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S.129

Sim Phâlkun alias Sou, Female

Confession of

Name: Ms. Phâlkun alias Sou, the Ministry of Social Affairs

**I would like to report on the traitorous plans that I received from my leaders to prepare to kill the Brothers:**

I had not known about previous plans to kill the Brothers. Only in late 1976 or early 1977, I do not recall exactly, did I learn of this when there was a P-17 workshop. Before the workshop began, Sister Phea (ភី) called Sei (ស៊ី) and me to work at K-2. During the noon rest break, Sei called me to lie down and rest with her in order to work. Sei told me, “Now, our general plan is to prepare to kill Brother Number 1 and Brother Number 2, and our location has the most potential. That is, Brother Number 2: when the upcoming workshop opens, Brother Number 2 will come. Comrade Sou, have you recruited some forces to assist?” I replied, “No.” She had Măo (ម៉ៅ) and his guards to get ready. At that time, I asked her how it was going to be done. She said we would conduct an armed attack. On that day in the afternoon, when I delivered a letter to Sister Phea, I suddenly saw Măo walk past me in front of Sei’s house. I asked, “How is it, Măo?” Măo did not respond, and he walked away. Then Sister arrived, so I gave her the letter, and I returned to K-2.

Each time I was working at K-2, Sei always asked me how many forces I had recruited and how many nieces/nephews I had educated to achieve the traitorous plan. Sei told me that I had the potential because I lived near the Brothers and they often visited. I said that I did not dare to do it. Sei said that recently Măo had not dared.

Before Sei was arrested, I helped her pack her belongings. Sei told me, “*Brother Khuon* (ក្មេង) and *Brother Ya* (យ៉ា) are still alive. When I am gone, you should contact Say (សាយ) at Industry. Comrade Nan has got a grasp on this at P-17, and Say has also got somewhat of a grasp.” I asked, “When did you appoint Comrade Nan?” She replied, “In April 1976. I gave Comrade Nan plans twice, but she failed to accomplish them.” At that time, I did not meet Brother Say immediately. Only in September 1977 did I go to meet Brother Say. I met him when I went to request the lathing of materials to be used in a factory. He asked me how many forces I had recruited. I said I had not recruited any yet. He asked me whether I knew of the new

plan. I replied that I did not know about it. He told me that when CHHOENG Yungkuy (ឆឹង យុងកុយ) visited in the near future, there was a new plan to smash the Brothers and the guests, especially Brother Number 1 and Brother Number 2. A grenade will be hurled when the Brothers and the guests walk near the masses. I remained silent. When I returned, I told Muon (មួន) to be vigilant when the guests arrived and to stand and welcome the guests near the entrance fence. I told him if there was anything wrong, he should escape to our place by car. When the guests arrived, we were very frightened. Brother Number 1 did not come, and as for weapons, no explosion was heard.

Since that day, I did not meet *Brother Say* again until one day when a guest, perhaps a Laotian, came. *Brother Say* met again me and told me that the previous time, the youngsters were afraid and he did not dare bring them. Say kept urging and asking again me how many forces I had recruited. I said I had some, but I did dare to murder the Brothers. I had just recruited one nephew, but he was still very young. Say scolded me, say I was very slow.

Later, I contacted *Brother Say* again to request the lathing of materials for the factory. At that time, I did say much because *Brother Khmăo* (ខ្មៅ) was also there. He told me that Brother Khmăo was also one of us. Then I left immediately.

Later, Say came to meet me again at K-2 at the corner of the petroleum station on Kampuchea Kraom (កម្ពុជាក្រោម) Boulevard. When Brother Say saw me, he waved to call me, so I rode my bike toward him. He asked me like before about the force build-up, and he told me that when TOENG Ying Chhav (តឹង យីងឆាវ) visited in the near future, there was a new plan like the previous open. If such an event happened, he told me urgently return to the Office and make propaganda to raise Khuon's and Ya's influence. I said yes. He also asked, "How about plans for the Brothers to come to Social Affairs?" I replied, "I have never seen them come." He said, "If this plot fails, there is another plan for April at Borei Keila (ប៊ុរីកើលា), but

with very low possibilities. But there is a plan for 78 to make a decisive strike.” Then he drove his car away to the South.

When TOENG Ying Chhav arrived, nothing was seen to happen, and Say has disappeared ever since that day.

Since Sei and Say laid out the all the plans for me to kill the Brothers, I have never dared to do it. Each time I saw the Brothers come, I avoided them.

In February 1978, the situation in the office was extremely complicated. One day, I met *Brother* Khmăo at the same place where I had met Say. He pushed me to build up more forces in every section in preparation for the upcoming Independence Day in April 1978 at Borei Keila (ប្រទេសថ្មី), but said that we had very limited potential at Angkar’s place, and that is was important that we do it at a crowded place, particularly when a guest visits since this had highest potential of success. If the April 1978 plot failed, there were plans for a decisive strike during 1978. Then I talked about the complicated situation in the office. He said, “Why are you afraid of Sister Phea? The medicine is already on hand. Push a bit and it will go. But especially on the plan with the Brothers, it is imperative to try to be a little more active.” After he spoke, *Brother* Khmăo went on by

