

Confession of Hu Nim

The Confession of Hu Nim, aka Phoas

(Arrested: April 10, 1977; Executed: July 6, 1977)

Brief Background: Hu Nim, Minister of Information and Propaganda. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1962, and completed a doctorate in public administration at the University of Phnom Penh in 1965. With Khieu Samphan and Hou Yun, he was a prominent spokesman for administrative and educational reform. Together the three MPs found time to establish and to teach in two lycees for poorer student. Many of their former students were active in distributing National United Front leaflets in Phnom Penh during the early stages of the war. The Guardian, London, April 18, 1975.

Translated by Eng Kok Thay

Documentation Center of Cambodia

I would like to report to the *Party* about my history.

- I. Birth and education
- II. 1952-1955: Participated in the “People’s Movement”.
- III. 1955-1957: School Life in France.
- IV. 1957-1960: Joined and Served CIA.
- V. 1961-1967: Carried out leftist activities [disguised identity and did normal tasks] but in reality worked for CIA.
- VI. 1968-1977: Mingled and burrowed within the party in an attempt to destroy the party for the sake of CIA (I reported to the party about this period of activity already).

I. Birth and Education

• 1930-1950

I was born in 1930 (the Year of the Horse) in Korkor Village, Korkor Sub-district, Kampong Siem District, Kampong Cham Province. My father, Hou, died in 1936 when I was just six years old. I then lived in the care of my mother, named Sorn, a poor peasant. She earned her living by offering household services to people living from Korkor to Kampong Reap (Koh Sotin District, Kampong Cham); from Kampong Reap to Dei Dos (in front of Krauch Chhma Market, Peam Koh Sna Sub-district, Stung Trang District); and from Dei Dos to Mien (Mien Sub-district, Prey Chhor District).

After marrying her second husband, who was a desperately poor farmer, my mother sent me to Sam Khor, also known as Elder "Nhep Nouv", at Mien Pagoda. Sam Khor brought me up and created favorable conditions for my studies at Mien Pagoda School, Prey Torting Elementary School, and Kampong Cham Junior High School. In 1950, I graduated from the junior high school, and after that I pursued my studies in Phnom Penh.

• 1950-1952

I continued my studies at Sisowath High School in Phnom Penh. I stayed at Onnalaom Pagoda in the monastery of a monk called Ta (grandpa) Menh. I lived in the care of the parents of my [future] wife. My [future] father-in-law's name was Va, and my mother-in-law's name was Leng. They were petty-bourgeois vendors at Tonle Bet Market, Tbaung Khmum District. My studies were made possible under auspices of their elderly in-laws. After two years attendance, I passed Baccalaureate I and Baccalaureate II (French System). In 1952, I and Comrade Yeat (born as Kim Lang) entered into marriage, and then we moved to Phnom Penh.

II. 1952-1955 Participated in the “People’s Movement”

• 1952

At Sisowath High School, I enrolled in the "People's Movement", which was headed by Uncle Sim. The Movement's members included: Tep Hong Kry, Chhut Chhoeu, Srei Rithy, Chan Youran, Leav Theaa Im, and myself. The movement served the CIA.

By the end of 1952, the situation intensified. "The movement members were forced to move into the jungle". Before departure, Uncle Sim called a meeting for a division of tasks:

1. Members who were to go into the jungle would be: Uncle Sim, Chhut Chhoeu, Tep Hong Kry, and Srei Rithy.
2. Members who were to stay and to continue to persuade and recruit more people to join the movement included: Chan Youran, Leav Thean Im, and me. (we separated after the meeting)

• **1953**

I and Chan Youran worked as school teachers at Thon Uk Junior High School (formerly the Kampuchbot Junior High School) in order to recruit more operatives with a view to enlarging our movement. Ul Chon and Pan Sothy (Commercial Sector) joined us. At the same time Leav Thean Im was working at the Paramedic School.

• **1954**

I studied Law and Economics at an institute located behind Sisowath High School. I passed the [year two] examination. We added a new member, Eap Kim Phan.

I became a full-time staff member at the Ministry of Interior responsible for editing texts (Cadre des Rédacteurs) instead of being a communal cadre, and also worked in Ministry of Planning, where Plek Phoeun was my immediate chief, and Nguon Sam Aok was the deputy chief of my department (These two individuals were CIA of the liberal world.)

