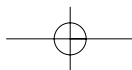
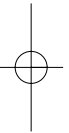
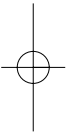
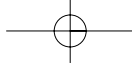


OUKOUBAH

Justice for the Cham Muslims under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime

Ysa Osman





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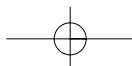
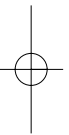
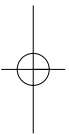
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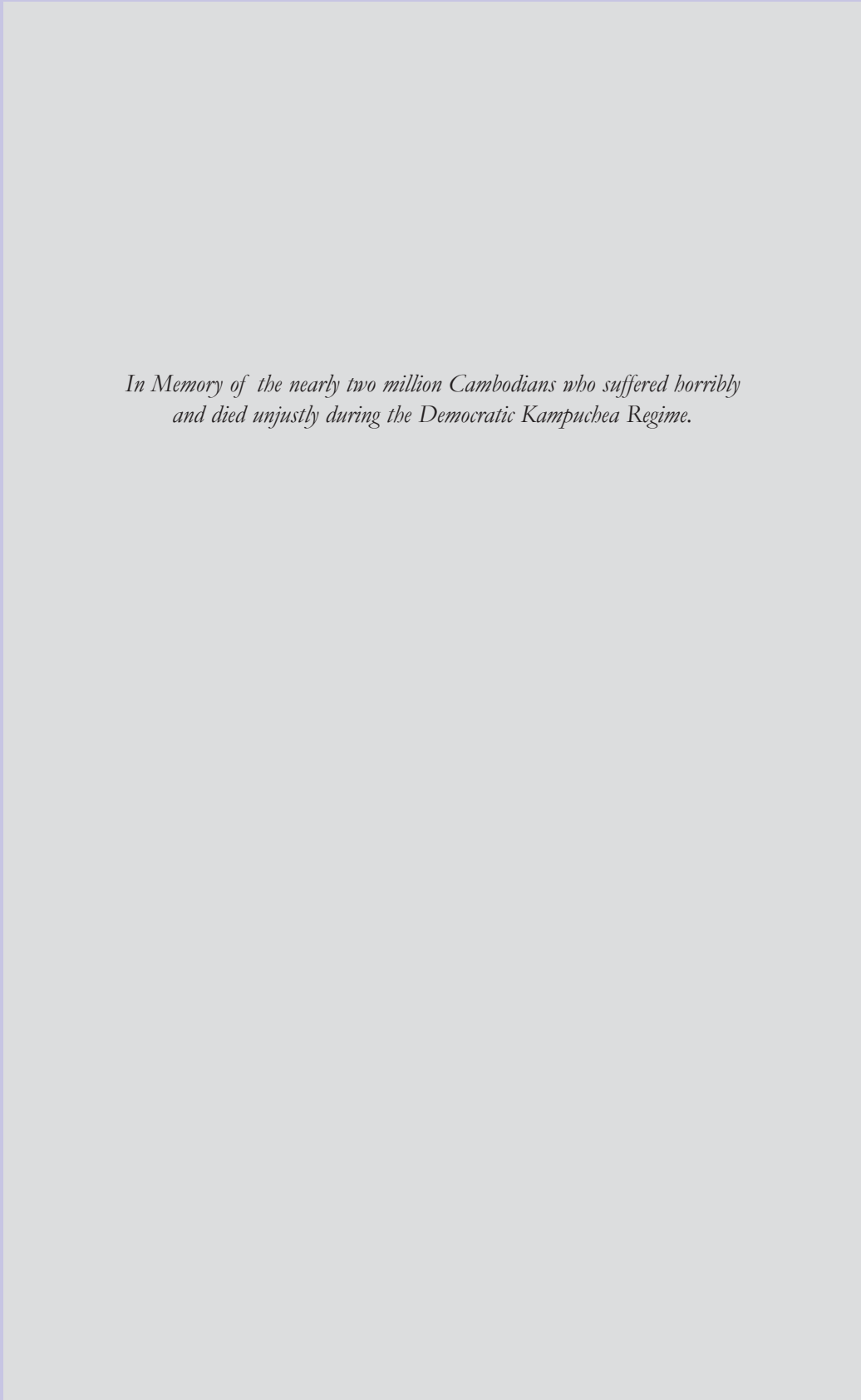
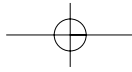
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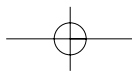
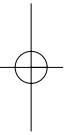
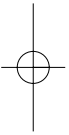
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Cover Photograph of Khalet Poukhary, age 9, Koh Phal village, Peus 1 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, by Youk Chhang

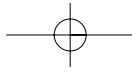
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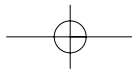
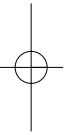
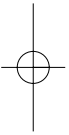


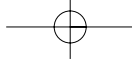
*In Memory of the nearly two million Cambodians who suffered horribly
and died unjustly during the Democratic Kampuchea Regime.*





for my parents





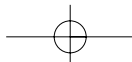
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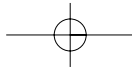
I wish to express my gratitude to all those generous benefactors who have supported me both materially and with ideas, who have raised my morale in so many ways, and who have provided invaluable information, giving me critical momentum to complete this paper. The United States Department of State, Bureau of Human Rights, Democracy and Labor (DRL) provided funds for research on the Cham Muslims under the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime of 1975-79. The Human Rights Projects Funds of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom provided funds for printing and publishing. The Royal Netherlands Government provided general support for this research. The Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) and the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes (TSL) provided many documents and photographs that served as an invaluable starting point for my research.

Youk Chhang, the Director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), and Sim Sorya, Head of the Center's Research Department, pointed the way, monitoring and correcting my work from its beginning. Both sacrificed their time and interests so that I could advance toward understanding and then depend upon myself. All my colleagues and friends at the Documentation Center of Cambodia and Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes shared their knowledge with me. Phat Kosal, Yin Nean, Sim Sopheak, Lach Vorleak Kalyan, Em Sokhym, Oeur Ratana, Ser Sayana and Ea Meng-Try tirelessly searched out documents throughout my investigations, graciously taking time away from their own work. Pheng Pong Rasy and I shared fatigue as we traveled throughout the country to conduct interviews.

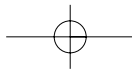
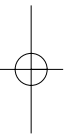
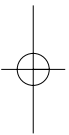
My older brother Kaup Sleh and his wife Math Seiha were my guardians and played a large part in this study. They were the first to support my work as a researcher and constantly raised my spirits. They introduced me to a number of Cham Muslim leaders in Phnom Penh and other areas throughout the country. They were instrumental in helping me gain support from the many Cham who generously provided information for this paper. I am also grateful for the assistance of Uknha Sos Kamry (Kamaruddin bin Yusof), Chief of the Highest Council for Islamic Religious Affairs in Cambodia, who gave so much time in locating all the many sources in the Qur-ān concerning Islamic discipline, which clearly show how the deeds of the Khmer Rouge affected Islam and the traditions of Cham Muslims.

Invaluable assistance was also provided by His Excellency Math Ly, Representative of the Kampong Cham constituency and Supreme Personal Advisor to the King, His Excellency Zakariya Adam, Under Secretary of State of the Ministry of Cults and Religious Affairs, His Excellency Senator Van Math, and the provincial and district *imam, bakem, toun, haji*, elders, and all brothers and sisters in the cities and rural areas. A large part of the text recorded here was taken from their recollections of the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Once again, I wish to express my gratitude to all those named above. I will continue to need you always, and can never be without you.





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FOREWORD

It is easier to count the survivors in my family than the dozens of relatives, including my sister, nieces, nephew, aunt and uncle, who perished during the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime between 1975 and 1979. My family is no different from the Cham Muslim families Ysa Osman writes of in *Oukoubah*, the second volume in our Documentation Series. Like all of Cambodia's people, the Cham suffered under the brutalities of the DK regime. But each case is unique, as this book will demonstrate.

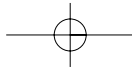
For over two decades now, Cham, Khmer, and other survivors have been seeking justice for the acts of the Khmer Rouge. They have signed petitions, built stupas and filled them with skulls, shared their stories with officials, and written down their own stories. While such actions have brought them some measure of relief from the trauma they experienced, our people have yet to achieve real justice. We have been patient for so long, and independent trials are the only way to further the process of healing and rebuilding Cambodia. Whatever justice comes out of the courts will not please everyone, but anything less than a legal accounting for the crimes of the DK regime will not do. In February 2002, the United Nations withdrew from talks with the Cambodian government over the establishment of a Khmer Rouge tribunal. The UN argued that the Cambodian government was unwilling to sign an agreement which would not safeguard the integrity of the trials and that the UN could not attach its name to trials over which it had only minimal control.

Cambodians are disappointed by both the UN and their government. They want criminal trials of Khmer Rouge leaders. The absence of justice for Khmer Rouge leaders haunts them and impedes the country's social and economic development. So the quest for justice continues and Cambodians, in overwhelming numbers, remain committed to moving it forward.

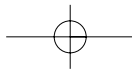
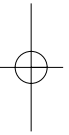
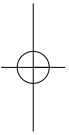
This second volume of the Documentation Series contributes to that quest. A Cambodian researcher, Ysa Osman, has documented the plight of the Cham people, an important minority group, which suffered enormous horror and grief during the reign of the DK regime. By documenting their experience, Ysa Osman makes an important contribution to uncovering the truth of what happened during what many Cambodians still call the "Pol Pot time." In doing so, he contributes to the growing body of research and documentation that makes an ever stronger and more compelling case to both the Cambodian government and the United Nations: cooperate to ensure that the Khmer Rouge leadership is brought to justice.

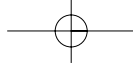
The survivors of the DK regime - the Cambodian people, including the Cham Muslims and other ethnic groups and religious minorities in Cambodia - have been waiting for too long. But they will continue their quest.

Youk Chhang



iv





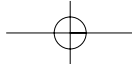
A NOTE ON THIS RESEARCH

Ysa Osman has written *Oukoubab* from his heart: he both lived through the Democratic Kampuchea regime, and has found common experiences with those he interviewed for this study. During his research, Osman learned that one of his subjects, Ismael Ahmad (who was arrested in early 1977 and held at S-21), was in fact his cousin. In addition, Osman's uncles were arrested in late 1975 and are believed to have disappeared in the Krauch Chhmar district security office. And perhaps most telling, Osman saw his brothers and sisters die young from a lack of food and medicine in Kratie province where his family had been evacuated.

The passion and pain that have informed Osman's writing could be dismissed as biased, but the reader will quickly see that *Oukoubab* is written from Osman's head as well. For example, historian Ben Kiernan calculates the 1975 Cham population based on a scientific survey conducted in 1936, while Osman has relied on Khmer Rouge telegrams and extensive anecdotal evidence in countering Kiernan's claim. While these figures may remain open to debate, there can be no doubt that Osman has carefully and thoroughly explored this question.

Moving beyond historian David Chandler's *Voices from S-21*, Osman has made the confessions collected from the notorious S-21 prison come alive. Forty-two Cham Muslim prisoners are known to have been held at S-21. Osman has profiled 13 of them because the biography sections of their confessions contain information on the victims' birthplaces, allowing him to locate relatives and unearth additional information on the prisoners as well as their alleged "prisoner networks." Osman brought a victim's confession along when interviewing the prisoner's family members, cross-checking the confession against the recollections of surviving relatives. He also uses many original Khmer Rouge documents as primary sources. His research and the vivid stories of the 13 Cham prisoners give readers an opportunity to decide for themselves if the Democratic Kampuchea regime singled out Cham Muslims for arrest and extermination based on race. A documentation series like this one can tell as much as available materials permit; perhaps only an independent Khmer Rouge tribunal will allow Cambodia to determine the complete truth. *Oukoubab* provides a source of evidence - on extra-judicial killing, summary execution, torture, child abuse, ethnic disaster, and bans on freedom of religion - for tribunal lawyers to examine.

Oukoubab is the second paper in our documentation series (the first paper is called *Victims and Perpetrators?*). The methodology we follow is explained on page 149. Briefly, we write from what materials tell us, rather than presume an answer and fit in selected information. We consult all available primary documents and secondary materials, as well as scholars. Osman and other researchers learn by doing and cross-train with local and international interns, volunteers and academic advisors. Current researchers train the next generation. In conducting interviews, a researcher avoids leading questions and is not allowed to reimburse those interviewed. A researcher chooses his or her own topic, cannot plagiarize, and follows a consistent



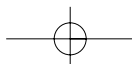
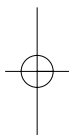
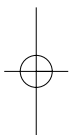
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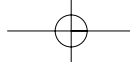
Documentation Center transliteration format. When I joined Osman for the first time, we interviewed the relatives of one of his study subjects, Saleh Yahya. During the interview I learned that they were my relatives and have since confirmed that Saleh Yahya was my uncle.

We would like to acknowledge the work of Wynne Coughill, who has edited this and several other Center papers. She loves and acknowledges the importance of our work, and provides us with encouragement. In return, we strive to be methodologically rigorous, while inevitably remaining emotional.

Through this series, Oukoubah has united the Osman family as well as mine, and I believe it is playing a broader cathartic role for much needed reconciliation, memory, and justice for all Cambodian people.

Sorya Sim





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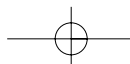
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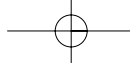
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INTRODUCTION

The 1975-1979 regime of Democratic Kampuchea (DK), led by Pol Pot and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, left more than one million Cambodians dead,¹ their bones scattered like those of animals. All of the more than 6,000,000 people who survived the regime² lived with constant horror and fear throughout those 3 years, 8 months, and 20 days. But the extent of suffering differed according to ethnicity and religious practice because the Democratic Kampuchea regime considered the cultural framework and religious customs practiced by Cambodians as “reactionary acts.”³

¹ The estimated number of deaths during the regime ranges from 1,000,000 to over 3,000,000:

Banister and Johnson report that 1,800,000 Cambodians lost their lives; their calculations take into account both births and immigration during 1975-1979. Banister, Judith and Paige Johnson, “After the Nightmare.” In *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and the International Community*, Ben Kiernan, ed. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1993, p. 90.

According to Chandler, “Conservative estimates of the number of men, women, and children who died between 1975 and 1979 as a result of DK policies run between 800,000 (1 in 10) and 1,000,000 (or 1 in 8) inhabitants of the country. These figures do not include those who died in combat with Vietnam.” Chandler, David P, *Brother Number One*, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992, p. 168.

The Government of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea set the number of people who died during the regime at 3,314,768, on the basis of 1,166,307 reports from 19 provinces and cities, and all offices and ministries around the party center. General Council of the Front for National Construction, Salvation, and Defense of the Kampuchean Motherland, *The Crimes of the Peking Hegemonists and Their Servants Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan During 1975-1979*. Phnom Penh, 1983. This number was also used in Ney Pena, “The Collapse of the Pol Pot Genocidal Regime.” Phnom Penh: Pracheachun Newspaper, 1991, p. 138.

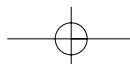
Between 1995 and 2001, the Mass Grave Research Team of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) visited and documented 19,440 mass graves and over 1.2 million victims. Documentation Center of Cambodia, “Mapping the Killing Fields, 1975-1979” (a map), 2001. For a discussion of earlier findings, see Pheng Pong Rasy, “Map of Mass Graves, Prisons, and Memorials of the Khmer Rouge Genocidal Regime,” *Rasmei Kampuchea Daily*, July 29, 2001.

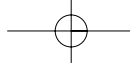
Craig Etcheson analyzed the number of dead by comparing figures from various sources, including those of the Research Commission on the Genocidal Pol Pot Regime, the Documentation Center of Cambodia Mass Grave Research Team, and historians Ben Kiernan, Marek Sliwinski, and Steve Heder. Etcheson wrote that, “not one million, not two million, but rather three million or more Cambodian people died during the Khmer Rouge regime.” Etcheson, Craig, “3.3 million dead and still counting,” *Phnom Penh Post*, Volume 9, Number 8, 14-27 April 2000.

² According to Kiernan, “The number of those living in January 1979 was calculated at 6 to 6.7 million.” Kiernan, Ben, *The Pol Pot Regime*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996, p. 457.

³ Author’s interview with Math Ly, former member of the People’s Assembly of Democratic Kampuchea and former permanent member of the Khmer Rouge Tbaung Khmum District Committee, and today a Representative of Kampong Cham Constituency and Supreme Personal Advisor to the King, at his home in Phnom Penh, March 27, 2000. He stated: “on 20 May 1975 Pol Pot convened a conference in Phnom Penh to approve an eight-point plan. Those principles were: 1) Create cooperatives from low to high level. 2) Evacuate the people from the cities to the countryside and divide the people into three categories. 3) Stop use of money. 4) Close markets. 5) Eliminate religions, as they are all reactionary. 6) Eliminate schools. 7) Eliminate hospitals. 8) Sweep away internal enemies by the roots.” Also see Ney Pena, op. cit., p. 71, which refers to Ly.

Article 15, Section 20 of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea (which was approved on 14 December 1975) states “Every one of the people has the right to believe in faith or religion and has the right not to believe as well. Reactionary religions that damage Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean People are absolutely forbidden.”





Among those who were killed disproportionately by the Khmer Rouge⁴ were the Cham ethnic group. It is estimated that prior to 1975, the Cham, who are Muslims, comprised 10% of Cambodia's population (roughly 700,000 of the country's 7,000,000 people). After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979, only 200,000 ethnic Cham remained alive.⁵ Thus, of the nearly 2,000,000 dead, 400,000 to 500,000 were Cham. Their mortality rate was double to nearly triple that of the general Khmer population (57-71% vs. about 23%). Historian Ben Kiernan presents a very different estimate. He concludes that the Cham population fell from about 250,000 (perhaps more) to about 173,000; Kiernan added that by 1979 the "number would normally have reached at least 260,000."⁶

The research conducted for this paper concurs with Kiernan that the Cham

⁴ "Khmer Rouge" is a French word for *Khmer Kraham* or "Red Khmers," first used by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the mid-1960s to refer to Khmer Communists and members of other Khmer left-wing organizations. The term is understood differently depending on the time period and historical view. The Documentation Center of Cambodia refers to the Khmer Rouge as those who worked to form and/or lead Democratic Kampuchea. For different views on the Khmer Rouge, see the DC-Cam publication *Searching for the truth*, Number 6, June 2000.

⁵ Author's interviews with:

Zakariya Adam, Under Secretary of State of the Ministry of Cults and Religious Affairs, at his office, Phnom Penh, 12 October 1999. He claimed he had seen statistics on the Cham population in Cambodia compiled by Raja Thipadei Res Lah, the former Grand Mufti during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum and Khmer Republic eras. According to these statistics, the Cham population was 700,000. Zakariya further stated that after 1979 the population was 200,000.

Van Math, a senator, at his office in Phnom Penh, 6 April 2000. Math alleged that prior to 1975 he had heard an announcement by General Les Kosem (who had compiled statistics and conducted research on the Cham throughout the country) that the Cham population was 700,000. Math added that according to statistics compiled immediately after 1979, 200,000 Cham had survived the killings.

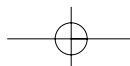
Math Ly, op. cit. His numbers were in accord with those provided by Zakariya Adam and Van Math, op. cit.

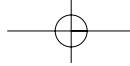
Uknha Sos Kamry (Kamaruddin bin Yusof), Chief of Highest Council for Islamic Religious Affairs (*Grand Mufti*) in Cambodia at Kilo 9, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 10 October 1999. Uknha Kamry stated "According to the memories of Cham elders, prior to 1975 there were 700,000 Cham and 220 Cham villages. Immediately after the Khmer Rouge era there were 300,000 Cham."

"As a result of strong persecution and massacres carried out by Democratic Kampuchea against the Cham, of 700,000 Cham (the figure from 1974) by 1979 after liberation there remained approximately 200,000 alive." Ney Pena, op. cit., p. 80.

Department of Minorities, Office of the National Council of the Front, "Statistics of the Cham Minorities," provided by Tres Sarom, Inspector, Inspection Department, Ministry of Cults and Religious Affairs, 6 March 2002. This report states that the Cham numbered 138,607 in 1979 and 700,000 in 1974.

⁶ "In 1874 the French carried out the first census of their protectorate and counted 25,599 Chams, 3 percent of the Kampuchean population. In 1936, the Chams in Kampuchea were estimated to number 88,000, and by 1975 250,000." Kiernan, Ben, "Orphans of Genocide: The Cham Muslims of Kampuchea under Pol Pot." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 20, Number 4, 1988, pp. 6, 30. Kiernan added the 88,000 to the population growth rate of 2.7 percent per year over the 1936-1975 period to obtain the 250,000 figure for 1975. The 2.7 percent growth rate was based on the works of J. Migozzi, *Cambodge: Faits et Problemmes de Population*. Paris: CNRS, 1973. Kiernan derived the population figure of 173,000 in 1979 starting with a population figure counted in 1982 by La Communaute Islamique au Kampuchea of 182,256 and subtracted from this an assumed population growth of 3 percent per annum, to arrive at a figure of 161,350. He then added the 11,700 people who fled abroad during this period (the latter figure was obtained from Po Dharma, *Introduction a la Connaissance de la Peninsule Indochinoise*, Paris: 1983).





population was nearly 200,000 in 1979, but differs on the number of Cham before 1975. A 1975 Khmer Rouge telegram states that the Cham population in the Eastern Zone was more than 100,000 after 50,000 members of that ethnic group had been evacuated to the Northern and Northwestern Zones.⁷ From this, one can infer that over 150,000 Cham were living in the eastern part of Kampong Cham province and parts of Kratie, Prey Veng and Svay Rieng provinces. Adding the Cham population in the other districts of Kampong Cham and other provinces and major cities⁸ to the figure of 150,000, the total Cham population of Cambodia rises well above the number calculated by Kiernan, to a figure approximating the statistics of other officials and researchers, as well as that recalled by almost all Cham: 700,000.⁹

To help implement their policies to “smash” the religion, customs, and traditions of the Cham ethnic minority, the Khmer Rouge arranged for a Cham of the lowest level in a village to become the leader. The Khmer Rouge’s goal was to have Cham kill Cham, Cham spy on Cham, and Cham report on fellow Cham, and to have the Cham erase their customs and traditions, shut the doors of the mosques, and forbid *sambalyang* (prayer), fasting, alms giving and various religious ceremonies. They forced the collection of the Qur-*ân* and *keitap* (a book teaching Islam and explaining the Qur-*ân*), the *sarong* and the *fez*, and the *makhna* (a long prayer garment for women). They also forced the consumption of pork, made females cut their hair short, and refused to allow the traditional covering of the head.¹⁰

Banister and Johnson, op. cit., p. 97, quote The Economist Intelligence Unit as stating: “In 1968 the estimate of ethnic minorities including the Cham Muslims, there were 150,000 Chams and 90,000 highland minority members from many groups.”

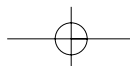
⁷ Telegram 15 of the Khmer Rouge, dated 30 November 1975, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number L01045. This telegram was written by Chhon and sent to Comrade Pol (Pol Pot), with copies to Brother Nuon (Nuon Chea), Brother Doeun, and Brother Yem.

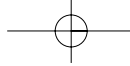
⁸ Author’s interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 18 February 2002. He stated that “Now, Chams live in 372 villages of 17 provinces and 4 cities (there are 20 provinces and 4 cities in Cambodia): 15 villages in Battambang, 7 villages in Banteay Meanchey, 37 villages in Kampong Speu, 15 villages in Kandal, 14 villages in Kratie, 126 village in Kampong Cham, 47 villages in Kampong Chhnang, 1 village in Svay Rieng, 13 villages in Sihanoukville, 5 villages in Kampong Thom, 9 villages in Koh Kong, 3 villages in Mondul Kiri, 1 village in Kampong Speu, 1 village in Pailin, 16 villages in Phnom Penh, 4 villages in Prey Veng, 34 villages in Pursat, 3 villages in Rattanak Kiri, 10 villages in Siem Reap, 9 villages in Takeo, 2 villages in Kep. Prior to 1975 Cham lived in 242 villages of 18 provinces and cities.” (Excluded from the above provinces are: Mondul Kiri, Rattanak Kiri, and Kampong Speu.)

⁹ Figures for the Cham death toll were provided by Zakariya Adam, op. cit., from the statistics of Raja Thipadei Res Lah. Van Math, op. cit., once heard General Les Kosem, a researcher on the Cham, announce the Cham population figures for Cambodia prior to 1975. In addition, according to the majority of the leaders of Cham society, the Cham population prior to 1975 was approximately 700,000. Department of Minorities, Office of the National Council of the Front, “Statistics of the Cham Minorities,” op. cit. Math Ly’s (op. cit.) numbers were in accordance with those provided by Zakariya Adam and Van Math.

¹⁰ Author’s interviews with:

Ly Khadijah, age 75, a surviving villager of Chamkar Leu village, Tuol Snuol subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, at Prek Krauch village, Peus 2 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, 11 March 2001.





While some Cham obeyed these policies, others resisted either simply for survival or to continue their religious practices. For example, Him Leh, the Khmer Rouge chief of Po Tonle village, urged the Cham people to flee and take refuge in Vietnam, until he was imprisoned for more than a year and his name was recorded on the S-21 list of traitorous networks for doing so. Math Ly, former member of People's Assembly of Democratic Kampuchea and a former permanent member of the KR T'baung Khmum District Committee, fled to the forests when he could no longer tolerate seeing the Khmer Rouge persecute his people. Lep Vanmath and Soh Ponyamin, the Khmer Rouge youth leaders of Svay Khleang village, and Res Tort, the Khmer Rouge chief of Koh Phal village, led the people to rebel when upper-echelon Angkar ordered the closure of the mosques and arrested people in their villages.¹¹ The rebellion of Koh Phal and Svay Khleang villages in Krauch Chhmar district, where people rose up to preserve their Islamic and Cham identity, took place in late 1975 (a separate DC-Cam book on this topic is forthcoming).

To help stamp out Cham traditions, the Khmer Rouge absolutely forbade the use of Cham-style names and all Cham were made to use Khmer-style names. However, the Khmer Rouge did not have the capability to enforce this change fully. During the regime, when family members met privately, they still called one another by their birth names. It was more difficult to force small children to change their names than the adults, since they could not remember their new names.¹²

Math Dullah, age 53, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 21 March 2000. Dullah stated that a Cham named Riev Soh worked on *Kanak Muksanha* (the Committee on Target Investigations) for the Khmer Rouge in Prek Thmei subdistrict, and that Soh carried out all KR commands to stop Islam in the villages and was involved in forcibly arresting Cham youth for the military.

Many Cham villagers in Kampong Cham, Kampot, Kampong Chhnang, Kratie, Kandal, Koh Kong, and Sihanoukville were interviewed for this study. They stated that in almost all Cham villages, the Khmer Rouge used a Cham who would take orders to lead the village or work at the subdistrict level.

¹¹ Author's interviews with:

Him Leh, age 56, a surviving villager from Pon Tonle village, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 21 March 2000. Him Leh was named in Roun Math's confession, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02674 (see p. 34).

Math Ly, op. cit.

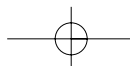
Soh Ponyamin, age 43, at village 5 (former Svay Khleang), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 25 January 2001.

Lep Vanmath, age 41, Deputy Chief of Staff, Special Military Zone, located at Banteay Slik Headquarters, Phnom Penh, 5 January 2001. Vanmath is a former Svay Khleang villager.

Res Tort, age 60, former Khmer Rouge chief of Koh Phal village, at Koh Phal village, Peus 1 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 19 February 2000.

¹² Author's interviews with:

Haji Abutalep Aiyau, age 64, at Kbal Romeas village, Kbal Romeas subdistrict, Kampot district and province, 1 April 2000.



They also prohibited the speaking of the Cham language, and to reinforce this policy killed the *bakem*, *toun* and village elders who spoke Cham. The Khmer Rouge were partially successful in this respect, because after 1979 no Cham youth knew how to speak the Cham language. Even today, the Cham people in Kampot province, Sihanoukville, Kampong Luong in the Ponhea Leu district of Kandal province, and Chrang Chamres village in Phnom Penh do not speak the Cham language.

Cham in all areas were also evacuated from their villages and split into small groups of four to five families. Some were sent to live in huts far from their villages, and some to live in villages with ethnic Khmer. Splitting up the Cham populace in this manner was done in accordance with Angkar's view of their "crimes." The groups called "first category enemies" were those who opposed Angkar. Those called "second category enemies" were the "supporters of rebel forces." Those considered "third category enemies" had low castes within their villages. In the Khmer Rouge structure, the "first and second category enemies" were more serious culprits than the "third category enemies." All three types of enemies were categorized as "new people."¹³ (Kiernan's table, "Approximate Death Tolls in Democratic Kampuchea, 1975-1979," does not include the number of Cham deaths in the "New People" category, which is contrary to the reports documented in this paper.¹⁴) The Cham were also evacuated and dispersed to prevent them from rebelling (two villages - Koh Phal and Svay Khleang - had risen up in opposition to Angkar in September and October 1975).¹⁵

Mussa Hausan, age 57, Abupakae Ismael, age 56, and El Tort, age 46, at Kampong Kandal village, Cheung Kriel subdistrict, Kampot district, Kampot province, 2 April 2000.

Yakaup Mussa, age 52, and Sae Oumaet, age 48, at Daun Taok village, Traey Koh subdistrict, Kampong Bay district, Kampot province, 3 April 2000.

Younus Yafaetr, age 47, Mah Yam, age 55, Tep Math, age 48, Lep Tort, age 52, and Sa Saleh, age 32, at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 10-11 April 2000.

Author's interviews with 45 Cham Muslims in Kampong Cham province. These sources made similar statements: that the KR did not allow them to speak their own language and prohibited the use of Cham names. Angkar provided them with new Khmer names.

"When asked if the Cham language had been forbidden by the DK authorities, 36 Cham Muslims answered yes (it had been forbidden). One answered no (it had not)." Kiernan, Ben, *The Pol Pot Regime*, op. cit., p. 461.

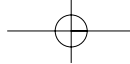
Becker quoted David Hawk as saying: "Cham [individuals] must change their names by taking new ones similar to Khmer names. The Cham mentality (Cham nationality, the Cham language, Cham custom, Cham habits, Cham religion) is abolished." Becker, Elizabeth, *When the War Was Over*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986, p. 261.

¹³ Author's interviews with 87 Cham Muslims in many villages in Kampong Cham, Kandal, Kampong Chhnang, Kampot, Kratie, Koh Kong, and Sihanoukville. Almost all had been evacuated from the villages where they were born, and were called "new people."

¹⁴ Kiernan, Ben, *The Pol Pot Regime*, op. cit., p. 458.

¹⁵ Author's interview with Tes El, Math El, and Res Tort, at Koh Phal village, Peus 2 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 19 February 2000.

Youk Chhang's interview with Sman Kaji, age 55, at Village 5 (Svay Khleang village), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch



The Khmer Rouge did not aim to erase only Islam; they considered all religions to be reactionary.¹⁶ However, they did set as a main goal the implementation of measures to “sweep away” the ethnic Cham and Islam. This is illustrated by the case of Uknha Sos Kamry, who the Khmer Rouge made responsible for overseeing 400 children in Cheyyau subdistrict, Chamkar Leu district, Kampong Cham province, without realizing he was Cham. One day during 1977 he was called to a secret meeting in Bos Khnaor village in the same district. Forty trusted members of Angkar were present at the meeting, which was to discuss plans to smash the enemy. Kamry heard the meeting chairman say, “The enemies of Angkar come in many categories, but the biggest enemies are the Cham. The plan is to destroy them all before 1980.”¹⁷ Later Kamry read a book entitled *The Advanced Cooperative Plan*, which stated: “The targeted enemy are the Cham. They must all be destroyed before 1980.”¹⁸

As one example, in late 1978, the Khmer Rouge gathered all those accused of “crimes,” both Cham and Khmer, into a house in Trea village, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province. All the prisoners were asked one question: “Cham or Khmer?” Those answering Cham were sent to one side and the Khmer to the other. All of the Khmer prisoners were released. All but six of the approximately 100 Cham prisoners disappeared. The six - No Satah, Sleh Yan, Sleh Sarah, Mao Maisom, Tam Jouk, and Ahmad Sofiyah - survived because they lied and said they were Khmer.¹⁹

The number of Cham relocated to other areas during the Khmer Rouge regime indicates that Cham were killed in all localities throughout the country. The majority

Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 13 November 1999.

¹⁶ Author’s interviews with:

Math Ly, op. cit. Ly recalled the eight-point plan of the Khmer Rouge.

Zakariya Adam, op. cit. He stated, “I assume the Khmer Rouge aimed to destroy all religion in the country, not just Islam, Buddhism, and Catholicism.”

The Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, Article 15, Section 20.

¹⁷ Author’s interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 10 October 1999.

¹⁸ Sos Kamry read this book while he visited a Cheyyo subdistrict chief in Chamkar Leu district, Kampong Cham province. Author’s interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 10 October 1999.

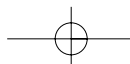
¹⁹ Author’s interviews with:

No Satah, age 44, at Village 5 (Svay Khleang village), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 5 December 2000.

Sleh Sarah, age 46, at Village 5 (Svay Khleang village), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 15 December 2000.

Mao Maisom, age 44, at Khse Luos village, Trea subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 6 February 2001.

Tam Jouk, age 43, at Khsach Praches Kandal village, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 8 February



of Cham in Kampong Cham province were moved to malarial areas inside Kampong Cham and Kampong Thom provinces.²⁰ On 16-18 April 1975, a number of Cham and Khmer living near Phnom Penh were moved to Sa-ang and Muk Kampoul district of Kandal province; three or four months later, they were moved again to Preah Vihear and Battambang province.²¹ The majority of Cham in Prey Nup district of Kampot province (now Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville) were evacuated to Kampong Speu and Kampong Chhnang provinces.²² The majority of Cham around the Kampot provincial capital were sent to the Touk Meas and Chhouk districts of that province.²³ All provinces of Cambodia received at least some (and in some cases, many) Cham evacuees. The corpses of 400,000 to 500,000 Cham who died during the regime are scattered throughout the country, and everywhere there are mass graves with Cham remains included among the others. Of the 14,000 prisoners held in Phnom Penh's S-21,²⁴ 42 were Cham and 40 were Muslims from outside the country.²⁵

2001.

Ahmad Sofiyah, age 40, at Khsach Praches Kandal village, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 25 January 2001.

²⁰ Youk Chhang's interview with Sman Kaji, op. cit.

Author's interviews with three elders of Koh Phal village: Tes El, Math El, and Res Tort, op. cit.

²¹ Author's interviews with:

Math Naury, age 47, at his home No. 1AB, Street 428, Sangkat Boeng Trabek, Khan Chamkar Mon, Phnom Penh, 21 April 2000. Naury was evacuated from Prek Pra, Phnom Penh, to Koh Thom and later to Preah Vihear province.

Ly Sman, age 65, at his home at Kilo 8, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 12 March 2000. Sman was evacuated from Chroy Changvar to Koh Thom and then to Preah Vihear province.

Math Dullah, op. cit., 21 March 2000. Dullah was a base person at Cham Leu and saw the second evacuation of the new people from Phnom Penh to Preah Vihear and Battambang province. At that time, the Cham in Prek Thmei subdistrict were beginning to be evacuated, but to nearby villages.

Author's interview with Haji Abutalep, age 57, Hakem of Kien Khleang village, Chroy Changvar, Phnom Penh, at Kien Khleang village, 3 December 1999. Abutalep was evacuated from Chroy Changvar to Prek Phdao in Rokar Kaong 1 subdistrict of Muk Kampoul and later to Battambang province.

The Fight to Liberate Phnom Penh, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00710.

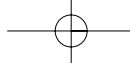
²² Author's interviews with Younus Yafaetr, Mah Yam, Tep Math, Lep Tort, and Sa Saleh, op. cit.

²³ Author's interviews with: Haji Abutalep Aiyap, op. cit., Mussa Hausan, Abupakae Ismael, and El Tort, op. cit., and Yakaup Mussa and Sae Oumaet, op. cit.

²⁴ Please see the appendix for details.

²⁵ Youk Chhang, "The Poisonous Hill that was Tuol Sleng," *Phnom Penh Post*, May 3-15, 1997. The prison execution logs, biographies, confessions, and other records indicate that there were at least 14,000 victims at S-21. "More than 14,000 men, women and children passed through the gates of S-21 before being executed by the Khmer Rouge, their bodies dumped at Choeung Ek on the outskirts of town."

Vann Nath, *A Cambodian Prison Portrait*. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998, page 1. Nath was one of seven S-21 survivors who escaped in 1979.



Of the 42 Cham prisoners named in the table on the next page, this paper presents the cases of 13 for whom there is sufficient documentation for study and research. They are:

- ◆ seven Khmer Rouge soldiers (Him Man, Sa Math, Mae Math, Man Math, Roun Math, Sman Sleh, and Man Tech)
- ◆ two Lon Nol government officials (Chek Brahim and Haji Saleh Yahya)
- ◆ one student who had resided in Peking (Ismael Ahmad)
- ◆ one person who fled to the forests (Tep Yunus)
- ◆ one Khmer Rouge interrogation cadre from S-21 (Sim Mel)
- ◆ one fisherman (Samas Karim).

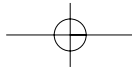
Each case is analyzed in terms of the reason for arrest, imprisonment, and execution by using confession documents discovered at the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes, which were verified using information supplied by family members and witnesses.

The stories of these 13 Cham S-21 prisoners may perhaps reflect the circumstances surrounding the deaths of other prisoners, as we discover the reasons for their arrests and transport to S-21 for execution. This is one step in the search for truth and justice to be presented to those who survived the KR regime and the families of the people killed at S-21 and other locations by the Khmer Rouge.

Chandler analyzed the number of prisoners at S-21 using many sources including Vann Nath, *op. cit.*; his interview with surviving prisoner Tin Chan; Ung Pech; Lionel Vairon's interview with Thach Chan, a typist at S-21; Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00017; and an interview with Ruy Nea Kung, a surviving prisoner. Chandler stated that "Between April 1975 and the first week of January 1979, at least 14,000 men, women and children were held at S-21." Chandler, David. P., *Voices From S-21*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1999, p. 6.