One day when I was very stressed, I visited the children’s house. Comrade Nan also went there to visit me and called me to my house. Going into a room, I told Comrade Nan about the situation of conflict at the office, and told her about *Sister* Phea talking and attacking the Brothers, her irresponsible manner of speaking, and how when she was angry with Comrade Chhun (ឈុន), she told me that Chhun had had an affair with a woman working at Phâ-3. When I did not agree to go along with her with her, she attacked me saying that I told Chhun everything, and she accused me of planning to poison her. She also criticized all the Brothers. She said that now that A Khuon (ឃ្លុន), A Ya (យ៉ា), A Phin (ផិន) and A Phoas (ផាស់) and the others were gone, there were still other traitors. She guessed there may be a group of five others: *Brother* Nuon (នួន), *Brother* Hêm (ហែម), *Brother* Khieu (ខៀវ), Comrade

Pàng (ប៉ង់) and Sister At (អាត). She even dared to say that *Brother* Pol (ប៉ុល) had talked about Comrade Nan herself, saying Nan talks irresponsibly and is now reporting to one side and reporting to another, so the Ministry is currently in real turmoil. Comrade Nan responded, “*Sister* Phea is very family-oriented and promotes only her family members, and *Brother* Pol is the same. The medicine is already in my hand. I can do it whenever I want. When Sei was here, she put in place plans for me to do it twice, but I did not have an opportunity. I will go there again this evening. We’ll see.” I asked, “Comrade Nan, do you dare to do it?” She answered, “What is to be afraid of? *Sister* Phea too: any day when *Ta* Pèn (តា ប៉ែន) and *Sister* Phea are going to be there too.” I asked her again, “Nan, what medicine will you use?” She replied, “I will use sleeping pills first and then overdose with other medicines ...” I asked, “Will you go to the house?” She answered, “No. I will not. Wait and I will phone you.”

Later, *Sister* told me that on 25 February 1978 there would probably be an assembly, and *Brother* Nuon (នួន) intended to come. I was very worried. I called Muon to Phâ-3. I asked Muon again, “Muon, do you love the Uncles? Uncle Nuon is very mean, isn’t he?” I re-emphasized the things about which I had educated Muon since mid-1977. I asked, “If Uncle visits our place, do you dare to kill Uncle?” Muon remained silent. I asked him, “What are you afraid of? There are many of us.” Muon said yes. I said, “Muon, you must carry a gun and sit near a pillar near the medicine team. Shoot when you have a chance. Then, pretend to fall down to cause chaos and do not let them know who had done it. As for me, I will put poison in the water.” However, when I returned in the evening, I heard *Sister* said that *Brother/Sister* would not join the assembly and that Angkar had transferred Comrade Pàk (ប៉ាក់) to work at another place.

Later, niece Bauphăn (ប្អូន) came to K-2 to get equipment. She was very happy to meet me and she asked for my permission to visit the children’s house. I went there with her, and I told her about the complicated situation at K-2. Bauphăn

told me, “Sister questioned me saying that she had heard from Nèb (ណែប) that you want to poison Sister, and that Nèb knows about this.” At that time, I asked Nèb, but Nèb said Nèb had not heard this. Then, I wrote a letter to Kuoy (ក្លូយ) to tell Comrade Nan to meet me. At noon, Comrade Nan and Kuoy came. I took Nan into a room to tell her about that story. Comrade Nan said, “Do not worry about it. Phone me if anything goes wrong. I also work there.” I asked, “What about the last time?” Comrade Nan replied, “Both Sister Phea and *Ta* have many people. Do not worry. Wait for another day; the day will surely come.” Then, Comrade Nan responded, joking in front of Kuoy that, “It is possible that we all—Kuoy, you, and me— all of us could be removed. Do not forget to phone me if anything goes wrong.”

Then, Angkar arrested me on 3 March 1978.

This is the end of my report on the plans for treason and for murdering the Brothers.

13 March 1978

Sou

[Signature]

## A Report On My Traitorous Activities To The Communist Party of Kampuchea

My name is SIN Phâlkun; my revolutionary name is Sou. I am 33 years-old. I was born at Spean Kaun Kăt (ស្ពានក្បួនកាត់) (The Independence Monument), Phnom Penh.

My father was SIN Sakeam (ស៊ីន សាកាម). He was over 50 years old when he passed away in 1967. He was a police captain.

My mother is SIN Kīmēng (ស៊ីន គឹមអេង). She was over 50 years-old when I started working at the Ministry of Social Affairs.

I have four children—two sons and two daughters.

- My eldest son is Phâlrieth (ផល្លរិទ្ធ); his revolutionary name is Tit (ទីត).
- My second son is Phâlla (ផល្លា); his revolutionary name is Chi (ជី).
- My third daughter is Pouch (ពូជ).
- My last daughter is Penh (ពេញ).

I have the following siblings:

1. Me: SIN Phâlkun, female, 33 years-old, married
2. My younger brother: SIN Phâldun (ស៊ីន ផល្លឌុន), 30 years-old, provincial policeman. He has been sent to a rural area. He is handicapped with only one leg.

3. My sister: SIN Phâlbunnan (ស៊ីន ផលប៊ុនណាន), 27 years-old, married, teacher.

She has four children. She has been sent to Kampong Trabaek (កំពង់ត្របែក)

Collective.

4. SIN Ponhnharith (ស៊ីន ប៉ុញ្ញារិទ្ធ), 25 years old. He used to be a commando.

5. SIN Sethrung (ស៊ីន សិទ្ធរង់), 22 years old. He quitted school at Grade 5, and he has become a worker at the Ministry of Public Works.

6. SIN Tungtep (ស៊ីន ទង់ទិញ), 19 years old. He was a fifth-grader.

7. SIN Tepnara (ស៊ីន ទេពណារា), 17 years old. He was a fifth-grader.

All of my younger siblings have been evacuated to Kampong Trabaek Cooperative.