• **1955**

I took part in the election campaign in favor of the Democratic Party in the field of the People's Movement. Uncle Sim and Tep Hong Kry stood for the election, but unfortunately, they lost. After that, we separated in search of further education suitable to our strategic goals, which served the missions of the CIA and U.S. imperialism. Uncle Sim studied in Moscow and the U.S.A. Chhut Chhoeu and Srei Rithy went to the U.S., while I went to France. Chan Youran and Leav Thean Im stayed in Cambodia. I won the French scholarship with the intervention by Phlek Phoeun and Mao Say. The school I was to attend was the School of Customs at Neay Yy (a Paris suburban area).

III. 1955-1957 My School Life in France

In the morning I traveled to custom school, while in the evening I traveled several hours by metro to reach law school. At night I had to prepare some topics for presentation at the School of Customs. I studied customs in order to become a customs officer.

Circles met: From university: Hou Yun, Khieng Kha On, In So Kan. Year-two students of School of Customs were: So Keng Thean, Hass Van (Cambodian customs officers), Muon Kolaunh (financial sector), Thaong Bunsay (embassy staff). After passing [year two] examination, the school assigned me to put the theories into real practice — examining merchandises at Marseille for a month before returning home. Political activities were not carried out because my studies required so much attention.

IV. 1957-1960 joined and served the CIA

I did not stand as a representative for national election immediately after returning from France. Instead, I worked in the Customs Department for three months in the law office with Koch San, who was one of Mao Say's partisans.

Eventually I prepared myself for being a representative. As I told our Party earlier, to be a representative in Sangkum Reastr Niyum (Popular Socialist Community) I needed two sponsors. I met Phlek Phoeun, who I had known long before. He introduced me to Mao Say, who was a high

CIA. They promised to support me in the election, on condition that “I accept their commands and accomplish missions given by the CIA”. In the end I consented to their requirements. From that time I was a CIA agent. They promised to promote me, and my activities were carried out in connection with Mao Say's from then on.

Mao Say then assigned me to participate in two CIA newspapers: 1. Liberal People (Prachea Serei) headed by contemptible Sim Va, a CIA. 2. Réalité Cambodgien managed by contemptible Bare (CIA).

These two newspapers were against people, revolution, socialism, and communism. They were written in favor of the U.S., capitalism, and imperialism.

To hide my real undertakings at the National Assembly, I joined the left wing chaired by Khieu Samphan, which was previously led by Uch Ven. At the same time, I communicated with the rightists headed by Hing Kanthel, So Nem, and Hou Yuon.

Another person working for the newspaper with whom I had made contact was Son Phuc Tho (Meato Phoum—*Motherland Newspaper*). Son Phuc Tho was a former assistant of Son Ngoc Thanh. Son Phuc Tho, who was a lover of democracy, capitalism, and imperialism, was against Cambodian revolution and its people. At the same time, he maintained close connections with the Embassy of North Viet Nam.

1959: As a representative of the Prachea Serei ("*Liberal People*") Newspaper, I joined a press delegation presided over by Son Phuc Tho that had members from the right wing's newspaper. The delegation visited the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and the United Arab Emirates. This visit gave the delegations a chance to see with their own eyes socialism in practice, which in contrast encouraged us to strengthen our stance against socialism. Son Phuc Tho, especially, criticized Socialism and encouraged the exercise of Capitalism of the U.S. whenever he talked to his Cambodian friends.

Upon returning home, Son Phuc Tho, along with other delegates and I, did not admire the Socialism (although at that time the matter of liberalism was not gaining so much momentum in the world).

V. 1961-1967 "Leftist (progressive) activities were just pictures, but their core meaning and strategic goals were for CIA's sake!"

• 1961

I was elected as vice president of the National Assembly, and became a member of two delegations: The first delegation, which was headed by King Norodom Sihanouk, was to attend the first summit of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The second delegation was led by Nhek Thioulong [pronounced Nhek Thioulong] (Neou Seng also participated), and was to attend the United Nation Assembly.

The image of activities in the fourth committee called "Colonialism Dissolution Committee" was an utterly distinct image, which concealed my service for the CIA. I consistently communicated with Nhek Thioulong (who was in Mao Say's CIA line).