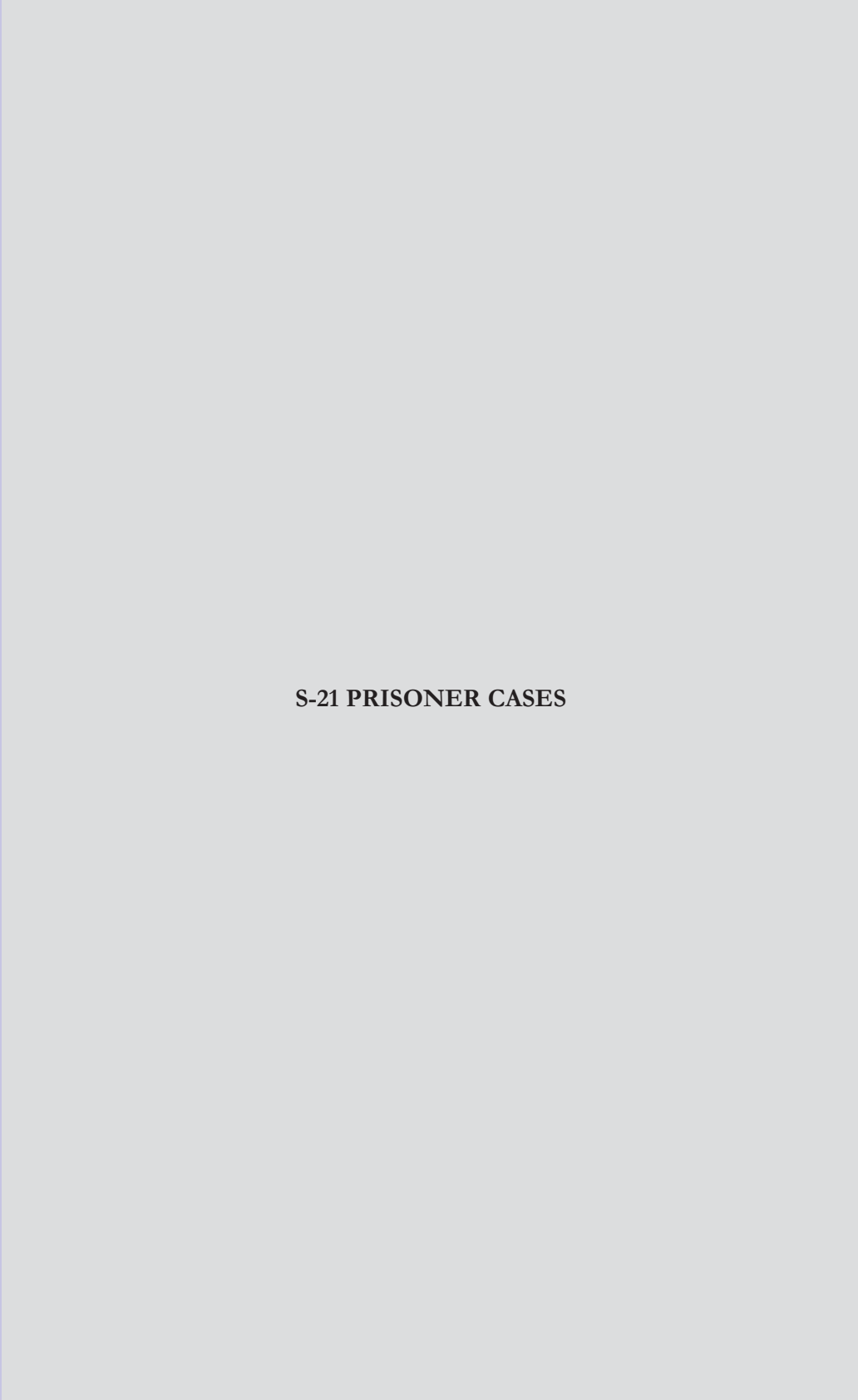
Cham Muslims Imprisoned at S-21, 1975-1979
(those whose names appear in italics are profiled in this paper)

Name	From	Entry Date	Execution Date	Source of Info.
<i>Chek Ibrahim</i>	Koh Thom, Kandal	24-1-76	26-5-76	D21897
El Man	Division 310	7-12-77	9-12-77	D21898
El Man	301st Battalion	30-4-77	8-?7-77	D21898
<i>Him Man</i>	Sa-ang, Kandal	22-7-75		D02673
Him Put	S-21 Kho	27-3-77	13-4-77	D21898
<i>Ismael Ahmad</i>	Sting Trang, Kampong Cham	2-1-77		I08450
Kaup Him	Region 505	27-12-78	31-12-78	D21899
Keo Ibrahim	Kampong Cham			K05839
Kufi	Battambang			K06975
Lep Math	Kampong Cham	12-2-77		I09797
Ly Leh	Division 290	28-8-77	15-10-77	D21898
<i>Mae Math</i>	Factory K1	4-1-77	18-10-77	D21898
<i>Man Math</i>	State Commerce	?-10-75		I09069
Man Sim	Division 310	4-12-76	17-3-77	D21898
<i>Man Tech</i>	S-21Kho	17-6-78		K02614
Man Ya	Kampong Cham	?-7-76		I09371
Math El	Battambang	13-2-76	10-6-76	I09197
Math Leh	Kampong Cham	27-1-78		D02661
Math Loh	Kampong Cham	13-2-76		K05804
Math Loh	Kampong Cham	10-2-76		I09197
Math Man	Northeastern Zone	25-10-77	4-11-77	D21898
Math Sah	Pochentong	27-3-76	27-5-76	D21897
Math Tam	S-21		27-8-77	D21898
Maut Hiet	Battambang	19-6-78		K04373
Mohammad	Kandal	5-1-76		K06688
<i>Roun Math</i>	Koh Thom, Kandal	?-9-75		D02674
Sa Loh	Hospital P260		3-8-77	D21898
Sa Math	Eastern Zone	28-8-78	2-9-78	D21899
<i>Sa Math</i>	Koh Thom, Kandal	?-11-75		D02676
Saleh Hiet	Battambang	18-6-78		D02681
<i>Saleb Yahya</i>	Muk Kampoul		2-5-76	D21897
<i>Samas Karim</i>	Prek Phneou	8-1-76	27-5-76	D21897
<i>Sim Mel</i>	S-21 Kho		30-4-78	D21899
Sman Ny	S-21	28-6-77	29-6-77	D21898
<i>Sman Sleb</i>	Koh Thom, Kandal	?-11-75		D02676
Sman Sok	Office V 66	5-6-77	3-7-77	D21898
Soh	Kandal			K05756
Soh Math	Water Truck	15-6-77	3-7-77	D21898
Soh Tort	Kampong Cham	12-1-77		I08540
<i>Tep Yunus</i>	Kampong Som	20-5-76	10-6-76	D21897
Ya Man	S-21Kho		27-8-77	D21898
Yeu Math	S-21	22-2-77	12-5-77	D21898

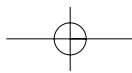
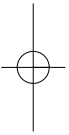


10

Oukoubah



S-21 PRISONER CASES



Ismael Ahmad**1**

Ismael Ahmad was born in Thmei village, Popel subdistrict, Ponhea Krek (formerly Tbaung Khmum) district, Kampong Cham province. His father was Ly Ismael and his mother Sarifah. Ahmad began religious studies in 1953, and on 20 August 1967, passed his examinations to study Islam in Egypt, where he stayed for six years. In 1970 Ahmad changed his field of study from religion to mechanics. In April 1973 he arrived in Peking, but nothing is known of what he did there. On 27 October 1975, Ahmad and ten other students were called back to Phnom Penh by the Khmer Rouge Front Organization in Peking, after which he returned to Cambodia. Then Angkar sent Ahmad to Preah Andaung village in Region 42.²⁶

On 22 December 1976, Ahmad and 25 other Cambodians who had studied or worked in Peking were rounded up and transported from the base areas to Region 42 of the Central Zone; from there, they were to be sent to Phnom Penh. The designated gathering place was Akmok village (also known as Speu village) in Cheyyau subdistrict, Chamkar Leu district, Kampong Cham province. On 23 December 1976 they traveled to Phnom Penh, where they were sent to live at the Khmer-Soviet Technical School. On 2 January 1977, Ahmad was arrested and sent to S-21.²⁷

After his arrival at S-21, Ahmad was interrogated by Soeun from 31 January through 16 February 1977.²⁸ During those 17 days, Ahmad provided 88 pages of testimony, 68 of which were dated and signed "Ismael Ahmad."²⁹

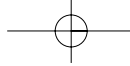
²⁶ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02673. See the section entitled "Personal History."

²⁷ Ibid.

The 1977 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21898.

²⁸ Soeun interrogated 20 prisoners at S-21. Lach Vorleak Kalyan, S-21 Interrogators: 1975-1979, Documentation Center of Cambodia, Unpublished Report, October 1999, pp. 75-76.

²⁹ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit.



According to the List of Prisoners Categorized as Students and Officials from Overseas, prepared by former S-21 prisoner Ung Pech, 184 students and officials from 22 countries were detained at S-21 Prison.³⁰ Ismael Ahmad was number 92 on the list dated 2 January 1977, where he was described as a “student from Peking.”³¹

None of the witnesses interviewed for this study knew why Ahmad and the other students were sent from Peking to Cambodia.³² Ahmad’s confessions stated that many students in Peking who lived under the control of the Front Organization conspired secretly to create treasonous connections through Sith, the leader of the Front’s student group, and Chem Snguon, who worked in the embassy in Tanzania in 1973, where he led “traitorous forces.”³³ According to Ahmad’s confession, the students were sent back to Cambodia to meet Hou Youn, the CIA chief in Cambodia.³⁴ But in fact, Hou Youn was a member of Parliament for the Kampong Cham in 1958 and in 1972 was the Minister of Interior for the Reform of Base Areas and Cooperatives of Sihanouk’s government in exile, and a member of the Politburo of the Kampuchean National Unification Front.³⁵ According to Math Ly, a former permanent member of the Khmer Rouge National Assembly and permanent member of the Khmer Rouge Tbaung Khmum District Committee, the Khmer Rouge killed Hou Youn because he opposed Pol Pot’s creation of cooperatives and the evacuation of the populace.³⁶

In his confession, Ahmad related what happened to him when he first returned to Cambodia: “On 27 October 1975 the Front Organization permitted our return to the country. On that same day we all reached Phnom Penh. After arrival in Phnom Penh, Angkar had us stay at the General Staff for three days. Later Angkar took us to a place near the Independence Monument. After we had been in Phnom Penh half a month, Angkar sent us to the countryside. We all first went to Region 42, and then split up among the various districts.”³⁷

³⁰ The 22 countries and 184 persons are broken down as follows: France, 97; USA, 26; Russia, 23; Peking, 6; Germany, 4; Canada, 1; Algeria, 2; Australia, 1; Switzerland, 1; Japan, 1; Malaysia, 1; Vietnam, 2; Yugoslavia, 2; Czechoslovakia, 2; Laos, 2; Albania, 1; Romania, 1; Egypt, 1; Saudi Arabia, 2; Tanzania, 2; Korea, 2; and 4 from unidentified countries. Ung Pech, List of Prisoners Categorized as Students and Officials from Overseas, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00149.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Author’s interviews with ten people. Four were relatives of Ahmad at Thmei village. Six others lived with Ahmad during the Khmer Rouge era at Peam village, Peam Koh Sna subdistrict (former Preah Anduang subdistrict) and at Preah Anduang village, Preah Anduang subdistrict, Stung Trang district, Kampong Cham province.

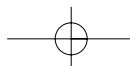
³³ *The Confession of Youk Chantha, First Secretary of Chem Snguon at the Kampuchean Embassy in Tanzania*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D13833. Chem Snguon was Minister of Justice of the Kingdom of Cambodia from 1993-1998 and Second Deputy Chairman, Kingdom of Cambodia, in 1998. He died of natural causes in 1999.

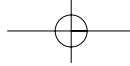
³⁴ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Ahmad’s Activities Overseas.”

³⁵ Summers, Laura, *Indochina Chronicle* (a publication of the Indochina Resource Center), Issue 17, 1 July 1972.

³⁶ Author’s interview with Math Ly, op. cit.

³⁷ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Ahmad Returns to Cambodia.”





Ahmad's confession stated: "Angkar had me go to live in Sting Trang district, Preah Anduang subdistrict, Preah Andaung village" in Kampong Cham province. However, eight people who lived in Preah Andaung village during the Pol Pot era were interviewed for this study, and none of them knew of a man named Ahmad.³⁸ They stated that two students from overseas were sent to live in their village, and two others were sent to the nearby villages of Khpop Ta Nguon and Tuol Rokar.

Chhin Phen lived in a house with two of the students in Preah Andaung village. She stated that "Sometime during late 1975 four (students) named Sok, Run and two others, Hak at Khpop Ta Nguon and Vuth at Tuol Rokar ... Sok and Run, when they first came, came to live at my house."³⁹

However, a Cham named El Lei had been evacuated to Preah Andaung village and knew Ahmad from birth. He recalled that the Khmer Rouge changed Ahmad's ethnic Cham name to the Khmer-style name of Sok.⁴⁰ Apparently, Ahmad had tried to hide his ethnicity to prevent suspicion among the villagers that he was anything other than ethnic Khmer.⁴¹ But after being interrogated multiple times at S-21, Ahmad confessed his true identity.⁴² (Ahmad's siblings and other family members who still reside in

³⁸ Author's interviews with:

Sorn Keo, age 56, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 15 December 1999.

Chheng Trim, age 69, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 16 December 1999.

Chhin Phen, age 59, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Preah Andaung district, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 16 December 1999.

Um Rin, age 66, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.

Lay Kuy, age 61, at Peam village, Peam Koh Sna subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.

Lach, age 64, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 15 December 1999.

Uy Meng, age 67, at Peam village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.

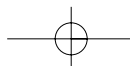
El Lei, age 48, at Sangkum Thmei village, Sralop subdistrict, Tbaung Khmum district, Kampong Cham province, 13 December 1999.

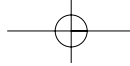
³⁹ Author's interview with Chhin Phen, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Author's interview with El Lei, op. cit.

⁴¹ Ahmad did not tell villagers or friends that he was Cham, but told them that he was born in Phnom Penh. They all knew him as "Sok." Author's interviews with Chhin Phen, Sorn Keo, and Chheng Trim, op. cit.

⁴² *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit.





Thmei village were interviewed for this study, but said that they did not know a “Sok” at all.⁴³)

Ahmad lived in Preah Andaung village from November 1975 until July 1976, when Angkar required him to move to Peam village in the same district, where he stayed until December 1976.⁴⁴ Chheng Trim, who lived with and was close to Ahmad in Preah Andaung village, stated that, “He [Sok] left here for Peam. Before he left he said he would not forget me, and he would send me letters.” I haven’t seen him at all since he left ... he has never returned. When he met them [people from Preah Andaung village] he sent word through them that he did not dare come to visit. He was afraid of them [the Khmer Rouge]. He dared not travel.”⁴⁵

Sorn Keo, who lived in Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province during the Pol Pot era, met and knew Ahmad as “Sok.” He stated “Sometime in late 1976 ... until the appointed time Angkar gathered up the students and took them to upper echelon to carry out duties for Angkar in Phnom Penh ... He [Ahmad] came to say farewell to me and told me that Angkar was taking him back to Phnom Penh.”⁴⁶

Ahmad described his departure with the other students for Phnom Penh as if he knew nothing at all of the reasons for his removal. “On the 21 December 1976, Elder Brother But [the chief of Preah Andaung subdistrict] told me that Angkar had called me back to Phnom Penh.” Ahmad continued: “On 21 December 1976, I departed Peam village, Sangkat Preah Andaung [Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province] toward Speu [Cheyyau subdistrict, Chamkar Leu district, Kampong Cham province]. Upon reaching Speu I met one after another with other students from Peking like myself and with persons who had worked in the Front in Peking. On the morning of 22 December 1976 everyone from all the base areas met together. On the afternoon of 22 December we all departed Speu for Kampong Cham. On the morning of 23 December we left Kampong Cham for Phnom Penh. Upon arrival in Phnom Penh Angkar had us stay in Soviet instructor housing at the Khmer-Soviet Technical School.” Finally in his confession, Ahmad stated: “On the 2 January 1977 Angkar arrested me.”⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that Ahmad understood the Khmer Rouge

⁴³ Author’s interviews with:

El Kho, Rasinah, Maisom, and Salimah, the younger sisters of Ahmad, at Thmei village, Popel subdistrict, Ponhea Krek district, Kampong Cham province, 12 December 1999.

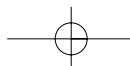
It Tam, age 61, the toun of Ahmad at Thmei village, Popel subdistrict, Ponhea Krek district, Kampong Cham province, 12 December 1999.

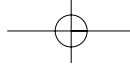
⁴⁴ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Ahmad Comes Back to Live in Cambodia.”

⁴⁵ Author’s interview with Chheng Trim, op. cit.

⁴⁶ Author’s interview with Sorn Keo, op. cit.

⁴⁷ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Ahmad Returns to Live in Cambodia.”





deceit: he was initially told that he was being “called back” to Phnom Penh, but bluntly stated in his confession that “Angkar arrested me.”

Ahmad’s “Rebel Forces and Rebel Connections” chart, which is found in his confessions,⁴⁸ contains the names of 56 persons who he said were his co-conspirators. The names appear in two categories: 24 were people Ahmad claimed to have recruited when he lived in Peam village and Preah Andaung village. The other 32 were rebel connections in Peking. According to this chart, 26 of the 32 people had returned to Cambodia after 1975, 7 of the 26 had been arrested and 19 were still residing at the Khmer-Soviet Technical School. Six other Cambodians were still living in Peking (there is no information available on whether or not they returned to Cambodia during 1975-79).⁴⁹

According to Ung Pech’s List of Prisoners Categorized as Students and Officials from Overseas, only six students and officials from Peking were arrested, taken to S-21, and killed. Among those six were Ahmad and two others shown on Ahmad’s list as “already arrested.” However, two others on Pech’s list “are residing at the Khmer-Soviet Technical School in Phnom Penh.” Thus, it appears that the 19 students at the Technical School were later arrested and taken to S-21 as well. The final name on Ung Pech’s list was a student from Peking, but this name did not appear in Ahmad’s confession.⁵⁰

According to an interview with Chhin Phen, there were three students aside from Sok (Ahmad): Run at Preah Anduang village, Hak at Khpop Ta Nguon village, and Vuth at Khpop Rokar village in Sting Trang district. These three names appear on Ahmad’s “Rebel Forces and Connections” list, showing that “Hak was arrested and Run and Vuth were at the Khmer-Soviet Technical School.”⁵¹ According to the author’s research, all of Ahmad’s rebel connections had lived overseas, including those who had returned to Cambodia and those who had not, and only 2 of the 32 escaped the DK regime: Chem Snguon and Kae Sreng.⁵²

Interviews with villagers in Preah Anduang and Peam revealed that 14 of the 24 people in Ahmad’s “domestic network” escaped being killed by the Khmer Rouge. Of the five “network” members interviewed for this study, only one claimed to have known Ahmad (Sok). The four others said they never knew “Sok” at all. When asked if they had ever carried out rebel activity or if they were ever induced by anyone to do

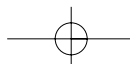
⁴⁸ Please see p. 126 in the Appendix for a translation of this chart.

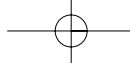
⁴⁹ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Forces and Traitor Connections.”

⁵⁰ Ung Pech, *Prisoners Categorized as Students and Officials from Overseas*, op. cit.

⁵¹ *The Confession of Ismael Ahmad*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Forces and Traitor Connections.”

⁵² Author’s interview with Sat Sen, age 61, at Thmei village, Popel subdistrict, Ponhea Krek (formerly Tbaung Khmum) district, Kampong Cham province, 12 December 1999. He stated the Kae Sreng today lives in France. Sat Sen was also a *town* of Ahmad.





so during the Pol Pot era, none could think of any mistakes he had committed against Angkar or any so-called treason. Uy Meng stated, "I never did such a thing at all, never wanted to run off to join any party ... I never knew Sok. If I had known him I would tell you." As for Lay Kuy, "I never knew Sok, didn't know him, can't even recall him... I never had any intention to run off anywhere, or had any network...I never even complained about Angkar, did not dare criticize." Lach and Yan also denied any rebel connection, asking what could they say when they did not even know who Sok was. Only Sorn Keo knew Sok. He stated that they had only ordinary exchanges, such as complaining of being tired and rundown, or that the duties assigned by Angkar were too heavy. But Sorn Keo answered the same as the others, "I never rebelled or made those mistakes."⁵³

According to Ahmad's confession: "I knew and understood their hearts for a time. I carried out the directions of the CIA outside after I returned to the country. I incited the people." Given this admission and the totally contradictory statements of witnesses concerning their "rebel activities," Chheng Trim was asked whether Ahmad committed rebellion. She stated, "When it was time to go to work, Sok went with me. They always called Sok and me mother and child. I saw that he did not eat pork, that he was Cham." (Sok never told Chheng Trim that he was Cham.) Trim continued, "He seemed never to do anything wrong, he was gentle and well-informed, he was good and knew what was what... I believe that he would not dare [rebel]."⁵⁴

The statements of Chheng Trim and those who Ahmad claimed were "network" members imply that Ahmad had not actually carried out any rebel acts against Angkar.

One may thus deduce that the section of Ahmad's confession, "Rebel Activities and Forces," was not stated truthfully.

Chem Snguon was Minister of Justice of the Kingdom of Cambodia from 1993-1998 and Second Deputy Chairman of the National Assembly, Kingdom of Cambodia, in 1998. He died of natural causes in 1999.

⁵³ Author's interviews with:

Uy Meng, *op. cit.*

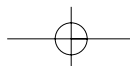
Lay Kuy, *op. cit.*

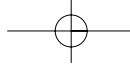
Lach, *op. cit.*

Sorn Keo, *op. cit.*

Yan, at Peam village, Peam Koh Sna subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.

⁵⁴ Author's interview with Chheng Trim, *op. cit.*





Haji Saleh Yahya 2

“If uncle [I am] is to die now, keep struggling, nephew. Ask them to [let you] do the *somyang mayit* [funeral prayers] over my corpse.”⁵⁵ So Saleh Yahya whispered to his nephew after being beaten and interrogated while imprisoned at the Khmer Rouge Muk Kampoul district security site, the Damrei Sar Pagoda Prison.⁵⁶

Saleh Yahya was born in Chroy Changvar, Phnom Penh in 1922. His father Saleh and his mother Khadijah were well schooled in Islam.⁵⁷ His younger brother Math Saleh Slaiman was Second Mufti during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era.⁵⁸ His wife Aminah and their seven children⁵⁹ were killed during the Khmer Rouge regime.

⁵⁵ According to Islam, proper ceremonies must be performed prior to burial to ask Allah that the deceased be blessed.

“When the Khmer Rouge rose to power, one religious custom forbidden was the wake and funeral ... That they [the families] could not mourn the loss of their loved ones and conduct important sacred rituals has left them with open wounds on their hearts.” Mam Kalyanee, *Family Life Under the Democratic Kampuchea regime*, Unpublished Manuscript, Documentation Center of Cambodia, 1998, p 36.

The Qur-ān states that the corpse itself has no purpose, but must be buried according to the proper procedures and prayers (*Sampayang Mayit*). When one had taken his last breath, the soul does not die, but awaits the judgment of Allah on the day the world ends. When Judgment Day comes, no plant or animal may live on the earth; each will return to what it was prior to creation. Then all souls will gather for judgment according to the merit each has created when alive on earth. The good will go to heaven, the bad to hell. From then on nothing will change, but will remain as it is forever.

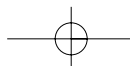
According to the *Virak Sangkahak* (a Buddhist text describing aid), the soul of one about to die cannot begin a new incarnation if the soul's owner has not drawn his or her final breath. The *Visothimeak* section of the *Vinay Beidak* (a Buddhist text describing discipline) states that the corpse is to be taken to a place call *Pachha* (crematorium) to be eaten by animals in order to transmute from human to animal. The *Preah Boromakru* (Buddha) states that only the Enlightened one was to be cremated so that the remains could be distributed among the faithful. See Chhang Song, “Two Miraculous Things,” *Searching for the truth*, Number 6-7, June-July 2000, Documentation Center of Cambodia.

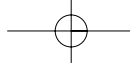
⁵⁶ Author's interview with Haji Abdul Majet bin Abdullah, Hakem at Kaulalaom Mosque, Chroy Changvar, Phnom Penh, 2 December 1999.

⁵⁷ Author's interview with Tauny Sauny at Village 3 (Chroy Changva Khong), Sangkat Chroy Changvar, Khan Russei Keo, Phnom Penh, 2 December 1999.

⁵⁸ Author's interview with Sulaiman Hafisoh, age 46, at Chroy Changvar, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999.

⁵⁹ *The Confession of Haji Saleh Yahya*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02662, states that Yahya and his wife had 7 children. But Tauny Sauny stated: “Yahya had more than ten children. But four surviving children





As Yahya grew up, he studied Islam and general knowledge in Chroy Changvar, where he lived until the evacuation of 17 April 1975. An accomplished man, he was one of 40 senators chaired by So Kham Khoy in the Khmer Republic of Marshal Lon Nol. In 1965 he participated in the Islamic African-Asian Conference in Indonesia,⁶⁰ and in 1966 went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. In the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, Yahya was Chief of the Personnel and Accounting Office and Under Secretary of State of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In 1967 he ran for election for the Sangkum Reastr Niyum Party in the Krek constituency of Kampong Cham province.

At 10:00 pm on 6 December 1975, Yahya was arrested at his home in Kohe village, Rokar Kaong 1 subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province, and placed in the Damrei Sar Prison in Rokar Kaong 1 subdistrict.⁶¹ The Khmer Rouge used this pagoda and the nearby Serimongkol Junior High School as their security office.⁶²

During the Khmer Rouge era, Damrei Sar pagoda was known as the Muk Kampoul district security office. After 1979 Damrei Sar was almost totally unrecognizable as a pagoda: there were no Buddha images, monks, nuns or novices there. On the pile of bricks the villagers saw chains, shackles and human feces, and the surrounding temple walls were stained red with the not-yet faded blood of victims. The people cleaned up the blood and feces, made repairs and carved the words “Serimongkol pagoda” in the entranceway, which remain there today. The majority of the people now refer to the temple as “Damrei Sar pagoda.”⁶³

Almost all the prisoners sent to Damrei Sar in early 1976 were connected with the rebellion of 22 November 1975 (see below). The prisoners were tortured, forced to confess to rebel activities,⁶⁴ and then killed. A number of important prisoners were

(before the Pol Pot era) and another adopted child makes five. They were named Sainop, Saly, Suftaet, Maiya and the adopted Hakim.” Author’s interview with Tauny Sauny, op. cit.

⁶⁰ *The Confession of Haji Saleh Yahya*, op. cit.

⁶¹ Yahya wrote: “On the evening of 6 December 1975 at 10:00 pm Angkar arrested me at home at Kohe village and took me to Damrei Sar pagoda at Rokar Kaong.” Ibid.

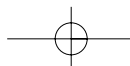
⁶² Author’s interview with Haji Abdul Majet bin Abdullah, op. cit.

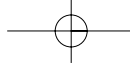
The Confession of Haji Saleh Yahya, op. cit.

See the *Report of Research on the Mass Graves of Muk Kampoul District*, 15 June 1998, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number 080703.

⁶³ Author’s interview with Chuong Chim, age 60, at La Et village, Prek Dambang subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province, 12 January 2000.

⁶⁴ On September 25, 1976, Comrade Pon, chief of S-21 interrogators, reported on his activities to Duch, saying “On September 25, we received orders from Angkar to torture. In the morning, we started to torture about 20 lashes in the morning with small rattan. In the afternoon the torture was 20-30 lashes of a whip of three strands of electric wires.” Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D07331. On 1 October 1976 Duch answered in a note to Pon: “With this Ya, you may use hot methods strongly and at length, and even if you slip-up and he dies, you will not be held in violation of Angkar’s discipline ... If he continues to hide his traitorous connections and activities, Angkar





sent from Damrei Sar to S-21, where their final confessions were taken.⁶⁵

After Yahya was transferred to S-21, he was interrogated⁶⁶ by comrade Leng of the “Elder Brother Mon Tauch” team at S-21.⁶⁷ His undated 54-page confession includes: a personal history, history of duties, treasonous activity, and treasonous networks. As for treasonous activities, Yahya wrote that he “incited Islamic siblings in Kohe village. As a result, we Islamic brothers demonstrated on 22 November 1975 at Kohe village along with our local Khmer brothers.” Yahya also described various unusual events that he faced, such as his departure from home on 17 April 1975 with 13 members of his family. They traveled along Highway 5 with the hordes of people leaving Phnom Penh, crossing the Tonle Sap River at Prek Kdam, and arrived at Kohe village on 28 April 1975. (Not one of the Cham people evacuated along with Yahya survived the Khmer Rouge regime. Many died at Phum Kohe and Pursat.) Yahya documented the time and place of his arrest, “on the evening of 6 December 1975 Angkar arrested me at home in Kohe village and placed me in Damrei Sar temple in Rokar Kaong.”⁶⁸

Yahya divided his rebel network and contacts into three categories: upper-level connections (six people who trained him to conduct rebel activities),⁶⁹ connections in his same echelon (eleven people trained by the same ringleaders who trained Yahya in rebel activities),⁷⁰ and subordinate connections (six people Yahya said he organized to

has decided that he be killed.” Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D07321.

⁶⁵ Author’s interview with Tit Tum, age 47, at Prek Phdao village, Rokar Kaong 1 subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province, 4 December 1999.

⁶⁶ “The purpose of torture is to get their responses, not for entertainment. So, make them hurt so they will answer quickly. Be rough to frighten them, to break them, that is beat them but absolutely not to kill them. When torturing (you) must consider their health. Inspect the whip. Don’t rush and cause them to die without getting a confession.” “Methods of Interrogation,” in *Statistics of Santebal S-21, Politics, Attitude, Organization*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D06936.

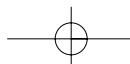
⁶⁷ “Prisoners at S-21 lacked hygiene so there was contagious disease transmission. When the weather was very hot, sweat mixed with the blood of the wounds of torture, and insect bites covered their bodies, causing skin disease and a smell worse than that of animals. Already ill, they became more so, and prisoners often died in the prison.” *Ung Pech’s Report*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D0018. Ung Pech was an S-21 prisoner who survived his incarceration.

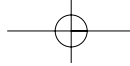
⁶⁸ Mit Leng interrogated 33 prisoners at S-21. Lach Vorleak Kalyan, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

⁶⁹ *The Confession of Haji Saleh Yahya*, op. cit.

⁷⁰ Sau Kham Khaoy, former chairman of the senate; Leh Kosem, former brigadier general at the Ministry of Defense; El Brahim, former commander of the Royal Military Police; Chek Brahim, former colonel; Math Slaiman, former colonel; and Hem Charoeun, former deputy chairman of the Senate. Khaoy and Kosem fled the country before 17 April 1975. Chek Brahim was arrested and sent to S-21. Slaiman and El Brahim were among those who died during the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

⁷¹ All eleven were members of the Lon Nol Senate: Ing Hoeung, Ngao Suy, Kim San, Ros Saret, Chheang, Sok Saun, Nong Chhum, Lim Sie, Sam Sokhom, Tep Hun, and Ngaot Hien.





carry out rebel activities).⁷¹ Of these 21 connections, 10 were Cham.⁷² The author's research found that only one of those ten Cham, Les Kosem, fled Cambodia in time to escape death.

There are no sources that describe the reason for Yahya's arrest. His confession, however, contains the statement that "The Cham people's movement rebelled on 22 November 1975 in Rokar Kaong subdistrict."⁷³

Tit Tum remembered the cause of this large anti-Khmer Rouge rebellion: "the base people and new people that were Chinese and Cham had the idea that they weren't being given enough to eat and could not travel, so they created the Khmer Sa [White Khmer] to rise up and rebel." Haji Abutalep also claimed that the people created a resistance organization called the "Khmer Sa." Hundreds of Khmer, Cham, and Chinese joined this movement. Initially the rebel forces captured five or six Khmer Rouge cadre and seized a weapons warehouse. Firefights broke out for a day between the resistance movement and Khmer Rouge soldiers sent in from Muk Kampoul district and Phnom Penh.⁷⁴

Haji Abutalep personally saw these events. He recalled that the rebellion materialized first at Prek Phdao village (where he was living) and Kohe village (the location of a Khmer Rouge weapons warehouse that the rebels captured). Abutalep said "There was shooting, the people were carrying weapons and ammunition, and young people who had been Lon Nol soldiers were doing the firing." At the same time in neighboring Prek Koy subdistrict of Kang Meas district, Kampong Cham province, a related people's rebellion was planned. Tum stated that the people did not intend to do this only in Rokar Kaong subdistrict; people in the Eastern Zone and Kang Meas district also planned to rise up on 24 November 1975 (their leaders had infiltrated the Khmer Rouge). But because of confused information exchanges, the infiltrators in Rokar Kaong began before the others.⁷⁵

There were two survivors of the hundreds held in the Damrei Sar prison.

The first was Tit Tum, who was arrested and sent to Damrei Sar on charges of rebellion when he lived in Prek Phdao village, Rokar Kaong 1 subdistrict. After a one-

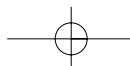
⁷¹ Abdul Hausang, former captain in Infantry Division 5; Lep Loh, former first lieutenant in Infantry Division 5; Norng Aung Math, formerly assigned to the Ministry of Customs and Excise Taxes; Him Man aka Haji Sulaiman, former Deputy Command Officer in the 5th Brigade; Math Sulaiman aka Haji Sulaiman Shukry, first deputy to Mufti; and Ly Mohammad, former Phnom Penh policeman. All six died during the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

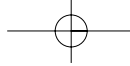
⁷² Les Kosem, El Prahim, Chek Brahim, Math Slaiman, Abdul Hausang, Lep Loh, Norng Aungmat, Sulaiman Shukry, Him Man, and Ly Mohammad.

⁷³ *The Confession of Haji Saleh Yahya*, op. cit. For clarification see p. 19.

⁷⁴ Author's interviews with Tit Tum and Haji Abutalep, op. cit.

⁷⁵ Ibid.





year detention there, he was released. He described himself as just skin and bones, his entire body covered with rashes. Tum stated, "I saw some people so hungry they caught grasshoppers and lizards to eat and they were beaten and kicked [by guards] for that." Tum also recalled that immediately after the 22 November uprising, all 18 classrooms in the Serimongkul junior high school were packed with 80 prisoners per cell and monk's dwelling. "Many prisoners were called from their cells by Angkar and told to plant rice, but not one of them ever returned," said Tum.⁷⁶

The second was Abdul Majet, who was held in a cell for 20 days at the Serimongkul junior high school because he had signed up to join a cooperative when he was evacuated from Chroy Changvar to Chroy Metrei village, Russei Chroy subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province. Majet revealed that he was a nephew of Yahya. He met and spoke with his uncle after Yahya's first interrogation session (Yahya was sent by his interrogator to the same cell in which Majet was held). Majet saw his uncle in great pain, "At about 5:00 pm he entered the cell. He saw me and collapsed and crawled over to me. There were about 30 of us in there. He kept moving a little at a time until he reached me, and he rested his head on my thighs. He held my hands to his head." Majet continued, "I touched his head and saw that it had become soft. I asked him what they had hit him with, and he answered that they had used a pistol." Majet recalled his uncle's last words for him to do a funeral prayer.⁷⁷

Yahya's whispered words were not yet finished when there was a shout from the door, "Do you see, yet, Saleh Yahya, [we've] looked for you for a long time. Now come outside and we will get to know one another." Then Majet looked outside and saw a soldier suddenly move toward him and drag Yahya outside the cell. "This time I only heard the sound of him screaming 'ee!, ee!, ee!' outside. A prisoner near the wall peeked out, seeing what I don't know, then suddenly collapsed in fright and fell back." From that time on Majet was separated from his uncle, and only after 1979 did he hear villagers say that they had seen Yahya's photograph at Tuol Sleng Museum.⁷⁸

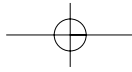
Yahya died at S-21 on 2 May 1976, after 4 months and 26 days of imprisonment. His cause of death was recorded as being "numb and worn-out."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Author's interview with Tit Tum, op. cit.

⁷⁷ Author's interview with Abdul Majet bin Abdullah, op. cit.

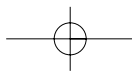
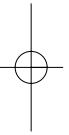
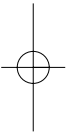
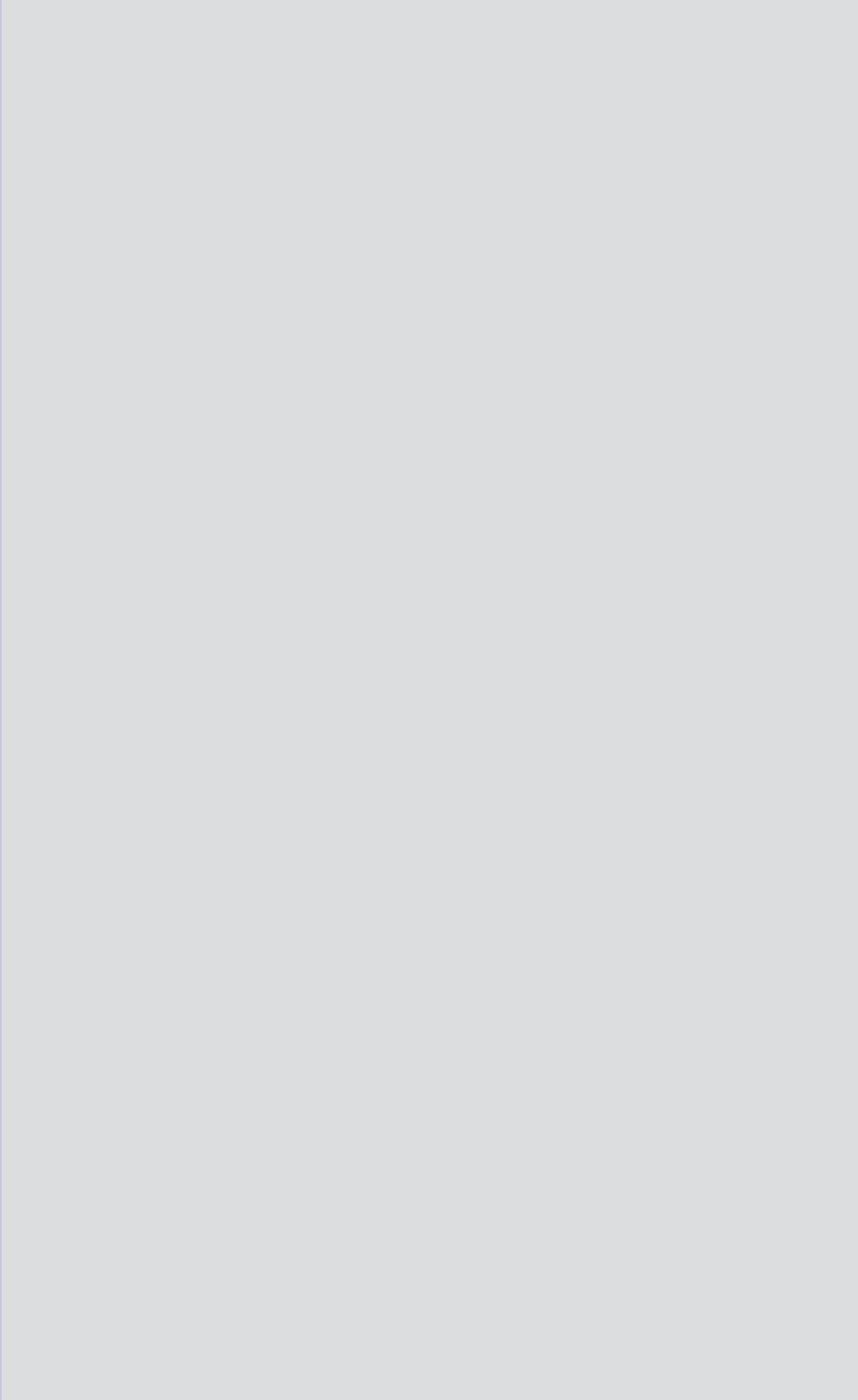
⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ See the 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21897, which shows that from 1 through 15 May 1976, 52 people died of disease at S-21. Yahya was number ten on the list. "10) Yi Saleh Yahya, from Region 22, worked at the Ministry of Religion, died 2-5-76, numb and worn-out."



22

Oukoubah



Chek Brahim 3

Chek Brahim was the son of Chek Leh (father) and Man Sah, who resided in Prek Ta Peou village, Prek Pra subdistrict, Khan Mean Chey, Phnom Penh. His three siblings were Math Zen, Chan Bopha, and Rahman.⁸⁰

Brahim entered the military in 1957, where he served in the 12th Battalion under the command of Colonel Koam Miech. He was regularly promoted and in 1970 was made a major and commander of the 182nd Battalion in the Phnom Penh Special Military Region of the Khmer Republic. In 1972 Brahim was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. He was removed from command in 1973, but held the same rank and served as a Cham researcher for General Les Kosem until 1975.⁸¹

Brahim was married three times to Khmer Buddhist women who converted to Islam. He had one daughter with his first wife Khauv Buoytieng, and five children by his second wife Man Kimchhiv. After separating from them, he married Toun Sarifah; they had no children. His second and third wives and five of the children are still alive. Before April 1975 Brahim lived in Tumnupeu Teuk village, Sangkat 15, Khan Tuol Kork, Phnom Penh. His house is still standing today.⁸²

On 17 April 1975, Brahim and many others were evacuated from Phnom Penh. He, Sarifah, all six of his children of his first and second wives, and his mother were sent to Po Tonle village, Koh Thom A subdistrict, Kandal province, where they stayed for about a week. Angkar then dispatched Brahim and Sarifah to live in Cham Leu village,

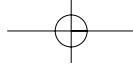
⁸⁰ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02687.

⁸¹ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit. See section entitled "Personal History."

Chek Kim Heng, the daughter of Chek Brahim and Khauv Buoytieng, was 15 in 1975. The five children of Brahim and Man Kimchhiv and their ages in 1975 were: 1) Chek Rosat, male, 15; 2) Chek Bauphany, female, 13; 3) Chek Sarida, female, 12; 4) Chek Saufiya, female, 9; and 5) Chek Salamy, male, 8.

Author's interview with Math Naury, op. cit.

⁸² Author's interview with Math Naury, op. cit.



Prek Thmei subdistrict in the same district.⁸³

After living in Cham Leu village for about two months, Brahim was required to move to a new place in accordance with his skills.⁸⁴ Three witnesses recalled this and how they had subsequently lost contact with him.

Math Dullah met Brahim when he was evacuated to the village. He stated that “While I was working with Brahim in the irrigation waterwheel house, Angkar came to get Brahim and asked Brahim what was his area of expertise so they could take him back there. They did not tie him up. They said he had a bachelor’s degree, but as far as I knew he did not. He walked off to change his clothes and left at once.”⁸⁵

Sou Ahmad knew Brahim prior to the Khmer Rouge era and was evacuated from Phnom Penh to Cham Leu village with him. Ahmad recalled: “Brahim made baskets with me. Pol Pot [meaning Khmer Rouge cadre] said in front of me that they were taking him to teach driving. Brahim had said he had been a driver. So they took him to teach driving ... Brahim went alone carrying a bag and wearing shorts and a short-sleeved shirt. They said it wasn’t necessary to take much along, he was only going to teach and would be on the move.” Ahmad added that “Brahim had said he was a driver, they had asked him two or three times... and they took him that afternoon ... when they [Khmer Rouge cadre] returned, I saw one of them [the cadre] wearing Brahim’s shirt.”⁸⁶

Math Naury claimed that he had known and respected Brahim from earlier times and that he himself had also been evacuated to Cham Leu village. He said, “When they called him [Brahim], he was in the house or near the house working bamboo. It was the time of high water. I saw when they walked him away. I was nearby. I saw Brahim and Peang Met walking with one other person, there was no soldier. The one who took him was wearing black pants and a black shirt.”⁸⁷

After the Khmer Rouge took Brahim from the village, his wife, children, and mother remained in Cham Leu village. They knew Brahim wasn’t taken away for the reason claimed by the Khmer Rouge because others had been taken away before, but no one ever returned. “When I met his [Brahim’s] mother and wife, I tried to keep them from worrying too much because they were both crying,” Dullah stated. According to Naury, “When they took him [Brahim], his wife and mother were hysterical. His wife

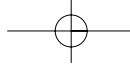
⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit. See section entitled “Activities after 17 April 1975.”

⁸⁵ Author’s interview with Math Dullah, op. cit., 7 November 1999 and 21 March 2000.