My parents have loved me deeply since I was born. My father in particular let me do whatever I wanted, and he often brought my siblings and me to go to a cinema no matter what movie was being played. He taught me a lot about the capitalist United States of America's technology; he said that USA was the most advanced country in the world, including the quality of equipment. The socialist regime, on the other hand, always suppressed and mistreated people. For example, in China, everything was about Chairman Mao, and in Vietnam, everything was about Ho Chi Minh. The capitalist regime was more prosperous than our country. There were CIA agents everywhere in the world spying on the existing movements in each country and encouraging the native people to do a coup d'état with the support from capitalist America. While he was teaching me, he told me in 1961, "You are a grown-up now. You can carry out the CIA's duty."



I asked him, “What does a CIA agent do?” He replied, “A CIA person like you must spy in Châmreun Vichea (ចំរើនវិជ្ជា) School while you are studying there. Do not forget my words. Tell me when you have any difficulty.” Then, he set up a ceremony to enrol me in the CIA at home, witnessed by a policeman Chhom (ឆុំ), who was my neighbour. My father was the introducer. (The policeman’s name is Chhom. He is an uncle of Comrade Sai (សៃ) who worked at K-2.) At that time, my father did not tell me about my salary. He just gave me an allowance whenever I requested. When we saluted a flag, it was an American flag.

*[Annotation: What was the flag like?]*

From late 1961 to 1962, when I had just started school, I could not tell who were prosperous and who were not because they shared common appearance and personality. My father said, “I know there will be those two kinds of people. Just wait and see.”

*[Annotation: 1. Activities during the period with SEAT Chhè. Told who?]*

In April 1963, there was a school field trip to the beach for three days. I asked permission from my mother to join the trip, but she denied. Then, as soon as my father came back home from work, *Teacher Tum* (តូំ) met him. While I was making tea for them, I heard *Teacher SIET Chhè* (ស៊ែត ឆែ) informing my father, “Do not worry. Trust us!” Two days later, my father *Teacher SIET Chhè* and me and told *Teacher SIET Chhè*, “Please take care of my daughter from now on.” *SIET Chhè* smiled and replied, “Do not worry.” In October 1963, *SIET Chhè* told *Kimvan* (គីមវ៉ាន) and me that I should contact Van because he had to travel here and there. *LI Ang* (លី អាង), who was the high-ranking officer above Comrade *PRUM Kimvan* (ព្រ៉ាំ គីមវ៉ាន), participated in each work meeting. *LI Ang* and *PRUM Kimvan* confirmed

with me that one of my duties was to build up more CIA agents by making them love the Revolution first. I particularly had to encourage them to join the struggle actively so that their family members would be arrested and tortured by the authorities, which would make them lose faith in the struggle movement, and then we would enrol those who were frightened into the CIA. Since then, SIET Chhè often worked with my father.

*[Annotation: Relating to what matter?]*

*[Annotation: What did all these people tell her?]*

*[Annotation: 64 – Tum and Ya had already gone to the forest.]*

In 1963, both the struggle movement and the enemy's invasion were getting stronger. Some teachers often visited and worked at my house. They sometimes brought some stuff with them. Besides SIET Chhè, I saw MÈN Sa (ម៉ែន សាវ), KÈR Kìmhut (កែវ គឹមហ្គុត), KHÈK Pèn (ខែក ប៉ែន), TIV Ol (ទីវ អុល) (who often came with his spouse), *Uncle* CHHEUN Seungphoat (ឈឺន សឹងភាត់) and PAUCH Ieknay (ប៉ូច អៀកណាយ).

I saw Chhaom (ឆោម) and *Uncle* Chhom the most among the policemen. There were some other policemen besides them.

*[Annotation: Induct them into what?]*

In 1964, when the enemy strongly invaded, I tried my best induct two female comrades who were DI Kìmhong (ឌី គឹមហុង), a teacher's daughter, and MEAS Ponnakri (មាស ប៉ុណ្ណាគ្រី), a soldier's daughter. The ceremony took place at PRUM Kìmvan's house. I was the introducer and Van was the witness. In mid-1964, Van and

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LI Ang ran away from the school to live at Sâm Ngăt (សំណត់). One day, Comrade Thuok (ធ្នូក) invited me to visit a site behind Takeo (តាកែវ) Pagoda and introduced me to THĂN Nhoeng (ថាន់ ញ៉ង).

*[Annotation: Exactly what pagoda?]*

When I came back, I received a letter from LI Ang asking me to work and encouraging me to continue the activities more actively. Moreover, he criticized me for what I had agreed with THĂN Nhoeng, and he confirmed with me that CHREA Chaovan Savi (ជ្រា ចៅវ៉ានសាវី) and Nhoeng were actually our members. While I was studying at Vattanak Vichea (វត្តនៈវិជ្ជា) Secondary School, I persuaded a teenager whose name is Say (សាយ) to join the CIA with Van. In 1964, my spouse visited me at home very often so that my parents could get to know him.

I got married in 1965. One day, UY Thouren (ឃុយ ថូរេន) (alias Pàk) brought me a letter sent by Ang. In the letter, he wrote two important things. One was to request 3,000 Riels from me to set up a new place, and the other one was to recommend me to associate with THĂCH Nhoeng. At the end of 1965, I moved to Prey Veng (ព្រៃវែង) with my spouse. My spouse gave me the following duties:

- Building up more CIA agents with him.
- Carefully guarding the house when he worked.
- Visiting nearby areas where villagers traded goods to understand their consciousness.

