



## The continuous killing carried out by the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK)

### Objective:

- Ascertaining the general aspect from which a particular aspect can be derived in accordance with the general and particular principle, both being mutual contributors.
- The general aspect in this case refers to the killing carried out by the CPK during its entire history, whereas the particular aspect refers to the crimes committed from 17 April 1975 to 6 January 1979, at S-21 in particular.

### Killings before 17 April 1975

- 1- The CPK began to kill people as soon as it began to carve out a liberated sector.
- 2- The misleading slogan used to conceal the CPK's crimes was "To destroy infiltrator in order to protect the revolutionary force".<sup>1</sup>
- 3- The most publicized song at the supporting base was entitled "The malicious infiltrator"

### I- People who entered from the Lon Nol sector

- 4- During that time, people in the territory occupied by Lon Nol forces who entered the liberated sector would definitely be arrested and sent to the Police Office.
- 5- The Police Office had to be ready to receive the arrested people so as to have them detained, interrogated and smashed.

Smashing the enemy was the policy adopted by the party.<sup>2</sup>

- 6- I believe such extra-judicial killings would have occurred throughout the liberated sector because I knew for sure that before the establishment of M-13, there had been at least two other Police Offices.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The revolutionary force is the frontline soldiers and militias, people and patrolling soldiers in liberated sector.

<sup>2</sup> Eight people who were approved by VORN Vet to be released for he believed that they, too, were not enemies.

<sup>3</sup> First, the Police Office of Sector 25, under supervision of MOENG Samnang alias Teng (Office 15); Second, the Police Office of Sector 32, the old Southwest Zone, under supervision of TĂNG Khet alias Khàn; Third, the Police Office of the Southwest Zone, under supervision of Khmer Rouge Cadres from Hanoi, those who had been demobilized by Mok, the former Secretary of the Southwest Zone, before the establishment of M-13.

## II- People in the Liberated Sector

- 7- Having read and analyzed the text in the “Revolutionary Flag” magazine, the second semester issue of 1971, particularly the text on the experience acquired in the suppression of the KHUT Oudomvong Ratana armed rebellion, I am convinced that there were arrests and executions of people in the liberated sector as from the beginning.

The Sector Armed Force was deployed to oppose those who engaged in armed rebellion against them. Suspects were arrested and sent to the Police Office.

## III- The People in the Supporting Base<sup>4</sup>

- 8- Amleang Commune, in Thporng District of Kampong Speu Province, was the Supporting Base. Widespread and systematic arrests of the children of Amleang villagers were carried out chillingly after the B52 bombs had been dropped on Kraing Thkov village, which was the Zone Office location. There were human casualties.<sup>5</sup>

Next, I would like to report on the actual situation:

A day after the bombardment, UNG Choeun, alias Mok, ordered the arrest of three Cambodian Chinese villagers, whom he suspected, and had them sent to M-13. Mok ordered CHOU Chet alias Sy to observe this interrogation closely in order to ensure that the problem was solved in good time.

When suspicions and arrests proliferated, there were two people who arrived separately in Amleang in order to live there. Other people, children of Amleang villagers, each sought refuge “inside” in turn. A while later, they left. The four of them were arrested by the Zone and sent to M-13. Three confessed that they were asked to infiltrate<sup>6</sup> the area. The fourth person, who was a middle-age man with a full grown daughter, had abducted his best friend’s wife to Oudong. He confessed that Colonel HANG Yiv and Lieutenant Colonel SARY Sây<sup>7</sup> had discharged

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<sup>4</sup> The supporting base people were those who had supported the revolution since before 18 March Coup.

<sup>5</sup> The number of deaths was uncertain as the information was not disclosed.

<sup>6</sup> Two people implicated SA Phorn, the Deputy Governor of Daun Penh District/Khan in LON Nol regime, as having assigned them to conduct the espionage (E5/2.1 and E5/2.29)

<sup>7</sup> Prior to the 18 March 1970, Captain SARY Sây was the commander and governor of Thporng District, Kampong Speu.

approximately 200 rifles and had them brought into the liberated sector already.

Mok and Sy were convinced that the confession was true because both of them fully grasped this person's personal biography.<sup>8</sup> It was a fortunate coincidence that Mok was in need of weapons to build up military forces to fight Phnom Penh. Mok ordered me to try to find the weapons mentioned in the confession.

To the best of my recollection, henceforth Sy required me to report regularly to him on the matter. Sy helped determine the objective sought in interrogating some individuals, as well as the methods of torture to be used.

I worked very hard for about five or six months searching for the weapons. But none was found.

- 9- During that time, about 50 Amleang villagers died in terrible conditions. The cause of death was a combination of the fact that they were under suspicion and had been implicated by other people's confessions. As a result, the inhabitants of Peam village lost more lives than those of surrounding villages/ Peam village was the former public gathering place of Thporng District during the Sihanouk and Lon Nol regimes.
- 10- Sy called those who perished the Feudalists and the Capitalists. This characterisation is intended to convey contempt. A medium-level cadre, the son of a villager who was part of the supporting base, had blamed the villagers for a change of heart. He said that in 1971 we had been Choet Muoy, or "of one heart". However, in 1972 our heart broke into two (that is, Choet Py or Two Hearts).
- 11- I was greatly disappointed by the way he judged people. I drew a sketch depicting two sickles which formed a Khmer word "Pak" or Party. The sketch was my attempt to mock the blind absolutism of the ideas of Mok and Sy who were sarcastically old-fashioned peasants.
- 12- I was completely terrified at this destruction but I just did not know what I could do about it. The only option available to me was to devise a proper interrogation tactic. I brought comrade Pon to interrogate an old bachelor who once worked as a newspaper reporter. As his interrogation

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<sup>8</sup> Prior to the Coup, this man lived on gambling. His wife was Amleang commune chief's younger sister. The chief had a genuine authority. Both of them were convinced that this man frequently paid visits to SARY Sây's home. He had been SARY Sây's informant since then.

progressed, we learnt on the job. It took us more than a month to complete that interrogation.<sup>9</sup>

- 13- Unexpectedly my commitment and the skill Pon and I developed had plunged us both deep into a criminal act. We were made to work endlessly. The work we were assigned was criminal.