⁸⁶ Author’s interview with Sou Ahmad, age 69, at Kilo 8, Sangkat Chrang Chamres, Khan Russei Keo, Phnom Penh, 12 March 2000.

⁸⁷ Author’s interview with Math Naury, op. cit.



and children quit going out. They just stayed idle in the house.”⁸⁸

Brahim was taken to the prison in Kampong Kong village on the bank opposite Cham Leu village. In his confession, Brahim wrote, “At the stage that the revolutionary organization required me to live at the Kampong Kong Office (Munti), I did not tell the truth to all of our comrades there because I was confused. I was afraid of Angkar’s discipline. Only now do I honestly believe that the revolutionary organization wants loyalty so that we can cooperate easily in the future.”⁸⁹

Naury also stated: “I knew that they took Brahim to Kampong Kong because I slept with the militia every night, the Cham militia. The Cham militia had no rights, but they knew what was happening. I learned that they had taken Brahim to Kampong Kong through the militia.”⁹⁰

Him Leh had been held in the Kampong Kong prison for two years, on charges of moral violations and inciting the people to flee to Vietnam; later, he was released. Leh stated: “At that time they [the Khmer Rouge] had imprisoned me at Kampong Kong. One day late in 1975 I went to dig a canal at Vihear Tong. In the afternoon around 5:00 o’clock after I had returned I saw Brahim ... shackled near me, and we whispered to one another.” He continued, “at that time there were about 20 Cham there. I knew some of their names ... Chek Brahim. Khmer Rouge took him to cut wood with me, cut wood, work the irrigation wheel with me.”⁹¹

Leh described the living conditions at the prison. He recalled that all of the prisoners, including himself and Brahim, were terribly emaciated when they were taken out of shackles and put to hard labor such as building dams and small boundary dikes in the rice fields. When the prisoners returned at night, they had to wait in their places for the guards to come and shackle them. Some days there were up to 400-500 prisoners, then after one or two nights they were gone, taken off to some other place. The prisoners were not only forced to work beyond the level of their strength, but also were deprived of food. “As for food, no need to talk about that. There was nothing more than rice bran and papaya roots made into soup, soup mixed with papaya stalks and banana stalks sliced thin. We only knew we must eat, eat in order to live on,” said Leh.⁹²

⁸⁸ Author’s interviews with Math Dullah and Math Naury, op. cit.

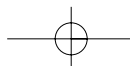
⁸⁹ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit. See section entitled “Concrete Activities.”

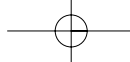
⁹⁰ Author’s interview with Math Naury, op. cit.

⁹¹ Author’s interview with Him Leh, op. cit., November 1999 and 21 March 2000. According to Him Leh, there were two prisons at Kampong Kong, one in the village and another at Chrung Romeas pagoda. Leh was held in both prisons, and Chek Brahim was held at Chrung Romeas pagoda.

⁹² Author’s interview with Him Leh, op. cit., November 1999 and 21 March 2000.

Phat Kosal’s interview with Yem Khan, age 67, at Po Tonle village, Koh Thom subdistrict and district, Kandal





Leh never saw Brahim interrogated or beaten by guards. One day at eight or nine o'clock in the morning, Leh saw Brahim led away along with his father-in-law who had just arrived. He said, "I was with him [Brahim] for about three months when they took him back to work in Phnom Penh. At that time he whispered to me that they were taking him back to Phnom Penh. I saw him and his father-in-law put in a boat. There were two militia members there taking Brahim and the uncle to Prek Thmei direction."⁹³

Brahim was sent for interrogation at Prison 18⁹⁴ at Po Tonle, Koh Thom A subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province for three days. El Him was sent to Prison 18 on charges of spreading rumors that a boat had arrived from Egypt⁹⁵ to take the Cham out of Cambodia, and was later released to become a guard at that same prison. Him said, "In late 1975 I saw Angkar transport Chek Brahim there [Prison 18, Po Tonle]. At first I did not recognize him. I saw that the Khmer Rouge had tied his arms parrot-wing style behind his back. There were three Khmer Rouge with him. I saw this because at that time I was a prison guard there." Him continued, "Upon arrival they [interrogators] untied his bonds and began interrogating him. While interrogating him, they twisted his flesh with pincers and held him at gunpoint. They threatened him in every way. They questioned him. He answered that his name was Chek Brahim, a captain during the Lon Nol era. They asked him the amount of his monthly pay. He answered 130,000 riels. I heard an interrogator say to answer properly and Angkar would be just, to say truthfully whatever the level of his education, high or low, so it would be easy for work there. Then they asked what else he could want if Angkar let him go to work. He said he did not want anything, that he could not see his own mistakes. [He said] If Angkar saw them and educated him, he would be very happy. They asked him what did he want before when he worked for Lon Nol. He answered that he had wanted nothing, he was just a citizen, they had forced him to work... He wanted to say more, but they did not let Chek Brahim say anything further. They said it was enough, it was not necessary to say more...I was standing nearby then."⁹⁶

province, 29 February 1996. Yem Khan was a prisoner at Kampong Kong and Office 18 for four months. "I was imprisoned at Po Tonle because the KR accused me of being the wife of a Lon Nol official and of being rich. I ate grasshoppers and banana stalks. The KR beat prisoners on their heads with a metal door latch bar while counting us before meals. All prisoners were shackled and chained. Males and females were separated."

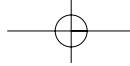
⁹³ Interview with Him Leh, op. cit., November 1999 and 21 March 2000.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Villagers and people from surrounding villages built a memorial in 1990 at Po Tonle for the remains recovered from 55 mass graves in that village (most of those buried there came from Koh Thom district). About 35,027 people died at the Po Tonle prison. *Report on Mass Graves at Po Tonle Village*, 28 February 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number 080401.

⁹⁵ The KR propagandized that "there had been an exchange of Cham for fuel with friendly Islamic countries." This was announced to induce the Cham to assemble for evacuation, arrest, and execution. Ysa, Osman, "The Cham Muslims were the victims of Khmer Rouge propaganda," *Searching for the truth*, Number 3, March 2000, published by the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

⁹⁶ Author's interview with El Him, age 53, former prisoner at Khmer Rouge Office 18 at Po Tonle village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 10 November 1999.



Recalling this story, El Him could not hold back his tears, which may show that even though he was then a person trusted by the Khmer Rouge, he still pitied the prisoners. He looked downwards as he continued, “They interrogated him for about an hour and then they held him there for three days. When they [the Khmer Rouge] sent him on, his arms were tied behind his back... and he was shackled to the boat... At that time they transported about 400 prisoners along with him, all shackled to the boat. The boat was very large. There were only three Khmer Rouge soldiers who accompanied them...I was nearby and heard the chief of the [prison] office tell his people the prisoners were going to Office (Munti) 15. Office 15 was at Koh Thmei.”⁹⁷

Math Dullah agreed, “They took him [Chek Brahim] to Office 15. Nearby fisherman saw him there, saw that his condition had weakened already.” Dullah described the condition of the prisoners: “At Office 15 they were very cruel, they used shackles, withheld food, and forced hard labor. When they [the prisoners] were taken outside, they furtively grabbed unharvested rice to eat and caught lizards to eat raw. Some survivors told me this.”⁹⁸

No one ever saw or heard of Brahim again. It was only during early 1980 that Math Naury entered the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes, the former Khmer Rouge detention office S-21, and saw the picture of Chek Brahim hanging on the wall of the prison.⁹⁹ Sou Ahmad also heard that there was a photograph of Brahim and only then thought the unbelievable, that it has been a Khmer Rouge trick that they “were taking Chek Brahim to teach driving.”¹⁰⁰

According to the S-21 Prisoner Execution List held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia, Brahim reached S-21 on 24 January, 1976.¹⁰¹ At S-21, Brahim wrote 133 pages of confessions. Math Naury and Haji Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik, who were close to Brahim, confirmed that the handwriting was in fact that of Brahim.¹⁰² No interrogator’s name is written on these confessions nor are the dates recorded. The documents contain several sections: personal history, political stances of former Khmer Islam leaders toward the revolutionary organization, plans to oppose the attack

⁹⁷ Author’s interview with El Him, op. cit.

“Koh Thmei had a temple and school that the KR used as prisons. Today the villagers have built a wooden memorial to hold the remains of thousands. Nearby, there are 200 mass grave pits. Analysis shows approximately 5-6,000 died there.” *Report of Research on Mass Graves and the Killing Fields of the KR at Koh Thmei, Khlop Subdistrict, Sa-ang District, Kandal Province*, 1 March 1996, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Numbers 081003, 04, 05.

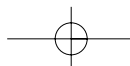
⁹⁸ Author’s interview with Math Dullah, op. cit.

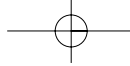
⁹⁹ Author’s interview with Math Naury, op. cit.

¹⁰⁰ Author’s interview with Sou Ahmad, op. cit. Ahmad knew Chek Brahim before the KR era and was evacuated from Phnom Penh to Cham Leu with him.

¹⁰¹ See the 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, op. cit, which records that 337 prisoners were killed from 14 to 28 May 1976. At entry 87, it states that “Chek Brahim, from Koh Thom, Lt Colonel, entered 24-01-76, smashed 26-5-76.”

¹⁰² Author’s interviews with Math Naury and Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik, op. cit.





of liberation forces on 17 April 1975, FULRO (United Liberation Front for the Oppressed Races),¹⁰³ and his activities after 17 April 1975. Each section was clearly written by a highly educated person (Brahim had written many books during the Lon Nol era about the ethnic Cham).

For the most part, Brahim did not write about his inner sufferings while being interrogated or about his hardship as mentioned by interviewees; he instead wrote in praise of Angkar: “The revolutionary organization has a political line on training people to carry out with discipline to use in society to totally eliminate thievery, robbery, pickpockets, casinos and gambling places, currency, brothels ... Even though I am under suspicion in prison, Angkar has not overlooked providing me with a sleeping mat and a dish... “I have nothing left to hide from Angkar because I understand clearly that the revolutionary organization demands sincerity. All my past mistakes will be forgiven by Angkar. Therefore I just await Angkar’s decision with hope.”¹⁰⁴ These words perhaps show that S-21 interrogators used psychological deception against the prisoners.

“Viewpoints and Principles of Interrogation at Office (Munti) S-21,” dated 11 August 1976, dealt with these matters: “Trick the enemy into eating this and eating that, trick them that the Party will give them back their positions. If big matters are reported to Angkar things will get better.”¹⁰⁵

But Angkar did not show forgiveness or mercy as Brahim had hoped. The revolutionary organization decided on 26 May 1976 to “smash and discard” (*komtich*

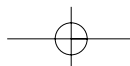
¹⁰³ FULRO is the acronym for “Le Front Unit pour la Liberation des Races Opprimés.” It was created in early 1964 in the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era and was chaired by Chao Dara (former name of Marshall Lon Nol), with first deputy Ibaham En Nhoul, second deputy Po Naga (former name of General Les Kosem) and general secretary Thach Reng. FULRO was divided into two sections, the “The Kampuchea Kraom Combat Front” with Chao Dara as chairman and Um Savut as deputy, and the “Front for the Liberation of the Champa Plateau and Delta,” which had En Noul as chairman and Po Naga as deputy. The Champa Front had 12 important members including 4 mountain tribal minority members (2 Rade, 2 Charay), and 8 Cham (including Chek Brahim), and 2,000 soldiers (200 Cham Army soldiers with the rest being mountain tribesmen). The Front’s headquarters was in Mondulkiri at Bos Chas Mountain, ten kilometers east of the provincial capital. On 20 September 1964 the Champa Front attacked Vietnam to liberate Ba Me Thuok Town, but was driven back by Vietnamese forces to Mondulkiri. During 1966-1968 the Champa Front negotiated with the Social Republic of Vietnam (SRV) under the auspices of the USA, resulting in the SRV’s creation of the Ministry of South Vietnamese Minorities in charge of Minority Groups such as Cham, Kampuchea Krom and hill tribes. A Rade tribesman, Paul Noeur, was appointed as the Minister. In 1970 when Cambodia was in chaos, the Champa Front forces scattered. Les Kosem withdrew his forces from the front to defend territory against the Khmer Rouge. Extracted from *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit.

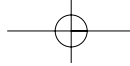
FULRO had 5-6,000 soldiers. UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) reports from 1992 state there were 400 remaining tribal troops that turned themselves into UNTAC. Colm, Sara, Northeast Highlanders in Democratic Kampuchea. Unpublished Manuscript, Documentation Center of Cambodia, 1996, p. 22.

¹⁰⁴ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Statistics of Santebal S-21, Politics, Attitude, Organization, op. cit., the section on “Training in a number of viewpoints and principles of Santebal duties.”

“They tied up the prisoners and took them away, some did not know they were being taken to be killed, they were happy, thought they were being taken to work in the rice fields to the cooperatives ahead of uncle (myself), I said go, nephews and nieces ...” *Report of Ruy Nea Kong (Former S-21 Prisoner)*, 4 December 1985. Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00017.





chaol) Brahim.¹⁰⁶

At other times, however, Brahim wrote of the difficulties he faced in Cham Leu village: “My emotions were not settled. The reasons: 1) because of exhaustion in carrying out my assignments and nothing to eat, 2) both my daughters were ill and I could find no medicine to care for them, 3) my mother was chronically ill and also had no medicine, 4) my wife had to go to the fields every day without fail no matter how tired, and 5) I felt for the owner of the house since my family was so large. My mind became unclear, causing me to be disoriented and imagine only the past. My anger only rose, without any consideration. In my mind I only criticized Angkar.” At this point there is a note of a reviewer written in the margin, “the truth about the enemy appears.”¹⁰⁷

On the pages in which Brahim confessed to his activities after 17 April 1975, he wrote, “1) Problems of the stomach: I have spoken about problems of rice shortages that if Angkar provides insufficient rice like this, where is the energy to do our duties to come from? Working now, don’t hope for Sunday. Even if you are tired and out of energy, it is hard to even get a breath, and there’s no medicine either. 2) Freedom: I say that before if one wanted to go to visit Phnom Penh for a day or two, it was just up to one’s wishes. Now even from one village to another, if one doesn’t have a letter of permit, there is no way. 3) Education: In some meetings Ta Soh (Riev Soh), the representative of the subdistrict committee¹⁰⁸ said that these days a graduation certificate is not of concern, they worry only about visible things, that is cutting *reang* trees [a tree used as firewood] or clearing forests. Later I whispered that a doctor or pilot could clear the same amount of forest, it only required several months of endurance and practice. But one who clears forest well or is experienced at cutting trees but who had no learning could not transform himself/herself into a pilot or doctor, even if he worked at it for ten years.”¹⁰⁹

Regarding his “political activities,” he wrote the names of four persons: Sit Hap, Kheng Sarun, Kheng Man and Saleh Ahmad. By these names Brahim wrote “I selected four persons ... to implement the following plan: 1) Sneak around and tell the people not to place their hopes in the revolutionary organization. 2) Entice the people to turn to a Republican Regime. 3) Don’t concentrate on the duties given out by Angkar, such as planting rice.”¹¹⁰

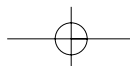
¹⁰⁶ See the 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, *op. cit.*

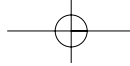
¹⁰⁷ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, *op. cit.* See section entitled “Clear and Concrete Activities.”

¹⁰⁸ Author’s interview with Math Dullah, *op. cit.*, 7 November 1999 and 21 March 2000. Dullah stated that “Ta Soh was a representative of the subdistrict Committee.” His birth name was Riev Soh, and he was chairman of the Committee on Target of Investigation (Kanak Muksanha) of Prek Thmei subdistrict during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. Dullah also said that Soh was a dictator and acted totally in compliance with the orders of Angkar. He commanded the *hakem* in three Cham villages in Koh Thom to close the mosques and outlaw prayer. Soh also forced many Cham youth in Cham Leu village to join the KR military. Those youth disappeared.

¹⁰⁹ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, *op. cit.* See section entitled “Activities after 17 April 1975.”

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*





One of these four men was interviewed for this study: Saleh Ahmad (now using the name Sou Ahmad). According to Ahmad, Brahim never committed a treason as he had confessed.¹¹¹ Math Naury supported his statement: “Elder brother Chek Brahim was very straightforward and strict in Islam ... He never dared do anything treasonous, he was gentle, he dared not criticize anything, no, there was nothing like this. I dare to say there was nothing like this.” Two other “rebel connections,” Kheng Sarun and Kheng Man, who were brothers, did not survive. Both were imprisoned in Kampong Kong after Brahim was arrested. The surviving wife of Kheng Man told Math Naury that her husband and Kheng Sarun fled from Kampong Kong prison and swam to meet their wives for a moment at Cham Leu village before floating down with the current of the Tonle Bassak with the aim of fleeing to Vietnam. It isn’t known whether they drowned in the middle of the river or the Khmer Rouge caught them. The other so-called rebel connection, Sit Hap, died of natural causes during the second evacuation from Cham Leu village to Preah Vihear province.¹¹²

No one knows the cause of Brahim’s arrest with certainty. People assume it was because Brahim had been a government official or soldier in the Lon Nol regime. One clue is given in Brahim’s confession: “About one month before the revolutionary organization sent me to Kampong Kong, the chief of Cham Leu village asked me once if I knew Kai Yusuf. Kai Yusuf had also been evacuated from Phnom Penh, and now lives at Po Tonle. I said I did not know the name, never even heard of him, and I asked him why the question. He said it was no matter, he was only curious. When I had been at Kampong Kong for a while, Tumad Afan [an ethnic Cham], a Professor in the current Ministry of Education, also came to be held there. Tumad Afan told me that he was very worried that his uncle and younger brother-in-law were taken by Angkar and had disappeared. I asked him the name of his younger brother-in-law, and he answered Kai Yusuf. I was startled. I believe for certain that Kai Yusuf had in fact mixed my name into some story since the chief of Cham Leu village had asked me if I knew him or not. In this matter of Kai Yusuf, I solemnly proclaim that I will accept any and all punishments if any investigation shows we ever met anywhere even once, much less many times.”¹¹³ According to Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik and Math Naury, who were all close to Chek Brahim from 1965 until 1975, Brahim in fact did not know Kai Yusuf.¹¹⁴

Brahim’s name appeared in the S-21 Prisoner Execution List: “Chek Brahim, from Koh Thom, Lt Colonel, entered 24-1-76 smashed 26-5-76.”¹¹⁵

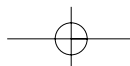
¹¹¹ Author’s interview with Sou Ahmad, op. cit.

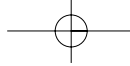
¹¹² Author’s interviews with Math Naury, op. cit.

¹¹³ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit. See section entitled “Concrete Activities.”

¹¹⁴ Author’s interviews with Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik and Math Naury, op. cit.

¹¹⁵ See the 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, op. cit.





**Sman Sleh aka Leng Sokha, Roun Math aka Roun Savy,
Sa Math aka Savoecun, and Man Tech
4-7**

Sman Sleh, Roun Math, Sa Math, and Man Tech knew one another from childhood. The first three lived together in Po Tonle Kraom village and Man Tech lived in nearby Cham Leu village.¹¹⁶ All four joined the Khmer Rouge military and were arrested separately. Under Khmer Rouge interrogation, each confessed to treason, and three of the men implicated one or more of the others. All four were sent to S-21 and later killed.¹¹⁷

In November 1971, at the age of 16, Sman Sleh became a Khmer Rouge soldier and in 1975 was assigned to Unit 99 of Division 703, which was based at Ta Khmau.¹¹⁸ Before 1971 he and his mother lived in Po Tonle Kraom village, Koh Thom subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province. His father Sman died during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum era, and his mother Mah died after 1979. Four of his surviving

¹¹⁶ Author's interviews with:

Ruon Nop, age 55, elder sister of Roun Math, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 8 November 1999.

Lah Sarah, age 48, sister-in-law of Sa Math, Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 10 November 1999.

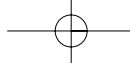
Sman Nop, age 67, elder sister of Sman Sleh, at Phum Cham Leu, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 9 November 1999.

Math Dullah, friend of Man Tech, op. cit.

Cham Leu village is across the river from Po Tonle Kraom village.

¹¹⁷ Many Khmer Rouge letters maintained in the Documentation Center of Cambodia archives describe the transport of people from various units to S-21 (Tuol Sleng). For example, on 30 May 1977, Men of Division 502 wrote a letter sending people to Duch: "On the evening of 28 May 77, I sent 27 traitors with rebel connections in Divisions 310 and 450. At 7 or 8 pm this evening I requested to send four more that are connections of 25 old ones. At 10 or 11 pm this evening I sent seven more contacts of Mao and Mut. Yesterday Brother said [I might] take a copy of the confession of Mao, and if Angkar does not object I do request that document for use in finding other enemies." On 3 April 1977, San of Division 310 wrote to Duch, "Request to hand over seven persons to you, Comrade. As decided by Brother Nath. So please accept them..." On 1 June 1977 the port at Kampong Som sent a letter to Duch: "Today, we request to send Vang to you."

¹¹⁸ *The Confession of Sman Sleh*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02685.



siblings live in Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province.¹¹⁹

Before 1973 Roun Math helped his father and mother fish at Po Tonle Kraom village. He became a Khmer Rouge soldier on 11 July 1973 at the age of 19 and was a combatant in Platoon 732, Company 73, Battalion 117 of Division 703.¹²⁰ On 4 January 1974 Math worked for Tum, chairman of Office 13, and went to Office 04 in April 1975. He was trained as a driver at Office 90 in May 1975 and worked in that capacity at the Office of State Commerce beginning in June of that year. In September 1975 Math was arrested and sent to Prison 43.¹²¹ His parents, Sop Roun and Ly Chip, died during the Pol Pot era. Today his siblings live at Cham Leu village.¹²²

Sa Math lived with his parents, El Sa and Sor, at Po Tonle Kraom village. On 27 April 1975, at the age of 17, he became a Khmer Rouge soldier, where he served in Unit 99 of Division 703.¹²³ Four of his siblings now live in Cham Leu village.¹²⁴

Before he became a Khmer Rouge soldier some time prior to 1975, Man Tech lived at Cham Leu village. In March 1975, at the age of 23, Tech was with Office 04.¹²⁵ Today his parents and siblings live in Cham Leu village.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Author's interview with Sman Nop, op. cit.

¹²⁰ *The Confession of Sman Sleb*, op.cit.

Author's interview with Him Huy, Anlong San village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 4 January 2002.

¹²¹ *The Confession of Roun Math*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02674.

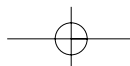
¹²² Author's interview with Roun Nop, op. cit.

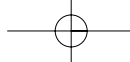
¹²³ *The Confession of Sa Math*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02676.

¹²⁴ Author's interview with Roun Adikah, age 41, sister-in-law of Sa Math, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 10 November 1999.

¹²⁵ *The Personal History of Man Tech*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number K02614.

¹²⁶ Author's interview with Math Dullah, op. cit., 8 November 1999.





The Arrests

Sman Sleh was arrested at 8:30 pm in July 1975 at a Khmer Rouge military post near Krapeuhar pagoda in Ta Khmau district, Kandal province. No source could be located that states whether Sleh was held in another prison before being sent to S-21. His confession was not recorded by S-21 interrogators, as the following note appears in the upper margins: “Approved for transport to M21 [Munti 21, or Office 21] because of too much involvement with networks, creating the opinion that his parents and birth siblings are involved with the Cham,” dated 17 December 1975.¹²⁷ This note indicates that on 17 December 1975, Sman Sleh was sent from some unidentified prison to S-21.

Fellow KR soldier Sleh Ly recalled Sman Sleh’s arrest: “During one evening in July 75 about 8:30 pm, myself, Sman Sleh, and Sa Math were sleeping in the same mosquito net in a house west of Krapeuhar pagoda. The roof was galvanized tin, a hut. I saw five or six persons dressed in black with *keramas* [scarfs] around their necks, each carrying weapons. They called the group [squad] leader outside the house. There were twelve persons in the house. They grabbed Sman Sleh out from the net (the one I was sleeping in as well) and carried him out through the door. I saw them kick Sman Sleh head over heels and pitch him into a vehicle.” Ly added that “I saw it clearly ... And not only Sman Sleh was arrested that round, but five Khmer as well were arrested.” Sleh Ly continued, “After the arrests, the unit commander called everybody to a meeting and told us not to lead one another into rebelling and running back home... be careful that [we] would be like those five ... Sman Sleh was arrested, and the unit commander told me that Sman Sleh had led my group to run away back home. But in fact we all knew that no one had led anyone to do anything, because it was really hard in that place.”¹²⁸

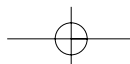
Roun Math was arrested in September 1975 from a state commerce transport unit in which he was a truck driver delivering supplies to various offices. His confessions reveal that the vehicle parking area for his unit was located “in Tuol Kork, 500 meters south of the TV antenna” and his vehicle was “a Chinese four wheeler.” Immediately after his arrest, Math was detained in Office (Munti) 43,¹²⁹ and was later transferred to S-21. Although the date of his transfer to S-21 is unclear, there is a note from the S-21 document examiner on Math’s confession “approving the imprisonment” dated 3 January 1976 and another note to “ask for clarification” dated 10 March 1976,¹³⁰ indicating that Math arrived at S-21 on or before 3 January 1976 and was still held there on 10 March 1976.

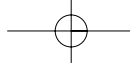
¹²⁷ *The Confession of Sman Sleh*, op. cit.

¹²⁸ Author’s interview with Sleh Ly, age 42, former KR soldier with Sman Sleh and Sa Mat, at Slap Leng village, Svay Rumpea subdistrict, Boset district, Kampong Speu province, 22 March 2000.

¹²⁹ *The Confession of Roun Math*, op. cit.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*





Soh Min recalled the story of Roun Math's arrest. While he and others were carrying merchandise at Ta Khmau, a friend of Roun Math whispered to Min: "Roun Math drove his vehicle into a light pole and they [the Khmer Rouge] put him in prison." Min could not remember the name of the person who told him.¹³¹

Roun Nop, the elder sister of Roun Math, stated, "My younger brother Math was taken by the Khmer Rouge to be a soldier. He was gone about a month when he became ill and was staying at the hospital (I don't remember the name of the hospital). My mother and father found out and asked him [the chief doctor] to allow him to rest at home and also see a Khmer traditional herbalist. When he had improved a little, the military commander came and took him back. This time he fled back home again for five days, but they were after him and he ran off to Po Tonle where village chief Him Leh helped hide him. Math was at Po Tonle for about three months when they caught him and took him back to be a soldier again. In 1975 he fled back home once again, then he was taken to the Unit again; since that time all news ended."¹³²

Sa Math was arrested in November 1975.¹³³ Although Sleh Ly and Sa Math were together on the evening of Sman Sleh's arrest, Ly did not know of the arrest of Math: "After Sman Sleh's arrest they [the unit command] separated Sa Math and myself, and Man Tech was separated from the time we got to Koh Khsach Tonlea," said Saleh Ly.¹³⁴

Math's confession states he was arrested from Unit 99 of Division 703, deployed at "Ta Khmau" (there is no clarification as to the exact position) and held in the Division's reeducation office.¹³⁵ His confession states: "done on 17th day of the 11th

¹³¹ Author's interview with Soh Min, 44, former KR soldier, at Hanuman village, Kandoeng subdistrict, Bati district, Takeo province, 23 March 2000.

¹³² Author's interview with Roun Nop, op. cit.

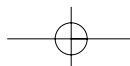
¹³³ *The Confession of Sa Math*, op. cit.

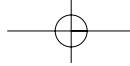
¹³⁴ Author's interview with Sleh Ly, op. cit.

¹³⁵ Author's interviews with Muy Tech Leng, age 47, at Baren Kraom village and Mao Nil, age 47, former KR soldier in Division 703, at Village 8; in Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 13 March 2000. Leng and Nil revealed that Division 703 had more important responsibilities than other divisions and was trusted by the CPK (Communist Party of Kampuchea). The division was created in early 1971 as Division 12, which later became Division 703, and first operated in Koh Thom district and part of Sa-ang district. After 17 April 75, the division had the mission of guarding Phnom Penh. The two men explained that in early 1975 the division was commanded by Nath and Pin. Sim Mel aka Man (a Cham who was imprisoned at S-21) was Nath's messenger. Leng and Nil did not know of changes inside Division 703 after 1975, since they were sent to the Vietnamese border.

Ea Meng-Try's interview with Cheam Soeu aka Soeu, age 38, former Division 703 soldier, at Sapor village, Ta Ches subdistrict, Kampong Tralach district, Kampong Chhnang province, 20 February 2000. Soeu stated that "Division 703 had the mission of guarding the perimeter of Phnom Penh, especially at important points such as S-21, the Monivong bridge, Tuol Tumpung and Boeng Trabek."

Ea Meng-Try's interview with Thlong La, age 38, former soldier in DK Division 502, at Krang La-vea village, Anhchanh Rong subdistrict, Boribo district, Kampong Chhnang province, 6 February 2000. He stated that two divisions in Phnom Penh had city security missions, the 502nd and 703rd. La stated that the commander of the 502nd was Comrade Thy.





month of 1976, at the reeducation office 703,¹³⁶ where Nuon Chea was in charge.¹³⁷ Later Math was sent to S-21.

Man Tech was the last to be arrested, on 17 June 1978 at S-21 Kho (aka Munti 24). Many Khmer Rouge documents show that S-21 Kho was a branch of S-21.¹³⁸ S-21 Kho's chairman was Huy,¹³⁹ sometimes known to Khmer Rouge cadre as "Ricefield Huy" (Huy Sre), while S-21 was commanded by Duch.¹⁴⁰ Before his arrest Tech was a *yuthachon nesat* (fisherman combatant) at Munti 24 (S-21 Kho). After his arrest he was

¹³⁶ *The Confession of Sa Math*, op. cit.

¹³⁷ Author's interview with Him Huy, op. cit. This Nuon Chea was not the Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

¹³⁸ A Documentation Center of Cambodia brochure states that, "there were two other branches of S-21. One, S-21 Kha, was located at Ta Khmau, Kandal province, south of Phnom Penh. The second, S-21 Kho, was at Prey Sar [an old prison of the French protectorate era] west of Phnom Penh in Khan Dongkao, Phnom Penh, which was also known as Office 24 and was used as a reeducation camp. Furthermore, S-21 Kho had the mission of supplying S-21 with food."

Many S-21 Prisoner Execution Lists in the Documentation Center of Cambodia archives show the relationship between S-21 and S-21 Kho. For example, one S-21 Prisoner Execution List signed by S-21 deputy Hor on 23 July 1977, notes that "List of prisoners [to be] smashed, section of Brother Huy Sre," meaning the prisoners came from S-21 Kho (Huy Sre). The list also shows that Hor ordered the execution of 18 prisoners and 160 children on 23 July 1977.

The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02678, notes that Mel was sent from S-21 to farm rice at Office 24 (S-21 Khor).

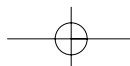
¹³⁹ Huy (or Huy Sre) was chief of S-21 Kho or Office 24. Originally named Nun Huy, he was born in March 1951 at Tonle Bati village, Bati district, Takeo province. Huy joined the revolution on 7 April 1970. In the Sangkukreasniyum era Huy was a farmer. His wife Prok Samuth (aka Prok Khoeun) was born in 1953 at Rumchek village, Thnaot subdistrict, Bati district, Takeo province. She joined the revolution in March 1972. In 1977 the Party removed Prok Khoeun from the military staff hospital to S-21. Huy's father was Nun Ros and his mother El Nan; they lived at Tonle Bati. *Personal History of Prok Khoeun*, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number K08273.

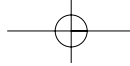
Many prisoner execution lists at the Documentation Center of Cambodia were signed by Huy Sre. For example, on 10 May 1977, he ordered the killing of 21 prisoners. On 7 April 1977, Huy signed two prisoner execution lists. The first list contains the names of 18 prisoners and an annotation that, "request only 4 prisoners to be interrogated and the rest must be smashed." The second list contains the names of 11 pregnant female prisoners and a number of unnamed children.

Another KR cadre at S-21 was also named Huy (formerly named You Huy, now Him Huy). He was born in 1954 at Kbal Chroy village, Pothi Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province. He joined the revolution on 7 October 1972 and had been a soldier, section leader, deputy squad leader, squad leader, and company commander, and was later made responsible for the defense unit at S-21. Huy's father was You Him and his mother Seam Cheu. He had eight siblings. *Personal History of You Huy*, 10 November 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00016. Today, Huy lives in Anlong San village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province.

¹⁴⁰ Duch, aka Kaing Guek Iev, or Kiev, was born in 1942, although his ID card claims he was born in 1943. His father was Vietnamese and his mother of Chinese extraction. They lived in Stong district, Kampong Thom province. Duch was always at the top of his class in mathematics and ranked first in the national mathematics examination. In 1961, he studied for baccalaureate I. During 1964-1965, he taught physics, chemistry, mathematics, and Khmer literature at a school in Skun district, Kampong Cham province.

In 1966, Duch was arrested and imprisoned until 1970, when Lon Nol came to power and released all prisoners in the country. Duch then moved to Unnalaom pagoda where he taught again. During this period, he was known as a Khmer





transferred to “house number 31, large cell number 4, small cell number 1” in S-21.¹⁴¹

Rouge leader. He was close to Sok Thuok, aka Vorn Vet, and Khieu Samphan. His Unnalaom teacher, who was close to Samdech Preah Sanga Raja Chuon Nate, told Duch, “Don’t enter politics.” Duch answered, “Lok ta, do politics to liberate people, to help people.” In 1973, he left to go into hiding in the forest, bringing with him many young people from Unnalaom. (Phat Kosal and Vanthan Peou Dara’s interviews with Kim Sour, former student of Duch and Leam Sarun, former close friend of Duch, 7 July 1999.)

Duch was known as a talkative person who made jokes, and not as a cruel man. He did not like to argue, and if anyone insulted him, he did not respond. If someone were to physically assault him, he would console his adversary. And the angrier he became, the more he smiled. He was close to his students, who loved him, and did not gamble, womanize, or drink (but he did chain smoke).

In 1971, Duch became chief of Office 13 in Tumneap village, Amleang subdistrict, Thpong district, Kampong Speu province, which was then in a liberated zone. Report 65/75, Issue 18 of the *Khmer Republic*, dated 22 January 1975 (Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number L00562), talks about “Amleang detention office,” with Duch as its chief and Chan as its deputy chief: “both were brutal.” A former prisoner at Office 13, for example, testified that a prisoner named Son was burned with a torch there, and then had rubber dripped all over his body. Vanthan Peou Dara’s interview with Ham Im, at Sdok Saat village, Meanchey subdistrict, Udong district, Kampong Speu province, 13 July 2001, in *Searching for the truth*, Number 22, October 2001, pp. 21-24.

Office 13 was disbanded after April 17, 1975, and Duch and his deputy, together with other cadres, were sent to work at the newly established detention office in Phenom Penh. Ibid. Duch was made chief of this office, which was called S-21. While there, he read and/or signed thousands of confessions and gave orders for follow-up and interrogation. The earliest note believed to have been written by Duch was the 28 July 1975 confession of Ke Chhang, where Duch wrote: “Take political measures and always be guarded, do not let [him] die, torture in a way that won’t leave a scar.” Two days later, Duch wrote, “take heavy torture measures because it is decided 100% that he has a rank between first lieutenant and captain; he is a long-time spy.” The Confession of Ke Chheang, Car and Train Mechanic, Arrested 28 April 1975, TSL K-125. Ke Chheang was killed on 16 September 1975. The 30 August 1975 confession of Nhep Dim aka Ong Chhorn, age 53, also bears handwriting that is exactly like that of Duch: “This contemptible person is so stubborn; beat him until he is unconscious.” Documents related to Duch, TSL Catalogue Number N-212.

Duch was also involved in torture. A note believed to be written by him appears on the confession of a woman named Prum Sam Nieng: “This contemptible person spoke out too little! No need to summarize! I did not explain anything. I beat her with 30 lashes of a whip and pushed her to write again. This afternoon, if I am not satisfied, I will assign a person to torture again and write again. This person is not doing well at this moment.” TSL Catalogue Number P-153.

There are many letters from units handing over prisoners to Duch. For example, a letter from Battalion 414 states: “To Dear Comrade Duch: Request to hand over 17 persons to you, so kindly take them, they all joined the CIA according to the confession of Meun Khan sent 26-4-77.” Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D01078.

The last known note written and signed by Duch is dated 23 December 1978. It appears on the confession of a prisoner named Kim Sok: “Respectful Brother, this issue of hiding the Vietnamese happened in Region 25 and relates to the father of Eang (Huy’s father). The important person left is this Tring. Follow up on his activities. I request that I won’t keep this person long. Once I can learn about his activities and contacts, I request that I will take [kill] him.” The Confession of Kim Sok, Chief of Unit 11, Office 24, TSL Catalogue Number K-346. On 7 January 1979, Duch escaped from Phnom Penh. He was arrested on 10 May 1999 and today is in a military court prison pending a hearing.

¹⁴¹ *The Personal History of Man Tech*, op. cit.

Confessions

The confessions of all four men were found at Tuol Sleng Museum (the confessions of Sman Sleh and Sa Math were not made in S-21, but were sent along with them to S-21). Sman Sleh's confession was 6 pages, Roun Math's was 74 pages, and Sa Math's 8 pages. Tech's was only a one-page personal history, not actually a confession. The table below shows the "treasonous connections" each claimed, including their friends from the village and Khmer Rouge military comrades.

	Friends Implicated	Other "Conspirators"		
		The names of those still living are in bold; Names followed by an* were interviewed for this study		
Roun Math	Sman Sleh Sa Math Man Tech	Kaly Hak* Sa Him Kae Soh Kae Him Leh* Kaup Leh Sa Lim Sleh Ly*	Sren Man Mit Min Soh Min* Rieh Sa Sa Roun Sleh Sleh San	Math Set Sam San Ly Treh Tum Taheu Safi E Ly You Ya Soh
Sman Sleh	Roun Math Man Tech	Chhlaunh Eng Seng Kim Kuoy Chiev Ly Math Muth	Oeun Heng Oeun Pros Him Put Math Set Soeun Srei Thiep	Top Vorn* Try Tum Tuy Huo Vat Sen Ya
Sa Math	Roun Math Man Tech Sman Sleh	Heang Sleh Ly*	Ly Man Set Vuth	
Man Tech	--	--	--	--

At least nine of those listed survived the regime, five of whom were interviewed for this study.¹⁴² When asked about their activities against the Khmer Rouge as stated in

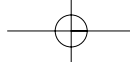
¹⁴² Author's interviews with:

Him Leh, connection of Roun Math, op. cit., 8 November 1999.

Kaly Hak, age 55, connection of Roun Math, Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 8 November 1999.

Top Von, age 50, connection of Sman Saleh, Village 8, Pothi Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district, 11 November 1999.

Sleh Ly, connection of Roun Math and Sa Math, op. cit.



the confessions, some could not recall anything they had done in rebellion, while others admitted to secretly opposing the Khmer Rouge. All were startled and professed their happiness at having survived the regime, despite the fact that their names had reached S-21. Those who survived probably did so because of Khmer Rouge confusion over their Cham names, which were difficult to pronounce and write in the Khmer language.¹⁴³

Sman Sleh wrote that “I, Math Set, Tech [Man Tech], and Savy [Roun Math] met in a boat in the middle of the river. Set said that it was easy to run off to Vietnam, comfortable, the food was good, there was a salary, that our goal of being soldiers, making revolution, was very difficult.” Sleh further wrote that he had gotten a secret plan from Tum, chairman of Office 13, just as Roun Math had. “Tum advised me to prepare to open fire during October 1975, and there would be an outside force to make demonstrations at Ta Khmau.”¹⁴⁴

Sleh’s confession lists Top Vorn, a Khmer Rouge soldier, as a rebel connection, stating that Vorn was a leader inciting rebellion at the hospital: “During the attack on national highway 21, I was wounded and sent to the hospital [the name of the hospital was not stated]. In that hospital Vorn advised me ...he was hospitalized because he had shot himself in the arm. He told me that if I was afraid I should shoot myself and stay in the rear, and he urged me to tell other troops to wound themselves.”¹⁴⁵ But Vorn told a different story. He could barely recall Sleh (Leng Sokha), saying that the first time they met was at Hospital 24 at Prek Ta Kok village. Vorn stated, “During approximately 1973 I was resting at Prek Ta Kok (in Sa-ang) hospital because I had been working with a machine gun and because of carelessness was wounded in my right arm. While at the hospital I saw someone named Sokha [Sman Sleh]. I saw his leg bandaged, but don’t know where he was wounded because his wounds were cleansed at another place. I can’t remember whether it was the right or left leg. I met with this Leng Sokha for about ten days. As for his parents and family, I don’t know where their birthplace was.”¹⁴⁶

He also denied advising or inciting Sleh: “I can dare to say that my wound was accidental. If you don’t believe me, go ask my *nirasa* (messenger). He is still alive.” Vorn added, “I never knew Sokha [did not have contact with him]. I only met him in

Soh Min, age 44, connection of Roun Math, op. cit.

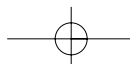
¹⁴³ “They called everybody by the wrong names. My name was Ji, they called me Chi, so I told them I was called Ji, not Chik,” Sman Kaji recalled. Youk Chhang’s interview with Sman Kaji, op. cit.

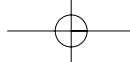
“They [the Khmer Rouge] called my name incorrectly as “Mak Chi,” but my name was Man Jet.” Author’s interview with Abdul Majet bin Abdullah, op. cit.

