

THE KHMER ROUGE DIVISION 703: From Victory to Self-destruction



Huy Vannak

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មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលឯកសារកម្ពុជា

Searching for the truth

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

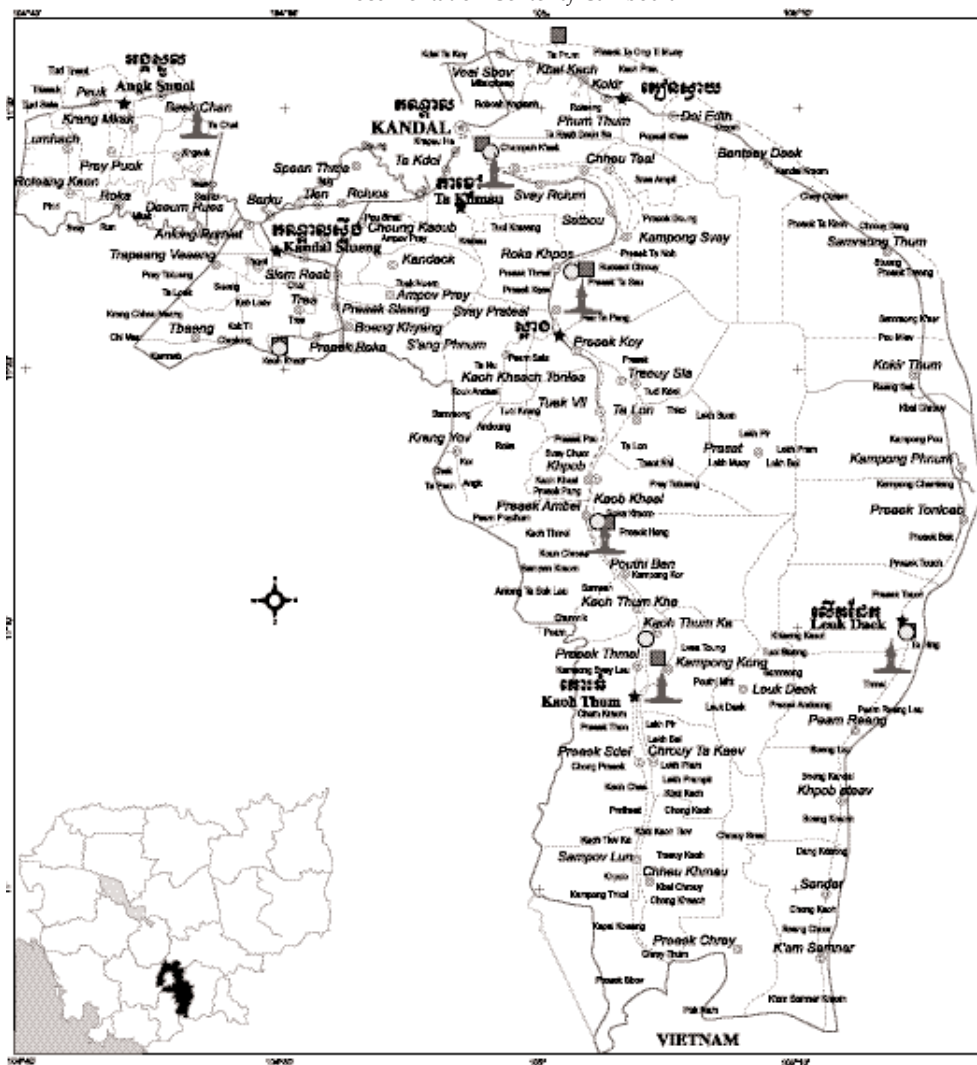
Preface

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. The Creation of the 703rd Division	5
Chapter 3. Drafting the Troops	10
Chapter 4. April 17, 1975: The Liberation of Phnom Penh	21
Chapter 5. Evacuating the People	25
Chapter 6. Sweeping the City Clean	32
Chapter 7. The Beginnings of the 703rd Division	35
Chapter 8. At the General Staff	42
Chapter 9. The 704th Special Forces Battalion	57
Chapter 10. Screening out Enemy Elements	61
Chapter 11. At Prey Sar Prison	67
Chapter 12. Office S-21: Tuol Sleng Prison	76
Chapter 13. The End of the Revolution	109
Chapter 14. Returning to the Past	118
Appendix A. The Research and Publication Projects of DC-Cam	127
Endnotes	135
Bibliography	175
About the Author	202
About the Translator and Editor	203

Region 25, Killing Site Map of Democratic Kampuchea

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ប្រាសាទសម្រាប់ប្រយោជន៍សាសនា ចំនួន ១១
Genocide memorial II



មន្ទីរសន្តិសុខ (គុក) ចំនួន ២១
Security office (Prison) 21



ទីតាំងកំហុសពិបាក ចំនួន ២៩ (រាប់ពីសាកសពត្រូវប្រយោជន៍ ៨៩៤)
Killing sites 29 (Mass graves, est. 894)



PREFACE

For many years, Cambodians have awaited justice for the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge, whose Democratic Kampuchea regime governed the country between April 17, 1975 and January 6, 1979. Their abuses have hung like a dark shadow over the lives of the victims and their families, and hindered our nation's development.

Since the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) was founded in January 1995, we have been deeply engaged in the search for truth and accountability with respect to the Khmer Rouge period. That process has often been very challenging. However, as a result of the concerted efforts of Cambodians and concerned members of the international community, significant strides have been made toward justice in Cambodia. At last, the prospect of a legal accounting is clearly in sight.

On March 17, 2003, representatives from the United Nations and Cambodian Government initialed a draft agreement that would establish extraordinary chambers to hear cases against senior leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and those who were most responsible for the crimes and serious violations while the regime held power. On May 2, the Third Committee of the United Nations adopted the draft agreement by consensus. On May 13, the UN's 191-member General Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution containing the draft agreement, which led to the agreement signed on June 6, 2003 by H.E. Mr. Hans Corell, United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and H.E. Mr. Sok An, Senior Minister, Minister in Charge of the Office of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Task Force for Cooperation with Foreign Legal Experts and Preparation of the Proceedings for the Trial of Senior Khmer Rouge Leaders of the Cambodian Government. The United States has agreed to continue providing diplomatic support for the tribunal, regardless of when it is set up. The Cambodian National Assembly is widely expected to approve the draft in the very near future.

These developments mark a major step forward in the long and difficult process of coping with Cambodia's tragic past. They reflect the international and domestic will to put an end to impunity and help Cambodians move toward a brighter and more prosperous future. I welcome the progress achieved in recent months and encourage continued cooperation between Cambodian and international authorities.

I wish to thank the many individuals and organizations that have made this progress possible. Overcoming impunity requires courage, dedication, and resources. Many governments and private citizens have pushed for justice in Cambodia, and their efforts are coming to fruition.

Many have chosen to support truth and accountability by assisting DC-Cam as well, and we are profoundly grateful. Since 1995, DC-Cam has profited from a community of concerned volunteers, expert advisors, and international donors. We have also reaped the benefits of collaboration with like-minded governmental and non-governmental organizations, and villagers in Cambodia's 22 provinces that share our goal of achieving justice in Cambodia. Without their generous financial, legal, historical, and technical support, the success of our work would have been imperiled.

The same will be true of the upcoming Khmer Rouge tribunal. The agreement adopted by the United Nations Third Committee is an important start, but it cannot guarantee the success of the tribunal in delivering the credible justice that Cambodians deserve. Significant concerns remain about the political will needed to ensure the tribunal's credibility. A successful tribunal will therefore require the continued engagement of local and international citizens and groups, via both direct participation and constructive criticism.

The same friends of justice who have helped the process reach its current point must stay involved in the search for justice and see it through to its conclusion. Financial, legal and technical support will be imperative, as will the dissemination of the tribunal's activities to a national and worldwide audience. Governments, NGOs, and individuals each have important skills to contribute. Together, we can ensure that justice is done and that a Khmer Rouge tribunal

serves to advance reconciliation and the rule of law, in Cambodia and abroad.

Finally, while a Khmer Rouge tribunal is an extremely important step in the search for justice, memory, and national reconciliation, it can never be sufficient. Dealing with the legacy of the Khmer Rouge period is a long-term process in Cambodia. It involves reconstructing the economy, strengthening the organs of democracy, and educating the younger generations. It also entails psychological healing and forgiveness in local communities. A tribunal will support these processes, but it will not eliminate the need for them.

I wish to thank the many individuals who work every day to bring about these aspects of reconciliation in Cambodia. We are hopeful that concerned Cambodians and members of the international community will help the country heal and develop well into the future.

Vannak Huy is a member of the Cambodian community who has worked for the past three years to build a peaceful society in our country. His monograph describes the lives of young Khmer Rouge soldiers in Division 703. The surviving cadres of the Division whom Vannak has interviewed see themselves as victims of Democratic Kampuchea - the regime they served nearly a quarter century ago. But in the eyes of many of the civilians who suffered between April 17, 1975 and January 6, 1979, when nearly million Cambodian people died of starvation, forced labor, and illness, or were executed, they are not victims, but perpetrators.

However, without hearing the voices of these young comrades, how can one know the whole truth? Listening to the other side of the story, we can begin to eliminate the bitterness, hatred and intolerance that are the legacy of decades of civil war.

Youk Chhang, Director
Documentation Center of Cambodia
Phnom Penh, June 6, 2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I was growing up, I heard my family members describe the difficulties they faced during the Khmer Rouge regime (all seven people in my immediate family were confined to an agricultural labor site). I had no direct knowledge of this period, being born in 1978 in a Khmer Rouge sub-district hospital. My parents told me that the hospital sat on a low hill covered with mango and tamarind trees. It was surrounded by the graves of people executed by the Khmer Rouge as the “enemies of Angkar.”

My research at the Documentation Center of Cambodia, and particularly the interviews I conducted with the regime's victims and perpetrators, have given me the opportunity to learn much more about what my family - and indeed, all families in Cambodia - experienced between 1975 and 1979.

This work is dedicated to the nearly two million people who lost their lives under the Khmer Rouge. Among them are my grandfather Yit Sin, who died of starvation, and my elder brother Huy Vannath, who disappeared in Pursat province during early 1979 when the Khmer Rouge herded the populace toward northwestern Cambodia.

I wish to acknowledge my debts to my dear respected father Huy Phon and my dear mother Yit Kim Leng, who raised and cared for me despite countless great obstacles, and made many sacrifices so that I might get a proper education. I would also like to thank my older siblings who taught me about society and my younger siblings who bestowed upon me their hopes and warmth. Especially, I wish to thank my wife Ou Putheavy for raising my spirits and giving me her much-needed support during the writing of this monograph.

My deepest gratitude goes to Youk Chhang, the director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia, and to Sim Sorya, head of its

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Last, I am indebted to the veterans of the 703rd Division for sharing their memories with me. Recalling those terrible times is an act of courage, and without the recollections of these 40 men and woman, this monograph would not have been possible. They made history come alive for me.

My deepest gratitude to the United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) for providing financial support on this research paper.

Phnom Penh, April 17, 2003
Huy Vannak

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION



Base People, Region 25, 1977 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

On the fertile plain not far south of Phnom Penh, the national liberation movement began building its revolutionary force in the 1960s. In the middle of the decade, Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, then the leader of the Sangkumreastriyum regime and king of Cambodia (he later renounced the throne and took the title of prince), stepped up the suppression of this leftist movement, which he called the “Khmer Rouge.”¹

Many members of the Khmer Rouge fled to the forests and mountainous areas to avoid arrest by Sihanouk's forces.² From there, they propagandized and recruited members.³

The Khmer Rouge named its armed forces the "Revolutionary Army" (*kangtoap padevoat*) or "The Peoples National Liberation Army" (*kang kamlang pradap avout pracheachon rumdos cheat Kampuchea*), and began carrying out raids in a number of regions in early 1968. Large-scale armed conflict broke out in nineteen provinces shortly thereafter (subsequently, the Khmer Rouge made January 17, 1968 the anniversary of its armed struggle).⁴

Pol Pot proudly recalled, "We had very few weapons in the early armed struggle. There were ten firearms in the Northwest Zone, four in the Eastern Zone, and four in the Northern Zone. In the Northeastern Zone there were five weapons, including four to defend the Party Center."⁵ Of all the Communist Party of Kampuchea's (CPK) armies, Pol Pot singled out the Southwestern Zone (the home of what was to become the 703rd Division) as "remarkable."⁶ The Southwestern Zone's army attacked and seized nearly 200 weapons from the Sangkumreasnyum regime in February 1968. Pol Pot was again full of praise for them: "This was an outstanding number when compared to the other zones."

The Revolutionary Army continued to expand and by early 1970, had about 50,000 soldiers.⁷ On March 18th, while Sihanouk was out of the country, his government was overthrown by General Lon Nol's Khmer Republic forces. Five days later, Sihanouk announced his opposition to the coup and dissolved both the government and National Assembly. He then created a new royal government called the "Kampuchea National Unification Government" and the "Kampuchea National Unification Front," and appealed for insurrection throughout Cambodia.

Khmer Rouge members Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn and Hou Nim, who were being hunted by Sihanouk's forces, declared their support for the prince. They were quickly rewarded. On May 3, 1970, Sihanouk was elected chairman of the National Unification Front and Samdech Pen Nuth became its prime minister. The government was then divided into two parts. One was headquartered

outside Cambodia and was to be responsible for relations with those inside. The other was headquartered inside the country. It was led by Khieu Samphan, who became deputy prime minister for national defense and commander of the People's National Liberation Army.⁸ Hou Yuon was made minister of interior, rural reform and cooperatives, and Hou Nim was appointed to be minister of propaganda and information.

Supporting Sihanouk also proved to be an astute maneuver in terms of gaining recruits for the Khmer Rouge army, which was about to enter a five-year war (1970 to 1975) with the Khmer Republic. Invoking both Sihanouk's name and the Khmer Republic's bombings of the countryside, the Khmer Rouge were successful in persuading the country's young people to join and serve the revolution. The Revolutionary Army, primarily composed of rural males from the ages of 15 to 18, volunteered to serve the Khmer Rouge, convinced that they could return Sihanouk to power. But after the Khmer Rouge prevailed over Lon Nol's government on April 17, 1975, Sihanouk was rendered powerless and spent most of the next several years in exile in China and France.

In a 1978 speech commemorating the birth of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Pol Pot stated, "April 17, 1975 was a great victory the likes of which have never before been seen in the more than 2,000 year history of Kampuchea. Killing the enemies of the revolution has been another miraculous victory, next to the events of April 17."⁹ On May 10, 1978, he made an announcement on the Voice of Democratic Kampuchea radio:

We must fight to defend Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We must live autonomously, defending ourselves. We must attempt to smash increasing numbers of enemies, as many as possible, and try to maintain our forces at the maximum. We have a small force, but we must attack large forces. This is our guiding slogan.¹⁰

The 703rd Division serves as an example of how Pol Pot's slogans and theories became reality. Initially, its soldiers were an important part of the machinery that "smashed" and "swept clean" the regime's "external" enemies: those associated with the Lon Nol Regime and the Vietnamese. Later, they formed the bulk of the staff at Office S-21, the Party's central-level prison, and its branch office

S-21D. As the regime began to turn in on itself, it increased the arrests and executions of its “internal” enemies (those within its own ranks). Many of the soldiers and other cadres in the 703rd fell into this category.

From a force of around 6,000 in 1976, only a small number of the Division's combatants survived the battlefield and Party purges. This monograph focuses on the lives of 40 of the survivors, 9 of whom were once assigned to Office S-21 and 3 others who served at Office S-21D. Its source materials also include audio cassettes, photographs, and “prisoner execution lists” (*banhchi kamtech neak tos*) from Office S-21, which date from late 1975 through late 1978. These lists contain the names of approximately 20,000 people who were killed at the prison; at least 482 of them were cadres in the 703rd Division.¹¹

Chapter 2

THE CREATION OF THE 703rd DIVISION



Khmer Rouge Army ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

The 703rd Division was among the elite forces of the Khmer Rouge. In an October 9, 1975 meeting of the CPK's Standing Committee, Pol Pot praised the bravery of its combatants and held the Division up as an example for other units to follow, especially those of the less-favored Eastern Zone: "The combat policies of the 12th Division are highly skilled. This division is a model much studied by comrade Phan's¹² 170th Division."¹³

Region 25: The Birthplace of the 703rd

Cambodia's traditional geopolitical divisions have been the zone, region, district, subdistrict, and village. Prior to 1970, Region

25 was part of the Southwestern Zone and during the Khmer Republic, it was placed under the administration of the Special Zone. After 1975, the CPK Central Committee dissolved the Special Zone and Region 25 was reassigned to the Southwestern Zone.¹⁴ It consisted of five districts: Kandal Steung (District 153), Kien Svay (District 16), Sa-ang (District 20), Koh Thom (District 18), and Leuk Dek (District 14).¹⁵

The region was bordered by Phnom Penh (District 55) to the north, Vietnam to the south, Region 24 to the east (Region 24 was in the Eastern Zone), and Prey Kabas and Bati districts of Region 33 to the west (Region 33 was in the Southwestern Zone).¹⁶

Although Region 25 enjoyed fertile soil and a diversity of crops, the majority of its people lived in poverty. The people living in the region were diverse, with ethnic Cambodians tending farms inland, those of Chinese heritage living in urban and peri-urban areas, and ethnic Vietnamese and the Cham Muslim population living along the area's rivers.¹⁷

The Division and its Forerunners

During 1970 the cadres of Region 25 organized their military forces at the battalion level, including a red female (*neary krahom*) battalion, a special forces battalion, an infantry battalion, and an artillery battalion. Each battalion had a troop strength of approximately 300.¹⁸ At that time, no regiments had been formed in the region.¹⁹

In January 1972, the Khmer Rouge Special Zone Committee created the 267th Regiment in Region 25. It was placed under the command of In Lon, known as "Nath," and Khoem Pin, known as "Pin." This regiment was usually deployed in the southern part of the Special Zone and kept its headquarters mobile in order to avoid

* In this text, Khmer names are given in their natural order; that is, family name followed by given name. It is common style in Cambodia for families to use the father's given name as the "family" name for children.

attack by Lon Nol forces.²⁰ In August, comrade Nath recruited combatants from three of the regiment's battalions to form the 52nd Reconnaissance Unit, which was under the command of the 267th.

In June 1974, when the Khmer Rouge forces were expanding the liberated zone, the Special Zone Committee announced that the 267th Regiment was to be elevated to become the 12th Division. At the same time, the 52nd Reconnaissance Unit was transformed into the 143rd Special Forces Battalion of the 12th Division[†]. A large celebration was held at Watt Sampan in Koh Thom subdistrict of Region 25 to mark the genesis of the 12th Division.²¹

In September 1974, the 53rd Special Forces Battalion, which was part of the 267th Regiment, was dissolved and its personnel moved into the 143rd Special Forces Battalion.²² The 143rd had the important mission of pre-attack surveillance. Its 300 combatants received more rigorous tactical training than other parts of the division. The 143rd was led by political officer Khim Vath, known as Hor, and commander Math.²³

On July 22, 1975, a ceremony to mark the establishment of the revolutionary army of the Kampuchean Communist Party Center was organized inside the compound of the Olympic Stadium. In attendance were some 3,000 members of the Revolutionary Army.²⁴ On that day, the 12th Division became the 703rd Division²⁵ and the 143rd Special Forces Battalion became the 704th Special Forces Battalion.

The Structure of the 703rd Division

The 703rd Division was considered an outstanding unit among the nine divisions under the General Staff or the "Center."²⁶ It held three regiments and five battalions, and also oversaw a hospital, a communications and radio unit, and the 703rd Military School.

[†] Military units, in descending order of size, are: division, brigade, regiment, battalion, company, and platoon.

After the division was reorganized, a number of its combatants with “clean personal histories” were chosen to serve in other offices and ministries. Among them was the Central Security Office S-21. Office S-21, which today is known as the Tuol Sleng Prison, began operations in March 1975.

The number of combatants in the Division fluctuated. Statistics from January 1976 show the total personnel strength of the 703rd Division at 6,168. Its numbers declined slightly to 5,989 by May 1976 and again to 5,369 by March 1977.²⁷

Relations with the Eastern Zone

In 1972, Chan Chakrei, an Eastern Zone military commander, led two of his regiments in coordination with the 267th Regiment and other Region 25 units in a campaign against the Tonle Bassak River and National Highway 1 corridors. But when the Eastern Zone forces reached Region 25, conflicts arose. Eastern Zone combatant So Rin stated, “If soldiers from the Eastern Zone moved about independently, they were captured by Region 25 forces and shot on the spot.”²⁸ Moeng Samnang, the Koh Thom district security chairman, wrote in his confession that, “Ta Sok [chief of Region 25] issued orders to the military and security forces throughout the region to guard the roads most carefully and to detain any of the Eastern Zone forces of Chan Chakrei who were traveling in the region without carrying a travel permit.”²⁹

Within two years, however, the two forces were working together. During the dry season of 1974, after the United States stopped its air war over Cambodia, the CPK prepared plans for a large-scale “storming attack” on the perimeter of Phnom Penh. The CPK adopted a four-point strategy: 1) attack the lower Mekong to cut Khmer Republic supply and communication routes, 2) attack the perimeter and then inside the city of Phnom Penh, 3) attack a number of provincial cities controlled by the Khmer Republic, and 4) simultaneously attack elsewhere so the FANK (the Khmer Republic Army) forces would be unable to withdraw and intervene.³⁰ In response, the 12th Division's committee worked with Region 25 and Chan Chakrei's Eastern Zone forces to create the “United Tonle Mekong Regiment.” This new unit fought on the Neak Loeung, Ka-

om Samnor, and Tonle Mekong battlefields, which were the last important economic routes of the Khmer Republic. The United Tonle Mekong Regiment was subordinate to the 12th Division.

The Mekong Regiment had three battalions, one of which was the 127th Artillery Battalion. The other two were to maintain security for the Artillery Battalion, and raid the naval transports carrying supplies and ammunition from Vietnam along the Mekong River to Phnom Penh. All supplies for the people of Phnom Penh and the forces defending it had to be brought in from Vietnam in large vessels traversing the Mekong. The supply ships always navigated at night, and were defended by both marine and aviation units. But they were still attacked by 12th Division artillery and commandos.³¹ In October 1974, forces from the 12th Division and Eastern Zone cooperated again in attacks along sections of National Highways 1, 21, and 2.³²

A joint communiqué by Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon, and Hou Nim announced, "South of Phnom Penh we attacked the enemy at Prek Hau. We threaten Takhmau and frighten the enemy. One large-scale victory with an important strategic meaning is the attack southeast of Phnom Penh by the armed forces of the National Unification Front's Special Zone against the enemy west of the Tonle Thom River in Leuk Dek district in combination with the Eastern Zone military force's liberation of the Mekong River."³³ On April 1, 1975, the 12th Division controlled all of the districts comprising the battlefield along the Mekong River.³⁴ Sixteen days later, it controlled Phnom Penh, and the Khmer Rouge Regime took power.

Chapter 3

DRAFTING THE TROOPS



Khmer Rouge Army, 1978 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

The Kampuchean Revolutionary Army was born of the workers, the farmers and the people of the poor and base classes. From its creation until today, if we speak of its class composition, the poor farming class has made up the vast majority, followed by the lower middle class farmers. The poor farmers and the lower middle class farmers make up 98 percent of the cadres and combatants. The middle class farmers and other elements participate as well. The poor people are the source of the revolutionary army and are the forces of the expansion of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army.³⁵

Pol Pot, secretary of the CPK Central Committee, at a general conference commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, January 17, 1978

From 1970 to 1975, clashes between the Khmer Rouge and Lon Nol troops escalated. Over this same period, the United States dropped 540,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia, killing 150,000 people.³⁶ Fearing for their lives, many villagers fled to the forests, while others dug bunkers in

which to hide. Still others left their homes for Phnom Penh.³⁷

But the vast majority had only two options: to continue on with their lives or join the revolution. Interviews with former Division 703 combatants revealed that many young men and women volunteered for military service between 1970 and 1973. Their reasons for doing so were many and varied. Some joined the Khmer Rouge in the belief that they would put an end to the war, and others out of a desire for revenge, to escape poverty, or other personal motivations. And always urging them on were several forces, including Prince Sihanouk and local officials, the propaganda machine of the Khmer Rouge, and indoctrination/recruitment on the part of the education system and Communist Youth League.

Initially, only a few young people were taken into the army by force.³⁸ As the war dragged on and volunteerism diminished, however, conscription began to be a favored method of recruitment. Ham Chheng, a squad leader in the 704th Special Forces Battalion of Division 703, stated that all youths had to serve the revolutionary army. None could avoid military duty.³⁹

The Volunteer Movement

Fueled by their hatred of the bombings conducted by both the Lon Nol regime and the United States, many youths joined the revolution, believing that they might be able to put an end to war in Cambodia. In their recruiting efforts, the Khmer Rouge played to these feelings. Kuong San, a messenger combatant of the 703rd Division, volunteered to join the Khmer Rouge army at age 14:

In late 1971 aircraft bombed my house and killed my mother. In early 1972 subdistrict cadres came in to recruit for the army. Because of my pain over the bombing, I volunteered to join. The subdistrict chairman would not permit me to become a soldier, but I ran off and joined anyway. When I first joined, I became a messenger/runner for the division headquarters. Every now and then, I led a youth unit in transporting ammunition to units on the battlefield front.⁴⁰

Faith to Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk and anti-Lon Nol sentiment were strong among many young people. On March 23, 1970, for example, Sihanouk appealed to the Cambodian people to

take up arms against the Khmer Republic.⁴¹ His speech galvanized many youths, who subsequently volunteered for the Khmer Rouge army. Tak Try was an economic combatant in the 267th Battalion of the 703rd Division: “I heard Samdech Ov [Sihanouk] on the radio from Peking asking the children to join the revolution to liberate the country. This appeal caused me to join the army. I loved and respected Samdech Ov. I joined the army without anyone forcing me in any way.”⁴²

Um Chheav, headquarters commander of the 703rd Division based in Svay Rieng, recalled that in early 1970, Lon Nol and Khmer Rouge forces fought near his village. In the course of the battle, Lon Nol soldiers burned down his house. Um recalled: “I hated the Lon Nol troops. That, along with the appeal of Samdech Ov, led me to volunteer to join the revolutionary army.”⁴³

In 1970, Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, joined the liberation army in Region 33 of the Southwest Zone. Hor was promoted from combatant to deputy battalion secretary, and in 1975, became deputy secretary of the 704th Special Forces Battalion of the 703rd Division. He remembered:

I volunteered to join the Khmer Rouge army in 1970 about a month after the coup that overthrew Samdech Ov. No one coerced me to join the Khmer Rouge. I hated the Lon Nol soldiers who had shot hundreds of protesters while they were demonstrating in opposition to the coup against Samdech Ov near the Sla Ku bridge in Samrong district of Takeo province. I loved Samdech Ov and did not support the coup. In those days they called it the *kang toap rumdos* [“Liberation Army”]. They did not call it the “Khmer Rouge Army.” Furthermore, the unit trained me that “Making revolution is not to serve individual and group interests, but is because our country is poor and is an American satellite; that is why we all must rise up.”⁴⁴

The Khmer Rouge quickly transformed these children, who had never held a weapon, into gun-lovers and nationalists, and filled them with hatred and a desire for revenge. Nang Phai was one of many female combatants in Region 25 who joined the 12th Division. When she volunteered to serve as a “red female combatant” (*yuthaneary krahom*) at age fourteen, she was so small that the rifle she carried dragged along the ground. In 1976 she was selected

to serve as a medic in Hospital 98, the “General Staff Hospital.”

After one of my older brothers gave his life on the battlefield, I was in pain and hated the Lon Nol soldiers. In late 1973, I volunteered to join the revolutionary army. Three months after I entered the children's unit at Koh Kor, Mit Neary Heng, the chairman of Unit 14, selected me to be a messenger. I was determined to kill one or two Lon Nol soldiers at all costs to get blood revenge for my brother.⁴⁵

In 1972 Ham Chheng, then sixteen years old, volunteered to join the Leuk Dek district military force through Chou, a village chairman. “I joined the military due to my personal pain and suffering. I saw the events of the overthrow of Samdech Preah Sihanouk by Lon Nol as a coup to seize power. The villages and districts were being bombed almost without stop and the people lived in fear. The country and nation were being invaded by the Yuon [Vietnamese].”⁴⁶

If revenge and patriotism were insufficient motives for joining the Khmer Rouge, poverty was an adequate stimulus. Most of the youths who served in the revolutionary army were the children of poor farmers who often could afford only one meal a day. Saom Meth, a guard at Office S-21, saw that “The farmers had been oppressed by the feudalists and capitalists, the land owners. So they had the spirit to supply the battlefields, were hot for class struggle, overcame all obstacles large and small, and were absolute in fighting the enemy.” Saom joined the revolution in November 1973 through Yim, the chairman of Prek Sdei village, in District 18, Region 25, and fought in the 143rd Battalion of the 703rd Division. In December 1975 he was chosen to guard prisoners at Office S-21. In his biography, Soam wrote: “I joined the revolution because I had been instructed by the village and subdistrict Angkar [the organization said to make all official decisions during the Democratic Kampuchea regime] to clearly see the oppression of the farmer and worker classes.”⁴⁷

Propaganda aside, the hope of bettering their lives led many to serve the revolution. Top Launh is a veteran of the 704th Special Forces Battalion of Division 703:

I was poor and orphaned of my father from the age of nine. I lived with my mother and four sisters. My family life worsened from one day to the next.

Combine that with my belief in the propaganda of the Khmer Rouge, and that is why in 1973 when I was fourteen years old, I volunteered to join the army. I had no weapons then, only one pair of shorts. When I first joined I missed my siblings, but the Khmer Rouge trained me not to make myself miserable by thinking of family matters and relatives back home.⁴⁸

Another personal motive for joining the revolutionary army was simply to extricate oneself from an unpleasant home life. After her mother's death when she was ten years old, Som Sok and her two brothers went to live with their father and stepmother. After a few years, a family dispute occurred. Since she could no longer tolerate her stepmother's criticism, in 1973 at the age of seventeen, Som decided to serve the revolution at the Sa-ang district office in Region 25. Meng Tang, her elder brother, recalled:

At first I did not clearly understand what a *neary krahom* ["red lady"] did. In 1970 I had heard the Khmer Rouge propagandize for the people to rise up and struggle to liberate the land and the people and give them equality. We the people had not yet discovered in depth the Khmer Rouge policy, but we followed them. When my stepmother pressured us so, my family life was pitiful and so Som Sok decided to become a *neary krahom*. From the time that my younger sister became a *neary krahom* until today, I have only met her once, in 1975, when she was evacuating the people from Phnom Penh.⁴⁹

The Role of Propaganda

The indoctrination machine of the Khmer Rouge had a wide reach, covering national party publications, the education system, and the Party's various youth organizations. On September 9, 1970, Khieu Samphan (the deputy prime minister and minister of national defense), Hou Youn (minister for commerce and rural reformation and cooperatives),⁵⁰ and Hou Nim (minister of propaganda and information) of GRUNK* made a joint appeal to monks and other people to attack and liberate the entire country. The communiqué criticized the Khmer Republic as an "incapable regime" and an

* GRUNK was the French acronym (Gouvernement Royal d'Union Nationale du Kampuchéa) for what was also called the National Unification Government, the Royal Unification Government, and the National Unification Front. Officially Sihanouk's government in exile, it was in reality a coalition of Sihanouk's forces and the Khmer Rouge. It proved to be a useful fiction for Pol Pot to conceal the true leadership of the Khmer Rouge.

“imperialist regime.” It also called for the people of Phnom Penh to go to the liberated zones and join in the attack on the Khmer Republic.⁵¹ As a result, many in the countryside left their families and joined the revolution.

Suos Thy was a veteran of the 143rd Battalion of the 12th Division and a document cadre at Office S-21. His biography states that:

I dared to abandon everything for the nation and the revolutionary people and Party with no conditions, and I strove to carry out the missions assigned me by the Party with all my heart. The reason I joined was because Angkar at the village and subdistrict level trained me politically and emotionally and enlightened me, and so I had a hatred for the imperialists, feudalists, and capitalists who had invaded, oppressed, killed, and bombarded the people with such extreme barbarity. I saw clearly the feudal class and the capitalists who were oppressing and sucking the blood of the people.⁵²

At the very top of the party, the message was one of the joy common people associated with the revolution: On November 25 through December 15, 1972, Khieu Samphan visited Preah Vihear, Kampong Thom, and Siem Reap provinces. After returning, a member of his entourage wrote an article on the experience: “In the liberated zones, the people are strongly satisfied with the revolution. The children saw us coming from a distance, ran up to ask to shake our hands, and declared their determination to join the revolutionary army and attack the Americans.”⁵³

Lower down the chain of command, regional-level cadres organized the cadres in the liberated villages and subdistricts that had recently been seized from the Khmer Republic. These new recruits' duties included spreading propaganda about the Party to their people. Prak Khan was a 703rd Division cadre and interrogator at Office S-21:

In late 1973, the “Khmer Rouge Front” came and organized the village chiefs, subdistrict chiefs, and militia chairmen, and campaigned for the people to join the revolution to oppose the coup by Lon Nol. Ta Phoeung of the Bati district committee [District 56 of the Southwestern Zone] proclaimed that this was Samdech Preah Sihanouk's revolutionary movement that had been created to oppose Lon Nol. We struggled to demand power for Samdech Sinhanouk and demand the rights of the people, to attack and dis-

mantle the feudalist regime, to not allow them to demand taxes from us. I believed the propaganda and volunteered to become a Khmer Rouge soldier.⁵⁴

The education system was another vehicle for molding future recruits. Region 25's schools began to shut their doors in 1970; children were thenceforth educated only at home or the temple. In that year, the Sa-ang subdistrict chairman assigned Tuy Peng Chhon to teach in the home schools. She taught the children at night, and during the day she farmed. But by 1973, the aerial bombing had become more intense, and the villagers asked her to teach their children in the mornings.

The instruction the children received consisted of only a little reading and writing, "using those with little knowledge to teach those with none at all," so illiteracy rates remained high throughout the region.⁵⁵ Indoctrination in Khmer Rouge ideology, however, was not neglected. During each class, Tuy explained the revolutionary struggle for equality to the children and incited hatred for the American imperialists, feudalists, and capitalists who oppressed the poor.⁵⁶

Other boys and girls were chosen for political studies, but their courses were only a guise to gather recruits for military units. If anyone tried to avoid these courses, the school committee would hunt them down and bring them back. Khat Pot is a veteran of the 703rd Division:

In that time, they did not force us, but they had us go to study. Each village was required to send ten youths to study. The political study was nothing other than inciting hatred for the Lon Nol regime that had carried out the coup to overthrow Samdech Preah Sihanouk and for the Americans who were bombing and killing the people. Shortly after the political study class, the school committee sent us to the army units.⁵⁷

The youth were the core force in the creation of the revolution. Khmer Rouge cadres at the village and subdistrict levels trained young people in the "party line of absolutism" (*meakea dach khat*) in the unwavering service of the CPK. The youth struggled to "forge" themselves until they were transformed into pure communists. Ieng Thirith, minister of education and social action and a reserve member of the CPK Central Committee, spoke in praise of the youth in a

cabinet meeting during February 1976, saying: "The young cadres have many good points such as loyalty, combativeness, obedience, and they excellently implement the Party's plans."⁵⁸

Those youth with good personal histories and who were active in carrying out their duties were selected into the Kampuchean Communist Youth League (*Sampoan Yuwakok*), the right hand of the Party. Most cadres in the Youth League were loyal, brave, and not afraid of any sacrifice, even of their lives, in the service of the Party.⁵⁹ They were trained constantly on the "Twelve Moral Precepts" (*silathoa teang 12 prakar*) so that they would become pure revolutionaries and carry out all revolutionary missions for the Party, the people, the poor class and the nation. The twelve precepts were:

1. Love, respect, and serve the people, workers and farmers forever.
2. Wherever you are, serve the people there with your entire heart.
3. Never do anything to negatively impact the people, even one pepper or one spoken word.
4. If you commit any misdeed against the people, apologize to the people. If you cause damage to the people, repay them.
5. In speech, sleep, walking, standing, sitting, eating, dressing, and joking, follow the way of the people.
6. Do nothing to violate the female sex.
7. Don't drink anything non-revolutionary in nature.
8. Do not gamble.
9. Don't touch common currency or property, even one riel, one can of rice, or one pill of medicine.
10. Be absolutely polite to the people, but always be hot-tempered toward the enemy.
11. Love constant labor.
12. Combat the enemy and combat obstacles with bravery, and dare to make all sacrifices for the people, workers, farmers, the Party and the revolution without conditions and at all times.⁶⁰

The regional cadres also selected members of Village Youth and Youth Patriot groups (each village had one or two depending on its size). The Village Youth were to guard and check letters of authorization in their villages. They sent supplies and ammunition to the battlefield forces, and carried the wounded to hospitals. The Khmer Rouge cadres in the villages and subdistricts created Village Youth teams to fulfill military requirements. Ieuv Lay is a veteran of the Intervention Unit of the 703rd Division:

In 1972, the subdistrict chief selected me as a leader of a Village Youth group. I supervised ten members. In 1973, the subdistrict chief screened the entire Village Youth membership into the Region army. Since all members had been drafted into military service, in late 1973 the sub-district chief selected me for the region army like all the others. Then, whether I wanted to or not, I forced myself to join the military. If I had not done as assigned, the village chief would have persecuted me and my family.⁶¹

Conscription

Following the CPK's strategy to liberate Phnom Penh and the entire country between late 1973 and 1975, village cadres were given the right to select the names of children from each family in their village to be sent into the military. The subdistrict cadres then forced the young men and women to serve in the military.⁶² A number were not happy to be soldiers, especially those from better-off families. But parents had no right to forbid their children from joining the revolution, and had no right to protest any order of the cadres. No matter how they tried to avoid it, they could not evade the strict draft of the Khmer Rouge.

But Rum stated that a village chief named Kuong and a sub-district chief named Meng picked his name for the regional forces. They did not consult him. "The subdistrict chief said that we had to join the army to defend the nation. So wherever they told us to go, we went there according to their orders. Even if we had wanted to run away, there was no escape." But was drafted into the artillery battalion of the 703rd Division.⁶³

In 1974 the Khmer Rouge began to plan their attack on the Mekong River in order to cut off the economic communications route of the Khmer Republic. Leang Ma-Iek, an artilleryman in the 12th Division, related that at that time, Khmer Rouge village and subdistrict cadres drafted all the young men and women in their villages into to army. All had the duty to serve, like it or not, and they were coerced into military service. Even cadres serving in office positions were armed.⁶⁴

A veteran and later deputy chief of guards at Office S-21, Him Huy stated that in 1973 a village chief added his name to a list of those to join the district army. He was eighteen years old and his

parents did not want him to become a soldier, but there was no way to avoid service. Each family in the villages of the liberated zone was obliged to participate in the revolution, and at the very least had to send one son or daughter into the army.