#### IV-Internal Purge<sup>10</sup>

Party's cadres were arrested even before 17 April 1975.

- 14- I still remember two party lines concerning the internal purge:

First, the "ten criteria for selecting a cadre" were based on a principle characterized by the organizational policy to demote and promote party members and cadres at the behest of the party. The seniority of a party member no longer satisfied the criteria set forth in the Party's Statute of 1960.

A second line was the theoretical principle on whose basis the party could carry out purges. That theory was "whose class the line belongs, the cadre shall be from within that class". The notion was propounded in the Revolutionary Flag magazine in 1973.

After having studied the two party lines, I became very worried. However, I was hoping that the Secretary of the Party would be an ethical person.

Note: the Party Statutes of 1960 and 1971 and the Revolutionary Flag Magazine of 1973 were never published. However, the ten criteria appeared, in article 5, Chapter II of the Party Statute of 1976.

- 15- Anyone the party identified as an "enemy" had to be smashed. The Chief of Police Office had no right to challenge such decision.

Now I would like to recall the events of 1973:

That year, a platoon secretary accused his deputy secretary of attempting to shoot while he was asleep. Luckily, the bullet pierced his mosquito net

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<sup>9</sup> The content of this confession satisfied the Upper Echelon. Pon and I were convinced that the confession could be 50% true, for example, the killing tactic by injecting liquid into blood vein etc. The name of the person who taught this man could make me believe only 30% because he had been the parliamentarian from the *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*.

<sup>10</sup> The written text attached with Annex D21 (see sections V and VI).

and hammock. Mok had great trust in the person who was reporting the incident. He gave me firm orders to be hard on him.

Meanwhile, Mok let me meet the complainant to obtain more information from him and to examine the exhibits: the mosquito net and the hammock. I analyzed them and observed him, including his facial expression.

I reported my finding to Mok through VORN Vet as I did not wish to upset him. According to the finding, it was the Comrade Secretary of the Platoon himself who had fired the bullet.

As result:

- No one dared release the defendant.<sup>11</sup>
- I learnt through VORN Vet that Mok told POL Pot he found it difficult to employ me.<sup>12</sup>
- In 1976, SON Sen advised me that "Politics govern technique"

16- I now turn to the event of the internal purge in the former Southwest Zone which, according to my recollection, occurred as follows:

- As from 1968 Mok started to destroy the intellectual and petty bourgeois cadres. Within 24 hours, he expelled four cadres from the Southwest Zone. They were all former primary and high school teachers.<sup>13</sup>
- In July 1971, Mok had basically accomplished his plan to destroy people.
  - The Special Zone created in July 1971 was the place where people gathered. The elements expelled by Mok were seen working in the surrounding office of the zone.
  - In the former Southwest Zone, no intellectual or petty bourgeois cadre could be appointed chief of a sub district, district or of a military unit.
  - Between 1971 and 17 April 1975, Mok ordered the smashing of some important cadres<sup>14</sup>.

17- At that time I was not yet a critical thinker. The only thing that stuck in my mind was that I was afraid of being removed. "The movement sorts people" was the common phrase used at the time. In other words "the movement winnows people."

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<sup>11</sup> I did not interrogate this person. He did before 17 April suffering from malnutrition and illness.

<sup>12</sup> Annex D21 (see section VI, point 4, ERN 00146679)

<sup>13</sup> Annex D21 (see section V, point "in the Southwest," ERN 00146678)

<sup>14</sup> Annex D21 (see section V, point "in the Southwest," ERN 00146678)

Even now I am still convinced that I owe my survival in part to the fact that I have followed VORN Vet's advice which is "Do not make any decision to arrest people; Do not touch the spoils of war; Do not get into moral misconduct with women<sup>15</sup>."

18- I am not going to describe the event of the internal purge within other Zones as I have no supporting documents.

19- Before 17 April 1975, the characteristics of the killing were:

- Firstly, collective: people were killed regardless whether they were from Lon Nol's territory, were living in the newly liberated sector, were of the supporting base or combatants, party members or cadres.
- Secondly, non-scientific: people were killed because they were suspected by the leaders of the Zone or because they were implicated by confessions extracted at the Police Office.

It can be said that they ordered the killing of the people for the short and long term economic and political gains of their groups.

#### V- The implementation line of the Police Office

20- The Chief of the Police Office had no right to make arrests. The party made such decisions.

Note: The term "party" in this context refers to the Secretary and Under Secretary of the Zone.

21- Physical torture was a method they made us use. Most often it was inevitable.

Note: I received instructions from CHHAY Kim Hor regarding the torture at M-13. Later on, I received the instructions from VORN Vet.

22- The policy to smash those who were called "infiltrators" or "the traitors of the revolution" was adopted by the Party.

In practical term, when someone was arrested and sent by the Party to the Police, the Police had to interrogate him/her, and then smash the person.

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<sup>15</sup> D11/9, ERN 00146481 (in Khmer)

23- As regards my leadership and working behavior, I knew how to control and manage myself. I did not want to be criticized by a Khmer proverb which goes: "they offer you a chance to take the lead but you do not know how to swing your arms while walking; they ask you to walk behind the others but you do not know how carry things."

### Killings after 17 April 1975

#### I- For the period from 17 April 1975 until 30 March 1976

24- The evacuation of the population and the expulsion of the foreigners from Cambodia was a CPK plan, which was known as "the plan to prepare for victory".

The study session conducted from 24 June 1975 to 27 June 1975 reflects its essence. It can be found in document 2 entitled "the vision on the current situation of our revolution and some of our measures" from ERN 00 078 019-00 078 023 (Khmer)<sup>16</sup>.

25- During the exodus, military force was used.