¹⁴⁴ *The Confession of Sman Sleh*, op. cit.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Author’s interview with Top Von, op. cit.





the hospital. How could I dare incite him? I never said anything against anyone, only told the youth to prepare their fighting spirit.”¹⁴⁷

Lach Mao also provided some information related to Sleh. A former Khmer Rouge prisoner at Office 15, he knew a Cham named Math while they were imprisoned together. “We all were suffering so much, as they were beating us and taking us away to be killed, or persecuting us day and night. Out of fear, Math said he would go to Vietnam first, and if he succeeded he would come back to take us away... there were 55 prisoners at Office 15.” Mao also said, “About a week after Math left the office the Khmer Rouge captured him at Prek Chrey in Koh Thom district and sent him back to Office 15 for killing.”¹⁴⁸ Math’s name appeared in Sleh’s confession as having urged Sleh to run off to Vietnam.

Roun Math’s confession stated, “I entered the revolution on 11 July 73, introduced by El Him, the chief of Cham Leu village... on 7 September 73 after I was at Prek Ta Don hospital for 25 days, [I] fled back home. On 4 January 1974 I went with Tum, chief of Office 13, and Tum had me go back home. During July 1974 I lived with Him Leh, chief of Po Tonle Kraom village. In January 1975 I re-entered the revolution, introduced by Saleh Him, deputy chief of Po Tonle Kraom village. In March 1975 five of us ran off back home.” Concerning his stay at Prek Ta Don hospital on 7 September 73, he wrote, “When I was in Unit 117 [the unit he joined on 11 July 1973] at the Prek Chrey battlefield, I was preparing to attack the enemy and a 105mm round hit my trench and collapsed it. My spirit was somewhat weak. Later the enemy fired an M72 round which again collapsed my position. My spirit was really broken for sure then. Angkar sent me for medical care to the [Prek Ta Don] hospital. When I recovered I ran away home.”¹⁴⁹

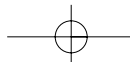
Roun Math had much to say about his rebel activities: “After receiving advice and organization from Him Leh for three days, at 8:00 pm [one day] during June 1974 I brought Math Set, Leng Sokha [Sman Sleh], Man Tech and Sa Math to meet together in the middle of the river. I advised them all that if we feared the battlefield and were to avoid the battlefield we had to follow Him Leh. He wants us to go among the people and incite them to hate the subdistrict committee members named Heng, Soh [Riev Soh] and Math, and incite the people to run off to Vietnam. And he [Him Leh] said that for the tactics of moving among the people, he would give us a boat and a net. All four agreed with me.” He wrote about another rebel plan that “When I took rice to Ta Khmau, I met [the chief of Office 13] during May 1975. Tum told me about the plan to parade in demonstration to Phnom Penh during October 1975, and wanted me to await the demonstration column in Ta Khmau.”¹⁵⁰ According to Him Huy, the

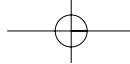
¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Author’s interview with Lach Mao, age 45, former Khmer Rouge prisoner at Office 15, at Village 8, Pothi Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 11 November 1999.

¹⁴⁹ *The Confession of Roun Math*, op. cit.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.





chief of region 25, a man named Ta Sok had led a demonstration toward Phnom Penh and later was arrested.¹⁵¹

Him Leh was Khmer Rouge village chief of Po Tonle Kroam from 1971-74. He responded to Math's charge, stating that the Khmer Rouge had ordered him to arrest young people and force them into being soldiers, but he did not carry out that assignment. He agreed with Roun Math's confession that "At that time myself and the people were dissatisfied with Angkar, they persecuted the youth into becoming soldiers, and when they fled back home they were arrested, imprisoned, and mistreated in every way. Then I had the youth attack Riev Soh, a member of the Prek Thmei subdistrict committee, because if any Cham youth fled to avoid becoming a soldier, he captured them, beat them, and sent them to prison. And [he] ordered the *hakem* to close the mosque." Leh also stated that, "At that time I ordered about ten people to take a net and a boat to fish at Prek Sdei, fish as a cover in order to look for a route out to Vietnam. But it did not work out, since Riev Soh found out in advance." Leh explained that "Roun Math and Man Tech were among those ten persons. I can't remember the others."¹⁵²

Roun Math's confessions stated that "Him Leh received a rebel plan from Tum, chief of Office 13," but Leh totally denied this, saying "I never knew Tum... the people and myself were dissatisfied with Angkar. No one ordered this; I did all of this at my own initiative."¹⁵³

Kaly Hak was the youth chairman at Po Tonle village from 1971-73. According to Roun Math's confessions, "Kaly Hak mobilized the Cham youth not to go to the front, mobilized the Cham youth, male and female, to run off to Vietnam."¹⁵⁴ Hak responded that "When upper echelon sent down a plan, I never did carry it out...I incited the youth not become soldiers." He added: "No one ordered this, it was just because I hated the Khmer Rouge very much."¹⁵⁵ This differs from the Roun Math's confession, which stated "Kaly Hak took orders from me [Roun Math] to do these things."¹⁵⁶

Roun Math was interrogated by the Khmer Rouge many times and in more detail than Sman Sleh, Sa Math, or Man Tech. His confession was the cause of the arrests of Sa Math and Man Tech, and the tracking down of 24 others on his list of connections, the majority of whom were Cham. Him Leh and Ly Treh were arrested before Roun

¹⁵¹ Author's interview with Him Huy, op.cit., 4 January 2002.

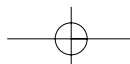
¹⁵² Author's interview with Him Leh, connection of Roun Math, op. cit.

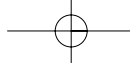
¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ *The Confession of Roun Math*, op. cit.

¹⁵⁵ Author's interview with Kaly Hak, op. cit.

¹⁵⁶ *The Confession of Roun Math*, op. cit.





Math, but were released after more than a year of detention at the Kampong Kong Office.¹⁵⁷ Roun Math's document examiner made notes on his confession to track down and arrest his contacts. He circled the names of Leng Sokha (Sman Sleh), Math Set and Ly Treh, and wrote, "Comrade Men, ask 262 that if these people are there, follow them." The interrogator did not know of the arrest of Sman Sleh two months prior to Roun Math's. Next to Him Leh's name, an examiner wrote, "It is necessary to examine the clear personal history, opinions, and activities of Him Leh to evaluate this connection more clearly." An examiner also underlined the names Man Tech, Sleh Ly, Sa Lim, Sa Math, and Mit Min, and next to them wrote "Comrade Men! Write a letter to ask all units involved in this, ask all units, and if not found, ask 99 again. Write in the name of the office chief. If any of them have fled anywhere, state the details so they can be found." At the end of the confession of Roun Math is the sentence "Propose that Angkar imprison this one first."¹⁵⁸

Sa Math did not write in any detail about rebel activities, only that "Roun Math and Man Tech were the rebel leaders."¹⁵⁹ Man Tech left no documents about rebel forces or plans.¹⁶⁰

Sa Math's confession states, "In late May 1975 when I departed the political school at Koh Khsach Tonlea¹⁶¹ and had been at Unit 04 for ten days, I escaped and ran away to home." He also wrote that, "Someone named Sleh Ly urged me to betray the revolution."¹⁶² Ly responded: "I incited no rebel connections. In June 1975 myself, Sa Math, Sman Sleh, Loh Him, Hak and Math Set only discussed running back home because things were difficult, they only gave us three scoops of soup once a day, had us till the rice fields without a plow, and had us excavate the earth. Our living place was west of Krapeuhar pagoda [in Unit 99, Battalion 142, Division 703.] We fled home to Cham Leu village. We returned before we ever reached home. We split up on the way back."¹⁶³

Sman Sleh, Roun Math, Sa Math and Man Tech became Khmer Rouge soldiers because they were forced to do so, since many villages in Koh Thom district of

¹⁵⁷ Author's interview with Him Leh, op. cit.

¹⁵⁸ *The Confession of Roun Math*, op. cit.

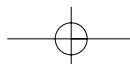
¹⁵⁹ *The Confession of Sa Math*, op. cit.

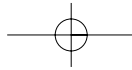
¹⁶⁰ *The Personal History of Man Tech*, op. cit.

¹⁶¹ "The KR used Koh Tonlea [Tonlea Island] as a reeducation camp for women whose husbands had been taken and killed or were separated from their husbands because of accusations that they were soldiers or workers for the Lon Nol regime." In interviews with five widows who had been sent to live on Koh Khsach Tonlea, Kalyanee posited that, "this entire matter shows the absolute attempt of the KR to break up family ties and the traditional relationship between husband and wife, between mother and child among Cambodians." The name of the island was published incorrectly in Kalyanee's article as "Koh Khsach Tonle." (Koh Khsach Tonlea is a subdistrict of Sa-ang district, Kandal province.) Mam Kalyanee, "Koh Khsach Tonlea, Island of the Widows," in *Searching for the truth*, Number 4, April 2000, pp. 58-61 and Number 5, May 2000, pp. 55-60.

¹⁶² *The Confession of Sa Math*, op. cit.

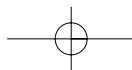
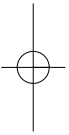
¹⁶³ Author's interview with Sleh Ly, op. cit.





Kandal province had been controlled by the Khmer Rouge since 1971. Dullah said, “In the Khmer Rouge era, the youth that became soldiers did not do so out of their own hearts. They were gathered up by youth chairmen, taken from the age of 15 years ... No one volunteered. Many disappeared from Cham Leu village here, more than 30 as I remember, and only two or three were ever seen to return.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Author's interview with Math Dullah, op. cit.



Mae Math aka Mae Ret**8**

Mae Math was born in 1949 in Prek Ta Hop village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Kratie province. His father was Sim Mae and his mother Mah Aisah. Prior to 1970 Math studied and helped his parents collect rubber sap at Kilo Sou Nam in Snuol district of Kratie province. Four of his five siblings still live in Prek Ta Hop village.¹⁶⁵

According to three witnesses (Math's aunts and sister), Math became a Khmer Rouge soldier in 1970, and his name was changed to the Khmer name "Saret." His aunt Man Cheou said that, "He did not volunteer [to become a KR soldier], they recorded his name and took him, there was no way to protest; if he had they would have killed his parents, so that's why he dared not protest."¹⁶⁶

Initially Math was sent to Chhlong in Kratie province, and later to Dambe district in Kampong Cham province. There his mother tracked him down to take him back home, but the Khmer Rouge commanders stopped him. Math asked for permission to return home to visit his parents at Prek Ta Hop village three times. He first returned in 1972, saying he had come from Dambe in Kampong Cham. His second visit was in 1973, saying he had come from Suong in Tbaung Khmum district of Kampong Cham province and that he had become a company commander leading 150 soldiers. His

¹⁶⁵ Author's interviews with:

Man Khadijah, age 60, aunt of Mae Math, at Prek Ta Hop village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Kratie province, 18 December 1999.

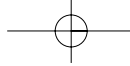
Mae Khadijah, age 45, elder sister of Mae Math, at Prek Ta Hop village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Kratie province, 19 December 1999.

Man Cheou, age 56, aunt of Mae Math, at Prek Ta Hop village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Kratie province, 18 December 1999.

The Confession of Mae Math aka Mae Ret, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02684.

The witnesses stated that, "Math was still single while he was a soldier," but Math's confession stated that he was married.

¹⁶⁶ Author's interview with Man Cheou, op. cit.



final visit was in 1975, saying he had just come from Kampong Cham and his commander had told him when he returned to his unit, they would attack Phnom Penh. Hearing this, his parents forbade him to return, but he told them that if he did not, he would be shot to death.¹⁶⁷

Math's confession stated that he joined the revolution (as a Khmer Rouge soldier) at Dambe district in Region 21, on 28 April 1970. In 1972 Angkar arranged for Math to go to the 13th Battalion of the Eastern Zone. In 1974 Math was wounded and recuperated at the Office (Munti) for the crippled of the 74th Company, P104 (Hospital 104). In May 1975 Angkar sent him to work in rubber tire factory K2. In December 1975 he was sent to rubber tire factory K6¹⁶⁸ to carry out administrative duties. In October 1976 Angkar removed him from his duties to grow vegetables (his confession does not give a reason for his removal). In December of that year, he took a political course at Boeng Trabek. Several days later Angkar arrested him.¹⁶⁹

Math arrived at S-21 on 4 January 1977 and was interrogated three times (20, 21 and 22 January 1977) by Prak Khan of Group 12.¹⁷⁰ His answers are recorded in 39 pages of documents, nearly all of which are signed "Mae Math aka Mae Ret." Math's confessions show that Prak Khan's questioning emphasized the "history or traitorous activity and traitor forces in the revolution," and that Math answered these questions many times.¹⁷¹

Training documents for Khmer Rouge cadres at S-21 entitled "Opinions and Stances in Security Duties" state that "When they confess, strive to detail their activities. In questioning to find people, be detailed in personal history, character, communications between them, with the intent of learning the opinions and principles of captured enemies ... even if they are brothers and sisters or people we have trusted, we must not allow emotions to hinder our duties ... we must maintain the position to [let them]

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Math's confession does not describe the location of the factory.

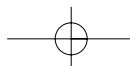
¹⁶⁹ *The Confession of Mae Math aka Mae Ret*, op. cit. He said that, "In December 76 I was studying politics at Boeng Trabek when I met Meakara [a rebel connection]. Later Meakara and I separated and had no contact until Angkar arrested me." (Math did not provide a date.)

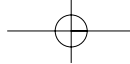
¹⁷⁰ The name "Prak Khan" is signed on 56 S-21 confessions, where he is listed as the interrogator. Lach Vorleak Kalyan, S-21 Interrogators: 1975-1979, op. cit.

Prak Khan denied ever being an S-21 interrogator, but did admit to being a guard. When shown a photo of Mae Math and asked, "Have you ever seen the prisoner at S-21?" Khan replied "I don't remember." When shown the confession of Mae Math signed by Prak Khan, Khan replied, "In those days, I was used to copy the documents of prisoners who could not write well, and after copying them I signed my name as the questioner." Author's interview with Prak Khan at Trapeang Sap subdistrict, Bati district, Takeo province, 17 July 2000.

For more details see "Prak Khan and his interrogation work in S-21" *Searching for the truth*, Number 10, October 2000, p. 16.

¹⁷¹ *The Confession of Mae Math aka Mae Ret*, op. cit.





live long in order to send confessions to the Party.”¹⁷²

In his confession, Math gave answers about his secret activities to oppose the revolutionary organization, but none of the witnesses confirmed this.¹⁷³

On one page of Math’s confession is a table with nine names, including Math’s. Next to six names are cross marks, signifying that they had already been arrested or killed; Math’s name was marked with a cross.¹⁷⁴ There is no evidence of whether or not the three others died as the result of a Khmer Rouge action.

Math’s confession states that he was arrested because he had plans to rebel since 1974 (e.g., plans to run off to Vietnam, to create a Khmer Sa (White Khmer) army,¹⁷⁵ to create groups within the military and factories to seize power). Math never confessed that he had actually carried out these activities, only that he had planned them. Math made only one clear confession: “In May 1975 Angkar arranged for me to go to the rubber tire factory K2. As for Makara [the name of one of his rebel contacts since 1974], Angkar sent Makara to factory T1 at Pochentong. I was at rubber tire factory K2 for five months. I had a free nature in drinking alcohol and making trouble for those near me, and was free in moving around. Furthermore, I created a dispute with Ms. Vat. I told Ms. Vat that Angkar had said she was very lazy in her work. She cried in objection to the factory chairman and those objections were heard from one factory to another. [This was] Because I was not satisfied with this factory chairman and wanted to cause her to fall from her position so I could be chosen to replace her as the new chairman.”¹⁷⁶

On 18 October 1977, 179 prisoners at S-21 were removed for execution.¹⁷⁷ Among them was Math, who was number 46 on the list of prisoners to be destroyed. All 179 had undergone interrogation, but their time in detention and their tortures varied. Some had been at S-21 for many months, others had arrived only three or four days previously, but they were all killed together.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² *Statistics of Santebal S-21, Politics, Attitude, Organization*, op. cit.

¹⁷³ Author’s interviews with Man Khadijah, op. cit., Mae Khadijah, op. cit. and Man Cheou, op. cit.

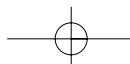
¹⁷⁴ *The Confession of Mae Math aka Mae Ret*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Summary of Traitor Connections of Mae Math aka Mae Ret.” In all confessions held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia, a name marked with a cross meant that the person had already been arrested or killed.

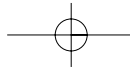
¹⁷⁵ Khmer Sa (White Khmer) was a resistance group created after 1970; it disappeared after 1975. A goal of the White Khmer was to oppose Lon Nol in order to demand power for Sihanouk. When they were active, they joined with the Khmer Rouge.

¹⁷⁶ *The Confession of Mae Math aka Mae Ret*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Summary of Traitor Connections of Mae Math aka Mae Ret.”

¹⁷⁷ See the 1977 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, op. cit., “Mae Math aka Ret, from Factory K1, duty-section leader, entered 4-1-77, smashed 18-10-77.”

¹⁷⁸ The author’s research found that if the prisoner was an ordinary citizen, he or she would be held only one or two

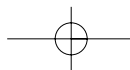


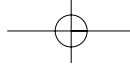


After 1979, Math's family kept up hope and tried every means to learn about his fate, but heard nothing about him. Cheou (his aunt) stated, "I assume in my heart he does not survive, that they took him off somewhere and killed him. If he were alive there would have been some news already." He added that "Where Mae Math went is unknown, I know only Mae Zen [Math's elder brother]; the Khmer Rouge took him in a boat and took him away to be killed at Koh Phal in Krauch Chhmar district [Kampong Cham province]."¹⁷⁹

days. If the prisoner had been a leader or had important duties (either in earlier regimes or the KR regime), he or she would be kept alive for a longer period, from 15 days to a year or more.

¹⁷⁹ Author's interview with Man Cheou, op. cit.





Man Math aka Man Man 9

Born in 1949 to a poor family living at Prek Bak village, Prek Bak subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, Man Man's birth name was Man Math. His father Dullah died when Man was four years old.¹⁸⁰

He lived in poverty with his mother Halimah (Man Halimah) until 1970 when he joined the revolution at Prek Bak village. In 1973 he held the rank of deputy group leader in Platoon 408 of Region 31. In mid-1974, he was promoted to political officer of Platoon 3, Company 3, Battalion 736, in Division 2 of the Northern Zone. In 1975, Man was wounded at the Prasith mountain battlefield. After he left the hospital, he was sent to the Ministry of State Commerce (Phsar Thmei, Phnom Penh), where he was promoted to chairman of Group 3, Platoon 1. In October 1975, when Man was 26 years old, he was arrested by Angkar.¹⁸¹

Because of his family's poverty, Man was not able to attend school. In order to get a little money to buy rice, he fished with hook, line and net¹⁸² in the swamp at the rear of the village. In 1969, Man earned his living carrying beans on his bicycle from Andaung Svay village, Moulthan Russei Ka subdistrict, Sting Trang district to sell at

¹⁸⁰ *The Confession of Man Math aka Man*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02675.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

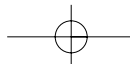
The author's interviews with three witnesses revealed that none of them knew Man's rank, duties, or place of assignment:

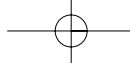
Sa Ibrahim, age 43, at Prek Bak village, Prek Bak subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 20 December 1999.

Man Halimah, age 65, mother of Man, at Prek Bak village, Prek Bak subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham, 20 December 1999.

Man Sim, age 65, uncle of Man, at Prek Bak village, 20 December 1999.

¹⁸² An example of this type of fishing is the tying of nylon line into squares like those of a net for setting in the water, with both sides tied to poles set 30 meters apart for up to 100 meters according to the length of the apparatus.





the Vietnamese border.¹⁸³ After that, Man confessed, he had joined the CIA through men named Heng and Pruonh with whom he had worked, and had received a 6,000 riel monthly salary from the CIA when he first joined. In 1970 his salary was 15,000 riels and by 1974 his salary had risen to 65,000 riels.¹⁸⁴

When asked how her son communicated with Vietnamese, Halimah said “My son did not know how to speak Khmer, he was helped by those bean sellers, in fact my son was ignorant and could not even speak Khmer.” She added, “Other than making a living selling beans, he didn’t do anything, only fished a little with hook or net to feed himself, he did no other trading.”¹⁸⁵ The statements of Halimah did not imply at all that he was ever politically active, a member of the CIA, or had received a salary from the CIA, as his confessions state.

Before Man died, he left 154 pages of confessions. There, he stated that he became a member of the Khmer Rouge militia on 20 October 1970, through Sar, the subdistrict chief. Man’s mother stated that, “In the very beginning it was nothing, but as time went on they called him here and there and after five or six months they called him into the militia. At first I protested but he [Man] was determined, and I only cried and screamed. I said he was my only child, I would not let him go. But I could not stop him.” Halimah said that later comrade “Sar” asked to take her son to Kampong Cham. “When he [Sar] came to tell me he had gone [to Kampong Cham] I said no, I would not let him go. He said how was it that I would not let him go when he had already gone. He had been determined to go.” Halimah shed tears when recalling the reason for the loss of her son.¹⁸⁶

Sa Ibrahim was a Khmer Rouge soldier from 1973 until 1980 and one of Man’s subordinates during 1973-75. He recalled that Man was very brave in battle against the enemy and rose to platoon leader over about 200 soldiers. Ibrahim said, “He was wounded with me. It was in the attack at Thom village east of Prasith mountain [in Ponhea Leu district, Kandal province] that he lost one arm and an eye... In June 1975 we separated, he was crippled but not in a unit for the handicapped ...He was wounded at Thom village two months before [the Khmer Rouge entered] Phnom Penh.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ On this point witnesses and Man’s confessions agree. See:

Author’s interview with Man Halimah, op. cit.

The Confession of Man Math aka Man, op. cit. See the section entitled “Personal History.”

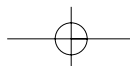
¹⁸⁴ *The Confession of Man Math aka Man*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Personal History.”

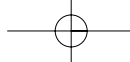
¹⁸⁵ Author’s interview with Man Halimah, op. cit.

The Confession of Man Math aka Man, op. cit. See the section entitled “Personal History.”

¹⁸⁶ Author’s interview with Man Halimah, op. cit.

¹⁸⁷ Author’s interview with Sa Ibrahim, op. cit. Ibrahim saw that Man had lost an arm, had been blinded in one eye, and had received chest wounds.





Man talked of being crippled in his confession: “In 1975 Angkar laid plans to smash the enemy, and sent me to smash the enemy at Eteureus mountain (near Prasith mountain). The regimental political officer was wounded and the political officer had me replace him until later when I was wounded. On 17 April (1975) when I returned from medical treatment, Angkar put me back as platoon leader like before. I was crippled in my legs, lungs, and eye, and Angkar moved me to the crippled veterans side in the Ministry of Commerce.”¹⁸⁸

Man’s confession does not show the interrogator’s name or dates, and only some pages show “Office (Munti) S-21 number ...” on the first line of each of these pages. Some pages are typewritten and others are written in four different types of ballpoint pen, indicating that perhaps four people wrote Man’s documents.¹⁸⁹ On the page dealing with rebel contacts there are many notes made by a document examiner. On the first page concerning Man’s contacts with traitors, an examiner wrote “Comrade Hor, I asked once about all his connections so it would be easy to ask further about them. In my experience, he has not yet fully answered, and has only partially confessed.” “Comrade Peng¹⁹⁰ send to Comrade Hor 143.”¹⁹¹ On another, the examiner noted next to the contacts’ names: “From now on it is forbidden to write just (first) names, there must be family names, former names, and revolutionary names.” A sentence at the end of the names of the rebel contacts states: “Ask more clearly about each person’s activities, it looks like this one is concealing many matters and activities.”¹⁹²

Man confessed to six points regarding his arrest and detention at S-21. First, “I met with traitors and I did not report this to Angkar.” Second, “I captured weapons and gave them to Pin, and Pin did not report this to Angkar. He hid them himself.” Third, “I let Pruonh sleep at my place, Pin had sent him there for one night.” Fourth, “Pin and Pruonh sent Pruonh’s messenger to my place for four days. I was sick then, and I received him. Angkar was concerned about me.” Fifth, “The problem about my stay for medical care. Pin had Pruonh take me to the hospital for care, and Pruonh stayed

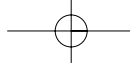
¹⁸⁸ *The Confession of Man Math aka Man*, op. cit.

¹⁸⁹ The handwriting in ballpoint pen contained many mistakes, as if produced by someone who had just learned to write. Man’s mother stated that Man was illiterate.

¹⁹⁰ Peng was a Chinese-Cambodian, born in 1950 at Prek Tauch, Sa-ang district, Kandal province. Peng was responsible for the guards at S-21. He organized the newly arrived prisoners into small or large cells. According to Khieu La, former S-21 guard, Peng “held all the keys to the small cells.” Peng reported to Duch (to help make) decisions on whether prisoners should be interrogated, held first, or taken to be killed. Peng followed along behind Duch during prison inspections and acted as if he were Duch’s bodyguard. In 1978 Peng was removed from his duties and replaced by Him Huy. Vann Nath (a surviving former S-21 prisoner) was extremely afraid of Peng and called Peng “a cruel and vicious child.” Chandler, David, *Voices from S-21*, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁹¹ Hor was the deputy commander of S-21. Formerly named Khim Vat, he was born in Naony village, Traey Sla subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province. He joined the revolution as a youth during March 1966 with Division 11 (later the 703rd). Hor was blinded in one eye during combat. *Personal History of Hor*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number K09336. There are many Hor signatures on the entry-exit lists for prisoners. S-21 Prisoner Execution Lists, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Numbers D21897, D21898, D21899.

¹⁹² *The Confession of Man Math aka Man*, op. cit. See the section entitled “Connections.” Man confessed to 31 contacts



with me one night. Angkar arrested Pruonh and later became concerned with me as I had been at the hospital with Pruonh. [Angkar] was very concerned about me.” Sixth, “The matter of me declaring in my personal history, before I wrote platoon political officer, and later I wrote deputy regimental political officer.” Man continued, “As for all my deficiencies, I have been loyal and so I have confessed all. As for all the above shortcomings and other matters such as incitement and major treason, I have nothing [to confess]. I respectfully show my loyalty. I have not [done these things], this is all.”¹⁹³

Ibrahim knew about Man’s arrest. “He [Man] came to the hospital to visit me while I was at Keto Mealea Hospital. When I returned they told me that Man had been arrested ... they arrested him and sent him to Tuol Sleng (S-21).” However, Ibrahim stated that he never saw Man do anything wrong. On the contrary, Ibrahim only saw Man’s clear and strong stances and his bravery in combat on the battlefield.¹⁹⁴

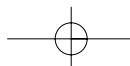
After five years of struggle in the service of the Khmer Rouge Communist Party, Man was executed by the Khmer Rouge. Halmah has waited for her son to return since 1979. She cried, “There have only been rumors, that he went here or there, but nothing of whether he lived or died. I assume he must have died as he had not come back, if alive he would have come back.” Man’s uncle, Man Sim, also said, “Now others have come, but he hasn’t come back. So he must be dead.”¹⁹⁵

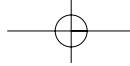
including Heng Pin and Prunh, who were the alleged leaders. Prunh and Pin were arrested and sent to S-21 before Man. Their confessions also implicated Man as a traitor connection.

¹⁹³ *The Confession of Man Math aka Man*, op. cit.

¹⁹⁴ Author’s interview with Sa Ibrahim, op. cit.
When questioned about Man’s treasonous activities, neither Man Halimah nor Man Sim knew of any such activities.

¹⁹⁵ Author’s interviews with Man Halimah, op. cit. and Man Sim, op. cit.





Him Man aka Proem 10

From his birth in 1951 until 1970, Him Man lived in Po Tonle village, Koh Thom subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province. His father Kaup Rim and his mother Math Keas now live at Prek Ta Peou village, Daem Mien subdistrict, Ta Khmau district, Kandal province.¹⁹⁶ (Man's confession stated that his father was Kaup Him and mother was Mom Keas.)

Man became a member of the Khmer Rouge militia in Koh Thom subdistrict during 1970 (two of his brothers were also forced into the army by the Khmer Rouge and also disappeared). In March 1973 he was a soldier in Platoon 117, Company 72. In 1974 Man was wounded and treated at Hospital 311. In July 1974 he was assigned to the Production Unit of District 18 (Koh Thom) of Region 25. In February 1975 Man was transferred to Fishery Lot 9 in Region 25 and remained there until the day of his arrest.¹⁹⁷

Man was forced into becoming a soldier at his hometown of Po Tonle village.¹⁹⁸ Before Man was taken to become a soldier, Kaup Rim said, "He was always running off to the forests, hiding, without food, all day and all night at times ... sleeping in the forest, eating potatoes. When out of food he would return home, and it was when he had come back home, that they grabbed him." Rim added, "Treh, the village chief, is the one who arrested him." Man's confession supports this: "Treh, the chief of Po Tonle village, took me to enter the subdistrict militia."¹⁹⁹

Rim urged his son to seek refuge from the Khmer Rouge: "So, I'll die then, you go by yourself ... prepare everything and float away on a raft [to Vietnam]. Only one night

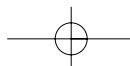
¹⁹⁶ Author's interviews with Kaup Rim, age 68, and Math Keas, age 65, parents of Man, at Prek Ta Peou village, Daem Mien subdistrict, Ta Khmau district, Kandal province, 13 March 2000.

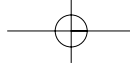
The Confession of Him Man, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02673.

¹⁹⁷ *The Confession of Him Man*. op.cit. Fishery Lot was in Leuk Dek district, Kandal province.

¹⁹⁸ See note 92.

¹⁹⁹ Author's interviews with Kaup Rim and Math Keas, op. cit.





on the river and you'll be there." But Man would not abandon his parents and replied, "I won't go, I'm afraid they will kill Mother and Father."²⁰⁰ Because of this, the Khmer Rouge cadres took Man away from them to become a young soldier.

Concerning the forcing of youths to become soldiers at Po Tonle village and two other Cham villages, Cham Leu and Cham Kraom, both also in Koh Thom district, Math Dullah and Him Leh stated that the Khmer Rouge had controlled that territory since 1970, and whether or not the village youth wanted to become soldiers, they could not escape being grabbed by force. After 1979 only two or three of these former Khmer Rouge soldiers were known to have survived.²⁰¹

One year after Man had become a soldier, his parents were evacuated to Baren village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, where the family's living conditions steadily worsened. One day Math Keas, Man's mother, was walking in the fields after the harvest and gathering up paddy rice kernels to prepare for her small children. On that same day, Keas reached Kraingyauv village, also in Sa-ang district. It was her good fortune to meet her son Man there. "I was gathering rice droppings at Kraingyauv and saw my child there ... he was dressed in black and wearing a hat ... dressed like Pol Pot [like Pol Pot soldiers], just like Pol Pot dressed, so did he."²⁰²

Keas paused for a second as if she were trying to recall something, then continued, "My child went to Kraingyauv, where they gave him the name Proem. Proem was Man." Math Keas' words were identical to those in Man's confession: "Former name Him Man, revolutionary name Proem." Man's mother met her son for only a few hours. While they were talking, Man's commander sent him off somewhere else without saying clearly where that place was. Man looked up at his mother's face and said, "I don't know about things, Mother. They are taking me again. If you see me come back, I am alive, if I disappear, then I'm dead." Keas never saw her child's face again, and never learned what became of him.²⁰³

On 22 July 1975, he became a prisoner at the Khmer Rouge Office (Munti) 15,²⁰⁴ and

The Confession of Him Man, op. cit.

²⁰⁰ Author's interview with Kaup Rim and Math Keas, op. cit.

²⁰¹ Author's interviews with Math Dullah and Him Leh at Cham Leu village, op. cit.

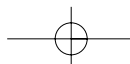
²⁰² Author's interviews with Kaup Rim and Math Keas, op. cit.

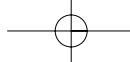
²⁰³ Ibid.

The Confession of Him Man, op. cit.

²⁰⁴ Author's interview with El Him, op. cit. He stated that Office 15 was a KR prison in Koh Thmei village, Sa-ang district, Kandal province.

"Koh Thmei had a school and temple that the KR used as prisons. Today the people have built a memorial there to hold the remains of thousands, and near the memorial there are 200 grave pits. Analysis shows that 5-6,000 died there." *On the Killing Field of the Khmer Rouge at Koh Thmei village, Khpop subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 1 March 1996.*





was eventually imprisoned and tortured at S-21, where he died.²⁰⁵

On Man's 18 pages of confessions are handwritten letters and a typewritten section. No interrogator's name is on these documents. The "Table of Organization of Rebel Forces" contains the names of seven persons who Man implicated as his rebel leaders. One of these was a Cham named Pry Yusuf. Man claimed that Yusuf had already been arrested, but in the documents of 42 Cham discovered at S-21, there was no Pry Yusuf. People who lived in the same village with Yusuf and knew him also claimed that Yusuf disappeared during the Pol Pot era. Two other names were Khmer, whom Man noted as "dead," which may mean they had already been murdered. Two escaped Khmer Rouge arrest (they had taken refuge in Vietnam during 1975-79) and two others were being sought.²⁰⁶

The final page of the confessions contains the observations of a Khmer Rouge cadre, "as this person is a slippery one with connections to Chhorn, a direct organizational contact of Chhorn,²⁰⁷ he has not confessed honestly and is still concealing a number of other matters. Propose that Angkar further imprison this one." On one side of this page is Angkar's reply dated 1 January 1976, "Approved."²⁰⁸

30 December 1975 was the final day of Man's first interrogation. The date of his confession after his second interrogation and the length of his detention at S-21 are unknown, but a note made by a Khmer Rouge document examiner on his confession shows that as of 12 March 1976, Man was still in custody. The note says "Keep him, and ask about his contacts."²⁰⁹ No notes saying "Kill him" or "Remove him" were found. Thus, Man had been under detention for 7 months and 20 days, and was still awaiting Angkar's final decision.

Documentation Center of Cambodia Mapping Reports Numbers 081003, 04, and 05.

²⁰⁵ *The Confession of Him Man*, op. cit. The document does not show that Man was sent in from Office 15, but his confession was found at S-21.

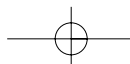
²⁰⁶ Ibid.

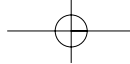
Author's interview with Math Dullah, op. cit., 22 March 2000. Dullah explained that the surviving "connections," Soh Maut and Yam, fled to Vietnam, where they live today.

²⁰⁷ Chhorn is the name that appears first on the Table of Organization of Rebel Forces.

²⁰⁸ *The Confession of Him Man*, op. cit., section on "Assumptions."

²⁰⁹ This note to "ask about his contacts" indicates that Man was interrogated again and made another confession.





Prisoners at S-21

Only after a prisoner was beaten until confessing fully or could no longer speak at all, would an interrogation be considered complete.²¹⁰ According to many interrogators' reports from S-21, some prisoners died during interrogation, while others became increasingly incapacitated due to beatings until they eventually died in their cells.²¹¹ These reports also show that some prisoners chose to die quickly by using pens to pierce their blood vessels or taking poison rather than continuing to be tortured.²¹² The execution lists reporting the names of those killed are irrefutable evidence of the oft-spoken words of the Khmer people, "the Khmer Rouge are murderers," and are no different from a slogan the Khmer Rouge themselves wrote, "To keep you is no gain, to remove you is no loss."²¹³

After 1979, Man's elderly mother walked to various villages to seek out her child. She also went to large and small Khmer Rouge prison sites to learn if her child had really died, continuing to believe that he would return some day. "I walked around looking for him [Man] at this prison and that prison. They said my child was at S-21 in Phnom Penh, but I went there too and did not see him. I looked at temples, looked everywhere, but did not see him," Keas said in a trembling voice. She shouted "My child died in misfortune, were it not so, I would have seen him already. No matter what hole he was in he would have crawled back home." Man's father also misses his son and has regrets; for more than 30 years, Rim has remembered his son's last words to him, "Mother and Father, if I am gone for long, don't look for me. I'll be dead." At that time Rim did not know how to help his son, because Khmer Rouge cadres were

²¹⁰ Prisoners were interrogated over several days before being taken to be killed. Interrogators made prisoners who could write prepare their own confessions or recorded the answers given during confessions if the prisoner could not write. Each prisoner went through interrogation periods of varying length, depending upon his "mistakes" and level of duties before arrest. *Daily Interrogators' Reports*, held in box 15, Documentation Center of Cambodia.

²¹¹ See the Confessions of Former S-21 Interrogators Sim Mel aka Man, Neou Kantha, and Sok Ra. These documents tell of beatings and interrogations to the point of death at the place of interrogation. Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Numbers D02678, D00153, and D00160.

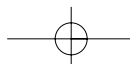
See 1975 execution list "Illness Section" at Documentation Center of Cambodia, which shows that during 1-15 May 1976, 45 prisoners died of illness at S-21.

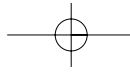
Haji Saleh Yahya died in his cell at S-21, "numb and worn-out." For more detail see note 79.

²¹² Ea Meng-Try's interview with Khieu Ches aka Peou, a "catcher" of prisoners to be sent to S-21, at Banteay Meas village, Ta Ches subdistrict, Kampong Tralach district, Kampong Chhang province, 12 February 2000. Peou described a case of suicide at S-21 in which the victim used a pen for writing confessions to pierce his blood vessels.

See S-21 circular, "On discipline to defend against the enemy," item 6: "If the enemy takes action to break the locks, hang himself by the neck, cut his wrists, swallow snails, immediate measures must be taken to shackle the hands behind the back and report to the one in charge without delay." Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D01508.

²¹³ Ser Sayana is responsible for preparing and assembling slogans, goals, theories, poems and songs of the Khmer Rouge. She stated that, "Almost all slogans, goals and theories of the Khmer Rouge created in the DK era came from personal implementation in that society. As with "To keep [you] is no gain, to remove [you] is no loss," Sayana said that this slogan was not used to threaten the people, but clearly the Khmer Rouge killed nearly 2,000,000 Cambodians



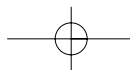
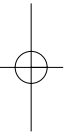
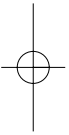


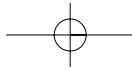
arresting his child (Man) to send him off to be a soldier. Rim could only say to comfort his child, “Don’t cry child, what they call ‘revolution,’ that’s the way it is.”²¹⁴

during 1975-79. She added that, “the phrase that if anyone was removed from a place, in the ordinary language of the people, means to not allow someone to stay in that place any longer. But in the language of the Khmer Rouge, “remove” meant to “kill and cast away.” Author’s interview with Ser Sayana, Documentation Center of Cambodia, 13 June 2000.

At the end of the majority of S-21 and S-21 Kho execution lists, Hor, the deputy of S-21, and Huy Sre, chief of S-21 Kho, wrote, “Names of Prisoners Who Must be Removed.” Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Numbers D21897, D21898, D21899.

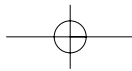
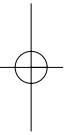
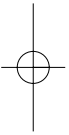
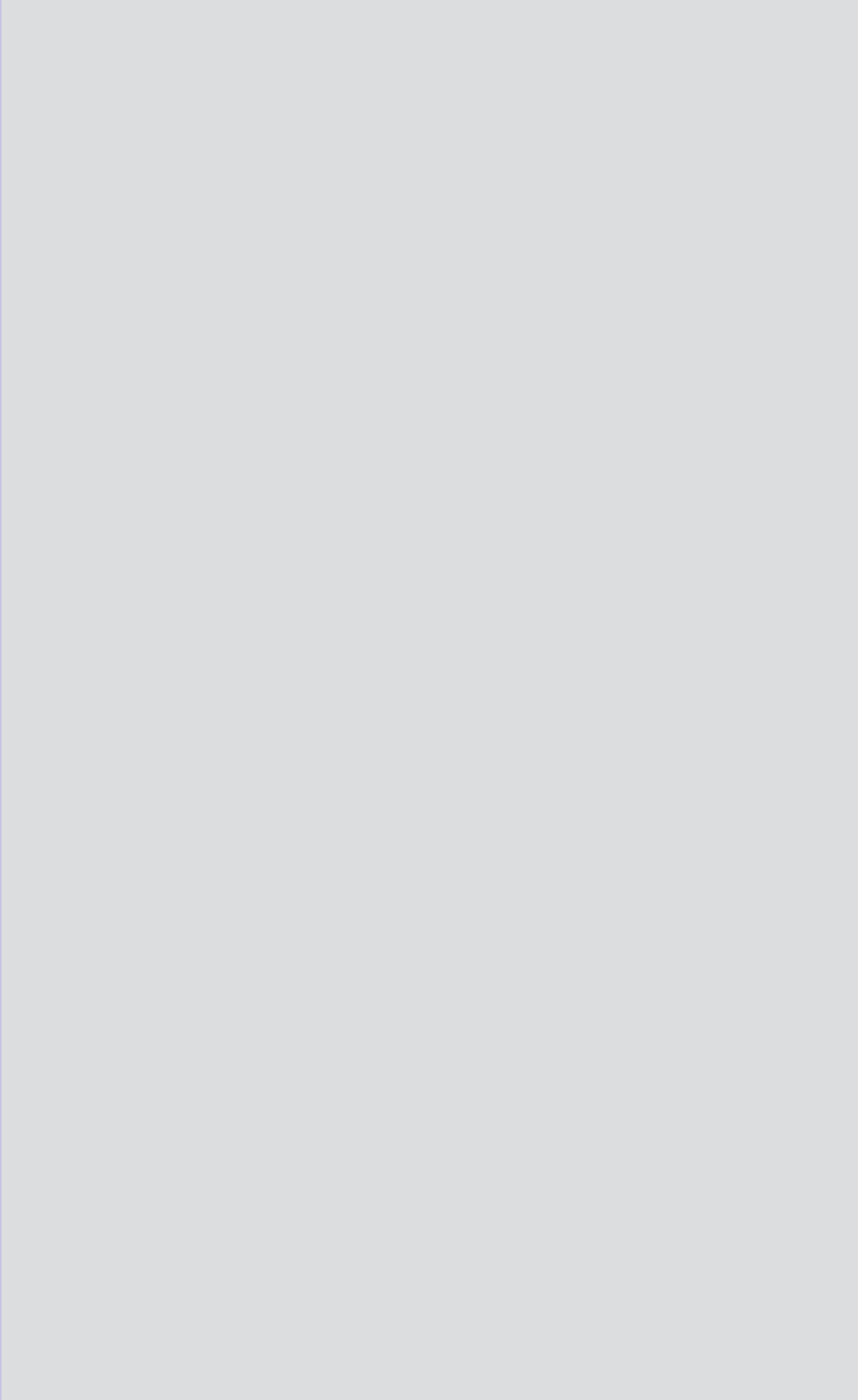
²¹⁴ Author’s interviews with Kaup Rim and Math Keas, *op. cit.*

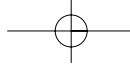




56

Oukoubah





Sim Mel aka Man 11

Sim Mel aka Man was born in 1955 in Baren village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province. His father was Sah Kae and his mother Keas; he was the eldest of eight siblings.²¹⁵

In childhood Man studied Islam in his home village and with famous *toun* (teachers of Islam) in Chroy Changvar (Phnom Penh), Chumnik village, Trea village (Krauch Chhmar district) and Rokar Popram village (Tbaung Khmum district) in Kampong Cham province. He returned home after the demonstrations to overthrow Sihanouk in 1970, before completing his studies. Many witnesses claim that Man knew Islam very deeply. A fellow student named El Him is today a *toun* and religious leader in Cham Kraom village.²¹⁶

Man became a Khmer Rouge soldier in 1971 in Sa-ang district²¹⁷ because he was angry at Lon Nol soldiers who had bombed his village, killing many villagers and burning

²¹⁵ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02678.