I could not get any information in the first six months.

In 1966, I started associating with HÈM Yân's (ហែម យ៉ាន) spouse and

*[Annotation: Do not be vague.]*

*[Annotation: Contacts with father]*

SEUNG Saingsinh's (សឹង សាំងស៊ីញ). Then, I associated with LIM Koch's (លីម កុច) spouse and Teacher Lun's (លន់). I noticed that the spouses also initiated a movement like that in the city. When Sihanouk joined a school opening ceremony, some students made posters at my place and in the next morning, there were large letters written: "Failure, Sihanouk". SEUNG Saingsinh's spouse was cheerful and quite well-known. After I had associated with them for a while, I educated her in the same way as my father had educated me. She said she would join if her husband joined. In 1967, my husband worked with SEUNG Saingsinh and HÈM Yân.

*[Annotation: Speak simply.]*

*[Annotation: Where, doing what?]*

Then, he met LIM Koch and Lun while their wives and I were having meal downstairs. Several days later, I saw a teacher whose name is CHIEB Kĩmyean (ជឿប គឹមយ៉ាន) participating in the ceremony. My husband told me, "Call me if anyone comes." In 1967, Ol was transferred to be a principal there. Two school secretaries had a row and they were about to use bottles to hit each other's head. As the situation was dangerous, my husband always brought a bike lock with him for protection wherever he went. Students' parents were not happy to send their children to school at that time. Therefore, my husband told me to persuade some parents that I knew to send their children to school.

*[Annotation: Speak continuously.]*

At the end of 1967, my husband visited my parents in Phnom Penh. He took me to Tuol Kouk (ត្បូងគក់) to see one teacher on one evening. After he went inside for a while, he came out with a letter in a yellow envelope and a plastic bag and gave it to me. After leaving that house, he took me to Soeungphoat's house.

*[Annotation: Distance and location.]*

While I was waiting for him and chatting with children outside for almost two hours, I saw shadows of a few people in that house. Then, he gave me the same letter.

The next morning, my husband went to Soeungphoat's house again. He came back to have breakfast, and we departed at 10 a.m.; he drove a Vespa scooter, and I and a child in my arm sat behind him. We reached Prey Veng at dusk. Then, my husband drove to a meeting place at Svay Tieb (ស្វាយទៀប). Due to heavy rain, we took shelter for a while. Coming back, we saw a torch flashed from under the tree, so my husband got off his motorbike. I saw Teacher Chhoch (ឆ្លូច) clearly. He brought us into a house to have dinner and told me to take a rest after the meal. While we were chatting, a teacher who gave my husband the letter at Tuol Kouk walked in front of the house and greeted me. Then, I went downstairs to sleep in a room. At 3 a.m., my husband, Teacher Noam (នាំ) and another teacher living locally knocked on the door and studied inside the room. At 5 a.m., they told me to guard the house with another woman. We did not talk to each other. She only walked up and down. The task was completed at noon. At 2 p.m, my husband and I returned home. We reached Neak Leung (ក្រែង) at 6 p.m.. After dinner, we continued our journey at 7 p.m.. At that time, the spies living in front of my house at Prey Veng followed us. We arrived home at 10 p.m.. My husband and I continued the traitorous activities. Later, I knew a teenager whose name is Ol (អុល), a messenger of CHIEB Kimyea, Phēng (ផេង), and Teacher San (សាន). I also educated four other women—Phâl (ផល), Pha (ផា),

Samoeun (សំឡែង) and Ruon (រួន). These four women were under Phēng's authority.

I also educated another teenager who was Teacher HÈM Yān's younger brother.

*[Annotation: Add about the husband going to forest, dying.]*

Early in 1978 *[Annotation: 68]*, I associated with Chèt (ច័ត្ត). Before I went into the forest, Chèt told me that TIV Ol's spouse was also our member, so I could keep my 10-month-old baby with Sei (ស៊ី). I tried this, but Sei rejected this. Then, I went into the forest in August 1968, I stopping by a house at Boeng Kok (បឹងកក់).

Then, Chèt sent me to Sēng (សេង). Before Sēng sent me on, Sēng told me that some members would go after me soon. A slogan was, "I know you know." As soon as I arrived at Rattanakiri (រតនៈគិរី), I stayed with *Sister* Phea. At first, I thought A Saom (សោម) would educate me, *[Annotation: Educate how?]*, but in 1968, Sei had met me at K-4. While she was teaching me, she told me "I know you know," and I replied "Yes". Sei gave me a plot as follows:

1. Recruiting forces. She reprimanded me, "You have been here for so long, but you have not worked hard at all."
2. Not to be too strict in educating someone.
3. Keeping it as a secret.

I replied, "Yes"

From that day on, my traitorous activities were to encourage the art team of which I was in charge, to be overexcited and playful. I asked permission from *Sister* Phea to keep all colours of clothing at the Art Office. In my gradual education, I found a female comrade whose name was Sâm (សំម). She was beautiful but impolite.