The military was ordered to use violence as well as Machiavellian rhetoric to terrify and expel people,<sup>17</sup> first by making them leave their homes, then the cities, and finally the countryside.

26- During the mass evacuation, the military was ordered to arrest high ranking soldiers, police, civil servants and senior religious leaders so that they could be smashed secretly.<sup>18</sup>

27- The names and personal biographies of the people who reached the countryside were registered by the base carders who were appointed by the Zone Angkar. This was done to screen for elements to be smashed<sup>19</sup>.

In the Southwest Zone, which was to the north of national road 4, Sy, the deputy Secretary of the Zone, was the one who bore the greatest responsibility for this killing.

Note: Later on, the party delegated the power to Sy to oversee Sector 15, which was then converted into the West Zone.

28- All across Cambodia, those who were enjoyed full power and were most responsible for crimes during the first period were:

- POL Pot, Party's Secretary

<sup>16</sup> MAM Nay's Written Handbook, ERN 00077661-00078056

<sup>17</sup> SOEM Mel alias Man, an individual in a Company of S-21 reported on this during the revolutionary life view session in 1975.

<sup>18</sup> According to the statements of KHOEM Pin's statement, the Secretary of 703, Nat's successor, comrade Hor, S-21 Deputy Secretary, and YOU Pengkry alias Mon, S-21 staff member.

<sup>19</sup> According to the statement of KHUON Phau alias Keo, the Secretary of Ponhea Leu District, Sector 15.



- NUON Chea, Deputy Secretary
- SAO Phim, Secretary of the East Zone,
- MOK, Secretary of the Southwest Zone (former and new)
- VORN Vet, Secretary of the Special Zone
- SON Sen, Deputy Secretary of the Special Zone
- KOY Thuon, Secretary of the North Zone
- KE Pauk, Deputy Secretary of the North Zone
- Sy, Deputy Secretary of the former Southwest Zone and Secretary of the West Zone.
- Nhim, Secretary of Northwest Zone

Note:

- Before and after 17 April 1975, all divisions of the army belonged to the Zone
- From 17 April 1975, all Cambodia territory except Phnom Penh belonged to the Zone.
- The forces, including party members, the youth league, and progressive people, belonged to the Zone.
- The old people were also under the Zone.

Therefore, the millions of evacuated people were managed by these ten individuals. They decided who was to be killed and who was to be spared.

I do not have any supporting documents in regard to the number of those who were killed during this first phase. However, I believe that the number could be as high as several thousand.

29- In May 1975, CHENG An was ordered by the party to collect workers who were evacuated out of Phnom Penh to get back to the factories.

Separate note: Since I had wished to escape the police work, I pleaded with CHENG An to make me work with in the field of industry. CHENG An was pleased with my plea but SON Sen rejected.<sup>20</sup>

30- On an unidentified date, soon after 17 April 1975, the Special Zone was dissolved.

- The territory within Sector 15 (including Ang Snuol, Kandal Stung, Ponhea Leu and Dankao) was placed under Sy's authority. The party renamed it the West Zone.

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<sup>20</sup> I met with CHENG An at his wife's house, located in Tunle Snguot village, Sector 15. He was pleased with it and made a promise that we could meet on 31 May 1975. However, on that date, he made his messenger ride a motorbike to inform me that Angkar did not approve of it.

- The territory within Sector 25 (Saang, Koh Thom, Loerk Dek, Kien Svay) was placed under Mok's authority. It renamed the new Southwest Zone.

Note: According to the information I obtained, the Committee of Sector 25 was completely dissolved by the party.<sup>21</sup>

- 31- Practically the entire force under KOY Thoun, plus he himself, were removed from the North to be scattered in the ministries.
- KOY Thuon himself was in the Commerce Section. The majority of the people in the section were from the North.
  - Other ministries, such Energy and Water Transportation were staffed by people from the North.
  - SOEU Vasy alias Doeun was ordered by the party to work at 870.
  - CHEA Chhan alias Sreng was left to work at the base as deputy secretary to KE Pauk.
- 32- The military personnel of the four zones which attacked Phnom Penh (the East, North, Special and Southwest zone) were recruited as the Center Military, which was under the direct supervision of SON Sen, the Chief of General Staff.
- 33- The offices and ministries surrounding 870 were put to use soon after 17 April 1975. However, the committees of these offices and ministries were gradually modified until there was a meeting of the standing committee on 19, 20 and 21 April 1976 when it was officially appointed.<sup>22</sup>
- 34- Meanwhile, along side the organizational arrangement of the centre military, offices, and ministries surrounding 870, the commanders of soldiers, chiefs of police and chiefs civil servants were searched and arrested. Some of whom were sent to S-21<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> NORN Suon alias Chey, Sector Secretary, was removed from his current post and was made to oversee the Cash Warehouse instead. He, then, was designated to the Agriculture. SOKH Buth Chamroeurn (Deputy Secretary) and HUOT Se (member) were said to be sent to the Southwest Zone Police by Mok. NOEU Phan alias Sokh was sent to Nat by SON Sen.

<sup>22</sup> For example, at first, NOP Moeun alias KAO Rith was designated to be the Secretary of the Party Committee of the Ministry of Energy. Later on, Rith was removed from the current post and was made Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce while CHHAY Kim Hor alias Hok was assigned to be in charge of the Energy. Nat, the former S-21 Secretary, was banned from controlling any forces (Page 14).

<sup>23</sup> Dr. ROATH Kuth, professor TIP Mam, Police Inspector CHHIT Iv alias Chhat, Lieutenant SONG Hak, who was mistaken for SONG Sak by the base cadres, the former banker of Phnom Penh Bank, were all seen in the S-21 Prisoner List.

The blood of Cambodian people both in the rural areas and Phnom Penh kept shedding endlessly.