²¹⁶ Author's interviews with:

Kae Math Zen, age 42, younger brother of Man, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 6 November 1999.

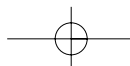
Haji Ahmad, age 55, who knew Man from birth, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 6 November 1999.

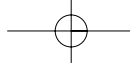
El Dullah, age 60, who knew Man from birth, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 6 November 1999.

El Him, op. cit.

The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man, op. cit.

²¹⁷ Man joined the KR army in April 1971 through Yum and Lim, and was stationed at the Prek Chi battlefield for three months. Later he studied military techniques at Koh Thom district. While studying, Man met Tem and Song Ly. They used Man as their messenger in Company 175. In 1972 he went to stay with Lorn [Lorn's position unknown]. In 1973 he was chief of Office 267, responsible for rounding up battlefield deserters. He returned to Lorn at the Tonle Bassak battlefield in 1974. In the same year, Man studied "investigations" for five months at the military school. Later





down many houses. In particular, his grandmother was killed by an artillery round fired by Lon Nol soldiers.²¹⁸ Prior to 1975, Man was a messenger for Ta Nat, the commander of Division 12 (later called the Division 703), based at Damrei Slap village, Sa-ang Phnom subdistrict.²¹⁹ Him Huy got to know Man in 1974 when the latter worked with Ta Nat.²²⁰

Man worked as an interrogator inside S-21 from July 1976 until the Party relieved him of his duties in March 1977.²²¹ After Man had worked at S-21, he was sent by the Party to farm at Prey Sa (Office 24 or S-21 Kho), another branch of S-21, until he was arrested and taken back to S-21 on 28 October 1977. There, he was questioned from 3 November 1977 to 13 January 1978 by interrogators Chhin and Vun. Man's confessions contain 22 interrogation dates, indicating that he was interrogated 22

he was an investigator in Battalion 143. In 1975 Man was in the investigation unit of Division 12 and was sent by the party to Ta Khmau [unknown unit] west of the Kandal provincial headquarters. Later Man was chosen by the party to work for Santebal at Ta Khmau. There Man guarded prisoners. In May 1976 Man left Ta Khmau for the messenger unit at Prey Sar, and later was sent to Boeng Tumpun. In July of that same year, the party sent Man to the interrogation unit at S-21. *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit.

Author's interview with Kae Math Sen, op. cit. "Man was a KR soldier since 1970, operating from the Sa-ang district headquarters to Koh Thom, since between Sa-ang headquarters and Phnom Penh was all the Lon Nol forces. In 1973 Man visited home once. He was wearing a pistol, and had a folding-stock AK rifle and a radio transceiver. In 1975 he came back, but not to the house, only to the Au Pang ferry crossing on the other side of the river. His parents and siblings knew that Man was the messenger of Ta Nath, commander of Division 12 [later the 703rd]."

²¹⁸ Author's interview with Kae Math Sen, op. cit.

²¹⁹ Author's interviews with:

Kae Math Zen, op. cit.

Chim Aminah, age 59, who knew Sim Mel (Man) before 1975, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 21 March 2000.

El Man, age 52, who knew Sim Mel (Man) before 1975, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 21 March 1999.

Mao Nil, age 47, a KR soldier together with Man, at Village 8, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 13 March 1999.

Muy Tech Leng, op. cit.

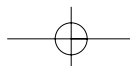
²²⁰ Author's interview with Him Huy, at Anlong San village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 21 December 2001.

²²¹ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit. Man did not explain why the party removed him from his duties at S-21.

The Confessions of Former S-21 Interrogators Neou Kantha and Sok Ra, relate to the treason of Man and confirm that Man was an interrogator at S-21. Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Numbers D00153 and D00160.

Youk Chhang's interview with Him Huy, former S-21 guard, at Documentation Center of Cambodia, 28 May 2000. Him Huy stated, "Man was an interrogator at S-21. Everyone in the office knew Man was a Cham, and later he was arrested."

Author's interview with Prak Khan, former S-21 interrogator, op. cit. Khan stated that "One ethnic minority member



times.²²² Subsequently, the Khmer Rouge kept him imprisoned until 30 April 1978, when a list from Angkar ordered Man to be taken and “smashed.”²²³

“When I was torturing, I just thought of hitting them, not of following up questioning but on whatever I could do to torture the prisoner and cause him to be unable to function. My own group beat four prisoners to death.”²²⁴ This one sentence of Man’s 97 pages of confessions is evidence of the savageness and cruelty of S-21 interrogators toward innocent prisoners. But Man, just like the other interrogators, saw these as normal occurrences.²²⁵

During the eight months²²⁶ that Man was an interrogator at S-21, he mistreated and beat to death many innocent people: “I beat Mam Keng aka Sak, until he could no longer be worked on. Questioned Ke Meas, a palace official who was stubborn and would not speak; I was too lazy to interrogate him together with Horng, and beat him until he could not be worked with further and died in the prison. I acted together with Horng during the questioning of Kit Soem aka Nin. Myself, Leng and Thong beat Chhoeun, a battalion commander in Division 920, and Chhorn, a commander of group 310, because they would not talk, beat and tortured them until they couldn’t be worked with further. I beat to death Phen from Hospital P98. Leng and I beat a major from the Geographic Ministry without getting testimony until he died in the prison. I questioned Tea Meng Tek from Malaysia. I questioned Nin, chief of the medical group at P98.”²²⁷

In March 1977 the Party sent Man to the Prey Sar Reeducation Office and gave him the duty of being a member of Company 13 in Office 24 or S-21D. In August 1977, the Party reassigned him to be a member of the agricultural committee in the same office. In August, office chief Huy (Huy Sre)²²⁸ planned to arrest Man because he didn’t pump water in time for those planting rice. But Man learned of this in advance

was an interrogator at S-21, named Man. Man beat prisoners to death during interrogations at S-21.”

²²² *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit. Man was interrogated between 3 November 1977 and 13 January 1978.

²²³ See 1978 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21899. “Sim Mel aka Man, from S-21 Kho (Prey Sar), interrogation team chief, smashed 30-4-1978 (no date of entry).”

²²⁴ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit.

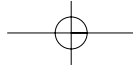
Author’s interview with Prak Khan, op. cit.

²²⁵ “The problem of torture, torture is used to get their answers, not for entertainment. So make them hurt so they will answer quickly.” *Statistics of Santebal S-21, Politics, Attitude, Organization*, op. cit, the section on “Attitudes toward interrogation.”

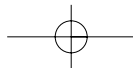
²²⁶ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit. “In July 1976 I [Man] worked at S-21 as an interrogator ... in March 1977 the party sent me to the Prey Sar Reeducation Office to be a member of Company 13 at Office 24.”

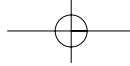
²²⁷ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit.

²²⁸ For a brief biography of Huy, see note 139.

**Sim Mel aka Man or Sok Vanna?**

The identity of the young man in the photograph above is a matter of some uncertainty. According to relatives and colleagues interviewed by the author in 2001-2002, the photo shows Man, who was born to parents named Sah Kae and Keas in 1955 in Baren village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province. Two former S-21 employees--Him Huy and Prak Khan--confirmed that the photo shows Man, as did his surviving brother and aunt, who last saw Man in 1978. However, during further research interviews conducted July 2-4, 2002, Sok Soung and Khoem E asserted that the photo shows their lost son, Sok Vanna, born in 1951 in Prek Thmei village, Koki Thom subdistrict, Kien Svay district, Kandal province. His brother (Sok Pary) and uncle (Lach Saran) also claimed that the photo shows Sok Vanna, last seen by Lach Saran in 1979.





SOME VICTIMS OF SIM MEL

Ke Meas was born in Ta Ny village, Ta Ny subdistrict, Angkor Chey district, Takeo province, in 1916. His father was Ke Mak, and his mother Nget. Ke Meas married Va Kampaong (nicknamed Vor) in Siem Reap district, Siem Reap province. Before 17 April 1975, he was a chief of the Royal Palace, Phnom Penh. Before his arrest on 1 January 1977 at the Russian Commerce School in Phnom Penh, he was a chief of Sihanouk's Cabinet. He was detained in House *Kbo*, large room 04, small room 8 at S-21. During his interrogation, Sim Mel beat him to death.

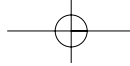


Mam Keng aka Sak was a Khmer Rouge cadre in the Product Unit of Region 15. He was arrested in 1976 in Region 15 and sent to S-21. During his interrogation, Sim Mel beat him to death. (No sources have been found that provide additional background on Mam Keng).



Tea Meng Tek was born in Baray subdistrict, Baray district, Kampong Thom province, on 11 April 1932. His father was Tea Chhuon, and his mother Lang Cheng. Tea Meng Tek married Cheng Maklen in Kampong Siem district, Kampong Cham province. During the Sangkum Reastr Niyum and Khmer Republic eras, he was a teacher. The Khmer Rouge arrested him at Boeng Trabek, Phnom Penh, on 12 December 1976 and sent him to S-21. He was interrogated by Sim Mel and smashed on 18 March 1977.





from friends and fled to Region (Dambon) 25. On 24 October 1977 Man fled on a bicycle along route 38 with the intention of meeting Chea, the Secretary of Region 25, in order to hide himself in that area. Friends of Man had written a letter introducing Man to Chea, which Man was carrying with him. The letter stated “Propose the Brother Chea, Secretary of Region 25, receive this [comrade] Man and conceal him because here at the Prey Sar Reeducation Office the Party is planning to arrest the comrade who is carrying this letter.”²²⁹

When Man reached a point west of the Sa-ang district Office, the militia blocked his journey. His confession states, “I saw that the situation wasn’t good before the militia came to inspect me. I tore up the letter and threw it away in the grass. When the militia inspected me, I had no travel permit, so they arrested me.” Man was taken to be imprisoned at Koh Kor in that district for four days. Later he was sent to S-21.²³⁰

Chim Aminah, who personally witnessed the arrest of Man, made a different claim than the one in the confession. She stated that, “Man reached my house in the dark, about 4:00 am. Then my house was at Veal village, also known as Damrei Slap village. He was alone. He had a bicycle, a hammock, and a pair of shoes. I asked Man how he had gotten there. He replied, “Auntie don’t talk. I fled here because they are going to take me to be killed ... they kill according to [one’s] leaders, and I was with Brother Nat [a commander of Division 703], and now Brother Nat and Brother Pin have already been killed. That’s why I’m here.” “Aminah continued, “Khmer Rouge had announced that if any soldiers or relatives arrived from somewhere else, to inform them. Man coming like that, if I had informed them, they would have killed him. So I hid him in a trench for two days and concealed rice which I took to him to eat ... When they saw the bicycle, they were suspicious, so they came and found him [Man] ... They suspected him and so they grabbed him. He fled. They chased him out of eyesight. I don’t know if they caught him or not. I did not dare stand and watch.” Later all of Aminah’s family were accused of concealing the enemy and were imprisoned at Koh Khsach Tonlea until 1979.²³¹ According to Aminah, two people arrested Man; both still are alive today.²³²

Although what Man wrote in his confession was different from what eyewitnesses reported, there is evidence to show that Man was actually arrested at Damrei Slap village. After his arrest Man was sent to small cell 11 in large room 5 at S-21. There, two or three of his old friends provided him with information on a route of travel and a military uniform as a disguise, and opened the outer wall lock so he could flee. With this help, Man had much hope of escaping the prison. There was only one small obstacle that he had to overcome by himself since no one dared help: He would have to break his own shackle lock.²³³

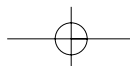
²²⁹ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit., “The Matter of Fleeing the First Time.”

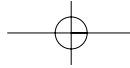
²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ For more information on Koh Tonlea, see Mam Kalyanee, op. cit.

²³² Author’s interview with Chim Aminah, op. cit.

²³³ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit., the section on “The second escape, in prison.”

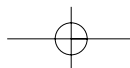
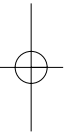
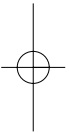


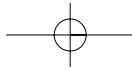


One evening a friend gave a signal that the situation outside was good. Man tried to break his shackles. After being hit again and again, the shackles finally opened from around his ankles. “When I had broken the lock, I got out of the small cell, and helped one other nearby break his as well. I went to look for Brother Vang [Man knew Vang before being imprisoned] in his small room. But I didn’t see him. Then a guard came walking up from the south. I fought [fought back] with the guard. Soon the situation got out of hand. A medic grabbed me and held me,” wrote Man in his confession.²³⁴

Man was imprisoned and tortured again in S-21, but this time with no means of freeing himself. Under constant torture, he faced what he himself had committed against so many prisoners previously. Man’s death, on 30 April 1978, shows perfect justice, according to Islam.

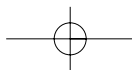
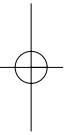
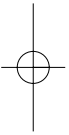
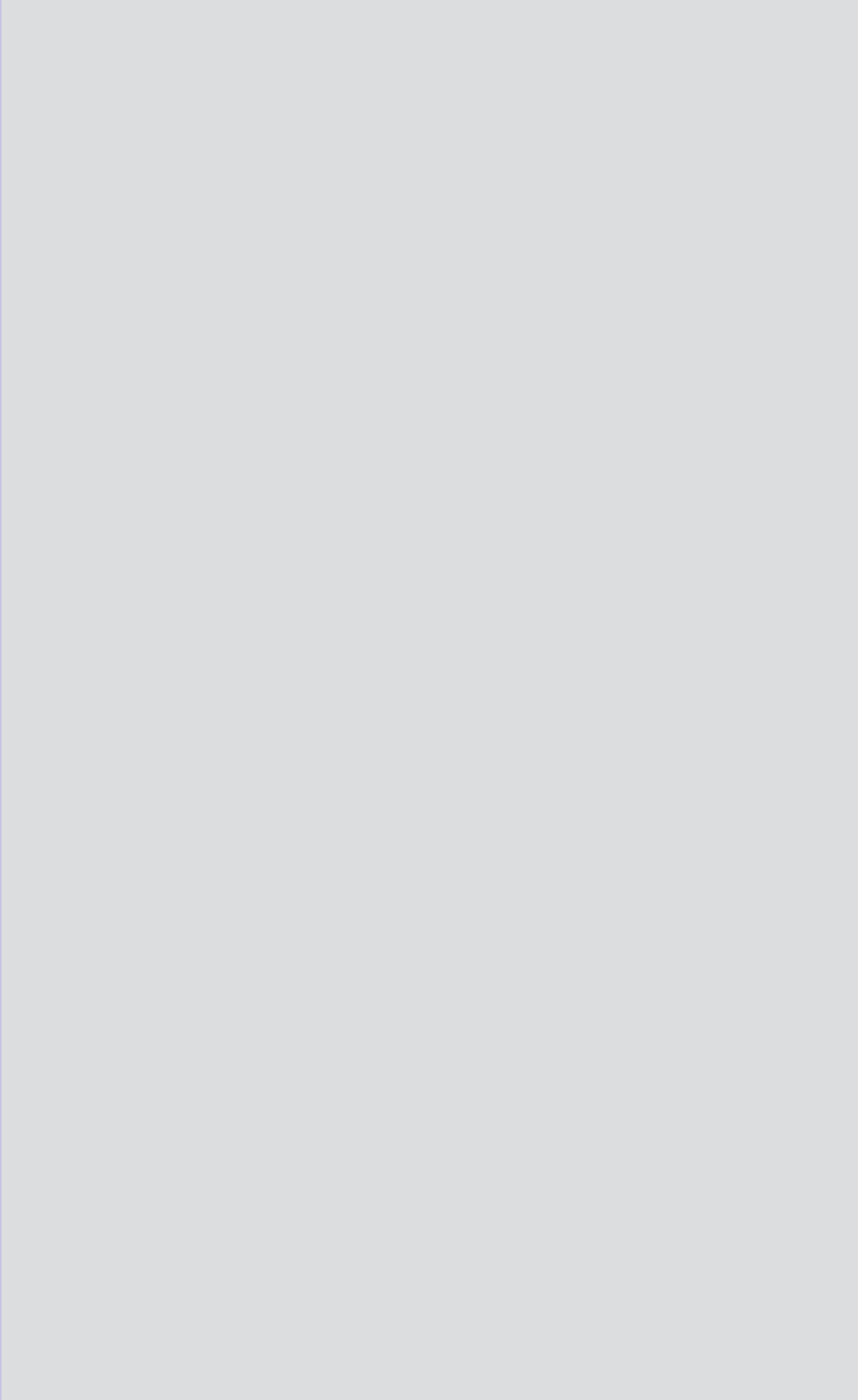
²³⁴ Ibid.





64

Oukoubah



Samas Karim
12

Samas Karim was the youngest of the six children of Samas and El Sah, who supported themselves through fishing in Prek Raing village, Prek Trasek subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province. On 17 April 1975 they were among the 100 Cham families at Prek Raing village who were driven from their homes and forced to travel out of the area with no clear destination. During the crowded evacuation, Karim's family became separated: Samas and three sons (Man, Ny and Karim) traveled to Tuol village, Batheay subdistrict, Batheay district, Kampong Cham province, the birthplace of Karim's wife, Sok.²³⁵ El Sah was separated from her husband and traveled with two daughters (Mah and Khor) to Kampong Chhnang.²³⁶ Daughter Yilhae went to Phnom Del in Batheay district, Kampong Cham province.²³⁷ After 1979 only three of the eight-member family remained alive: Karim's older siblings Ny, Man and Yilhae.²³⁸ Karim's wife also died during that period.²³⁹

²³⁵ *The Confession of Samas Karim*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02686 and witnesses agree that Karim was married to Sok, a Khmer from Tuol village, Batheay subdistrict, Batheay district, Kampong Cham province.

²³⁶ Author's interview with Samas Ny, age 73, Karim's elder brother, at Kilo 8, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 6 December 1999.

²³⁷ Author's interview with Samas Yilhae, age 63, Karim's elder sister, at Sras Po village, Phnom Bat subdistrict, Ponhea Leu district, Kandal province, 12 March 2000.

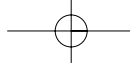
²³⁸ Author's interviews with:

Samas Ny, op. cit.

Samas Yilhae, op. cit.

Man Riem, age 39, Karim's niece, at Khleang Sbek village, Kampong Luong subdistrict, Ponhea Leu district, Kandal province, 6 December 1999.

²³⁹ Ibid.



Karim lived in the cooperative at Tuol village for a period of time. His father became ill and died there.²⁴⁰ A little later, perhaps in August 1975,²⁴¹ Angkar needed fisherman, knew that Karim had that specialty, and sent him and his wife to the fishery area as chairman of manual technology at Prek Phneou in Ponhea Leu subdistrict, Kandal province.²⁴² There Karim met his elder sister Yilhae and her husband, whom Angkar had sent from Phnom Del to fish.²⁴³

Yilhae witnessed the removal of Karim from the fishing area at Prek Pneu. She stated, “They [Khmer Rouge cadre] came and took Karim. I was there. I asked them, ‘Brother, where are you taking him?’ They said, ‘Oh, Auntie, they are short of people and requested him over there.’ And one of their vehicles came, they loaded him and took him to Phnom Penh. The ones who took him [Khmer Rouge cadre] were dressed like us [black pants and shirts] and wore *krama* and hats ... In the car were only the two, husband and wife [Karim and his wife], and the driver. It was a small car. They called it a ‘three-wheeler,’ a ‘three-wheel Lambretta.’” Yilhae added, “Karim disappeared. They told me in private that they took Karim away and did not know if he was dead or alive. Some people reported that the wife had been a commando, the husband had been a soldier.”²⁴⁴

Ny, Karim’s elder brother, related the reason for Karim’s arrest, “I think that Karim did not dare oppose them, but they arrested him because someone reported that he had been a Lon Nol soldier.”²⁴⁵ Although Ny and Yilhae agreed that Karim was arrested because someone had reported that he had been a soldier, Karim never revealed any reason for his arrest. According to Ny and Yilhae, Karim had been a Lon Nol soldier for one year before deserting on the day of the great evacuation. Karim’s confession shows that he also claimed to have been a Lon Nol soldier, but only for one month.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ Author’s interview with Samas Ny, op. cit. He stated that, “My mother and younger siblings named Mah and Khor died in Kampong Chhnang. My father died at Tuol village.”

²⁴¹ *The Confession of Samas Karim*, op. cit.

Samas Ny, in her interview with the author, op. cit., concurs that after being evacuated, Karim was only at Tuol village for three months before going to the fishery.

²⁴² Author’s interviews with Samas Ny, op. cit. and Samas Yilhae, op. cit.

The Confession of Samas Karim, op. cit.

²⁴³ Author’s interview with Samas Yilhae, op. cit.

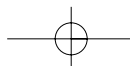
The Confession of Samas Karim, op. cit.

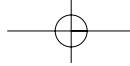
²⁴⁴ Author’s interview with Samas Yilhae, op. cit.

²⁴⁵ Author’s interview with Samas Ny, op. cit.

²⁴⁶ Author’s interviews with Samas Ny, op. cit. and Samas Yilhae, op. cit.

The Confession of Samas Karim, op. cit.





Karim entered S-21 on 8 January 1976,²⁴⁷ where he made 13 pages of confessions. Only one day after arriving at the prison, on 9 January 1976, Karim was taken for his first interrogation. His confession made that day was handwritten and three pages long. The first page bears the note “Question further” written by a document examiner who decided that his answers were not yet clear.²⁴⁸

Karim was interrogated again on 10 January. This confession is divided into three sections, implying that Karim had been questioned three separate times on that day. One section of this document bears the word “Nighttime” written on the first line of the first page. In another section an interrogator wrote on the last paragraph of the last page, “He keeps saying that he did nothing wrong against Angkar, but under harsh words, he answers this-and-that back-and-forth, nothing final. One question, one answer, and nothing but nonsense.”²⁴⁹

Since Karim did not answer clearly about his rebel activities, he was taken for questioning a final time on 11 January 1976. In the last paragraph of the last page, the interrogator explains to his boss that, “After two days of interrogating this one there is nothing of any content in his ignorant answers. He [says he] knows nothing ... in spite of the fact he has received political and psychological training. He refuses to answer ... in answering he insists that he has told Angkar everything. Therefore propose that Brother use other methods. As for me, I can think of nothing ...”²⁵⁰ Karim’s confession contains no answer from Angkar or the S-21 chief (Duch) about what additional methods should be used against Karim. In these cases, Duch always answered his interrogators in writing.²⁵¹

Every section of the confession asks Karim the same questions about three main points: personal history, activities during the old society (Lon Nol era), and the reasons for his treason.

Regarding his treason, on the first day Karim answered, “I don’t know what I did wrong against Angkar ... Suddenly Angkar called me to a meeting about the proposal that Angkar, over in Prek Kdam, was short of technicians and had requested a technician to help them. Next I’m sent here. I’ve laid down thinking about it and sat

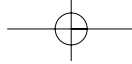
²⁴⁷ See 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, op. cit.

²⁴⁸ *The Confession of Samas Karim*, op. cit.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ On September 25, 1976, Comrade Pon, chief of S-21 interrogators, reported on his activities to Duch, saying “On September 25, we received orders from Angkar to torture. In the morning, we started to torture about 20 lashes in the morning with small rattan. In the afternoon the torture was 20-30 lashes of a whip of three strands of electric wires.” Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D07331. On 1 October 1976 Duch answered in a note to Pon: “With this Ya, you may use hot methods strongly and at length, and even if you slip-up and he dies, you will not be held in violation of Angkar’s discipline ... If he continues to hide his traitorous connections and activities, Angkar has decided that he be killed.” Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D07321.



up thinking about it, but have thought of nothing that I've done wrong."²⁵²

This is similar to the words of Yilhae, "They had him manage the fishing, they took him saying he was to go work over there because they were short of people, short of people in Phnom Penh, and they sent him away ... Karim did not want to go."²⁵³

On the second day, Karim did give some answers about rebel activities: "[I was] unhappy with Angkar about having to eat food against my customs [eat pork]. I complained I wanted to eat separately with my ethnic group... wanted to oppose Angkar because I understood that these days there is no freedom, insufficient food; I wanted rights to private ownership. But I did not yet act concretely, only had the ideas."

On the third day, Karim answered, "I had the idea of providing supplies, such as uniforms, to the rebels."²⁵⁴ But even though Karim answered in this way, both his elder siblings totally denied it, and felt that Karim must have said this only because he wanted to be released. They claimed further that, "My younger sibling was very gentle, he never dared do anything wrong."²⁵⁵ The execution lists of S-21 prisoners show that Samas Karim was "smashed" on 27 May 1976 along with 86 others.²⁵⁶

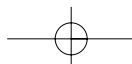
²⁵² *The Confession of Samas Karim*, op. cit.

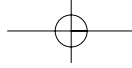
²⁵³ Author's interview with Samas Yilhae, op. cit.

²⁵⁴ *The Confession of Samas Karim*, op. cit.

²⁵⁵ Author's interviews with Samas Ny, op. cit. and Samas Yilhae, op. cit.

²⁵⁶ See the 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, op. cit, which show that 337 prisoners were killed during 15-28 May 1976, including 87 prisoners on 27 May. Karim is entry 132 of 337.





Tep Yunus 13

Tep Yunus was born in 1950 to Man Vy and Res Leh in Tuol Toteung village, Samrong subdistrict, Prey Nup district, Kampot province.²⁵⁷ He had five brothers and one sister.²⁵⁸

Tep Yunus fled to the forests to escape the Democratic Kampuchea regime on 16 April 1976.²⁵⁹ About a week earlier, he had told his family that he was leaving.

Yunus was with a mobile unit (*kong chalat*)²⁶⁰ based far from his home village. His mother Man Vy recalled, “They kept accusing Yunus of having been a second lieutenant, at every meeting it was second lieutenant, second lieutenant. He told me that ‘Mother, I probably won’t be able to stay, I’m going away.’ I asked him where he was going. He responded ‘Somewhere, anywhere.’ I told him if you go and the Khmer Rouge find you they will kill you. He said he was going, he had asked Allah, he said ‘Insa Allah [Allah’s will], Malinhkan Allah [Allah alone decides all].’ He said if Allah permits he would study again. He said not to let Khmer Rouge have his *keitap* [book teaching Muslims and explaining the Qur-ān]. If he went, that I should burn it instead, not to let them tear it up and use it for cigarette paper.” She added, “He was a Lon Nol soldier for about a year after he returned from his studies, but he had no [officer] rank.”²²⁶¹

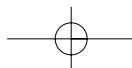
²⁵⁷ Today, Tuol Toteung village is called Tuol Toteung 3 village and lies in Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Khan Prey Nop, Sihanoukville.

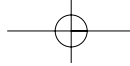
²⁵⁸ *The Confession of Tep Yunus*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D02677.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Kong chalat* comprised unmarried youths 15 to 25 years of age, who were divided into male and female groups. Those who joined the *kong chalat* were not permitted to live with their parents, and moved wherever Angkar required them to work. Their mission included building dikes, digging canals and reservoirs, and clearing land. They were not often seen farming.

²⁶¹ Author’s interview with Man Vy, age 75, mother of Yunus, at Village 4, Sangkat 2, Dang Tung district, Koh Kong province, 2 May 2000.





Yunus' younger brother Math gave an additional reason why Yunus fled: "My brother could not stay, because of religion, because he was a student of our *oukeuma* [Islamic religion]. He *sambahyang* (prayed) in secret and when he rested, he secretly read his *keitap* and the Qur-*ān*. They forced him to eat pork, did not let him read [the *keitap* and the Qur-*ān*], did not let him pray, and he could not stay. He went to the forest to fight."²⁶² (The explanations given by Vy and Math do not appear in Yunus' confession.)

Before Yunus left, his mother asked him, "Who are you going with? Do you know the way?" Yunus answered, "There are five others and they know the way." She did not forbid him. "I did not know how I could stop him. If he got away, that would be good, because if he stayed and they were accusing him of being a soldier, he would not live. So if he went he would die and if he stayed he would die."²⁶³

Several days later, on the Khmer New Year holiday, all those in Yunus' mobile unit got a reprieve from their duties to join in celebrations arranged by the Khmer Rouge (the celebrations did not follow Khmer traditions).²⁶⁴ Seizing this opportunity, Yunus fled with five colleagues. In his confession, Yunus named them: Sen, Ry, El, El (two men with the same name) and Ham.

Upon learning that Yunus had disappeared from his unit, his chief ordered personnel to question his parents. When his parents said they did not know their son had disappeared, the Khmer Rouge warned them: "If you, the parents of Yunus, have the idea of hiding the enemy, Angkar will kill the entire bloodline," Man Vy recalled. "They said that many times." In spite of this, his entire family was happy, thinking, "Lucky he went. They only questioned us and did not arrest us."²⁶⁵

Yunus planned to meet Toun Mit (his teacher of Islam) in the forest. Toun Mit incited people who were dissatisfied with the regime to run off and hide in the forests. According to his confessions, "Sen, a former soldier, invited me to run off to Veal Rinh mountain. There were six of us. When we reached Veal Rinh mountain, we did not see Toun Mit in the forest, so we waited there."²⁶⁶ Neither Yunus' mother nor his brother Tep Math knew he had contacted Toun Mit. Vy related that, "Mit fled to the forest, but in a different group than Yunus."²⁶⁷

The Confession of Tep Yunus, op. cit, states: "[Yunus] was a CIA soldier at Kampong Som from months 1-12 of 1972."

²⁶² Author's interview with Tep Math, age 48, younger brother of Yunus, at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Khan Prey Nop, Sihanoukville, 11 April 2000.

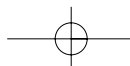
²⁶³ Author's interview with Man Vy, op. cit.

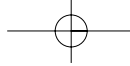
²⁶⁴ The Khmer Rouge named 15-17 April as "Independence and New Year's Day." On 20 March 1976, the Party Center decided that during these holidays, "the people will rest for three days for political training." Decisions of the Party Center on Various Matters, 30 March 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00693.

²⁶⁵ Author's interview with Man Vy, op. cit.

²⁶⁶ *The Confession of Tep Yunus*, op. cit.

²⁶⁷ Author's interviews with Man Vy and Tep Math, op. cit.





With no food supplies, the six friends came out of the forest at night to steal potatoes from the fields. “At the foot of Anlong Thom mountain, about three or four kilometers from the national highway, there were fields, and he [Yunus] and his starving friends gathered potatoes. He said they ate the potatoes raw, skin and all, because they had no knives, no fire,” recalled Math, repeating what Yunus had told him when visited his family for one day before returning to the forests.²⁶⁸

Within 26 days, all five of the men who ran off to the forest with Yunus were dead. Yunus’ words to his younger brother are similar to those in his confession, “The revolutionary army shot five to death, only Yunus lived...I stole potatoes, sugar cane, pineapples, mangoes...”²⁶⁹ But Yunus did not state in his confessions that he had once sneaked back to visit his family.

Recalling Yunus’ visit home, Vy stated, “He came at night and called his mother. He wanted his mother to cut his hair. ‘My hair is too long, cut it short. I am the only one left.’ He gathered more clothes to take back with him.” In tears, she continued: “When he came, his body was so thin, really skinny. He had nothing when he came; he was empty-handed. He slept at home for two nights, then left again.”²⁷⁰ Math recalled, “He came at about 9:00 pm, he snuck in. I did not dare say anything, I was afraid Pol Pot [cadre] would take us again. We were all in the house when he came. He had nothing with him.”²⁷¹

Math kept repeating, “If they had seen him that day, they would have killed us all.” He remembered that, “Yunus hid in the bushes, there was a hole in a cluster of bushes, and he slept on the ground in there. No sleeping mat to lay out, so I used branches and leaves to cover him. It was hot that day. I did whatever to live through the day. I covered him with palm leaves and tree branches so he could not be seen. When anybody walked toward the area I pretended to urinate there, and when they saw that they would not approach.” Math continued, “When my brother ran off to be a forest bandit, everyone knew. If they had seen him they would have grabbed him right away.”²⁷²

His mother’s description was similar: “When I wanted to meet my child in the bushes, both us parents pretended to urinate there and didn’t dare talk for long. We were afraid they would find out.” She described her fears just as Math had. “If they found out, they would have killed the whole family. My son had nothing to eat during that day ... he ate once in the afternoon a little plate of rice of the kind they gave us,” she said as

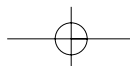
²⁶⁸ Author’s interview with Tep Math, op. cit.

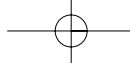
²⁶⁹ “Stole 15 bags of potatoes, 50 cane plants, a basket and a half of *phubieu*, three breadfruit, and 20 pineapples and two bags of mangoes.” *The Confession of Tep Yunus*, op. cit.

²⁷⁰ Author’s interview with Man Vy, op. cit.

²⁷¹ Author’s interview with Tep Math, op. cit.

²⁷² Ibid.





she motioned to show the size of the plate and continued, “The rice was to be divided, I took little, his father a little, put it in our shirt pockets and gathered it, as there was no other food. We took it to him.”²⁷³

At 9:00 pm the following day, Yunus prepared to travel. Math stated, “Before he left my father said, ‘What to do, child? If you stay, you’ll die. I won’t stop you. If you go and do survive that will be good.’ In parting, Yunus said, ‘Brother, I’m leaving again, and whether I live or die is up to Allah. If I live we’ll meet again.’” According to Math, when Yunus left, his father accompanied him to a forest line called Boeng Ta Loh, about a kilometer from Phnom Tauch village. In a bundle on his shoulder, Yunus carried his *keitap*, Qur-*ān*, fez, and sarong.²⁷⁴

Math recalled, “About two weeks later we heard news that they captured him and sent him to Koh Khyang.²⁷⁵ We heard he was seen being marched along, but only heard this, and did not dare ask around any further.”

The circumstances of Yunus’ capture are not known for certain. But according to his confession, he was arrested on 14 May 1976. About five months after hearing the news of his arrest, his father became ill and was sent to the subdistrict’s Boeng Ta Srei Hospital, where he died.²⁷⁶ The Khmer Rouge did not allow corpse of Yunus’ father to be brought home for the traditional religious ceremonies.²⁷⁷ His death does, however, reveal something about the medical treatment conditions under the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

²⁷³ Author’s interview with Man Vy, op. cit.

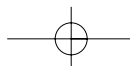
²⁷⁴ Author’s interview with Tep Math, op. cit.

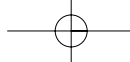
²⁷⁵ Koh Khyang is in Au Chreou subdistrict, Prey Nup district, Kampot province, currently Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville City. It had a Khmer Rouge-built prison. Surrounding the prison were 100 small grave pits, each holding 15-20 bodies, and 7 large pits. Tuch Synoeun, an inmate at Koh Khyang for 13 months, said, “They did not ask questions when [I] first got there, they put me in prison and put on the shackles and chains, with the arms around the back .. every seven days they interrogated once. They beat each prisoner unconscious during interrogation, sometimes killing them. Five to six died each day from starvation and interrogation. Prisoners were kept in a line, if one wanted to relieve himself the others had to get up and go along with him.” Research Report on Mass Graves, dated 17 November 1995, Documentation Center of Cambodia Mapping Report 080207.

²⁷⁶ Author’s interviews with Man Vy and Tep Math, op. cit.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

“When the KR held power, one religious custom forbidden was the wake and funeral ... when the families could not mourn the loss of their loved ones and hold important sacred ceremonies they were left with open wounds on their hearts.” Mam Kalyanee, *Family Life Under the Khmer Rouge Regime*, op. cit., p. 36.





Medical Treatment under the Khmer Rouge

The Khmer Rouge sought to discard modern medical technology, hospitals, medical instruments and medicines. Even the “learn the alphabet” books of second graders contained lessons that followed their political line: “Aunt and uncle, doctors make many kinds of medicine pills ... serums and salves put in bottles and ampules and pills ... the ingredients come from bamboo roots and vines and various animals ...In all the farming units throughout the country our revolutionary doctor uncles and aunties are stationed. They participate in the harvest with our mothers and fathers and treat disease too.”

Source: DK Ministry of Education, *Rien Aksom* (Study Writing), second grade text, 1977, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21478, pp. 95 and 97.

Yunus was arrested by Angkar on 14 May 1976 and sent to S-21 six days later. His confession is 13 pages long. On the first page, “Tep Yunus, forest bandit, captured from Phnom Veal Rinh, Kampot,” appears. Page four contains his personal history: “During January through November 1972, was a CIA soldier in Kampong Som with rank of corporal. On 17 April 75 evacuated from Tuol Toteung village to Phnom Tauch village. On 16 April 76 Sen invited him to go to the forests. On 14 May 1976, arrested by Angkar.”²⁷⁸

In the section on “Organizational Contacts,” Yunus stated that, “Toun Mit was the top leader and created two traitors named Sen and Leh. Leh recruited four traitors in the village...Sen recruited five forest bandits... [among them Tep Yunus].”²⁷⁹ The villagers interviewed for this study stated that only Toun Mit survived after 1979; all the others had disappeared during the Pol Pot regime.²⁸⁰ Yunus was executed at S-21 on 10 June 1976.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ *The Confession of Tep Yunus*, op. cit.

On 3-13 June 1976, 58 prisoners were taken for execution. Tep Yunus was number 25 of 58 on the 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, op. cit. This list states: “Tep Yunus, entered 20 May 76, smashed on 10 June 76.”

²⁷⁹ *The Confession of Tep Yunus*, op. cit. The four traitors “created” by Leh were Ly, Soh, Soh (two by the same name), and Kae. The five “created” by Sen were: Ry, El, El (two by that name), Ham and Yunus.

²⁸⁰ Author’s interviews with:

Tep Math, op. cit.

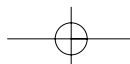
Younus Yafaetr, op. cit.

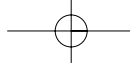
Mah Yam (Sar), age 55, a villager at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 10 April 2000.

Nhet Bou, age 55, villager, at Daun Loy village, Sangkat Boeng Ta Phrom, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 12 April 2000.

Sa Saleh, age 32, villager, at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Boeng Ta Phrom, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 12 April 2000.

²⁸¹ See the 1976 S-21 Prisoner Execution List, op. cit.





The Stories of Lep Tort and Toun Mit

Lep Tort fled to the forests with a group of 40 people from Prey Nup district,²⁸² 9 of whom were Cham. They had contacted Toun Mit about their plans to escape. Mit and three of his group leaders, Ta Chen, Say and Lay (the latter two were interpreters), were to go to Malaysia to request assistance, promising that they would meet Tort's group in a mountainous area called O Chhamchha²⁸³ when they returned in six weeks. However, Toun Mit and Ta Chen did not return. The group of 40 was in a difficult position. If they returned to their villages, they would be arrested and killed because the Khmer Rouge would consider them to be "forest bandits" (a term they applied to anyone who fled from their control and was synonymous with "enemy of Angkar").²⁸⁴

Tort stated that aside from his group of 40, he saw one other group of 19, the majority of whom were Cham. The two groups stayed at different sites and had no contact. Tort did not see the group of six that included Yunus.