Him explained that beginning in 1973, village chiefs drafted males and females over the age of 16 into the army.⁶⁵ His life history, which is stored at Office S-21, states that in 1972 Him volunteered to join the district military force. “The reason I joined the revolution arose from my hatred of the colonialists old and new and the capitalists, feudalists, reactionaries, and imperialists that oppress and invade and persecute the people. These reasons cause us to become aware and to join the revolution to attack the American imperialists, liberate the classes, and liberate the people.”⁶⁶

In 1970, two village leaders, Kry and Chum, chose Tuy Kin to become a member of the Village Ladies (*neary phoum*). Both men promised Tuy that she could return home after completing a week-long political training course. But when she finished the course, the school committee instead forced her into a Region 25 military unit. In 1973 Tuy was drafted into a *neary krahom* [red female combatants] unit of Division 12. “If I had known that the village chiefs would trick me into the army like that, I would never have become a *neary phoum* at all. I was only fourteen years old then. I passed through all the battlefields from my time as a *komar rek bay smok* [child carrying rice] and a *yuthaneary krahom* [red female combatant] until the liberation of Phnom Penh in 1975.”⁶⁷

Young people forced themselves to accept their lot as soldiers out of fear that the village cadres would persecute them and their families. Those who entered military units and dared to desert were tortured. Ut Srauy served the revolution for five years, starting as a supply transporter when he was a child, and eventually becoming a messenger combatant for a battalion secretary. Ut stated that parents were unable to stop their children from being taken into the army because the Khmer Rouge would torture youths who did not do as they were told. Parents accepted being without their children as better than seeing them tortured. Ut described the pressure the Khmer Rouge put on him. One day when he returned from fishing his mother told him, “The village chief is sending you to the army

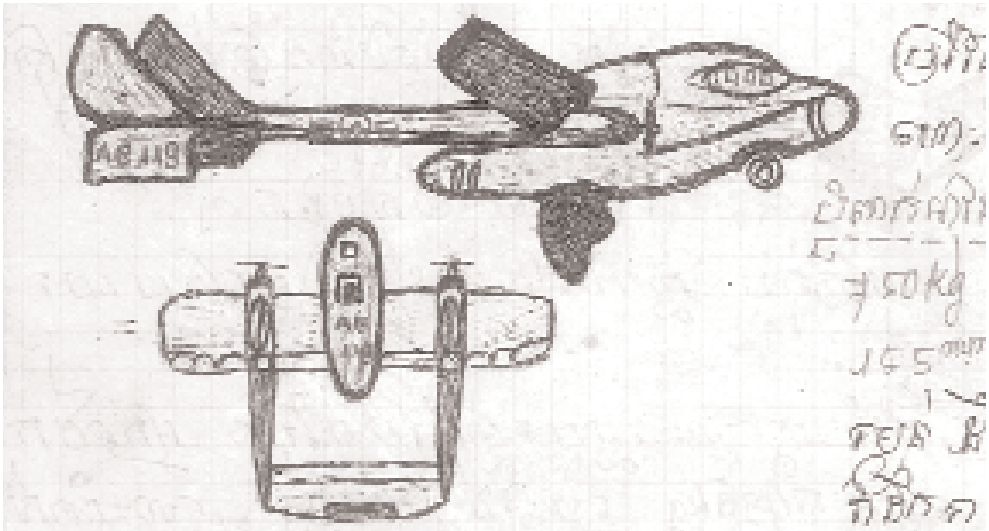
tomorrow." Ut told his mother that he absolutely refused. His mother did not want him to go, but Ut felt that if he had not joined the Khmer Rouge army, the village cadres would certainly have persecuted his parents.

Ut's older brother Ut Lat served in Special Forces Battalion 143. After joining, few had any opportunity to visit their families. If they did visit, they had to carry a permit letter from their unit commander. If anyone dared go home without a permit, they would be tortured. Before he left home, Ut's mother instructed him, "Don't run away and come back home, I'm afraid they [unit commanders] will persecute [us]." ⁶⁸

The village cadres sent some of the young people who refused military service for reeducation at work sites, which included digging canals. Some decided to join the army because they had been frightened into doing so by the constant hard labor imposed at those sites. Meng Hak, a veteran of the 704th Special Forces Battalion of the 703rd Division, related:

The village chairmen gathered all those above sixteen years old into the army. If anyone refused, Angkar planned to assemble them together in one place and send them for *luotdom* ["forging"] in cooperatives, digging canals or cutting wood far from their home villages. At that time, Long, the chairman of Peam Prachum village, picked my name twice for me to go to the army. The first time I refused. The next time Long threatened me that "You village rascal! You and Chheng too! If you do not go I'll send you to work the grass at the Prek Bet office." I saw that if I did not go, they were going to send me to a difficult place. ⁶⁹

Chapter 4



Airplane AC119: Document Number D00506 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

APRIL 17, 1975:

THE LIBERATION OF PHNOM PENH

As part of the Khmer Rouge strategy to “liberate” Phnom Penh, Division 12 (what was to become Division 703) was divided into two spearheads. The first was broken into two groups, one of which attacked along National Highway 21 and on the Takhmau battlefield, and the other along Tonle Bassak and the Phsar Chbar Ampeou battlefield. The second spearhead attacked along National Highway 2, crossed Prek Hau and Bakou villages, and stormed Phnom Penh at the Steung Mean Chey radio station. After penetrating the defense perimeter of the Khmer Republic, the two spearheads met to congratulate each other at Kbal Thnol.⁷⁰

The attack and entry into Phnom Penh were not easy. The Lon Nol forces deployed many infantry and armored forces along their defense perimeter. During the fighting on the edge of Phnom Penh, many of the soldiers from the 12th Division were killed or wounded. According to Chan Than, a female Khmer Rouge combatant in the 12th Division who participated in the attack from Takhmau:

In early April 1975, Angkar assembled its forces to attack at the Tuol Krasaing battlefield south of Takhmau. Lon Nol tank units stormed Tuol Krasaing and killed many soldiers of the 12th Division. Lon Nol's tanks drove over the bodies of wounded combatants who could not be moved to the rear in time. Lon Nol soldiers counterattacked strongly. Even more of our soldiers died. All of the female litter carrier units were given weapons, and villagers were drafted into service to carry ammunition and the wounded. The 12th Division soldiers attacked for five nights and five days before they finally entered and seized Takhmau city.⁷¹

Although the Lon Nol infantry units were supported by many armored vehicles, they could not stop the relentless advance of the 12th Division forces, which redeployed their artillery along the Mekong River to intervene at Tuol Krasaing. (Forces from the Khmer Rouge's Eastern Zone and the Unified Tonle Mekong Regiment had been fighting on the Tonle Mekong battlefield for four months, effectively disabling the marine transport ships carrying supplies for the Lon Nol regime.)

The Tonle Mekong battlefield was then handed over to Region 25 forces. Its command divided the artillery into three groups. One intervened at Sre Ampil to attack across to Chbar Ampeou. The second attacked at Tuol Krasaing to control Takhmau. The third entered at Chamkar Daung and the Steung Mean Chey radio station, and made its way toward Phsar Daem Kor in order to take western Phnom Penh.

Ut Lat, a soldier in the 12th Division's Intervention Unit, participated in the attack on Phnom Penh in the Tuol Krasaing spearhead with Chan Than. He recalled that many troops in the red female units (*angkaphiep yuthaneary krahom*) were killed at Tuol Krasaing. After battling in support of the female combat units, Ut and 30 other soldiers from the intervention unit traveled by car to

Watt Phnom, where the Khmer Rouge troops were to assemble to celebrate their victory over the Khmer Republic.⁷²

About 24 hours after the intervention forces and artillery arrived, the 12th Division controlled all of the southern defensive belt of Phnom Penh, and moved forward to take the city. Leang Malek, an artilleryman who attacked from Tuol Krasaing, stated that:

One day and one night after I began participating in the attack at Tuol Krasaing, we reached Kbal Thnol and continued on toward Watt Phnom. At first it was difficult going, since the Lon Nol soldiers had modern weapons. I observed that the Lon Nol troops had modern weapons, but did not have the spirit to fight. When the Lon Nol soldiers broke, our forces advanced rapidly.⁷³

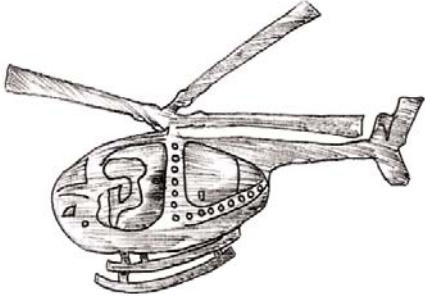
At 4:00 a.m. on April 17, units assigned to Chamkar Daung attacked the Steung Mean Chey radio station. This spearhead had fought continuously, and many combatants died on the battlefield. At about 2:00 p.m., they reached the radio station. Thon Heu, a 12th Division artilleryman who was part of the Chamkar Daung spearhead, recalled:

On the morning of April 17th, my spearhead fought a tough battle with the Lon Nol soldiers, but by noonday I observed that the Lon Nol side seemed to have lost the will to fight and threw down their weapons and surrendered. After the Lon Nol forces retreated, I traveled on foot from the Steung Mean Chey radio station toward Phsar Daem Kor. I continued on from Phsar Daem Kor all the way to the 18 March school before I turned back to rest south of the Olympic Stadium. After we took a short rest, at dusk Angkar withdrew my group and sent us by vehicle back to guard the Steung Mean Chey radio station.⁷⁴

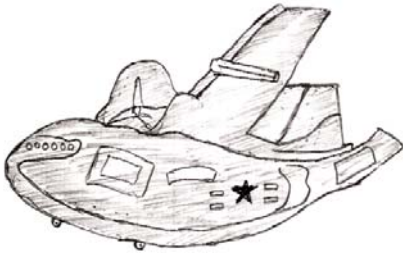
Just before dawn on April 17th, the Khmer Rouge army in their black uniforms, caps, sandals, packs and red *krama* (scarves), moved in groups into Phnom Penh. The Eastern Zone forces entered the city along National Highway 1. The Northern Zone troops entered along National Highway 6. The Northwestern Zone forces followed National Highway 3. The Special Zone units entered Phnom Penh along National Highways 21 and 2, and at the Steung Mean Chey radio station.⁷⁵

After being surrounded by the Khmer Rouge for a week and

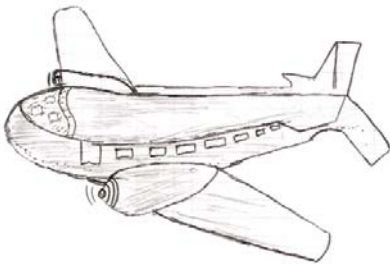
withstanding fierce attacks each day, the Khmer Republic was overthrown on the eve of the New Year. Despite the fact that thousands of people had died, Phnom Penh's citizens were happy and welcomed peace. But within hours, their happiness became a nightmare as the evacuation of the cities began.



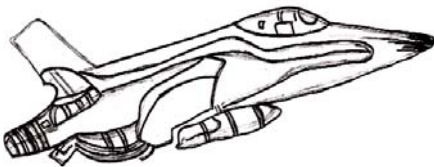
Airplane OH6A: Picture Drawn in the Diary of a Khmer Rouge Cadre



Airplane C125: Picture Drawn in the Diary of a Khmer Rouge Cadre



Airplane C47: Picture Drawn in the Diary of a Khmer Rouge Cadre



Airplane F105: Picture Drawn in the Diary of a Khmer Rouge Cadre

From Document Number D21705 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

Chapter 5 EVACUATING



Khmer Rouge Army, 9:30am, April 17, 1975 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

THE PEOPLE

At 6:45 a.m. on April 17th, Southwestern Zone Khmer Rouge cadres announced on the Voice of Phnom Penh Radio, “Now our Party has achieved one hundred percent victory over Cambodia. Our Party seeks peace by peaceful methods and discriminates against no group. Our Party invites you all, your excellencies, all groups, those responsible for institutions, to gather together at the National Ministry of Information immediately.” But thirty minutes later, Western Zone Khmer Rouge cadres made an announcement that was quite different in tone: “Our Party has totally won throughout

the country over the Khmer Republic, that gang of Lon Nol traitors. This victory was won at the muzzles of our hot cannons. Our Party need not negotiate with anyone or any group. The traitors must accept defeat; no one recognizes anyone."⁷⁶

On the first day after the Khmer Rouge reached the city, civilians, soldiers and government officials alike raised white flags of surrender. The Khmer Rouge moved along the streets of Phnom Penh, walking, riding bikes or motorcycles, or driving in cars, cheering, "*Cheyo!* [Victory!] Peace has arrived. The war has ended. We have stopped fighting!" The people who lined the streets shouted greetings to the arriving conquerors.

The Evacuation

Within several days of the liberation of Phnom Penh, their cheers stopped as the young Khmer Rouge soldiers announced, "Request that all you brothers and sisters leave Phnom Penh for three days because Angkar must sweep clean enemies hidden in the houses." Others proclaimed through loudspeakers, "Request all you brothers and sisters leave Phnom Penh urgently because American aircraft will soon be coming to bomb the city."

In response, people gathered their belongings and headed for the countryside. According to Yin Nean, people left the doors to their homes open, not out of carelessness, but following the "absolute order of Angkar."⁷⁷ Khmer Republic police, soldiers, and government officials were targeted for search and arrest.⁷⁸

Phe Phai Pheap, whose revolutionary name was Hor, was the commander of the 143rd Special Forces Company of the 12th Division. He received orders from Khim Vath, also called Hor, commander of the 143rd Special Forces Battalion. At about 6:00 p.m. on April 17, Phe led his troops to the east of the Olympic Stadium. Several hours later, his forces began routing out the Lon Nol troops hiding in houses. Hor then issued orders to prepare the troops to evacuate people from Phnom Penh. Phe shouted into a loudspeaker as Hor had instructed, "Brothers and sisters, you are requested to leave Phnom Penh for three days, because Angkar must clean out enemies hiding in the houses and clear the city. And the Americans have not forgotten their defeat. Leave to avoid the American B52

bombers.”⁷⁹ Kuong San, a messenger in the 143rd Special Forces Battalion, noted that: “The Lon Nol soldiers who argued against orders or dared to resist were shot dead. If they did not resist, they were arrested and sent to [be dealt with at] the upper echelon.”⁸⁰

The CPK designated Phsar Thmei (New Market) as the marker point in the evacuation to various provinces. The Khmer Rouge split the populace into seven groups, and divided up the spoils of war for each zone:

- The people living east of the Mekong River were divided into two sections: one to the south and the other to the north of the Chatomuk four-rivers intersection. These people were considered the spoils of war of the Eastern Zone and were evacuated toward Kampong Cham, Prey Veng and Svay Rieng provinces.
- The people living in the area from the east of the railroad station up to eastern Tuol Kouk were under the Northern Zone army, whose troops moved them along National Highway 5 and across the Tonle Sap to National Highway 6 and eventually on to Kampong Thom and Siem Reap provinces.
- Those living in the northwestern part of the city from the railroad station to eastern Tuol Kouk belonged to the Northwestern Zone; they were moved out of town along National Highway 5 to Pursat and Battambang provinces.
- People living north of the line from Charles de Gaulle Road to western Tuol Kouk were given to the Western Zone, whose troops moved them out of town to Kampong Chhnang and Kampong Speu provinces.
- Those living south of the line from Charles de Gaulle Road to the 18 March School were also assigned to the Western Zone, and were taken out of town along the Steung Mean Chey road across to National Highway 4 to Kampong Speu province.
- Those living southwest of a line from the 18 March School to the Boeung Trabek School were assigned to the Southwestern Zone, and were taken out of Phnom Penh along the Steung Mean Chey road across to Steung Bakou toward Takeo and

Kampot provinces.

- Those living in the south of the city from the east side of Monivong Road to the river bank belonged to the Special Zone.⁸¹ Special Zone troops took them along Kbal Thnol across to Takhmau and on toward Kandal and Takeo provinces.⁸²

Infantryman So Theng confessed that he tricked people living south of the Independence Monument by saying: "Now I invite all you aunts and uncles to go to Kbal Thnol for three days because Angkar wants to clear out the enemies hiding in the city." When the people got to Kbal Thnol, the unit stationed there tricked them again by saying, "Now we invite you on to Takhmau for three days because Angkar needs to clear out the enemy and fears the Lon Nol troops will throw grenades and harm you."⁸³

After the Khmer Rouge evacuated the people, not a single civilian remained behind in Phnom Penh.⁸⁴ During the evacuation, So and two or three other soldiers saw an old woman who had been abandoned by her family in a row house south of Au Russei. When they shouted for her to come down, she answered, "My legs are numb; I cannot walk." The soldiers carried a basket up the stairs and ordered her to sit in it. The soldiers then threw both her and the basket from the four-story building.⁸⁵

The people who believed the soldiers' ruse that they would return to Phnom Penh after three days brought with them only a little food and a few belongings. Those who had no hope of returning gathered the valuables they could carry with them. However, Tuol Sleng prisoner Chum Manh stated that, "the Khmer Rouge soldiers searched the people moving along the roads leaving the city and confiscated their belongings at will. Anyone who dared resist was shot on the spot."⁸⁶

The currency people brought with them had no value. During the evacuation, Tuy Kin, a Khmer Rouge combatant in the 12th Division, told people that they need not take money along because it was not used in the liberated zone. She explained that no currency was used after 1974 in Region 25. The people who believed that money was not used in the liberated areas threw it away. Riel bank-

notes were scattered on the ground like pieces of litter.⁸⁷

The Fate of the Khmer Republic

Most Lon Nol soldiers guarding the city's defensive perimeter laid down their arms and surrendered in the days following April 17. Those who kept fighting were killed. Some Lon Nol soldiers moved toward Phnom Penh against the flow of evacuees to look for their families. The Khmer Rouge did not permit them to enter the city, and shot many who insisted on getting to Phnom Penh. Even ordinary people who tried to enter Phnom Penh were shot.⁸⁸

Two days after the Khmer Rouge army reached Phnom Penh, Ros Sampeou's family members were still in their home in the Phsar Depot sector. They saw a large fire consuming tens of houses in western Phnom Penh, but did not know what had caused it. The next morning, Ros's father decided to take his family toward Samrong district in Takeo province along with other families. Ros Sampeou said that armed Khmer Rouge troops came and told his father to leave right away. After walking a while, they stopped in front of a house belonging to a colonel. Ros had seen Khmer Rouge troops stop by the house regularly, and thought the soldiers did not know its owner. The colonel brought out his family and locked the house and the gate. Angry and talking loudly, the Khmer Rouge shot open the locked door and one soldier broke a large photograph at the side of the house. It was of the colonel dressed in an officer's uniform of the Lon Nol regime.⁸⁹

So Theng and his troops arrested about fifty Lon Nol soldiers who had surrendered north of the private Dara Reasmei School. They had orders not to fire on troops who raised a white flag. But if they resisted, they were to be arrested and sent to the upper echelon. He saw Khmer Rouge troops shoot Lon Nol soldiers who refused to obey orders, but he denied having seen the Khmer Rouge shoot any civilians.

In his confession, Chou Chet, called Sy, secretary of the Western Zone, quoted from Nuon Chea: "Nuon Chea instructed the

cadres on the Party's plans that the former soldiers should not be kept since they could not easily abandon their old ideas. So they must all be smashed."⁹⁰

You Meng Kry, called Mon, concurred: "I contacted Srong, a radio operator at Office 311 of the 12th Division, and we invited one another to walk around freely outside, spreading information about the secret tasks of the Party that permitted the smashing of major traitors, and the smashing of Touch Kim's [a Lon Nol soldier who was sent to S-21] group and the group of generals captured on April 17th."⁹¹

It appears that at least some Khmer Rouge soldiers received orders to "screen" (*chamranh*) civilians as well. They gathered up policemen, Lon Nol government officials and their families, students, teachers, intellectuals, and technicians aligned with the old regime and sent them to prison for execution.⁹²

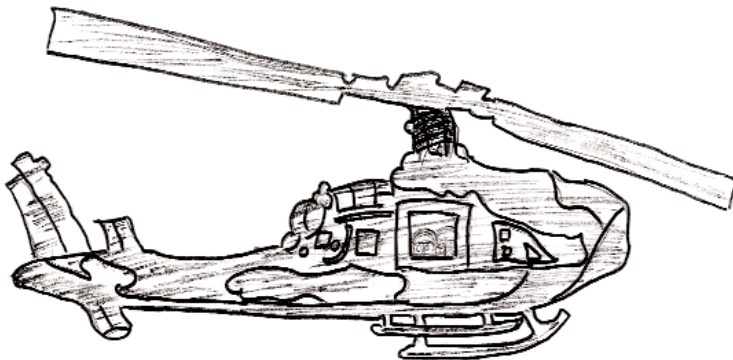
Many reasons were given for the evacuation. These included a statement by Democratic Kampuchea minister of defense Son Sen at an October 1976 meeting of division and independent regiment secretaries and deputy secretaries: "If we had not evacuated the people from the cities, it certainly would not be this peaceful today."⁹³ Minister of foreign affairs Ieng Sary took a similar tack: "After the Phnom Penh evacuation campaign, the Party discovered many weapons and ammunition hidden by the Lon Nol regime policemen and soldiers so that they could overthrow us and retake power."⁹⁴ Also, the diary of an S-21 cadre recorded, "On April 17th we drove the imperialists from Cambodia. We evacuated the feudalists and capitalists from the cities to become farmers."⁹⁵

Despite the "official" versions, there is evidence to suggest that the CPK had prepared a plan to evacuate the city as early as 1974.⁹⁶ But it wasn't until after Phnom Penh was liberated that the CPK Central Committee made its plan public. On May 20, 1975, it held a conference in Phnom Penh to approve an eight-point plan. The second point was "To evacuate the people from the city to the countryside and divide the people into three categories."⁹⁷ In July 1978 Nuon Chea, deputy secretary of the CPK Central Committee,⁹⁸ in a communiqué to the Workers Party of Denmark, announced:

Everyone knows that the Americans plan to seize power from us within six months after liberation. This plan has the participation of the Americans, the KGB and Vietnam, and includes attacks from inside and outside. But we have broken that plan. Immediately after liberation we evacuated [the people] from the cities. Then the agents of the CIA, KGB and the Vietnamese had to go to the countryside and could not implement their assigned plans.⁹⁹

Less than two months after the Khmer Rouge took control of Phnom Penh, on June 4, 1975, comrade Pin, the secretary of the 12th Division, decided to “smash” (*samrech kamtech*) seventeen officers of the Khmer Republic regime, and proposed that three others be “kept for future examination.” Those on Pin's list held the ranks of second lieutenant through colonel. Number seven on the list was “Sisovath Rithpharavong, Lieutenant Colonel, traitor to the people,” a member of the royal family. The list noted Pin's orders to his subordinates: “All seventeen of these, the Party has examined and decided to smash. Carry out the Party's aims.”¹⁰⁰

The sweeping clean and smashing of Khmer Republic officials continued into 1976. In that year, You Meng Kry, the deputy chairman of S-21 D, told Ke Kim Huot of the Region 7 committee of the Northwestern Zone: “Now the ministry [S-21] has arrested the main police spies and brought them in for re-interrogation.”¹⁰¹ Man, the chief of security for Region 22, said: “Today [1976] only more than one thousand prisoners remain who the region has not decided to send anywhere.” In response, Ta Nath, one of the chiefs of S-21, said: “I will exterminate these Region 22 networks quickly.”¹⁰²



*Airplane HU1A: Picture Drawn in a Diary of a Khmer Rouge Cadre
(Document Number D21705 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives)*

Chapter 6



Khmer Rouge Army, 9:30am, April 17, 1975 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

SWEEPING THE CITY CLEAN

After the war ended, only soldiers and revolutionary cadres were left in Phnom Penh, and the combatants of the 12th Division became the “sweepers of the city.” Their mission was to clear the sites designated by their spearhead commanders. The combatants' tasks included clearing the markets, gathering food and other goods left in people's homes, clearing government buildings, and gathering refuse along the streets.¹⁰³

Everything the combatants gathered was to be warehoused at sites prepared for each area of the city. However, some individuals began stuffing themselves with food left behind in houses and stores. Others attempted to hide valuables and food in their pockets and backpacks. Group commanders would search the returning soldiers and confiscate anything a combatant had. Ky Lay, a 12th Division soldier, was assigned to gather supplies in the Au Russei Market area and the Phsar Thom Thmei. His group commander gave him a list of the types of things to be gathered and stored in a warehouse, including rice, other foodstuffs, and clothing. He handed over everything he gathered to his group leader, even gold. Coming from the country, Ky had never seen such fine things and delicious foods. He hid two cans of condensed milk in his backpack, but when he reached the warehouse, his leader confiscated them. The commanders “reeducated” those caught stealing because they “still had private ownership ideas.”¹⁰⁴

But food and other goods were not the only spoils of the revolution, for there were still some soldiers, officials and others associated with the Khmer Republic who were hiding in their homes. Occasionally, they fired on Khmer Rouge soldiers or threw hand grenades at the cadres. Veteran So Theng stated, “Shootings and killings kept happening. Sometimes when walking along the streets we saw corpses of the people, sometimes corpses of Lon Nol soldiers.”¹⁰⁵

Chak Phalla, a 12th Division combatant and messenger, was assigned to clear the area near the Chinese Hospital. Every day that he collected supplies from people's homes, Lon Nol soldiers hiding in two-story concrete houses shot at him. One day he noticed a strong smell coming from one house near a gas station on Achar Sva Street. His group leader had him check the house, and he found a body on a bed, covered with a bag. Chak assumed that the person chose to die in bed from starvation, since there were no marks visible on the body.¹⁰⁶

While gathering food, Meng Hak, a combatant in the 117th Battalion of the 12th Division's 267th Regiment, saw the forces of Duch (Kang Kech Ieu) surrounding a colonel's house. A soldier

called out to Meng to help guard the house saying, "Don't let anyone come down." Instead, Meng continued gathering food, not realizing that the colonel had slipped away. A moment later, Duch arrived, leading a force to capture the colonel. He put a pistol to Meng's head saying, "You guys can't even do what little you are assigned. You ought to be shot. Keeping you is no gain, and removing you is no loss." It was only in late 1976, during a meeting of units guarding the city, that Meng learned Duch was chairman of Office S-21.¹⁰⁷

The clearing of the city continued for almost two months. Some soldiers were tasked with planting coconut trees along the streets, and others were assigned to the defensive perimeter of the city. When the rains began to pour, still others were sent to farm the land to the west and south of Phnom Penh.



Chapter 7 *Khmer Rouge Army, March 1978* ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE 703rd DIVISION

Pol Pot did not view state power as emanating from elected assemblies or any form of government that might signal compromise. Instead, it came from the brave armed struggle by the soldiers of the people's army under CPK leadership.¹⁰⁸ On the 17th anniversary of the CPK, he praised both the army and its leadership:

We built a strong revolutionary army. This army did not study in military

schools or study outside the country, but studied in warfare, in combat following the Party line.....After the great victory of April 17th, the national anthem designated the new mission, that is, the defense of the motherland, the defense of Cambodia, the defense of the state power of the workers and farmers of the Party, the absolute defense of and quick creation of a new Cambodia, in a chain of magnificent, miraculous and prosperous leaps. The army must continue to defend the country and build the country. After seizing independence, that independence must be defended. Many units of the army must carry out their missions along the land and sea borders, on the flatlands and mountains and forests at every entrance.¹⁰⁹

1976: Political Changes in the Wind

In early 1976 Prince Sihanouk wrote two letters in French requesting that the chairman of the Standing Committee accept his resignation, explaining that he could not continue his duties. The Standing Committee discussed this matter in its March 11, 1976 meeting. Even though the Khmer Rouge no longer needed Sihanouk, they still recognized that he had enormous popularity with the masses. The Committee stated, "He [Prince Sihanouk] joined in the revolution with us even though he has conflicts with us. Because of this, the Party has decided that he should continue as chairman of the state committee, but he refuses. We will not kill him. But as for the nation and the people, he has serious conflicts in regards to his position as a killer of the people."¹¹⁰

On October 16, 2001, Sihanouk responded in a letter: "As for the memo of a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Khmer Rouge dated March 11, 1976 that stated that I had resigned from the position of Head of State in the French language, this is not true. The Khmer Rouge lie, but the fact is that everything I wrote to them was in Khmer. How would I dare write to them in French? His Excellency Chhon Hai is my witness, because it was he who carried my letters of resignation to the upper-echelon Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge accuse me of killing the people. If I did really kill, the people would not have wanted to protest and be willing to give their lives for me after the coup by the Lon Nol group, and the people would not love and respect me all along and up until today."¹¹¹

On March 30, 1976, Khieu Samphan became chairman of state. In an open letter to the people of Cambodia in 2001, Khieu admitted his role in the CPK and stated that he had had good relations with all high-level Cambodian dignitaries. He also claimed that the CPK required him to assume duties "in the front and in foreign affairs" which were to communicate with the upper levels in society and manage affairs on the international stage.¹¹²

On July 22, 1975, a ceremony was held at the Olympic Stadium to formally establish the CPK Revolutionary Army. The ceremony was led by Son Sen, chairman of the CPK's High-Level Military Committee, and was attended by three thousand representatives from all units of the revolutionary army. Son Sen expounded on the causes and meaning of the great victory of April 17th and the new mission of the revolutionary army: "This great victory has a marvelous meaning never before known in the 2000-year history of Cambodia. After achieving victory, the revolutionary army has the mission of defending and building the nation."¹¹³

Because of the bravery the 12th Division exhibited on the battlefield, Son Sen announced that it was to be redesignated as the 703rd Division, and placed the 703rd under the Army General Staff. The 143rd Special Forces Battalion was transformed into the 704th Special Forces Battalion. A number of independent regiments and other divisions were also established that day.¹¹⁴

Beginning in mid-1975, many of the 703rd's soldiers were transferred to serve in such fields as communications, medicine, and farming, while others remained in combat, especially on the Vietnamese-Cambodian border. Those who had clean personal records, strong bodies, and knowledge of mathematics were sent to Division 502 (Aviation) under the command of Sou Meth. This division was created in July 1975 by recruiting personnel from the 11th Division (which had been deactivated after the victory in 1975), 703rd Division, and Southwestern and Western Zones.¹¹⁵

Thon Heu, a member of the 12th Division's Artillery Battalion, had been assigned as a combatant in the 502nd Division's headquarters at Pochentong. Two months after the victory over Phnom Penh, Ta Chey, secretary of the artillery battalion, reassigned him to political study under Son Sen at the Olympic Stadium. The study session was nothing more than a strengthening of combatants' stances and a recollection of events leading to the victory over America and Lon Nol. Thon recorded the important points made at each session, including those of Son Sen: "Friends, whenever working on anything at any place, you must accomplish your duties, whether or not you can read. You must absolutely fulfill your missions for the party and the people. You all have the duty to defend and build the

country.” In April 1976 Thon was sent to study avionics in Sian, China. He returned in April 1977 to serve as an avionics technician at Pochentong.¹¹⁶

Mi Sro was a soldier in a weapons battalion of the 12th Division. In 1975, he and eight other soldiers were assigned by comrade Sim, secretary of a regiment of the 703rd Division, to attend a one-month political study session at the Olympic Stadium. Khieu Samphan was the instructor. Later, with only two days' notice, he was sent to Shanghai, China to study military and political documents for a month. He traveled in a Chinese-owned Boeing aircraft along with about 500 other Khmer Rouge soldiers who had been assigned to study various specialties. His instructors in Shanghai were Chinese nationals.¹¹⁷

While he was studying avionics, Mi traveled to many socialist countries. In China, he visited an agricultural site called “Sre Ta Chay” and saw Mao Se Tung's tomb three times. Mi stated that when the Chinese took Khmer Rouge soldiers on a trip, it was done secretly so that the Chinese people and neighboring countries would not know they were Khmer Rouge. In October 1978 he completed his studies and returned to Cambodia, where he worked as an electronic repairman at Pochentong Airport. Mi reported that China supplied five aircraft to the army of Democratic Kampuchea.^{*118}

Ky Lay and a messenger named Sambau were assigned to the 21st Company of the 703rd Division. In late 1975 Angkar assigned them to the 66th Independent Regiment, a communications unit under the General Staff that was commanded by Uk Tem.¹¹⁹ In early 1976 a close friend of Ky told him that, “Angkar removed Sambau from the 66th's headquarters and sent him to Office S-21. You must try hard to be active; if not, Angkar will pull you out by the roots.” Ky stated that after Sambau was arrested, Angkar researched Ky's

* He also claimed that the Chinese supplied two airplanes to Vietnam and the Kampuchean National Salvation Front when the DK regime was overthrown. As the Vietnamese forces attacked, the soldiers guarding Pochentong fled for their lives instead of destroying the airplanes as ordered.

contacts and transferred him to farm rice east of Chbar Ampeou in Phnom Penh . After determining that he was not involved with Sambau's contacts, Angkar returned Ky to the 66th Regiment , where he worked on a team that set up a telephone network under the supervision of about ten Chinese nationals.

In mid 1976, Angkar assigned Ky to study communications in Shanghai, China for six months, advising him to “strive to study and bring back knowledge to build the nation.” While studying in China, Ky visited Mao's tomb. When he returned to Cambodia in 1977, Ky was assigned to Communications Unit 91 deployed on the Phnom Chheu Kach village battlefield in Prey Veng province.¹²⁰

Nang Phai was a messenger for Heng, a company commander in the 41st Regiment of Division 703. In early 1976, Heng moved Nang from her assignment farming rice at Boeng Cheung Ek south of Phnom Penh to serve as a medical cadre at Preahketmealea Hospital, or P98. Nang explained that female combatants in the 703rd were generally recruited to serve either as seamstresses at the textile factory or as medics. P98 treated the armed forces of the Party Center; zone and region forces and civilians were not allowed to enter this hospital.

Nang was trained in medicine by Heng, a company chief in Battalion 141 of the 703rd Division and chairman of P98. Nang reported that all the female medics received instruction while they treated patients. But despite their training, patients died every day as a result of being given the wrong medicines. The hospital kept strict discipline. As Heng told Nang: “You must strive to improve yourself in the hospital and carry out your duties without deficiencies and you must watch what you say.” Nang testified to the value of this advice, noting that if a medic broke even one hypodermic needle or medicine tablet, he or she would be branded an “enemy” and sent for execution. As further confirmation, in late 1977 Angkar arrested Heng and sent her to Office S-21.

Nang had asked for permission to take her sister Tai along with her to P98, as her work at the agricultural site was very hard and she was fed only banana and papaya stalks. However, eventually Nang was told that: “Tai had been sent for study.”¹²¹ Only later

did she learn that her sister had been executed.

After achieving its military victory, Angkar set a new direction:

Building the country is the first step, and national defense is the second step. The army, like the people, must attack farming rice to achieve from three to five tons per hectare. Angkar¹²²

In mid-1975, But Rum, a combatant in a battalion of the 127th Artillery Regiment of the 12th Division, was sent by his division command to farm at Prey Sar. There was little to eat (one bowl of gruel and one bowl of rice a day), and the work was hard and dangerous. Occasionally, workers would be killed after hitting explosive rounds with their hoes. Before walking off to work, everyone had to stand in formation and declare their determination to meet Angkar's requirements of producing "three tons per hectare" of rice. In early 1976 But was transferred to coastal defense duty, first at Phnom Kamchay, then at Phnom Pich Nil, and eventually in Kampot province. While defending the coast he trained, swimming three kilometers every evening. But explained that his spearhead never faced any major scale combat.¹²³

Leang Ma-Iek, a veteran of the 127th Artillery Regiment of the 12th Division, was transferred to farm rice at Boeng Cheung Ek in mid-1975. Combatants who farmed there had two duties: to farm and guard the city's defense lines. The crop yield was used to supply the unit and as exchange for other products, especially weapons and ammunition. Work began at dawn and went on until dusk. They used hoes to turn the earth, and sometimes had to pull plows because the army had no cattle or buffalo. Leang stated that he worked almost non-stop and was not fed enough.¹²⁴

Some of the Division's forces continued fighting. Um Chheav, commander of the 703rd Division Headquarters based on the Svay Rieng battlefield, stated that after the liberation of Phnom Penh, Ta Nath, the division commander, moved one regiment to defend Kam Samnor along with Region 25 forces. Um explained that at that time, the Viet Cong were fighting the Thieu-Ky forces of the South Vietnamese. The 703rd Division prevented the Thieu-Ky forces from entering Cambodia, and by doing so, facilitated Viet Cong attacks

on the Thieu-Ky forces. Um fought a Thieu-Ky marine force for a day and a night. After the Viet Cong were victorious over the Thieu-Ky forces, the 703rd was withdrawn to farm south of Phnom Penh, leaving only the Region 25 forces to guard the border.¹²⁵

A March 1977 list of personnel strength for the 310th Division commanded by comrade Oeun shows that of a total of 4,969 troops, 18 were from the 703rd Division.¹²⁶ In mid-1975 many soldiers in the 703rd Division were selected to serve in the important ministries and offices, including S-21 and the General Staff of the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) Army.



Comrade Son Sen (middle), Khmer Rouge Minister of Defense and his Chinese Advisors ♦
Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

Chapter 8

AT THE GENERAL STAFF

Less than a year after the Khmer Rouge took power, the command of Division 703 underwent major changes. In December 1975 comrade Nath, the division's secretary, was transferred to take command of Office S-21. A few months later, Nath was promoted to military expert on the General Staff under Son Sen, the minister of defense. The General Staff was responsible for governing the army and security. Comrade Pin, formerly the division's deputy secretary, rose to secretary, replacing Nath. Pin was responsible for all Division 703 political, organizational, and morale matters, and the sweeping clean of the revolution's internal enemies inside the division.

Brother 89: Son Sen

Son Sen, whose revolutionary names were “Khieu” and “Brother 89,” was born in 1930 in Tra Vinh province, Vietnam. Son Sen's wife Yon Yat was minister of culture and education during the DK regime.

In 1946 Son Sen began his studies at the Phnom Penh Teacher's College, and in 1950 received a scholarship to study in France. It was in France that Son Sen became Pol Pot's ally and military strategist.

After he returned to Cambodia in 1956, Son Sen first became director of the Teacher's College, then returned to teaching at the Kampong Kantuot School. He visited Czechoslovakia in 1959 and joined the City Party Committee during the 1960s. After being accused of opposing the royalist regime, Son Sen was sent to direct the State College in Takeo province.

In 1964 Son Sen went into hiding in Phnom Penh. He emerged to become chairman of the political committee of the Southwestern Zone in 1968, and by 1969 was supervising the Northeastern Zone headquarters. Rising quickly through the party ranks, he became chairman of the DK Army General Staff in 1972 and minister of defense in 1976.

Mao Se Tung, the architect of the Peoples Republic of China,

died on September 9, 1976. A week later Son Sen convened a meeting at the General Staff to instruct the secretaries and deputy secretaries of divisions and independent regiments to hold a ceremony for Mao Se Tung at 5:00 a.m. on September 18th. The General Staff assigned 450 cadres from 11 units to participate. Pin, the secretary of Division 703, led 80 cadres who participated in the ceremony.¹²⁷ At the meeting, Son Sen said:

According to the Party's decision on the occasion of the death of Chairman Mao Se Tung, a ceremony is to be arranged. We do this to seize this special opportunity, when China is experiencing great sorrow, to strengthen our ties of friendship and combat spirit, because China is examining us to see if we are loyal or not and at what level. Mao Se Tung was a spreader of the revolutionary ideas of Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin, and in particular discovered that in socialism there is class struggle and class dictatorship. Not only that, he was a leader, an international professor of the proletariat. So what we are doing is in the name of the CPK, but we are spreading the stance of the government.¹²⁸

Son Sen instructed all the participating cadres to maintain a serious attitude, to be quiet, not to laugh or applaud, to carry no weapons, books or pens, and to take no notes. All cadres were to enter in advance and sit quietly, and were to wear the appropriate black uniform.