• 1962—My activities at the National Assembly

In the examination process for the final decision to close down banks in Phnom Penh discussed at the National Assembly of Song Sak, I used my disagreement with contemptible Song Sak's idea and his supporters, Long Boret, Neou Ban, Duk Rasy, Kenthao de Montero (the discussion took a full day and a night) to hide the real essence and strategic goals of the CIA, which were to burrow within the revolutionary movement in an attempt to destroy the Cambodian revolution.

At the time Sangkum Reastr Niyum government faced crisis I worked with Chao Sen Kosal, known as Chhum (who was one of Son Ngoc Thanh's men) in order to persuade the government "from within the National Assembly" to provide enough rice for three months. At the

time I was a secretary of state responsible for commercial activities, while at the National Assembly I was a president of the Economic Commission.

Over time, I got closer to Sihanouk, who allowed me to take part in a delegation, chaired by Sihanouk himself, designed to make a formal visit to Indonesia. In the same year, I, with Uch Ven, organized a delegation representing the Cambodian Journalist Association in Cambodia. The delegation was appointed to join the first assembly of journalist associations from Asia and Africa to be held in Jakarta, Indonesia. There I met Nguyen Thi Binh, a representative of National Liberation Front Newspaper from South Viet Nam, and I also met another person from North Viet Nam.

My leftist activities, as a cover, were that the more activities I engaged in with socialist countries' embassies, especially with China, North Korea and North Viet Nam's, the warmer I felt.

• 1963

Sihanouk trusted me and therefore appointed me as a member of the Economic Reform Commission led by Son San. Chheam Vam and Ly Kim Heng were [also] members. After the establishment of a governmental organization (Sonexsim) in substitution for the private import-export company, Sihanouk appointed me to be a member of the administrative council of that organization. The council was chaired by Chheam Vorm, while Ly Kim Heng acted as a secretary-general.

From 1962-1963, Sihanouk invited me to write for the Nationalist newspaper (Neak Cheat Niyum) in order to assist the feudal capitalists and American imperialists.

By taking left views, socialist countries also visited other countries. This time along with Son Phuc Tho, I made trips to People's Republic of China, People's Republic of Korea, and North Viet Nam. The journey, of course, hid my real commitment and goals for the CIA even more. In North Viet Nam, Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong warmly greeted me and offered me, "Should your life in Cambodia faces so much difficulties that you may not endure, you will be welcomed to North Viet Nam at any time at your request." In order to conceal my activities of the CIA, Mao Say requested Sihanouk to have me removed from Sangkum Reastr Niyum, especially from the Nationalist newspaper, when I was in Hanoi.

Upon my return to Cambodia, in my writing, I praised Democratic Korea the most, followed by People's Republic of China and North Viet Nam, which I paid least attention to. My inscription implied my "progressive" manner. Yet, its in-depth meaning was serving the CIA. At that time, I could write only for a newspaper (La Dépêche newspaper), since I was no longer a member of the nationalist group after Sihanouk had removed me.

With the existence of a Chinese-Cambodian Friendship Association in Beijing, a request was made in order to found Cambodian-Chinese association in Phnom Penh. Soon after arriving in Cambodia, I began to make active preparation for creating the association so that no suspicion of my relationship with the CIA would never be made.

• 1964

My busiest job was founding the Cambodian-Chinese Friendship Association. I began this job by gathering the right-wingers, who would act as the committee of the association, "the founders of the association," They included Hin Dy, Chairman of the Committee, Meas Sa Em, Phy Thean Lay, Eap Kim Phan, Hing Kantel, So Nem, and Hou Yun as members. These people were all right-wingers. With these elements it would be easier to carry out missions of the CIA.

[I] prepared a statute complying with the rules of the enemies in effect and kept it in the court. Then I recruited more and more members into the association, most of whom were right-wingers. Lists of left-wingers were being prepared by Uch Ven. As a result, I managed to recruit members of the Steering Committee. Leng Nget was appointed as President of the Committee. Hin Dy and So Nem became First and Second Vice President. I myself played a role as a Secretary General, while Vann Tip Sovan, Phy Thean Lay, Svay Borei, Eap Kim Phan, and Hou Yun acted as consultants. These individuals were the right-wingers, which enabled me to collect more and more colleagues to work for the American imperialists against the Cambodian people

and the [existing] revolution. With the apparently open leftism, the People's Republic of China felt so secure with my activities that the Chinese-Cambodian Friendship Association in Beijing sent their director, Mr. Tin Shi Ling, (Vice Minister) to participate in the inaugural ceremony of our association, which was held in the Theater of Phnom Penh.