He recalled, "Ta Chen, member of the Khmer Rouge district committee, held a meeting to recruit a special group of about 30 Cham people that knew one another and met near the stream in Tuol Toteung village. Ta Chen said that 'My life depends on you. Now they beginning to stop religion, they start to have communal eating,²⁸⁵ if any of you have the capacity to run to the forest and build a military force, I invite you to do so.'"²⁸⁶

On the morning after the meeting, Chen, Mit, Say and Lay got in a vehicle and headed to Kampong Som (Sihanoukville). Tort said that the four men would go to Malaysia in their boat to request aid, and would trade gold collected from the people for weapons. Tort added, "Ta Chen promised my group that we would meet in six weeks at Moat Peam Kampong Smanh [a forested mountain west of Khan Prey Nup]. But nothing was heard of them. No one returned, because the boat ran aground near Malaysia and all except Mit were killed. Mit's contacts with Malaysia were without result, because the gold was gone and the people with him had died. He could not return for the meeting."²⁸⁷

²⁸² In the Khmer Republic and Sihanouk eras, Prey Nup was called Prey Nup district, Kampot province. In the DK era it was in Region 37. Today it is called Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville.

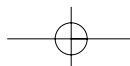
²⁸³ Ten kilometers west of Khan Prey Nup.

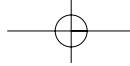
²⁸⁴ Author's interview with Lep Tort, age 52, at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 11 April 2000.

²⁸⁵ This refers to the cooperatives. "Our cooperatives began on 20 May 1973...with cooperatives no enemy can penetrate us, the cooperatives are a strong steel wall protecting the country...Cooperatives help build an attitude of community and labor...Actively help dig canals and raise dikes, build the ricefield dikes, and care for the seedlings with mother and father and the people." DK Ministry of Education, *Rien Aksor* (Study Writing), second grade text, 1977, pp. 95 and 97, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21478.

²⁸⁶ Author's interview with Lep Tort, op. cit. and Yunus Yafaetr, op. cit.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.



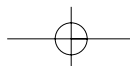
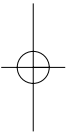


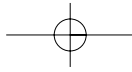
Tort continued: “The people left inside had hopes of receiving outside aid and arms, and many fled to the forests. After their hopes did not materialize, if they had returned to their villages they would have been killed.. So they hid in the forests until 1977, with almost all being killed in Khmer Rouge attacks, with only 15 survivors of the group of 40 who fled to Vietnam and became soldiers in the Kampuchean National Salvation Front and in cooperation with Vietnam were victorious over the Khmer Rouge on 7 January 1979. As for the other 19-member group and the 6-member group, no one survives.” Mit returned to his birth village after 1979 and told Tort his story as related above. He died in 1999 at Prey Thnong village in Kampot province.²⁸⁸

Including those who went to Malaysia, a total of 69 persons fled to the forests of Prey Nup district. In 1979 only 16 were still alive.²⁸⁹ Today most of the people in Khan Prey Nup assume that the reason they were evacuated to Kampong Speu and Kampong Chhnang province in 1977 was because of those that fled to become “forest bandits.”

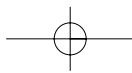
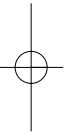
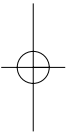
²⁸⁸ Ibid.

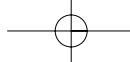
²⁸⁹ Ibid.





**ANALYSIS
KHMER ROUGE AND THIRTEEN CHAM PRISONERS AT S-21**





1. System of Government

On 17 April 1975, the Khmer Rouge achieved total victory over the Khmer Republic of Lon Nol. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea decided to make that day both New Years Day and Independence Day,²⁹⁰ announcing that, “On 17 April 1975 the Khmer people are one hundred percent independent for the first time in over 2,000 years of Cambodian history.”²⁹¹ On 25-27 April 1975 the Khmer Rouge convened a special national conference and announced, “In accordance with the wishes of the entire Cambodian people and the entire Cambodian Revolutionary Army...want a Cambodia ... with a society of happiness, equality, justice and true democracy, with no rich, no poor, no class oppressors and no class oppressed, a society in which the people live together happily in great national unity and join together in labor to produce, to build the country, and to defend the country.”²⁹²

With the idea of quickly transforming Cambodia into a socialist revolution characterized by equality without wealth or poverty with “miraculous speed and a great leap forward,”²⁹³ the first step was to eliminate individual private rights of ownership and build collective ownership. As Article Four of the Khmer Rouge Constitution states, “Democratic Kampuchea implements a regime of collectivism in leadership and in the conduct of tasks.”²⁹⁴ The Khmer Rouge also sought to dismantle Cambodian society through forcing the movement of large segments of the population, creating new groups within the populace, and forbidding what had long been held as individual rights: freedom of expression, freedom to associate, and most important, the inalienable right to life.

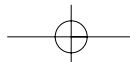
²⁹⁰ 17 April was designated an annual “Independence and New Year’s Day,” and people were permitted to rest from their duties for three days in order to receive political training. *Decision of the Central Committee Concerning a Number of Problems*, 30 June 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00693.

²⁹¹ *Revolutionary Flag, Revolutionary Youth*, Issue 1-2, February 1978, p. 3, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21406.

²⁹² Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, approved on 14 December 1975, the section entitled “The Basic and Sacred Desires of the People, Farmers, Other Laborers and of the Combatants and Cadres of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army,” pp. 1-3, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00028.

²⁹³ *Maha Aschar* (Miraculous) and *Maha Lotphlab* (great leap) meant doing things well, ahead of schedule, in great quantity and without mistakes. For example, if rice production plans called for three tons per hectare on average, then there must be 4, 5, 6 or 7 tons per hectare. Or in building rice field dikes and digging canals, every field must be diked, the water must be held back for use in irrigating the fields in all seasons. This was accomplished quickly and with only a suitable amount of labor, not too much. Another meaning of “miraculous” was that “with only a small investment we could attack and defend and build the country most quickly and properly.” Quote taken from *Revolutionary Flag, Revolutionary Youth*, Issue 2, February 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21387.

²⁹⁴ Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, op. cit., Article 4, p. 6.



Forcing Movement: Evacuations

From virtually the day they seized power, the Khmer Rouge evacuated people from the cities to the countryside, and transferred them to various locales, a policy formalized at a general conference convened on 20 April 1975.²⁹⁵ This forced relocation caused the loss of homes, land and personal property; separated families; and forced people to live in new places against their will.

Three of the thirteen Cham prisoners at S-21 - Chek Brahim, Saleh Yahya and Samas Karim - described their evacuations from Phnom Penh.

- ◆ Chek Brahim and his parents were separated on their way to Cham Leu village. He stated, "I don't know where my parents established residence after liberation day, 17 April 1975."²⁹⁶
- ◆ Saleh Yahya was separated from his elder brother during their departure from Chroy Changvar village north of Phnom Penh. Yahya was required to go to Kohe village in Kandal province, and his brother Math Sleh Slaiman went to Bak Rotes village in Battambang province.
- ◆ Samas Karim departed from Prek Raing village west of Phnom Penh to live with his father in Tuol village. He was separated from his mother and two elder sisters. He did not know where they had gone.

Any group that refused to toe the party line was evacuated and broken up into smaller groups of four or five families. This method was also used against the Cham. Two Cham villages - Koh Phal and Svay Khleang - had simultaneously rebelled against the Khmer Rouge in September and October 1975.²⁹⁷ After they suppressed the movements in those two villages, the Khmer Rouge burned all the houses at Koh Phal (Island of Products) and changed its name to Koh Phes (Island of Ashes), and imprisoned all Svay Khleang villagers and changed its name to Svay Reap (Suppressed Svay Community)²⁹⁸ as a lesson to the people in other villages. The surviving Cham in

²⁹⁵ Math Ly stated that "On 20 May 1975 Pol Pot convened a conference in Phnom Penh to approve an eight-principle plan. Those principles were: 1) Create cooperatives from low to high level. 2) Evacuate the people from the cities to the countryside and divide the people into three categories. 3) Stop the use of money. 4) Close markets. 5) Eliminate religions, as they are all reactionary. 6) Eliminate schools. 7) Eliminate hospitals. 8) Sweep away internal enemies by the roots." Author's interview with Math Ly, op. cit.

²⁹⁶ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit.

²⁹⁷ Svay Khleang village is currently also called Village 5, Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province.

The causes for the rebellion in both villages were: 1) the confiscation of all copies of the *keilatap* and Qur-ān, 2) the orders to close the doors of the mosques, 3) orders to dismantle the *suraos* (a temporary building for saying prayers), 4) forced marriages between Cham and Khmer, 5) forcing Cham females to cut their hair short, and 6) the arrest of people named in the lists of Angkar.

²⁹⁸ Sim Sorya's interviews with Res Tort, age 60, Khmer Rouge Chief of Koh Phal village, at Koh Phal village, Peus 1

these two villages were immediately evacuated to another location. Cham families in other villages, even those who had been inside the liberated area before 1975, were broken into small groups and sent to live with Khmer.

Telegram number 15, sent by Comrade Chhon to Pol Pot (Brother Pol) on 30 November 1975,²⁹⁹ stated that 50,000 Cham had been evacuated from Krauch Chhmar and Tbaung Khmum districts (Kampong Cham province) and sent to the Northern and Northwestern Zones, but the two zones had refused to accept the Cham: “According to the decision in a meeting of .. The Northwest and North must receive them to break up the Islamic people from the Mekong River bank so the atmosphere would be improved. But on the contrary the brothers [the Northern and Northwestern Zone Committee] will not accept them like that.” The telegram’s statement that “the brothers do not receive them” meant that those 50,000 Cham were considered to be “parasites” (see below).

Separating People by Category

Understanding that mass relocations and population density might fuel criticism of the government and opposition to the revolution, the Khmer Rouge created the theory of “absolute opposition to revisionism.”³⁰⁰ In accordance with this theory, families were separated and people were forced to work in groups. They divided the people into two categories: old people (also called base people) and new people (also called April 17 people). By granting each group different rights, they sought to break the common bonds and mutual trust among them, and to guarantee that the revolution followed party plans.

◆ **Old (or base) people** were never evacuated; the majority of them lived in areas liberated prior to 1975.³⁰¹ They were classified as either full-rights or candidate people. Those with full rights had no relatives associated with Lon Nol. They were members of the poor or lower-middle classes, were farmers and laborers, and had the rights to vote and run for election. They often became chairmen of cooperatives and other subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 6 June 2000.

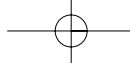
Author’s interviews with Sa Zen, age 54, at Village Number 5, Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 6 June 2000, and Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 10 October 1999. Also see Sim, Sorya, “The Tragedy of Koh Phal,” *Searching for the truth*, Number 6, June 2000.

Cheam Sai stated that, “In late 1975 the Khmer Rouge announced to the villagers in Cheach village that they should not be stubborn toward Angkar, or else it would turn out like Koh Phal, which had been transformed into Koh Phes.” Author’s interview with Cheam Sai, age 64, at Cheach village, Cheach subdistrict, Dambe district, Kampong Cham province, 28 February 2000.

²⁹⁹ Telegram 15, op. cit.

³⁰⁰ *Regulations of the Kampuchean Communist Party*, Registration Number 046, p. 3, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00045.

³⁰¹ Some people living in liberated areas prior to 1975 were later evacuated. Thus, they were not “old” people at all. Some people living in areas not liberated until 17 April 1975, but who had not been evacuated as of 1979, were also called “old” people. (This was the case at Snao village, Prek Khpop subdistrict, Ek Phnom district, Battambang province.)



units. The candidate people were those who had relatives associated with Lon Nol; they were tolerated as long as they worked hard. From the lower, middle, or upper petty bourgeoisie classes, their ranks included students, traders, and well-to-do farmers. The candidate people had the right to give advice, but no rights to make decisions or become leaders.³⁰²

◆ **New (or April 17) people** were evacuated from cities or other places to villages in other areas. These people, who were also classified as “parasites,”³⁰³ had no rights (or sometimes fewer rights than old people). The majority of them were city dwellers or provincial town residents. For example, old people ate meals at 11:00 am, while the new people were fed at noon.³⁰⁴ The KR designated new people to live under the houses of the old people, in small huts along the edges of villages, or in remote foothills.³⁰⁵ Ngin Hean, a former medical worker in Tramkak district hospital in the Southwest Zone, said that parasite people were never tolerated. They had no right to marry a full-rights person, for example. It was Angkar’s plan that they wait for death.³⁰⁶ The Khmer Rouge had a slogan that “The April 17 group are the losers of the war. Wherever they are, that place will be ruined.”³⁰⁷ The minutes of the permanent committee of the CPK’s visit to the Northwest Zone in July 1975 read “new people must be subservient to cooperatives both in politics and economy.”³⁰⁸

³⁰² Em Sokhym’s interview with Uk Lay Im aka Kol Sam Oeun, at Ang Ta Soam village, Ang Ta Soam subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 23 April 2001. Ney Pena, “The Collapse of the Pol Pot Genocidal Regime,” op. cit.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Author’s interview with Math Dullah, op. cit.

³⁰⁵ Author’s interviews with:

Ukha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 10 October 1999.

San Maisom, age 80, at Village 5 (formerly Svay Khleang), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 7 March 2001.

³⁰⁶ Em Sokhym’s interview with Ngin Hean, Tuol Tbeng village, Cheang Torng subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 2 October 2001.

Ney Pena, op. cit.

Kim Keokanitha’s interviews with:

In Nhan, Ta Leak Khang Cheung village, Kous subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 10 May 2001.

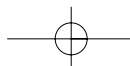
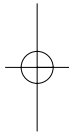
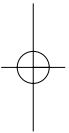
Din Dun, Kal Korm village, Tramkak subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 16 October 2001.

Sorya Sim and Tieng Sopheak Vichea’s interview with Nap Bun Heng, Provincial Hall, Ratanak Kiri province, 6 December 2001.

³⁰⁷ Author’s interview with Lim Ky, age 45, Deputy Chief of National Archive of Cambodia (NAC), The Office of the Council of Ministers, at her office, 4 June 2002.

On 18 April 1975, Ky was evacuated from Phnom Penh to Damnak Thngann village, Prey Romdeng subdistrict, Kirivong district, Takeo province.

³⁰⁸ Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number L01022, p. 4. Other documents discussing the



Eliminating Private Property

To implement their slogan, “We must attack, absolutely eliminate and totally erase all types of individual ownership from amongst us in order to keep the enemy from infiltrating us and moving into our revolution’s cadres by using this [idea of ownership],”³⁰⁹ the Khmer Rouge collectivized the country’s property. Farmers could not pick, harvest or eat what they themselves had planted. Even a single knife could not be kept for individual use.³¹⁰ This idea was popularized through a variety of slogans, such as:

“Struggle to eliminate individualism, while strengthening and extending collective ownership within the party and the revolution.”³¹¹

“All belongings belong to Angkar, collectives and cooperatives.”³¹²

“Must not do anything that affects people’s interests such as picking villagers’ chilis without asking [taking a handful of rice from people,] or speaking clumsy words to them.”³¹³

“Save either a cluster of rice or a string of vine for the sake of the revolution.”³¹⁴

When they began gathering personal property, the Khmer Rouge announced, “Don’t hide things, for Angkar has the eyes of a pineapple and sees all,”³¹⁵ seeking to ensure that all things were the property of the state. In doing so, the Khmer Rouge violated their own constitution of 14 December 1975, which in Chapter 2, Article 2 states, “General means of production are the joint property of the people’s state and the collective people. As for things utilized in daily life, they are under individual private ownership.”³¹⁶

categorization of people include: “A Conversation Between Pol Pot’s CPK Secretary and a Kampuchean-Belgian Association Delegation on 5 August 1978” (Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00108. Original source: Prime Minister Hun Sen), and *Great Solidarity under the Front*, Issue 3, 1986, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00536.

³⁰⁹ This slogan was printed in *Revolutionary Flag*, Issue 1-2, February 1978, op. cit., p. 21.

³¹⁰ Author’s interview with Sman Kaji, op. cit., 13 November 1999.

³¹¹ See Khmer Rouge Notebook, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number 007KNH.

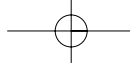
³¹² Author’s interview with Lim Ky, op. cit.

³¹³ See 12 points of Moral Code of Conduct, *the Revolutionary Flag* Number 10 October 1978, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21406. See also *Searching for the truth* Number 15, March 2001, p.1.

³¹⁴ See Khmer Rouge Notebook, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number 002KNH, p.45-46.

³¹⁵ Author’s interview with Yin Chhay, age 42, Deputy Chief of the Office of Records, Cabinet of the Ministry of Interior, at his Office, 30 May 2002.

³¹⁶ Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, op. cit.



Chek Brahim, a S-21 prisoner, wrote in his confessions that “Communism does not provide to the general people enough food to match their hunger. They must follow the law, and no one has the right to eat as they please. Everything, from food and supplies on, goes to the state. Property saved up over time is confiscated and turned into state property. All that was worked for and built up over the years would now not be enough for one meal.”³¹⁷

Currency

In its efforts to eliminate individual property rights, the Khmer Rouge stopped the use of currency. On 20 May 1975 Pol Pot convened a conference in Phnom Penh to implement an eight-point plan, which included “stopping the use of money.”³¹⁸ On the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, observed on 30 September 1976, Pol Pot pronounced, “Money is a most poisonous tool. It induces us to come back to privacy at all times. With money, we always want to buy this and that. Now no one thinks of spending money. This is an important characteristic permitting us to rid ourselves of the principle of private ownership and quickly apply collectivism.”³¹⁹

On 5 August 1978, Pol Pot explained to a Belgian-Khmer association delegation that: “In our liberated zones, the function of money is decreasing sharply. In 1974, this function decreased by 80 percent. There was no use of money before the liberation. This practice has now led us to stop using money.”³²⁰

In his confessions at S-21, prisoner Sman Sleh confessed to his struggles in serving as a Khmer Rouge revolutionary soldier without receiving a salary, living allowance or any compensation. He wrote, “Running off to Vietnam would be more comfortable, [there one] eats well, gets a salary. The goal of being a soldier and making revolution is very difficult.”³²¹

³¹⁷ *The Confession of Chek Brahim*, op. cit.

³¹⁸ Author’s interview with Math Ly, op. cit.

³¹⁹ *Revolutionary Flag*, Special Issue, September–October 1976, p. 24. Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21418.

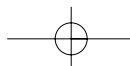
Hun Sen, “The Nature of the Pol Pot Regime,” Chapter 2, Section 1 in *Thirteen Decades of the Cambodian Process*. 1989, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00070, pp. 195-196. Hun Sen is currently the Prime Minister of Cambodia.

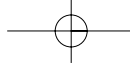
For a further discussion of the KR policy on currency, see *Searching for the truth*, Number 26, February 2002.

Phnom Penh Post, 3-16 August 2001.

³²⁰ “A Conversation Between Pol Pot’s CPK Secretary and a Kampuchean-Belgian Association Delegation on 5 August 1978,” Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D00108.

³²¹ *The Confession of Sman Sleh*, op. cit.





Markets, Exchanges, and Bartering

In order to move toward a purely collective society, the Khmer Rouge destroyed all systems of exchange and markets, as in the slogan “No sale, no barter, no groaning, no moaning, no stealing, no robbery, no individual property rights.”³²² In their places, the KR sought to create “state commerce.” These political principles were not only supported by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea but also by the entire party membership. As Comrade Kung, who had worked in the Foreign Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea, wrote in his confessions, “Since entering the Party and especially since liberation, in politics I have agreed totally with the opinions of the Party in not permitting use of currency, markets, or salaries, in the evacuation of the cities, in the creation of cooperatives, in making socialist revolution, and in creating a laborer-farmer revolutionary state and collective system...”³²³

In the liberated areas, markets and exchanges had been eliminated since 1972. In parts of Krauch Chhmar district (Kampong Cham province) and Sa-ang and Koh Thom districts (Kandal province), the Khmer Rouge had created state commerce in the cooperatives by permitting the people to buy specified quotas³²⁴ of supplies and foodstuffs at the cooperatives. But after 1975, the KR closed state commerce in the cooperatives and kept it only at the central level. With this, they made Angkar responsible for governing property and the state economy at all levels.

The CPK divided the responsibility for governing property. Angkar maintained the property of the village at the village level, the property of the subdistrict (cooperative) at the subdistrict level, and so on through the districts, regions, zones, and Party Center.³²⁵

Chek Brahim, after being arrested and sent to S-21, confessed that policies of the Khmer Republic regime had trained him to hate socialism because “communism lets no one be idle, everyone must work, the elderly as they can, the children as they can, all time is set by them.”³²⁶ The words in this confession conform to those in the Democratic Kampuchea Constitution, which in Chapter 9, Section 12, states, “Each laborer is the owner of the factory. Each farmer is the owner of the field and paddy. Other laborers have the right to perform their duties. There is absolutely no

³²² Author’s interview with Lach Vorleak Kalyan, age 47, Chief of the Archives, Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes, at her Office in Phnom Penh, 3 June 2002.

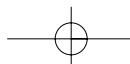
³²³ *The Confession of Comrade Kung*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D03821.

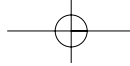
³²⁴ Author’s interview with Sman Kaji, op. cit.

Author’s interviews with Math Dullah, op. cit., 7 November 1999 and 12 March 2000.

³²⁵ See *Regulations of the Communist Party of Cambodia*, op. cit.

³²⁶ *The Confession of Chek Babrim*, op. cit.





unemployment in Democratic Kampuchea.”³²⁷ Brahim continued, “So I try hard to work and with considerable results, but the fruits of my labor never reached my hands, but were sent to the state warehouse. So no matter how hard I worked, there was nothing left. I was refused even one morning-evening meal.”³²⁸

Limiting Rights and Freedoms

Customs and Religious Practices. Party policy specified “The Communist Party of Kampuchea resolutely opposes idea-ism, experimentalism, Bible-ism, and liberalism.”³²⁹ These ideas provided the underpinnings of the Khmer Rouge’s actions to erase Khmer heritage, culture, civilization, traditions and customs.

For example, the Khmer Rouge permitted the people to wear only black clothing. Related to this change in clothing, the Khmer Rouge came up with the slogan: “The comrades have equal rights, the comrades wear black, Angkar wears the same.”³³⁰

Also, the Cham evacuated to Kratie province were more loosely controlled than those in other places. In that region, the Khmer Rouge did not force them to eat pork. If they did not eat pork, Angkar did not punish them, but would take parents for reeducation if they taught their small children not to eat pork.³³¹

Speech. In his confession, Chek Brahim stated, “In speech, communism provides no right to criticize anything at all, even constructive criticism. So everything is done to follow orders, there is no discussion.”³³² But as the Khmer Rouge stated, “Absolutely respect and implement the party’s guideline of organizational principles.”³³³

Travel. According to Chek Brahim, “In travel, there is no freedom to go even from one village to another, not to mention going to another province or city. To come and go requires a letter. So a waiting period is required in order to request permission to travel, never knowing whether or not permission will be received. If approved, the date of return is mandated.”³³⁴

³²⁷ Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, op. cit., Section 9, Article 2.

³²⁸ *The Confession of Chek Babrim*, op. cit.

³²⁹ Excerpts from CPK Statutes, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D05009. The Khmer Rouge eliminated all vestiges of previous regimes and created a totally new Kampuchea. As Pol Pot stated to Yugoslavian filmmakers: “We must build socialism without following the example of anyone...we wish to copy no one. We will use our experience from the fight to liberate the nation.” Chandler, David, *Brother Number One*, op. cit.

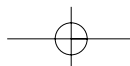
³³⁰ Author’s interview with Zakariya Adam, op. cit.

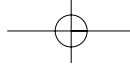
³³¹ Author’s interview with Math Satah, age 58, at Village 5, Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 20 June 2000.

³³² *The Confession of Chek Babrim*, op. cit.

³³³ See *Khmer Rouge Notebook*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number 135KNH.

³³⁴ *The Confession of Chek Babrim*, op. cit.





In July 1976 Angkar required Ismael Ahmad to change his place of residence to Peam village, about one kilometer from Preah Andaung. His friend Chheng Trim recalled Ahmad's last words to him: "He [Sok] left here for Peam. Before he left he said he would not forget me, and he would send me letters. I haven't seen him at all since he left ... he has never returned. When he met them [people from Preah Andaung village] he sent word through them that he did not dare come to visit. He was afraid of them [the Khmer Rouge]. He dared not travel."³³⁵

Another S-21 prisoner, Sim Mel, confessed, "I fled on a bicycle [from Prey Sar] along route 38 to highway 2, intending to meet up with Brother Chea, secretary of Region 25. When I reached a point west of the Sa-ang district headquarters, the militia blocked my path. When the militia checked me I had no travel permit, so they arrested me."³³⁶

The confessions of these prisoners illustrate the Khmer Rouge's withdrawal of the "right of travel," which was done in stages. Initially, people could travel if they requested a permit, but by 1976 no one was allowed to travel from one village to another for any reason, as described in the confessions of Ismael Ahmad and Sim Mel (Ahmad did not dare visit Chheng Trim, even though they lived in adjacent villages). Beginning in 1976, the only travel permitted was by those being evacuated by Angkar (travel between regions) and by cadres sent on assigned duties to another unit.³³⁷

Personal Relationships. The freedom of expression (including individual feelings) of all people began to be withdrawn by Angkar during the time of the evacuations, but was totally destroyed after the Democratic Kampuchea system of government had been fully implemented at the base (grassroots) level. Through their new system of government, the Khmer Rouge split up family members by having them live far from one another with no mutual contact. Males lived with males, females with females, children lived separate from their parents, husbands lived separate from wives. Parents had no right to visit their children, who were all under Angkar's control. Even marriages were arranged and dictated by Angkar. The Khmer Rouge implemented the theory that "Angkar is the parent of the boys and girls, all the youth."³³⁸

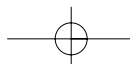
Parents had no rights to lead their children, as all children were Angkar's according to the theory that "If the parents beat their children, they demean Angkar, so Angkar will

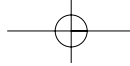
³³⁵ Author's interview with Chheng Trim, op. cit.

³³⁶ *The Confession of Sim Mel aka Man*, op. cit.

³³⁷ There are many Khmer Rouge travel permits held at the Documentation Center of Cambodia. For example, Comrade Sok signed a letter of introduction (Number 42) acting for Division 170 on 13 May 1976, to allow Phauk Chhoeun, age 32, battalion commander in unit 724, regiment 72, "to be permitted to operate with various units related to him, and to travel by bicycle and motorcycle."

³³⁸ Author's interview with Ros Sampeou, age 35, Khmer Rouge Database Specialist, Documentation Center of Cambodia, 4 June 2002.





not be forgiving.”³³⁹ The Khmer Rouge had as its goals the destruction of the rules of expression between individuals and wished to set itself up as the “parent” of the people, as in the song “We children love Angkar with no limit.”³⁴⁰

In S-21 there was a lesson teaching interrogators how to carry out all Santebal (special security) matters, one point of which was entitled “Attitudes and stances toward enemies arrested and brought here by the Party,” which stated that “Don’t hesitate in your suspicions and emotions, as this will hinder our mission, even if that person is one of your brothers or sisters or someone we previously trusted.”³⁴¹ In fact, Duch, the chief of S-21, allowed cadres to arrest two of his brothers-in-law who had been caught up in the alleged rebel networks and bring them to S-21 for imprisonment and eventual execution.³⁴² At Cham Leu village, Riev Soh, a Cham selected as chairman of the Committee on Targets of Investigation (Kanak Muksanha) at Prek Thmei subdistrict (Koh Thom district, Kandal province) reported to subdistrict-level Angkar that his own son-in-law should be taken and killed.³⁴³

Defying Khmer Rouge Authority

Mam Kalyanee stated, “The Khmer Rouge implemented totally new principles with the goal of destroying the traditional family architecture.” She concluded that, “the Khmer Rouge were not victorious in those efforts.”³⁴⁴ Youk Chhang, Director of Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), explained that “Every human is created equal; that she/he has two important types of rights: 1) Certain unalienable rights endowed by their Creator, the right of life, and 2) Civil rights provided by society. No one can take away natural rights, but the Khmer Rouge tried to withdraw them. They acted in opposition to human nature, and this is why they were defeated in reaching their goals.”³⁴⁵

After Tep Yunus had been named a “forest bandit,” he sneaked home to visit his parents at Phnom Tauch village in Prey Nup district, Kampot province. Even though Khmer Rouge cadre had announced that, “If they saw Yunus return home, they would have killed-off the whole family line,” his parents and siblings tried to hide Yunus until

³³⁹ Author’s interview with Lach Vorleak Kalyan, op. cit.

³⁴⁰ DK Ministry of Education, *Rien Aksor* (Study Writing), First grade text, 1976, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21486.

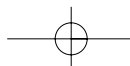
³⁴¹ *Statistics of Santebal S-21, Politics, Attitude, Organization*, op. cit.

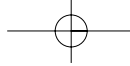
³⁴² Author’s interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

³⁴³ Author’s interview with Math Dullah, op. cit.

³⁴⁴ Mam Kalyanee, *Family Life Under the Khmer Rouge Regime*, op. cit.

³⁴⁵ Author’s discussion with Youk Chhang, Director of Documentation Center of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 10 July 2000. See also Youk Chhang, “The Rights to Life,” *Stockholm International Forum, A Conference on Truth, Justice and Reconciliation*, Stockholm, Sweden, 23-24 April 2002, pp. 148-151. See also *Searching for the truth*, Number 28, April 2002, p-1.





he left for the second time. Tep Math, Yunus' younger brother, explained, "Yunus hid in the forest in a clump of trees where there was a hole in which he slept on the ground with no sleeping mat. I covered him with leaves and branches."³⁴⁶ Man Vy, Yunus' mother, said, "When I wanted to meet with my child in the bushes, we [his parents] pretended to go urinate there, and did not dare speak for long in fear they would find out."³⁴⁷

Saleh Yahya, after having been severely beaten at the Damrei Sar Temple prison, crawled along the floor of his cell to speak with his nephew Abdul Majet who was also held as prisoner there. Majet recalled, "At about 5:00 pm he entered the cell and saw me. He collapsed to the floor and crawled over to me. There were 30 of us in the cell. He struggled along until he reached me, and he laid his head in my lap. He put my hand to his head. I touched his head and saw that it had become soft."³⁴⁸

Three other S-21 prisoners, Roun Math, Sa Math, and Sman Sleh, confessed that they had fled their military units to meet their parents at Cham Leu village.

These examples illustrate the struggle to maintain and demand rights of expression by individuals; although the Khmer Rouge had withdrawn these rights, it could not break people apart.

2. Responsibility for the Deaths of S-21 Prisoners

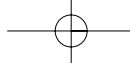
In a 1980 interview with documentary filmmakers Heynowski and Scheumann, Ieng Thirith, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Minister of Social Action and Education of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-79), said, "The Yuon (Vietnamese) invaders have massacred one million of our people. The majority of those killed were women, children, and the elderly without the strength to flee from this heavy killing. It is not true that we arranged to kill intellectuals. We want intellectuals, we need intellectuals because they can help us build the country rapidly. As for the photographs, don't you know the Yuon are very clever in such matters. They can make all kinds of photos. They will do anything to make their invasion seem legal. I admit as I have told you, there were extreme things done, but all the extremism was as a result of orders given in Hanoi..."³⁴⁹ In another interview, she stated, "We don't know about the lives of the little people [people at grassroots]. That is, murder may have occurred in that way. But the murderers were

³⁴⁶ Author's interview with Tep Math, op. cit.

³⁴⁷ Author's interview with Man Vy, op. cit.

³⁴⁸ Author's interview with Abdul Majet bin Abdullah, op. cit.

³⁴⁹ *Die Angkar*, a 90 mn documentary film by the Studio H and S, directed by Heynowski and Scheumann 1981, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number 49. Also see *Searching for the truth*, Number 5, May 2000, pp. 4-6.



the Yuon. That is clear today.”³⁵⁰

Nuon Chea was the Chairman of the DK People’s Assembly and Deputy of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. He stated “I am extremely sorry for the loss of people’s lives without intention. Our party led the Democratic Kampuchea with no purpose, no intention to kill our own people”. He also rejected any charge for the loss, “This accusation, I don’t accept, but the death of people was only caused by starvation and illness.”³⁵¹

Two million Cambodians died while Democratic Kampuchea held power, but its leaders cast blame on “Vietnam.”³⁵² However, the research of Cambodian and foreign historians shows that those lives were lost when Cambodia’s territory was under Democratic Kampuchean, not Vietnamese, control.

More than 5,000 confessions and other documents collected from S-21 and other important Khmer Rouge offices show that more than 14,000 prisoners were killed in S-21. All of these documents were dated between 1975 and 1979, and show the personal responsibility of Democratic Kampuchean leaders. The Khmer Rouge documents designated as “J” (collection held in the archives of the Documentation Center of Cambodia) contain 106 prisoner confessions marked for transmittal to the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea for examination and decision. Of those, 25 were sent to Nuon Chea, 13 to Son Sen, 7 to Ta Mok, 1 to Ieng Sary, 7 to Ke Pauk, and 2 to Pol Pot. An additional 26 confessions were sent to “Angkar” and 25 to unnamed “brothers.”

Two Khmer Rouge letters related to the arrests, torture, and executions of S-21 prisoners show the contacts between S-21, which was commanded by Duch, and the highest level of the Central Committee of Democratic Kampuchea. They were addressed to Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Chairman of the Peoples’ Assembly, and Son Sen, Deputy Prime Minister and permanent member of the CPK, in the Party Center.

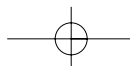
The first letter was written by Comrade Mut,³⁵³ dated 19 October 1976, and addressed to Son Sen (Brother 89 or Khieu). It informed Sen of the arrests of the wife of a

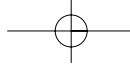
³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ “Nuon Chea spoke in Pailin, the DK did not kill people,” *Koh Santepheap Newspaper*, 34th year, Number 4335, on 16 October 2001, quoted from Radio Free Asia. See also Ly Sophal, “Nuon Chea refused to recognize killing of people,” *Searching for the truth*, Number 30, June 2002, pp. 20-22.

³⁵² Information and Press Department of the DK Foreign Ministry, “Events and Evidence of the Invasion and Hegemony of Vietnam Against Kampuchea,” *Black Book*, September 1978.

³⁵³ Comrade Mut was the Naval Commander of forces along the coast of Cambodia. He met with Son Sen in 1976 on Koh Rung Sonleum Island. *The Confession of Son Ty*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D07377. Another man named Mut worked in the DK Foreign Ministry “B1.” His original name was Keat Chhon, and he is today the Minister of Economics and Finance of the Kingdom of Cambodia.





cadre named Achar Kang,³⁵⁴ who had been arrested and sent to S-21 on 1 October 1976. The letter states, “To Brother 89 [Son Sen]. Respectfully inform that: Achar Kang’s wife was under care at the hospital of Division 164 during late August 76 for four or five days. A person named Chheng came to transport her back. In her hospital stay, according to a comrade by the name of Ban, [he was] with comrade Krin,³⁵⁵ who brought her to be examined and diagnosed ... Mut 19-10-(76).” One day later Son Sen replied to Mut, “Go meet comrade Krin personally.” In another letter to Nuon Chea wrote, “Brother Nuon (Nuon Chea) - 1) Achar Kang’s wife has now left the hospital. 2) Propose a search for Chheng and Ban, who are involved in this matter. 20-10-[76]. Khieu [Son Sen].”³⁵⁶

These letters implicate four high-ranking Khmer Rouge leaders in the tracking down and arrest of Achar Kang’s wife: Duch, Son Sen, Nuon Chea, and Mut. Duch reported to Sen about Kang’s personal history and treasonous activities (as discovered in confessions at S-21). Sen probably made the decision to arrest Achar Kang’s wife (he may have also reported to Nuon Chea on the decision on the wife’s fate, or perhaps it was decided as a result of discussions between the two), and then ordered Mut to carry this out personally (it is likely that the orders were given orally, as there are no documents). Thus, Mut reported to Sen and Sen reported to Chea on this arrest.

The second letter, dated 5 October 1977, was written by Sen to Duch. It states: “Greetings to comrade Duch: 1) You must conserve paper, but more importantly you must concentrate on the context therein. The confessions must be careful and responsible, and not wave back and forth. 2) As for the methods used against the important ones, you must: (1) Have them write it themselves (2) or make sound recordings and transcriptions ... (3) No matter what, each answer must be careful because some of them attack us in their answers. Some do it intentionally, some are afraid and just talk. So you must be very careful and conscientious. With warmest revolutionary brotherhood. Khieu. 5-10-77.”³⁵⁷

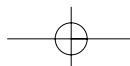
In Nate Thayer’s interview with Duch on 3 July 1999, Duch said, “Whenever there was something important happening in the base areas, Teacher Son Sen proposed that persons involved in the matter must be taken to S-21. Teacher Son Sen would send the reports from S-21 to the bases, with them passing through Nuon Chea for inspection. Nuon Chea was Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea; he was the person who decided everything, especially in security matters. His duties were connected to S-21 and each zone. In matters of security and in internal Party matters, Nuon Chea was bigger than Son Sen. He decided these matters himself, and Son Sen

³⁵⁴ Achar Kang’s former name was Kang. He was chief of the Southwest Zone Headquarters.

³⁵⁵ Comrade Krin was a military commander (no information on which unit) deployed in Region 37 (Kampong Som, Koh Kong province). *The Confession of Son Ty*, op. cit.

³⁵⁶ Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21921.

³⁵⁷ Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D01400.



personally carried out these things.”³⁵⁸

Him Huy and Saom Met, former S-21 guards, and Prak Khan, former S-21 interrogator, stated that Son Sen was the only one who came to inspect S-21.³⁵⁹ Him Huy said, “One morning Son Sen came to train S-21 cadres on not to surrender when defending against the enemy, strictly serve the revolution, do farming while resting from work, raise chickens, not to depend on other units, to be responsible for/if allowing a prisoner to escape.”³⁶⁰

Documentary sources from S-21 note that Duch was personally responsible for receiving orders from the upper echelon to track down and arrest people. His deputies, such as Hor, Chan, Pon, Tuy, Peng, and Huy, personally carried out the tortures and executions.

On many S-21 confession documents, document examiners wrote notes next to the names of those listed as rebel contacts. The names were then entered into lists and sent to various bases or units so that individuals could be tracked down and arrested. To document the receipt of the lists and the arrests and dispatch of prisoners to S-21, commanders sent letters to Duch mentioning the handover of prisoners. For example, after Son Sen had examined the confession of Doeun (aka Dim),³⁶¹ the deputy commander of Division 164 made a notation to Duch dated 31 July 1977: “This document is secret because it involves the Eastern Zone. It must not be sent to the bases, even in excerpts [excerpts of the rebel contacts’ names].” A letter written to Duch on 5 August 1977 by the unnamed commander of a mining unit noted the arrest of a laborer named Ry: “We request to submit the so-called ‘Ry’ to Security, as he has clear political problems ... so we ask that Brother accept him.” On the same day Duch made a note on this letter and sent it to Chan: “To Brother Chan: Give him to the interrogators.” Duch added “Interrogate immediately, follow-up in detail, pressure him in detail. Seek out all his remaining contacts.”³⁶² An undated letter from the commander of Battalion 414 to Duch stated: “To beloved Comrade Duch: Request to hand over to you 17 persons. Please receive them. They were arrested as the interrogation reports of Meun Khan aka Roeun, they are CIA. Transported on 26-4-77 [with a list of names numbered 1 through 17].”³⁶³

³⁵⁸ Nate Thayer’s interview with Duch at Phnom Penh, 3 July 1999.

³⁵⁹ Author’s interview with:

Him Huy, at Anlong San village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 10 December 2001.

Saom Met at Kampong Sambuor Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 31 January 2002.

Prak Khan at Smao Khnhei village, Trapeang Sap subdistrict, Bati district, Takeo province, 17 July 2000.

³⁶⁰ This training was conducted near Duch’s house, in front of S-21. Author’s interview with Him Huy, op. cit.

³⁶¹ *Confession of Doeun aka Dim*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number 0549 BBKKh.

³⁶² Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D01282.

³⁶³ Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D01078 .

On many documents, Duch left notes ordering interrogators to torture prisoners more severely so they would confess to their rebel activities and contacts. On the confession of Mut Heng,³⁶⁴ Duch wrote a note for the interrogators on 21 June 1978, “Grab him and beat and interrogate him again.” A letter from Duch to comrade Pon dated 1 October 1976 reads: “With this brother Ya (A Labang Ya), comrade can use hot methods of long duration. Even if a slip is made and he dies, you will not be held in violation of unit regulations.”³⁶⁵

Son Ty was arrested on 10 December 1978.³⁶⁶ On the final page of his confession, Ty wrote a note to Pol Pot through Duch dated 15 December 1978. It reads, “Respects to the Party, more beloved than life. I did not betray the party. At first when I did not answer and then came the big stick. I fabricated the answers. I offer my life to the Party. Please don’t arrest those whose names I have incorrectly reported. Our friends are good people. I am not CIA or Khmer Serei [a group formed in opposition to the Khmer Rouge]. My final decision at this time of death is to ask the Party to spare my life.”

In a “lifestyle meeting” at S-21 held during February 1976, Duch stated to all present that: “This is our class stance. We must beat [prisoners] for class, national, and international reasons. Get rid of the view that beating the enemy is cruel. This is the wrong view.”³⁶⁷

The “Santebal Rules” were written on a blackboard in an S-21 cell for the prisoners to follow:

Santebal Rules

1. Answer what is asked, don’t evade my questions.
2. Absolutely do not try using this or that pretext with the idea of concealing, arguing or lying.
3. Do not play stupid and pretend you don’t understand orders, because you dared to oppose the revolution.
4. Answer questions immediately. Don’t delay even for a minute.
5. Deficiencies, small mistakes, immorality, this or that bad characteristic, don’t speak

³⁶⁴ *The Confession of Mut Heng*, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D07304.