I educated Sâm in the same way as my father educated me, and I confirmed, “All people who are staying here in the forest are our members.” Sei told me to be careful in educating someone because it was close to Angkar and if ethnic members had any difficulty, I had to find support from the Khmer members at the lower levels. One day, Angkar gathered some children and me to keep at B-1. I noticed that Comrade Nan did not always measure the amount of rice when cooking, so sometimes, there was not enough rice to eat. During the break after cooking, Nan and I complained about how the Party trained us; sometimes we missed songs in the previous regime and French songs such as “Boat of Love”. I encouraged her instead of controlling her. Comrade Nan’s weakness was showing off her patriotism and sacrifice. Moreover, she often said she missed her parents. A while later, Angkar assigned:

1. At the Office of Economics, Sei was the head.
2. At the Office of Culture and Art, Sou was the head.
3. At the hospital, Nan was the head.

When we were together, I talked about Comrade Nan’s personality and reaction toward the collective life. Sei remained silent. During the break, Sei, Nan and I usually met one another, finding some fruits such as potatoes and bananas, and talking about people’s living standard almost every day. One day, I was called to work; so was Sei. Bang Văn (ហ៊ុន) said, “*Sister! Sister Phea and Comrade Sou are going to work in a far away area, so Sei has to pack her belongings.*” Sei educated me every day. “Find networks. SIENG An (ស៊ីង អាន) is out there, and send my regards to *Brother Bong* (ប៊ុន) and Comrade Yeun (យ៉ួន)”. I said yes. My traitorous activities in 1970 were just teasing people and being easy-going; I did not always reprimand the wrongdoers, and I did not encourage the good people to be more active. Before I left, I introduced Sâm, a Laotian woman, who worked in the Art Office under my charge, to Sei.

While travelling, I tried my best to serve *Sister Phea* based on two contradictory stances. One was to respect her from the bottom of my heart due to her kindness; the other was to hide myself deeply to protect forces that had been given to me from having a revolutionary stance.

In January 1971, Angkar assigned me to the Propaganda Office first to get information about Khmer people who lived in the North. At that time, I did not carry out any traitorous activities; I reported on things such as emergencies to Angkar. I brought young people to visit KÈV Meas's (កែវ មាស) house. He asked us about our wellbeing, "How are you?" I replied, "I am fine." SIENG An and I did not talk about our work because he worked openly while I worked secretly. We just met accidentally one day; while *Bang Phea* was hospitalized, she told me to work, and I ran into him. We met for the second time while I was eating ice-cream with the fellows. He walked toward me, but I escaped him. Then, he followed and asked me, "What is the matter?" I said, "*Sister Sei* sends her regards." *Brother SIENG An* said, "It is very hard for us to work with each other because I work openly and you work secretly."

I ended the conversation as soon as the young people arrived because I was afraid that they might hear it. I returned to a rural house. In 1974, after *Brother Hèm* returned from a visa trip, A Saom insisted on working outside. At that time, he introduced me to Trea (ត្រា) and involved me in educating some of the Front's youths. Trea had got the information about those coming from different parts of the country. Saom assigned me to educate Mi (មី) (IN Sopheap) (អ៊ិន សុភាព) of all those teenagers. Mi was a former governor's child; he was materialistic, and he liked drinking and driving recklessly. While he was staying in Phnom Penh, he sometimes took my sister to play in a show of an association of the university students.

Khon (ខុន) also had an affair. First he loved Run; and he did not obey Angkar's regulations. He was usually jealous of others. Phat (ផាត) was boastful and his morality stance was not firm.



Educated fully by both A Saom and me, these three young men liked me very much. They often visited my house in order to flirt with Run and Phai who took turns babysitting my child when I was at work. I told Mi, “Mi, do not worry! If you are determined to get Comrade Run, I fully support you. *Sister* Phea will not harm you. Although *Sister* Phea does not like you, she would permit you if you strongly love Run.” Comrade Khon had previously loved Run too, but I told him to love Phai instead because Mi loved Run. I teased Comrade Phat with Comrade Troeun (ត្រឿន), who was a widow with three children. Her husband had cheated on her; she had returned to her homeland since 1970. Phat still hesitated. After A Saom and I propagandised about capitalism and different kinds of regimes, and spoiled the morality stance by teasing them with the mixed-race nieces, Mi, Khon and Phat decided to join the CIA. The enrolment ceremony took place at a team’s living room while *Sister* Phea was being hospitalized. To keep it a secret, we did not plant a flag. Because of their education, Mi, Khon and Phat could receive at least a position of a minister or deputy minister. Since then, Mi, Khon and Phat were very obedient, and often visited my room in a pretense of visiting my child. Actually, Mi had already had an affair with Comrade Run while they were staying abroad. Khon came when it was Phai’s turn. Later on, Phat also had an affair with Troeun and other women. I tried to keep it as a secret.

Mi, Khon and Phat at that time were assigned to do incomplete or exaggerated translations in order to alter the Party’s line. For me, I read aggressively to show that I was rude. I read very quickly to make the Party’s messages unclear and incomplete. I disobeyed the instructions. If I was instructed to read slowly, I read too slowly. If I was instructed to read quickly, I read too quickly.

Moreover, Mi and I had to disguise ourselves and to get along with the high-ranking officers to gain their trust. Mi could get along with them easier than I did because he was tolerant while I was intolerant. Mi’s duty was to disguise herself deeply among the high-ranking officers and to alter the Party’s line in terms of working and living. Khon and Phat supported Mi through discussions. Whenever Mi asked permission from *Sister* Phea to marry Comrade Run, she refused absolutely. As Mi insisted not to marry any other woman, they often had an argument.

Later, Angkar decided to send A Saom home. He was very angry with *Sister Phea*.