## II- Second period, from 30 March 1976 until 6 January 1979

35- Document of 30 March 1976, was the document decided and determined when the CPK:

- had appointed the zones for overseeing rural bases across the country
- had appointed the offices and ministries for the functioning of state activities
- had appointed the independent zone due to its unique geography
- had appointed the centre army to be under supervision of the Chief of the General Staff.
  - o (Note: Document of 30 March 1976 was known to me at the ECCC)

36- Through this document power to make a decision to smash was given to four groups of people as follow:

- The Standing Committee of the Zone<sup>24</sup>
- The Committee of the Central Office
- Standing Committee here refers to the Central Standing Committee)
- General Staff

There were 11 individuals who were nominated in the groups:

1. POL Pot
2. NUON Chea
3. SAO Phim
4. Mok
5. SON Sen
6. KHIEU Samphan

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<sup>24</sup> The Zone Standing Committee is the Zone Secretary. Since the Zones evolved, please read the following details:

- Northeast Zone: Ya (NUON Chea took over the position from him when he was arrested on 20 September 1976)
- East Zone: Phim (NUON Chea took over the position from him when he committed suicide on June 1978)
- New Southwest Zone: Mok
- West Zone: Sy (after Sy had been arrested on April 1978, Mok rose to become the Secretary of both the Southwest and West Zones).
- Northwest Zone: Nhim (he was arrested in around May 1978. Mok became the Secretary of the Northwest Zone on top of the previous posts).
- New North Zone: Se (after Se had been arrested on 11 October 1978, Mok became the Secretary of the Southwest, West, Northwest and new North Zones).
- Central Zone: Pauk

7. Ya
8. ROS Nhim
9. KE Pauk
10. Sy
11. Se

37- The policy of power sharing was the strictest one. Apart from the 11 people no one else had such right.

For example:

- KOY Thuon- the full-fledged member of the Centre, but in his capacity as the minister, the right to decide to smash was not vetted in him.
- Nat- former Secretary of S-21, received the tough measure from the party because he subjectively made a decision to arrest people.

38- The second purpose of the first paragraph of the document about the rights to smash states that "in order to strengthen our democratic socialism."

Democratic Socialism or Centralized Democracy means that the collective is ruling while each individual is responsible individually.

Collective is the entire party which was represented by the party's secretary who was POL Pot.

Individuals, in the framework of the right to smash, were each of the Zone Sectaries, the Chief of the Central Office, Chief of the General Staff. This means that if an individual failed to respect the leadership of the collective, he/she had to be punished.

For example:

- KANG Chab alias Se, Secretary of the new North Zone, had the rights to smash people according to the party line. However, when Se went to arrest the relatives of KHIEU Samphan's wife, he was arrested upon the order from POL Pot and sent to S-21. KHIEU Samphan's wife relatives were released upon the order from POL Pot<sup>25</sup>.

Note:

- Sy, the secretary of the West experienced the same problem.
- To put it simply, they never allowed a knife to cut its own handle.

39- Soon after 30 March 1976

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<sup>25</sup> D49, page 5, KHIEU Samphan's record of interview, 14 December 2007 (Case File 002)

The internal purge of people in the party's rank was primary.

- The purge swept through all zones, starting from each zone.
- The purge was carried out across all ministries, each minister at a time.
- The purge was conducted in all divisions, one at a time.

40- It can be said that the internal purge started from April 1976 stemming from two main events:

- First, a grenade attack behind the palace on 2 April 1976.
- Second, KOY Thuon was placed under house arrest since 8 April 1976.

41- Thanks to the confession of the person who was behind the grenade attack, CHAK Krey was arrested on 19 May 1976. His arrest and SUOS Noeu arrest was the stepping stone leading to the subsequent purge in the East Zone.

42- People within KOY Thuon's network could have been arrested much earlier. The delay was due to the fact that they were waiting until KOY Thuon's confession was extracted.

May I note that:

- On 25 January 1977- Thuon was sent to S-21.
- On 29 January 1977 Thuon wrote and completed his first confession.
- On 31 January 1977, people in Thuon's network in Phnom Penh and the North Zone, who were implicated by him in his confession, were all arrested and sent to S-21.

43- The purge of KOY Thuon's network terrified me again for the second time. This time it was most shocking. I questioned myself as to why the North's peasants had to die, why Mok's peasants were always on the right side and more prosperous. I had known many of the people who were sent here. Some used to be jailed in Prey Sar with me. Some used to pay visits to my parent's home. It was very sympathetically distressing. I couldn't help feeling that the revolutionaries who had been doing everything for the people now ended up being treated as the party's traitors and were detained in the place, which I as the child of the North, could do nothing to help.

I still recall the event in which I was trying to express my remark concerning a comrade while on the phone with SON Sen only to hear him threatening me at the other end of the line saying that: "Hey Duch! That was the Khuon's confession!" Khuon was the revolutionary name of KOY

Thuon. Later, during the course of conversation, I would hear him talking about the expression “Keeping you is no gain, losing you is no loss.”

- 44- So far as remember the North Zone was then converted into the Central Zone.
- 45- When KOY Thuon’s people were arrested and their places were substituted by Mok’s people.

For example,

- Mok’s second son in law was made to oversee Division 450 after the North people had been arrested.
- People from Kampot were employed to work as the Secretary of Staung district replacing Kampong Cham people.
- Mok’s son was made to control Kampong Chen commune (my village) replacing the former staff who were the children of the local villagers of Kampong Chen.

According to my analysis, I am convinced that the killing of people of other groups was meant to remove them by have them replaced by Mok’s people. This is the characteristic of the purge during that that. I believe that was the theory of the Super Cultural Revolutionaries. “Destroying old humankind, creating new one.”

- 46- The CPK regarded Mok and his people as the top people who could solve every problem.

Note: I would like to quote from POL Pot’s speech during the 17 April 1978 anniversary as follows: “Nothing can be more scientific than the peasants who are experienced in rice transplant and the warriors who have known how to win a battle”

- 47- I’d like to unearth the truth as follows:

First, Kampot people who were assigned the posts of the Secretary of Staung District forced peasants to look for a kind of rattan to tie rice stack. It was not very easy to find such rattan in my village. It was very inconvenient.

