN and REUANG (at the State Warehouses) in charge of them.



Note about "KHâ". When in PHNUM PENH met with Brother KHIEV and met with Brother Và'N along with "Kâ". These meetings were in 1961 and early 1962, and took place at the house of KHIEV KOMA at the Sisowath's students' hall and at TIV OL's house at AUREUHSEI. They discussed only revolutionary matters, sometimes meeting also at the house of comrade Su-N at Toek L'aak. In early 1964, AN leaves PHNUM PENH for the SOUTHWEST, and so he doesn't know he ("KHâ"?) osd CIA.

Note about meeting SI. When AN went out to the SOUTHWEST in 1964 he went to SRE KHLONG with "thom" Mo'K and so met SI and PHà'N who were working chamkar fields there. "Thom" MOK was holding a zonal study session there, and AN was in charging of serving the food and water. Thereafter SI and PHà'N went south to TAKAEV/KAMPOT, leaving AN at these fields, which were a secret base for study sessions. On those infrequent occasions when Thom MOK had study sessions AN would meet SI and PHà'N. AN was very interested in them because they were from the Pracheachun Group, which had opposed American imperialism and even done so openly. AN tried to accomodate them more and more both in terms of work and in terms of speech.

IN 1968, when the armed struggle was luanchad, AN was in PHNUM SRUOCH district, and YIEM came out from PHNUM PENH to the SOUTHWEST, where they met.

FILENAME: AN.002

CHENG AN 5 December 1978

He says this is a supplement to his first report.

A week after the meeting in February 1978, "Kâ" calls a meeting attended by PRANG, RIT and AN, which is held at the Economics Office to talk about preparations for the coming dry season. He says that the EAST has three full divisions /kângpù~ penh/, the WEST one full division, the NORTHWEST three full divisions and the NORTH one full division, plus all their sector forces and the forces of their various offices and ministries. He says this should be enough because in the coming dry season all the forces held directly by the Centre will be on the border front. He notes that in PHNUM PENH the Centre will have no forces, except for a number at POCHENTHONG. He says that one regiment from the WEST and the three divisions from the NORTHWEST will hold southwest of POCHENTHONG field. He notes that the CENTRAL ZONE has no troops and no intentions, so that even if it has some troops, it wouldn't dare to resist.

The plan is to capture both radio stations and both BROTHERS in PHNUM PENH and announce seizure of power. Expectation is that the the armed forces at the front will split, and that the people won't be a problem because they will follow whatever state power controls them.

He says that as for POK, as soon as SAE arrives from up there and they meet, they will go together. At the same time, he has a number of troops and together with those of PHUONG, defence is sufficient.

He says that although the EAST has got a lot of troops, not a lot of them can be pulled back because they are right together with and defended by the Organization and also fighting the Yuon with the Organization.

It would therefore be better if the NORTHWEST could had three or four divisions.

He says it is urgent for every Zone to continuously build up new forces for future use.

He notes transport of troops from distant Zones like the NORTHWEST and the NORTH is a weakpoint, and that the railway must therefore be ready to transport them, although those from the NORTH can be moved by truck.

He says that if they can set a date, they should inform the Yuon so that they can be ready to intervene. Even if they can't get things organized, they should find ways to let the Yuon in so that they can join when things are organized.

AN says that after the purges of the EAST and elsewhere, "Kâ" was inactive to a certain degree out of fear of exposure, and things got worse after KRIN and HOK were removed. He says that "Kâ" realized he was defeated and stopped referring to the previous plans.

AN says the traitorous forces included: CHà'N, Deputy Secretary of the East, currently in the SVAY RIENG Sector; KEU, the Deputy Secretary of the NORTHWEST; Ta Pà~, the Deputy Secretary of the WEST, currently in the WEST; SEUANG, who was in charge of the Zone's military and Sectors and is currently in the NEW NORHTTERN ZONE; SEUAN, in charge of the military of

the NEW NORTHERN ZONE, now with the military.

AN says he would like to make an additional report to the Party about his gathering up in the Zones of workers to bring to PHNUM PENH, in particular former workers and former technicians and put them into the factories in order to prepare for whatever necessity. He says that for example with regard to textile mills and lathers, he let them all come walking back in in order to serve the Party's needs step by step. At the same time, if they hadn't been

allowed to come back quickly, a lot of important machinery would have been ruined, and also that if things hadn't been arranged rapidly, material and tools would have disappeared, which would have had a further bad affect on getting things going. He says the Organization's instructuions were to do whatever needed to be done in order to get the factories going again, and to go in the directed required by necessity.

As for the old workers and technicians, if they are needed at any factory, you should bring some of them back and do whatever can be done to get the factories going again quickly.