He told Mi, Trea and me to keep altering the Party's line even more strongly, and I was assigned to strongly encourage Mi, Khon and Phat working in the composition section, and Trea was told to control the art team tightly. We had to be careful and keep it as a secret, and not to let *Sister Phea* know.

After Phnom Penh had been liberated, I was assigned by the Party to be in charge of the Ministry of Information. A few days later, Sei visited me at home and asked me to report to her on the outside activities—how easy and difficult they were. I reported that there were a lot of difficulties before assigning each person. After listening, Sei remained silent and told me to wait for a while and to make Trea's art team very corrupt.

In September 1975, TĂN Tri (តាន់ ទ្រី) sent me a letter informing me that my mother and my children were living with my younger siblings and their children at Kampong Traback. I asked permission from A Phoas, but he had to ask *Sister Phea*. I requested to take my two children and mother. A few days later, A Phoas told me that Angkar had permitted me to take them, so he issued me the Ministry's letter. A Saom brought me to request a letter from Chheang (ឈឿង), (The Vietnamese Ambassador), to get local support because Chheang knew *Brother Virak* (វិរៈ) and A Chhouk (ឈូក) very well. *Brother Virak* gave me two letters—one for me and one for him, so did A Chhouk. I met only *Brother Virak*. After I spent a night there, he told his messenger to bring me to my children, siblings and mother. Due to the limited time, I decided to stay with my siblings and I told Comrade Hieng (ហឿង), a driver, *Brother Virak's* messenger to come back.

The Ministry of Information was very chaotic. Khuon's and A Phoas's networks did not get along well with each other, and A Khuon's messenger associated with the art team of the Ministry of Information, especially Mai (ម៉ៃ). The ones who

delivered a letter were THAONG Dam (ថាង ដាំ) and Sâm. They had been raped by A Khuon. For THAONG Dam, as she liked me, I tried to protect her and planned to turn her to be a core force in the future.

One day, I asked permission from A Saom to take Comrade Sèm (សែម) and my children from the rural area to visit my husband in B-1 and to inquire information from Mi. Suddenly, I walked Brother Ya (យ៉ា) in front of the P-1 Factory. He came out of a car, shook my hand, and asked about my siblings-in-law. I told him that my siblings-in-law had been sent to Kampong Trabaek and that Angkar had transferred them to do labour work. *Brother* Ya nodded his head and said, "I see." I went to visit my husband. I managed to meet Comrade Mi and asked him if he had anything to say, "Comrade Run has totally agreed with me to marry no one but you." Comrade Phai was assigned by A Khuon to get married with her ex-boyfriend. Then, I came back.

In November 1975, Angkar set up a committee of the Ministry of Social Affairs, in which *Sister* Phea was the head, Sei was the deputy, and I was a member. *Sister* Phea was in overall charge; Sei (the deputy) was in charge of all practitioners; I (a member) was in charge of the factory and medicine supply, which was to be distributed to the people. In 1975, I did not do any activity because I could not get information about the new situation. In 1976, I travelled up and down since my duty was related to the economics.

The place that I went the most was the Office of Business on the pretence of requesting materials. Actually, I delivered letters from Sei to Chhoeun to inquire about A Khuon. I delivered letters three times. I met Mi twice when I requested materials and a car for my mother to visit home, but there was no car, so Mi sponsored petroleum and I took the Ministry's car to get petroleum from him. The driver was Comrade Siem (ស៊ីម), who was the driver in K-2. Muon also went with us.

I met Sēng (សេង) at the Office of Agriculture on the pretence of requesting rabbits, but I actually delivered him a letter. In December 1976, while I was making fermented fish, Kroeun (គ្រឿង) invited some people from B-1 and me to visit Ta Kmau. Those who visited there were Kroeun, *Brother* Vên (វ៉ែន), me, Comrade Sè (សៃ), Comrade Choeun (ជឿន) and KÈ Kĩmhuot's wife. When we arrived at an orchard at Takhmau, Kroeun told me to have a sit under a mango tree, waiting for lunch. I said, "I will not have lunch here." Kroeun said he had already asked relatives to cook rice. At that time, Kroeun told me, "We are in the same team. It will be easy to keep in touch." I was very frightened because Kroeun talked openly while I had not told Kroeun before. Coming back, I reported it to Sei, and she seriously reprimanded me. Then, Sei asked me to tell Kroeun to encourage Mi, Khon and Phat and to find life partners for them. Sei also told me to request local forces from Kroeun to work as core forces.

When I visited Kroeun at home, I told Kroeun about it and Kroeun agreed to do it. Kroeun gave me two important core forces—Ēng (អេង) and Neat (នាត).

In 1976, Angkar launched a medicine manufacturing factory and constantly sent workers there. At that time, I noticed that one comrade was liberal. That comrade's name was Kol (កុល); Kol was single. In the biography, after staying in the forest for three months, Kol joined the Party. To find more information about Kol, I asked A Chhoeun, and he told me, "Kol is our member. Kol is in the network at Commerce." Therefore, I agreed to assign Kol as the director of the factory and let Kol do whatever he wanted; I neither had a meeting with Kol nor tested Kol.

HÈM Yân asked for my approval to permit his wife to work in the Office of Social Affairs. I approved, and I asked *Sister* Phea. She also approved. Nak's (ណាក់) duties were to make the liberal children corrupt and to encourage them not to maintain the machinery in the factory.

Later, Angkar sent Hiek (ហ៊ីក), who was a translator, to the factory. I met Hiek, and he told me to educate some teenagers such as Hai (ហៃ), Sèn (សែន) and Nai (ណៃ) to be core forces.