³⁶⁵ Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D07321.

³⁶⁶ Son Ty was nicknamed Teanh. Before 1975 he was with Comrades Nat and Pin in Division 703 (formerly Division 12). After 1975, Ty was assigned to Nat and Pin on the military staff. Ty was responsible for logistics. Nat was responsible for liaison. Son Ty was executed on 31 December 1978. *The Confession of Son Ty*, op. cit.

³⁶⁷ Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D0048, p. 11.

of those things. Don't speak about the essence of the revolution.

6. When beaten or given electric shocks, absolutely do not scream.
7. Do nothing at all. Sit quietly and await your orders. If it is not ordered, do not do it. When ordered to do something, immediately do just that. Do not hesitate.
8. Do not ever use the Kampuchea Krom pretext to mask your counter-revolutionary face.
9. For every order disobeyed each day you will receive lashes and electric shocks. Oppose a single rule and you will get ten lashes of the whip or five electric shocks.³⁶⁸

Execution lists with the names of thousands of prisoners bear the signatures of Hor, the deputy chief of S-21, and Huy Sre, the chief of S-21D at Prey Sar. These lists are dated from 3 March 1976 to 31 December 1978. The total number of prisoners executed varied from day to day. In early 1976 the list contained the names of 20-30 persons to be killed each day. The totals increased with time, and by late 1978 there were 100-250 executions per day.³⁶⁹

On 3 January 1978 Pol Pot issued the guidance, "Wipe out spying and the various forms of psychological warfare. All echelons of the Party and all military units, ministries and offices must use careful and strict measures to wipe out enemy spying, alliances, and psychological warfare, regardless of the fashion in which these things appear."³⁷⁰ In his speech commemorating the third anniversary of the great victory of 17 April 1975, Pol Pot announced: "In rice farming there are two fights, first the fight against nature and second the fight against enemy destroyers. It is not as if the enemy were not destructive, they destroy from the time of transplanting the seedlings crooked, they don't plant the roots, they break the seedling, at the harvest they destroy, in transport they destroy, in milling, they destroy .. We harvest by technical struggle and by class struggle, struggle between the revolution and non-revolution."³⁷¹

These quotations show that Pol Pot aimed to wipe out those he considered to be the enemy. His broad definition, however, included anyone who even bent a rice seedling.

³⁶⁸ "Santebal Discipline," Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21919. Today, it remains written on a blackboard at Tuol Sleng Museum.

³⁶⁹ See 1976, 1977, and 1978 S-21 prisoner execution lists, op. cit. Some lists are undated. Entries in the lists contain a sequence number, prisoner name, from (unit), duty, date of entry (into S-21), and date of "smashing" (execution). The lists included those who died of disease before they could be executed.

³⁷⁰ See "Instruction of Office 870," dated 3 January 1978, p. 10, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21461. Office 870 was the office of Pol Pot.

³⁷¹ See *Revolutionary Flag*, Issue 4, April 1978, p.44-45, Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21926.

An analysis of the stories of the 13 Cham prisoners detailed in this study sheds light on Khmer Rouge actions inside S-21 and the trends evidenced in those actions. The 13 were arrested because of activities during earlier regimes, because they informed on one another, and because of some activity that aroused suspicion.

Reasons for the arrests. Arrests appear to have been made for three main reasons: activities during earlier regimes, informing on one another, and specific activities that aroused suspicion, even though the activities were either unintentional or had no significant impact on Angkar. For example:

- ◆ During the Lon Nol regime, Saleh Yahya had been a member of the senate and Chek Brahim had been a lieutenant colonel, military commander, and a researcher on the history of the Cham people.
- ◆ Sman Sleh, Roun Math, Sa Math, and Man Tech, who had known one another since childhood, joined the Khmer Rouge military. All four were arrested, and under interrogation, three of the men implicated one and more of the others in “treasonous activities.”
- ◆ Roun Math was arrested at the Transport Unit of State Commerce where he was a driver. He was accused of driving a vehicle into an electric line post.
- ◆ Sim Mel aka Man was tracked down and arrested by the chief of Office 24, Hut (Huy Sre), because he did not pump enough water for transplanter.

Methods of carrying out the arrests: Two main methods of arrest were apparent: the use of politics or deception to facilitate arrests without the victim suspecting, and directly placing various kinds of blame on the victims.

- ◆ Chek Brahim was evacuated from Phnom Penh and sent to Cham Leu along with Sou Ahmad. According to Ahmad, “Chek Brahim was making baskets along with me when Pol Pot [Khmer Rouge cadres] came and said in front of me and tricked him into going to teach driving. He had said he was a driver and so like that they took him away to teach driving ... Chek Brahim went alone carrying a bag, wearing shorts and a short-sleeved shirt. They said he did not need to take much along as he would soon return, he was only going to train drivers.”
- ◆ Samas Karim was arrested from his place of work, a fishery. Concerning his arrest, Samas Yilhae, Karim’s elder sister stated, “They [Khmer Rouge cadre] came and took Karim. I was there. I asked them, Brothers where are they taking him? They said, Auntie, they are short of people and want him there. One of their cars came and they put him aboard and put his things in the truck and took him to Phnom Penh.”
- ◆ Sman Sleh was arrested in July 1975 on the charge of desertion from a military unit at a military base near Krapeuhar Temple.

◆ Him Man was arrested from his unit, Fishery Lot 9 of Region 25 on the charge of being involved in the rebel networks of Chhorn. In the concluding section of his confession a document examiner estimated Man's crimes: "This is a sneaky one, a bandit. He has contacts with Chhorn, who in turn is a contact of Sok, a former member of the Division 12 command committee. This one is a direct organizational contact of Chhorn."

The prison networks. Before a prisoner was sent to S-21, he was first arrested from his unit or base area. The majority were imprisoned and interrogated in various security or reeducation offices at the unit or base level before being sent to S-21. For example:

◆ Saleh Yahya was arrested at Kohe village on 6 December 1975, and sent to Damrei Sar temple prison. Later Yahya was sent to S-21.

◆ Chek Brahim was evacuated from Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975 to Cham Leu village. After living there about three months, he was arrested and sent to Kampong Kong prison. Another three months later, Angkar sent him to Munti (Office) 18 at Po Tonle village for about 36 hours, and then on to Office 15. He entered S-21 on 24 January 1976.

◆ Tep Yunus was arrested on 14 May 1976, and sent to Koh Khyang prison. He was sent to S-21 on 20 May 1976.

◆ Sim Mel aka Man was arrested on 24 October 1977 in Sa-ang district. Later he was sent to S-21, detained in small cell 11, large room 5.

Confessing to treason. Virtually all 13 prisoners were accused of treason. However, S-21 interrogators were unable to wrench a confession of wrongdoing from six of them: Ismael Ahmad, Chek Brahim, Sa Math, Man Tech, Mae Math, and Samas Karim. For example, Samas Karim's confession stated: "I have lain down and thought, sat up and thought, but don't see what mistake I made against Angkar." After a two-day interrogation at S-21, his interrogator reported that, "After questioning this one for two days, there is nothing of any context in his ignorant answers, he said he knows nothing at all ... though he was trained in politics and psychology, he refuses to answer... he keeps insisting that he has told Angkar all." Further, none of the witnesses interviewed for this study could provide any information on any crimes or treasonous activities these prisoners had committed.

The other seven prisoners - Saleh Yahya, Sman Sleh, Man Math, Him Man, Sim Mel, Roun Math, and Tep Yunus - confessed to betraying the party by, for example, joining rebel movements, deserting their military units, wanting to run off to Vietnam, having enemy contacts, not pumping water fast enough, stealing the people's crops, or driving into a light pole. There is no proof to show that they actually committed such acts, however minor, as all the confessions were forced through severe torture. However, according to witnesses, it seems that Sim Mel actually did do what he claimed.

Punishment and responsibility. Chapter 6, Article 10 of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea states, “As for chains of activities of opposition and destruction which damage the people’s state, the highest punishment must be demanded.” Chapter 7, Article 9, states: “The court is the people’s court, the people’s representative for justice, and defends the rights and freedoms of the people and will punish all activities opposing the people’s state or violating the laws of the people’s state.”³⁷²

But in arresting and punishing people, the Khmer Rouge did not go through the process of obtaining a court decision, and thereby violated their own constitution. Rather than going through the court system, low-level unit or base chiefs made arrests, while prison chiefs and their direct subordinates made all decisions on the torture, interrogation and killing of prisoners. All policies on the chain of command in such matters came from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Execution orders, prisoner execution lists, confessions, personal histories, photographs and other documents from the Democratic Kampuchea regime show that more than 14,000 prisoners were executed after being held at S-21. All of those deaths were clearly the direct responsibility of the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea, who gave the orders to arrest and kill them without any legal basis.

3. Khmer Rouge Intentions to Eliminate Islam

Article 15, Section 20 of the Democratic Kampuchea Constitution states: “Every one of the people has the right to believe in faith or religion and has the right not to believe as well. Reactionary religions that damage Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people are absolutely forbidden.”³⁷³ On 20 May 1975 the Khmer Rouge convened a conference in Phnom Penh to approve an eight-point plan, the fifth point of which was to “Eliminate religions, as they are all reactionary.”³⁷⁴

Under this article of their Constitution, the Khmer Rouge aimed to carry out a pure revolution to eliminate religions from Cambodia. But the actions taken to wipe out religions had different degrees of severity, depending on individual religious particulars. As background, the discussion below highlights some of the differences between the observance of Buddhism and Islam, Cambodia’s two main religions.

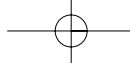
The Buddhist faithful can perhaps be divided into three categories of observance:

- ◆ Those who follow the five commandments (no killing of animals, no stealing, no rape of others’ wives or children, no lying, and no drinking of alcohol)

³⁷² Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, op. cit.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Author’s interview with Math Ly, op. cit.



- ◆ Those who follow eight commandments (the first five plus no eating afternoon meals on religious days, no singing or dancing, and no decorating oneself)
- ◆ The faithful who follow ten commandments (the first eight plus no use of gold or silver, and no sitting on high places).³⁷⁵

All believers in Islam must respect Allah in the same ways. For this purpose and all believers, Allah designated strict rules of discipline. Anyone who does not follow these rules is marked with sin, while those who do are blessed by God.³⁷⁶ The Cham community is distinguished for their observation of these rules.

The most important ways in which the Khmer Rouge tried to destroy Islam were:

- ◆ Forbidding Muslims from doing any religious duty (*vachip*), such as *sampahyang* (prayer), the one-month fast each year, giving alms, parents teaching their children religious faith, children's respect for parents, and the conduct of religious ceremonies and funerals.³⁷⁷
- ◆ Forcing Muslims to commit acts absolutely forbidden (*haram*), such as eating or handling pork, raising swine, forcing females to cut their hair short or not cover their heads, burning the Qur-ān and *keitap*, and marriage between believers and non-believers.³⁷⁸

The Khmer Rouge ensured their commands opposed Islamic discipline. Using the pretext that Islam was reactionary and in opposition to Angkar, they also found that it was counter to the Constitution. Anyone who observed religious custom was categorized as a reactionary and became a target for elimination by Angkar.

The cases of the Cham prisoners at S-21 illustrate the Khmer Rouge actions to wipe out Islam by destroying the underpinnings of the *vachip* and *haram*.

³⁷⁵ Author's and Long Dany's interview with Phikho Moeng Ratha, age 25, at Svay Pope pagoda, Phnom Penh, 4 July 2000.

³⁷⁶ *Bap* (Evil karma) and *bon* (good karma) are meted out by the Master as a result of humans' deeds while they are alive. According to Islamic beliefs, on the day the earth ends, all humans will die and their souls will assemble at a place for judgment. Those with much bad karma will go to hell, and those with sufficient good karma will go to heaven. Islam calls this day "the Day of Judgment." The exceptions are those under 15 years of age; those who are mentally ill, forgetful, asleep or unconscious; menstruating females; and those under strong pressure.

³⁷⁷ *Vachip* or *faradr*: Acts that absolutely must be performed. Those who observe them will be blessed, and those who do not are committing sins. Examples include study, personal cleanliness, visiting and treating the sick, the killing of vicious or poisonous animals that threaten human life, and mandatory acts. Author's interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit.

³⁷⁸ *Haram*: acts that are absolutely forbidden. Those who do not commit these acts are blessed, those who do commit sin. Examples include doing business by charging or receiving interest, stealing property, touching members of the opposite sex before marriage, females wearing thin or revealing garments in public, consuming strong intoxicants or narcotics, slaughtering animals that are not used for food, and eating the meat of animals slaughtered without the proper blessing. Author's interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 30 June 2000.

Samas Karim was evacuated from Prek Reang village to Tuol village, Saleh Yahya from Chroy Changvar to Kohe village, and Ismael Ahmad from Peking to Prek Sdei and Preah Anduang villages. All of the villages in which these men were sent to live were ethnic Khmer villages. This meant that Karim, Yahya, and Ahmad could not muster the 40 people required to perform the Chum At and Chum Ah prayers, and thus lost the ability to carry out the *vachip*.

The *vachip* requires believers to pray five times daily without fail, and the *haram* forbids eating pork. But in Region 37 in Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville (Kampot), the Khmer Rouge did not allow Tep Yunus to pray at all, and forced him to eat pork. Tep Math, the brother of Yunus, stated, “My brother could not remain because of religious matters. He was a student of Islam, our Oukeuma. He sneaked around to pray and during rest periods he read his Qur-*ān* and *keitap*. The Khmer Rouge forced him to eat pork, did not let him read anything [read the Qur-*ān* and *keitap*], did not let him pray. So he went to the forests to fight.”

Roun Math, Sman Sleh, Sa Math, Man Tech, and Him Man were forced into the military and separated from their parents. Math Dullah knew of the arrest of all five, as they all lived in the same or neighboring villages. He stated, “In the Khmer Rouge era [the years prior to 1975, since his village had been under Khmer Rouge control since 1971] the youth did not become soldiers because they volunteered. The youth chairmen gathered them up from the age of 15 ... no one volunteered.” Kaup Rim described the forcible recruitment into the military of his son Him Man: “Man always ran off to the forest, hid himself, going without food for a day and a night at times. He slept in the forest and ate tubers. When there was nothing to eat he returned home. It was when he came home that they grabbed him.” Kaup Rim recalls the last words of his son, “Mom and Dad, If I’m gone for long, no need to look for me, I’ll have died.” Kaup Rim replied, “Don’t cry child. What they call revolution, this is the way it is.”

All five were forcibly separated from their parents in their childhood. This was done by the Khmer Rouge to impact Islam, whose rules state: “the *vachip* instructs parents to train their children in the religion and instructs children to respect and show gratitude to their parents.” But in these cases, the Khmer Rouge totally broke the bonds of communication between all five youth and their parents.

Like other prisoners at S-21, the bodies of Cham prisoners were discarded; their corpses were dropped into mass graves with dirt thrown over them.³⁷⁹ Abdul Majet recalled the day his uncle Haji Saleh Yahya whispered to him when they were imprisoned at Damrei Sar temple, “At about five in the afternoon he [Yahya] entered the cell where I was being held. He saw me, collapsed, and crawled over toward me. There were about 30 of us in there. He struggled a little at a time until he reached me.

³⁷⁹ See photos of mass graves at Cheung Ek, Documentation Center of Cambodia Photo Archive.s

He put his head in my lap, and took my hand and touched it to his head. I felt his head and saw that it was soft.” Before they were separated Abdul Majet heard his uncle whisper, “If uncle [I am] is to die now, keep struggling, nephew. Ask them to [let you] do the *samyang mayit* [funeral prayers] over my corpse.” But in the end, Yahya’s remains were handled like those of an animal. In addition, the body of Tep Yunus’s father was not allowed proper Muslim rites. This act of the Khmer Rouge was a violation of Islam; the *vachip* requires that the dead be buried with religious ceremony, most importantly with the chanting of the funeral prayers.

4. Ideological Training

A significant underpinning in the creation of the Khmer Rouge revolution was their removal of confidence in adults, placing it instead in children and training them in revolutionary ideology. This was done because they saw children as “pure,” having never been affected by the reactionary influence of earlier societies. And children were gullible as well.

In important Khmer Rouge units, such as the militias which spied on people at night, prison defense units, interrogation units, and the Party’s Division 703, the majority of those chosen for service were selected from units of youth whose ages ranged from 10 to 20 years. These youths had already been through careful political training. Older persons were simply guides or situation or document examiners.

Mam Kalyanee, after interviewing 44 witnesses, observed: “Sixty percent of the witnesses spoke of the indoctrination of children. Children were taught that their parents had no value to them and were the enemies of society, therefore the enemies of the children. It was to Angkar that the children were indebted, so Angkar was the proper parent of all children.”³⁸⁰ Ea Meng-Try, a Documentation Center of Cambodia researcher on the subject of children from Region 31 who were sent to work at S-21, discovered that, “Child soldiers from Region 31 who served the political policies of the Khmer Rouge revolution eventually became the prisoners of that society.”³⁸¹ Author Hun Sen stated that, “Everyone inside Pol Pot’s killing machine was a murderer as well as a victim. We see that those used by Pol Pot to carry out the killing were not long afterwards killed by Pol Pot themselves.”³⁸²

At S-21 the children had their emotions and morale polished up along with their faith in Angkar before the fruits of their labor were extracted. But after Angkar had extracted its benefits from the children, and when they were at an age at which they might begin to analyze, to become aware, to know right from wrong, they were

³⁸⁰ Mam Kalyanee, *Family Life Under the Khmer Rouge Regime*, op. cit., p. 39.

³⁸¹ Author’s interview with Ea Meng-Try, Documentation Center of Cambodia, a Documentation Center of Cambodia researcher on the subject of children, July 2000.

³⁸² Hun Sen, “The Nature of the Pol Pot Regime,” op. cit., pp. 206-207.

arrested, imprisoned at S-21, smashed and discarded. Then a new generation of children was brought in as their replacements.

Sim Mel aka Man, entered Khmer Rouge Division 12 at 16 years of age. As a result of his abilities and loyalty, he was chosen to be the messenger of the Division 12 commander Ta Nat. After working in security, Man was selected to become an interrogator at S-21 and was advised by a high-level Khmer Rouge cadre about how to interrogate the enemy. Man's confessions describe how he had beaten and killed many prisoners. Even though Man had studied Islam from famous *toum* for years, he was influenced by Khmer Rouge policies that were clearly without any religious character. But it did him little good. Shortly after being sent to work in an agricultural unit, Man was arrested, sent to S-21, and executed.

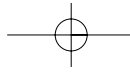
Man Math aka Man was 21 years old in 1970. Man was first taught to love the revolution by Sar, the chairman of Prek Bak subdistrict. Man Halimah, his mother, recalled, "At first they did not have him do anything, but as time went on he was called here and there. After four or five months they called him to the militia. At first I objected, but he was personally determined, and I, his mother, only cried and screamed. I said that he was my only child, I would not let him go. I forbid him, but he went anyway...When they [comrade Sar] came to tell me my child was gone, I said I would not allow it. He said how can I refuse, when he is gone already?" Halimah recalled.³⁸³ Sa Ibrahim, who was in the army with Man before 1975, stated that Man had a clear pro-Party stance, and was active on the battlefield. Because of these characteristics, Man was trusted by the Party and was regularly promoted. Finally Man was a platoon commander, leading over 200 soldiers. Just before 1975 Man was wounded while attacking Lon Nol soldiers in the seizure of Phnom Penh. He lost an arm and was blinded in one eye.³⁸⁴ According to his confessions, Man worked at the Office of State Commerce until he was arrested in October 1975, taken to S-21, and killed.

When the Khmer Rouge seized power Ismael Ahmad was a student in Peking. Although no source states Ahmad's intentions in returning home while the Khmer Rouge were in control, he was probably indoctrinated in a political lie of some kind. Ahmad arrived in Phnom Penh on 27 October 1975 with ten other students. On 22 December 1975 he and the other students were sent back to Phnom Penh, and were later sent to S-21. None of them was ever released.

Mae Math was forced into the Khmer Rouge army at 19 years of age in 1970. He was trusted by the Party and promoted regularly. In 1973 he went to visit his parents and told them that he had been made a company commander leading over 150 soldiers. In 1975 Math again visited his home. His mother warned him not to go back, but due to his rank and Khmer Rouge politics, Math refused his mother's proposal. Later Math

³⁸³ Author's interview with Man Halimah, op. cit.

³⁸⁴ Author's interview with Sa Ibrahim, opt. cit.



was removed from his duties, arrested, sent to S-21 and killed.

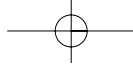
These stories of S-21 prisoners illustrate Khmer Rouge policies of trusting children to be the front line in building the revolution through ideological indoctrination. But when these children became adults, the Khmer Rouge removed that trust and killed them. Children of the next generation were brought in to replace them, following the theory “Throw the old ones on the ground, put the young ones in the bag.”³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ Ea Meng-Try’s interview with Khieu Ches aka Peou, *op. cit.*

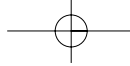
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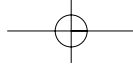
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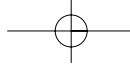
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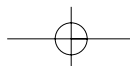
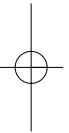
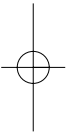
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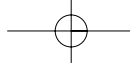


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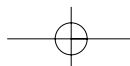
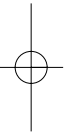
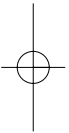
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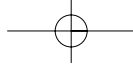




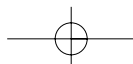
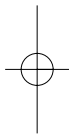
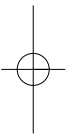
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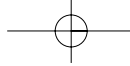
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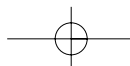
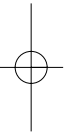
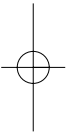


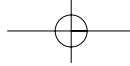
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**Author's Interviews**

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- Ahmad Sofiyah, age 40, at Khsach Praches Kandal village, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 25 January 2001.
- Cheam Sai, age 64, at Cheach village, Cheach subdistrict, Dambe district, Kampong Cham province, 28 February 2000.
- Youk Chhang, Director of DC-Cam, Phnom Penh, 10 July 2000.
- Chheng Trim, age 69, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 16 December 1999.
- Chhin Phen, age 59, at Preah Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 16 December 1999 and 21 March 1999.
- Chim Aminah, age 59, who knew Sim Mel (Man) before 1975, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 21 March 2000.
- Chuong Chim, age 60, at Lo Et village, Prek Dambang subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province, 12 January 2000.
- Ea Meng-Try, a researcher on the subject of children at DC-Cam, Phnom Penh, July 2000.
- El Dullah, age 60, who knew Man from birth, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 6 November 1999.
- El Him, age 53, former prisoner at Khmer Rouge Office 18 at Po Tonle village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 10 November 1999.
- El Kho, Rasinah, Maisom, and Salimah, the younger sisters of Ismael Ahmad, at Thmei village, Popel subdistrict, Ponhea Krek district, Kampong Cham province, 12 December 1999.
- El Lei, age 48, at Sangkum Thmei village, Sralop subdistrict, Tbaung Khmum district, Kampong Cham province, 13 December 1999.
- El Man, age 52, who knew Sim Mel (Man) before 1975, at Baren Kraom village, 21 March 1999.

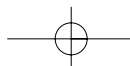
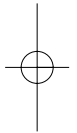
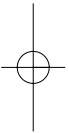


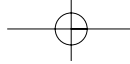


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- Haji Abdul Majet Bin Abdullah, Hakem at Kaulalaom Mosque, Chroy Changvar, Phnom Penh, 2 December 1999.
- Haji Abutalep, age 57, Hakem of Kien Khleang village, Chroy Changvar, Phnom Penh, 3 December 1999.
- Haji Abutalep Aiyaup, age 64, at Kbal Romeas village, Kbal Romeas subdistrict, Kampot district and province, 1 April 2000.
- Haji Ahmad, age 55, who knew Man from birth, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Saang district, Kandal province, 6 November 1999.
- Haji Mussa, age 55, the Imam of Battambang province, at the home of Haji Kaup Saleh, Sangkat Chatomuk, Daun Penh, Phnom Penh, 9 September 1999.
- Haji Sem Saufiyan, age 53, a resident of Chroy Metrei, Russei Chroy subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province, at Chroy Metrei, 6 December 1999.
- Him Huy, at Anlong San village, Prek Sdei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal Province, 10, 12, and 21 December 2001, and 4 January 2002.
- Him Leh, age 56, a surviving villager from Pon Tonle village, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 8 November 1999, 9 November 1999, 21 March 2000, and 21 December 2001.
- Him Sulaiman, a villager at Svay Khleang, at Svay Khleang (Village 5), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 9 February 2000.
- It Tam, age 61, *town* of Ismael Ahmad at Thmei village, Popel subdistrict, Ponhea Krek district, Kampong Cham province, 12 December 1999.
- Kae Math Sen, age 42, younger brother of Man, at Baren Kraom village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 6 November 1999.
- Kaly Hak, age 55, connection of Roun Math, Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 8 November 1999.
- Kaup Rim, age 68, and Math Keas, age 65, parents of Man, at Prek Ta Peou village, Daem Mien subdistrict, Ta Khmau district, Kandal province, 13 March 2000.
- Kaup Sleh, a member of the High Level Leadership Committee for Cambodian Islam, at his home in Sangkat Chatomuk, Phnom Penh, 25 December 1999.
- Lach, age 64, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district,



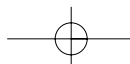
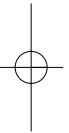
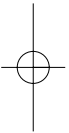


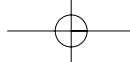
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Kampong Cham province, 15 December 1999.

- Lach Mao, age 45, former prisoner at Khmer Rouge Office 15, at Village 8, Pothi Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 11 November 1999.
- Lach Vorleak Kalyan, age 47, Chief of the Archives, Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes, at her office in Phnom Penh, 3 June 2002.
- Lah Sarah, age 48, sister-in-law of Sa Math, Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 10 November 1999.
- Lay Kuy, age 61, at Peam village, Peam Koh Sna subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.
- Lep Tort, age 52, at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 11 April 2000.
- Lep Vanmath, age 41, Deputy Chief of Staff, Special Military Zone, located at Banteay Slik Headquarters, Phnom Penh, 5 January 2001. Vanmath is a former Svay Khhleang villager.
- Lim Ky, age 45, Deputy Chief of National Archive of Cambodia (NAC), The Office of the Council of Ministers, at her office, 4 June 2002.
- Ly Khadijah, age 75, a surviving villager of Chamkar Leu village, Tuol Snuol subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, at Prek Krauch village, Peus 2 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, 11 March 2001.
- Ly Sman, age 65, at his home at Kilo 8, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 12 March 2000.
- Mae Khadijah, age 45, elder sister of Mae Math, at Prek Ta Hop village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Karatie province, 19 December 1999.
- Mah Yam (Sar), age 55, villager at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 10 April 2000.
- Man Cheou, age 56, aunt of Mae Math, at Prek Ta Hop village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Karatie province, 18 December 1999.
- Man Halimah, age 65, mother of Man, at Prek Bak village and subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 20 December 1999.
- Man Khadijah, age 60, aunt of Mae Math, at Prek Ta Hop village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Karatie province, 18 December 1999.

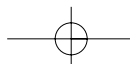
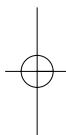
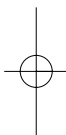


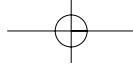


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Oukoubah

- Man Riem, age 39, Karim's niece, at Khleang Sbek village, Kampong Luong subdistrict, Ponhea Leu district, Kandal province, 6 December 1999.
- Man Sim, age 65, uncle of Man, at Prek Bak village, Prek Bak subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Chang province, 20 December 1999.
- Man Vy, age 75, mother of Yunus, at Village 4, Sangkat 2, Dang Tuong district, Koh Kong province, 2 May 2000.
- Mao Maisom, age 44, at Khse Luos village, Trea subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 6 February 2001.
- Mao Nil, age 47, a KR soldier together with Man, at Village 8, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 13 March 1999.
- Math Dullah, age 53, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 7 November 1999, 21 March 2000.
- Math Keas, age 65, mother of Man, at Prek Ta Peou village, Daem Mien subdistrict, Ta Khmau district, Kandal province, 13 March 2000.
- Math Ly, former member of the People's Assembly of Democratic Kampuchea and former permanent member of the Khmer Rouge Tbaung Khmum District Committee, and today a member of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Representative of the Kampong Cham Constituency, and Supreme Personal Advisor to the King, at his home in Chamkar Mon, Phnom Penh, March 27, 2000.
- Math Naury, age 47, at his home in No. 1 AB, Street 428, Sangkat Boeng Trabek, Khan Chamkar Mon, Phnom Penh, 21 April 2000.
- Math Satah, age 58, at Village Number 5, Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 20 June 2000.
- Mohammed Sen, age 64, at Chroy Changvar Krao village, Phnom Penh (Maschit Kaulalom), 2 December 1999.
- Mussa Hausan, age 57, Abupakae Ismael, age 56, and El Tort, age 46, at Kampong Kandal village, Cheung Kriel subdistrict, Kampot district and province, 2 April 2000.
- Muy Tech Leng, age 47, at Baren Kraom village and Mao Nil, age 47, former KR soldier in Division 703, at Village 8, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, 13 March 2000.

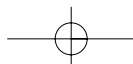
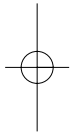
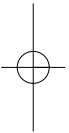


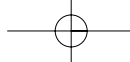


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Oukoubah

- Nasir bin Abnuhajar, age 30, toun at Svay Khhleang village, 23 September 2001.
- Nhet Bou, age 55, villager, at Daun Loy village, Sangkat Boeng Ta Phrom, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 12 April 2000.
- No Satah, age 44, at Svay Khleang (Village 5), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 5 December 2000.
- Phiko Moeng Ratha, age 25, at Svay Pope pagoda, Phnom Penh, 4 July 2000 (author's and Long Dany's interview).
- Prak Khan, at Smao Khnhei village, Trapeang Sap subdistrict, Bati district, Takeo province, 17 July 2000.
- Res Tort, age 60, former Khmer Rouge chief of Koh Phal village, at Koh Phal village, Peus 1 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 19 February 2000.
- Ros Sampeou, age 35, Khmer Rouge Database Specialist, Documentation Center of Cambodia, 4 June 2002.
- Roun Adikah, age 41, sister-in-law of Sa Math, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 10 November 1999.
- Roun Nop, age 55, elder sister of Roun Math, at Cham Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 8 November 1999.
- Roun Sman, age 75, in Tuol Sambat village, Peus 2 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 9 February 2001.
- Sa Ibrahim, age 43, at Prek Bak village and subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 20 December 1999.
- Sa Saleh, age 32, villager, Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Boeng Ta Phrom, Khan Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 12 April 2000.
- Sa Zen, age 54, at Village 5, Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 6 June 2000.
- Safitah, age 69, at her home at Kilo 9 Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999.
- Samas Ny, age 73, Karim's elder brother, at Kilo 8, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 6 December 1999.

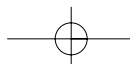
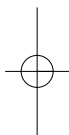
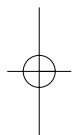


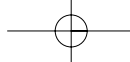


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Oukoubah

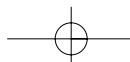
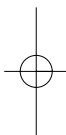
- Samas Yilhae, age 63, Karim's elder sister, at Sras Po village, Phnom Bat subdistrict, Ponhea Leu district, Kandal province, 12 March 2000.
- San Maisom, age 80, at Village 5 (formerly Svay Khleang), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 7 March 2001.
- Saom Met, at Kampong Sambuor Leu village, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 31 January 2002.
- Ser Sayana, Documentation Center of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 13 June 2000.
- Sat Sen, age 61, at Thmei village, Popel subdistrict, Ponhea Krek (formerly Tbaung Khmum) district, Kampong Cham province, 12 December 1999.
- Sleh Ly, age 42, former KR soldier with Sman Sleh and Sa Mat, at Slap Leng village, Svay Rumpea subdistrict, Boset district, Kampong Speu province, 22 March 2000.
- Sleh Sarah, age 46, at Village 5 (Svay Khleang village), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 15 December 2000.
- Sman Kaji, age 55, former resident of Svay Khleang village (now village Number 5), at village Number 5, Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 13 November 1999.
- Sman Math, 65, in Trea 2 village, Trea subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 24 April 2001.
- Sman Nop, age 67, elder sister of Sman Sleh, at Phum Cham Leu, Prek Thmei subdistrict, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, 9 November 1999.
- Soh Min, age 44, connection of Roun Mat, at Hanuman, Kondoeng subdistrict, Bati district, Takeo province, 23 March 2000.
- Soh Ponyamin, age 43, at village 5 (former Svay Khhleang), Svay Khhleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 25 January 2001.
- Sorn Keo, age 56, at Prek Sdai village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 15 December 1999.
- Sou Ahmad, age 69, at his home at Kilo 8, Sangkat Chrang Chamres, Khan Russei Keo, Phnom Penh, 12 March 2000.
- Suliman Hafisoh, age 46, at Chroy Changvar, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999.
- Tam Jouk, age 43, at Khsach Praches Kandal village, Krauch Chhmar district,

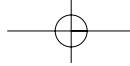




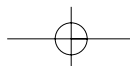
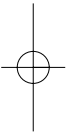
Kampong Cham province, 8 February 2001.

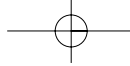
- Tauny Sauny at Village 3 (Chroy Changva Khong), Sangkat Chroy Changvar, Khan Russei Keo, Phnom Penh, 2 December 1999.
- Tep Math, age 48, younger brother of Yunus, at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Khan Prey Nop, Sihanoukville, 11 April 2000.
- Tes El, Math El, and Res Tort, at Koh Phal Village, Peus 2 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 19 February 2000.
- Tit Tum, age 47, at Prek Phdao village, Rokar Kaong 1 subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province, 4 December 1999.
- Top Von, age 50, connection of Sman Sleh, Village 8, Pothi Ban subdistrict, Koh Thom district, 11 November 1999.
- Toun Nasir bin Abnuhajar, at Svay Khleang village, 23 September 2001.
- Toun Soh Rosat, a former villager at Trapeang Chhouk, Boeng subdistrict, Baray district, Kampong Thom province, now a member of Highest Council for Islamic Religions Affairs in Cambodia, at Kilo 8, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 12 October 1999 and 2 August 2000.
- Toun Yusuf Pin Said, the toun of Thmei Village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Kratie province, at Chrang Chamres, 2 August 2000.
- Toun Yusuf bin Set, at Thmei village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Kratie province, 2 August 2000.
- Tres Sarom, inspector, Inspection Department, Ministry of Cults and Religious Affairs, 6 March 2002.
- Uknha Sos Kamry (Kamaruddin bin Yusof), Chief of the Highest Council for Islamic Religious Affairs, at Kilo 9, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 2 August 1999, 10 October 1999, 30 June 2000, 23 July 2000, 1 October 2001, 21 October 2001, and 18 February 2002.
- Um Rin, age 66, at Prek Sdei village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.
- Uy Meng, age 67, at Peam village, Preah Andaung subdistrict, Preah Andaung district, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.
- Van Math, member of the Senate, at his office in Phnom Penh, 6 April 2000.



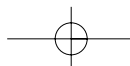
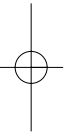
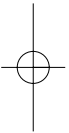


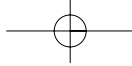
- Yakaup Mussa, age 52, and Sae Oumaet, age 48, at Daun Taok village, Traey Koh subdistrict, Kampong Bay district, Kampot province, 3 April 2000.
- Yan, at Peam village, Peam Koh Sna subdistrict, Sting Trang district, Kampong Cham province, 17 December 1999.
- Yin Chhay, age 42, Deputy Chief of the Office of Records, Cabinet of the Ministry of Interior, at his Office, 30 May 2002.
- Younos Yafaetr, age 47, Mah Yam, age 55, Tep Math, age 48, Lep Tort, age 52, and Sa Saleh, age 32, at Tuol Toteung 3 village, Sangkat Tuol Toteung, Prey Nup, Sihanoukville, 10-11 April 2000.
- Zakariya Adam, Under Secretary of State of the Ministry of Cults and Religious Affairs, at his office, Phnom Penh, 12 October 1999.
- Zakariya Ahmad, a surviving villager from La-ang Village, at Kilo 9, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999.
- Zakariya bin Ahmad, Hakem of Ekraingsei Mosque and former villager at Chroy Changvar Kraom, Sangkat Chroy Changvar, Khan Russei Keo, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999.



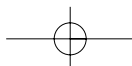
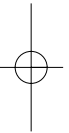
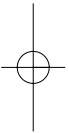
**Interviews by DC-Cam Researchers and Others**

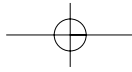
- Youk Chhang's interview with Him Huy, former S-21 guard, at DC-Cam, 28 May 2000.
- Youk Chhang's interview with Sman Kaji, age 55, Deputy Hakem in Svay Khleang village, at Svay Khleang village (now called Village Number 5), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 13 November 1999.
- Ea Meng-Try's interview with Cheam Soeu, aka Mao, age 38, former Division 703 soldier, at Sampor village, Ta Ches subdistrict, Kampong Tralach district, Kampong Chhnang province, 20 February 2000.
- Ea Meng-Try's interview with Khieu Ches, aka Peou, age 38, a former "catcher" of prisoners to be sent to S-21, at Banteay Meas village, Ta Ches subdistrict, Kampong Tralach district, Kampong Chhnang province, 27 December 1999 and 12 February 2000.
- Ea Meng-Try's interview with Thlong La, age 38, former soldier in DK Division 502, at Krang La-vea village, Angchanh ROUNG subdistrict, Boribo district, Kampong Chhnang province, 6 February 2000.
- Em Sokhym's interview with Ngin Hean, Tuol Tbeng village, Cheang Torng subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 2 October 2001.
- Em Sokhym's interview with Uk Lay Im aka Kol Sam Oeun, Ang Ta Som village, Ang Ta Som subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 23 April 2001.
- Kim Keokanitha's interview with Din Dun, Kal Korm village, Tramkak subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 16 October 2001.
- Kim Keokanitha's interview with In Nhan, Ta Leak Khang Cheung village, Kous subdistrict, Tramkak district, Takeo province, 10 May 2001.
- Lionel Vairon's interview with Thach Chan, a typist at Tuol Sleng, D 00017.
- Nate Thayer's interview with Duch at Phnom Penh, 3 July 1999.
- Phat Kosal's interview with Yem Khan, age 67, at Po Tonle village, Koh Thom subdistrict and district, Kandal province, 29 February 1996.
- Phat Kosal and Vanthan Peou Dara's interviews with Kim Sour, former student of Duch and Leam Sarun, former close friend of Duch, 7 July 1999.





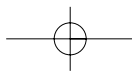
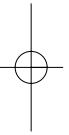
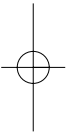
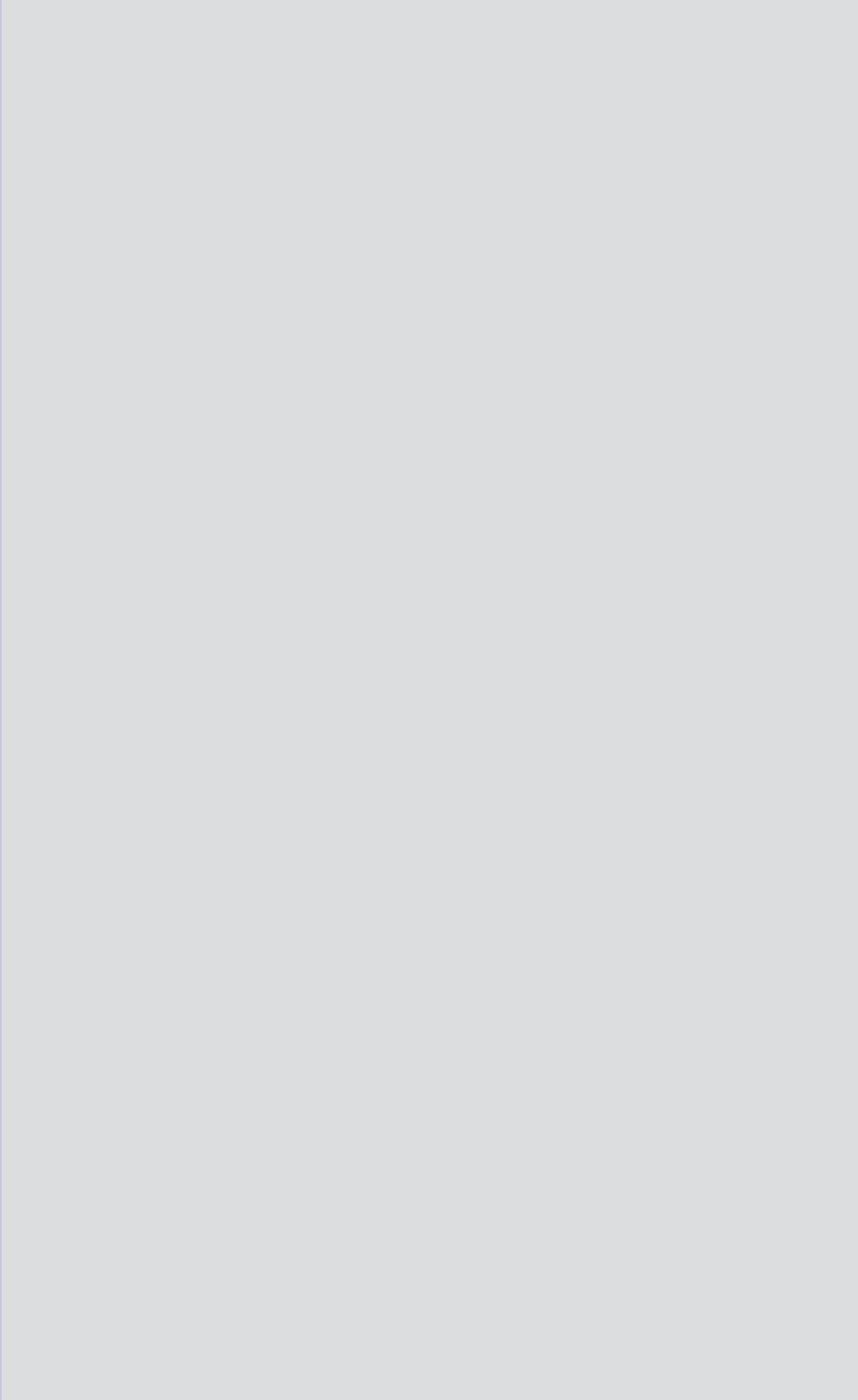
- Sim Sorya's interview with Res Tot, age 60, Khmer Rouge era leader of Koh Phal Village, at Koh Phal village, Peus subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 6 June 2000.
- Sim Sorya's interview with Saman Kachi, age 55, at Village 5, Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 13 November 1999.
- Sim Sorya and Tieng Sopheak Vichea's interview with Nap Bun Heng, Provincial Hall, Ratanak Kiri province, 6 December 2001.
- Vanthan Peou Dara's interview with Ham Im, at Sdok Saat village, Meanchey subdistrict, Udong district, Kampong Speu province, 13 July 2001, in *Searching for the truth*, Issue 22, October 2001, pp. 21-24.