Son Sen had a well-deserved reputation for being a ruthless and brutal man. On September 27, 1977, his army killed 300 civilians in a single attack at the border. In 1978 Son Sen played a part in ordering the massacre of over 100,000 Cambodians within a period of only six days in the Eastern Zone. And under Son Sen's orders, Office S-21 tortured and killed nearly 20,000 people.¹²⁹

As another example, on September 23, 1976, Son Sen sent an order to comrade Roeun, secretary of the 701st Division, telling him to take measures against the revisionist enemies. This telegram was copied to Brother 81, Brother Nath, Brother Saom, Brother Ren, and for files: "According to information, the revisionist enemies, especially the Number 7 group, have come and made contacts to embed themselves into and bore into our army and bases. At the same time, they have contacted some traitors in order to stir up the people to oppose the cooperatives, oppose our socialist revolutionary line in general and in particular, to implant long-term clandestine agents."

Regarding these activities, Son Sen instructed comrade Roeun to take the following measures:

Educate and instruct all division commands to penetrate all of this trickery. There must be surveillance of anyone who is in contact with the Number 7 group or has inclinations toward the Number 7 group, so as to screen them out from any military leadership position at any level whatsoever. As for the division representatives who have been tasked with contacting the Number 7 group, follow up on their attitudes constantly, and change their composition frequently. Experience shows that the Number 7 group has constantly induced our liaison committees to serve their policies of invading Cambodia. In some places they have made some contacts. Therefore we must be careful and absolutely not let them penetrate our army at either the cadre or combatant level. Especially do not allow them to make any contacts with our divisions along the border. Also at the Lao border, absolutely do not allow our forces along that border to contact them. The Number 7s are embedded in Laos, as you well know. They might bore into us from Laos.¹³⁰

On July 25, 1976, Son Sen sent a telegram to comrade Chhin, secretary of the 720th Division, about the situation in the Northeastern Zone adjacent to Vietnam. This telegram was copied to Brother 81, Brother Nath, Brother Saom, and for files:

As for the enemies that have attacked us in the past, we must draw upon that experience and take measures to prepare forces quietly and lightly. Be careful in case they attack in other major places. Must take measures to counter-attack. Must prepare investigations and surveillance. They use the place where they were recently deployed, the place we discussed just the other day. On this matter, check into it and reach agreement with the region base, and take measures to attack and smash them. If you reach agreement with Mit Lang, report to Mit Ya. Inform comrade Ya as well that I have already agreed with Angkar about this principle of defending this place where they recently deployed and made defensive raids, because they have deployed in violation of agreements about where everyone will be at what time. Not only that, they enter and attack us on our territory, as just happened on July 22, 1976. If we do not attack them, they will keep on raiding us.¹³¹

At a meeting in early 1977, Son Sen raised the topic of the revolutionary army's duty: "We will not abandon the building of socialism, but it is important that the builders be genuine revolutionaries." To find those revolutionaries, Son Sen issued an order to all division commands: "You must screen them so they are absolute-

ly pure. Enemy elements must absolutely be removed. The free ones must be assembled together to farm in one unit. The 'involved' must be reeducated and assembled in one place."¹³²

At midnight on June 9, 1977, Son Sen, his wife and family - 14 people in all - were assassinated in Anlong Veng district of Uddor Mean Chey province. They were massacred on the orders of Pol Pot, just as Khmer Rouge leaders at Pailin were integrating with the royal government forces of first prime minister Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ronarrdith and second prime minister Samdech Hun Sen.

Comrade Nath

Named In Lon at birth, Nath also went by the revolutionary names of "Ta Nath" and "Brother 03." Nath was born in Anlong Sek village, in Kandal province.¹³³ Chou Chet, called Sy, secretary of the Western Zone, wrote in his confession that "Nath joined the revolution in Phnom Penh during 1958."¹³⁴ In August 1968, Nath was put into battle at Rokar Thom, Slap Leng, Phnom Kamnhanh, Anlong Phnhiev and National Highway 4, among other places.¹³⁵ During January 1972, he led a battalion to Region 25 of the Special Zone.¹³⁶ In June 1974, when it was announced that the 267th Regiment had become the 12th Division (later, the 12th Division became the 703rd Special Forces Division), Nath became its commander.

In July 1975, the Party arranged Nath's marriage for him. His wife was born in Region 15 and worked in Factory T-5 (Textile Factory 5).

In December 1975 Nath left the 703rd to take over the Santebal Office S-21. A few months later, he was transferred to the General Staff. His duties at S-21 were handed over to Duch.¹³⁷

As commander of S-21, Nath determined which enemies of Angkar would be singled out for arrest and imprisonment. The process of sweeping clean enemies shortly after April 17th focused on officials of the Khmer Republic. On November 27, 1975, Duch sent a letter to Nath requesting that he examine the history of three Lon Nol officials. Duch reported that:

1) Keam Tot was born in Stoung district of Kampong Thom province; his birth father was an upper-level farmer, and his father-in-law, named Srei Pon, was a feudal landowner. While a second-year student of pedagogy during 1958-1960, he signed a petition to the Sihanouk government requesting the execution of three advanced intellectuals. 2) Ngauv Va, place of birth unknown. Relatives reported by research groups to have frequented the houses of Lon Nol, [Long] Boret, and Pan Sothy. He was an advisor of Chhan Sokhom when Chhan Sokhom was Minister of Education. Has a partner named So Kapun, who fled to Phnom Dang Rek when he was a student at the Vithayalai Battambang. 3) Tap Bun Din, a contemporary of mine who lived in my district. Birth father was an upper-level farmer. Father-in-law named Srei Kim Eang, a feudal landowner in Stoung. Tap Bun Din was a social development worker with Tang On and Hang Thun Hak. Tap Bun Din went overseas with Kang Keng.¹³⁸

In regard to the three, Duch proposed: "To arrest or not arrest, that is up to Brother to decide."¹³⁹ Two days later, Nath rewrote the histories of all three according to Duch's report. The document did not state what Nath's decision had been on these three.¹⁴⁰

Nath was zealous about eliminating Angkar's enemies. In a meeting on September 16, 1976, he stated: "Comrade Chea arrested three soldiers from Division 502, and should bring them back."¹⁴¹ In an October meeting to discuss the Party anniversary and national defense, Nath again mentioned the campaign to purge the enemies of the revolution:

[As for] the Party's victory in smashing enemy networks, I am happy. The Party discovered and dug out by the roots important traitors. These enemies had penetrated, but only in theory and not in actuality. Especially the freedom-lovers [puok serei niyum]. Now it is clear from living documents [*ekasar ruos*, witnesses] and the Party has laid it out. I evaluate this as does the Party; that is, the enemies to the west, even if there is a coup in Thailand, cannot attack us. The revisionist enemies to the east are absolutely our enemies. There is much danger, and we must dig [them] out, trunk and roots. Even if any remain, it will be hard for them to attack us.¹⁴²

He was also the quintessential "party man." On September 14, 1976, Nath led two other military cadres, Pheap and Mum, in discussions with Chinese artillery experts. The Chinese included comrade Chhin Y Lin and a deputy technical chairman. The agenda focused on having Chinese technicians provide training to DK artillery units. A cautious man, Nath did not respond to any pro-

posal the Chinese made, biding his time until he could determine the opinion of the upper echelon. Before ending the meeting, Nath expressed his sympathy to the Chinese people regarding the death of Mao Se Tung.¹⁴³

From June 1976 through March 1978, a number of Khmer Rouge military telegrams were copied to comrade Nath. On June 11, 1976 Mut (Meas Mut), the secretary of the 164th Division, sent a telegram to Son Sen reporting the discovery of a letter from a cadre in the 164th Division. The letter was written on June 2, 1976 by a man using the alias *Adit Torsou* (former fighter) and was addressed to "Brother Sam-at and Brother Bun Ny, 164th Battalion, Eastern Zone." The envelope contained the message "Issued from the naval forces, urgent," and the text stated: "The Eastern Zone remembers that blood feud. I send this, having lost hope, to Brother Sam-at and Brother Bun Ny from afar as one who loves life. I am very afraid these days because Brother has assigned me to incite, but I have achieved this twice and now I am exposed again. The second time I got a little bit of information that Angkar has made arrests and interrogated [them] for contacts ..." At the end of the telegram, Mut proposed to Brother 89, "As for this matter, I ask for Angkar's decision, as it seems fairly clear. I am examining the writing further."¹⁴⁴ The anonymous cadre had very little chance of escaping arrest and death.

On March 6, 1978 comrade Rom, Secretary of the 117th Division, sent a report to the General Staff on the results of attacks on the Vietnamese along National Highway 13. The report was sent to General Staff in message 06 and copied to Brother 89, Brother Nath, Brother Ren, and for files: "On March 2, 1978, our units, in cooperation with regional forces, implemented the plan to attack Youn enemy positions along National Highway 13 one kilometer from our territory. During one day and one night we mastered the positions and totally smashed the enemy. We killed 98 head of Yuon on the spot, and 6 others fled to Loc Ninh. Let me inform you that we captured one."¹⁴⁵ Statistics lists of Office S-21 show 488 Vietnamese prisoners as of this date.¹⁴⁶

In mid-1978, documents sent to the General Staff were not copied to comrade Nath as they had been previously. In August,

Nath was assigned to serve in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under Ieng Sary. On October 8, Ieng Sary, Nath, and three other officials (Hok, Bun and Chan) traveled to New York to participate in a United Nations meeting. While overseas, Nath had three missions to complete. He was to be posted to the UN, travel to Latin America, and visit the Philippines and Indonesia with comrade Ieng Sary. But after being in the United States only a week, Ieng Sary left for a trip to Southeast Asia.

Nath returned to Cambodia on December 21st. During his time overseas, he seemed to have lost the Party's confidence. Soon after entering Cambodian territory, he had become an enemy of Angkar and began a new mission for the Party: writing his own confession at S-21.

Part of Nath's confession has disappeared, but two separate pieces of it were re-typed at some point. They are dated December 25, 1978 and December 31, 1978.¹⁴⁷ On December 25, 1978, he wrote: "When On spoke of attacking the brothers of the CPK Central Committee, my facial expression was not normal. I was afraid because I have seen it with my own eyes on two occasions, in the North in 1977 and in the East in 1978, and I myself participated in cleaning them out."¹⁴⁸

Comrade Pin

Born Khoem Pin, Pin's revolutionary names were "Ta Pin" and "Pin." When he became the secretary of Division 703 in 1972, Son Sen made Pin responsible for both military and security matters, as he did all division secretaries subordinate to the General Staff (it was official CPK policy that the minister of defense examine military and security matters).¹⁴⁹ Pin always attended the military security meetings held for division secretaries and deputy secretaries, which were led by Son Sen. During these meetings, Pin reported on his activities.

During 1976, many of these meetings concerned the tasks of the revolutionary army in building socialism and in security affairs. In a meeting on June 1st, Son Sen stated that the army had to play a strong part in the movement of the great leap forward. Also, the

army had to produce three tons of rice per hectare. Last, national defense was the core mission, so forces must be strengthened in politics, morale, organization, and technology.¹⁵⁰ In response to the General Staff's strategy, on August 12th Pin opined, "After study sessions, the unit's fighting spirit is higher than ever before. The cadres are clear in their opinion that they absolutely would achieve three tons per hectare."¹⁵¹ In regards to security, on September 16th Pin reported, "On September 3rd at Sre Cham village there was a gunfire incident and the Cham sharpened their knives, stopped working, and prepared to rebel and attack Cambodians. Eight persons fled in a boat headed for Koh Trol, but we captured them and brought them back to the base area."¹⁵² On May 16, 1976, Pin noted, "There is no problem with enemies in the unit, but on May 11th two skinny long-haired persons were arrested at Phsar Thmei. In the fields, people have fled to the forests."¹⁵³

The General Staff also permitted separate meetings between division commanders. On May 18, 1976, Pin met with comrade Pang, the chief doctor of the General Staff. Pin quoted Angkar: "Comrade Pang, you must take a hard stance, not favor associates. You must hold lifestyle meetings with the medical personnel at all levels each day. Educate them not to go left or right, don't let them be 703rd and 310th at all."¹⁵⁴

On September 9, 1976, Pin opened a meeting with Duch, chairman of Office S-21, and chaired by Son Sen. The meeting focused on the "discovery of enemy leaflets." A memorandum shows that twelve leaflets were scattered by an unknown person walking from the Independence Monument to Watt Botum south of the royal palace. The text of the leaflets was the same as that on a leaflet spread previously near the Chinese Embassy. For example, "The small eat among the small, the big eat among the big. The words of the new pure revolutionary organization." One of the attendees, comrade Pong, assumed that the person was an outsider. He reported that: "From 8:00 to 9:00 o'clock on the evening of the 7th, a person played a cassette stating that the army must implement the dictatorship of the Party. This was heard in the vicinity of the house of comrade San, secretary of the 31st Regiment of the 703rd Division. The Chinese heard this too. They stood and listened." But Pin responded, "In the past this unit has had problems, taking Angkar's

rice and comrade San held political training two or three days later." Duch had another idea: "Before, we arrested Sambat for leaflets. Ask Leat and Mat if the leaflets were from Phuon of the 310th Division. They may have spread many in other areas, but no one has paid any attention to this."¹⁵⁵ Son Sen also assessed the situation:

The leaflets have the same text, and came from the same machine. We agree on this. We must examine Units 170, 703 and other units deployed nearby. Examine the text to see if it is like those in June and July. These leaflets were made near Phnom Penh, made in a legal workplace, a division or regiment headquarters or a ministry. This problem does not come from the outside. Their contacts with the 170th are many, presently in the 170th or among those 170th personnel at [the Ministry of] Industry, or those from the 220th taken in by Ly Phen. Those from the 703rd who come from Region 25, or those in state farm sites from Region 25. So they are nearby or are inside or are among our defensive units. The matter of the leaflets has not damaged us; it is only a provocation to stir up their forces and divide ours. This activity is a joint plan of the enemy. We must be alert in case the enemy fires at Angkar, and be alert for agents within us. As for measures, we must be on high revolutionary alert, as the conflicts are increasingly sharp and the class hatred of the enemies to the west and the east toward the Cambodian revolution is getting stronger. They must attack us. They cannot wait any longer. As for organization, comrades Pong and Kham Mei must see the task as serious and constantly hold political and morale training. Grasp their personal histories, grasp their morale. Prevent conflicts in spirit. The enemies can induce and buy. Anyone we suspect must be removed. On the outside, comrade Pin must re-examine units to see what their activities were on that night. Targets are the old contacts of Sok. Propose that security monitor further enemy activity. Propose that Mit Pong contact the various ministries. The 170th people should be gathered up.¹⁵⁶

Leat's full name was Chhou Bun Leat; he was staff assistant to the 703rd Division command. Leat was arrested on June 27, 1976, accused of planning the killing of S-21 cadres. Leat wrote in his confession that the plan was prepared after Angkar arrested Chan Chakrei, secretary of the 170th Division. Leat wrote, "After the plan failed on June 15th at 6 o'clock, I continued meeting secretly with a contact of Chakrei named Mat, the secretary of a battalion of the 703rd Division, and with Ros Phuon, a member of the 170th Division committee." He claimed, "At that time, I asked Mat to assign his contacts Eng and Sros to spread leaflets, and I immediately returned to Bakou with my messenger after the meeting to avoid

surveillance.”¹⁵⁷

On September 16, 1976, Duch met with comrade Tal, secretary of the 290th Division, and comrade Sok, secretary of the 170th Division, about the enemy situation in both divisions. Tal reported three points: “1) The enemy situation within the unit is not unusual. But on the west bank at Neak Loeung on September 12th someone stole a bag of rice, and the brothers arrested him. Late that night he asked to go relieve himself and while he was being escorted, he jumped into the waters of the Mekong. The brothers shot him dead and he was not interrogated. 2) During late July through September, a soldier named Pin Soeun fled to Kanhchriech district and hid in the house of a woman whose husband had been arrested by Angkar. Now he has been brought back from the base area. 3) Chum, a company-level cadre, went 'free,' moving without permission all the way to Peam Chor district for three or four days. This one said he had once contacted Chakrei.”

Son Sen issued an edict regarding this situation: “Let me inform you of the situation in Region 24 so that you can master control of the 290th Division. After we arrested Chakrei, he implicated some in Region 24 who have contacted the Vietnamese and the Soviets in order to attack us on September 30, 1976. Now Chhouk, the region secretary, has been arrested by us, he has confessed and this confirms what Chakrei has confessed. We must examine the 290th Division, the contacts at Steung Slaut and 24. The names that must be taken are: Chum Chan, Khieu Ma, Chum, and Yos Yan, the brother of Yos Sophon, the cattle thief.” After a short break, when Son Sen reconvened the meeting, Brother 81 decided to: “examine the names taken from the 290th Division, the contacts in Region 24, and Chakrei's contacts.” Comrades Sok and Tal agreed to take the names of an additional 29 others, most of whom were in the 170th Division.¹⁵⁸

Duch explained that taking the 29 names was “based on reasons explained by S-21 and Division 170, their continuous activities were clearly seen, and based upon Angkar's defined goal of taking Chakrei's network.” In addition to the 29, Duch decided to take the wife and niece of Chakrei. He advised that: “We must do what our experience dictates from having constantly taken these groups, and

do whatever necessary to keep Angkar from becoming confused, grasp the units in our hands, and maintain good secrecy. The methods must be discussed with S-21 in order to take and organize command of the units once this group has been taken away. The division must have its people in hand, grasp its forces and weapons, and take care that the enemy cannot re-take the weapons from us." As for specific methods of arrest, Duch instructed that "1) The 290th Division - S-21 and the division - will cooperate and take them on the spot and put them into trucks. 2) The 170th Division - S-21 and the division - will consult and take precise measures to take all forty. As for the two women, wait and think about this later."¹⁵⁹

Aside from security and national defense duties, division commands were to lead the production of food to supply their units. Any food left over after a division's requirements were met was sent to Angkar. In September 1976, Pin reported that more than 400 combatants who were farming rice had fallen ill.¹⁶⁰ Reports by Khat Pat and Ut Srauy stated that the illnesses were a result of insufficient diets and overwork.¹⁶¹ As a solution, Son Sen continued the policy of two cans of rice per day per person until the end of 1976. He explained, "Starting in early 1977 we will supplement morning gruel, more than two cans. This supplement has two purposes, to improve health for national defense and so that the soldiers would be satisfied with the Party. By doing this, we will isolate the enemy and the army will believe even more strongly in the communal system."¹⁶² One month after Son Sen's note regarding food rations, on December 15, Pin reported in a meeting of regiment and division secretaries, deputy secretaries and logistics officers that: "The living standard of the combatants has been appropriately dealt with after Angkar increased issued rations to two cans."¹⁶³

However, the two-can rations were not enough to guarantee adequate food for the revolution because those farming were too weak to produce well. Ut Srauy, who farmed rice in the vicinity of Boeng Cheung Ek, recalled that at times the command would force work to continue until 10:00 p.m.¹⁶⁴ Some soldiers became so hungry that they dared to steal food supplies, an act the Khmer Rouge considered to be a "crime." Instances of combatants destroying communal property were reported by the division commands to the logistics office of the General Staff. On December 22, 1976 comrade Pin

sent a handwritten two-page report to comrade Saom, chairman of Office 62, on food theft and other activities of Unit 08 (a free group):

Revolutionary Force
Division 703

Report of Pin to Saom, Chairman of Office 62

Respects to Comrade Saom, Office 62!
Subject: Activities of Unit 08

1) Meng Nhil pretends to be sick and does not work, and has placed feces in his bed many times. His thievery is constant. The collective reeducates him in the morning, and he steals again in the afternoon. Throws away left-over rice, and yet steals pig slop to eat. In the past, four persons, Eng, Meng, Khon, and Run, have joined together in stealing and killing three chickens. 2) Khon and Run stole a leather water buffalo leash that was tied to a cart and burned and ate it, have eaten raw fish, and eaten a baby pig that they boiled and ate whole, hair and all. If they eat rice, they eat until they can't sit up. They eat more soup than rice; a number ten pot of soup is not enough for eight of them. When cadres hold meetings, they crawl in to listen. 3) Meng Try steals this and that constantly: watches, eggs, rice, pig slop, boils puppies and eats them hair and all. He eats enough, but when full he throws away the leftovers, pretends to be sick, evades work, hides and sleeps under the house, and when our brothers come he flees from under the house to sleep in the shade alongside the dikes in the rice fields. 4) Eng is "free" in moving around, has no discipline, pretends to be sick, is lazy, stole three chickens, and stole coconuts from Unit 31 until they detained him. Steals constantly in spite of instructions. He leaves a meeting and steals again. 5) Samret Bau steals everyday non-stop. Steals eggs, steals chickens, steals rice. He is "free" in movement, has no discipline, always smiles when cadres call him in for reeducation as if it were no matter at all.

Note: As for Unit 08, past experience is that 30 kilograms of rice has been cooked for them, and if 60 kilograms were cooked, they would eat it all up. They eat and eat until they can't get up. In the past, reeducation sessions have been held and issues have been solved, but they have not been reformed. Therefore, propose that they be removed from the unit. The above report is for your information and decision. Respects with the highest revolutionary care. Done on December 22, 1976. 703rd Division command - Pin.¹⁶⁵

By 1978, time was growing short for Pin. Khhuon Son, called Koem Phan, was a combatant messenger in the Region 23 Division of the Eastern Zone. He was arrested and brought to S-21 in March 1978, accused of planning to cooperate with the Vietnamese army to

oppose Angkar and kill comrades Nath and Pin. Koem Phan wrote in his confession:

In March 1978, Brother Sel called Mit Sean, Mit Seng, Mit Man, Mit Samit and me to instruct us on the matter of throwing grenades. He wanted them thrown along the roads from small cars at revolutionary bases, offices, and ministries. After Brother Sel had given the instructions, Man and Sean threw two grenades at Brother Pin's vehicle and at Brother Nath's vehicle. The grenades landed behind the vehicles at Thnol Keng and Thnol Tuol Krauch. In March 1978 Brother Sel sent me to throw grenades at Brother Pin and Brother Nath. I traveled with Brother Sat to Thnol Keng at Krauch village, and the two of us walked west to the barracks of the Samrong district forces. I left one AK rifle and one uniform there, and went to Brother Pin and Brother Nath's place, and was arrested by Pin's men at midnight. Brother Sel's goal had been for me to kill Brothers Nath and Pin. When I reached Pin's place I wore black shorts and a black long-sleeved shirt, no sandals. Pin's troops became suspicious and arrested me right away at midnight.¹⁶⁶

At the bottom of the first page of Koem Phan's confession is a note written by Duch, chairman of S-21, to the upper echelon: "Respected Brother, this one intended to throw a grenade at Pin's place at midnight. One report has already been made to Angkar. This detailed confession is not all that deep. He says that he was only a message runner for his bosses, his Yuon and Cambodian brothers. Two copies of this document have been sent to Brother 89. With respect! Duch 27/3/78." The bottom of the page contains a notation in ballpoint pen: "Received on March 28, 1978."¹⁶⁷

On April 8, 1978, a man called "47" of the Eastern Zone send message number 19 to "Brother Van." The top portion of the message reported, "Comrade Pin has been put in danger by internal enemies once again. His car hit an anti-tank mine emplaced by the enemy and was totally destroyed after he left a meeting. Two guards were killed. One other guard was seriously wounded. (He) may not survive. Comrade Pin was only lightly wounded. He can speak on the radio."¹⁶⁸ The same message reported on methods for

* Also known as the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation, this was a force founded in 1978 by anti-Khmer Rouge Cambodians in Vietnam as an alternative to the Pol Pot regime.

investigating internal enemies so that travel precautions could be taken.

Pin was shot and killed on the Eastern Zone battlefield in December 1978, while leading troops fighting the Kampuchean National Salvation Front and the Vietnamese.*

Some former combatants in the 703rd Division still speak well of the characters of Nath and Pin. A squad leader in the 704th Special Forces Battalion named Ham Chheng stated, "Ta Nath and Ta Pin were strong in their duties and loved their subordinates. Ta Nath loved to joke with those under his command. Ta Pin did not like to joke around quite as much." Um Chheav, chief of the 703rd Division Headquarters, recalled: "Ta Nath and Ta Pin were gentle and honest. They were not 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth' types. If a soldier did not listen to correction once or twice, they would remove him for reeducation according to military discipline."¹⁶⁹ After Nath left the 703rd Division, San, commander of 31st regiment of the 703rd, told Mon, deputy chairman of Office S-21D, "Brother Nath's departure from the division made things difficult for me and all the cadres of the 703rd. He was in fact loud, but he always helped right away with his ideas on every task. He was not often wrong, since he had been involved with all units and movements. When he delegated a task, he followed-up closely." San also stated, "No matter that Brother Nath was sent from the division to some ministry, I will always respect him at all times." Before he left S-21, Nath told Mon, "You must work with revolutionary caution because you may face some difficulties. Duch, the new commander of S-21 doesn't much like to take direction; he prefers to use military methods."¹⁷⁰



Khmer Rouge Army, 1977 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

Chapter 9

THE 704th SPECIAL FORCES BATTALION

The 704th Special Forces battalion was independent of the command of any regiment at its inception. The 704th was created from the 52nd Battalion of Region 25. In 1974 the 52nd was renamed the 143rd Special Forces Battalion of the 12th Division under the command of Khim Vath (also called Hor),¹⁷¹ Mat and Im. The 143rd Battalion was renamed the 704th Special Forces Battalion of Division 703 in 1975. It was

under the command of Uy Beng Leng and Phe Phai Pheap.¹⁷²

During the war, the 704th Battalion played an important role on the battlefield. Before attacking, its forces performed reconnaissance on the enemy position. Furthermore, the 704th Battalion fulfilled the role of a reserve intervention force for any spearhead engaged in intense combat.¹⁷³

Beginning in 1975, the 704th Special Forces Battalion served as a security defense unit for Phnom Penh and guarded Angkar's important work sites. It was also given the mission of arresting the revolution's internal enemies and sending them to Office S-21. Some of its soldiers were assigned to pose as civilians and work in factories to monitor the activities of the "CIA," "KGB" and other enemies who were conspiring to destroy the revolution. In a conversation with a delegation of the Belgium-Cambodia Society on August 5, 1978, Pol Pot stated that: "The revolutionary army has the mission of defense. In the event any unit is occasionally assigned to help, it also has the mission of security."¹⁷⁴

Top Launh was a combatant messenger for comrade Karen, secretary of a battalion of the 12th Division. After the Khmer Rouge victory, he became a soldier in the 704th Special Forces Battalion. According to Top, the majority of soldiers chosen for the 704th had been combatant messengers. They were given special training in the martial arts, including knife and bayonet fighting, and judo. The training was held in the Watt Langkar compound in Phnom Penh.

On several occasions, Top was ordered to work as a guard at political training sessions at the Olympic Stadium. Before anyone was allowed to enter these meetings, Top and other soldiers searched them, taking temporary custody of all weapons and explosives (the guards themselves were armed with pistols). In addition, Top concealed himself in factories so he could follow "enemy" activity:

The battalion command assigned me to disguise myself as a citizen inside the Russei Keo factory for five months to seek out internal enemies. My mission was to follow the enemies in the factory. In the evenings I would walk around and watch all the workers to see who was asleep and who slipped outside, and I was to report to the upper echelon. I never arrested a single enemy or reported the activity of any worker to the upper echelon.¹⁷⁵

In 1976, before going to fight the Vietnamese army, Ut Lat joined in the arrest of about a hundred cadres from the 310th Division and the northern Zone who had been called in for “study” at the National Olympic Stadium. He stated that before entering the stadium, all cadres stood in formation and raised their arms so the security guards could search them. The soldiers were told to arrest one cadre each. When the cadres raised their arms, the security guards grabbed them and tied them with hammock ropes. Ut explained that Ta Nath and Ta Pin ordered the arrests. He did not know where the cadres were sent after being arrested, but recalled that a covered truck took them away. He only heard that they had been sent to the “upper echelon.”¹⁷⁶

Meng Hak, a veteran of the 704th Special Forces Battalion, was assigned to arrest Koy Thuon, secretary of the Northern Zone,¹⁷⁷ who was residing north of Watt Phnom. It took two days and a night before it was possible to arrest Koy because of the many soldiers guarding him. The forces that were to make the arrest were mixed, some from the 704th Battalion and some from the General Staff, and were deployed from the front of the railroad station all the way to Watt Phnom. Meng explained that before they left to make the arrest, he did not know exactly who was to be arrested, and only after the arrest did comrade Pin, the division secretary, hold a meeting to tell the unit that, “Koy Thuon betrayed Angkar.”¹⁷⁸

Phe Phai Pheap (revolutionary name Hor), the deputy secretary of the 704th Special Forces Battalion, received orders from comrade Pin to prepare his forces to be sent to the division headquarters. Hor was told that they were to arrest prisoners or cadres, but he had no idea of who would be arrested. After they returned, Pin called him to a meeting at the division headquarters to discuss the results of the arrests. Only then did Pin reveal that Koy Thuon had been arrested.¹⁷⁹

Nguon Ly was a messenger in the 704th Special Forces Battalion. In December 1975, he was assigned as an interrogator at Office S-21. In July 1977 after Angkar had arrested Sim Mel (also called Man), an interrogator at S-21, Nguon became frightened that

Angkar would arrest him too, and tried to flee to Vietnam. But when he reached Region 25, Nguon was arrested and sent back to S-21. His confession states:

I reached Watt Chong Koh in Tik Vil subdistrict and stopped. I asked to rest in one of the people's houses. The chairman of the cooperative in that village held me in detention and sent me to the subdistrict militia. The subdistrict committee sent me to the District 20 reeducation office for two days. Our friends in the 704th Battalion of the 703rd Division came for me. When I reached the place of the 704th Battalion, Brother "Krei" brought me to S-21.¹⁸⁰

Chea Soeun, secretary of the 32nd Regiment of the 704th Division, was arrested in August 1977. His confession describes the activities of the 704th Special Forces Battalion in cleaning out Angkar's enemies in the Northern Zone:

Later there were reverberations inside the 310th and 450th Divisions in the form of a chain of revolts by some cadres at the platoon, company and all the way up to the division level. Those making the arrests were Beng Leng and Phal Chhep [both men were members of the 704th Division]. I never arrested anyone myself. After the arrests, Phal would always tell stories to other cadres about arresting this or that person or someone in the 450th Division. Phal kept talking, telling everyone that it was Angkar's order to maintain secrecy about the arrests and not to talk about the matter. But he spoke without maintaining any secrecy.¹⁸¹



Khmer Rouge Army, March 10, 1978 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

Chapter 10

SCREENING OUT ENEMY ELEMENTS

To continue the socialist revolution, we must continue eliminating private ownership by the proletariat, the capitalists, the feudalists, the reactionaries that still remain, in the Party stances, opinions and tradition, in the core organizations and in the combatants, male and female, throughout the revolutionary army. We especially must concentrate on eliminating enemies in the ranks of the cadres who still have ownership, both materially and emotionally. Only when we all stand on this position can we build a strong country and a strong army; for example, the unconditional proletariat class dictatorship to defend the Party. Bad elements seize the opportunity to join

the Party, the youth league, and the army in order to get rank and “face” in a private way, or to bore holes into the Party, the army, and there must be a policy of absolutely screening them out.¹⁸²

Son Sen, in a meeting of division
and deputy commanders during August 1976

After eliminating most of the officials of the Khmer Republic, the government turned inward and began screening out its own “bad elements.” The 703rd Division was no exception.

Several offices were used as “reeducation” sites for combatants considered to have impure records, who were related to enemies or “caught up in trends,” or were thought to have committed acts in opposition to the Party. The reform centers included:

- Office 43, which was located west of Watt Langkar in Phnom Penh.¹⁸³
- Office S-21 Khor (S-21B) in Takhmau, south of Phnom Penh.¹⁸⁴
- Office 44 in Takhmau, which was under the command of comrade chairman Try and comrade You Meng Kry (called Mon). This office was connected to Office 15 (the Region 25 security office), which was commanded by comrade Teng.¹⁸⁵

Office S-50, which was located south of Phsar Thmei in the former National Police Commission headquarters (and today is home to the Phnom Penh Municipal Commission), played an important role in detaining and interrogating prisoners. In 1975, before Office S-21 was established, it was a prison for Khmer Republic officials and was under the command of the Phnom Penh military commission (later, it would also house internal enemies).

All of the personnel assigned to S-50 were selected from the 703rd Division. Its chairman, comrade Sem, was responsible for all actions of S-50 and the other three reeducation offices; his notes and signatures can be found on almost all of the interrogation documents drawn up by these offices. However, comrade Nath, chairman of the Phnom Penh military commission, made the actual deci-

sions on the arrest and “smashing” of prisoners.¹⁸⁶ Although relatively few prisoners were detained at S-50 and it did not use intense interrogation or torture, prisoners “disappeared” from this facility every day.

In the early stages of the screening, no important division cadres were arrested. Those screened out were mostly combatants and squad leaders. At this point, prisoner confessions were short, generally three to ten pages. Each confession laid out the cause and date of arrest, and the place of detention. The confession itself was prepared in two sections. One was written by the interrogator; it gave a detailed description of the accused's treasonous activities and contacts. The other part was a summary by the reeducation office committee. Each office committee had to give comrade Sem its recommendation on whether the prisoner should be released or detained further.

Prisoners who were perceived as not having acted in a way that negatively impacted the revolution were released. On December 20, 1975, Hin,¹⁸⁷ the commander of the 96th Battalion, drew up a list of 49 prisoners from the 44th Company who had been released back to the 703rd Division command. The prisoners had been accused of “[a]llying with one another to run back home, shooting themselves in their arms, committing moral violations, moving about freely, and being involved with family trends.”¹⁸⁸

The confessions of 25 prisoners from the 703rd Division who were released between August 1975 and March 1976 were examined for this monograph. They had been arrested and sent to different reeducation offices on such grounds as desertion from the ranks, inciting other soldiers in their unit to run back home, moving around freely without a permission letter, laziness, feigned illness, random firing of weapons for fun, moral violations, and speaking out against cadres. The confessions of all 25 bore the remarks and signature of comrade Sem. After determining that these individuals had no negative impact on the revolution, Sem noted on the front page “Agreed” or “Proposed for release.” Sem sent his recommendations on serious offenders to comrade Nath. He also generally made notes to his subordinates at the end of the confessions.

An uneducated rice farmer and laborer, Bin Lep joined the revolution in January 1975. In February, he was assigned to the 12th Platoon, 1st Company, 130th Battalion, 703rd Division (Bin also had an older brother who was a combatant in the 270th Regiment of the 703rd Division),¹⁸⁹ and in September 1975, became a guard at Office M-21.

On October 1, 1975, Bin was arrested and sent to Office 44. His confession states the reasons for his arrest: "Interrogating prisoners without being assigned to do so, and using a Lon Nol-era national flag as a sign to block a road." In the assumptions section, an Office 44 cadre wrote: "As it is seen that this one acted unintentionally and had no other suspicious activities related to politics, propose that Angkar release this one." Sem made two points in response: "1) As instructed by Brother 03, explain again. 2) Opinion on this matter is written at the conclusion." "Brother 03" was comrade Nath, secretary of the 703rd Division. On the last page of the confession, Sem noted that: "The matter of interrogating prisoners without being assigned to do so and the matter of placing the national flag may be considered as ordinary for a combatant with no experience." Bin was released on March 8, 1976.¹⁹⁰

Yi Song Heng was a combatant in the 99th Company of the 703rd Division, and was arrested on January 5, 1976 for pretending to be sick, moving around freely, inciting soldiers to run back home, and complaining about insufficient food rations. He had spoken against Angkar saying, "After liberation, we are still told to work non-stop and not given enough food. They only order us around, and don't even think of doing anything themselves."

Yi was held at S-21B for three months on these charges. His thirteen-page confession is written in summary form by an interrogator. The section on counter-revolutionary activities includes the following: "In March 1975 while staying at the 270th Regimental hospital, fled home for one day and one night because missed his mother. In October ran back home for five days at the urging of Uy Sam and Oeur Meng." His interrogator wrote, "Song Heng had not just fled home, but had encouraged others to do so many times. In October Song Heng organized Paot, Chou Treav, Oeung Meng, Phoeung, and Leang not to work and to pretend to be sick because

Angkar had them work without rest and left them hungry. Run back home, the rice there is delicious." The middle of the confession contains a typed "Table of Contacts," showing Yi's "upper" and "lower contacts." The "upper contacts" were soldiers or cadres who had influence over Ye and had moved him to betray the revolution. They included three soldiers from the 703rd Division: Uy Am, Long Noch, and Hing Mean. The latter two "were with those released from S-21B." Lower contacts were those under Yi's influence who had acted against the revolution at Yi's instruction. They included five combatants in the 260th Battalion of the 703rd Division: Paot, Chou Laov, Ouer Meng, Eam Leang, and Touch Phoeun.¹⁹¹ On Song Heng's confession, the notation "release" appears, dated March 8, 1976 and signed "S21."

However, Yi Song Heng got into trouble again. His younger brother Yi Leang Mean stated that: "About three months after the liberation of Phnom Penh, he [Yi Song Heng] fled back home because he had malaria. But the next day his command came and arrested him, beat him, and walked him back in chains." In 1976, while tending buffalo at Takhmau with another young boy, Yi Leang Mean saw his older brother, in chains, being escorted by security forces out of a three-story school building to plant vegetables. Yi Leang Mean saw the security guards with whips, cart axles and hoes walking many prisoners to the agricultural work site. He left to tell another of his brothers about it. This brother worked at the handicapped veterans office of the 703rd Division at Prek Hau. Yi Leang Mean recalled: "The next morning, he [my older brother] went to talk to the prison chief. I don't know what he said. Some months later they sent him to Battambang, and Yi Song Heng was never seen at the vegetable plot again."¹⁹² No one in Yi Song Heng's family has heard from him since 1976.