In November 1976, Tum met me on the pretence of requesting medicine from me, but he asked me, “Are you currently contacting someone?” I said, “I have contacted *Sister* Sei.” I asked, “How is *Brother* Ya?” Tum replied, “I do not know where he is.” Then, he said goodbye. Later on, he told his messenger to get the medicine, and I gave it. At that time, Tum also complained that his child was often sick, so I told him to bring his child to see *Ta Pèn* (ប៉ែន), who worked at the Operation Section in the hospital.

Early 1977, there was a P-17 workshop. *Sister* Phea told me to work at K-2. It was the first time that Sei had told me about an assassination plan. During the lunch break, Sei told me, “In our Office of Social Affairs, we should try more actively to kill the Brothers, particularly Brother Number 2, because we have high potential.”

“There is going to be a workshop soon. *Brother* Nuon will come, and our comrades have assigned us some duties. Do you have forces? Have you recruited forces?” I replied, “Not yet. Who is going to do it?” Sei answered, “Mão and his guards will carry out an attack.” I remained silent; I was frightened. When the workshop started, I delivered a letter to *Sister* Phea at 5 p.m., but I did not see any incident. Mão walked past me in front of Sei’s house, so I asked him, “Mão, how is it?” Mão did not respond; he just passed me. Then, *Sister* Phea came out, and I gave her the letter and returned.

One day, I went to meet Kroeun at home to ask whether Kroeun had any forces left. At that time, I did not realize that Angkar was going to remove Kroeun. When I arrived at the house, Kroeun was working with Comrade Choeun. Kroeun told me that if something went wrong and if I did not meet Kroeun, I should contact Choeun because he was a senior in terms of stance. Choeun would be safe because Choeun’s spouse was an ethnic for which Angkar had a particular policy. I asked, “Do

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you have forces?” Kroeun replied, “I have not yet found any.” At that time, I took Kroeun to the hospital because Kroeun was sick. Then, I returned home.

Later, Sei met me very often, encouraging me to build up forces and to educate more teenagers to accomplish the traitorous plot. She said I had more potential because I lived near the Brothers and because they often came here. I said I did not dare to do it.

Later, Angkar decided to remove Sei. I helped her pack her belongings. She asked, “Do you know about my removal?” I answered, “No, I do not.” Sei said, “*Brother Khuon* and *Brother Ya* are still alive. When I am gone, you should contact with Say at Industry. There is Comrade Nan at P-17; she has a grasp.” I asked, “When did you assign them?” She replied, “In April 1976. If Comrade Kēng (កេង) requests medicine, supply the medicine.”

After Sei was gone, I was very worried. I worked closely with the masses to build up forces, but I kept worrying because those who were close to me were also favoured by *Sister Phea*. Sithân (ស៊ីថង់) (female) had been long-educated by me, and I deeply indoctrinated her because her weakness was being picky in choosing a spouse. She liked an intellectual. Sithân was contented when we arranged a marriage between Comrade Sai and her, but she still complained about being unable to meet her mother.

Ēng (អេង), Sarat (សារ៉ាត), Hieb (ហ៊ីប), Sâmbath (សម្បត្តិ) and Huor (ហួរ) had one major common weakness. I said, “You all are from S-200. Angkar does not like you.”

Oeun (អ៊ូន), Ti (ទី) and Run were in the medicine female team. They were attracted by passion.

Tha (ថា) and Siet (ស៊ីត) were working in a stockroom.

Ri (រី) and Mēn (ម៉េន) were working as tailors.

Ây (អ័យ), Chhân (ឆន) and Thai (ថៃ) were working in a kitchen.

Nim (នីម), Rum (រុំ) and Ēng (អេង) were practitioners; and Muon was my messenger.

Sim (ស៊ីម) was *Sister* Phea's housekeeper.

I told them all that I was not educating them to be CIA agents. If they heard that they were going to join the CIA, they would be very frightened.

I said, "Currently, the struggle movement against the state authority is happening at many places. They want to provide a good living standard for people and to make people live happily with their families. They want to create a salary system, so that money can be used to buy products that we make. That is what you should know."

What they had to do was to pay less attention in working on political consciousness, which meant that they just let other people work.

Immoral acts happened very often. People in the office were split into different groups.

Without Sei, I lost mastery. Some forces that I had recruited were taken back by Sister for more education.

In September 1977, when I requested the lathing of materials to be used in the factory, I met *Brother* Say. He asked me how many forces I had recruited. I said I had recruited some but I had not yet deeply indoctrinated them. He asked whether I knew of a new plan. I replied that I did not know of it. He said that when CHHOENG Yungkuy visited in the near future, there was a plan to kill the Brothers and guests, especially Brother Number 1 and Brother Number 2. A grenade would be hurled when the Brothers approached the masses. I remained silent. Coming back, I told Muon to be vigilant when the guests came and to stand near the wooden fence next to

the entrance to welcome the guests. When the guests arrived, we were very frightened and vigilant. Brother Number 1 did not come, and there was no explosion.

When I accompanied a Laotian visitor, Say told me, "Last time, the teenagers were too scared to do it." Say kept asking me how many forces I had recruited. I answered him that I had recruited some but I did not dare to kill the Brothers, and that I had recruited one teenager, but he was too young. Say blamed me for working very slowly.

Later, I met Brother Say again at the Office of Industry to request to have materials lathed. At that time, Brother Khmăo was also there, so I did not say anything. Say told me Brother Khmăo was also one of us. Then, I said goodbye to them.