In addition to my hard work in the association and in the National Assembly, that year (1964) I spent a great deal of time writing a required second dissertation for my law school's "doctorate in law". In 1961-1962, I wrote my first dissertation on "The situation and characteristics of the legality of Kampuchea Krom territory, which had belonged to the Khmer People". In order to get a doctoral degree, a student is required to write two dissertations. My second dissertation was entitled "About Ministry of Economy in Cambodia". The idea of my paper was "Leftist and Progressive Tendencies" so that I could hide my real identity as a servant of the American imperialist and the CIA. In this dissertation "I wrote extensively about the failure of economic reform in Cambodia. I had credible evidence and data to support my argument. Sonexsim, for example, had lost 700 million riel annually in the exportation of rice since that state organization was formed. I argued that this resulted from the existing exploiting economics system and its relationships of production. I pointed out the current statistics which showed confiscation of land by a small number of the feudal landlords and capitalists, resulting in land shortages for farmers, tax burdens, and the losses of Sonexsim, which fell upon the workers and peasants. I concluded that negative impact of the exploiting characteristics of the current economic system would not only cause failure and plunge the country's economy into devastating crisis, but also sharpen the contradictions among workers, peasants and feudal classes, landlords, and capitalists. The only solution was revolution." This writing was, therefore, another document, which helped to cover up my undertakings for the purposes of the CIA. In the case of "twenty four persons event" concocted by the enemies to accuse [these people] of being "leftists and progressives", the enemies also jotted my name down on the list in order to hide my identity.

• 1965

The successive revolutionary struggles of Kampuchea Krom residents under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea appeared to be stronger and stronger — from attacking the U.S. embassy in 1964 to driving the U.S. embassy out of the country the year (1965) the U.S. embassy was closed down.

My reaction in the National Assembly at that time was pretending to support the severing of diplomatic relations with the U.S. in order that I could hide my true identity in favor of CIA. For the same reason, I joined a Complaint Commission led by Sovanret of the National Assembly. The commission resolved land disputes for the people in some areas— the confiscation of land of 100 families in Prey Veng by contemptible Sam Sary and Lon Nol. The commission decided to solve certain land claims for the people in Krava, Prey Torting, Kang Meas, and in Battambang.

My leftist activities made the embassy of People's Republic of China in Phnom Penh trust me even more and (I) felt warmer. The current first consultant of the Chinese Embassy, who used to come to Cambodia before the liberation, knows me very well. This year the Chinese-Cambodian Friendship Association invited for the first time the delegation of the Cambodia-China Friendship Association in Cambodia to visit China. I led the delegation accompanied by Vann Tip Sovan, Sam Chaing, Ol Chan, Svay Borei, Phy Thean Lay, and Eap Kim Phan (all were rightists).

At the time of our visit, the Cultural Revolution had not yet broken out. Therefore Zhou Enlai greeted us before President Liu Shaoqi did.

Only when we arrived in Cambodia did the Cultural Revolution take place, and Liu Shaoqi was removed from power. In the same year in Indonesia, Suharto, (a secret agent of the American imperialists) staged a coup and took over power from Sukarno and suppressed the Communist Party of Indonesia. (This event occurred when we were in Beijing.) In 1965, I stayed very close with Sreng of Prey Torting (one of Khuon's agents), after I came back from Beijing. The clique of contemptible Kou Run arrested twenty-two teachers who had a close relationship with and supported me, including a wood merchant named Tang Leng, sellers, teachers, and farmers from Trapeang Bei and Kok villages. The evidence used to back the arrest was a book of mine entitled "Imperialism Nears Death", and the reason for this capture was that they assisted

the 1966 election preparations for Lon Nol's power holding. Indeed, they were also accused of attempting to conceal my CIA activities. It was because of the apprehension of these twenty-two people that Sreng and I began to work with each other. Sreng used a motion printed with fingerprints of people to make a complaint for the release of those people to my house located close to Pet Lok Sang [Monk] Hospital. It was until early 1966 that they released those people. Some like Master Leng had to pay a bribe of hundreds of thousands of riel in exchange for his release. Since the beginning, in order to conceal my work with the CIA, I had been forming close relationships with the left-wing people, especially with comrade Khieu Samphan and Uch Ven. In addition, after the coup in Indonesia in 1965, I received instructions from comrade Khieu Samphan to meet with Son San and explained to him about the Indonesian situation.