Second, when I reported to SON Sen that people were deprived of their food, he answered to me through the phone right away that this could happened because enemies had not been all arrested. Later, I once again reported to him based on the information I received from my mother that

the Southwest people had also deprived villagers of their food. This time SON Sen was silent.

48- I believe that assigning cadres from other places as the secretaries of the cooperatives was proved to be a grave mistake.

On the one hand, the Party's line was criminal in nature already. On the other hand, it was even more destructive to have people from different locations to break the local people. This led to more destruction in all fields. In particular, the souls of more than one million had vanished.

According to my analysis and conclusion, people of very village experienced the same thing as what happened in my village

49- The purge was carried out further into the West Zone after the Cenral Zone had been purged. First they just wanted to request for Sy to give them some people who could be the sources to the arrest of Sy, such as the brother-in-law and the chief of the zone police<sup>26</sup> who could be the sources to the arrest of Sy. They maintained the notion that before you harvest the bamboo, you must trim off its thorns.

50- Note, Si was hungry to kill people and so were Pauk and Mok; however, Sy made them feel uncomfortable because he had an attempt to reshuffle Pal's force. Pal was the Secretary of the West Zone<sup>27</sup>. He was very trusted by Pol Pot and Nuon Chea.

51- Sy was arrested just after April 1978 -- the 17th of April. Mok was appointed as the Secretary of the West Zone on top of his current rank. Pal remained the Deputy Secretary. The remaining of Sy's force was reshuffled.

After Sy had been arrested, Nhim, too, was arrested. Nhim was arrested, perhaps, in May 1978. Nhim was arrested when Mok was appointed to be the Secretary of the Northwest Zone; an additional position on to -- of his current ones. Mok, himself, made it clear by saying that he wished to become "the patriarch of as many Buddhist pagodas" as he could.

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<sup>26</sup> The Chief of the Zone Office, Suon, was Sy's brother in law, whose full name is not known to me. The Chief of the Police Office of the West Zone, MAM Roeun alias Vy, was the same villager as my wife was.

<sup>27</sup> Sy's purpose to reshuffle Pal's force was known on several occasions especially during the Zone General Meeting which was chaired by POL Pot. Sy, in his summary of the report on work, said "Do not be in favor of only your own relatives." This report was publicized in the Revolutionary Magazine.

Someone from the West Zone was made the Deputy Secretary while its members were those from the Southwest Zone<sup>28</sup>.

The local cadres from the community level were surely the people from the Southwest and the West Zone. They said that there had been truck loads of cadres to the Northwest Zone. The transportations were so frequent which caused the some hollows in the middle of the road. This account was too true to believe. However this shows that they, too, were flabbergasted.

- 52- The purge was conducted at the East Zone in June 1978<sup>29</sup>. The purge of the East Zone was carried out in an unprecedented large-scale fashion.
- Approximately, 300 East Zone combatants were sent to S-21 and smashed without being interrogated.
  - The cadres of the sectors, zones, military cadres were all sent to be smashed. Interrogation was no longer needed.
  - As for SAO Phim who did not expect that Pol Pot would make a decision to smash him asked somebody to accompany him to see Pol Pot. Having heard of the news that SAO Phim wanting to see him, he ordered his force to arrest him. Finally, SAO Phim shot himself to death<sup>30</sup>.

Note: So far as I remember, when SAO Phim had not yet been arrested, POL Pot ordered leaflets to be thrown from a helicopter. Meanwhile, POL Pot's force was counter-attacked by those soliders who remained loyal to SAO Phim.

53- On 11 October 1978, Kang Chab alias Se was arrested and sent to S-21.

54- On 2 of November 1978, VORN Vet was arrested and sent to S-21.

55- As of 2 November 1978, the organizational nature had changed in all sections.

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<sup>28</sup> When Nhim was arrested, KONG Sophal alias Keu had not been arrested yet. Keu was arrested together with VORN Vet at Office 870 on 2 November 1978. According to the recent information I have just heard, the members of the Northwest Zone's Committee had been armed. They could manage to maintain their force for as long as when the Vietnamese troops entered Cambodia. After which they joined force with the Vietnamese to fight POL Pot. I only take note of this information.

<sup>29</sup> It was calculated against the time when SOKH Kdol alias Lin alias Peam, the Office Chief of the East Zone, was sent to S-21 (5 June 1978).

<sup>30</sup> According to Lin's statement (an ethnic minority), the Committee of S-71



- The Central Standing Committee changed.
- The members of the central changed.
- The committees of zone, sector, districts, sub-districts also changed.
- The committees of the ministry offices changed.
- The Central Army changed.

56- The Standing Committee's meeting appointed the general assembly of 1976 which included the seven people including:

1. POL Pot, the secretary;
2. Nuon Chea, the first secretary;
3. SAO Phim, the second deputy secretary;
4. OUNG Choeun alias Mok, the fourth deputy secretary;
5. Ieng Sary, the full-fledged Standing Committee member;
6. Vorn Vet, the candidate member for the Standing Committee;
7. SON Sen, also the candidate for the Standing Committee.

In that general assembly of 1978, which was an extraordinary<sup>31</sup> one, the decision was made to appoint the new Standing Committee<sup>32</sup> as follows:

- POI Pot was appointed as the secretary;
- NUON Chea, the first secretary;
- OUNG Chouen, the second deputy secretary;
- IENG Sary (I have no idea whether he was promoted to the third secretary or remained the full-right member)
- SON Sen (I don't know whether he was promoted to the full-right member or still be the candidate member)
- Khieu Samphan (I'm not sure whether he was promoted to be the full-right member or remained the candidate member)

57- There remained less than ten<sup>33</sup> people in the three sub-levels of the Standing Committee such as the full-right member of the Central Committee, candidate member of the Central Committee, and the assistant to the Central Committee. To that effect, more people were approved during this general assembly to be added to the committees. These new people were selected from amongst the Southwest and West Zone's cadres, though the major selection was done in favor of those from the Southwest Zone.