The confession of 21-year-old Min Kan was handwritten by an Office S-50 cadre and dated August 18, 1975. Min Kan had been arrested and sent to Office 43 for twenty days before being transferred to Office 50. Min was accused of having a six-point plan: 1) seek a way to flee the battlefield; 2) incite the soldiers to hate the cadres by bringing up inequalities in work and food rations between the two; 3) incite demonstrations demanding wives; 4) incite soldiers to run back home and flee to the forests; 5) prepare to

seize militia weapons and create a guerilla forces; and 6) gather grenades and kill cadres. On page one of Min's confession, the Office commander wrote: "Proposed for release." Sem replied: "Agree to release, 1-1-76," adding: "Although this guy deserted his unit many times (three times), and 2) although this guy has incited others to desert, these activities, at this time, may be overlooked because the confession was honest and shows he has the idea of reforming himself. So, propose this one be released."¹⁹³

There is another confession for Min dated January 1, 1976. It states that in December 1973, he ran back home once at the urging of Yim Yon, a company-level cadre. In 1974, Hy Heng, a cadre in the 2nd Company, led him to run back home twice. In August 1975, Min encouraged Sen Sri and Bau Ret to flee for home, but neither one did so.¹⁹⁴

According to Men Lay, Min Kan's mother, after Min had not seen his mother or father for four years, he missed his parents and left his unit to return home. Min forged his own permit letter. Although he told his mother he had requested the letter from his commander, one of Min's older brothers knew the truth. Min had not even been home a day before his unit command came to call him back. Men Lay said, "When Min Kan came, he had a cattle tie-down strap, and I assumed he was tending cattle and did not know he had run away. I asked him to eat, but he would not. His facial expression showed he was worried." Men Lay remembered that Min did not sleep that night. She comforted him, saying, "I don't know what to do, son; if they require that they take you, no matter what, there is nothing we can dare do." The next afternoon, when Min was bathing, Srauch, his commander, and two soldiers called him to a boat on the east bank. Men Lay continues: "I assumed they took him back to his unit. When he was being taken away in the boat, he called out to his sister-in-law, who had come back from cutting firewood, 'Sister, tell my mother and father they are taking me to the Po Bet Tonle Office.'" The Po Bet Tonle Office, called "Office 18," was the District 18 (Koh Thom) security office in Region 25. Men Lay heard that after the liberation of Phnom Penh, Min was blind in one eye and was serving at T-2 (Textile Factory 2). However, Min's family has not had any information about him since then.¹⁹⁵

During 1976, 25 prisoners, including some whom comrade Sem proposed be detained for further interrogation, were released. However, not a single one of them returned home after the Khmer Rouge regime ended in 1979. Even today, some of the families await the return of their children. Men Lay, for example, still holds out hope that her son is alive: “The fortune teller said that my child had not died. I fix my eyes on the road and watch for my child.”¹⁹⁶



Khmer Rouge Cadres, December 1977 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

Chapter 11

AT PREY SAR PRISON

Office S-21 Khor (S-21D) was located in Prey Sar Prison in the Dangkao district of Kandal province. Also known as “Office 24” and Prey Sar Prison, it was a branch of the infamous Office S-21 (Tuol Sleng

Prison). Its inmates came from the 703rd Division as well as several other army units.

Office S-21D was tasked with reforming and reeducating combatants who had impure histories, were involved with enemy trends (had relatives considered to be enemies of the state), or opposed the revolution. Another of its primary missions was to farm rice to supply Office S-21 and its branches.¹⁹⁷ The men and women incarcerated at Prey Sar were “reformed” by providing labor to farm the rice. A former messenger for Division 703 claimed that those who violated military discipline and who had been instructed three times, but still refused to reform themselves were sent to Prey Sar for reform. “Prey Sar was a reform site, and the reformation was done by rice farming, but they could not leave the place, and the discipline was most strict.”¹⁹⁸

S-21D's chief was Nun Huy, called Huy Sre.¹⁹⁹ You Meng Kry, called Mon, was his deputy. Before working at S-21D, both men were combatants in the 703rd Division.

Huy Sre

Huy Sre was born into a lower-middle class farming family in March 1951 at Tonle Bati village, Takeo province. He joined the 12th Division (later the 703rd Division) on April 7, 1970. Huy Sre's wife was named Prak Samut, called Prok Khoeun. She was born in 1953 at Rumchek village, Takeo province. She joined the revolution in March 1972 in order to “free the poor class.” In March 1977 the Party assigned her to serve in S-21 under Duch.

The date on which Huy Sre was made chairman of S-21D is not known. He fulfilled many important tasks for the Party, including raising crops, Party policy, and the smashing the revolution's enemies.

After returning from medical treatment at the General Staff hospital in July 1977, Huy Sre prepared a plan for rice farming to meet the production goals set by the General Staff (S-21D had been given a 600-acre plot of land for that purpose). To accomplish the plan, he organized the “Joint Committee” or the “The Standing

Committee of Office 24, which included: 1) Mit Run, joint chairman responsible for transplanting; 2) Mit Pech,²⁰⁰ responsible for plowing the plots; 3) Mit Saroeun, responsible for transporting seedlings; 4) Mon, responsible for seedling beds; 5) Mit Bouch, responsible for transplanting; 6) Mit Phum, responsible for pumping water; and 7) Sim Mel, called Man, member assigned with Mit Phum.²⁰¹ Huy Sre also announced the organization of an agricultural committee at S-21D, which included: Mit Run as chairman, Mit Phum as deputy chairman, and Mit Khat, Mit Than, Mit Srou, and Mit Neary Sreang as members.

On September 19, 1976, Huy Sre took part in a meeting of division secretaries and logistics officers, and regimental secretaries. The agenda was: the enemy situation, raising crops, the floodwaters, health, food supplies for each division, and the Party's morale, political and organizational situation. Relative to the enemy situation, Huy Sre told Son Sen and other attendees: "In the past month there has been nothing important, that is, only running around stirring up demands not to work and demands for more food. The problem of escapees continues, but it being dealt with as well." He also mentioned the health situation of the troops, saying, "400 are sick, but no one has died."²⁰²

Huy Sre did not have complete responsibility for deciding the fates of enemies. Instead, he always proposed his opinions and decisions to the upper echelon. When comrade Nath oversaw special security matters, Huy Sre sent his reports on enemy activity to him. On January 19, 1976, Huy Sre sent a report to Nath ("Brother 03") on the activities of three soldiers in Units 11 and 13 of S-21D. He wrote that all three soldiers were "free" in character, were lazy and did no work at all. Two soldiers from Unit 13 were being held at the office, and the other was with a group of released soldiers. On this matter, Huy Sre asked, "What does Brother 03 decide?"²⁰³

After Nath was transferred from *santebal* (special security) duties to become an assistant chief of the Army General Staff, Huy Sre's reports on the enemy situation were sent to Duch and other S-21 cadres for examination. On April 7, 1977, Huy Sre made a list containing the names of two families to be executed and sent it to Duch, chairman of S-21. On the first page, he wrote: "Those to be

removed, the families of Sokh and Mae Lon.” The two families had a total of 18 members. In the left margin of the first page, Duch responded, “Interrogate four, beat the rest to death.” Huy Sre replied to Duch, “Request Office 21 help in interrogating three.”²⁰⁴

On July 13, 1977, a list entitled “Names of Prisoners to be Smashed, Brother Huy Sre's Section,” records, “Altogether 178 from the rice section have been smashed, including 160 children.” The list was made by Hor, deputy of S-21.²⁰⁵ In April of that same year, Huy Sre compiled a “Personal histories of pregnant prisoners” statistics list for eleven prisoners sent to S-21. In the list's “various events” section, he wrote the following remark next to nine of the eleven names: “Close to giving birth.” For three others Huy Sre wrote, “The wife of Saret, Phuong, Eng, whom Angkar has smashed already.” At the bottom of the list he noted, “Among them are some small children as well.”²⁰⁶

On May 10, 1977, twenty-one prisoners were sentenced to execution at S-21D. Huy Sre made a list entitled “Names of prisoners to be removed” and sent it to comrade Duch. Most were former teachers. They included Uon Thul, an elementary school principal and his two daughters, and Ly Sam-at, a teacher, and his wife and their two children.²⁰⁷

Huy Sre and his wife were arrested on December 1978 and taken for imprisonment and interrogation to a special prison.²⁰⁸ Huy Sre had been accused of joining in a plan to attack the CPK. Although he wrote his final confession on December 7, 1978, no records have been found that show the dates on which he and his wife were executed.²⁰⁹

You Meng Kry (Mon)

Also called Mon, You Meng Kry was the deputy chief of S-21D. He had been a teacher during 1958-1970. Mon was a well-connected man. He was a friend of Ta Nath, the commander of the 12th Division, who became deputy chief of the Army's General Staff in early 1976. Mon also had close relations with Sok But Chamraen, the chief of Region 25, and Vorn Vet, the former chief of Region 25 who became deputy prime minister for economics in 1976.

After most of the Khmer Republic officials had been eliminated in 1975, the Khmer Rouge began the first wave of purging the enemies within the revolution's ranks. Regions 25 and 24 were among the first groups to be targeted, with cadres from the Northern, Eastern, and Northeastern zones following later.²¹⁰ In September 1975, a month after being made the assistant to comrade Try at Office 44 in Takhmau, Mon went to that region to follow up on enemy contacts there.

In November, he traveled to Region 22 to assist Muth, the region's secretary, with *santebal* matters, and worked regularly with Man, the regional security chairman. Mon told Man, "These days there are more than one thousand prisoners that the region has not yet decided upon." After cleaning out the enemies in Region 22 in January 1976, Mon was put in charge of living conditions at S-21. In the same month, he traveled to the Northwestern Zone to track down the enemies whose names had appeared in "Ministry S-21" confessions, bringing with him what he called "CIA photos and documents." When Mon showed them to Ke Kim Huot, chief of Region 7, he told Ke, "Now the ministry has arrested spy leaders and policemen and has re-interrogated them."²¹¹

In February 1976, Nath assigned Mon to work with Chap Chea in Region 25 to follow up on daily reports from along the border. After Nath left Ministry S-21 in May 1976, the upper echelon assigned Mon to work as deputy chairman of Office 24 (S-21D) with Huy Sre.²¹²

Mon seemed to resent his tenure at S-21D. He once told Srou, chairman of the 13th Company at Prey Sar, "Srou, do you see? The war was difficult, life-and-death. The revolution required us to lead units in combat. But when the war ended, they abandoned us to farm rice and do reform work at Office S-21. As for important tasking, the base class gets it all. Even those who knew nothing of the battlefield at all, they hold important assignments. Thinking about it, we, Srou and I, made the revolution and (now) only wait to die, because Office 21 is a prison, and we are only either in custody or out of custody, that's all."²¹³

Mon was forty years old when he was arrested on November 16, 1977; he was killed in early 1978. He left behind a 96-page confession. At the conclusion of his confession, Mon implored Angkar for mercy:

Respected Angkar!

The reports sent like the one above, I have sent to Angkar most honestly without concealing a thing. So, I ask Angkar to forgive me and my family and let us live to again see the light of the socialist revolution. Even if I must live as a prisoner, have the tasks of a coolie laborer, I will be satisfied and will abandon any treason against the Party for my entire life.

Highest respects
January 21, 1978
You Meng Kry, called Mon²¹⁴

The Prisoners

Because they were considered to be “reformable,” prisoners at S-21D had a better chance of avoiding execution than those at Office S-21. In a meeting of deputy division secretaries in October 1976, Son Sen called the prisoners at Prey Sar “free enemies” (*khmang serei*), which meant that they had to be constantly reeducated.²¹⁵

About one hundred female combatants were selected for reformation/reforging at Prey Sar.²¹⁶ Like other soldiers, Angkar divided them by “class” (*vannak*). Combatants of the “predictably soft class” (*vannak teaytuon*) were kept in one place and those in the proletariat class were housed in another.

Rath Nim, a combatant in the 703rd Division, was sent to S-21D because one of her brothers had been a Lon Nol soldier. Sary,²¹⁷ the secretary of her female battalion, called her name along with those of about 300 other male and female combatants, and had them put in trucks headed for Prey Sar (Office S-21D) without giving a reason. At S-21D, Rath was assigned to plant crops and farm rice with almost no rest. She secretly told Phat, a fellow female combatant, “We probably are ‘involved,’ and Angkar has removed us and brought us here. When we were soldiers in the war, we fought to build ourselves until we nearly died, we slept in the forest. But after

the victory, it turns out that Angkar will not let us stay in Phnom Penh."²¹⁸

A one-page summary biography form was prepared for Rath at S-21. At that time, Rath used the name Saom Nim (Saom was her father's family name). It shows that she joined in revolution via Division 703 on May 15, 1974. The entry for "personal involvements" states: "fled home for one day one time." A photograph of Rath is attached to the biography; under it, an examiner wrote, "Good potential, even better."²¹⁹ Rath stated that in late 1978, Yon, commander of her female battalion, took the photograph while she was carrying water for cooking at S-21D. She recalled that after being photographed, each person had to fill out a one-page form and give it to their group commander.²²⁰

Tuy Kin was a combatant in the 703rd Division. After the liberation of Phnom Penh, Yon,²²¹ the battalion secretary, assigned her to farm rice and tend vegetables at Prey Sar. Because she had an uncle who had been a captain Pochentong, Angkar allowed her to go into the city. Tuy's one-page biography, which was prepared at S-21, shows that she joined the revolution on February 4, 1973, and used the name Neang Kin after her father. The history form shows that she "once ran back home." Tuy Kin's photo is attached in the left margin.²²²

Ven Heang volunteered to serve the revolution as a red female combatant in the 703rd Division in April 1973. Between April 17, 1975 and the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime on January 6, 1979, Ven was never allowed to visit her family. Each day at dusk her father Lach Phan stood under a tamarind tree in front of the house watching the road for his daughter's return. He asked for information about his daughter from any soldier returning home. Ven Run, Heang's mother, said that: "He would watch the road for her until he ran out of food and water." Lach fell ill and died in 1983 without seeing his daughter. In 1992, when Cambodians were repatriating, Ven returned home with her husband and two daughters.²²³

In 1978, Office S-21D prepared a one-page summary biography form for Ven and attached her photograph. The form shows that she was then 22 years old, and was an assistant female squad leader in

the 703rd Division. She came from the poor farmer class and had been a fish catcher before joining the revolution. Ven's biography was written while she was being reformed at S-21D because she had "once ran back home." The biography section contains the date she arrived at S-21D: "Joined the unit [Prey Sar] on 23-12-75."²²⁴

Yon Peng Kry was a combatant in the transportation section of the 703rd Division. His responsibilities included transporting Chinese technicians to the Kampong Chhnang airfield and other sites. At 4:00 a.m. one day in 1977, a unit commander told Yoan to take vegetables from Kampong Speu to Phnom Penh. Driving while sleepy, he overturned his truck near Bek Chan. He was arrested and sent to Office 24 for having "driven and overturned a vehicle." Yoan was sent to Prey Sar to be reformed by rice farming.²²⁵

While at Prey Sar, Yoan was made to write a biography form like the other soldiers. In his "summary history," he wrote, "Joined the unit [Prey Sar] on 5-8-77," which is consistent with the details of events that he remembers from the Khmer Rouge regime. In his history form, Yoan stated that his birth name was Meas Peng Kry, his alias was "Kry," and he was then 22 years old. He joined the revolution and the 703rd Division on March 8, 1973.

The histories of Tuy Kin, Rath Nim, and Ven Heang were prepared at S-21 at the same time and have similar characteristics. The three women soldiers were sent to S-21D on the very same day, November 12, 1975.

After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, Office S-21 was reorganized by Vietnamese museum experts. In 1979, it was renamed The Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes. The museum displays photographs of many of the victims and Khmer Rouge cadres. Photos of Tuy Kin, Ven Heang, Rath Nim, and Yon Peng Kry have been enlarged and are on display there. Tuy Kin's half-body portrait photo, which was taken at Prey Sar in 1978, resulted in her imprisonment for 18 months (circa 1984) after she was accused by the Kandal Provincial Court of killing hundreds of people at Tuol Sleng Prison during the Khmer Rouge regime. Because of this, Tuy has been suspected by her neighbors for more than twenty years. She has issued a denial, however: "I killed no one."²²⁶

A few prisoners were luckier; they were found to be innocent or reformed, and then released. After Phnom Penh was liberated, Saom Tong, a platoon leader in the 170th Division, was assigned to guard the School of Fine Arts on the north side of the royal palace. When someone threw a grenade at the rear of the palace, Saom and other soldiers became suspect, and were arrested and sent to Office S-21D. Saom claimed that forces within the 310th Division threw the grenade. After the command of S-21D had researched the incident and determined that he was not involved, Saom was sent to the construction site at Kampong Chhnang airfield.²²⁷

Serious prisoners at S-21D were sent on to S-21. Sim Mel, called Man, was a messenger for comrade Nath (the 12th Division secretary) and served as an interrogator at Office S-21 from July 1976 until March 1977. Man was sent to S-21D for beating four prisoners to death during interrogation. On October 28, 1977, Man was arrested and brought back to S-21 for being careless and not pumping water into the fields in time to transplant rice. Man had become an enemy of Angkar and was interrogated by Chhin and Vun between November 3, 1977 and January 13, 1978. Man's 97-page confession was dated on twenty-two separate occasions, showing that he was interrogated twenty-two times. After enough information was obtained from his confession, the command of S-21 held Man to await a decision and orders from the upper echelon. On April 30, 1978, Man was taken to be killed at the Boeng Cheung Ek killing fields.²²⁸ As Son Sen, Brother 89, stated, "The screening out of enemy elements must absolutely remove them. The "free" ones should be gathered together to raise crops for their units. Those involved must be reeducated."²²⁹



S-21 (Tuol Sleng) Prison ♦ Picture drawn by Bou Meng (Former S-21 prisoner)
Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

Chapter 12

OFFICE S-21:

TUOL SLENG PRISON

We have smashed and swept clean the enemy's bases, the CIA, KGB, and the Yuon swallows of land. ... We have agreed on these purges of enemies, and at the same time we have agreed that the enemies still exist in our ministries and in each of our units. Therefore, we must continue the purges and complete them totally in the ministries and in each of our units.

We must do whatever is necessary to prevent our enemies from breaking out and expanding further.

A Khmer Rouge report, *Working
with all Unit Committees Regarding Enemy Activities*²³⁰

Even before they came to power, the Khmer Rouge leadership created security offices at the zone, region, and subdistrict levels. In the months following liberation, they also founded a central-level security office called “Office S-21.” The offices at all levels operated at full capacity and maintained close communications with one another while the regime held power.

Like the lower-level offices, S-21 was created because the Khmer Rouge leadership felt that Cambodian society was full of “enemies” (*khmang*).²³¹ Unlike them, however, there was no reformatting or reeducation of prisoners at S-21. Being sent to this office was a near-certain death sentence: only 7 of its approximately 20,000 prisoners were still alive when the regime ended in 1979.

S-21 was, in effect, its own legal system, acting as the police who investigated and tracked down potential criminals, the judge of a prisoner's guilt or innocence, and the executioner. The 1976 Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea ostensibly vested power with the courts. Article 9, Chapter 7, states that the courts were: “People's courts, the representatives of justice for the people, the defenders of justice for the people, the defenders of the people's freedom and rights, and [to] punish all activities in opposition to the people's state or all violations of the people's state law. All levels of courts are chosen by the people's assembly and are appointed.”²³²

But the courts of Democratic Kampuchea did not fulfill the functions described in the Constitution. Neither did power originate from the people, as the Khmer Rouge leadership constantly told its members. Instead, all power and decisions resided only with Angkar. Thus, justice was dispensed at the whim of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The name “S-21” first appears in a number of Khmer Rouge

documents that were written during June 1975, about two months after the regime took power. The Letter “S” stands for “security” (*santesok*) or “special security” (*santebal*). The number “21” is a code to designate the physical location. Officially S-21 was called “Office S-21” (*munti S-21*), and it was under the control of the Army General Staff.

S-21 was given various names. At times, it was called “Ministry S-21” (*krasuong S-21*). Two reports use the name “M-21” for Office S-21.²³³ Another of its names was noted by Tiv Ol, called Penh, the committee secretary of the Ministry of Information. Tiv wrote in his confession: “On the afternoon of June 6, 1977, Angkar sent me to *krasuong santebal* [the special security ministry].”²³⁴ Seat Chhe, called Tum, was the secretary of Region 22; he later became a prisoner at S-21. In a letter he wrote to his daughter on May 4, 1977, he called Office S-21 by a rather ironic name: “From the special hospital of Angkar to Pha, this father's beloved daughter! Your father is in grave danger, as the CIA group has attempted to poison me. Now Angkar is concentrating on treating me in Angkar's special hospital. I don't know whether they can save me or not. Don't go asking around, because this is a secret matter. ... I send you a kiss from afar, and take my leave with the greatest regret.”²³⁵

The Facilities

During its first eight months of operation, Office S-21 was under the 703rd Division and was located in the compound of the National Police Commission south of Phsar Thmei.²³⁶ In March or April 1976, as the number of prisoners rose, Office S-21 was relocated to the Tuol Svay Prey High School in the Sangkat Tuol Svay Prey area of Phnom Penh.

Built in 1962 on a 600 by 400 meter plot of land, the school was originally called Vithayalai Nhonheayat. In the 1970s during the Khmer Republic, it was renamed Vithayalai Tuol Svay Prey. In the rear of the compound were two wooden school buildings with thatched roofs that comprised the Boeng Keng Kong Primary School. This school was later renamed the Tuol Sleng Primary School.²³⁷

Former S-21 prisoner Chum Manh, called Mei, described Tuol Sleng as being surrounded by a sheet metal wall that extended on the north side to Preah Sihanouk Boulevard, on the east side to Preah Monivong Boulevard, on the south to Mao Se Tung Boulevard, and on the west to Street 163.²³⁸ Neou Kantha, aka Tha, was an interrogator at S-21. In this confession, he wrote: "I am in a place surrounded by galvanized sheeting. I heard the brothers in meetings say that the north side of S-21 stops at the road to the stadium, the south side stops next to Watt Tuol Tumpoung, the west side is next to Watt Mahamontrei, and the east is next to the Phsar Thom."²³⁹

The inner wall was topped with a dense fence of electrified barbed wire to prevent prisoners from escaping. According to Neou Soeun, called Doeun, a military electrician at S-21, the fence was connected to the power circuit every night. Doeun recalled that one prisoner was electrocuted while trying to escape.²⁴⁰

The lower levels of the four buildings in the school compound were divided into small cells, about 2.0 by 0.8 meters, one for each prisoner. All windows were blocked with strong steel bars and the rooms were closed to hold in sound. Interrogations were carried out in secret in the buildings around S-21. In mid-1978 the Khmer Rouge used Building "B" (Khor) as an interrogation site, while Building "D" housed prisoners. Building "A" (Kor) on the south side was a special prison for holding and interrogating important prisoners. (Suos Thy and Him Huy also claimed that high-level KR prisoners were held in a special detention block. This special prison was in a building adjacent to the south side of the S-21 compound. Low-level soldiers were not assigned there. Only Duch, Hor, Chan and their aides worked in the special prison.²⁴¹) Building "C" was located in the middle and was used for painting portraits and making statues of Pol Pot.²⁴²

Various personal history documents of cadres show that in 1975 Office S-21 had many branches. These included an animal husbandry site at Boeng Tumpoung, Office 44, Office S-21A, Office S-21C at Takhmau, Office S-21D at Prey Sar, and an execution site at Boeng Cheung Ek. In 1976, after S-21 relocated to the Tuol Svay Prey high school site, Office 44 and Office S-21A were dissolved,

and in 1977 Office S-21C was consolidated into Office S-21.²⁴³

Today, S-21 is known as “Tuol Sleng.” As a noun, *tuol* means land that is higher than the land surrounding it. As an adjective, it means having a bad effect, causing a reaction. As a noun, the word *sleng* is the name of a poisonous fruit that grows in Cambodia, of which there are two types: the *sleng thom* (big sleng) and the *sleng voar* (vine sleng). The *sleng thom* is a tree with leaves and large fruit, while the *sleng voar* is a small vine-shaped plant with small fruit. Both plants have the same poisonous properties.²⁴⁴

The Command Structure

Despite its egalitarian claims, Democratic Kampuchea valued its leaders more highly than it valued others, at least until they were perceived as betraying the revolution. As Nuon Chea, deputy secretary of the Central Committee of the CPK, explained to a delegation from the Workers' Party of Denmark that was visiting Phnom Penh in July 1978:

We absolutely must defend the leadership apparatus. If we lose members but maintain the leadership, we can continue our victories. The strategy is to defend the party leadership at all costs. As long as the leadership remains alive, the loss of 200 or 300 members is not equal to the loss of two or three leaders. Better to lose the members than to lose the leaders. If not, then the Party would have no head and could not lead the struggle.²⁴⁵

The Office S-21 leadership committee changed at least three times during the regime. Its first chief was Nath (see Chapter 11), then secretary of the 703rd Division. The confession of You Meng Kry, aka Mon, the deputy chairman of S-21D, stated that comrade Nath ceased commanding the 703rd Division in December 1975 because he had to personally take charge at Office S-21. Not long thereafter, in early January 1976, Nath was transferred from Office S-21 to the General Staff.²⁴⁶ Nath was succeeded by Sem, who managed affairs at Office S-21 for only a short time (no documents have been found that indicate what happened to him). Hor was assigned as his deputy chief for guards and prisoner arrests. He remained in this position until 1979 when he was assassinated.

After Nath departed, comrade Sem became chairman of Office

S-21. Sem had wide experience in security matters. Although no documents have been found that show his assignments before April 17 or his appointment to Office S-21, Sem's notes and signatures appear on many prisoners' documents starting in late 1975.

On November 25, 1975, comrade Teng, chairman of Office 15 (the security office of Region 25 in the Southwestern Zone), sent a summary of Hing Raya's confessions to Office 703. It stated that 18-year old Hing left Phnom Penh with her parents and siblings and headed south toward Long Binh market in Vietnam. She was arrested on October 26 at the Cambodia-South Vietnam border and sent to Office 15. After she was interrogated for a month, Teng decided to send her to Office S-21. On the cover letter, he wrote: "Respects to the comrade brothers of Office 703. For your information. Office 15 requests to send to comrade brothers the case of a female spy named Hing Raya, an agent of Thao Khinh, a Vietnamese living in Vietnam. Request that those brothers responsible for this matter examine this further and make further decisions. Please accept my absolute respects for the combat mission of purging the enemy. Chairman of Office 15, Teng." On the same page, Sem replied to the Region 25 Committee: "Copy to comrade brothers [of Region] 25 for your information. These are documents on the female spy from 25 who has arrived at 21 [S-21] now. 25-11. Sem."²⁴⁷ He did not give himself any title on this document.

On December 27, 1975, Sem's signature appears on the summary personal histories of at least seven Lon Nol regime officials who had been arrested. Sem prepared these documents for the Phnom Penh Military Committee. He added his unit above his signature on the documents as "Office S-50."²⁴⁸

Starting in January 1976, Sem stopped noting his unit as "Office S-50" and began writing "Office S-21" above his signatures. On January 4, 1976, he attended a meeting of division and regiment commanders at the General Staff to plan rice expenditures for that year. The meeting's reports show that Sem was chairman of "M-21."²⁴⁹ An eight-page report recording "CIA plans" to overthrow the Communist Party of Kampuchea via attacks from the Cambodia-Vietnam border, Thailand, and the sea, was written by comrade Sem in his own hand on March 2, 1976. He signed the last page of

that report as “Office S-21, Signature, Sem.”²⁵⁰

From January 1 through March 8, 1976, notes written by Sem appear on the confessions of at least 25 cadres from the 703rd Division who were imprisoned at Office 44 and Office S-21C. After examining the contents of the confessions, Sem noted his decisions next to some of the names, “release, propose to hold and interrogate further, and question again.” Of the 25 prisoners, Sem proposed that 18 be released.²⁵¹

To fulfill its duties more effectively, the Office S-21 committee was reorganized for the last time in March or April 1976. The committee included:

- Kang Kech Ieu, aka Duch, chairman
- Khim Vath, aka Hor, deputy chairman
- Nun Huy (aka Huy), Sgnuon, Phau, Noeun, Run, Peng, Than, Sok, Khat, and Meng, members.

All twelve members of the new committee were veterans of the 703rd Division, with the exception of Duch.²⁵²

Hor. Kim Vat, called Hor, was deputy chairman of Office S-21 and also served as the commander of its guard forces. Born and raised in Naony village of Kandal province, he joined the revolution on June 13, 1966, and became a Party member on June 16, 1973, gaining the status of full-rights Party member on December 16. Before serving at S-21, Hor was the secretary of the 143rd Special Forces Battalion of the 12th Division.²⁵³ Run, a combatant at S-21, told his friend Mon, “These days when Hor's face appears, everyone gets the shivers.”²⁵⁴

Saom Meth was a rice trader and stuffed roll maker before he was forced by village and subdistrict cadres to join the revolution in 1973. He joined the 12th Division as a combatant and messenger, and became comrade Nath's messenger in 1974. In mid-1975 Nath chose Saom and other combatant messengers for security duty in Phnom Penh. There, he was assigned to guard the “special prison,” also called the “Dam Pheng Prison” (Kuk Dam Pheng), which was located in the vicinity of Phsar Thmei. He later worked as a combatant of the Office S-21 guard unit while Hor was chief of the prisoner guards.

Saom claimed that most of the prisoners at S-21 were personnel from the Lon Nol regime, and they were not heavily tortured. Once, Saom permitted one of his prisoners to relieve himself, and the man escaped. Hor then imprisoned Saom in the special prison because of his carelessness in allowing an escape. Hor screamed at him: "You let a prisoner escape. Now you go to prison to replace him." About a week later, Hor released Saom after the escapee had been recaptured and brought back to the prison.²⁵⁵

Most of the revolutionary comrades were arrested because they were accused of being "concealed enemies boring holes inside the revolution" (*khmang bongkap sy roung phtey khnong padevoat*). This label encompassed anyone accused of being "CIA," "KGB," or a "Youn enemy." The most common way for a cadre to be branded as an enemy was being named in the confession of another.

Hor was no exception to this practice. Him Huy, the deputy chairman of prisoner guards at S-21, remembered that in mid 1977 a Division 703 regimental commander named Pang was arrested and brought to S-21. Him knew that Pang had written in his confession that Hor had collaborated with the Vietnamese and betrayed the revolution, and took that information to Hor. Before Pang's confession reached Duch, Hor's name had already been removed from the document.

Hor survived until the fall of the DK regime. But not long afterward, in February or March 1979, Duch shot and killed him as a result of a dispute over preparing forces to counterattack the Vietnamese army.²⁵⁶

Duch. Comrade Kang Kech Ieu, aka Duch and Khieu, was the chief of Office S-21 and its branches from 1976 until 1979 when the regime collapsed. Born in 1942 to a Khmer-Chinese family at Chyok village in Kampong Thom province, Duch was a good student of mathematics and won first place in a nationwide mathematics contest. After finishing his degree, he competed for a professor of mathematics post at the Vithayalai Skuon in Kampong Cham province.

Kim Suor, a former student of Duch, spoke highly of his teaching abilities: "I studied with him at Skuon sometime around 1964.

He taught geometry, chemistry, and mathematics, and Khmer subjects as well. His activities were different from those of the other teachers. He was close to his students, and his students seemed to love him right away."²⁵⁷

But Duch abandoned teaching and took up Khmer studies at Phnom Penh University, where he lived at Watt Anulaom. Fellow student Sarun recalled: "Duch was a man who did not relish eating and drinking or gambling. But when it came to smoking, he always had one lit up, and at times smoked two or three packs of cigarettes per day." Before leaving to join the revolution, Duch told Sarun, "I do politics to liberate the people and to help the people. We must not let the imperialists step on the heads of the people." Sarun claimed that at that time, many youths who lived in that same monks' dormitory joined the revolution along with Duch.²⁵⁸

Duch did not marry until sometime after 1973. Duch's wife was a revolutionary artist named Leak, who was the daughter of a captain.²⁵⁹

Duch had personal experience both inside and outside prisons. In 1967, he was incarcerated for his involvement with the Khmer Rouge revolution. Chou Chet, aka Sy, secretary of the Southwestern Zone, wrote in his confessions that Duch fled to the forests in 1968, guided by a city messenger (*nirasa krong*). In that same year, the Region 33 committee was appointed: On was made region secretary and Duch was made deputy responsible for southern Kampong Speu.²⁶⁰

Ham In was a prisoner at the Office M-13 prison in Amleang in Kampong Speu province.²⁶¹ He claimed that in 1971, Duch became chairman of M-13 with Mam Nai (aka Chan) as his deputy.²⁶² According to a January 22, 1975 Khmer Republic report on the interrogation of Chheun Sothy, called Sarin, Office M-13 was located on a heavily forested hill on the east bank of the Steung Kraing Ponley stream.²⁶³ Duch's offices there were in two wooden thatched roof buildings about 4 by 6 meters in size. The 18 by 25 meter prisoner cell area was surrounded by a 3 meter-high bamboo fence. Inside were three adjacent pits forming a "U" (literally kor-shaped, kor being the first letter in the Khmer alphabet) for holding male prison-

ers. Each pit was 2 meters deep by 2 meters wide by 10 meters long, and could hold 20 to 30 prisoners. Between the three pits was a place for female prisoners. The prisoners were shackled at all times. Every time it rained, the prisoners were immersed in water.

Sarin recalled that M-13 had about ten guards; all of them were boys from 12 to 15 years of age. "Those kids were vicious and cruel. They cruelly beat the prisoners who were always being interrogated about one thing or another."²⁶⁴

Both Sarin and Ham, an M-13 prisoner, indicated that even old prisoners were beaten with clubs. Ham recalled, "To see it sent shivers up my spine." He named some of the types of torture used there, including: 1) tying both hands behind the back and pulling them up by a rope; 2) pumping the stomach full of soapy water through a tube shoved down the throat; 3) putting a burning torch to the stomach; 4) putting a burning cloth soaked with hot pitch on the prisoners' heads and bodies; 5) tying the prisoners to a post and shooting them in the head; and 6) shoving sharp metal under all ten fingernails and then immersing the fingers in urine.²⁶⁵

Duch proved to be both ruthless and thorough during his tenure at S-21. For example, he not only arrested all the soldiers considered enemies of Angkar but also tracked down and arrested their wives, following the Khmer Rouge slogan: "When removing grass, dig it out by the roots." He had at least ten wives of Division 703 soldiers arrested and sent to S-21:

- Prok Khoeun, wife of Huy Sre, chairman of S-21D
- Nguon Aun, aka Long, wife of You Meng Kry, deputy chairman of S-21D
- Loas Ouen, wife of Nhep Baov, chairman of the division headquarters
- Suos Ngoan, wife of Set Soy, aide to the 703rd Division
- Koy Than, wife of Ly Hauj, a battalion secretary in the 31st Regiment
- Pao Yich, wife of Khat, a battalion secretary in the 33rd Regiment
- Mao Leang, wife of Yin Yun, deputy secretary of a company in the 703rd Division
- Saom Soeun, aka Phoan, wife of Ban Chhan, member of the battalion of the 706th Regiment

- Buth Pheng, wife of Kak Thik, aka Phally, commander of a company in the 706th Battalion of the 703rd Division
- Thai Kim Sok, wife of Khin Yin.²⁶⁶

The wives of Nath (secretary of the 703rd and an assistant on the General Staff) and Son Ty (aka Teanh, chairman of logistics on the General Staff) are not named on S-21 execution lists. However, there is evidence to suggest that these two women had little chance of avoiding arrest. According to Teanh's confession, "I ask that the Party not arrest those whom I have named incorrectly ... my wife and Nath's wife know nothing, Brothers!"²⁶⁷ Another indication of Duch's complicity in the deaths of the Division's spouses is found in the personal history of a prisoner named Pen Nhey, a company secretary in the 703rd Division who was arrested on August 1, 1977. It bears the notes: "The wife has not yet been brought in" and "The revolution has smashed one elder brother, one younger brother, and implicated another."²⁶⁸

The name of one prisoner would often trigger a connection in Duch's mind, starting a chain reaction of arrests. On October 3, 1977, comrade Sou Meth, secretary of the 502nd Division (Air Force), arrested two soldiers in his unit at the behest of Duch. In their transfer letter, Meth wrote, "To beloved Brother Duch - We request to send in: (1) Srei Saroeun, former battalion commander in Region 25, later in the 703rd and sent to the Air Force. Many documents from traitors in Region 25 and in the 703rd have implicated him. (2) Sam Ly, former battalion commander in the 450th Division. This one still has not been implicated by the enemy, but has returned from outside [overseas] and has committed bad activities. So we request to send him in too. Both of these two attended technical studies outside [the country]." A day later, Duch replied, "Propose the examination of Kin as well. Duch 4-10-77."²⁶⁹

Defense minister Son Sen personally visited Office S-21 on occasion. Him Huy and Prak Khan stated that Son Sen once taught a political class at S-21. He imparted a philosophy that quickly became the rule for those working at S-21:

Son Sen taught us revolutionary ideology, about clearly understanding the party line. He taught us to strive to serve the party, to fight the farmer-

worker class struggle, to break away from capitalism, feudalism, and reactionaries. We all had to fight to strengthen our stances in order to liberate the nation and the land, and purge the enemies and internal forces boring into the revolution. We had to see the enemies clearly. Anyone who opposed the revolution had to be smashed. Even our parents and siblings could be given no quarter. Anyone who committed any mistake was an enemy. Whoever's head it was, it was *kabal neak na sok neak noeng* [that person's hair].²⁷⁰

The Cadres

During 1976, S-21 and its branches employed 1,720 people: an internal force of 141, an external force of 1,377, 148 office cadres, and 54 interrogators.²⁷¹ The internal force was divided into combatants in the prisoner guard unit and combatant city messengers (*yuthachon nirasa krong*). There were 62 city messengers comprising 42 guards for the special prison, 8 prisoner snatchers/arresters, 10 drivers, and 2 medics.

Although S-21 had become an autonomous unit by 1976, it still had contacts with the 703rd Division, especially as a source of staff and training. Before beginning work at S-21, personnel without security experience received military training at the 703rd Division Training School at Takhmau, which was under the command of Tuy, Yem, and Peng. For example, some soldiers from the Western Zone were chosen to serve as guards at S-21, but first went through six months of military strategy training at Division 703.

As the number of prisoners at Office S-21 increased, its chairman recruited additional personnel from several regions of the country. The majority of combatants at S-21 came from three provinces: Kandal, Kampong Chhnang, and Kampong Thom. Most of those with higher-level positions, including Duch, came from Kampong Thom. The majority of mid-level positions (primarily in administration and guard duty) came from Kandal province, the birthplace of S-21 deputy Hor. The lower-level positions, which generally entailed guarding the S-21 compound, were filled primarily by soldiers from Kampong Chhnang.²⁷²

Hor, former deputy secretary of the 704th Special Forces Battalion, admitted that in late 1976, he selected combatants from the 704th to serve at S-21. Him Huy, Sim Mel, Kim Torn (aka Tuy), and Lon were among those he recruited. Hor explained, "I received a list of names from division headquarters from which to select soldiers for S-21." All of the soldiers sent to work at S-21 had clean records.²⁷³

But perhaps the greatest number of soldiers recruited to serve at Office S-21 came from the 703rd Division (and its predecessor, Division 12). Interviews with former S-21 cadres and an examination of their records reveal that none volunteered for duty at the prison.