Later, *Brother* Say drove to K-2 along Kampuchea Kraom Boulevard. When he reached a petroleum station at a corner, he waved to me, so I approached him. He asked me the same question about the number of forces that I had recruited. I said I had recruited some. He told me about a new plan that, "When TOENG Ying Chhav visits, we have a new plan similar to the previous one. If it fails, there is a plan for April 1978 on Independence Day at Borei Keila, but the possibility of success is low. Try whenever there a major ceremony with a massive crowd of people. If it fails, we have a plan for a decisive strike in 1978." Then, he drove to the South, and I returned. When TOENG Ying Chhav arrived, all the Brothers welcomed her, but nothing was seen to occur.

In February 1978, the situation was extremely tense due to internal conflicts. I heard from the masses that *Sister* was going to remove me from the Ministry by accusing my husband of being CIA. I lost contact with all my network. Comrade Hiek came to inject me with medicine every day and she asked, "Which network do you belong to?" I answered, "I am always with Sister Phea." Hiek said, "Comrade Tong (តុង) wants to visit you. She wants to give you some vegetables. Go to her orchard near Takhmau to get it." I replied, "It is okay. The factory workers can go there to get the vegetables to supply their office. There is plenty at my office."



At the end of February 1978, Comrade Saur met me again to ask about the medicine and took the opportunity to ask me, "Which group do you belong to?" I said, "I do not join any group. I stay with *Sister Phea*." Saur said, "I ask in case you lose all the networks." I said, "I am Brother Kmăo's network." Then, Saur left.

One day, Brother Khmăo drove a Lambetta car from East to West along Kampuchea Kraom Boulevard. He parked where Brother Say had parked, and I walked there. *Brother Khmăo* asked me whether I had recruited any forces in preparation for the April 1978 plot. I said I had recruited some, but I could not guarantee results. If the April 1978 plan failed, we do whatever it took to make the decisive during 1978. I also informed him about the complicated situation at K-2 and the conflicts with *Sister Phea*. Brother Khmăo said, "What are you afraid of? The medicine is in our hands. Just one push is all it takes. Last, he reminded me not to forget the plan to kill the Brothers if they came.

One day when I was very stressed, I visited the children's house. Comrade Nan also went there to visit me and took me back to my house. She told me that she understood that I was stressed these days. I told her about *Sister Phea*'s family members coming to work at K-2 and about *Sister Phea* speaking irresponsibly. I said, "When she was angry with Comrade Chhun, she accused him of having an affair with a woman working at Phâ-3. When I disagreed with her, she accused me instead. *Sister Phea* did not trust any of the Brothers. *Sister Phea* said that although A Khuon, A Ya, A Doeun (ជឿន), and A Phin had been arrested, there were still other people out there.

As far as she knew she thought may be five other people: *Brother Nuon*, Brother Hèm, *Brother Khieu*, Comrade Pàng, and *Sister At*. Not only that, she mentioned about *Brother Pol*, saying that Brother Pol had criticized Comrade Nan herself, saying that Nan did not have a particular stance and did not clearly go with any side, reporting to all sides. Nan responded to me that *Brother Pol* was not like that and that *Sister Phea* does not trust any cadres in the Ministry. Comrade Nan reacted, "*Sister Phea* favors her family very much, promoting only her own. Brother Pol is like that too. The medicine is already in my hand. I can kill them whenever I want. Sei has told me to do it twice, but I did not dare to do it. The same with *Sister Phea*: I can smash her at any time." While I was in treatment that evening, I pushed her, "Comrade Nan,

do you dare do it?" She answered, "Let wait and see. *Sister Phea* and *Ta Pèn* are also going." I asked, "Will you go to the house?" She replied, "No. I will phone." When we finished the conversation, I told Muon to drive Comrade Nan back home and to maintain secrecy.

Later, Bauphăn came to K-2 to supplies. She was very happy to meet me and she asked for my permission to visit the children's house. I went there with her, and I told her about the complex situation at K-2. She told me, "*Aunt* has also asked me whether or not you, *Aunt Sou*, had told me that you wanted to poison Aunt and that Nèb has also heard this. I said I had not heard." Then, I asked Nèb, and Nèb had not heard this. I wrote a letter to Kuoy to ask for permission to meet Comrade Nan. At noon, Comrade Nan and Kuoy came and I took Nan into a room to tell her about that story. Comrade Nan said, "It is okay because I am here." I said, "What about the last time?" She said, "Nobody dared to do it because there were too many people. Do not say anything about it. The day will surely come." Then, we came back out. Comrade Nan told me to urgently phone her if there was anything wrong. She joked, "Soon it will be Comrade Sou, me, and Kuoy, all of us." Then Comrade Nan left my house.

That evening, I stood outside at a corner of the house. While *Ta Hong* (ហុង) was riding a motorbike from South to North, he saw me. He stopped to tell me, "If anything happens, you should escape. Find the networks. We have an exit abroad through Battambang. Our people—Sok and Nat— have already gone abroad." Since I had become stressed, my husband had visited me every night. He kept telling me that I should apologise to *Brother Văn* if I had done something wrong. I did not reply him. I simply said, "I do not have any problem." He told me to ask permission from Sister to go back with *Brother Văn*, but I did not do it because I was still reluctant. Then, the Party arrested me and brought me in during the morning on 3 March 1978.

This is the end of my report on the traitorous activities to the beloved and respected Party.

Sou