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<sup>31</sup> Party's Statue of 1976, Articles 21 and 22

<sup>32</sup> According my personal knowledge and IENG Sary's interview with Steven HEDER, page 54 (17 December 1996).

<sup>33</sup> The names of the Central Committee members I have ever heard of were KHIEU Samphan, Pauk, Pal, Sarun, SAM Bith, MEAS Muth, SOU Sameth and Soeung.

58- The Office of 870 changed significantly including that of the industry, energy, et cetera.

59- The Committee of the Zones, the Sectors, the Districts, the Sub-Districts had completely changed into its roots, including those areas in the Kampong Thom, Kampong Cham, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng, Pursat and Battambang etc.

60- So far as I remember, for the central military only divisions 164, 502 and 801 remained. Even Division 703, which was fully appreciated by POL Pot during the Standing Committee's meeting on the 9 of 1975, disappeared. The name of division disappeared and so was the secretary.

Regarding other divisions, for example 310, 450, 170, 290, were disarmed and the combatants and cadres of these divisions were used to work at the Kampong Chhnang airfields and later on, I heard, they were arrested and smashed en masse before the 6th of January 1978.

61- Cambodian people were arrested and were put to work very hard, and there were classified into only two classes -- the peasant and the worker classes. As of 6 January 1978, POL Pot officially called them collective peasant class and collective worker class. Factually, these people had been physically and mentally fatigued. They were malnourished and hopeless. They did never expect that some would come to liberate them.

62- Some recollection of the events.

- On 20 July 1962, TOU Samut (phonetic) disappeared.
- End of February 1963, the general assembly, the extraordinary one, rubberstamped POL Pot as the secretary of the Party, a superior post than NUON Chea.
- In 1968, MA Mang died.
  - MOK became the secretary of the Southwest Zone, a superior post to Praseut alias Chong.
- In 1974 Chong was smashed.
  - I still think that his death was caused by Mok's instigation.
- In 1984 and 1985 POL Pot abandoned Ke Pauk.
  - I think this happened thanks to Mok's trick.
- In 1994 or 1995 POL Pot did not allow SON Sen to maintain his
  - leadership position and he think it was due to Mok's trick again.
- In 1997, POL Pot smashed SON Sen and his whole family.
  - This is the last event which POL Pol ordered the killing of people. I believe this was resulted from the prolonging conflict between POL Pot and SON Sen. I still feel that it had been an on going trick Mok

had employed. In other words, he borrowed POL Pot's hand to kill his own enemies. When POL Pot was not careful enough Mok held a meeting to condemn POL Pot. Mok ordered the killing of Saroeun, San and Khorn. Mok kept on declaring the war in order to save his this criminal regime in which crimes against humanity were committed.

- 63- As for POL Pot, when TOU Samut disappeared, he was the highest person. He really designed the theory and the line to destroy, to kill people heinously. The ten criteria for selecting cadres looked as if it was flexible, humble and rational but in reality it was very cruel. It was a self-serving policy.

However, I believe that POL Pot used a kind of trick used by STALINE when he killed Trotsky in order to kill HAING Ngor and me and my wife. Luckily, I survived. Unfortunately, only my wife died. HAING Ngor was killed because of "The Killing Fields" film; and they wished to kill me and my wife in order to shut us up about S-21. The three people were not able to kill them.

- 64- The details of the events, the recollecting events that I wished to address before the Court is to support my statement and to tell the Court that the Communist Party of Kampuchea chose to use killing as means to solve each and every problem so that they could build their dynasty in Cambodia and to fulfill their ambition.

I already made it clear before the Chamber as I put in a mockery sketch entitled "The End of the Communist Party of Kampuchea". It was my interpretation of my vision apropos the history of the Communist Party of Kampuchea which I indicated earlier in my final remarks.

- 65- Pol Pot really wanted to become a king, a so-called king, by making the Mok and his force in charge of military and economy. POL Pot wished to become the so-called king under the plague of the pure, proletariat revolutionary class.
- 66- As for Mok, in his entire life he had never wanted to be under anyone. He regarded himself as a top peasant and the father of the truth. In his words he indicated "Atop of Mok is a hat; on top of the hat is the sky". This expression is out of the ordinary when he used rhythmic words that were made of the same letters "M" in Khmer.

### III- Summary of the events from 17 April 1975 through 6 January 1979

67- Throughout the entirety of the 17th of April 1975 until the 6th of January 1979, being the period which the CPK had the full control over the complete territory of Cambodia.

- First, the party tried its best to change the people of all walks of life into the collective peasants and the collective workers. Those who opposed or challenged such policy ended up being smashed.
- Second, within the rank, the party purged and destroyed other forces and put their own forces to replace the positions, ranging from the cooperative to the Standing Committee levels.

68- The 13 people who had the full-fledge right according to the essence of the document on the 30th of March 1976, and by taking into account the period from 17 April 1975 through 6 January 1979, were as follows:

- POL Pot,
- NUON Chea,
- SAO Phim,
- OUNG Chouen alias Mok,
- VORN Vet,
- SON Sen,
- KHIEU Samphan,
- KOY Thuon,
- MEN Ya,
- ROS Nhim,
- KE Pauk,
- CHOU Chet alias Sy,
- Kâng Chap alias Sae.

**About  
the Santebal Offices of the Democratic Kampuchea**

69- There were at least 196 Santebal Offices in the Democratic Kampuchea.

**I- The general aspect of all Santebal offices and their similarity:**

**About the organizational mechanism and work**

70- Each Santebal Office was under the clear organizational supervision of the Party.

For example, the district Santebal offices were under the direct supervision of the secretary of the district. It was not under the supervision of the committee of the district.

71- The confessions of Santebal office were very confidential documents which had to be submitted directly and in person to the superior through the respective messenger.