Through Son San, my explanation reached Sihanouk and particularly advised him that "the most formidable danger is from the right-wing, like the real case in Indonesia". I accepted this responsibility in order to conceal my CIA cooperation. And, for the same reason, I joined comrade Pok De Komar to (write) feature articles of analysis on the Indonesian coup d'état for La Dépêche newspaper.

• 1966

The busiest task was launching the election campaign for the upcoming election to choose the new representatives of Sangkum Reastr Niyum. It was during this time that Sreng of Prey Torting and I met and cooperated closely. Lon Nol's clique tried to stop Sihanouk from choosing more candidates. In previous elections, Sihanouk and the Sangkum Reastr Niyum commission selected the candidates. Once they had chosen, no one could say anything. Hence, the election was just a show procedure. In order to completely grasp hold of power country-wide, Lon Nol's group prevented the committee of Sihanouk from carrying out the selection. Instead everyone was persuaded to resort to a notion called "Pradall Serei" ("Kick-Boxing"), according to which whoever won the election would become a representative. Sreng and Khuon, who were also CIAs, also joined in this free competition as a result of my help. And that gave me confidence that our group was as formidable as theirs. Comrade Sei (born as Leng Sim Hak—stayed in Phnom Penh since April 17 and today), who was in my line, met me at my home. He told me to publish leaflets for the campaign describing my biography. Without hesitation, I prepared to do what he told me. Comrade Sei told me he'd received advice from the bases. I did not stay at Kao's residence in Prey Torting, since he had been arrested by enemies. Instead I stayed in Mien in a house of a teacher named Tum Yon. Sreng sent two secret messengers to meet me in Mien. One of the messengers was nicknamed "Kok". So, I sent my campaign-oriented leaflets with these messengers in order to have them given to people in various villages and communes. I myself also disseminated those items. The opponent had three members who were now against me.

1. Chum Sarun (a representative of Lon Nol)
2. Sos Sa On (Y Tuy)
3. Va Kimton (Kou Run)

The campaign was very tough. The group of Chum Sarun and Sos Sa On were sometimes showered with stones by youths when they ventured into some areas. When the campaign got tougher, Sreng sent comrade Chham (Mei San, a teacher at Prey Torting, who used to be my classmate) to get me one night and brought me to work at a secret house (close to the house of Sreng's father, in front of Tamak pagoda). The meeting examined the result of the campaign, our situation, and the opponent's conditions so that we could set up new measures to be carried out until the election day. A day before the voting began, Kou Run sent spies armed with pistols to Prey Chhor, and those spies threatened people not to vote for me. Lon Nol's group sent even the wives of the soldiers to participate in the election. Also, they disrupted the election, and almost destroyed all the ballot boxes. In the end, we won the election. After the election the situation became even more intense. We won only three centers; Sa-ang to Comrade Khieu Samphan, Chrey Vien (Prey Chhor) to me, Kang Meas, and Hou Yun. The rest we lost to Lon Nol's group. After the first meeting of the National Assembly, they carried Lon Nol cheering out of the National Assembly building. Finally, although Sihanouk felt hesitation, contemptible Lon Nol had the government under his control. When Lon Nol got the power, Sihanouk appeared to realize. But it was too late. In order to cope with such circumstances Sihanouk created a so-called "Parah Government" by taking Khieu Samphan, me, Hou Yun, Phok Chhay, and So Nem as members.

As a countermeasure, Lon Nol proposed to Sihanouk that he abolish this program. After that, the enemies heightened their investigation into my case. My daily activities were coming and going to the National Assembly and to the Cambodian-Chinese Friendship Association, which at the time was busy with preparing an exhibition of Chinese traditional arts. The exhibition was open to the public until early 1967.

• **Late 1966 to 1967**

There was a struggle movement in Samlot. There were strong revolutionary demonstrations against the government of Lon Nol in front of Parah Government and National Assembly. When he returned from France, Sihanouk held a conference at Meru Terrace and made accusations against comrade Khieu Samphan, Hou Yun, and myself. Sihanouk invited comrade Khieu Samphan to debate with him at Sa-ang. Even under this tension, our exhibition of Chinese cultural and artistic tools, which was held in a building North of the National Bank, was extremely enjoyable for many people.