AN says that at that time, workers who had been evacuated from PHNUM PENH were to be found chaotically all around the city because the military who told them to leave had told them that anyone who was a factory worker shouldn't go far, the Organization would bring them back to the factories to work.

Therefore there were still a lot of workers on Route 5 from CHRÀ'NG CHÂMREH all the way to PREK KDAM. On Route 1 they were there from VOAT VEAL SBOV to KIEN SVAY. In SECTOR 25 they were there from PREK SAMRAONG SVAY ROLUM to S'AANG KAH THO~

In the first stage, AN and KHMAV strove to gather up former workers and technicians and select them by category, according to the needs of the factories that had to be put back in operation fast. In accordance with the instructions of the Party, they didn't care what types they were, as long as questioning clearly showed that they were genuinely at a certain factory, any strata was taken. As long as they had truly been at a factory or truly had technical skills, they were taken and put into service for the moment in order to get the factories going first in time for what the Party needed.

Therefore during this first stage, AN and KHMAV selected a mixture for every factory. A total of 340 to 400 families of factory workers came back into the city, and were sent to rest at the school at PHSAR DAEUM THKOUV and the school at CHAMKAR MON. They were then selected to go back to their old factories and put all the textile and "Dâ" factories back into operation.

During this first stage, workers were gathered on Route 5 at PREK PHNOV and PREK KDAM, on Route 1 at KIEN SVAY and in SECTOR 25 at SVAY ROLUM and PO SANH. It was at that time that the CIAs infiltrators among the ranks of the technicians from factories got back in, via this gathering up, and got into every factory. At the same time, during this first gathering up, there was still no attention paid to gathering up workers to put back into the factories and that there were CIA infiltrators everywhere. It was only after they had been in the factories for a period of time that their activities became apparent and that they began linking up from one factory to another and another. Only then was attention paid. Those whose technical studies had been in France or America were particularly problematic.

AN says the gathering up of former workers continued again and again because they had not yet been brought back to every factory. AN would gather them up to put one factory after another back into operation. He would find out where they were from the workers gathered during the first stage. Technicians were also brought in for factories that were put back into operation last, the Bati factory, the battery factory, the soft drinks factory, the edible oil factory (? preng kantuok), the alcohol factory at

Kilometer 6.

The Second Stage: KHMAV is assigned to go twice to S'AANG in SECTOR 25 and once to KAH THOM. Altogether he gathers 30 families.

The Third Stage: SAY is assigned to go twice to the OLD NORTHERN ZONE where he gathers soft drinks and ice factory workers. He brings back 15 families from BOH KHNOR and SPEU.

Fourth State: KHMAV is sent to gather workers from PREY LEAP and BAK KHAENG villages in northern CHROY CHANGVAR and brings back 15 families for the blanket factory. These are from the EAST ZONE.

Fifth State: KHMAV is assigned to go once to gather workers from UDONG, and gets six families for the cotton twine factory at POCHENTONG.

Sixth Stage: AN himself goes and gathers three families in CHHOUK district for the edible oil(?) factory.

In sum, the gathering up of former workers from the various zones during the three month period of June and July (sic) 1978 [sic: should almost certainly be 1975] resulted in getting a total of about 600 families for every factory in PHNUM PENH.

He says that the Party was interested in all these former factory workers that it had brought back into PHNUM PENH, because this was only tactical. One day they would certainly be removed from the city because they were not so clean with the revolution.

He says that once they were back into the factories for a while, the Organization immediately began arrests of them because they were CIA infiltrators among the workers, that there were continuous arrests in the milk factory, the flashlight battery factory, the paper factory, etc.

He says that in the middle of 1976 the Organization gave instructions that the number of former workers in every factory was to be reduced, except for those who were technically necessary.

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AN says "Kâ" was in charge of the City for the traitorous leadership committee.

He says the traitors CHÀ'N in the EAST and Ta PAL in the WEST have not yet been arrested, but that the traitor KEU in the NORTHWEST has been arrested already.

He says that the Commerce organization in the city was the contact point for liaison between the Zones and the City in treasonous planning, as every Zone had its own permanent commerce representation in the city. "Kâ" had the commerces of the Zones come to his Economy Office, where Sà'V was office chairman and always on duty.

AN says that the work of liaison was left up to PHEUM and PHUONG because they had done it ever since the beginning and particularly during the five year war, and before the army of the Party had gone to the border they had been in direct contact with them via couriers. He says however that once the troops of the Party arrived contact could not be made because these troops held all the important crossing points, so PHEUM and PHUONG had had to each set up one contact path for the dry season plan.