- *Kuy Kol*. Kuy joined the revolution in 1973 as a combatant in the 12th Division at Prek Ta Honh village of Region 25. In June 1975, he was assigned to the prisoner guard unit at Office S-21.²⁷⁴
- *Kang Khem*, age 21. Born in Region 25, Kang joined the revolution on May 4, 1973 in Battalion 54 of Division 12. In June 1975, he was transferred to the 138th Battalion as a combatant and was sent soon thereafter to serve at Office S-21.²⁷⁵
- *Bun Ching*, age 16. Bun joined the revolution in 1975. In the same year, he was assigned to Office S-21's youth section.²⁷⁶
- *Nhep Hau*, revolutionary name *Nhep Sovan*. Nheap was transferred from the 703rd Division's office for handicapped soldiers to Office S-21 in December 1975. There, he was made deputy team chief under Duch and Hor. A month later, Nhep became a team leader for prisoner guards. His brother Peng had worked at S-21 since it was created. Peng was a company commander in the 703rd Division who became a company commander of prisoner guards at Office S-21.²⁷⁷
- *Khim Torn*, revolutionary name *Mit Tuy*. Khim was born in Takeo province. He joined the revolution in Region 33 in September 1973. After serving as a deputy platoon leader in the 31st Company of the 703rd Division, he was assigned to Office S-21 on October 22, 1975. He worked as an interrogator in the prison. Khim claimed, "I joined the revolution because Angkar instructed me on the revolutionary political line and let me understand clearly the struggle and let me see the pitiful conditions of the people created by enemy pressures." This son of an impoverished farmer explained in his biography, "My father had no political, economic or material influence

at all that would have induced me to leave the revolution. I think of him every now and then, but he never was deeply imprinted in my emotions."²⁷⁸ After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, Khim returned home and died in 1980. While the people in his village knew that he was in the Khmer Rouge, they did not know he had served at S-21 until his personal history was published in October 2000.²⁷⁹

- *Khieu Vit, called Oeun.* Chairman of the “hot” interrogation group (krom kdau) at S-21, Khieu explained in his personal history file, “On May 21, 1977 Brother Sok, secretary of the 311th Battalion, assigned me to the 703rd Division headquarters through Brother Noeun, secretary of the 31st Regiment. I was at the 703rd's headquarters for one day, and the next morning Brother Pin, the Division chairman, assigned me to work at Office S-21, where Brother Hor received me. I worked under the command of the office committee, including Brother Duch, the chairman; Brother Hor, the deputy; and Brother Huy, a member.”²⁸⁰
- *Him Huy.* In 1977, Him was farming rice at Prek Thnaot. One of Hor's messengers came to tell him he was being transferred to a marine unit, but instead, he was sent to S-21. For about a week, Him guarded prisoners. Later, he became one of nearly 200 members of the prisoner guard group. In early 1978, Him was assigned to be the deputy of the prisoner guard unit, where he remained until the day the regime collapsed.²⁸¹
- *Prak Khan.* In early 1977, comrade Proeung, chairman of a company in the 703rd Division, removed Prak from the Phnom Penh defense force and sent him to serve as an interrogator at Office S-21. At first Prak did not know he was being sent to work at Office S-21, because Proeung only told him, “Mit, you must carry out a mission for upper echelon.” He was sent to the prisoner guard team under the command of Him Huy. About six months later, the chairman of S-21 researched personal histories and assigned soldiers who could write to serve on the interrogation team. Him Huy assigned Prak to the interrogation team commanded by Chan²⁸², Pon²⁸³, and Tit.²⁸⁴
- *Khieu Ches, called Peou.* Khieu was conscripted by his village chairman into the Region 31 children's unit in Kampong Chhnang province in early 1975. About five months after the Khmer Rouge army seized Phnom Penh, Peou was chosen to serve the Center. He traveled by vehicle with more than a hundred other children from Region 31. Peou did not know he had been chosen to serve at Office S-21; he only knew he was going to Phnom Penh. On the way to Phnom Penh, Peou and the other youths cheered happily. Peou was assigned to the animal husbandry unit at Boeng Tumpun for four months under the leadership of Sim Mel, aka Man. In early 1976, he was assigned to study military techniques at Takhmau for six months. In early 1977 Peou was assigned to the S-21 guard unit.²⁸⁵

The Mass Killings

The stance of the CPK is to absolutely oppose idealism, experimentation, Bible-loving, violations of Angkar's discipline in terms of politics, attitudes and organization, and the creation of groups that have the goal of dividing the CPK.²⁸⁶

Defining the Regime's Enemies. Office S-21 played an important role in obtaining confessions and “smashing”* the internal and external enemies whom the CPK felt were planning to destroy it. The regime's external enemies included the CIA, KGB, and Vietnam. The internal enemies were placed into three categories:

- Lon Nol regime officials, soldiers, policemen, and feudalists and capitalists²⁸⁷
- Khmer Rouge cadres and soldiers accused of betraying the revolution
- People accused of either being caught up in trends with, or being related to, enemies of Angkar.²⁸⁸

At a meeting of division secretaries and logistics officers on December 15, 1976, Son Sen described the emphasis the Party placed on each type: “The external enemies are not all that worrying, but we must pay attention to the internal enemies that remain.” As for the internal enemies, he stated, “We must firmly get a handle on the matter of screening and purifying the army. Even small events must be monitored. In fact, the causes [of those events] are all related. Don't get the idea that these things are normal. ... If we relax and are peace-loving, they will seize the opportunity to attack the revolution.”²⁸⁹

Pol Pot gave an indication of the size of the enemy force at a meeting of the committees of all units: “The enemy is everywhere, from the rural countryside to the offices and ministries. We must continue smashing and purging them until we are completely pure.” He estimated that the enemies trying to destroy the CPK accounted for two percent of Cambodia's populace. He proposed that all units do whatever necessary to reduce this number to one or one-half percent, and not to let the enemies “hatch and expand” any further.²⁹⁰

The Chain of Command. The machinery of arrest and killing at S-21 was under the close control of the Khmer Rouge military General Staff. A decision recorded in a memorandum from a meeting of the Standing Committee on October 9, 1975 placed Pol Pot in control of military and economic matters. Son Sen, aka Khieu, was given responsibility for the General Staff and security. Other members of the Standing Committee were assigned various responsibilities. According to this memorandum,

Each section must totally master the implementation of the Party's policy line and decisions, using initiatives to attack and organize carefully, continuously, and quickly. To achieve these demands, [we] must be highly and independently responsible, and not ask the Standing Committee too much. If we do [pose too many questions], there will be no concentrated democracy, and the Standing Committee could not handle it all. But if we do not ask the Standing Committee [at all], that is also a mistake.²⁹¹

To solve security matters, a meeting of the Central Committee on March 30, 1976, gave the General Staff “the right to smash enemies within the central army.”²⁹²

Office S-21 was divided into many sections, whose personnel were largely from Division 703:²⁹³

- The headquarters under Duch
- The document section under Neou Leng
- The typing section under Leang Huoy
- The photo section under Nim Oem
- The document examination section under Ou Snguon and Tung Soeng Hoeun (aka Pon)
- The “initial stage” interrogation section and the “cold” or “gentle” questioning section under Chan Sokhan
- The “chewing” interrogation section under Ros Tit, which had three teams
- The “vicious” or “hot” interrogation section under San Moth, which had seven teams
- The guard or defense unit
- The handicapped section was under Kim Vat, aka Hor.

The vast majority of activities, however, seemed to take place in three large units: the prisoner interrogation unit obtained confessions from prisoners, the document unit recorded their histories and

confessions, and the guard unit did whatever necessary to prevent prisoners from escaping the detention area. The guard unit was under Khim Vath, aka Hor. Hor was responsible for the prisoner arrest section, the prisoner guards, supplying food to prisoners, and transporting prisoners to Cheung Ek for execution. Every now and then Hor himself carried out interrogations.²⁹⁴

Prison Discipline. The special security (*santebal*) discipline of S-21 applied to both cadres and prisoners. The notes of a meeting of S-21 cadres record that for the sake of efficiency in carrying out security duties, all cadres must cast off:

- Any hesitation or disbelief about the enemies the Party had arrested and brought to S-21
- Any attitude toward believing the prisoners' confessions, and laziness either in analysis or planning, all of which were dangerous to the Party
- Any attitude leading toward believing the enemy confessions that were made without divulging family and group sympathies, which allowed the enemies to continue concealing themselves and acting against the Party.

Santebal interrogation methods pushed the cadres to “do emotional politics” (*thveu nayobai sate-arom*), rather than use torture, to obtain confessions. *Santebal* specified that:

The use of torture to get their confessions is not done for fun. So, we give painful beatings to get quick answers. And we are cruel to frighten them, not to satisfy personal anger. So beat them to scare them, but absolutely do not allow them to die. When you torture, you must consider their health first, you must inspect the whip, and do not get greedy for them to die quickly and thereby lose out on getting reports.²⁹⁵

The rules of the *santebal* were extremely strict. The following orders were written on blackboards in the detention rooms: “1) It is forbidden to speak or question one another, whether or not you are acquainted; 2) Before doing anything, get permission from a guard; 3) Absolutely follow the rules; don't be free.”²⁹⁶ In the special cells, other rules were written:

1. Ask what is answered, don't twist my questions.
2. Absolutely don't use this or that pretext to conceal or to argue.
3. Don't play stupid and pretend you don't understand, because you are a person who was bold enough to oppose the revolution.
4. Answer immediately, do not delay for even a minute.
5. As for little faults or failings, moral offenses, this mistake or that mistake, do not speak about these things; do not speak about revolutionary matters.
6. Absolutely do not scream when being beaten or shocked.
7. Do not do a thing. Sit still and await orders. If not ordered, do not act. When ordered, do it right away, with no argument.
8. Do not try to hide your face and your betrayal of the revolution with the Kampuchea Krom pretext.*
9. For every one of these rules not followed on any day, you will receive innumerable lashes or shocks.
10. Commit one violation and get ten lashes or five shocks.²⁹⁷

Arrest. Deputy chief of guards at Office S-21 Him Huy described his work under Duch and Hor. Him's unit traveled to Phnom Penh and the provinces to arrest prisoners in the divisions and other units. On each trip, they arrested between two and twenty prisoners and sent them off in a Land Rover with a canvas-covered top. They never knew in advance whom they were arresting or what the accused's offense had been; they merely arrested those who matched the description provided. Him recalled an occasion when the upper echelon had him travel to arrest a man in Battambang. When he arrived, the local security cadres told him to arrest the entire family. In this way, Him followed the Khmer Rouge philosophy: "Better to arrest mistakenly than to release mistakenly."

The soldiers sent out to arrest prisoners kept a careful account-

* Kampuchea Krom were ethnic Cambodians who lived in territory taken over by Vietnam.

ing of their charges. On April 28, 1978, Him sent a report to the S-21 committee on a trip he took to Svay Rieng to arrest prisoners. He did not include the names, only writing on the front of the report, "I request to report to Elder Brother. On 26-4-78 Brother designated three Youn [Vietnamese], but there were only two Youn and three Cambodians brought in. On 27-4-78 Brother designated six of them. I left at 12:30 p.m., got to Svay Rieng at 5:30 p.m., and asked security cadre Mon at the place they [prisoners] are always held. Vuthy said they had not arrived, and someone whose name I don't know said he did not know anything about them. That person had arrived at 7:00 p.m. I asked every hour until 1:00 a.m. and they never came. Everyone waited until dawn, and at 6:00 a.m., a messenger arrived and said the prisoners had come in much earlier. I asked security cadre Thean, and he did not know anything. At 6:30 a.m. Vuthy handed over one prisoner named Tea Phal, a Cambodian from Region 23, and Huy Tauch."²⁹⁸ After taking the prisoners, Him sent them to Suos Thy, who added their names to the prisoner rolls.²⁹⁹

Of his experience at S-21, Him remarked, "Working in that place, you had to respect Angkar; if not, they would kill you and cast you away." Recognizing the difficulties of his position, Him once requested during a political session that Son Sen return him to the army, but was not granted permission. Him concluded that Son Sen was worried that if the Vietnamese army captured him, they would learn of S-21.

Documentation. Suos Thy was a clerk in the prisoner registration section at Office S-21. A small building next to the compound's east gate held both it and the photo section. All prisoners brought in were handcuffed and blindfolded with black kerchiefs. Suos described his daily routine at S-21: After prisoners arrived, he and members of the photo team asked questions and wrote the major points of the prisoners' personal histories in a notebook. The histories contained the name, age, occupation, and place of birth of each prisoner, along with the names of his or her parents, spouse, and children. He recorded this information exactly as the prisoners related it. While taking down information, he was not allowed to beat prisoners.

On days when many prisoners were brought in, Suos would

work until 1 or 2 a.m., and then sleep in the office. After taking the photos and biographical data, the guards took the prisoners to their cells and came back to report the cell numbers to Suos. As Suos' duties increased, Duch sent 12-year old Lan from Region 31 to help him. Lan had already done document work for Duch at the Amleang Prison in Kampong Speu.

After all of the prisoners were in their cells, Suos typed two copies of his handwritten prisoner biographies and attached the prisoners' photos for Duch and Hor. Suos was very careful in his work, and had to know the number of prisoners, their cell numbers, their dates of arrival, and the dates they were removed for execution. Hor kept explaining, "If a prisoner still under interrogation is mistakenly taken off to be killed, you will be held responsible."³⁰⁰ In his personal history document made at S-21 in 1977, Suos swore, "From the day I joined the revolution until this day, I have carried out the party line. My good quality is that I have strived to fulfill the tasks given to me by the party without any reservation whatsoever, no matter how difficult or complicated that was."³⁰¹ After the prisoners had their histories and photos taken and were in their cells, their next stop was the interrogators.

Interrogation. The interrogation section was supervised by Mam Nai, aka Chan. Born in Svay Rieng province, Chan joined the revolution in 1965. An educated man, he had a degree in Khmer language, and in 1970 taught at the Boeng Trabek College. Chan worked under Duch at the Amleang district security office before 1975. He arrived at S-21 with Duch in August 1975, and worked there until the day the regime collapsed. Chan became a full-rights member of the Party on December 8, 1975; he was sponsored by Duch.³⁰² So Sa-im, a teacher of Khmer at the March 18 College in Phnom Penh during the Khmer Republic era, recalled that Chan was enthusiastic about the Khmer Rouge, and tried to persuade him to join the revolution. He also noted that Chan always wore a long-sleeved shirt buttoned up tight so his associates could not see his ringworm-infected skin.³⁰³

Chan's deputy was Tung Seng Hoeun, aka Pon, a former teacher in Kampong Thom province, where he was born. Pon joined the revolution in 1967. On October 24, 1970, Pon became a core

member of the party, sponsored by Duch and Rin.³⁰⁴ Pon interrogated many high-ranking Khmer Rouge cadres including Keo Meas, secretary of the Worker's Party of Kampuchea; Nai Saran, aka Ya, secretary of the Northeastern Zone; Hou Nim, Minister of Information; and Doeun, chief of Office 870.³⁰⁵ In his dealings with certain prisoners, Pon would threaten them until they confessed their treason against Angkar and turned in members of their "networks." As an example, Pon wrote a note to Doeun saying, "You fool, Doeun. Your voice recordings have been sent to Angkar already. Angkar has analyzed the clear history and content of those tapes, and has determined your information to be fabrications. You can't do this. Take care you don't lose your eyes."³⁰⁶

Pon did not hesitate to order prisoners to be tortured. Hou Nim, aka Phoas, the minister of information of the DK regime, was arrested on April 10, 1977. On April 14th, Pon sent an interrogation report to Duch which noted on its cover, "For Brother Duch's information, during the confession of Phoas we gave him four or five lashes of the whip to break his stance before submerging him in water. Respects, Pon."³⁰⁷ Four days after Hou was arrested, his wife Va Lan was arrested and brought to S-21. She was killed on May 12th. Hou Nim was executed on July 6, 1977.³⁰⁸

The interrogation unit was divided into three groups: the gentle (*slaut*) or cold (*tracheak*) group, the chewing (*ankeam*) group, and the hot (*kach*) or vicious group. The confession of Neou Kantha, aka Tha, an interrogator in the hot group, claimed that the hot group was created in mid 1977.³⁰⁹ This group was under the command of Muth, Bau, and Khoeun, all of whom were veterans of the 703rd Division.³¹⁰

The group's deputy was Prok Khoeun, the only woman cadre who served at S-21. Born Prok Samuth in Region 33 to a poor farming family, she was the wife of Nun Huy Sre, chairman of S-21D. Prak described in her personal history, "In 1977 I was assigned to Office S-21 under Brother Duch as secretary, Brother Hor as deputy secretary, and Brother Huy as member [of the leadership committee]."

Prok joined the revolution on March 2, 1972, through Sau

Sokha, the chairperson of Thnaot subdistrict, and Nath, the secretary of the 12th Division. She claimed, "Because Angkar fired up the female youth movement to see the true nature of the imperialists, feudalists and capitalists, and especially to see that the laborer class and the poor farmer class were oppressed and overlooked in every way by those in power, it was because of this that I requested Sau Sokha and Brother Nath to let me join the revolution and liberate the poor class." During 1975 Prok commanded the 72nd Company of the 707th Women's Battalion under Lay, Rith, Sim and Voeun. A year after liberation, when the Party broke up the 707th and assigned it to the General Staff's Hospital 89, Prok became the chairperson of buildings 10 and 11 under Pang, Tai, and Un. In front of the names "Pang, Tai and Un," she noted "Already under arrest."³¹¹ Prok was smashed in late 1978 along with her husband.³¹²

Interrogator Prak Khan was assigned to the gentle group at S-21 in 1976; later he worked in the chewing group. At dawn, he was to get the list of prisoners to be interrogated from a man called Tit. Then he took the prisoners from the cells shown on the list. In the evening Tit called the interrogators together to discuss the questions to be asked. Only when the prisoners had answered all of Tit's questions could their confessions be considered complete.

If a prisoner refused to answer, he or she was judged to have committed treason as a "contact" and would be tortured. According to Prak, the gentle group was not allowed to torture prisoners, but the hot group could use torture to get confessions of treason. The chewing group could also use torture, but generally did not do so to the same extent as the hot group; the chewing group generally only used sticks to scrape the wounds the hot group had already inflicted on prisoners. The types of torture Prak used on the prisoners included putting a plastic bag over the prisoner's face, beatings, whippings, and clubbings. He saw other interrogators torture prisoners by immersing them in water, using electric shock, and using pincers on their flesh. Prak claimed that during the entire time he was an interrogator as S-21, he interrogated about thirty prisoners.³¹³

Prak Khan stated that during the regime, he was like a child and did not consider things in depth. He believed what the committee told him during training sessions: that anyone brought in was an

enemy. When he heard the word *khmang* (enemy), he was filled with strong hatred. So, when he interrogated prisoners who did not admit that they were traitors, he tortured them. Prak recalled that he beat a prisoner named Nai Nan, a medical cadre at the General Staff Hospital 98, until she urinated on herself.³¹⁴ As an interrogator, he only knew that he had to get confessions, so the prisoner could not refuse to respond. Sometimes he asked right away, "Are you a CIA, a KGB or a Youn enemy?" The prisoner had to choose one of the three. Khan saw about 20 prisoners taken to the clinic next to S-21 where four bags of blood were drained from each prisoner. They all died after the procedure.³¹⁵

Torture. Since the personnel at S-21 understood that all their prisoners were the enemies of Angkar, they invented and used many types of torture on them. Ke Kim Huot, the secretary of Region 7 in the Northwestern Zone, was arrested on February 21, 1977, and sent to Office S-21. A report on his interrogation was written by an interrogator named Ly on July 22 and sent to Duch:

1) On the morning of July 18, 1977, we decided to use torture. In doing this we did not get a handle on his weak points. We really abused him, with zero results. My analysis was that his morale had fallen a bit. When we tortured him, he showed little reaction, and when we interrogated him again we got nothing, just like before. As for his health, he ate a little bit of gruel; he gets little sleep. Our medic has treated him. 2) On the morning of July 20, 1977, we attacked him again. This time he reacted by saying he was not a traitor. He said whoever those were who had implicated him, they were all traitors. His health is weaker, but there are no remarkable problems. 3) The evening of July 21, 1977, we went after him again with electric wire and feces. This time he cursed those who beat him, saying that they would beat him to death. We made him eat two or three spoons of shit, and he asked about Heng, Neou, San and Vanh. 4) In the evening, we went at him again with the electric wire. This time he weakened a little and became delirious. No matter. Later he confessed to some extent as reported above. Now he is somewhat weak. The medic has seen him. He has asked to rest and think things over.³¹⁶

S-21 interrogators routinely committed vicious acts against female prisoners. Neou Kantha, aka Tha, was a hot group interrogator. His own confession states: "In October 1977 I interrogated a woman. I stripped her naked and pulled out her pubic hair."³¹⁷ Chea Kak, an S-21 interrogator, wrote in his confession, "During interrogation[s] I violated female genitals with burning paper and

sticks."³¹⁸

Buth Heng, chairman of the document group at Office S-21 and also an interrogator, wrote:

My actions in interrogating the girls, the women -- I beat them to make them drop their skirts, burned their asses up, beat them in circles, did everything to kill them and end their confessions and interrogations. At that time I beat two others to death, one from France and another one from Division 310. Later I interrogated mi [a vulgar pejorative used to refer to young girls] Sin and Mi Chan. These two girls were together. My action was to place them face-to-face and have them talk to one another. I beat Sin unconscious. I called in Try. Then Try and I burned their asses, told them they were lying, and carried them away. Aside from this, I beat Mi Chan, who was in a state of advanced pregnancy. At that time Elder Brother had not given me permission to conduct the beatings, but I did it secretly until she went unconscious."³¹⁹

Confessions. Most prisoner confessions were written on paper by the prisoners or the interrogators; a few were recorded on tape. Chan Nhong, aka Nuon, the deputy secretary of the 331st Battalion of the 703rd Division, was arrested by the militia in Koh Thom sub-district at 4:00 p.m. in November 1977, while he was attempting to flee to his home in that district to avoid arrest by the 703rd Division command. After holding Nuon for one evening, the militia took him to Office 15, the security office of Region 25. His confession shows that Saroeun, a regimental secretary in the 703rd Division, took him from Office 15 to S-21. Nuon was interrogated by Chhin from Group A on January 20, 1978. His confession was recorded on a cassette tape and then copied onto 65 pages of paper. It cites the reason for his arrest: "I was involved with the enemy, that is, I joined the CIA through Sok But Chamraen (the secretary of Region 25 before April 17th.)" In the last section of the confession, Nuon listed the names of sixty persons involved with him; among them were 21 people Angkar had already arrested.³²⁰ Nuon was killed on April 30, 1978.³²¹

On October 4, 1977, Son Sen sent a letter to Duch, advising him of the confession process at S-21:

To beloved Comrade Duch! 1) Regarding paper, conserve it. What is important is concentrating on the content. The confessions must be detailed and

responsible. They can't waver and flap back and forth. 2) As for the methods. For the important ones, you must: a) Have them write it themselves, or b) make voice recordings. Experience has shown that if they speak into the tape recording, it is shorter than if they write. As for the middle level ones, memoranda are OK. Some of the mid-level ones, they implicate everyone in sight. You must be careful. 3) No matter what, each confession must be carefully examined, because some of these guys, they attack us in their confessions. Some do it on purpose, and some are afraid so they just talk and talk. So use caution and be really judicial. In the warmest revolutionary brotherhood.³²²

Duch carefully inspected the prisoners' confessions. The confessions of Division 703 veterans whom Duch felt were especially dangerous to the Party were sent to Son Sen or comrade Pin, secretary of the 703rd, for examination. Son Sen analyzed the majority of confessions sent to him; he often made notes on the confessions and then sent them to Pin. No confessions have been found that contain any notes or comments by Pin.

In a summary of the confession of Suy Phal, aka Pises Phal, secretary of the 705th Battalion, Duch wrote a five-page summary in longhand which was sent to Son Sen. It stated, "I (Duch) have monitored the activities of Phal closely all the way up until his arrest." On May 6, 1977 Duch sent Suy's first confession to Son Sen, who read it on the same day. Almost every page of the confession bears Son Sen's notes. At several points he commented "Still hiding," "Question further", or "Clear." In the sections in which Suy listed the names of those who joined the CIA with him, Son Sen noted: "Already arrested." In response to Suy's statement that he planned a coup against the Party in January 1977 in cooperation with seven individuals from the 502nd Division, Son Sen added, "502, propose that all of them be arrested and brought in."³²³ At the end of the confession Duch explained to Son Sen, "This document does not mention Brother Chea from Region 25. As for the concrete facts, I dare not make conclusions. Request Angkar kindly examine this."³²⁴ The prisoners whom the lists implicated as "traitor contacts" were eventually arrested and sent to S-21.

On March 15, 1978, Saom Chea, secretary of Region 25, was arrested and sent to S-21. His confession contains notes by both Son Sen and Duch. On Saom's confession, Son Sen commented: "Received 1-4-78. The above list has notes showing that comrade

Chhit Choeun, aka Mok, secretary of the Southwestern Zone has read it as well. Read and returned on 18-4-78."³²⁵

Of the confessions of 829 S-21 prisoners from Division 703, at least 7 bear notes made by Duch (3 of these were sent to Son Sen and 4 were sent to Pin; the latter 4 also have notes made by Son Sen that were sent back to Duch and Pin), 84 have notes made by Son Sen, 3 have notes by Nuon Chea, and 2 bear the comments of Pol Pot. Many confessions of prisoners from other units show notes of transmittal to Ieng Sary, Nuon Chea, Pol Pot and many other CPK cadres.

Executions. The prisoners of S-21 were taken for execution at Boeng Cheung Ek, a branch of S-21 located 15 kilometers southwest of Phnom Penh. Its commander was Peng, who was responsible for transporting prisoners there from S-21. In 1978, aside from his duties of guarding and arresting prisoners, Him Huy also worked for Peng.

The execution team at Boeng Cheung Ek was headed by Teng, who resided there along with ten other personnel. Prisoners were brought in trucks covered with rubber tarps. Huy, Duch and Hor often accompanied the prisoners.

Executions were always carried out at night. Him Huy recalled the time that Hor ordered him to kill five prisoners by clubbing them with a cart axle. Hor asked him, "Huy, are you determined, or are you not determined?" Him answered, "I'm determined, brother!" Hor said, "If you are so determined, give it a try and see." Him explained that Duch also had commanded him to kill prisoners. He claimed that he forced himself to do this: if he had not followed orders, he would have been accused of being disloyal to Angkar, and sooner or later his fate would have been no different from that of the prisoners.³²⁶

Duch had also ordered Peng to carry out executions. On May 30, 1978, Duch wrote orders to Peng on a document listing 17 prisoners from Svay Rieng; most of them were children. The order was, "Uncle Peng, beat them all to pieces."³²⁷ Nhep Hau says he saw Him Huy grab the children of the prisoners to be executed at Cheung Ek and take them off to kill them. Then the parents were killed. This

method was used to minimize the sounds of crying children.³²⁸

Chan Than, a veteran of the 703rd Division who farmed at Boeng Cheung Ek in 1977, says that every evening at 8:00 or 9:00 p.m., she saw at least three trucks covered with dark khaki colored rubber tarps being driven in from Phnom Penh. One evening there was a downpour of rain, and a truck got stuck in the mud near her barracks. About five security guards tried to push the truck free, but failed. They then asked the female soldiers to help push. Chan saw many prisoners and heard the children crying for their parents. She said, "We had to pretend to be deaf and dumb. When they [the Khmer Rouge] had us do something, we did it. If not, we died. We had seen the examples right in front of our noses. In those days it was hard to know what mistake one might make that would lead to death."³²⁹

Kuong San, a former messenger-combatant in the 703rd who also farmed at Boeng Cheung Ek, recalls that when there was a breeze from that facility, it would carry the stench of blood and rotting flesh. At the time, he assumed it was the smell of animal carcasses. After the Khmer Rouge regime fell, Yan, a guard at Boeng Cheung Ek who lived near San's house, told him what had happened there.³³⁰

Purging the Soldiers and Cadres of the 703rd Division

The purges occurred at S-21 in two waves. The first was against the soldiers of the 703rd, and the second was targeted at the soldiers of Office S-21 and other 703rd Division veterans serving elsewhere.

In 1977 Duch assigned Saom Meth to the internal prisoner guard section under Peng. Aside from guard duties, Meth carried food to prisoners. In mid-1977 Saom saw Phy, a battalion commander from the 703rd Division, being brought to S-21 as a prisoner. During the war, Saom had been Phy's messenger for a short time. He could do nothing to help Phy. About two weeks later, Phy was taken and killed at Boeng Cheung Ek.

Beginning in mid-1977, Saom saw that many soldiers and

cadres from the 703rd Division were being arrested and brought to S-21. The arrests occurred when the Vietnamese army and the Khmer Rouge forces were fighting at the border. Saom recalled that at that time, many soldiers assigned to S-21 also disappeared. After witnessing several killings at S-21, Saom wanted to flee to Vietnam. However, he was worried that if he managed to escape, he might live, but his family would be killed, so he continued working at S-21, taking all precautions possible.

In 1978, Saom's older brother was arrested and sent to S-21. Him Huy, temporary deputy chairman of the guard unit at S-21, told Saom about the arrest. Huy told Saom that he should not let his spirit be broken, and he should strive to work even harder so that Angkar would not take notice of him. The loss of his brother strengthened Saom's resolve not to continue working at S-21. Not long afterwards, Angkar followed-up on his biography, and Saom was removed from S-21 and sent to be reformed at Prey Sar. He farmed rice with a youth unit at Prey Sar until the Vietnamese army took Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979.³³¹

After the Khmer Rouge army began clashing with Vietnam in 1977, the soldiers and cadres at S-21 were constantly being arrested. Prak Khan was certain: "If the Vietnamese army had not come to liberate us in time, my fate would have been the same as the other prisoners."³³² Him Huy speculated on the reason for the arrests of the personnel assigned to S-21: "They were all named in the confessions of the enemies."³³³ Unable to cope with the difficulties, and seeing the growing number of S-21 soldiers being arrested each day, Him intended to escape to Vietnam. But worries about the lives of his family defeated his plans.³³⁴

Before Angkar arrested them and sent them to S-21 for execution, Sarat, Phuong, and Eng were soldiers of the 703rd Division. Sarat's original name was Chao Khut (aka Chan Sarat). In December 1974 he was the chief of staff of the 12th Division, which was then stationed on the Mekong River. Sarat was selected to serve as an interrogator at S-21 in December 1975. In his confession, Sarat explained that he had been arrested by Angkar on June 12, 1976. He claimed he was arrested because during the war, he had acted against the revolution along with the Region 25 committee, includ-

ing Ta Chey, Huot Se, Sok But Chamraen, and many others. Eastern Zone cadres who Sarat claimed had also acted against the revolution included Ta Chhouk, Sao Phim, Vinh Kin, and Achar Thong. Sarat explained that he continued his counter-revolutionary activities inside S-21. In a meeting Sarat had stated, "(I) am a cadre, but like a prisoner [I] cannot move around anywhere. The prisoners are so numerous they are suitable only for being beaten to death, not to be kept alive just to waste food and make difficulties for the interrogators."³³⁵

The July 1, 1977 confession of Auy Nguon Ly, an interrogator at S-21, stated that he fled S-21 for Region 25, intending to head toward Vietnam. Auy fled when he learned that Kin Mean, another interrogator in his group, had been arrested by the S-21 leadership committee. He had often discussed his plan to escape S-21 with Kin Mean. Auy was certain that Kin would implicate him and reveal the entire plan. He left S-21 one night at 11:00, but when he reached Watt Chong Koh pagoda in Sa-ang district, the chairman of the village cooperative handed him over to the militia. The subdistrict committee sent Auy to the district security office and held him there for two days. The command of the 704th Battalion of the 703rd Division then sent him back to Office S-21.³³⁶ After learning that Auy had escaped S-21, Ngil Kuong, also an interrogator in Auy's group, fled for Vietnam on July 25th. He was also captured after he reached the Watt Chong Koh pagoda and was sent back to S-21.³³⁷ Both Auy and Ngil were smashed on August 27, 1977.³³⁸

Confessions and execution lists held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia show that at least 482 veterans of the 703rd Division were killed along with the other prisoners of S-21 before the Khmer Rouge regime collapsed.³³⁹ Three important cadres and architects of S-21 who were killed there included:

- Nun Huy, aka Huy Sre, chairman of S-21D
- You Meng Kry, aka Mon, deputy chairman of S-21D
- Khim Vath, aka Hor, the deputy chairman of S-21, was smashed in February or March 1979 in the Northwestern Zone. Him Huy and Saom Meth both claim that Duch shot and killed Hor because of a dispute about preparations to counterattack the Vietnamese army.³⁴⁰

Other cadres lived, only to be killed years later by the Khmer Rouge. Nhep Hau, former chief of guards and the elder brother of Peng, recalled that after the Vietnamese troops reached Phnom Penh, Peng fled from S-21 and set out for Northwestern Cambodia along with other Khmer Rouge cadres. Peng lived in the area of Pailin near the Thai-Cambodian border. In 1992, Nhep learned from people who returned from the border camps³⁴¹ that Peng and his wife were killed in 1984 when Khmer Rouge comrades placed a mine under their house (their son and daughter survived). Nhep did not know why Peng was killed.*

From the time S-21 began operation until the final day of the DK regime approximately 20,000 persons were arrested, tortured, and interrogated at S-21 and executed at Boeng Cheung Ek. Among them were at least 482 soldiers from the 703rd Division. According to prisoner statistics kept at S-21, the majority of those killed were Khmer Rouge cadres, both ethnic Cambodians and ethnic minorities. There were also a number of foreign prisoners, 488 from Vietnam, 31 from Thailand, 4 each from the USA and France, 2 from Australia, 1 Arab, and 1 each from England, Laos, Sri Lanka, and Java.³⁴²

Two S-21 Survivors' Stories

An August 22, 1978 Khmer Rouge document, "Prisoners Still in Use," records the names of 24 prisoners at S-21 who were still alive.³⁴³ Item 12 states, "Bou Meng, age 37, from the State Industrial Unit, assigned as a combatant at the Russei Keo Technical School, an artist, entered during 1977."[†] The name of Chum Manh, another S-21 survivor, is not on this list, but does appear on one called, "Prisoners from the State Sewing Ministry." Item 5 of this list states:

* In 1976, Vorn, a battalion chairman in the 703rd Division, assigned Nhep Hau to serve at S-21 as an inside guard. When he reached S-21, Nhep learned that his younger brother Peng was the chief of guards. After talking to Peng about their family's situation, Nhep did not speak to Peng again, for fear that the arrest of one would cause the arrest of the other. Still, hiding one's past was not an easy matter. The front of Hau's personal history file made at S-21 in 1977 bears a note in black ink, "Brother of Peng." Author's interview with Nhep Hau, S-21 guard, at the Tuol Sleng Museum, May 14, 2002.

“Chum Mei, 47, member of the C9 sewing team, knows how to make ovens, interrogated by Seng (complete).” Next to his name is a note: “keep [alive] for a while.”³⁴⁴

Bou Meng. In June 1977, Bou Meng, a soldier assigned to the Russei Keo Technical School, and his wife May Yoeun were arrested at the Ta Lei agricultural work site in Khann Dangkao, Kandal province and then sent to Office S-21. After they entered S-21, Bou and his wife were separated; he has never seen her again. He is convinced that Office S-21 ordered his wife to be killed along with other prisoners in 1978. He also lost track of his son and daughter, both of whom lived in a children's center (*mondol komar*), and is certain they are dead.

Bou stayed alive at Office S-21 because he was an artist. After he was photographed and his personal history taken, the guards escorted him to the second floor of Building “C,” where he was detained with about thirty other prisoners. He was then taken out of his cell to a shed in front of the Office S-21 compound and interrogated for two weeks. Bou remembered the name of one of his four interrogators: Hor, the deputy chairman of S-21. His interrogators asked him, “With whom did you join the CIA, the KGB? In what year?” Not knowing what the CIA and KGB were, he responded, “I don't know.” After giving the same answer many times, his interrogators kicked him in the ribs and beat him with a bamboo stick until he was covered with blood and fainted. He was then taken to the S-21 medical clinic for treatment, where medics poured salt water on the wounds on his back. He found it “difficult even to describe the pain they inflicted on me.”

After his wounds were “treated,” Bou was taken back and interrogated again. He related that the interrogators kept asking him the same questions, to which he gave the same answers. “At that point, the interrogators did not have to beat me any further;

† Some of the other prisoners on this list who survived S-21 after 1978 included: Phan Than Chan, translator; Ruy Neakuong, carpenter; Heng Nath, carver; Iem Chan, carver; and Ung Pech, mechanic.

they only had to use bamboo to poke at my existing wounds. That was enough. That was more than I could bear.”

Bou listed some of the types of torture inflicted on prisoners at S-21. For example, he saw guards stomp on the chest of one prisoner until they killed him. Since Bou’s own confessions were not good enough for his interrogators to report to their headquarters, the interrogators threatened him, saying, “Angkar has the eyes of a pineapple, and Angkar has never arrested the wrong person. You are an artist, so you clearly have CIA contacts. Now you must answer quickly!” Bou did not remember how long his confession was, but stated that his interrogators fabricated all of it.

About a month after his interrogation ended, Duch announced that he needed someone to paint portraits of Pol Pot. When Bou was working on one such portrait, Duch threatened him, saying, “If the likeness is not good, I will send you off to be killed!” While he was held inside S-21, Bou painted four portraits of Pol Pot. Because of his artistic skills, his life was made easier.

Bou is one of seven prisoners who escaped being killed at S-21. He is now deaf in one ear, and his back still bears many scars from being tortured and beaten.³⁴⁵

Chum Manh (also called Mei). Mei recalled that the guards did not allow any object to be near a prisoner, even a sheet of paper. Each morning the prisoners were stripped of their clothing and the guards doused them with water. The prisoners defecated in ammunition cans and urinated in plastic bags, but only after having obtained permission from their guards. If they relieved themselves without permission, prisoners got 20 to 60 lashes of the whip.

Tit and Seng interrogated Mei for fourteen days. At the beginning, Seng used sweet-talk to try to get him to confess to treason against Angkar. Since Mei had no idea of what he had done wrong, he did not respond to Seng’s questioning. Seng then beat him severely, and threatened him, saying, “Who did you join the CIA with? What year did you join?”

While Seng was beating and interrogating Mei, his boss Hor

walked up. Seng said, "Look at him, Brother. I beat him like that, and he still does not answer." Hor took the club from Seng and hit Mei, breaking Mei's little finger. Hor screamed, "You have two choices. If you don't talk, you die. If you talk, you might live. Angkar has never arrested the wrong person." Although Mei did not even know what the CIA was, he could not bear the intense torture, so he said anything he thought Hor and Seng wanted to hear. Mei explained that most of the personal history he confessed to was true, except for the points that described his treason, which he gave only to save himself. He even gave the names of 64 people he claimed had joined the CIA with him. Some of them were people he knew of, some had already been arrested, and he fabricated the remainder.

Mei feels that he was spared from death at S-21 because he knew how to repair tractors and sewing machines, and how to make charcoal ovens that could hold many pots.³⁴⁶ Today, he prays for forgiveness from those he implicated who were later arrested and brought to Office S-21.



Returning to Phnom Penh, January 1979 ♦ Documentation Center of Cambodia Archives

Chapter 13

THE END OF THE REVOLUTION

During the last two years of the Democratic Kampuchea regime, Cambodia suffered two large-scale attacks by Vietnamese troops. The first began in September 1977 and ended with the defeat of the Vietnamese on January 6, 1978. The second began on April 7, 1978 with a major Vietnamese assault and ended on January 7, 1979. This time, the Khmer Rouge were defeated.