It was at this time that Sihanouk summoned me for a confrontation at Prey Torting. The district office was overcrowded. Sihanouk took his seat on the platform, while I was on a normal seat. A handful of people were ready to fight. Sihanouk only threatened me and then returned to Phnom Penh. The exhibition, though, continued its operation. After the exhibition, we prepared to celebrate the Fourth Anniversary of the birth of the Khmer-Chinese Friendship Association in mid-1967. It was during that period that Sreng brought me to have a secret meeting with Khuon. The meeting took place at night in Kapp Touk Village, south of Prey Torting District. I did not remember the exact date. As I have told our party already, Khuon said nothing significant, except to inform me that I could leave at any time with any direction. Additionally, he expressed his pleasure at the results of the 1966 election. It was during this time that the enemies suppressed the residents of Samlot, Battambang Province. One after another, people fled to the jungle.

In July 1967 Lon Nol led several military officers to meet with Sihanouk and suggest that he give the order to arrest the three of us. This was another technique used by Mao Say, in order that the party would not suspect me and that I could burrow within the revolutionary movement even deeper. As a result, on Pisakh Bochea Day in front of the Mony Chetdei Shrine, Sihanouk noted very clearly in his statement concerning Lon Nol's proposal to capture us. Comrades Khieu Samphan and Hou Yun were also present at that ceremony. And it was at that time that I realized that "the line of Mao Say were also the line of Khuon", for Mao Say told me in the ceremony about the founding of a new party of the CIA, and suggested that it was the right time for me to retreat to the forest to meet Koy Thuon, who was Khuon. After Pisakh Bochea Day, the situation changed because comrades Khieu Samphan and Hou Yun left the country. Sihanouk altered the situation by pretending to remove Lon Nol from his post, and appointed Pen Nut to takeover Lon Nol's responsibilities. Then, Sihanouk ordered Pen Nut to persuade the inhabitants of Samlot who had fled into the jungle to return to the community. A couple of days later, I also fled. But then I met Brother Vorn, who advised me to return home.

• **August and September of 1967**

Since August the Friendship Association had been preparing to celebrate the Fourth Anniversary to be held on September 4, 1967. It was very busy at the association, especially because there was dance practice for the show during that occasion. The General Student Association led by Phok Chhay was also busy with activities in that year. There were meetings, anniversary celebrations, and nighttime dancing. This association was also the CIA's. It was in August 1967, I guess, Van Tep Sovan, Phok Chhay, and I met at the new office of the association talking about the creation of new Marxist-Leninist party in order to gather more recruits hiding in the Communist Party of Cambodia, who would burrow and destroy the party from within. I have reported to the party in detail before. I think that Tit Mao would stay on for another period of time in dealing with the creation of this new party. In September 1967, Sihanouk, who had quarreled with us, declared his intention to close down Khmer-Chinese Friendship Association, and other associations. In addition the situation changed. September 4, 1967 was the last day on which the Association celebrated a farewell festival attended by all staff of the Chinese Embassy. From that time the situation changed day-by-day. Sihanouk was even enraged by the Chinese telegrams in support of the Association. Regarding Khuon and Sreng and their men, to quicken my departure to the jungle, they suggested I gather Prey Torting residents' complaints to Sihanouk calling for the reopening of the Association. Seeing the protest, Sihanouk was even more enraged. The

following day, he ordered Chey En to invite me to have a face-to-face discussion with him at a school (Prey Torting High School) guarded by military forces. Khuon and Sreng had also taken such a measure. In the end, Sihanouk just reprimanded and threatened me. That day was October 1, 1967. In Phnom Penh the government celebrated the Chinese Independent day of October 1. I did not participate.

It was at that time that Pok De Komar met me in Phnom Penh and prepared for my departure on October 7, 1967, as I had told the party.

VI. 1968-1977 Mingled with the party members to destroy the party to serve the CIA. Details of my activities in that period of time have already been reported to the Party.

May 3, 1977

(Signature)

Phoas

- i Foreigners Killed at S-21
- i Royal Family Members at S-21
- i Vietnamese Prisoners of War Executed at Tuol Sleng