The superior then assigned the documents to be sent to the Party as party official documents.

72- Although the Santebal offices at the rural area were assigned to be under the direct supervision of the district secretary or the secretary of the sector or the zone, any necessary confession— at least the necessary confessions-- had to be sent through such organizational arrangement of the party to POL Pot. This is the principle which could not be violated.

For example:

- On the 5 September 2007, I reported to the Co-Investigating Judges
- already about the confessions from Sector 32, the West, D16.2.
- Document D58/II, the confession from the Santebal office of Sector
- 21, the East.
- E52/4.62, Mok annotated in person on the cover of that confession
- to be sent to Pol Pot.
- D32/IV or D43/IV, the accompanied letter sent to Se (KANG
- Chab), the Secretary of the new North Zone (801), sent the
- confession of SAN Eap, alias Khon and Soery alias Phang to POL Pot.

Note: these four documents reached POL Pot so that he could manage.

73- Regarding S-21, it was under the direct supervision of SON Sen. The

confessions in which Son Sen was interested would be annotated on the cover pages and sent to Pol Pot to examine and make the final decision urgently.

For example:

- E3/20, the confession of HENG Pich, alias Chhan
- D93/III, the confession of LONG MUY, alias Chuon.

Note: As to E3/86, Son Sen annotated on it to ask for the decision from NUON Chea. At that time NUON Chea was the first acting minister. Or, in other words, he was the acting secretary of the Party.

#### **The Party valued the confessions**

74- S-21 was really under the supervision of SON Sen, who was the Standing Committee's member. Actually SON Sen was the seventh individual, SAO Phim, the third individual and Mok the fourth one.

By arguing that S-21 was larger than other Santebal Offices because of SON Sen's position, then one should also argue that the Santebal Office of the East could have been the largest because of SAO Phim's status followed by the Santebal Office of the Southwest Zone thanks to Mok's role in the party.

As a matter of fact, such hierarchical order or status was nonexistent.

75- All Santebal offices were equal before the Party in accordance with the confessions.

For example:

- D32/IV or D43/IV, in which the Party was very interested. Se wrote a letter to accompany the confession which was sent along on the 17th of April 1978. NUON Chea finished reading it on the 19 April 1978.
- E3/416 was a document of S-21 in which POL Pot was very interested.
- The confessions that derived or that were from the Santebal office of Sector 32, the West Zone, were also interested by POL Pot. In light of that, he instructed SON Sen to advise S-21 on this (and that time there were Nat and I), D16/2.

### The right to smash

76- Santebal office had no right to smash. To put it simply, the chief of Santebal office, whoever he was, had no authority to issue any subjective order to arrest anyone.

Document dated on the 30th of March 1976 was the principal centre of such policy.

Who violated such measures of the Party would be punished by the Party. Nat, the secretary of S-21, was a practical example of this. According to the meeting of the Standing Committee on the 19, 20 and 21 of April 1976, Nat was forbidden to control any forces.

Note: The term "arrest" was certainly used in the context of technical operation upon order.

77- Santebal office had to wait to receive people who were arrested and sent to them. The people who were sent by the superior had to be smashed in the end. It was an offense when any important people while the interrogation was still underway.

As far as the real practice is concerned, the chief of each Santebal office was well knowledgeable about the persons whose confessions would be much needed by Angkar. He/she had to be accountable to the party by making sure none of such confessions was incomplete.

78- The arrangement had always been precise as to each time when people were taken to be smashed. This rigid responsibility was vested with the chief of each level such as the squad, the unit and the platoon. This was the military discipline.

For example:

At S-21, on any occasion when prisoners were taken to be smashed, the chief of the special platoon had to bear the role as the commander of the operation.

### About physical torture during interrogation

79- Physical torture was mostly inevitable. It was a permitted tactic. It was the police well known by the Party.

For example:

- D43/IV, which was dated on the 26th of October 1977 under ERN 00173920, the interrogator indicated that he inflicted torture to extract this confession which was then sent to the Central Zone. (Case File 002)
- D43/IV, document dated 28th of October 1977 under the page with ERN 00174762, the interrogator indicated that torture was used and the confession was sent to the Northwest Zone. (Case File 002)

Therefore physical torture was employed at all Santebal offices. Otherwise the Party would not inform the S-21 to employ such techniques.

The interrogators had the same status for the last three consecutive regimes. During Sihanouk and Lon Nol regime the interrogation work was the work of the inspectors, the police with the rank of Major Lieutenant. In the Khmer Rouge regime it was the work of the interrogators. When I was in jail I had never seen any Lieutenant or Captain. I believe that during the Khmer Rouge regime, none of the chiefs of Santebal offices, including I, did not undertake the leadership role.

### III- The aspect of S-21 which is unique from other Santebal offices

80- It is true that S-21 Office was unique because the members of the Standing Committee were detained, interrogated and smashed there.

The other reason is that Pol Pot regarded these people as the thorns in his eyes which he had to observe and that immediate measures had to be taken.

For example, KOY Thuon,

- On 25 January 1977 Thuon was sent to S-21.
- On 29 January 1977 Thuon completed writing his confession.
- On 31 January 1977 Thuon's associates, who were implicated in his confession, were purged.

However, it is also true that among more than 195 Santebal offices all across the country none had smashed any members of the Standing



Committee.

According to my analysis, all Santebal offices received orders to smash people; those people were the innocent, the clean and honest. More than a million of them perished.

I don't believe that the people who were killed had somebody's blood on their hands like those of the cadres of the POL Pot's Central Committee. The recollection of this event makes me feel very shocked.

81- It is true that so many Zone's people had been sent to S-21, among them, the chiefs of Santebal Offices.

The reason was that POL Pot wanted to get hold of the information of each zone. To put it simply, he wanted to keep the secretaries of the zones, whom he did not trust, under surveillance.

Among those where sent from the Zones, some were arrested thanks to POL Pot's demands for such arrest upon the confessions from S-21. However, some were arrested and sent to S-21 because POL Pot had read the confessions he had been sent to from the Zones.