The animosities between the two nations, however, stretched back at least another decade. In an interview he gave to the Information Agency of Democratic Kampuchea on April 12, 1978, Pol Pot outlined the history of what he called Vietnam's "territorial aggression to overthrow Democratic Kampuchea":

The Yuon are carrying out all forms of espionage and sabotage to bore into the CPK to break it up and overthrow the Party. This process began in 1965 and continued through 1975, while the Yuon army was requesting sanctuary in Cambodian territory. In 1975 after Cambodia had been liberated, the Yuon continued their many violations to create a reason to invade Cambodian territory, carry out sabotage, interfere in the internal affairs of Cambodia, and penetrate and divide it in order to prepare to conduct coups on many occasions, all this in cooperation with the CIA with the intention to smash and destroy the DK regime. The criminal actions of the Yuon continued from 1975 through 1977 and have always been defeated.

In September 1977, the Yuon risked making a barbaric war of aggression on a large scale, that is, an undeclared war. Many Yuon divisions with some technical advisors broke into and penetrated Democratic Kampuchea east of the Mekong River and north of the Southwestern Zone. The first aggression by the Yuon was met and defeated by the brave Kampuchean revolutionary army and the Cambodian people, and was totally and shamefully broken on April 6, 1978.

From February until March 30, 1978, the Yuon kept at their activities along the border, especially in the Eastern and Southwestern Zones, by using eleven of their divisions. To hide the face of their aggression, the Yuon announced their so-called negotiations. But the Yuon never abandoned their ambitions over Kampuchean territory. The mouths made loud noises to lie to the world that they wanted a negotiated solution to the border problems, but in fact on April 7, 1978 and the days following, the Yuon attacked Kampuchea on a large scale once again.³⁴⁷

1977: The Early Khmer Rouge Victories

In early 1977, before the first major Vietnamese offensive, the

Khmer Rouge Army's General Staff had already sent the majority of its divisions (nineteen of twenty-four) to resist Vietnamese incursions along Cambodia's border.³⁴⁸ The General Staff assigned the 703rd Division to the battlefields in Prey Veng and Svay Rieng provinces and to the Krek and Memot battlefields in Kampong Cham province.³⁴⁹ The 703rd's command also redeployed units to defend the coast at Kampong Saom and Kampot provinces. As the war along the border between Cambodia and Vietnam intensified, not a single soldier at S-21 was re-assigned to the battlefield.

Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, was called to a meeting at the General Staff concerning the preparation of forces to be dispatched to Svay Rieng province to deal with the Vietnamese incursion. ~~Those attending the hour long meeting that evening included Ta Khieu or "Son Sen," Ta Nath, Ta Pin, and the regimental secretaries of the 703rd.~~³⁵⁰

In their first battle with the Vietnamese at Phnom Kraol in southern Svay Rieng province, the Khmer Rouge held two advantages over the advancing Vietnamese: resolve and superior weapons. Hor had been wounded in the shoulder and waist, and many others in the battalion were killed in this battle. Hor stated that his wounds made him even more strongly committed to counterattack the Vietnamese forces. His battalion then attacked for a second time, pushing the Vietnamese back to the Chiphou market, and toward Tay Ninh province in Vietnam.

Prisoners of War

Hor claims to have captured about thirty Vietnamese soldiers and civilians at the battle of Phnom Kraol, including three females about twenty years old, and sent them to Ta Pin, the division secretary. He explained that the captured enemies were first sent to the division, which then transferred the prisoners to the General Staff. Hor often heard Vietnamese prisoners of war being interviewed on the radio, but their fates were not announced during the broadcasts. Only after 1979 did he assume that all the prisoners were taken to Tuol Sleng and killed.³⁵¹ S-21 statistics documents record that there were 488 Vietnamese nationals imprisoned there³⁵². Former prisoner

Chum Manh saw a number of prisoners at S-21 that he assumed were Vietnamese.³⁵³ Ut Lat, a squad leader in the 704th Special Forces Battalion of the 703rd Division, claimed that he captured about a hundred Vietnamese soldiers and a few civilians, and following the orders issued to him, sent them to the upper echelon. However, he noted that wounded Vietnamese soldiers were rarely sent to the upper echelon; instead, most of them were killed on the spot. Ut also recalled seeing the Vietnamese capture many Cambodian civilians, mostly women.³⁵⁴

Ut Lat confirmed the Cambodian side's will to win. When the upper echelon held a meeting to tell his unit about the Vietnamese incursion into Cambodia, the soldiers all raised their fists and resolved to expel the aggressors from Cambodian land. Ut fought the Vietnamese almost every day on the Svay Rieng battlefield.³⁵⁵

After farming rice at Boeng Cheung Ek for two months, in July 1977 Um Chheav was sent to southwestern Svay Rieng province to repel the "Vietnamese aggression against Cambodian territory." When he arrived in southern Svay Rieng, he saw that Vietnamese troops had approached Ta Nou village. Chheav explained that the Eastern Zone forces led by Sao Phim had been able to hold the Vietnamese at bay until the 703rd Division arrived. Combat with the Vietnamese began the same day. Chheav's spearhead fought for an entire day before they were able to push the Vietnamese back to Tonle Vai Ko and Daung villages adjacent to the border with Vietnam. According to Chheav, the Khmer Rouge won this battle because they had better morale and more modern weaponry. He claimed, "All of those weapons had come from Chinese military aid."³⁵⁶

Kuong San, a messenger for comrade Yuth, secretary of the 32nd Battalion of the 703rd Division, recalled that in late 1977, the Vietnamese forces again attacked Cambodian territory. Since the Southwestern Zone forces led by Ta Mok and the Eastern Zone forces were not able to mount a resistance, the General Staff withdrew the 703rd and made it a reserve (intervention) force for the Prey Veng battlefield, where the Vietnamese were mounting a strong attack. Kuong's battalion was able to push the Vietnamese to retreat to Prasaut district in Svay Rieng province, and counterat-

tacked at Phsar Dei Hoy along the border. It succeeded in pushing the Vietnamese back to the border.³⁵⁷

According to So Theng, in December 1977 the Vietnamese forces had moved quite close to Svay Rieng, but the Khmer Rouge forces quickly counterattacked and drove them back to the Vietnamese provinces of Tay Ninh and Dong Thap.³⁵⁸

1978: The Turning Point

After pushing the Vietnamese out of Cambodian territory, the 703rd Division began raids into a number of provinces along its border with Vietnam. Ut Lat, a squad leader in the 704th Special Forces Battalion, recalled that many times he led forces in planting mines, destroying bridges, and burning factories in Tay Ninh province in Vietnam.³⁵⁹

From February until late March 1978, eleven divisions of the Vietnamese army concentrated their border raids on the Eastern and Southwestern Zones. At the same time, the Vietnamese government proposed negotiations to solve the border and national sovereignty disputes between the two countries.

In April, the Vietnamese army initiated another large-scale attack on DK. Um Chheav, chairman of the 703rd Division headquarters, recalled that the Vietnamese troops broke the Khmer Rouge defensive lines in several places. Chheav overheard Ta Nath, assistant chief of the General Staff, telling Ta Pin, secretary of the 703rd Division, "We have attacked to block and to block again so that Angkar won't be able to accuse us of not attacking. If we attack, we must take care to not lose our forces; otherwise there will be no one to defend us."

Tuy Heng was a medic in a regiment of the 703rd Division. In 1978, his regiment and Eastern Zone forces entered into battle with the Vietnamese at Svay Rieng near the border. Many defensive lines were broken, but the reason for this was not clear. Accusations flew back and forth between the 703rd and the Eastern Zone forces. Tuy recalled that the 703rd Division accused the Eastern Zone forces of collaborating with the Vietnamese army because when the

Vietnamese attacked, the Eastern Zone troops retreated to save themselves. Tuy remembered an instance when the Vietnamese attacked so forcefully that the Khmer Rouge forces abandoned the battlefield. Only after the troops reassembled did he learn that about eighty soldiers of the 703rd had been shot and killed by the Vietnamese on the battlefield.³⁶⁰

During the second campaign, many members of the 703rd were killed on the battlefield. The personnel strength of the division fell continually, as did morale. Its soldiers no longer had the spirit to fight the Vietnamese. Toward the end of the year, the situation worsened. Soldiers thought only of saving their own lives. The battalion, regimental, and division commands were constantly changing. In addition, the Division's members constantly faced arrest.³⁶¹

The Purge of the 703rd Division

Kuong San, a messenger with the 703rd, attended a meeting that Pol Pot convened in March or April 1977 in Svay Rieng. Its attendees were mostly 703rd Division cadres. Pol Pot said, "The eastern Zone units collaborated with the Yuon and allowed the Yuon to enter. So, only after we make war in the rear to purify ourselves will we be able to win the war at the front. Anyone and everyone who collaborates with the Yuon must be arrested." Several days after Pol Pot's pronouncement, hundreds of Eastern Zone soldiers and cadres were arrested and sent by trucks to be imprisoned at Watt Chres in Svay Rieng province.³⁶²

Along with the purge of Eastern Zone cadres, the cadres and soldiers of the 703rd Division continued to be arrested and sent to S-21. Kuong saw about a hundred members of the 703rd under temporary detention at the Division's headquarters. At the time, he wondered where they would be sent, but it was not long before he saw them taken away in trucks.³⁶³

* For more detail on Pin and Nath, see Chapter 8.

Late 1978 saw the deaths of three important Khmer Rouge leaders:

- Khoem Pin, Secretary of Division 703
- Nath, the Division's former secretary and chief of S-21, and later an assistant on the Ministry of Defense's General Staff
- Sun Ty, chairman of logistics on the General Staff.

Pin. While the forces of the Kampuchean National Salvation Front and the Vietnamese army were collaborating to overthrow the DK regime in December 1978, comrade Pin was shot and killed on a battlefield in the Eastern Zone. There are several versions of how he died. Teng Penh, chairman of the Special Forces Battalion of Region 25, which participated in the Eastern Zone battle, alleged that Pin died after being shot by Vietnamese troops at a battle at Watt Khcheay in Svay Rieng Province.³⁶⁴ Nut Khon, a veteran of the 603rd Special Forces Battalion of the 310th Division, had a different account: "I heard a rumor that Pin was shot and killed by one of his messengers on the battlefield of Kampong Cham on orders from the upper echelon, which said that Pin had contacted the Vietnamese and betrayed the revolution."³⁶⁵ Um Chheav, the chairman of the headquarters of the 703rd Division, stated that: "About ten days before the Yuon army attacked, I heard withdrawing soldiers say that Ta Pin had been shot by one of his troops at the Chup Rubber Plantation in Kampong Cham province."³⁶⁶ Elizabeth Becker, author of the book *When the War Was Over*, photographed Pin and two of his messengers during December 1978, two weeks before he was killed. However, she did not speculate on the cause of Pin's death.³⁶⁷ Him Huy stated that in the system of hunting and arresting contacts, that if Ta Nath died, Ta Pin would also die."³⁶⁸

Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, stated that the forces depended greatly on the strength of their individual commanders. When they learned that Pin had been killed, the entire division forces lost control.³⁶⁹

Nath. Comrade Nath was arrested and sent to S-21 in December 1978, the place he had administered for nearly a year before Duch became its chairman. In his confession, Ta Nath described the difficulty of controlling the forces at the border:

Brother Khieu [Son Sen] has been angry with me many times. Brother Khieu harped on me about the delay in purging the 290th Division and this latest Yuon penetration. But in fact, I properly implemented his instructions. The orders to purge the 290th were delayed because of his line to take on the 3rd and 4th Divisions first, that if all had been purged at the same time, we would have lost mastery. He wanted the 290th done in steps.

As for Saroeun, the regiment did not remove him in time because he wanted to hold onto him first for fear of having a negative impact on the morale of Uncle Chan, as he [Saroeun] was Chan's messenger. Angry also about the list of names he wanted taken over the phone. I did not give it to Mit Ren because when I met Ren, I had misplaced the list. In fact, everyone on that list had already been purged, other than Saroeun, whom he wanted kept, so I was late in removing him, and the next day the enemy attacked.

On the matter of the enemy attack, I told him that the enemy had broken through on a large scale and the units had no cadres since they had been removed, including the platoons and companies. So the lower level also had no mastery. Myself, I was deficient in not going to look at that spearhead, because he had ordered the screening [of internal enemies] to be considered more important, the battlefield next. I explained this, but he [Khieu] was still angry.³⁷⁰

Sun Ty. Sun Ty, called Teanh, the General Staff's chairman of logistics, was arrested on December 10, 1978. Teanh's confession stated that Ta Nath had committed treason against the revolution with the Vietnamese. On December 15, 1978, Teanh wrote a final letter to comrade Duch, chairman of S-21, to explain his stance to the "Party Secretary":

To the Party which I respect more than life. Respected friends, I have done no wrong. I did not betray the Party. At first I would not answer, but later when I was clubbed heavily, I fabricated a story. I dedicate my life to the Party. I ask the Party not to arrest those whom I reported on incorrectly. Our friends are good. I am not CIA or *Khmer Serei* [White Khmer]. I ask the Party and you, comrades, to save my life. I am a communist and dedicate my life to the Party. Vorn, Khet, and Kuong Sophal implicated me as being a CIA man, a *Khmer Serei*, but I never joined them. My wife and comrade Nath's wife, they know nothing, Brothers! Phnom Penh 15/12/78 - Sun Ty, called Teanh.³⁷¹

The left and bottom margins of Teanh's letter show notes to Duch that contained another plea: "I ask you not to tear this up and

throw it away, my final voice, comrade. Cheyo! The magnificent and miraculous Communist Party of Kampuchea! Cheyo! The great and miraculous Khmer Peoples Revolutionary Party! Cheyo! The strong and miraculous Cambodian people! *Cheyo!* The strong and talented Kampuchean Peoples Revolutionary Army!"³⁷²

After learning that division secretary Pin and former division secretary Nath had been killed by Angkar, the resolve of the soldiers was replaced by a loss of morale and the will to fight. Chheav recounted the words of comrade Dy, the deputy commander of the division, "We don't know what to fight for anymore because Ta Nath and Ta Pin were our models."

Lower Down the Ranks. One morning in early 1978, messenger Chak Phalla saw a burley, well armed security team of six men arrive to arrest Ong, his battalion chairman, on Koh Chamraen Island. Two of the men walked toward him and asked for Ong. Before he could answer, they walked over to Ong. Ong glanced up from his seat, apparently not knowing that he was to be arrested. One member of the team offered Ong a cigarette, and then grasped Ong's hand when he reached for it, and took Ong's pistol from his side. Ong asked the security team, "Why do you arrest me?" One of them replied, "Mit, there is no need to talk," and kicked Ong once in the face, drawing blood. Ong was then thrown into a vehicle and driven away. Chak did not know where he was taken, but was certain that Ong was going to be killed.

Chak was also arrested by the team when he reached for a rifle hanging on the wall. He was sent to a reform site for a time, and was later assigned to carry supplies to the front.³⁷³



Tuy Kin ♦ Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum Archives

Chapter 14 RETURNING TO

THE PAST

When the DK regime was overthrown on January 7, 1979, the 703rd division had been decimated. Through casualties on the battlefield and purges within its ranks, the Division had shrunk from a force of approximately 5,000 to only about 1,000. Some of the soldiers left alive returned to their homes; others hid in the forests and mountains. Khmer Rouge leaders bent on mounting an armed insurrection herded others to the jungles of northwestern Cambodia. Regardless of the choices they made after the Vietnamese victory, many veterans faced a difficult road ahead because of their earlier involvement with the Khmer Rouge.

The Rank and File

After the Vietnamese army reached the western river bank at Neak Loeung, Ut Lat took off his uniform, threw down his weapons, and fled toward his home. When he reached his village, Ut was surprised to learn that his elder brother Uy Srauy had also joined the revolution and that his parents had faced many hardships during the regime. He had believed what his unit chairman had told him: "The parents in the rear are supplied with sufficient food by Angkar: three meals a day, with dessert once a week."³⁷⁴

When the Vietnamese army reached Phnom Penh, Chan Than and other women soldiers fled from the rice fields of Prey Sar, heading to Kampong Speu province. She came across many decomposing corpses on her journey. At one point, a village chairman stopped them, identified them as Khmer Rouge soldiers, and called for their reeducation: "Those who return from the mountains are all the soldiers of [Pol] Pot, and must be reeducated." They lied to the chairman, claiming they had been only ordinary citizens. He allowed them to proceed through his village.

As Chan and the other soldiers traveled, their strength waned and they fell ill, their bodies swollen from hunger. At Prey Kabas

district in Takeo province, they asked the chairman of a hospital for treatment. That evening they overheard a medical worker talking about them, saying, "Pot's army should be taken and killed," and they thought they might not survive the night. At dawn they asked permission from the hospital chairman to continue walking home.

A few days after reaching their village, the subdistrict committee called them for reeducation, labeling them "traitors to the nation." Chan replied, "Why does Uncle call me a traitor? The word 'traitor' has clung to me since the Khmer Rouge regime. In the KR regime they called me for reeducation at Prey Sar and accused me of being a traitor. My God! I only live in a society. If I did not walk in that society, what would Uncle have had me do?" The subdistrict chairman yelled at her, "At the very least you must be reeducated for three days."³⁷⁵

Chan and her husband had wed in the revolutionary custom in 1978, with Angkar arranging their marriage. During the war, her husband worked in a different agricultural site, and they were separated. Today, both are handicapped and bullet fragments remain embedded in their bodies.

Hor

In 1979, Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor (deputy chairman of the 704th Special Forces Battalion of the 703rd Division), and Dy hid themselves at Phnom Ta Mao in Bati district of Takeo province to continue resisting the presence of Vietnamese troops on Cambodian soil. Hor led a remnant force of about 500 who lived from hand to mouth, begging for food and supplies from people in the area. After four or five months of unsuccessful fighting, Hor and Dy dissolved their forces and switched their allegiance to the new government set up by the Vietnamese, the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea (PRK).³⁷⁶

* Dy died in 1990 after being released from prison. Hor speculated that he may have died as a result of the effects of being tortured in prison.

A month later, on June 15, Vietnamese and PRK government officials arrested Hor and Dy, accusing them of involvement with the Khmer Rouge.* Hor was imprisoned for seven years. He was first sent to prison at Prey Tauch in Sa-ang district, Kandal province, where he was interrogated by district officials and held in temporary detention for two months. From there, he was sent to T-3 prison in Phnom Penh, where he spent four years. In 1985, Hor was transferred to Cheung Andeng prison in Romeas Hek district of Svay Rieng province, where he was held for three more years.

Although he has admitted his part in the Khmer Rouge revolution, he is bitter about his fate, calling himself a political prisoner: "I am in great pain. My duty was only to take up my weapon and fight the Vietnamese army, but why do I have to take all the blame for the many Khmer Rouge leaders who are themselves free and still live in happiness? I only carried out their orders. This is not just at all. If we die, we should die together because we were the leaders."

Today, Hor lives in Kandal province. Before being given his freedom, he had hopes of living with his wife and daughter. But he has now abandoned his hopes. While he was in prison, his wife married again. Hor said of his wife, "Perhaps she thought that I had died in prison, and so she remarried. It was because I walked with the Khmer Rouge that I lost my wife and daughter and I live in such sad shape."³⁷⁷

S-21

In 1979, the Vietnamese turned Office S-21 into a museum, called the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes. Ung Pech, one of fourteen prisoners who escaped the mass killings of the DK regime, was selected to be its chairman. The museum's ground floor is full of photographs of the victims as well as Khmer Rouge cadres and officials. Another room serves as an archive of S-21 and Khmer Rouge documents gathered from other locations after 1979. Many former Khmer Rouge comrades have been exposed as a result of the photographs and biography documents held in the Tuol Sleng Museum. One of these cadres is Tuy Kin.

Tuy remembers when her photo was taken. In mid-1978 while she was planting vegetables, Yon, the commander of her battalion, called Tuy and many others in for a portrait photo. Tuy did not know why Angkar wanted the photos. About a month later, Yon ordered her and five others to stop work and gather up their clothes; they were going to be transferred. At dusk, a truck stopped in front of the barracks. Three security guards ordered Tuy and the others into the truck. Before climbing in, Tuy asked Yon, "Sister Yon! What did I do wrong? Sister never called me in for reeducation at all." Yon replied, "No need to ask! Get on the truck!" In the truck Tuy was chained and shackled along with the other five prisoners and taken to Prey Sar, where she was interrogated three times. A security cadre named Phal asked her, "Do you realize what your offense is?" Tuy answered, "I do not know what I did wrong!" Phal screamed back, "How could you not know why Angkar has imprisoned you!"

After a month at Prey Sar, Sreng, a pilot at Pochentong whom Tuy had known since 1973, requested that Angkar allow him to take her from the prison to marry him. But three days before the wedding, the Vietnamese liberated Phnom Penh, and the couple was separated. They have not seen each other since.

In 1984, Tuy Kin was imprisoned for eighteen months after the Kandal Provincial Court found her guilty of having killed hundreds of people at S-21 during the DK regime. Tuy claims that she was merely a member of the logistics staff at S-21. She also said that she was convicted based on a single photo of her that was on display at the Tuol Sleng Museum and the exaggerated claims made by the military commander of Po Ban subdistrict and cadres in Koh Thom district. Tuy only learned that the photo was on display at the museum about ten days before her arrest.

Prior to her arrest, the subdistrict committee called her and two other women in for questioning. Both of them had been at Prey Sar Prison with Tuy; their photos were also on display at the museum. After they were questioned, the two women told Tuy: "Kin! They have our photos at Tuol Sleng and say we were big shots in the Khmer Rouge regime." Ten days later, the subdistrict committee called Tuy for interrogation in order to build a case file against her

for use by the Koh Thom District Court.

Tuy described her questioning by the Po Ban subdistrict committee: "I had given birth seven months before the committee called me in to the subdistrict office, threatening me and putting me in chains and shackles. Not only that, they pointed guns at me and threatened to shoot me! I answered according to what they forced me to say. The committee hated me and added in the report that I had worked in Tuol Sleng and had killed people. So I was imprisoned in Kandal province for one and one-half years." The other two women were permitted to return home after they were questioned for four days.

Tuy summed up her life, "My past is pitiful. In the Pol Pot era, I did not know what I had done wrong, but they imprisoned me at Prey Sar, and because of one photo at Tuol Sleng they put me in prison again in Kandal province. Today I can raise my hand and swear that if I really killed anyone or if my hands were stained with one person's blood, may the gods curse me."³⁷⁸

Chiep Chy, the military commander of Po Ban subdistrict from 1983 until 1986, prepared the first case file on Tuy. "Tuy Kin, whom I investigated concerning her duties during the Pol Pot era, did in fact work inside Tuol Sleng." He explained that he dared to make that accusation because in late 1974, under the orders of two Vietnamese experts stationed in Koh Thom district (Tu Dinh and Nam Minh), he researched the biographies of those involved in the Khmer Rouge regime. Research was done on cadres because there was a serious concern that Khmer Rouge forces might reappear.

At that time, those selected to work in the villages and subdistricts were required to have good backgrounds. Anyone who had been involved with the Khmer Rouge, even if he or she had only been a militia member, was not chosen. Chiep's research had determined that Tuy Kin was a cadre inside Tuol Sleng prison, and many people had confirmed this. After receiving the information, he cooperated with two subdistrict policemen who came to assess Tuy for three evenings.³⁷⁹

During the first two evenings, they interviewed Tuy at her

home, and asked that she confess about all her activities at Tuol Sleng. They persuaded her that, "Whatever happened whenever, we will help solve the problem with upper echelon." On the third evening, they took Tuy for questioning at the Po Ban subdistrict office, telling her, "If at any time Tuy Kin [you] should answer differently than what the people have already reported: Tuy Kin will be in some difficulty! It is better to answer accurately!"

At 9:00 o'clock that night, Tuy agreed to confess that she in fact did work at Tuol Sleng; she also confessed that she had killed people. She was then taken into custody at the Po Ban office for one night. Officials there immediately wrote a one-page report and sent it to the Vietnamese experts stationed in Koh Thom district. The next morning, the Vietnamese came to take Tuy to the district court in order to prepare a report for the Kandal Provincial Court.³⁸⁰ A single-page undated document entitled "Interview with *samamit neary* [female comrade] Tuy Kin" records her testimony:

I was one of their members. They ordered me to kill, and I went along with them. I killed three hundred persons. I cannot recall the exact place of the killing, but it was probably in the vicinity of Tuol Sleng. I was only the person who prepared the tools, called the prisoners, and sent them out to the two men who did it with their own hands. The prisoners were killed by electric shock. The shocks were applied until they died. The execution room was outside the Tuol Sleng compound. Each time I sent out the prisoners, I received a letter from Duch. I did not meet chairman Duch personally. The letters stated, "I invite *samamit neary* ... to send out the prisoners named ..." I only knew Huy inside Tuol Sleng, and his superior, chairman Duch.³⁸¹

Rath Nim, a veteran of the 703rd Division, was sent to the Prey Sar reform office in December 1975 because her brother had been a Lon Nol soldier. She has concluded that Tuy Kin was not a Khmer Rouge cadre at S-21 because she had "trends" (relatives in the old regime) and had been sent to Prey Sar to be reformed. Nim claimed that, "Angkar would never select those with relatives [in the old regime] to serve in their important offices. All soldiers, male and female, who went to be reformed at Prey Sar, if they did not strive to work hard, they would die!"

Rath's picture was also on display at Tuol Sleng. In late 1978 Yon, her battalion commander, called her in for a photo while she had been carrying water for cooking. She heard rumors that Yon

had the photos taken to make personal histories. During 1980 Rath visited the Tuol Sleng Museum with her relatives and saw her photo displayed there among those of many others who were being reformed at Prey Sar. She stated that she was not called for reeducation as a result of the photo.³⁸²

The S-21 Connection

In May 2002, six cadres of Office S-21 met at the Tuol Sleng Museum at the invitation of documentary filmmaker Pan Rithy. They were to be filmed for a documentary. Twenty-five years earlier, they had worked inside Tuol Sleng in various capacities: prisoner snatcher, interrogator, guard, scribe, and executioner. All stated that they had worked there only as a means to stay alive. Interrogator Prak Khan said, "When I return here, I am shaken by past events because this is a place of tragedy. I am ashamed of myself for all the cruel actions I performed, but my fear today is not as great as it was during the Khmer Rouge years. Here, if we did not follow orders, we would die very quickly."³⁸³

All six related that they had suffered the insults of the people in their communities for their actions during the Khmer Rouge era. Former guard Nhep Hau said, "The people call me a Pol Pot leader. I am not angry at them, because I did in fact do that. The majority of people know that I once worked in the Tuol Sleng prison. I am not hurt, but I feel sorry for my wife and children."³⁸⁴

During 1980 most of the former soldiers of Office S-21 were called for reeducation, and some were arrested and imprisoned. Suos Thy, a holder of prisoner lists, was among the latter group. He was arrested by PRK authorities in Kandal province and held in a dark cell for four years. "I am still not over it, and it is unjust that I worked under their orders and was put in prison for it, but the big leaders remain free. The regime of killing was created by them. The big leaders must be punished according to the law. I say this not to free myself from responsibility, but because this is what would be fair. I did in fact persecute the prisoners, but there must be some thought of justice too." In response to the Khmer Rouge leaders who say that they knew nothing of Tuol Sleng, Suos said, "Tuol Sleng Prison is very large, not a small place, one square kilometer.

Those who created this place had to be at a high level to do so, and the prisoners brought here were from all over the country. Who would dare go make arrests in all the zones and military installations without having orders to do so?"³⁸⁵

Nhep Hau added, "Tuol Sleng Prison killed people on a regular basis. Who were the big comrades at that time? Where are they? The matter is not difficult; just go ask Duch, the chairman of the prison."

Him Huy was imprisoned in Kandal province for two years. He called Office S-21 "The place which once entered is never left behind." In addition to his duties as deputy chairman of prisoner guards, Him admitted that he killed five prisoners by clubbing them with an iron cart axle. "I did not want to do wrong, but it was because Duch and Hor pressured me. If I had not done what they said, they would have killed me."³⁸⁶

Khieu Ches, called Peou, said that after entering S-21, soldiers had no opportunity to leave. In late 1976 the 703rd Division Military Techniques School at Steung Prek Thnaot sent Peou to Office S-21, telling him: "you must go to the countryside with the people." Peou served at S-21 as a soldier in the prisoner guard unit. Beginning in mid-1977 many of the soldiers assigned to S-21 were arrested and killed after being accused of "betraying the Party line." According to Peou, "When I look upon the prisoners' photographs hanging on the walls, I think of the many prisoners that were walked into the prison and that I guarded them. I remember that I heard the sounds of the prisoners' screams. I think of the words of my friend Hong who once worked on my team and who was arrested and taken to be killed. Hong said to me in farewell, 'If you stay alive and get to go home, please tell my mother that I have died.'"³⁸⁷

The soldiers assigned to S-21 were forced to serve the revolution, and were instructed not to think of their families. Prisoner guard Cheam Soeur said, "Duch never once permitted me to visit my parents at home. Before, this place was extremely frightening. Since I left this place I never thought that I would come here again. Tuol Sleng was a prison and place of barbaric torture. Now, Tuol Sleng has become a place of remembrance for the people of

Cambodia.”³⁸⁸

Appendix A

THE RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION PROJECTS OF DC-CAM

Research

The Documentation Center of Cambodia's (DC-Cam) Research Project reflects its mandate to compile important historical evidence about the Khmer Rouge regime. Helping the survivors of the Khmer Rouge era learn what happened to their loved ones and communities, and helping them to understand how and why those tragedies occurred, is the only way to heal their sense of being, which has been held hostage by the past. Research may also facilitate an eventual accounting for some of the crimes of the Democratic Kampuchea regime. When the survivors know who committed abuses against their families and that justice is being sought, they will be free to move on with a sense that the nation in which they live is finally governed by law.

Our research work serves the interests of memory and justice. It assists in building a foundation for the rule of law and genuine national reconciliation, which in turn are prerequisites for sustainable economic and social advancement. We have completed three research projects thus far - *Oukoubah* (based on a term from the Holy Koran meaning “justice”); a paper that examines the treatment of Cham Muslims at Tuol Sleng Prison (S-21); *Victims and Perpetrators*, a paper that analyzes the testimony of young Khmer Rouge comrades at S-21; and *The Khmer Rouge 703rd Division*, a military history. Additional studies are underway relating to the Vietnamese under the DK government, northeastern hill-tribes, a pre-DK study, and research on genocide memorials in Cambodia. The first two of these projects are nearing completion. Further studies are being planned on a variety of topics - the Khmer Kampuchea Krom (ethnic Cambodians whose land was annexed by Vietnam) during the DK era, the Khmer Rouge military structure, the DK prison system, Chams in Krauch Chhmar district, nurses and health care in the Khmer Rouge period, and the lives of Cambodian children between 1975-79.

It is a goal of DC-Cam to train a generation of young Cambodians to produce valuable research, and ultimately to publish books on par with international scholarly standards. Since 2001, we have made meaningful progress toward that goal, and our research documentation series has given us an excellent start. DC-Cam's Research Project aims to serve the following purposes:

- to serve as a resource on the history of the Democratic Kampuchea regime
- to produce scholarly publications, generate scholarly exchange, catalyze training, and create internships
- to provide a cross-check on and confirmation of Khmer Rouge primary documents
- to provide a broader overall understanding of the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

DC-Cam's Research Methodology. Given the experience levels of DC-Cam researchers, we do not strictly apply the standard methodology of social science research, involving the formulation

and testing of inductive or deductive hypotheses. Rather, our research strategy is to comb primary and secondary sources, and to conduct interviews with Khmer Rouge victims and perpetrators, aiming to assemble a thorough empirical record of data which can then be analyzed by more experienced scholars. It takes a great deal of time, training and experience to produce sophisticated theoretical analyses, but we hope that over time, our own researchers increasingly will be able to carry out studies of the more analytical variety.

Cambodian schools do not yet inculcate a culture of learning that respects individual critical thinking and writing. Aspiring Cambodian scholars also face a severe lack of library resources, both in quantity and quality. In addition, the kind of liberal education and broad curricula that routinely encourage academic excellence are presently out of reach in Cambodia. We therefore understand why scholars such as Dr. Craig Etcheson conclude that under present circumstances, it is impossible to expect our researchers to produce publishable studies in a mere two-year timeframe. Dr. Steve Heder has likewise concluded that the efforts of our researchers would be most wisely engaged in producing field reports. We hope to change these conclusions in the near future.

We thank the British Embassy, especially Ambassador HM Stephen J. Bridges, for giving us support and understanding in our efforts to demand the most from our young researchers. The documentation research series has required more time than originally anticipated, and our donors have been patient in allowing our researchers a chance to mature. ReddBarna, the Netherlands, the United States, Norway, Sweden, and DanchurchAid have also given us greatly appreciated support.

DC-Cam has also been carrying out a broad program of oral history. All interviews are structured to begin with very general questions, such as "what happened to you before and during the Pol Pot time?" The DC-Cam field research policy is based upon experience that has demonstrated the importance of avoiding leading questions. We seek to uncover individual responsibility and command responsibility for genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, and the first elements of these crimes are revealed in the survivors' stories. Our interview methodology

attempts to penetrate every possible detail that an interviewee can remember concerning what that person observed during the DK regime. However, our researchers are discouraged from asking such questions until an interviewee has told all he or she is able to remember without being prompted. They are cautioned to confirm how an interviewee knows what he or she asserts, whether it is through first-hand experience or through rumor, but to ask such questions in a way that is not threatening to the interviewee.

For purposes of security, logistics and reporting, researchers fill out a research trip checklist and a results form, entries of which include the number of interviews, names of interviewees, time, place, tapes used, photos, negatives, materials obtained, and a content summary. Trips during the rainy season are discouraged. DC-Cam possesses a research trip authorization from the Ministry of Interior, which is helpful when researchers require local police escorts to travel in remote areas. Village chiefs usually are the best sources for local information and contact data.

Participation in the National Research Congress. In early November 2002, several of our researchers joined in the National Socio-cultural Research Congress on Cambodia at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, the fourth of the forum's annual series. The primary goal of this annual forum is to encourage and develop research in higher education institutions and other research institutes in Cambodia. It also aims to give local and international researchers the opportunity to exchange information, knowledge, and experiences for a better future for Cambodia in the new era of globalization.

DC-Cam researchers presented papers to the 2002 congress concerning the crimes of the Khmer Rouge between 1975-1979. DC-Cam researcher Osman Ysa presented his paper on "*Rebellion of the Cham in Krauch Chmar District against the Khmer Rouge*"; Meng-try Ea spoke on the "*Security Prison System under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime*"; Vannak Huy gave a paper on "*Victory and Failure of the Democratic Kampuchea Regime*"; Sokhym Em informed the congress about "*Women Medical Workers in Tram Kak District, Takeo Province under the Democratic Kampuchea*

Regime"; and Keokannitha Kim presented her research on "Children in Tram Kak District, Takeo Province under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime." DC-Cam's mass grave mapping team was represented by Pongracy Pheng, who presented a summary of the work accomplished by the Mapping Project.

Research Project Results. The following section describes the progress of the DC-Cam research project over the years leading up to and including mid-2003:

- A final product resulting from DC-Cam's research project is its publications. With the completion of several research papers and translations of the papers and other selected Khmer Rouge documents, DC-Cam has published a series of papers and translations.
- Translations include books written by non-DC-Cam researchers as well as selected Khmer Rouge documents. Our documentation series comprises monographs dealing with specific topics that have been prepared by DC-Cam researchers. Besides the translations and documentation series, DC-Cam is publishing books on topics related to genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity under the Khmer Rouge regime.

For more information, please contact Sorya Sim, Head of Research Department at truthsorya@dccam.org

Publications

DC-Cam is carrying out a broad program to produce publications covering a wide variety of literature, ranging from original research by its staff members, documentary compilations from its archives, translations of important scholarly works by internationally-renowned scholars, and classic works relating to genocide. In addition, we continue work on our long-pursued objective of producing an acceptable history text for primary and secondary school curricula that deals with Cambodia's troubled modern history.

One example of this work is our plans to translate and publish a collection of 383 notebooks written by Khmer Rouge cadres. These

notebooks record the daily activities of Khmer Rouge officials, including meeting minutes, notes on political education sessions, medical musings, songs, proverbs, slogans, and so on. These documents provide a unique insight into the training and life-style of the Khmer Rouge cadres during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. They will constitute a substantial contribution to the primary literature available on the Khmer Rouge.

DC-Cam also remains committed to creating a history textbook for Cambodian public schools. With this project, we aim to fill the gaping hole in the current public school curriculum. Due to political disagreements among the various factions of the Royal Government since 1993, virtually all reference to modern Cambodian history between 1970 and 2000 has been deleted from the materials used to educate the country's future leaders. There is almost no mention at all of the Cambodian genocide in the educational materials used in public schools. Under these conditions, Cambodia's youth will remain ignorant of the facts of their own nation's history, leaving open the possibility that a genocidal regime might one day return, without them realizing that it could ever happen here.

We view this as unacceptable, and tantamount to a form of genocide denial. We are therefore following up on our plan to develop a Khmer history textbook. In this regard, we have recently received a pledge of support from the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam to assist in this project. DC-Cam believes it is entirely possible - and absolutely necessary - to produce an accurate, frank and truthful rendering of the impact of the Khmer Rouge revolution on Cambodia, in such a way that it will prove acceptable to all legal parties in the Cambodian political spectrum. The future of Cambodia's children demands that we shoulder this responsibility.

To date, our publishing project has produced a number of new books and magazines, many simultaneously published in both the Khmer and English languages. We also have an enormous amount of material that is nearing publication. Our growing list includes the following titles:

Original Works by DC-Cam Staff

Searching for the Truth (Khmer and English magazine of the Center, published monthly), 2000-2003. (Edited by Youk Chhang)

Ea, Meng-Try and Sorya Sim. *Victims and Perpetrators?: Testimony of Young Khmer Rouge Cadres*, 2001. (In English)

Ysa, Osman. *Oukoubah: Justice for the Cham Muslims under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime*, 2002. (In English)

Huy, Vannak. *The Khmer Rouge Division 703: From Victory to Self-Destruction*, 2003. (In English)

Previously Published Works Issued in Khmer

Frank, Anne. *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl*, 2002. (Translated from English into Khmer by Sayana Ser)

Ung, Luong. *First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers*, 2002. (Translated from English into Khmer by Norng Lina and Meng Khean Tep)

Chandler, David, P. *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison*. (Translated from English into Khmer by Sour Bunsou)

Nayan, Chanda. *Brother Enemy: The War After the War*, 2002-2003. (Translated from French into Khmer by Meng Khien Tep)

Additional Original Works Nearing Publication

Chhang, Youk. *Thirty-One Selected Biographies of the Khmer Rouge Leaders and Others*.

Chhang, Youk and John Ciorciari. *Documenting the Khmer Rouge Crimes*.