The fundamental principle of centralized democracy was that none secretary of any zones had the authority to demand for the Secretary of the Party or Secretary of other zones to send any person to them.

The distinction between S-21 and other Santebal Offices is in the centralized power which was solely vested with the Party's Secretary. It was not the power of the Chairman of S-21 over the Chiefs of the 195 Santebal Offices.

82- On top of this, I observed that Santebal Office in rural areas had distinct aspect from S-21 because at that office had to receive people and keep them for awhile. This was done with the purpose of making them see the physical condition of the premise. They were then let out by the Upper Echelon.

I am summarizing the event based on the account collected and compiled by the investigators of the Co-Investigating Office, who conducted interviews in rural areas.

I think it was a warning. For example, witness KW30 was detained at M-13 for awhile before he was sent to Pursat where he lived his semi-

prisoner life.

I feel that the Party may have used this tactic in the rural areas instead of that of Prey Sar.

### Crimes at S-21

#### Recollection of some main events:

- On 15 August 1975, SON Sen initiated the establishment of S-21
- On October 1975, I took office at S-21 as the Deputy Chief.
- On March 1976, I became the Chairman of S-21.

83- From 15 August 1975 to October 1975,

- My core role was to collect evidence from the former senior officials' houses and public buildings -- those who were working for the Lon Nol regime;
- I examined confessions sent from 703 and indicated the objective of interrogation for the interrogators. My superior required that I take this extra task, concerning the confession of SA Phorn, in particular, E5/2.1.

84- From October 1975 to March 1976, Nat had been the Chief. I was the Deputy Chief. There were two points I would like to clarify as follows:

First, he demanded for Sector 25 to arrest people. This was how Nat worked. I did not work like that. When I worked at M-13, I was never allowed by the Party to have such communication with the base.

Second, according to the presented documents during the investigation state and during the trial proceedings, I observed that Nat made a decision to subjectively arrest 62 people in total. His action was a violation of the Party's line. I have ample reason to support my conclusion that Angkar was also suspicious about Nat's committing this offence<sup>34</sup>.

I wish to dismiss the aforementioned two accounts.

85- I will always and forever be responsible for at least 12,380 lives.

86- Other aspects and overviews of crimes committed at S-21, both in Phnom Penh, Prey Sar and Cheung Ek, have been debated in these hearings. I therefore would respectfully like the Chamber to take them into account and render your decision accordingly.

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<sup>34</sup> In document on 9 October 1975, POL Pol admired Nat. POL Pot express his interest in Chakrey alias Mean. He asked him not to kill him or talk about this in order not to make people know or get scared. In document on 19, 20 and 21 April 1976, POL Pot suspected Chakrey alias Mean and Nat. He banned these two people from controlling any forces.

### About my position and behavior

#### I- For Cambodian people throughout the country

Before its victory day, the Communist Party of Kampuchea had solemnly declared that it would only prosecute the seven super traitors, but in reality the Party forcibly evacuated the people, many hundreds of thousands of whom were executed. They were innocent. Those people did not commit any crimes after the 17th of April 1975.

The killing went on. More and more people were put to death -- endlessly -- until more than 1 million souls perished. Among them, people who were outside the ranks, those who did not wish to become peasants or workers -- sometimes simply because they were not able to do so -- were executed.

Within the ranks, Party members who were associated with groups other than theirs were arrested and killed so that their people would be deployed to fill in their places. This monumental destruction both within and outside the ranks is solely the crime committed by the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

I still -- honestly -- stand by the statement I made earlier in the hearing in which I attested that POL Pot was overjoyed and dared impose such an extremely criminal line due to the fact that he enjoyed the support of his force especially the Party's force which are comprised of hundreds of thousands of Party members who abided by his order.

I still acknowledge that I was a member of the POL Pot's force. Accordingly, I am psychologically accountable to the entire Cambodian population for the souls of those who perished during the period from the 17th of April 1975 until the 6th of January 1979.

I am deeply remorseful of and profoundly affected by destruction on such a mind-boggling scale. I clearly understand that any theory or ideology which mentions love for the people in a class-based concept and class struggle is definitely driving us into endless tragedy and misery. I still maintain that a decision to choose which path to walk is made in a matter of seconds. However, its repercussion with its wrong choice will result in a lifelong remorse.

Instead of being convinced that I could be contributing to liberation of the nation and its people and having hoped that I would be serving my

people by devoting myself, my strength, my heart, my intelligence and everything including my preparedness and scarifying my own life for the nation and the people, I found I had ended up serving a criminal organization which destroys its own people in an outrageous fashion.

I could not withdraw from it. I was just like a cog in a running machine.

**II- For the victims of S-21 and their families**

I still claim that I am solely and individually liable for the loss of at least 12,380 lives. These people, before their deaths, had endured a great and prolonging suffering and countless inhumane conditions. I still and forever wish to most respectfully and humbly apologize to the dead souls.

I have worshipped God to honour the dead. To the survivors, I stand by my acknowledgment of all crimes which were inflicted on you at S-21. I acknowledge them both in the legal and moral context.

As for the families of the victims, my wish is that I will always maintain my humble and respectful behaviour by asking you to kindly leave your door open for me to make my apologies. May I plead with you to allow me to share your immense and enduring sorrow any time?

**III- In order to express my excruciating remorse,**

I have fully and sincerely co-operated with the Court any time the Court has needed me. I have been assisting the Courts for 10 years, 6 months and 17 days, including during the investigation phase as well as in the interrogation at the Military Court and at this Court.

Finally, I have made my genuine proposal to psychological and psychiatric experts to help me with the ideas on what I shall do:

- To make people recognize me again as part of humankind,
- To contribute to relieve the great sorrow of Cambodian people. I promise I will do everything for my people, should they need me, in whatever circumstance in the future.

I pray the Court to consider this additional matter.

23 November 2009

KAING Guek Eav, alias Duch.