Colm, Sara. *The Highland Minorities and the Khmer Rouge in*

Northeastern Cambodia 1968-1979. (Translation into Khmer)

Colm, Sara and Sim, Sorya. *Wind from the West: Khmer Rouge Purges of Mondul Kiri Uplands Minorities.*

DC-Cam Staff. *17 April 1975: A Day of Remembrance.*

DC-Cam Staff. *The Khmer Rouge Biographies.*

Ea, Meng-Try. *Terror in the Southwest Zone.*

Ea, Meng-Try and Sim, Sorya . *Victims and Perpetrators?: Testimony of Young Khmer Rouge Cadres. (Translation into Khmer)*

Em, Sohy. *Female Medical Cadres in Tram Kok District.*

Etcheson, Craig. *The Number: Quantifying Crimes Against Humanity in Cambodia.*

Huy, Vannak. *The Khmer Rouge Division 703: From Victory to Self-Destruction, 2003. (Translation into English)*

Johansen, Raymund. *The Khmer Rouge Communications Documents and the "Nexus to Armed Conflict" Requirement for Crimes Against Humanity.*

Kim, Keo-Kannitha, *The Children in Tram Kak District under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime.*

Kim, Keo- Kannitha. *The Khmer Kampuchea Krom.*

Mam, Kalyanee. *Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979): Women as Instruments for Social Change.*

Mam, Kalaynee. *Evidence of Sexual Abuse during the Rule of Democratic Kampuchea.*

Pang, Pivoine. *The Khmer Rouge Female Cadres in Prey Sar Prison.*

Vanthan Peou, Dara and DC-Cam staff. *The Khmer Rouge Telegrams.*

Pheng-Pong, Rasy. *The Khmer Rouge Prisons*.

Sambath, Chan. *The Human Rights Violations of the Chinese in the Khmer Rouge Regime: 1975-1979*.

Sim, Sorya and Dany Long. *The Vietnamese under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime*.

Ysa, Osman. *Cham Rebellion in Krauch Chmar District*.

Ysa, Osman. *Oukoubah: Justice for the Cham Muslims under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime*. (Translation into Khmer)

For more information, please contact Vannak Huy, Head of Publication Department at truthvannak.huy@dccam.org

ENDNOTES

¹ Sihanouk coined this name, which is now widely used. The Khmer Rouge, however, preferred the term Kampuchea Pracheatibatey (Democratic Kampuchea), which was led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) or the “Central Committee of the CPK.” “What Are the Khmer Rouge?” *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 6, June 2000, pages 56-57.

² Cambodian Genocide Program, Yale University, Documentation Center of Cambodia, and University of New South Wales, The Cambodian Genocide Databases, Record Y00196, BK, HPP, p. 197, 232, mfn 180, Sydney: UNSW, version 1.2, August 1999.

³ In 1968 the Khmer Rouge leadership created three types of bases to strengthen the revolutionary movement. “Support bases” (*moulathan bang-ek*), which the Khmer Rouge considered the most important of the three, were housed in secret locations and thus not easily penetrated by their enemies. These bases, which were scattered throughout the country's Southwestern, Eastern, and Northwestern Zones, held about 60,000 people. The “militia bases” (*moulathan chhlop*) held about 300,000 people. Sangkumreasiyum regime soldiers were able to suppress political activity at these bases, which were less well concealed. The “militia regions” (*dambon chhlop*) held 700,000 people; they were also called “contested regions” (*dambon prateanh pratuong*) during the civil war because they were often controlled by both the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Republic. *Speech by*

Comrade Secretary Pol Pot on the 17th Anniversary of the CPK, Tuol Sleng Archives, D07409, pages 47-48.

⁴ Ibid.

Report on the Decisions of the Central Committee on Several Matters, March 30, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00693, page 3.

⁵ *Speech by Comrade Secretary Pol Pot on the 17th Anniversary of the CPK*, op. cit.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Speech by Comrade Secretary Pol Pot on the 17th Anniversary of the CPK*, op. cit.

⁸ "History of Hanoi 1960-1978," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 21, September 2001.

⁹ *Speech by Comrade Secretary Pol Pot on the 17th Anniversary of the CPK*, op. cit.

¹⁰ "The Khmer Rouge National Defense Strategy against Vietnam," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 30, June 2002.

¹¹ Office S-21 prisoner lists for those killed from late 1975 through late 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue numbers D21897, D21898, and D21899.

¹² Phan's (aka Mean) full name was Chan Chakrei. He was the secretary of the 170th Division until his arrest and execution on May 19, 1976. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogued number D00677.

¹³ The meeting at which this was discussed concerned: 1) the division of tasks and operations, 2) preparations to unite, 3) and the specific administration of a number of economic and military tasks. "Memorandum of the Meeting of the Standing Committee on October 9, 1975," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00677.

¹⁴ From 1970-1975, the Special Zone was administered by comrade Sok Thouk, called Vorn Vet, and was divided into two regions, the 25th and the 15th. The Special Zone was dissolved and incorporated into other zones after the Khmer Rouge took power. They placed Region 25 under the Southwestern Zone and Region 15 under the Northern Zone. Youk Chhang and the author's interview with Van Rith, called Moeun, chief of Central Commerce during the Democratic Kampuchea Regime, at Kporp village, Kporp subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, February 10, 2003.

Confession of Sok Thouk, called Vorn Vet, Deputy Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D13840.

¹⁵ *Report Zebra 212: Interrogation of Och Peou*, age 26, soldier in the 124th Battalion,

Region 25, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00678, page 3. Och fled from the liberated zone and surrendered to the Khmer Republic on October 12, 1974.

Report Zebra 193: The Interrogation of Kruey Tai Hong, called Suy Sara, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00622, page 2. Suy Sara, age 28, was a soldier in the 127th Battalion, 268th Regiment, 12th Division of the Special Zone. He was captured by FANK troops on July 9, 1974.

Author's interview with Chea Ly, veteran of the 221st Division of the Southwestern Zone, at Prek Heng village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, April 26, 2001.

¹⁶ *Report of the Interrogation of Nim Krin*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00659. Nim Krin, age 23, was born in Prek Sdei village, Sangkat Prek Sdei, Koh Thom district, Kandal province. He was the 2nd squad leader in the Koh Thom district militia battalion. Nim defected to the Khmer Republic on September 3, 1974 at Ka-om Samnor village in Leuk Dek district, Region 25. *Report Zebra 193: The Interrogation of Kruey Tai Hong, called Suy Sara*, op. cit.

Author's interview with Chea Ly, op. cit.

¹⁷ *Report of the Interrogation of Nim Krin*, op. cit.

Report Zebra 193: The Interrogation of Kruey Tai Hong, called Suy Sara, op. cit.

Author's interview with Chea Ly, op. cit.

¹⁸ The mission of the Special Forces Battalion was raids and reconnaissance. The artillery battalion provided support fire. The six infantry battalions undertook ordinary missions, and made ambushes and other attacks in cooperation with the Special Forces Battalion. The two female forces battalions provided logistics support. (Region 25 had only one of each type of battalion.) Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00761.

Report Zebra 100: Interrogation of Chea Sarat, called Peou, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00691, page 2. At age 22, Peou was a commander in the 2nd Company, 132nd Battalion stationed in Koh Thom district. He defected to the Khmer Republic on April 7, 1974.

Report Zebra 100: Interrogation of Nop Chhon, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00575, page 1. Sixteen-year old Nop was a soldier in 137th Battalion, 153rd Regiment, 11th Division of Region 25, Special Zone. He was captured by FANK troops on May 18, 1974.

Report Zebra 212: Interrogation of Sek Chamraen, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00665. At age 28, Sek was a kindergarten teacher and soldier in the 127th Battalion, 268th Regiment, 12th Division of the Special

Zone.

Report Zebra 100: Interrogation of Nim Khirin, age 23, 2nd squad leader, Koh Thom militia battalion, who joined the Khmer Republic on September 3, 1974, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number L00607, page 2.

¹⁹ *Report Zebra 207: Interrogation of Phat Chhaim*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00672, page 2. Phat was age 24, and a teacher and soldier in the 127th Battalion, 268th Regiment, 12th Division, Special Zone. He was captured by FANK on July 9, 1974.

²⁰ *Report Zebra 59: Interrogation of Hiep Piset, called Be*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00571, page 1. Age 20, Be was acting commander of the 117th Platoon, 267th Regiment; he joined the Khmer Republic on March 31, 1974.

Report Zebra 3: Interrogation of Seng Phai, called Noh or Mat, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00554, page 1. Noh, age 19, was a soldier in the 3rd Squad, 952nd Company, 118th Battalion. He was captured by FANK forces on December 2, 1973.

Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, deputy secretary of the 704th Special Forces Battalion, 703rd Division, at Kandal village, Kraing Yauv subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, October 16, 2001.

Report Zebra 5: Interrogation of Khruy Khhin Phon, age 22, Economic Agent, Joint Mekong River Regiment, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00607.

Confession of Moeng Teng, called Moeng Samnang, chief of security, Koh Thom district, Tuol Sleng archives M122.

Item 16 of the "List of Prisoners from the Southwestern Zone" records that Moeng Teng, age 39, was a security chairman for Region 25. His interrogation "ended" on March 22, 1978. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D05864.

²¹ *Report Zebra 193: The Interrogation of Kruey Tai Hong, called Suy Sara*, op. cit.

Confession of Chea Soeun, secretary of the 32nd Regiment, 703rd Division, arrested August 25, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J824, pages 24-26.

²² *Confession of In Lay*, squad leader in Unit 708, 703rd Division, written on July 14, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J839.

A "special unit" (kang pises) was an armed peoples unit that used special tactics to attack without giving the enemy any warning. Special units attacked the enemy

directly and struck base areas and bunkers. Such units had to have high intelligence and morale; they were noted for their bravery and determination to overcome all obstacles without concern for their lives. An important task of the special unit was reconnaissance inside enemy installations and supply stores, vehicle parks, armored installations, rail parking areas, fire bases, and airfields. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00507.

²³ *Report Zebra 20: Interrogation of San Suor*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00655. San, age 16, was a soldier in the 21st Platoon, 11th Company, 142nd Battalion.

Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

²⁴ *Revolutionary Flag* magazine, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00481, page 24.

²⁵ The author has written several articles on the veterans of the 703rd Division; they have been published in the Documentation Center of Cambodia's monthly periodical *Searching for the Truth*. Four other publications contain reference to the Division:

Ea, Meng Try and Sorya Sim, *Victims and Perpetrators? Testimony of Young Khmer Rouge Cadres*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2001.

Ysa, Osman, *Oukoubah: Justice for the Cambodian Muslims under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2002.

Chandler, David, *Voices from S-2: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Heder, Steve, "Examples of Documentary Evidence Regarding Surviving High-Level CPK Leaders on Crimes against Humanity," *Searching for the Truth*, Issues 1-14, January 2000 - February 2001.

²⁶ "Expenses of Projected Rice Expenditures in 1976," compiled by DK Army comrade Teanh on January 4, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01069, and *General Statistics*, a list of the General Staff, March 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00065. These two lists show that there were nine divisions under the party Center:

- Division 703 under comrade Pin
- Division 310 under comrade Oeun
- Division 450 under comrade Suong
- Division 170 under comrade Mean (in mid-1976, he was replaced by comrade Sok)
- Division 290 under comrade Tat
- Division 502 under comrade Met
- Division 801 under comrade Saroeun

- Division 920 under comrade Chhin
- Division 164 under comrade Mut.

Other offices and independent regiments under the General Staff included: Office S-21 under comrade Duch, Office 63, Office 62, the 152nd Regiment, the 488th Regiment, and the 377th Regiment.

²⁷ *General Statistics of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Forces*, January 1976 and May 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue numbers L01069 and L01215.

²⁸ Author's interview with So Rin, a veteran of the 170th Division of the Eastern Zone, at Daem Pring village, Koh Khel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, June 12, 2001.

Confession of Moeng Teng, called Moeng Samnang, op. cit.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, page 22.

³⁰ "Democratic National Revolutionary Movement under the Leadership of the CPK 1960-1975," Chapter 2 of *Report of Comrade Pol Pot on the 17th Anniversary of the Birth of the CPK*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L07409, page 57.

"In 1960, The First General Conference set the strategic line of the National Democratic Revolution. In 1975 the miraculous and great victory was achieved. In 1976 the socialist revolution continues building socialism." *Revolutionary Flag*, Special Issue, December 1975 - January 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21412, page 28.

³¹ Author's interview with Leang Ma-Iek, veteran of the 127th Artillery Regiment, 12th Division, at Prek village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 28, 2001.

Author's interview with But Rum, veteran of the 127th Artillery Regiment, 12th Division, at Prek Pan village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 29, 2001.

Author's interview with Ut Lat, veteran of the 704th Special Forces Battalion, 12th Division, at Prek Pan village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 28, 2001.

Author's interview with Chan Than, female combatant of the 12th Division, at Peam Prachum village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, June 13, 2001.

Author's interview with Nang Phai, female combatant in the 12th Division, company messenger in the 41st Battalion of the 12th Division, and medic at Hospital 98, at Prek Ta Honh village, Kampong Kong subdistrict, Koh Thom district,

Kandal province, April 24, 2001.

Author's interview with Teng Penh, former secretary of the Region 25 Special Forces Battalion, at Prek Pan village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, January 16, 2001.

Confession of Chea Soeun, secretary of the 32nd Regiment, 703rd Division, arrested August 25, 1977, op. cit., page 26.

Author's interview with Top Launh, veteran of the 704th Special Forces Battalion of Division 703, at Kampot Puol, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, June 14, 2001.

Author's interview with Tuy Heng, battalion medic in the 703rd Division, at Traey Troeng village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, May 2, 2001.

³² *Daily Information Report of the Information Bureau, Khmer Republic, September 29, 1974*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01296.
Confession of Sun Ty, called Teanh, general staff logistics, arrested on December 10, 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07377, page 11.

Future Problems of our Cambodian Youth (Party conversation at the Youth School, January 1974), Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00097, page 57.

Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon, deputy of S-21D, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00047, page 37.

Author's interviews with 40 veterans of the 703rd Division, all of whom live in Sa-ang district and Koh Thom district of Kandal province.

³³ "Communiqué of Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon, and Hou Nim," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21471.

³⁴ "In 1960, the First General Conference set the strategic line of the National Democratic Revolution. In 1975 the miraculous and great victory was achieved. In 1976 the socialist revolution continues building socialism." *Revolutionary Flag*, Special Issue, December 1975 - January 1976, op. cit., page 30.

³⁵ Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21446.

³⁶ Hinton, Alex, "Revenge in the Pol Pot Era," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 12, December 2000, page 39.

³⁷ Author's interview with Yeay (Grandmother) Hy, age 75, a resident of Village 4, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 29, 2001.

³⁸ Author's interview with Ham Chheng, squad leader in the 704th Special Forces Battalion of Division 703, at Thkol village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 28, 2001.

Author's interview with Tuy Peng Chhon, chairman of a youth unit of the 703rd Division, at Traey Troeng village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, April 15, 2001.

Author's interview with Kuong San, messenger combatant in the 143rd Special Forces Battalion of the 703rd Division, at Traey Troeng village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, April 25, 2001.

Author's interview with So Rin, op. cit.

Author's interview with Chea Ly, op. cit.

Author's interview with Ky Lay, radio-telephone operator in the 66th Independent Regiment of the General Staff and soldier in the 12th division, at Sampan village, Koh Thom subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, April 27, 2001.

Author's interview with So Theng, veteran of the 12th Division and the communications unit of the 66th Regiment of the General Staff, at Prek Thmei village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, April 26, 2001.

³⁹ Author's interview with Ham Chheng, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Author's interview with Kuong San, op. cit.

⁴¹ Martin, Marie Alexandin, *Book of Cambodian Diseases*, Paris: Hachette, 1989, page 171.

Confession of Men Sakhon, deputy chairman of economics office, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J566.

⁴² Author's interview with Tak Try, economics cadre of the 267th Regiment of the 12th Division, at Veal village, Sa-ang Phnom subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, December 18, 2000.

⁴³ Author's interview with Um Chheav, chairman of the 703rd Division Svay Rieng Headquarters, at Peam Prachum village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, June 2, 2001.

⁴⁴ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, op. cit.

In a statistical table, Phe Phai Pheap (Hor) used the name "Phai Hor," and his position was battalion commander (commander and deputy secretary have the same meaning). "Table of Statistics of the Study Session of the General Staff, First Session," dated October 20, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue

number L01512.

⁴⁵ Author's interview with Nang Phai, op. cit.

⁴⁶ Author's interview with Ham Chheng, op. cit.

⁴⁷ *History of Saom Meth*, Tuol Sleng archives TSL6204.

Author's interview with Saom Meth, veteran of the 143rd Special Forces Battalion, 703rd Division, and guard at S-21, at Kampong Sambuor Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, January 31, 2002.

⁴⁸ Author's interview with Top Launh, op. cit.

⁴⁹ Author's interview with Meng Tang, a resident of Prek village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 29, 2001.

⁵⁰ The cooperatives were created on 20 May 1973, and had two functions: "1) in war, the cooperatives supplied forces that contributed in every way to attacking the American imperialists; 2) after liberation, the cooperatives absorbed the new people from the cities, especially Phnom Penh, and the Northwest, especially Battambang." "Memorandum on the Trip of the Standing Committee to the Northwest, August 20-24, 1975," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01022.

⁵¹ Diary of Heng, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21854.

⁵² *Revolutionary History of Suos Thy, S-21, June 6, 1977*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00478. Suos was born in Prek Keo village, Sangkat Koh Khel, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, Region 25.

⁵³ "Communiqué of Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon, and Hou Nim," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21471, page 19.

⁵⁴ Author's interview with Prak Khan, veteran of the 703rd Division and interrogator at S-21, at Smao Khanhy village, Trapeang Sap subdistrict, Bati district, Takeo province, April 26, 2001.

⁵⁵ Author's interview with Tuy Peng Chhon, op. cit.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Author's interview with Khat Pot, veteran of the 703rd Division, at Prek village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 27, 2001.

⁵⁸ "Notes of the Meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers, Second Meeting, May 31, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00075, page 29.

⁵⁹ *Regulations of the Kampuchean Communist Youth League*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D000525.

The Kampuchean Communist Youth League began as the Democratic Kampuchean Youth League, an organization for young men and women. It was created by the CPK in 1960 to lead and incite the youth in the revolutionary struggle against the aggression of the United States, and to destroy the oppressive feudal and capitalist regime. In January 1971 the CPK changed its name to the Kampuchean Communist Youth League. The League played an important role in the struggle against the United States and the Khmer Republic. It was a core leadership group in proselytizing youth throughout the country. "The Youth League is the Right Hand of the Party," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 20, August 2001, page 6.

⁶⁰ *Revolutionary Youth* magazine, Issue 10, October 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21408.

⁶¹ Author's interview with Ieuv Lay, veteran of the 270 Intervention Unit, 703rd Division, at Village 8, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 27, 2001.

⁶² Author's interview with Ham Chheng, op. cit.

Author's interview with Tuy Peng Chhon, op. cit.

Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

Author's interview with So Rin, op. cit.

Author's interview with Kuong San, op. cit.

⁶³ Author's interview with But Rum, op. cit.

⁶⁴ Author's interview with Leang Ma-Iek, op. cit.

⁶⁵ Author's interview with Him Huy, called Huy Tauch, deputy chief of guards at S-21, at Anlong San village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, February 21, 2001.

⁶⁶ *Biography of You Huy, called Him Huy*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00016.

⁶⁷ Author's interview with Tuy Kin, red female combatant in the 703rd Division and prisoner at Prey Sar Prison, at Village 5, Po Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, April 17, 2001.

⁶⁸ Author's interview with Ut Srauy, battalion messenger in the 703rd Division, at Prek Ban village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, February

13, 2001.

⁶⁹ Author's interview with Meng Hak, veteran of the 704th Special Forces Battalion, 703rd Division, at Peam Prachum village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, April 25, 2001.

⁷⁰ Author's interview with So Theng, op. cit.

Author's interview with Tuy Peng Chhon, op. cit.

Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

Author's interview with Ut Srauy, op. cit.

Author's interview with Um Cheav, op. cit.

Confession of Chea Soeun, secretary of the 32nd Regiment, 703rd Division, arrested August 25, 1977, op. cit.

⁷¹ Author's interview with Chan Than, op. cit.

⁷² Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

⁷³ Author's interview with Leang Ma-Iek, op. cit.

⁷⁴ Author's interview with Thon Heu, veteran of a 12th Division artillery unit, at Anlong San village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, April 26, 2001.

⁷⁵ *Situation in Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, and the Reasons Why the People had to Leave the City*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00710, page 1.

"The Attack and Liberation of Phnom Penh," *Searching for the Truth*, Issues 4 and 5, 2000.

⁷⁶ *Situation in Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, and the Reasons Why the People had to Leave the City*, op. cit.

"The Attack and Liberation of Phnom Penh," op. cit.

⁷⁷ Author's interview with Yin Nean, Documentation Center of Cambodia staff member, at Phnom Penh, June 12, 2002.

⁷⁸ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

Author's interview with Kuong San, op. cit.

Author's interview with Nang Phai, op. cit.

Author's interview with Ham Chheng, op. cit.

Author's interview with But Rum, op. cit.

⁷⁹ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

⁸⁰ Author's interview with Kuong San, op. cit.

⁸¹ There were two divisions in the Special Zone, the 12th and the 11th.

⁸² "The Attack and Liberation of Phnom Penh," op. cit.

⁸³ Author's interview with So Theng, op. cit.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Author's interview with Chum Manh, called Mei, a survivor of S-21, at Phnom Penh, August 14, 2001.

Author's interview with Tuy Kin, op. cit.

Hun Sen, "The True Essence of the Pol Pot Regime," Chapter 1 in *Thirteen Decades in the Journey of Kampuchea*, Phnom Penh: People's Newspaper, 1989.

Ney Pena, "The Beginning of Pol Pot," in *The Collapse of the Pol Pot Regime*, Phnom Penh: Pracheachon Press, Phnom Penh, 1991, page 68.

⁸⁷ Author's interview with Tuy Kin, op. cit.

⁸⁸ Author's interview with Chum Manh, called Mei, op. cit.

⁸⁹ Author's interview with Ros Sampeou, Phnom Penh resident during the Khmer Rouge evacuation in 1975, at Phnom Penh, June 11, 2002.

⁹⁰ *Confession of Chou Chet, called Sy*, secretary of the Western Zone, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J456. Chou Chet finished writing his 139-page confession on April 29, 1978. He was arrested and killed after being accused of counter-revolutionary activities (he had intended to poison the food of the party leadership).

⁹¹ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit.

⁹² *Situation in Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, and the Reasons Why the People had to*, op. cit.

Report on the Investigation of Crimes of Genocide Committed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary against the People of Phnom Penh, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00027, page 4.

⁹³ “Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputies of Divisions and Independent Regiments, October 9, 1976,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01500, page 6. The agenda was: 1) Party anniversary. 2) Study sessions. 3) National defense situation and measures to defend our country. 4) Crop production and food supply. 5) The health of the army. 6) Various other matters.

⁹⁴ “Notes on a Study Session for S-21 Cadres,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00712.

⁹⁵ *Diary of an S-21 Cadre*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00512.

⁹⁶ Cambodian Genocide Program, Yale University, Documentation Center of Cambodia, and University of South Wales, op. cit.

⁹⁷ According to H.E. Mat Ly, representative of Kampong Cham province in the National Assembly, on May 20, 1975 Pol Pot convened a meeting at the railroad station in Phnom Penh to approve an “Eight Point Plan” for implementation after the 1975 liberation. The points were: 1) Create cooperatives from the low to the high level. 2) Evacuate the people from Phnom Penh and population centers to the countryside, and divide them into three categories. 3) Eliminate currency. 4) Eliminate markets to sell merchandise. 5) Eliminate religion. 6) Eliminate schools. 7) Eliminate hospitals. 8) Purge internal enemies by digging them out by the roots. Ney Pena’s interview with H.E. Mat Ly, representative of Kampong Cham province in the National Assembly, at Phnom Penh, May 2, 1991. Osman Ysa’s interview with H.E. Mat Ly, representative of Kampong Cham province in the National Assembly, at Phnom Penh, March 27, 2001.

“The CPK had pre-planned before liberation to implement their goals after national liberation. The plan included: 1) Drive all the people from all the cities. All property is to be confiscated. 2) Gather up all officials, including students, teachers, and technicians, and imprison them and kill them. 3) Dissolve and destroy all markets throughout the country. 4) Destroy all currency and issue no new currency. 5) Set up cooperatives for communal living and eating. 6) Dissolve all national customs and culture. Monks must disrobe and become farmers, and the schools must close. 7) Drive out all foreigners, especially the Vietnamese. Those that remain must be purged. 8) All military forces must go to the borders.” *Communiqué of the Representatives of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean National Salvation Front at the Asia-Africa Conference in Hanoi*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00458.

⁹⁸ A memorandum on a Central Committee meeting noted that it had decided on

twelve points. Point 12 was: "The organization of the state organization. The standing committee of the people's assembly includes: 1) comrade Nuon [Nuon Chea] as chairman; 2) comrade Phim [Sao Phim] as first deputy chairman; 3) comrade Mok [Chhit Choeun] as second deputy chairman. The Committee of State Chairman includes: comrade Hem [Khieu Samphan] as chairman; 2) Pen Nut as first deputy chairman; 2) comrade Nhim [Ros Nhim] as second deputy chairman. The 'Government' includes: 1) comrade Pol [Pol Pot] as first minister; 2) comrade Van [Ieng Sary] as deputy prime minister of foreign affairs; 3) comrade Vorn [Vorn Vet] as deputy prime minister for economy and finance; 4) comrade Khieu [Son Sen] responsible for national defense." *Decisions by the CPK Central Committee on Various Matters, March 30, 1976*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00693, page 6.

⁹⁹ "Communiqué of the CPK to the Denmark Workers Party, July 1978," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 19, July 2001, page 24.

¹⁰⁰ "Decision to Smash 17 Traitors," June 4, 1975, by comrade Pin, secretary of the 12th Division, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00985. On the "list of traitors" were seventeen persons whom Pin had "decided to smash" and three others proposed: "to be kept for further examination." The 17 to be killed were: "1) Ing Ban Lak, major at Prey Sar, who was cruel and rapidly promoted. 2) Kham Phuong, lieutenant colonel, former commander at Ta Khmau, the entire family are traitors. He is very cruel natured. 3) Em Than, spy. 4) Kaing Kim Leang, 2nd lieutenant in the special forces of It Suong. 5) Manh Muon, Lt Colonel commander of military service 'recruiting soldiers.' 6) Eu San Tang, major who had fought in Germany. His soldiers are cruel. 7) Sisovat Rithpharavong, lieutenant colonel, feudalist traitor to the people. 8) Am Sa-en, colonel, right hand man of Sak Sutsakhan and Hou Hong. 9) Sam Sen, soldier in the 20th Division. 10) Tes Sa-on, lieutenant colonel, right hand man of Am Rong, who reported the military situation every day. 11) Nuon Khhut, major, military police, family all traitors, this is a cruel one. 12) Prak Vannarin, first lieutenant, 28th Division, extremely cruel by nature, he has written histories that insult us strongly, absolutely counter-revolutionary in nature. 13) Cho You Hor, Cambodian-Chinese, first lieutenant, military spy, cruel fascist. 14) Im Say, first lieutenant, corrupt, obscene and cruel, a traitor and former teacher, insulted us in psychological operations, his confession absolutely supports the Khmer Republic and opposes the revolution. 15) Saom Sakhom, first lieutenant, fascist, was with Nguon Ly Khheang, psychological warfare. 16) Launh Pan Sivavuth, first lieutenant, arrogant and vicious toward us. 17) Mean Mriech, captain, family all traitors." Those proposed to be kept for further examination were: "1) Neak Sivutha, masters degree in medicine. 2) Sam Kin Heng, second lieutenant. 3) Khim Try, former subdistrict chief of Chrouy Ta Keo."

¹⁰¹ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit., page 61.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Author's interview with But Rum, op. cit.

Author's interview with Tuy Kin, op. cit.

Author's interview with Ham Chheng, op. cit.

Author's interview with So Theng, op. cit.

A KR diary expounded on the “danger” of private ownership: “If a unit or person has no private ownership rights, then there are no complications and there is rapid prosperity. Without private ownership, the Party lines will be easily absorbed in all parts of the Party. With private ownership, units and people are not easily controlled and do not easily absorb the Party line and cannot achieve their tasks. Private ownership is not compatible with the Party line, 'If you betray the Party, you betray the people, you betray your class.' So, we youth must fear and hate private ownership, and smash it completely from each of us and the whole society.” Diary 104, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number KNH104.

¹⁰⁴ Author's interview with Ky Lay, op. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Author's interview with So Theng, op. cit.

¹⁰⁶ Author's interview with Chak Phalla, battalion messenger of the 12th Division, at Traey Troeng village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal Province, March 29, 2001.

¹⁰⁷ Author's interview with Meng Hak, op. cit.

¹⁰⁸ “Revolutionary Youth,” *Revolutionary Flag* magazine, Issue 3, March 1977, page 4. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21399.

¹⁰⁹ *Speech by Comrade Secretary Pol Pot on the 17th Anniversary of the CPK*, op. cit.

Revolution in the Building of the Revolutionary Army: Kampuchea under the Leadership of the CPK, Tuol Sleng archives TSL481, page 44.

¹¹⁰ “Memorandum of the Meeting of the Standing Committee, March 11, 1976,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00689.

¹¹¹ October 18, 2001 letter from King Norodom Sihanouk to Youk Chhang, director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia, in response to an article entitled “Events Surrounding the Resignation of Samdech Sihanouk,” *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 21, September 2001.

¹¹² Khieu Samphan, “Open Letter to all Fellow Cambodians,” *Pailin*, August 16, 2001, *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 21, September 2001.

¹¹³ *Cheers for the Magnificent Victory of the CPK Revolutionary Army*, Documentation

Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00481, page 24.

¹¹⁴ During the five-year war, the 12th Division was under the Special Zone, but was moved under the command of the DK General Staff after it became the 703rd Division.

¹¹⁵ “Memorandum of the Meeting of the Standing Committee,” October 9, 1975, op. cit., on: 1) Division of tasking and operations; 2) Preparing to unite; 3) Division of tasking on several specific matters including economics and military.” The 502nd Division was commanded by Sou Meth. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01197.

¹¹⁶ Author's interview with Thon Heu, op. cit.

¹¹⁷ Author's interview with Mi Sro, soldier in a weapons battalion of the 12th Division, at Pratheat, Prek Sdei sub-district, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, April 26, 2001.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ According to veterans So Theng and Ky Lay, the 66th Independent Regiment was commanded by Uk Tem. In 1976 Uk Tem was arrested and sent to S-21. His confession is document O55 in the Tuol Sleng archives. After Uk had been purged, comrade Suong was appointed secretary of the 66th. Suong held the position for three months before he was “removed” for a morals violation. Comrade Saran then served as secretary of the V 66th until 1979. Author's interviews with So Theng and Ky Lay, op. cit.

¹²⁰ Author's interview with Ky Lay, op. cit.

¹²¹ Author's interview with Nang Phai, op. cit.

¹²² “Long Live the Military Force of Democratic Kampuchea,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00481.

Author's interview with Leang Ma Iek, op. cit.

¹²³ Author's interview with But Rum, op. cit.

¹²⁴ Author's interview with Leang Ma-Iek, op. cit.

¹²⁵ Author's interview with Um Chheav, op. cit.

¹²⁶ *Force Statistics, March 1977, 310th Division*, dated March 30, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N00062.

¹²⁷ “Table of Those Joining in the Memorial Ceremony for Mao Se Tung, September 18, 1976,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number

D01792, page 5.

¹²⁸ “Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputies of Divisions and Independent Regiments, September 16, 1976,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01449.

¹²⁹ Chhang, Youk, “Biography of Son Sen, Called Khieu or Brother 89,” *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 10, October 2000, page 7.

¹³⁰ “Message dated September 23, 1976, ‘Instructions of Khieu to Comrade Roeun, Secretary of the 801st Division,’” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01236.

¹³¹ “Message 7, dated July 25, 1976, Instructions of Brother 89 to Comrade Chhin, Secretary of the 920th Division,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01353.

¹³² “Notes of the Meeting of Division and Independent Regiment Secretaries and Deputies, March 1, 1977,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00045.

¹³³ Author's interviews with Mauv Nil, veteran of the 703rd Division, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, December 26, 2000, and Chan Than, op. cit. Nath's confession does not show his birthplace.

Osman Ysa's interview with Prak Thau, age 41, and Kim Heng, age 45, at Puonsaing village, Champa subdistrict, Prey Kabas district, Kandal province, March 28, 2002.

¹³⁴ *Confession of Chou Chet, called Sy*, secretary of the Western Zone, op. cit., page 52.

Author's interview with Chan Than, op. cit.

¹³⁵ *Confession of Chou Chet, called Sy*, secretary of the Western Zone, op. cit.

¹³⁶ *Report Zebra 59, Interrogation of Hiep Piset, called Be*, op. cit, page 1.

Report Zebra 3: Interrogation of Seng Phai, called Noh or Mat, op. cit.

Confession of Moeng Teng, called Samnang, Chief of Security of Koh Thom District, op. cit.

¹³⁷ *Confession of You Meng Kry*, op. cit.

¹³⁸ *Letter from Duch to “Respected Brother 03,”* November 27, 1975, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07302.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ *Histories of Keam Tot, Ngauv Va, and Tap Bun Din done by Office 03*, November 29, 1975, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07302.

¹⁴¹ "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputies of Divisions and Independent Regiments, September 16, 1976," op. cit.

¹⁴² "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputies of Divisions and Independent Regiments, October 9, 1976," op. cit.

¹⁴³ "Notes of Discussions with Chinese Artillery Experts, September 14, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01514.

¹⁴⁴ "Message dated June 11, 1976 from Mut (Meas Mut), Secretary of the 164th Division, to 'Brother 89,'" Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01289.

¹⁴⁵ *Message 06 Dated March 6, 1978, Report of Comrade Rom, Secretary 117th Division, to General Staff*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D02062.

¹⁴⁶ *Tuol Sleng Prisoner Statistics*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00394.

¹⁴⁷ *Confession of In Lon, called Nath*, assistant to general staff and foreign affairs, last dated December 31, 1978, Tuol Sleng archives TSLI66.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ *Report on Various Decisions by the Central Committee, March 30, 1976*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00693.

¹⁵⁰ "Notes of the Meeting of Division Commands, June 1, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01272.

¹⁵¹ "Notes of the Meeting of Division and Independent Regiment Commands, August 12, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01376.

¹⁵² "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputies of Divisions and Independent Regiments, September 16, 1976," op. cit.

¹⁵³ "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Economics Officers, May 16, 1976, Comrades Pang and Pin," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01229.

¹⁵⁴ "Notes of the Meeting of Medical Commands, May 18, 1976, Comrades Pang and Pin," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01230.

¹⁵⁵ "Notes of the Meeting of Angkar Office, 703rd Division and S-21, September 9, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01445.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Confession of Chhou Bun Leat*, deputy chief of staff, 703rd Division, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21901. On October 5, 1976 Duch noted on Chhou's confession, "A narrow document. Reported to Brother 62 - Duch."

¹⁵⁸ The 29 people Sok and Tat decided to take were: 1) Huot Peng Leng, 2) Thach Sean, 3) Thaong Satphai, 4) Sau Son, 5) Khoem Yoan, 6) Nguon Touch, 7) Neou Phon, 8) Khieu Say, 9) Tok Saing, 10) Em Sot, 11) Huot Sam-el, 12) Pen Penh, 13) Kroeun, 14) Ung Son, 15) Sok Khai, 16) Ken Ngon, 17) Tit Samit, 18) Samet, 19) Kuong Soeun, 20) Ke Oeun, 21) Long Saret, 22) Keo Sokh, 23) Chan Uon, 24) Kang Saret, 25) Ky Sophat, 26) Sokh Peou, 27) Son Song, 28) Puot Sakhan, and 29) Prak Phally. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01448.

¹⁵⁹ "Notes of the Meeting of Comrade Tal and Comrade Sokh on September 16, 1976 from 16:15 until 22:15 hours," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01448.

¹⁶⁰ "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics Cadres of Divisions and Independent Regiments, September 19, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01451.

¹⁶¹ Author's interview with Khat Pot, artilleryman of the 703rd Division, at Prek village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 27, 2001.

Author's interview with Ut Srauy, *op. cit.*

¹⁶² "Notes of the Formal Meeting of Division Commands, November 21, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01541.

¹⁶³ "Notes of the Meeting of Division and Independent Regiment Commanders and Logistics Cadres, December 15, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01448.

¹⁶⁴ Author's interview with Ut Srauy, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁵ *Report of Pin to Saom, Chairman of Office 62, dated December 22, 1976*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00257.

¹⁶⁶ *Confession of Khhuon Son, called Koem Phan*, combatant messenger in the Region 23 Division of the Eastern Zone, dated March 24, 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J754, 29 pages. On page 25 of this confession, Phau, the interrogator, wrote: "The confessee Koem Phan wrote in his own hand." The confession shows 45 contacts, 35 of whom are indicated as "not yet arrested" and

10 who had already been arrested. The bottom of page 1 shows a note by Duch, chairman of S-21, to upper echelon stating: "Respected Brother, This one attempted to throw a grenade at Brother Pin's place at midnight. This has been reported to Angkar already. This detailed confession is not all that deep, he says he was a message runner for both his Cambodian and Yuon bosses. Two copies have been sent to Brother 89. Respects! Duch 27/3/78." Written at the bottom of page 1 in heavy ballpoint is: "Received 28/2/78."

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ "Message 19:150, 'To Respected Brother,'" Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D02103. This message was sent on April 8, 1978 by a message operator whose code name was "47." The top margin contains a note in black ink indicating it was to be sent to "Brother Van" and dated April 10, 1978.

¹⁶⁹ Author's interview with Um Chheav, op. cit.

¹⁷⁰ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit., page 60.

¹⁷¹ According to Khmer Rouge cadre biography K09336, held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia, Hor's original name was Khim Vath. He joined the revolution on March 13, 1966, and the Party on June 16, 1973. He became a full rights member on December 16, 1973.

Before coming to S-21, Hor was secretary of the 143rd Special Forces Battalion of the 703rd Division. In 1976 Hor was assigned as deputy of S-21. Hor married while he was assigned to S-21, but had no children. In 1979 Hor fled S-21 when the Vietnamese were attacking. About four months later, Duch shot Hor in the forests of the Northwestern Zone after a dispute over preparing forces to counter-attack the Vietnamese. Author's interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

¹⁷² Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

Author's interview with Ham Chheng, op. cit.

¹⁷⁴ *Speech of Pol Pot, CPK Central Committee Secretary and First Minister of the DK Government, to a Delegation from the Belgium-Cambodian Society at Phnom Penh on August 5, 1978*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00108.

¹⁷⁵ Author's interview with Top Launh, op. cit.

¹⁷⁶ Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

¹⁷⁷ *Confessions of Koy Thuon, called Khluon*, secretary of the Northern Zone,

February 2 through April 3, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia documents J918 through J921.

¹⁷⁸ Author's interview with Meng Hak, op. cit.

¹⁷⁹ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

¹⁸⁰ *Confession of Auy Nguon Ly*, age 21, S-21 interrogator, Documentation Center of Cambodia D07381.

¹⁸¹ *Confession of Chea Soeun*, secretary of the 32nd Regiment, 703rd Division, arrested August 25, 1977, op. cit. Son Sen's instructions appear at the top of page 1: "Send one copy to comrade Pin 24/9/77." At the bottom, he wrote: "1) This one is a regiment secretary in the 703rd [of comrade Pin], and is a Yuon contact [CIA], and is connected with Sok (25) and Chey. He has been active before liberation and after liberation. His two important connections are both regiment [commanders], San and Tem. We decided to arrest them today. 2) Arrest some from Region 25. 3) The confession is clear and connected. I have underlined in red the important points. 25/9/77."

¹⁸² "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments, August 2, 1976, 7:30 a.m.," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01373.

¹⁸³ In August 1975 the 143rd Special Forces Battalion became the 704th Special Forces Battalion of the 703rd Division.

¹⁸⁴ Office S-21B was at Takhmau (south of Phnom Penh), and was a branch of S-21. S-21 had other branches including S-21D at Prey Sar in Dangkao district of Kandal province, west of Phnom Penh. S-21D was an agricultural production site for S-21. *Special Document, Tuol Sleng Prison*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00034.

¹⁸⁵ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit.

Sou Lat, age 25, an S-21 interrogator, wrote in his confession that "Office 44 was the handicapped office for S-21." Sou Lat was arrested in July 1978 and wrote his confession on August 6, 1978. *Confession of Sou Lat*, S-21 interrogator, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07389.

¹⁸⁶ *Confession of Bin Lep*, M-21 guard, arrested and sent to Office 44 on October 11, 1975, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D02153.

Author's interview with Suos Thy, veteran of the 143rd Battalion of the 12th Division and document cadre at Office S-21, at Tuol Sleng Museum, May 24, 2002.

Author's interview with Nhep Hau, S-21 guard, at Tuol Sleng Museum, May 14, 2002.

¹⁸⁷ According to study session documents, Hin's full name was Nouch Hen. "First Study Session of Revolutionary Life Ideals of the General Staff," October 20, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01512.

¹⁸⁸ "Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, 703rd Division, 96th Battalion, Summary History, Release Section, Company 44 (Security), December 20, 1975," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number TSL 4430.

¹⁸⁹ *Confession of Bin Lep*, M-21 guard, arrested and sent to Office 44 on October 11, 1975, op. cit.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ *Confession of Yi Song Heng*, soldier in the 99th Platoon, 703rd Division, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue numbers K02151 and K02152.

¹⁹² Author's interview with Yi Leang Mean, soldier in the 703rd Division and younger brother of Yi Song Heng, at Samphan village, Koh Thom subdistrict and district, Kandal province, April 24, 2001.

¹⁹³ *Confession of Min Kan*, soldier in the 211th Platoon, 21st Company, 142nd Battalion, 12th Division, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K01395.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Author's interview with Men Lay, the mother of Min Kan, at Prek Bi village, Koh Thom subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, April 24, 2001.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Author's interview with Yon Peng Kry, a driver at Office 24 Prey Sar, at Kampong Svay Kandal village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, January 1, 2002.

Author's interview with Rath Nim, female veteran of the 703rd Division and former prisoner at Prey Sar, at Prek Thmei Village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom District, Kandal Province, June 11, 2001.

¹⁹⁸ Author's interview with Ut Srauy, op. cit.

¹⁹⁹ In 1976, S-21 had a total of 1,685 cadres divided into four units: S-21 headquarters, S-21A, S-21C, and S-21D. The four units were broken down as follows: internal strength 141; headquarters section, 148; interrogation section, 54. Working units (outside) had 1,377 persons. *Special document, Tuol Sleng Prison*, op. cit., page 4.

A brochure held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia states that there were two branches of S-21: S-2A and S-21D. S-21A was at Takhmau in Kandal province south of Phnom Penh. S-21D was at Prey Sar (at a prison built during the colonial era) in Khann Dangkao, Kandal province west of Phnom Penh. S-21D was also called "Office 24," and was a reform center. S-21D supplied food to S-21 and other units.

²⁰⁰ The confession of You Meng Kry states that Mit Pech was the younger brother in law of Duch, chairman of S-21. Before coming to Office 24, Mit was a cadre in the 450th Division. *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputies of Divisions and Independent Regiments, September 19, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01451.

²⁰³ Report of Huy Sre "To Respected Brother 03," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07338.

²⁰⁴ "Names to be Removed, Families of Sokh and Mae Lon," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07358.

²⁰⁵ "Names of Prisoners to be Smashed, Brother Huy Sre's Section," July 13, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01175.

²⁰⁶ *Biographies of the Pregnant*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01288.

²⁰⁷ *Names of Those to Be Removed*. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21899.

²⁰⁸ "List of Prisoners, Special Prison Section," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08283.

²⁰⁹ *Biography of Prok Khoeun*, wife of Nin Huy, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08273.

Confession of Nun Huy, chairman of Office-24 (Prey Sar), Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08273.

²¹⁰ *Santebal S-21 Statistics List, Politics, Morale, Organization*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D06936.

²¹¹ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

In 1976 Mon was a permanent member of the S-21 committee and deputy chairman at S-21D. In late 1977 while he was at Prey Sar, Duch arrested Mon along with his wife and children and sent them to S-21. Mon had been implicated in the confessions of 703rd Division cadres who had been sent to S-21. Author's interview with Him Huy, called Huy Tauch, deputy chief of guards at S-21, at Phnom Penh, December 15, 2001.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments, October 9, 1976," op. cit.

²¹⁶ Author's interview with Tuy Kin, op. cit.

²¹⁷ Sary's revolutionary name was Ly Sary. She was the political officer of a female battalion. "Table of Statistics of the Study Session of the General Staff, Second Session," dated November 23, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00230.

²¹⁸ Author's interview with Rath Nim, op. cit.

²¹⁹ *S-21 Summary Biography of Saom Nim*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number TSL 5822.

²²⁰ Author's interview with Rath Nim, op. cit.

²²¹ Yon's revolutionary name was Kry Yon and she was a member of the committee of the female battalion. "Table of Statistics of the Study Session of the General Staff, Second Session," op. cit.

²²² *S-21 Summary Biography of Neang Kin*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K00077.

²²³ Author's interview with Ven Run, mother of Ven Heang, at Traey Sla village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, March 27, 2001.

²²⁴ *S-21 Summary Biography of Ven Heang*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K00049.

²²⁵ Author's interview with Yon Peng Kry, op. cit.

²²⁶ Author's interview with Tuy Kin, op. cit.

²²⁷ Author's interview with Saom Tong, platoon leader in the 170th Division, at Prey Phdau village, Prey Phdau subdistrict, Prey Kabas district, Takeo province, July 13, 2001.

²²⁸ *Confession of Sim Mel, called Man*, chairman of the interrogation team at S-21, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D02678.

"Sim Mel, called Man, came to S-21D to be chief interrogator. Smashed on 30-4-1978," no date of entry, "Tuol Sleng Prisoner List, Entry-Exit 1978," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21899.

²²⁹ "Notes of the Meeting of Division and Independent Regiment Secretaries and Deputies, March 1, 1977," op. cit. Agenda: 1) External and internal enemy situation; 2) Fulfilling all duties; 3) Miscellaneous matters.

²³⁰ *Working with All Unit Committees Regarding Enemy Activities*, September 12, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01791.

²³¹ According to a cadre's diary, the statistics on the enemies inside the country were: "In the zones, 10 percent; in some of the regions, 20 percent; enemies in the districts, 20-30 percent; and 40-50 percent in the cooperatives." *Diary of an S-21 Cadre*, op. cit.

Pol Pot was quoted as saying, "We [the DK] have no prisons, and we don't even use the word prison. As for bad people, we arrange for them to be sent to raise crops." "Speech of Pol Pot, CPK Secretary and First Minister of the DK Regime, Given to a Delegation of the Belgium-Cambodian Society in Phnom Penh on August 5, 1978," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00108.

²³² *DK Constitution*, implemented on December 14, 1975 and announced officially on January 5, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue D00028.

²³³ One report called Office S-21 "M-21" and listed Comrade Sem as chairman. Planned Rice Expenditures for 1976, by comrade Teanh, January 4, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01069. After comrade Sem transferred out of S-21, comrade Duch was promoted to replace him. In "Notes on the Revolutionary Lifestyle," S-21 is also called "M-21." The notes record the names of the 12 members of its committee. "Notes on the Revolutionary Lifestyle," the first General Staff class on October 20, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01494.

²³⁴ *Confession of Tiv Ol, called Saom Penh*, Ministry of Information, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00049.

Confession of Doeun, Office 870 Committee, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D13496.

In his confession, You Meng Kry referred to "Office S-21" as "Ministry S-21." *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit.

²³⁵ *Confession of Seat Chhe, called Tum*, Secretary of Region 22, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J900.

²³⁶ *Personal History of Chea Lao, called Vuth*, Tuol Sleng archive TSL5414, records that, "On December 26, 1975, Angkar assigned me to Office S-21, near the National Police by the Phsar Thmei. Then I was with Brother Try and Brother Hak."

Author's interview with Suos Thy, *op. cit.* Suos said that Office S-21 began operations at the National Police Prison south of the Phsar Thmei, and in early 1976, moved to the Tuol Svay Prey school site.

²³⁷ *Special Document, Tuol Sleng Prison*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00034.

²³⁸ Author's interview with Chum Manh, called Mei, *op. cit.*

Sim, Sorya, "Chum Manh: A Surviving Prisoner of Tuol Sleng," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 22, October 2001, page 17.

²³⁹ *Confession of Neou Kantha, aka Tha*, veteran of the 260th Artillery Regiment, 703rd Division, and Office S-21 interrogator, arrested on March 5, 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07396.

²⁴⁰ Author's interview with Neou Soeun, called Doeun, an electrician and soldier at S-21, in Kampong Chhnang province, October 20, 2001.

²⁴¹ Author's interview with Suos Thy, *op. cit.*

Author's interview with Him Huy, *op. cit.*

²⁴² *Special Document, Tuol Sleng Prison*, *op. cit.*

Author's interview with Chum Manh, called Mei, *op. cit.*

²⁴³ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, *op. cit.*

Case Files from the Court Trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary for Genocidal Crimes, Documentation Center of Cambodia, catalogue number Box 27, 1981.

Personal History of Chea Kak shows that Office 44 was the security office of the 703rd Division, with Try as chairman and Hak as deputy. In 1976, Office 44 was absorbed into Office S-21. Before serving at S-21, Chea was a soldier in the 127th Battalion, 268th Regiment, 12th Division. In September 1975, he was assigned as an interrogator at S-21. He was arrested on March 25, 1978. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07394.

²⁴⁴ *Khmer Dictionary*, Fifth printing, BE 2512 (1967), Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute.

²⁴⁵ "Statement of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the Communist Workers Party of Denmark, 1978, by Comrade Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary, CPK," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 20, August 2001.

²⁴⁶ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit.

²⁴⁷ *Confession of Hing Raya* and the letter of comrade Teng, chairman of Office 15, Region 25, Southwestern Zone, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01280.

²⁴⁸ *Report on CIA Contacts of Moeun, Who before April 17, 1975 was a Minister and Member of the National Assembly*, made on 17-12-75 at Office S-50, signed by Sem, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K05759.

Report on CIA Contacts of Ul, who before April 17, 1975 was a First Lieutenant Marine, made on 27-12-1975 at Office 50, signed by Sem, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K05765. Five other Lon Nol officials named as contacts were: Samrit Chanthuon, aka Thuon, a police second lieutenant, K05760; Sarom, who worked at the Foreign Ministry, K05761; You Vang of the Foreign Ministry, K05762; Loch, Air Force 1st lieutenant, K05763; and Hao, doctor from America, K05764. The personal histories of Lon Nol officials to be arrested all bore the signatures of Sem, and it can be assumed that at that time, Sem was chairman of Office S-50.

²⁴⁹ "Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries of Divisions and Independent Regiments on the Expenditures of Rice Planned for 1976, January 4, 1976," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01069. It could be assumed from this report that "M-21" was "Office S-21" because this was a meeting of divisions and units directly subordinate to the General Staff. The report states: "Sem, chairman of M-21" which likely means "Sem, chairman of Office S-21." Another report also calls Office S-21 "M-21." "Notes on the Revolutionary Lifestyle," op. cit. At that time, Duch was office chairman. That report shows the composition of the administration committee of M-21 (or S-21) as totaling twelve persons. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01494.

²⁵⁰ *Office S-21 Phnom Penh, CIA Plans*, written by Comrade Sem, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D04562.

²⁵¹ Confessions of soldiers from the 703rd Division who were held prisoner at Office 44 and S-21C, K-file documents held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

²⁵² *Personal History of Kang Kech Ieu, Revolutionary Name Duch*, chairman of S-21. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogued number K09339. This history records that Duch's mother was named Saev, but does not mention his father's name.

"M-21 Lifestyle, First Session, General Staff, October 20, 1976," Documentation

Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01494.

²⁵³ "Notes on the Revolutionary Lifestyle," op. cit.

Personal History of Khim Vath, aka Hor, Deputy Chairman of Office S-21, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N01494.

Author's interview with Mauv Nil, op. cit.

According to Mauv Nil, Mauv Song was the younger brother of Khim Vath, called Hor. Author's interview with Mauv Nil, op. cit. Mauv Song denied this. Author's interview with Mauv Song, medic in the 703rd Division and 17 April Hospital, at Prek Hoeng village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, December 16, 2000.

²⁵⁴ *Confession of You Meng Kry, called Mon*, op. cit., page 68.

²⁵⁵ Author's interview with Saom Meth, op. cit.

²⁵⁶ Author's interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

²⁵⁷ Phat Kosal and Vanthan Peou Dara's interview with Kim Suor, former student of Dutch, at Stung District, Kampong Thom Province, May 15, 2000.

²⁵⁸ Phat Kosal and Vanthan Peou Dara, "Meeting with Students and Friends of Kang Kech Ieu, aka Comrade Duch, in Kampong Speu," *Searching for the Truth*, Issues 6 and 7, June and July 2000.

²⁵⁹ *Confession of Chou Chet, called Sy*, secretary of the Western Zone, op. cit.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Vanthan Peou Dara's interview with Ham In, a prisoner of Office 13 in June 1973 when he was 6 years old, at Sdok Sa-at village, Meanchey subdistrict, Uddong district, Kampong Speu province, August 17, 2001.

²⁶² Vanthan Peoudara, "Duch's Office M-13," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 22, October 2000.

²⁶³ *Interrogation of Chheun Sothy, called Sarin*, January 22, 1975, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number N00562. Sarin was a prisoner of the Khmer Rouge at the Amleang Office Prison.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Vanthan Peoudara's interview with Ham In, op. cit.

²⁶⁶ *Prisoner Execution List 1975-late 1978*, Documentation Center of Cambodia cata-

logue number D21897, D21898, D21899.

²⁶⁷ *Confession of Sun Ty*, op. cit.

²⁶⁸ *Summary History of Pen Nhey, Platoon Leader, 703rd Division, arrested August 1, 1977*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01192.

²⁶⁹ *Letter of Sou Meth*, 502nd Division secretary, regarding sending prisoners to S-21, October 3, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01069.

²⁷⁰ Author's interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

Author's interview with Prak Khan, op. cit.

²⁷¹ *Special document, Kuk Tuol Sleng*, op. cit.

²⁷² Ea, Meng Try, S-21 soldiers' biographies and article, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number NEWSCLIP 2049.

²⁷³ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

²⁴⁷ *Personal History of Kuy Kol*, age 26, from Samrong Ka-e village, Samrong Thom subdistrict, District 16, Region 25, soldier at S-21, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08313.

²⁷⁵ *Personal History of Kang Khem*, age 21, from Prek Ta Mem village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, District 18, Region 25, soldier at S-21, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08445.

²⁷⁶ *Personal History of Bun Ching*, age 16, from Krak Koh village, Peach Changvar subdistrict, District 10, Region 31, youth at S-21, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08865.

²⁷⁷ *Personal History of Nhep Hau, aka Nhep Sovan*, team chief of prisoner guards at S-21, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08653. The first section of the history states that he was the "Brother of A-Peng." Hau's nickname has also been written as "Sovan" and "Sovann."

Author's interview with Nhep Hau, op. cit. Nhep was a guard at S-21 and the brother of Sok Peng, the chief of S-21 prisoner guards. Today Nhep lives in Sampan Kraom village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province.

²⁷⁸ *Revolutionary History of Mit Tuy*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogued number K09340.

²⁷⁹ Suon Rithi, chief of Trea subdistrict, letter to the Documentation Center of Cambodia, September 18, 2002.

²⁸⁰ *Personal History of Khieu Vit, aka Oeun*, chief of the hot team of interrogators at Office S-21, Tuol Sleng Museum catalogue number TSL6086.

²⁸¹ Author's interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

A Khmer Rouge cadre history document dated November 10, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number catalogue number D00016, records that Him Huy's original name was You Huy, and he was born at Kbal Chrouy village, Po Ban subdistrict, District 18, Region 25. He was from the middle-level farmer class. He joined the revolution on October 7, 1972, at the above-mentioned village and subdistrict, introduced by Nai, the Kbal Chrouy village chief. Him became a member of the communist youth league on June 9, 1975 at Tik La-ok in Phnom Penh. Keo Khhut (a company political cadre) and Man Nuon (a company commander) introduced him. Him rose from section leader, to deputy squad leader, squad leader, deputy platoon commander, deputy company commander and to deputy of guards at S-21.

²⁸² Chan's original name was "Mam Nai." He was born in Trapeang Run village, Chantrei subdistrict, Romeas Hek district, Svay Rieng province to a proletariat class family, and held a degree in the Khmer language. Chan was an interrogation cadre at S-21. He joined the revolution in 1965, introduced by Tin Kim Hong. In February 1967, Chan joined the pillar unit, again sponsored by Tin Kim Hong. After six months of preparation, Chan became a full rights Party member on December 8, 1975, sponsored this time by Duch. The item "relationships" (*peakpoan*) in his personal history records that on April 17, 1975 Chan had two younger brothers teaching in Phnom Penh and in-laws at the Office of the Prime Minister in Phnom Penh. *Personal History of Mam Nai, called Chan*, June 9, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08280.

²⁸³ Pon's birth name was Tung Seng Hoeun. He was born at Sankor village, Sankor subdistrict, Kampong Svay district, Kampong Thom province to a middle-level proletariat family, and as an adult, taught at the Kampong Thom College class. Pon joined the revolution in 1967, introduced by Chea at the railroad station. On October 24, 1970 Pon joined the pillar unit, introduced by Duch and Rin. He later rose to become a member of the S-21 committee. *Personal History of Tung Seng Hoeun, called Pon*, made at S-21 on July 12, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K09340.

²⁸⁴ The list entitled "Interrogation Section" from S-21 dated July 24, 1977 shows that Prak Khan was one of 92 interrogators at S-21. Page 16, item 69 records that, "Prak Khon, age 22, joined the youth league on August 21, 1975." Prak Khan was in group/team [pouk] 1. The list of names for group 1 contains the following entry: "1) Ros, Tit, age 22; 2) Prak Khan, age 22; 3) Nou Hieng, age 24; Heng Chun, age 25; Im Oeun age 20; But Heng, age 24; 7) Phon Chhay, age 25; 8) Chun Than, age 27." Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07383.

²⁸⁵ Author's interview with Khieu Ches, called Peou, S-21 guard, at Trapong vil-

lage, Ta Ches subdistrict, Rolea Bier, Kampong Chhnang province, October 18, 2001.

Summary Biography of Khieu Ches, called Peou, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08466. There were many other soldiers from Region 31 who studied at the 703rd Division military school. Ea, Meng Try and Sorya Sim, *Victims and Perpetrators? Testimony of Young Khmer Rouge Cadres*, op. cit.

²⁸⁶ Stipulations and political goals toward the base by the Party under the new conditions of the socialist revolution and building socialism (quoted from the CPK Party regulation). Tuol Sleng Museum, TSL 5009.

²⁸⁷ Iv Pech defined “feudalists” (*sakdephoum*) as the mandarins, officials or royals who had the power to confiscate property and to oppress the people and who had tens of thousands of hectares of land. “Capitalists” were those who had much property, and ate without ever getting their fill. Diary of Comrade Iv Pech, 1975, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00713.

Notes of self-criticism meetings of Ieng Sary, aka Van, regarding the problems with Foreign Ministry cadres record that, “Capitalists” were those who feared fatigue and difficulty. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00588.

²⁸⁸ A CPK communiqué to Labor Party of Denmark by Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary of the CPK, claimed that, “Attempts to overthrow the revolution have occurred from attacks from the inside and outside that had the cooperation of the CIA, KGB, and Vietnam. But we suppressed the enemy plans in time and defeated the Vietnamese army and have arrested many enemies within our ranks.” “Communiqué of the CPK to the Denmark Workers Party, July 1978,” op. cit.

An S-21 cadre diary, in a section entitled “New Strategy,” records, “The enemies of the revolution are the CIA, KGB and their Youn running dogs. The Youn running dogs are vicious enemies, especially dangerous to the revolution.” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00512.

Chou Chet, aka Sy, secretary of the Western Zone, wrote in his confession quoting Nuon Chea’s instructions to cadres regarding Party plans that, “No need to keep the old soldiers; they cannot easily abandon their old ideas. So smash them all.” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J456.

²⁸⁹ “Notes of the Meeting of Secretaries and Logistics Officers of Divisions and Independent Regiments, December 15, 1976,” Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00252.

²⁹⁰ “Meeting with the Committees of All Units, Summary of Reports from all Units on Enemy Activities,” dated September 12, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01791.

²⁹¹ “Notes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee on October 9, 1975,

Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00677. The agenda included: "1) Division of tasking and operations, 2) General preparations, and 3) Some specific administrative actions including commerce and military." The committee agreed to assign areas of responsibilities to members of the committee. Nuon Chea was assigned party activities, economics, culture, information and education. Ieng Sary, aka Van, got foreign affairs, party and state. Khieu Samphan, aka Hem, was given the front and government administration and commerce and accounting. Thuch was assigned domestic and international commerce. Vorn got industry, railroads, and fisheries. Doeun became chairman of Office 870. Ieng Thirith, called Phea, was assigned culture, social action and foreign affairs. Yun Yath, aka At, got information and training, internal and external. Nong Suon, aka Chey, was assigned agriculture. Yem got Office 870 and Pong the administrative office.

²⁹² *Decisions of the Central Committee on Various Matters, March 20, 1976*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00693. The first session regarding the rights to smash enemies within and outside the ranks explained in details that: 1) If the enemies are in the base structure the standing base (village) committee decides. 2) Enemies surrounding central offices are decided by the central office committees. 3) Independent regions are decided by the standing committees. 4) The center's army is decided by the general staff. Reporting was to be weekly, to Office 870."

²⁹³ *List of Forces inside S-21*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07353.

²⁹⁴ *Confession of Sim Mel, called Mon*, op. cit.

Author's interview with Chum Manh, called Mei, op. cit.

²⁹⁵ *Santebal S-21 Statistics List, Politics, Morale, Organization*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D06936.

²⁹⁶ *Controlling the Victims [krupkrong chon rong kruoh]*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00035.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

"*Santebal Rules*," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D24014.

"The Cause of the Suicide of Prisoner Kan," *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 23, November 2001, page 35.

"Controlling the Victims," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00035.

²⁹⁸ *Report of Him Huy, aka Huy Tauch, on arresting prisoners in Svay Rieng*, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01074

²⁹⁹ Author's interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

³⁰⁰ Author's interview with Suos Thy, op. cit.

³⁰¹ *Personal History of Suos Thy*, June 6, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00478.

³⁰² *Personal History of Mam Nai, called Chan*, June 9, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogued number K08280. Today Mam Nai lives in Battambang province.

³⁰³ Author's interview with So Sa-im, teacher of Khmer at the March 18 College in Phnom Penh during the Khmer Republic era and now chief of Preah Netr Preah district education office, at Banteay Meanchey province, October 29, 2002.

³⁰⁴ *Personal History of Tung Seng Hoeun, called Pon*, made at S-21 on July 12, 1976, op. cit.

³⁰⁵ "List of High-Level Pol Pot Cadres Smashed at S-21," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00394. The confessions of all those on the list are held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

³⁰⁶ Pon's Letter to Doeun, May 19, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia D13496.

³⁰⁷ *Confession of Hou Nim, called Phoas*, minister of information, Tuol Sleng Archive document H86.

³⁰⁸ "List of High-Level Pol Pot Cadres Smashed at S-21," op. cit.

³⁰⁹ *Confession of Neou Kantha, called Tha*, op. cit.

³¹⁰ *Personal History of Khieu Vet, aka Oeun*, op. cit.

Dek Bau was born at Russei Chum village, Trea subdistrict, Samrong district, Takeo province. He joined the revolution on September 25, 1973 through Pan Chan. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K08275.

³¹¹ *Biography of Prok Khoeun*, op. cit.

Nang Phai saw a Vietnamese film that showed Khmer Rouge security cadres cutting Tai's throat. Author's interview with Nang Phai, op. cit.

³¹² "List of Prisoners, Special Prison Section," op. cit.

³¹³ Author's interview with Prak Khan, op. cit.

Prisoner confessions held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia show that

Prak Khan interrogated 54 prisoners, three of whom had been arrested from the 703rd Division. The three were: 1) Hang Peng, called Rath, 26, deputy of an economics team of the 32nd Regiment, born at Kaun Chrey village, Prek Ambel, District 20, Region 25, arrested on 1 August 1977, and interrogated by Oeun, Khoeun, Hong, and Prak Khan. His confession was dated October 2, 1977 and is catalogued as Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue numbers J54 and TSL H104. 2) Lay Leng, called Touch Khum, 20, soldier in special unit of the 32nd Regiment, born at Prey Kes village, Kampong Trach district, Kampot province and arrested October 3, 1978. On his confession, which was dated October 22, 1978, Prak Khan wrote, "With this one I used the interrogation principles and never had to hit him from beginning to end." Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L157. 3) Koy Khem, 30, platoon leader in the 706th Battalion, born at Chas village, Treang district, Takeo province, arrested on October 6, 1977. His confession was copied by Prak Khan on December 6, 1977. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number K215.

³¹⁴ Nai Nan was born at Tik Num village, Kandaok subdistrict, Kandal Steung district. She was a soldier in the 703rd Division and later a medical cadre at P98. Nai was arrested on December 11, 1976 at P98 and was held at S-21 building C, small cell 7, large cell 5. Personal Histories of Prisoners under Detention, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D09358.

Confession of Nai Nan, age 18, female medical cadre at P98, Tuol Sleng Archive document N2.

The list of names in Group No. VIII of Mit Snguon, Document Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01254, page 1, indicates that Prak Khan interrogated Nai Nan at P98 and Ly Nai at Ambel district.

³¹⁵ Author's interview with Prak Khan, veteran of the 703rd Division and interrogator at S-21, at Tuol Sleng Museum, May 24, 2002.

³¹⁶ *Confession of Ke Kim Huot, aka Soth*, Secretary of Region 7, Northwestern Zone, op. cit.

³¹⁷ *Confession of Neou Kantha, aka Tha*, op. cit.

³¹⁸ *Confession of Chea Kak*, S-21 interrogator, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07394. Kak was arrested on the evening of March 25, 1978. Before serving at S-21, Kak was in the 127th Battalion, 268th Regiment, 12th Division.

³¹⁹ *Confession of Buth Heng*, age 26, chairman of the S-21 document team, arrested on May 4, 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D24006, and Tuol Sleng Archives document B-23. Buth was born at Tuol Sala village, Sa-ang Phnom subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province. He joined the revolution in 1972 through Khieu Khun and Tuy King, the chairmen of Sa-ang Sre village. Before serving at S-21, Buth was a messenger in the 143rd Special Forces Battalion

of the 703rd Division. In October 1975, he was assigned to S-21. The execution lists record that Buth was killed on June 10, 1978. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21899.

³²⁰ *Confession of Chan Nhoung, aka Nuon*, deputy secretary of 331st Battalion, 703rd Division, Tuol Sleng Museum catalogue C28 and cassette.

Youk Chhang and Vanthan Peoudara's interview with the family of Chan Nhoung, *op. cit.*

³²¹ The 1978 execution list records that Chan Nhoung entered S-21 during November 1977 and was killed on April 30, 1978. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21789.

³²² Letter from Son Sen to Duch, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D01400.

³²³ *Confession of Suy Phal, called Pises Phal*, secretary of the 705th Battalion, arrested on April 28, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number J801.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵ *Confession of Saom Chea, called Chap Chea*, secretary of Region 25, arrested on March 15, 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue numbers J644-J667 and TSL C305. Documents of high-level Pol Pot regime officials show that Saom Chea was killed on May 27, 1978. Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00349.

³²⁶ Author's interview with Him Huy, *op. cit.* In early 1977 Him Huy came to S-21. About a year later, Khim Vath, aka Hor, promoted Him to be the deputy chief of the guard force. In 1978 Him became responsible for recording the prisoner rolls and execution lists.

³²⁷ *List of Prisoners from Soay Rieng*, *op. cit.*

³²⁸ Author's interview with Nhep Hau, *op. cit.* Nhep now lives in Sampan Kraom village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province.

³²⁹ Author's interview with Chan Than, *op. cit.*

³³⁰ Author's interview with Kuong San, *op. cit.*

Kuong San and many other locals claim that Yan was a guard at Boeng Cheung Ek. Kuong has told locals the stories of arrests and killing procedures, but Yan has denied committing these acts, talking in detail about his duties in the 703rd Division. Today Yan lives in Traey Troeng village, Prek Ambel subdistrict, Kandal province.

³³¹ Author's interview with Saom Meth, *op. cit.*

³³² Author's interview with Prak Khan, *op. cit.*

³³³ Author's interview with Him Huy, *op. cit.*

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ *Confession of Chao Khut, called Chan Sarat*, age 39, an S-21 interrogator arrested on June 23, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07396.

³³⁶ *Confession of Auy Nguon Ly*, age 21, S-21 interrogator, *op. cit.* Before working at S-21, Auy was a messenger for the 143rd Battalion of the 703rd Division.

³³⁷ *Confession of Ngil Kuong*, age 21, 270th Regiment, 703rd Division and later interrogator at S-21, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07401.

³³⁸ "List of Prisoners Killed at S-21," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D21898.

³³⁹ Office S-21 prisoner lists for those killed from late 1975 through late 1978, *op. cit.*

³⁴⁰ Author's interviews with Him Huy, Suos Thy, and Prak Khan, *op. cit.*

³⁴¹ Author's interview with Nhep Hau, *op. cit.*

³⁴² Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue numbers D21897, D21898, and D21899.

³⁴³ "Prisoners Still in Use," dated August 22, 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D05944.

³⁴⁴ "Prisoners from the State Sewing Ministry," *op. cit.*

³⁴⁵ Author's interview with Bou Meng, age 61, former S-21 prisoner, at the Tuol Sleng Museum on January 23, 2003.

³⁴⁶ Author's interview with Chum Manh, called Mei, *op. cit.*

Confession of Chum Manh, called Mei, age 47, member of a company at the State Sewing Ministry, Tuol Sleng Archive document C184.

Entry 5 of the "List of Prisoners from the State Sewing Ministry," *op. cit.*, records, "Chum Mai, age 47, member C9 sewing company, knows how to make ovens, interrogated by Seng complete." Concerning the oven making, Mei recalled that when he was working in the vicinity of Au Russei, he made some charcoal ovens once, but there were many ovens going at one time. In August 1978, Khieu Samphan came to see his ovens and praised his craftsmanship. He attended a

study session once at the Olympic Stadium taught by Nuon Chea.

Six other prisoners who survived S-21 are Neng Nath (Vann Nath), Phan Than Chan (died in Phnom Penh on December 29, 2001), Ung Pech (deceased), Bou Meng (deceased), Iem Chan (deceased), and Ruy Nea Kuong (deceased).

³⁴⁷ "Interview of Brother Number 1 with Correspondents of Democratic Kampuchea," *Searching for the Truth*, Number 16, April 2000.

³⁴⁸ Several documents lead to the conclusion that the DK regime had 24 divisions and 7 independent regiments:

Hun Sen, *Thirteen Decades in the Journey of Kampuchea*, op. cit., page 223.

Democratic Kampuchea's military had nine divisions: the 703rd, 310th, 450th, 170th, 290th, 801st, 920th, 502nd, and 164th. It also had three independent regiments - the 152nd, 488th, and 377th - and three offices, S-21, M63 and M62. "Statistics of Secret Forces of the Revolutionary Army," 4th quarter, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L01115.

An October 1976 table on the distribution of forces to conduct "revolutionary lifestyle" (chivateasnak padevoat) shows the secretary of divisions, regiments, and offices: comrade Sbauv Oeun (310th Division), comrade Suong (450th Division), comrade Roeun (801st Division), comrade Chhin (920th Division), comrade Meas Mut (164th Division), Ke Sok (170th Division), comrade Vey Lovey (502nd Division), comrade Khoem Pin (703rd Division), comrade Meas Tall (290th Division), comrades Hok Nuon and Sim (152nd Regiment), comrade Uch Pheap (488th Regiment), comrade Nai (377th Regiment), comrade Pang (Office 62), Comrade Sao (Office 63), and comrade Duch (Office S-21). "Table of Statistics of the Study Session of the General Staff, First Session," dated October 20, 1976, op. cit.

In March 1977, the troop strength of the Khmer Rouge was 61,189, with defense forces around Phnom Penh totaling 6,897. Statistics of the Whole Revolutionary Army, March 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number L00065.

Confession of Sok Kun, secretary of the 420th Battalion, 40th Regiment, 1st Division of the Northwestern Zone, Tuol Sleng Archive document J635. Sok was born at Kampong Koal village and subdistrict, Battambang district and province.

Confession of Chi Chiv, called Roeut, deputy secretary of the 70th Regiment, 2nd Division, Northwestern Zone, Tuol Sleng Archive document J868. Chi was born in Saraing Leu village, Cheng Mean Chey subdistrict, Sangke district, Battambang province.

Confession of Suon Ol, called Ren, secretary of the 709th Battalion, 602nd Regiment, 174th Division of the Central Zone, Tuol Sleng Archive document J419. Ren was

born at Prey Baol Cheap village, Chrolong subdistrict, Tang Kouk district, Kampong Cham province.

Confession of Ke Sok, secretary of the 280th Division of the Eastern Zone, Tuol Sleng Archive document J519. Ke was born at Prek Chheu Teal village, Prey Svay subdistrict, Romeas Hek district, Region 23. He was arrested on March 4, 1978.

Confession of Hok Tol, called Han, soldier in the 102nd Battalion, 120th Regiment, 6th Division, Eastern Zone, Tuol Sleng Archive document J755. Hok was born at Ampil Krau village and subdistrict, Sithor Kandal district, Region 22.

According to So Theng, the Northeastern Zone had three divisions: the 920th, 117th and the 801st. The Northern Zone had two divisions: the 310th and the 450th. The Southwestern Zone had four divisions: the 221st, 230th, 250th, and the 270th. The Special Zone had two divisions, the 703rd and the 502nd. The Eastern Zone had the 4th Division. Author's interview with So Theng, op. cit.

"The orders to purge [baos sam-at] [Division 290] were delayed due to his [Son Sen's] line to attack the 3rd Division and the 5th Division first. If all were purged [simultaneously], control would be lost. *Confession of In Lon, called Nath*, op. cit., p. 2.

³⁴⁹ Author's interview with Um Chheav, op. cit.
Author's interview with Mauv Nil, op. cit.

Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit. On September 18, 1976 the General Staff sent 450 soldiers from 11 units to a ceremony to memorialize Mao Se Tung. Entry 183 on the list was "Dy Phai Hor, of the 704th". Today, however, Hor uses the name Phe Phai Pheap. During interviews, veterans of the 704th always called Hor by the name "Hor Kandonh" (Short Hor) because he is small in stature.

Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

³⁵⁰ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² "S-21 Prisoner Statistics List," Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D00394.

³⁵³ Author's interview with Chum Manh, called Mei, op. cit.

³⁵⁴ Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Author's interview with Um Chheav, op. cit.

³⁵⁷ Author's interview with Kuong San, op. cit.

³⁵⁸ Author's interview with So Theng, op. cit.

³⁵⁹ Author's interview with Ut Lat, op. cit.

³⁶⁰ Author's interview with Tuy Heng, op. cit.

³⁶¹ Author's interview with Um Chheav, op. cit.

³⁶² Author's interview with Kuong San, op. cit.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Author's interview with Teng Penh, op. cit.

³⁶⁵ Author's interview with Nut Khon, called Saran, veteran of the 603rd Special Forces Battalion of the 310th Division, Northern Zone, at Batheay district, Kampong Thom province, October 15, 2001.

³⁶⁶ Author's interview with Um Chheav, op. cit.

³⁶⁷ Becker, Elizabeth, letter to Youk Chhang, director of Documentation Center of Cambodia, published in *Searching for the Truth*, Issue 13, January 2001. Becker wrote: "My group was the first and last group of journalists to see Cambodia under the Pol Pot regime and to see the actual battlefields upon which the Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge armies were fighting during the dry season." The two other Western journalists with Becker were Malcolm Caldwell and Dick Dudman. Becker continued: "My group was attacked (a mysterious attack by the Khmer Rouge) at a guest house in Phnom Penh, and Dr. Caldwell was murdered."

"We have met the three journalists already." Professor Caldwell was 47 years old, a British citizen. Mr. Dudman was 60 years old, an American. Ms. Becker was 30 years old, single, and had lived in Cambodia during the Lon Nol era. "Letter from Kan and Mut, dated December 8, 1978 sent to 'Respected Brother,'" Documentation Center of Cambodia catalogue number D07262.

³⁶⁸ Author's interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

³⁶⁹ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, op. cit.

³⁷⁰ *Confession of In Lon, called Ta Nath*, op. cit.

³⁷¹ *Confession of Sun Ty, called Teanh*, op. cit.

³⁷² Ibid.

- ³⁷³ Author's interview with Chak Phalla, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷⁴ Author's interview with Ut Lat, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷⁵ Author's interview with Chan Than, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷⁶ Author's interview with Phe Phai Pheap, called Hor, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷⁸ Author's interview with Tuy Kin, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷⁹ Author's interview with Chiep Chy, commander of Po Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district during the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea regime, at Village 5, Po Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, June 15, 2001.
- ³⁸⁰ Author's interview with Tuy Kin, *op. cit.*
- ³⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸² Author's interview with Rath Nim, *op. cit.*
- ³⁸³ Author's with Prak Khan at Tuol Sleng, *op. cit.*
- ³⁸⁴ Author's interview with Nhep Hau, S-21 guard, *op. cit.*
- ³⁸⁵ Author's interview with Suos Thy, *op. cit.*
- ³⁸⁶ Author's interview with Him Huy, deputy chief of guards at S-21, at Tuol Sleng, May 24, 2002.
- ³⁸⁷ Author's interview with Khieu Ches, called Peou, S-21 guard, at Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh, May 24, May 2002.
- ³⁸⁸ Author's interview with Cheam Soeur, S-21 guard, at Tuol Sleng, May 24, 2002.

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