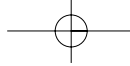




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APPENDIX**Number of Cham Killed³⁸⁶**

Name, Position, Duty	1974	1979
Cham Population	700,000	138,607 (200,000) ³⁸⁷
Chief of Religious Leaders (Mufti)	1	0
First Deputy Chief	1	0
Second Deputy Chief	1	0
Hakem	113	20
First/Second Deputy Hakem	226	25
Toun	300	38
Haji ³⁸⁸	more than 1,000	about 30
Students who Studied Overseas ³⁸⁹	26	2
Mosques ³⁹⁰	113	5

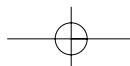
³⁸⁶ This table is adapted from that of Department of Minorities, Office of the National Council of the Front, provided by Tres Sarom, Inspector, Inspection Department, Ministry of Cults and Religious Affairs, 6 March 2002.

³⁸⁷ See note 5 for a discussion on the 200,000 figure.

³⁸⁸ Kiernan, Ben, "DK Genocide of the Kampuchean Cham Muslims," op cit., p. 13.

³⁸⁹ 40 in 1974 and 3 in 1979 according the author's interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 10 October 1999.

³⁹⁰ 240 in 1974, ibid.



Number of Cham Who Disappeared in Selected Villages, 1975-1979

Village Name	Population in 1975	Population in 1979
Akmok ³⁹¹	1,100 families	100 families
Chroy Changvar Kraom (Ekraingsei Moque) ³⁹²	over 1,000 families	30 families
Daun Pen ³⁹³	150 families	100 families
Koh Phal ³⁹⁴	1,864 persons	180 persons
Samrong ³⁹⁵	40 families	4 families
Svay Khleang ³⁹⁶	1,240 families	120 families
Trapeang Chhouk ³⁹⁷	254 families	192 families
Trea ³⁹⁸	about 1,000 families	500 families
Peus ³⁹⁹	1,005 persons	558 persons

In addition to the numbers in the table above, the Khmer Rouge killed almost the entire populations of ten Cham villages (see below); the four or five persons left alive could no longer live in the villages or decided to abandon their homes and take asylum elsewhere.⁴⁰⁰ Today, these former Cham villages have been transformed into farmland or ethnic Khmer villages.

³⁹¹ Author's interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, *op. cit.*, 10 October 1999. Prior to the KR regime, he resided at Akmok village, Cheyyau subdistrict, Chamkar Leu district, Kampong Cham province. The Cham more commonly call this village "Speu."

³⁹² Author's interview with Zakariya bin Ahmad, Hakem of Ekraingsei Mosque and former villager at Chroy Changvar Kraom, Sangkat Chroy Changvar, Khan Russei Keo, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999.

³⁹³ Author's interview with Toun Soh Rosat, a former villager at Trapeang Chhouk, Boeng subdistrict, Baray district, Kampong Thom province, now a member of Highest Council for Islamic Religious Affairs in Cambodia, at Kilo 8, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 12 October 1999. Daun Pen village is in Boeng subdistrict, Baray district, Kampong Thom province, and is more commonly called "Puk Pahao," meaning new village.

³⁹⁴ Author's interviews with three village elders from Koh Phal: Tes El, Math El, and Res Tort, *op. cit.*

³⁹⁵ Author's interview with Toun Soh Rosat, *op. cit.*, 12 October 1999. Samrong village is near the Kampong Thom provincial capital.

³⁹⁶ Youk Chhang's interview with Sman Kaji, *op. cit.* The Cham prefer to call the village Prek Kaut.

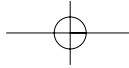
A document dated 19 October 1988 concerning the Cham villagers of Svay Khleang during the KR regime, compiled by several of its villagers. Documentation Center of Cambodia Catalogue Number D21920.

³⁹⁷ Author's interview with Toun Soh Rosat, *op. cit.* Trapeang Chhouk village is in Boeng subdistrict, Baray district, Kampong Thom province.

³⁹⁸ Author's interview with Sman Math, 65, in Trea 2 village, Trea subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 24 April 2001. After 1979, Trea village was divided to 4 villages: Trea 1, Trea 2, Trea 3, and Trea 4.

³⁹⁹ Author's interview with Roun Sman, 75, in Tuol Sambat village, Peus 2 subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 9 February 2001. Tuol Sambat is formerly called Peus.

⁴⁰⁰ Author's interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, *op. cit.*, 10 October 1999.



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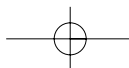
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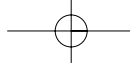
Village	District	Province
Baykay	La-vea Em	Kandal
Po Tonle	Koh Thom	Kandal
Koh Prak, Chamkar Samsep, Krakor, Koh		
Rokar, La-ang	Kampong Siem	Kampong Cham
Khvao	Prey Chhor	Kampong Cham
Chamkar Leu	Krauch Chhmar	Kampong Cham
Tuol La-veang	Baray	Kampong Thom

Author's interview with Kaup Sleh, a member of the High Level Leadership Committee for Cambodian Islam, at his home in Sangkat Chatomuk, Phnom Penh, 25 December 1999.

Author's interview with Zakariya Ahmad, a surviving villager from La-ang village, at Kilo 9, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999.

Author's interview with Him Leh, *op. cit.*





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Important Islamic Leaders Who Died During the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) Regime

Name	Position- Duties	Location, Dates of Arrest or Execution
Haji Raja Thipadei Res Lah ⁴⁰¹	Grand Mufti	Mesar Prachan (v) Mesar Prachan (sd), Peareang (d), Prey Veng (p) 1975
Haji Sulaiman Shukry ⁴⁰²	First Mufti	Kohe (v), Rokar Kaong 1 (sd), Muk Kampoul (d), Kandal (p) 1975
Haji Math Sleh Slaiman ⁴⁰³	Second Mufti	Bak Rotes (v), Prek Luong (sd), Ek Phnom (d), Battambang (p) 1976
Haji Math Liharoun ⁴⁰⁴	Chief of the Cambodian Islam Association	Cham Leu (v), Prek Thmei (sd), Koh Thom (d), Kandal (p) 1975
Toun Haji Mohammad Tort ⁴⁰⁵	Advisor to Mufti	Unknown
Toun Haji Itris ⁴⁰⁶	Advisor to Mufti	Unknown
Toun Haji Mohammad	Advisor to Mufti	Krauch Chhmar (d), Kampong Cham

⁴⁰¹ Author's interview with Mohammad Sen, age 64, at Chroy Changvar Krao village, Phnom Penh (Maschit Kaulalom), 2 December 1999. Zen saw the arrest of Res Lah, who lived in Chroy Changvar Khnong (north of Phnom Penh) prior to 1975.

⁴⁰² Author's interview with Haji Abutalep, age 57, op. cit. During 1975, Abutalep had met Shukry at Prek Phdao village, Rokar Kaong 1 subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province. Prior to 1975, Shukry lived at Chroy Changvar Khnong, north of Phnom Penh.

The Confession of Haji Saleh Yahya, op. cit., states that Saleh Yahya met Sulaiman Shukry at Kohe village in Rokar Kaong, Muk Kampoul, Kandal province.

"Haji Sulaiman Shukry was beaten to death at Kohe village in August 1975," in Kiernan, Ben, "DK Genocide of the Kampuchean Cham Muslims," op. cit., p. 16.

⁴⁰³ Author's interview with Sulaiman Hafisoh, op. cit. Hafisoh was the daughter of Haji Math Sleh Slaiman, who lived in Chroy Changvar Khnong, north of Phnom Penh, prior to 1975. Slaiman was the elder brother of Haji Saleh Yahya, and after he died in a hospital, the Khmer Rouge threw his body into a swamp.

Author's interview with Haji Mussa, age 55, Imam of Battambang province, at the home of Haji Kaup Sleh, Sangkat Chatomuk, Duan Penh, Phnom Penh, 9 September 1999.

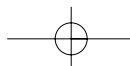
⁴⁰⁴ Author's interview with Math Naury, op. cit. Naury knew of the arrest of Liharoun, who lived in Chrang Chamres, Khan Russei Keo, Phnom Penh, prior to 1975.

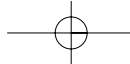
Author's interview with Sou Ahmad, op. cit.

The Confession of Chek Brahim, op. cit. This Tuol Sleng document records that Brahim met Math Liharoun at Cham Leu village in 1975 before he was arrested. It also shows that Liharoun was known as Kheng Sarun.

⁴⁰⁵ Author's interview with Toun Yusuf bin Set, at Thmei village, Khsach Andet subdistrict, Chhlong district, Kratie province, 2 August 2000. He stated that Tort lived in Prek Pra village, Sangkat Prek Pra, Khan Meanchey, Phnom Penh, prior to 1975.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid. Set stated that Itris lived in Baren village, Svay Prateal subdistrict, Sa-ang district, Kandal province, prior to 1975.





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Kaji bin Mussa ⁴⁰⁷		(p) Arrested in early 1974, Executed in 1975
Haji Srong Yusuf ⁴⁰⁸	Islamic leader who studied in Egypt	Mesar Prachan (v) Mesar Prachan (sd), Peareang (d), Kandal (p) 1975
Man Set ⁴⁰⁹	Chairman of the Islamic Youth Association	Unknown
Toun Yakaup ⁴¹⁰	Professor	Krauch Chhmar (d), Kampong Cham (p) Arrested early 1974, Died 1975
Toun Ismael Flahy ⁴¹¹	Professor	Popreng (v) Popreng (sd), Chamkar Leu (d), Kampong Cham (p) 1978
Toun Seh No ⁴¹²	Professor	Svay Teap (v) Svay Teap (sd), Chamkar Leu (d), Kampong Cham (p) 1978
Haji Math Zen ⁴¹³	Professor	Unknown
Toun Ly Mussa ⁴¹⁴	Professor from Malaysia	Svay Khleang (v), Svay Khleang (sd), Krauch Chhmar (d), Kampong Cham (p) 1975
Toun Ahmad ⁴¹⁵	Professor from Malaysia	Popreng (v) Popreng(sd), Chamkar Leu (d), Kampong Cham (p) 1975

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. He stated that Toun Haji Mohammad Kaji bin Mussa lived in Chumnik village, Chumnik subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, prior to 1975.

⁴⁰⁸ Author's interview with Safitah, age 69, at her home at Kilo 9 Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh, 13 October 1999. The wife of Srong Yusuf, Safitah saw the KR arrest her husband while he was praying. Before 1975 Yusuf lived in Chrang Chamres.

⁴⁰⁹ Ben Kiernan, "DK Genocide of the Cambodian Cham Muslims," op. cit., p. 16.

⁴¹⁰ Author's interview with Toun Yusuf bin Set, op. cit. Yakaub lived in Trea village, Trea subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, prior to 1975.

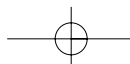
⁴¹¹ Author's interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 2 August 1999. Haji Ismael Flahy lived at Akmok (Speu) village, Cheyyau subdistrict, Chamkar Leu district, Kampong Cham province, prior to 1975.

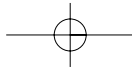
⁴¹² Ibid. Toun Seh No lived in Akmok village prior to 1975.

⁴¹³ Author's interview with Soh Rosat, op. cit., Haji Math Zen lived in Norea village, Norea subdistrict, Sangke district, Battambang province, prior to 1975.

⁴¹⁴ Author's interview with Him Sulaiman, a villager at Svay Khleang, at Svay Khleang (Village 5), Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province, 9 February 2000. Toun Haji Ly Mussa lived in Svay Khleang village prior to 1975.

⁴¹⁵ Author's interview with Soh Rosat, op. cit., 2 August 2000. Ahmad lived in Sre Veal village, Mesar Chrey subdistrict, Steung Trang district, Kampong Cham province, prior to 1975.





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Oukoubah

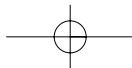
Toun Sulaiman bin Yusuf ⁴¹⁶	Professor from Egypt	Krauch Chhmar (d), Kampong Cham (p) Arrested 1974, Died 1975
Toun Haji Yusuf Avny ⁴¹⁷	Professor from Saudi Arabia	Pongro Ling (v), Bak Snar (sd), Baray (d), Kampong Thom (p) 1977
Toun Haji Mohammad Ali ⁴¹⁸	Professor from Saudi Arabia	Akmok (v), Cheyyau (sd), Chamkar Leu (d), Kampong Cham (p) 1974

(v) Village
 (sd) Subdistrict
 (d) District
 (p) Province

⁴¹⁶ Author's interview with Toun Yusuf bin Set, op. cit. Toun Sulaiman bin Yusuf lived in Trea village, Trea subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, prior to 1975.

⁴¹⁷ Author's interview with Toun Soh Rosat, op. cit., 2 August 2000. Rosat is the son of Yusuf Avany, who lived in Trapeang Chhouk village, Boeng subdistrict, Baray district, Kampong Thom, prior to 1975.

⁴¹⁸ Author's interview with Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 2 August 1999. Toun Haji Mohammad Ali lived in Akmok (Speu) village, Cheyyau subdistrict, Chamkar Leu district, Kampong Cham province, prior to 1975.



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High-Level Cham Officials Who Died During the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) Regime

Name	Position, Duty	Place of Death
El Brahim ⁴¹⁹	Colonel of Royal Military Police	Muk Kampoul (d) Kandal(p)
Math Slaiman ⁴²⁰	Colonel, Commander of 5th Brigade	Unknown
Chek Brahim ⁴²¹	Lt Colonel, Commander of 182nd Battalion	S-21
Ungkary Dauman ⁴²²	Lt Colonel, G3, General Staff	Unknown
Aus Slaiman ⁴²³	Representative	Unknown
Haji Saleh Yah ya ⁴²⁴	Member of the Senate	S-21
Ibaham En Nhou ⁴²⁵	FULRO Leader*	Unknown
Soh Man ⁴²⁶	Chief of the Islamic Cham Movement	Tbaung Khmum (d), Kampong Cham (p)

* FULRO: "Le Front Unit pour la Liberation des Races Opprimés" (United Liberation Front for the Oppressed Races)

⁴¹⁹ Author's interview with Haji Sem Saufiyan, age 53, a villager of Chroy Metrei, Russei Chroy subdistrict, Muk Kampoul district, Kandal province, at Chroy Metrei, 6 December 1999. He saw El Prahim at Chroy Metrei during 1975.

⁴²⁰ Author's interview with Math Naury, op. cit.

⁴²¹ See the table in the introduction to this paper, "Cham Muslims Imprisoned at S-21, 1975-1979," p. 9.

⁴²² Author's interview with Math Naury, op. cit.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ See the table in the introduction to this paper, "Cham Muslims Imprisoned at S-21, 1975-1979," p. 9.

⁴²⁵ Author's interview with Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik, at the house of Math Naury, Phnom Penh, 21 April 2000 (Abdul Nasir now lives in Washington State, USA)

⁴²⁶ Author's interview with Math Ly, op. cit.

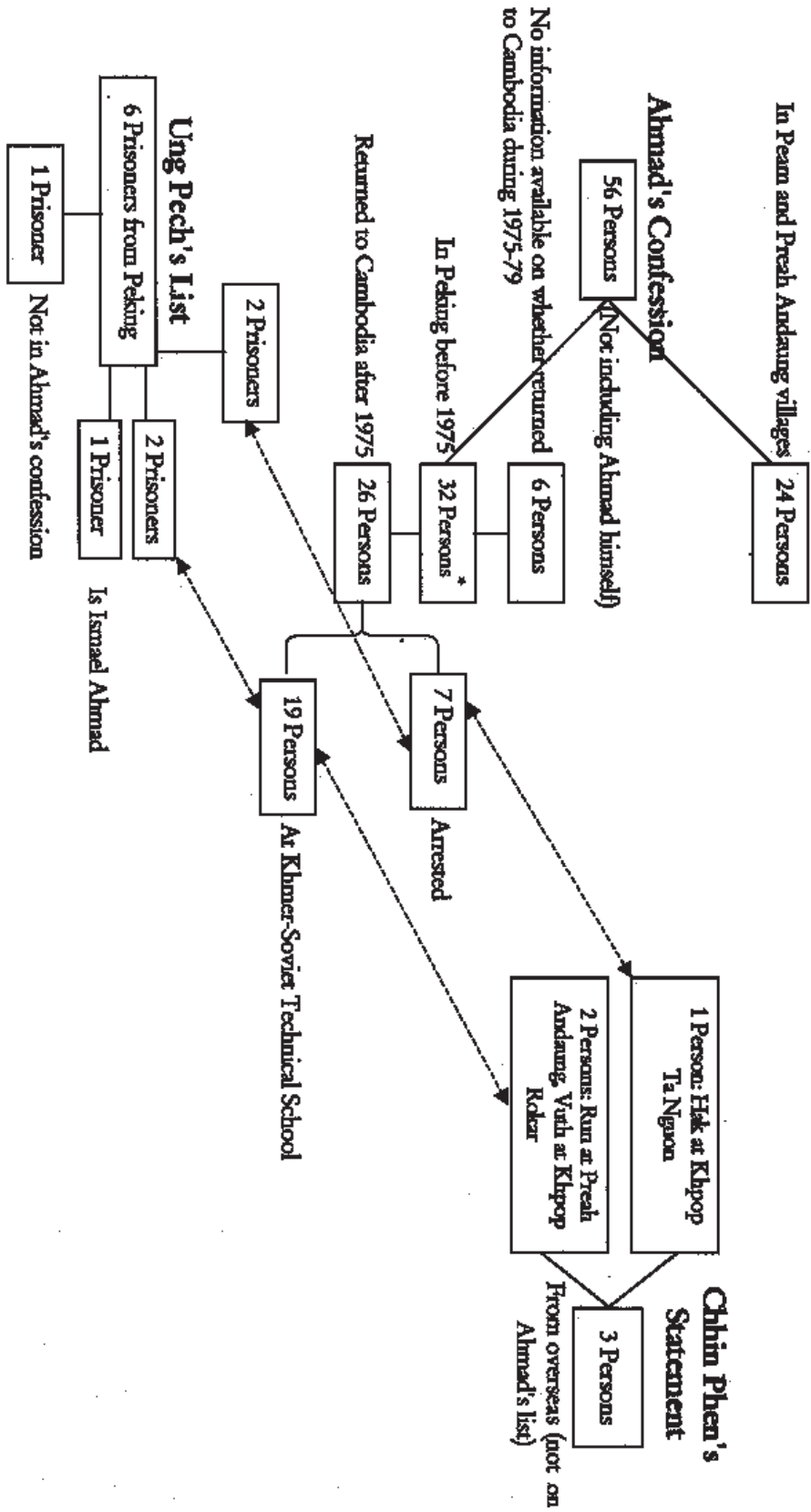
Foreign Muslims Detained in S-21, 1975-1979

Name	Arrested In	Nationality	Entry Date	Source of Information
Abdullah	Region 25	Indian	11-11-76	I10141
Abudllah		Arab		Front Document ⁴²⁷
Asoukann Brahim	Region 25	Pakistani	Died at Ta Khmau	Front Document
Azif	Region 25	Indian	11-4-76	I10137
Azif Essas Kanny ⁴²⁸	Region 25	Indian	12-4-76	I10076
Azif Halima	Region 25	Indian	12-4-76	I10075
Azif Karim	Unknown	Indian	11-4-76	I10144
Azif Sara Biby	Region 25	Indian	12-4-76	I10077
Azif Sara Diry	Region 25	Indian	11-4-76	Front Document
Chhay Reasei	Siemreap	Javanese	14-4-76	I10140
Dy Soya	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Golea	Region 25	Arab	11-4-76	Front Document
Hassa	Region 25	Indian	11-4-76	Front Document
Hassan	Region 25	Indian	13-4-76	I10078
Ismael	Region 33	Indian	8-4-76	I10136 & Execution List
Kannkhal Set	Region 25	Arab	11-4-76	Front Document
Karim	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Khatiya	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	
Kim Cheat	Region 25	Pakistani	8-4-76	Front Document
Kim Karim Sabal	Region 25	Indian	11-4-76	I10074
Kim Karim Yapou	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Kong Hussen	Region 25	Arab	Died at Ta Khmau	Front Document
Ma Ream	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Mariyan	Region 25	Indian	12-4-76	I10138
Mariyum	Kloeng	(Indian)	11-4-76	Front Document
Math Yan	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Me Cheam	Region 25	Pakistani	8-4-76	Front Document
Mogammado Yikriya	Region 33	Indian-French	8-4-76	I10114
Mohammad	Region 22	Indian		Execution List
Nasy Ahmad	Region 25	Pakistani	Died at Ta Khmau	Front Document
Nousha Zayida	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Pheara	Region 25	Indian	12-4-76	I01039
Ra Biriya	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Safa	Region 25	Arab	11-4-76	Front Document
Salima	Region 25	Arab	11-4-76	Front Document
Sarapat Ayang	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Sarapat Sirinai	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Sarapat Siriny	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Saty Maream	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document
Set	Region 25	Pakistani	11-4-76	Front Document

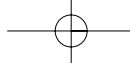
⁴²⁷ National Salvation Front, "Foreign Born Muslims Massacred at Tuol Sleng Prison," *The Destruction of Islam in the Former DK*. Phnom Penh, 1983, p. 20.

⁴²⁸ Azif Essas Kanny was killed together with 25 members of his family. Ibid.

Ismael Ahmad's Alleged Rebel Forces

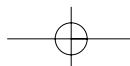
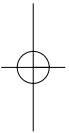


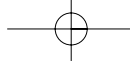
* The author found only 2 survivors



Glossary of Islamic Words Used in Oukoubah

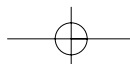
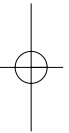
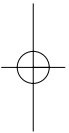
- Allah:* The name of God in Islam. Mohammad, who was God's personal messenger, became the Prophet in 570 AD. Today, more than 80 countries have adopted Islam as their state religion.
- Haji:* A person who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia. Haji is the fifth of Islam's five pillars. The five-day pilgrimage is held three months after Ramadan. It is performed by millions of Muslims from every corner of the world. They gather around Kaqbah (the holy mosque). Those who have not been to Mecca must perform a three-day ceremony in their villages called Pithy Bon Haji or Roya Haji (Haji Days). During the ceremony, the wealthy families slaughter animals and distribute the meat to villagers. This is called Kouropan.
- Hakem:* A person who is appointed by the mufti to supervise religious practice in a village. The Qur-ān requires the presence of hakem. Every Cham village has one hakem and two deputies, with village elders serving as advisors. The hakem's role is to educate villagers on religious rites and advise or warn those who violate rites; this person also serves as a judge in quarrels and in allocating property to heirs.
- Imam:* Religious leader. Today, Cambodia has three levels of imam. 1) The imam mosque is the village hakem. 2) The imam srok is a district's religious leader and supervises the hakem. 3) The imam khet is the province's religious leader and supervises the imam srok. All three types of imam are supervised by the mufti. When a problem occurs in a village and the imam mosque cannot resolve it, it must be sent to the imam srok. If it still cannot be resolved, it is sent to the imam khet.
- Insa Allah:* "Allah's willing." This phrase is often used to indicate that a person's idea or effort cannot be successful if Allah does not allow it. Muslims usually say "Insa Allah" when they promise to do something.
- Jakat:* Alms. This term refers to a share deducted from one's agricultural output. Any grains that can keep for more than





a year and weighing over 800 kilograms must be given as jakat. Ten percent of one's profits must be taken as jakat and distributed to the poor.

<i>Keitap:</i>	The holy book that explains Islamic practices in detail and the meanings of the Qur-ān.
<i>Makbna:</i>	A long garment women wear for prayers.
<i>Malinhkan Allah:</i>	Only Allah decides everything.
<i>Mayit:</i>	The corpse.
<i>Mufti:</i>	The person who is appointed by a country's most powerful ruler (e.g., the king or president, who need not be a Muslim) to lead the practice of Islam in a country. The first mufti was established in Mohammad's time. The mufti's role is to educate people in correct Islamic practices, as established in the Qur-ān, keitap, and teachings of Mohammad and other Muslim heroes. The hakem, imam srok and imam khet are under the mufti's leadership.
<i>Oukeuma:</i>	Islamic religion.
<i>Qur-ān:</i>	The holy book in which Mohammad recorded Allah's words through Jibrael, His messenger. The Qur-ān was recorded from 610 to 632 AD, and is 540-600 pages long in Arabic. The Qur-ān remains as originally written; revisions are forbidden.
<i>Samyang/Sambahyang:</i>	The prayer to Allah, which Muslims must recite five times a day. This prayer, which is intended to gratify Allah, is the first obligation of Islam's five pillars.
<i>Sarong:</i>	The garment Cham men wear when saying prayers and attending Muslim ceremonies.
<i>Sura:</i>	A temporary building for saying prayers when a mosque has not yet been built. When a mosque is located far from a village, the surao is used for daily prayer. Today, Cham villagers also use suraos as Islamic schools.
<i>Toun:</i>	Religious teacher. A toun is supervised by a hakem or an appointed committee, and is supported financially by all villagers or other donors.



Muslim Names

In accordance with Islamic custom, believers are required to choose their children's names from among the names that appear in the Qur-ān and various prayer books. These are the names of the heroes and heroines of Islam beginning with Allah's messengers Adam and Sati Hava (Adam and Eve) through the era of Mohammad.

On the seventh day after an infant's birth, the parents must perform a ceremony known as *Akeikah* to name their child. The parents or a family representative invite *bakem, toun*, elders and close friends and relatives to participate in this ceremony. The main parts of the *Akeikah* ceremony are: 1) a meal (*chamvan*), 2) the naming of the infant, 3) the placing of a sweet in the infant's mouth, 4) shaving and weighing the infant's hair (the weight of the hair is the weight of gold, or the monetary equivalent, which the parents must donate to the poor), and 5) the washing of the infant's body. The guests invited to the *Akeikah* ceremony are not required to make any monetary offerings.

Following the ceremony, the use of the official religious name requires that the given name be written first, followed by the name of the father. Between the given and paternal names, *bin* (son of) or *bintei* (daughter of) is inserted. For example, "Fatimah bintei Qasim" means Fatimah the daughter of Qasim, and "Ismael bin Qasim" means Ismael the son of Qasim.

Many Cham Muslims in Cambodia do not use their official religious names, as they cause confusion among local government officials (in the Khmer style, the family name precedes the given name). Also, for convenience, Cham Muslims often use only half or the last syllable of a name. For example, "Min Saleh" would be used in place of the full religious name "Mohammad Saleh bin Banyamin," and "Man Mah" instead of "Fatimah bintei Sulaiman."

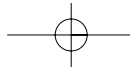
The names of Cham Muslims written here based upon original use.

Sources: Author's interviews with:

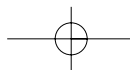
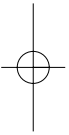
Uknha Sos Kamry, op. cit., 1 October 2001.

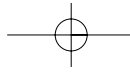
Toun Nasir bin Abnuhajar, at Svay Khleang village, 23 September 2001.

Sapek, Mohammad Sayid, *The Vichsonnas Keitap Prayer Book*. 10th printing. Cairo, Egypt, 1993.


Names of People

Abdul Hussen	អាប៊ុល ហូសេន
Abdul Majet	អាប៊ុល ម៉ាដេត
Abdullah	អាប៊ុល ឡោះ
Abutalep Aiyaup	អាពូ-តឡិប អៃយ៉ូប
Achar Kang	អាចារ្យកង
Aminah	អាមីណាស់
Asoukann Brahim	អាស៊ូកាន់ ព្រហ្មឹម
Aus Slaiman	អូស ស្លៃម៉ាន
Azif	អាហ្សីវ៉ា
Azif Essas Kanny	អាហ្សីវ៉ា អ៊ីសាស់ កាន់នី
Azif Halima	អាហ្សីវ៉ា ហាលីម៉ា
Azif Karim	អាហ្សីវ៉ា ការឹម
Azif Sara Diry	អាហ្សីវ៉ា សារ៉ា ឌីរី
Azif Sarabibi	អាហ្សីវ៉ា សារ៉ាប៊ីប៊ី
Ban	បាន
Bang Mon Tauch	បងម៉ូនតូច
Ben Kiernan	ប៊ែន កៀរនីន
But	ប៊ុត
Chan	ចាន់
Chan Bopha	ចាន់បូផា
Chea	ជេ
Cheam Sai	ជេម សៃ
Cheam Soeu aka Mao	ជេម សៀ ហៅ ម៉ៅ
Cheav Ly	ជេវ លី
Chek Bauphany	ចិក បូផានី
Chek Brahim	ចិក ព្រហ្មឹម
Chek Kim Heng	ចិក គឹម ហេង
Chek Leh	ចិក ឡោះ
Chek Rasat	ចិក រ៉ាសាត

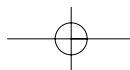
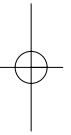
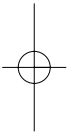


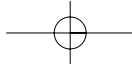


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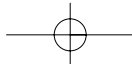
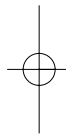
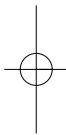
Oukoubah

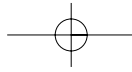
Chek Salamy	ចិក សាឡាមី
Chek Sarida	ចិក សារីដា
Chek Saufiya	ចិក សូហ្វីយ៉ា
Chem Sngoun	ចែម ស្នួន
Chhan	ឆាន
Chhang Song	ឆាំង សុង
Chhay Reasei	ឆាយ រាសី
Chheang	ឈាង
Chheng	ឆេង
Chheng Trim	ឆេង ទ្រីម
Chhin	ឈិន
Chhin Phen	ឈិន ផេន
Chhlaunh	ឆ្នួញ
Chhoeun	ឈឿន
Chim Aminah	ជីម អាមីណាស់
Chuong Chim	ជួង ជីម
Comrade Chhon	សមមិត្តគុន
Comrade Hor	សមមិត្តហ៊ី
Comrade Krin	សមមិត្តគ្រិន
Comrade Men	សមមិត្តម៉េន
Comrade Peng	សមមិត្តប៉េង
Comrade Sok	សមមិត្តសុខ
Craig Etcheson	ក្រេក អេចអេសាន
David Chandler	ដេវីដ ឆេនដល័រ
Doeun	ឌឿន
Doeun aka Dim	ឌឿន ហៅ ទីម
Duch	ឌុច
Dy Soya	ឌី សូយ៉ា
Ea Meng-Try	អៀ ម៉េងទ្រី
El	អេល



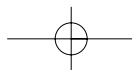
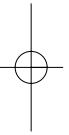
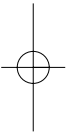


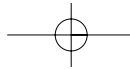
El Brahim	អេល ហ្រហ៊ីម
El Dullah	អេល ឌូល័ស
El Him	អេល ហ៊ីម
El Khor	អេល ខ
El Lei	អេល ឡី
El Man	អេល ម៉ាន
El Nan	អេល ណាន
El Sa	អេល សា
El Sah	អេល សះ
Elizabeth Becker	អេលីហ្សាបែត ប៊ែកឃ័រ
Em Sokhym	អែម សុខឃីម
Eng	អង
Fatimah bintei Qasim	ហ្វាតីម៉ាស ប៊ីនតី កាសីម
Golea	ហ្គោលា
Haji Abdul Majet bin Abdullah	ហាជី អាប៊ុលម៉ាជេត ប៊ីន អាប៊ុល ឡោះ
Haji Abdulnasir Abdulmalik	ហាជី អាប៊ុលណាសៀរ អាប៊ុលម៉ាលីក
Haji Abutalep	ហាជី អាបូ-តឡីប
Haji Ahmad	ហាជី អះម៉ាត់
Haji Math Ly Harun	ហាជី ម៉ាត់ លី ហារ៉ុន
Haji Math Sleh Slaiman	ហាជី ម៉ាត់ ស្លេ ឆ្លៃម៉ាន
Haji Math Zen	ហាជី ម៉ាត់ សេន
Haji Mussa	ហាជី មូសា
Haji Nasir	ហាជី ណាសៀរ
Haji Raja Thipadei Res Lah	ហាជី រាជាធិបតី រ៉េស ឡោះ
Haji Saleh Yahya	ហាជី សឡោះ យ៉ាស័យ៉ា
Haji Srong Yusuf	ហាជី ស្រុង យូសុវៈ
Haji Sulaiman Shukry	ហាជី ស៊ូឡៃម៉ាន សូក្រី
Haji Toun Mussa	ហាជី តួន មូសា
Hak	ហាក់
Ham	ហាំ





Hassa	ហាស្សា
Hassan	ហាស្សាន់
Hawk	ហ៊ីក
Heang	ហ៊ាន
Heng	ហេង
Heng Oeun	ហេង អៀន
Henri Locard	ហែនរី ឡុកាត
Him Huy	ហ៊ឹម ហ៊ុយ
Him Leh	ហ៊ឹម ឡេ
Him Man	ហ៊ឹម ម៉ាន
Him Man aka Haji Sulaiman	ហ៊ឹម ម៉ាន ហោ ហាដ្ឋី ស៊ូឡៃម៉ាន
Him Man aka Proem	ហ៊ឹម ម៉ាន ហោ ប្រឹម
Him Put	ហ៊ឹម ពុត
Him Sulaiman	ហ៊ឹម ស៊ូឡៃម៉ាន
Hinosky Skuman	ហ៊ីណូស្កី ស៊ូម៉ាន
Hor	ហ៊ី
Horng	ហ៊ាន
Hou Youn	ហូ យ៉ុង
Hun Sen	ហ៊ុន សែន
Huo Vat	ហួ វ៉ាត
Huy	ហ៊ុយ
Ibaham En Nhoul	អ៊ីបាហាម អ៊ិនញូល
Ieng Sary	អៀង សារី
Ieng Thirith	អៀង ធីរិទ្ធ
Ismael	អ៊ីស្មាអេល
Ismael Ahmad	អ៊ីស្មាអេល អះម៉ាត់
Ismael bin Qasim	អ៊ីស្មាអេល ឋិន កាស៊ីម
Ismael Flahy	អ៊ីស្មាអេល ហ្វាហ៊ី
It Tam	អ៊ីត តាំ
Judith Banister	ច័រីស៊ីស្ទើ យូឌីត

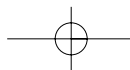
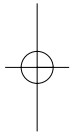
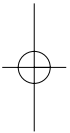


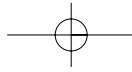


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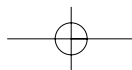
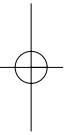
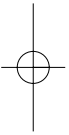
Oukoubah

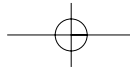
Kae	កែ
Kae Math Zen	កែ ម៉ាត់សេន
Kai Yusuf	កៃ យូសុវ័
Kaing Kech Iev aka Duch	កាំង ក្រិចអៀវ ហៅ ឌុច
Kaly Hak	កាលី ហាក់
Kannkhal Set	កាន់ខាល សេត
Karim	ការីម
Kaup Him	កូប ហ៊ីម
Kaup Leh	កូប ឡេវ
Kaup Rim	កូប រីម
Kaup Sleh	កូប ស្លេវ
Ke Meas	កែ មាស
Ke Pauk	កែ ពក
Keas	កាស
Keo Ibrahim	កែវ អ៊ីប្រាហ៊ីម
Khor	ខ
Khadijah	ខឌីចាស់
Khatiya	ខឌីយ៉ា
Khauv Buoytieng	ខូវ ប៊ូយឡៀង
Kheng Man	ខេង ម៉ាន
Kheng Sarun	ខេង សារុន
Khieu Ches aka Peou	ខៀវ ចេស ហៅ ពៅ
Khieu La	ខៀវ ឡ
Khieu Samphan	ខៀវ សំផន
Khim Vat aka Hor	ហ៊ឹម វ៉ាត ហៅ ហី
Kim Cheat	គីម ជាត
Kim Karim Sabal	គីម ការីម សាបាល
Kim Karim Yapou	គីម ការីម យ៉ាបូ
Kim Sann	គីម សាន់
Kit Soeum aka Nin	គិត សៀម ហៅ នីន





Koam Miech	គាំ មៀច
Kork Srah	កក ស្រស់
Krin	គ្រិន
Kufi	កុហ្វី
Kung Hausen	កុង ហូសេន
Kuoy	កួយ
Ky Sok Hy	គី សុខហ៊ី
Lach	ឡាច
Lach Mao	ឡាច ម៉ៅ
Lach Vorleak Kalyan	ឡាច វល័កុកល្យាណ
Lay	ឡាយ
Lay Kuy	ឡាយ កុយ
Leng	ឡេង
Leng Sokha	ឡេង សុខា
Lep Loh	ឡិប ល័ស
Lep Math	ឡិប ម៉ាត់
Lep Tort	ឡិប ទត
Lep Vanmath	ឡិប វ៉ាន់ម៉ាត់
Les Kosem	ឡេស កសឹម
Lim Sie	លីម សៀ
Loh Him	ល័ស ហ៊ឹម
Lon Nol	លន់ ណុល
Long Dany	ឡុង ដានី
Ly Chip	លី ជីត
Ly Leh	លី ឡេះ
Ly Man	លី ម៉ាន
Ly Mohammad	លី ម៉ូហាម៉ាត់
Ly Sman	លី ស្មាន
Ly Treh	លី ត្រេះ
Ly You	លី យូ

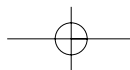
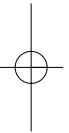
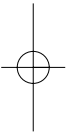


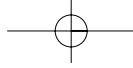


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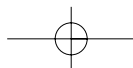
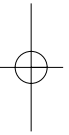
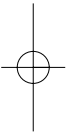
Oukoubah

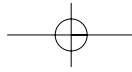
Ma Ream	ម៉ា រាម
Mae Khadijah	ម៉ែ ខឌីហាស៍
Mae Math	ម៉ែ ម៉ាត់
Mae Zen	ម៉ែ សេន
Mah	ម៉ះ
Mah Aisah	ម៉ះ អៃសះ
Mah Yam	ម៉ះ យ៉ាម
Maisam	ម៉ៃសំ
Mam Kalyanee	ម៉ម កល្យាណី
Mam Keng aka Sak	ម៉ម កេង ហៅ សាក់
Man	ម៉ាន
Man Cheou	ម៉ាន ជេវ
Man Halmah	ម៉ាន ហាល់ម៉ះ
Man Khadijah	ម៉ាន ខឌីហាស៍
Man Kim Chhiev	ម៉ាណា គីមឈីវ
Man Math aka Man Man	ម៉ាន ម៉ាត់ ហៅ ម៉ាន ម៉ាន
Man Riem	ម៉ាន រឿម
Man Sah	ម៉ាន សះ
Man Set	ម៉ាន សេត
Man Sim	ម៉ាន ស៊ីម
Man Tech	ម៉ាន តិច
Man Vy	ម៉ាន វី
Man Ya	ម៉ាន យ៉ា
Mao Nil	ម៉ៅ និល
Marek Sliwinski	ម៉ារិក ស្លីវីនស្កី
Mariyan	ម៉ារីយ៉ាន
Mariyum	ម៉ារីយ៉ូម
Math Dullah	ម៉ាត់ ទូល័ស
Math El	ម៉ាត់ អេល
Math Keas	ម៉ាត់ កាស





Math Leh	ម៉ាត់ ឡេះ
Math Loh	ម៉ាត់ លីស
Math Ly	ម៉ាត់ លី
Math Man	ម៉ាត់ ម៉ាន
Math Naury	ម៉ាត់ ណូរី
Math Sah	ម៉ាត់ សះ
Math Satah	ម៉ាត់ សតាស
Math Seiha	ម៉ាត់ សីហា
Math Set	ម៉ាត់ សេត
Math Slaiman	ម៉ាត់ ស្លៃម៉ាន
Math Sleh Sulaiman	ម៉ាត់ ស្លេះ ស៊ូឡៃម៉ាន
Math Tam	ម៉ាត់ តាំ
Math Yan	ម៉ាត់ យ៉ាន
Math Zen	ម៉ាត់ សេន
Maut Hiet	ម៉ូត ហៀត
Me Cheam	មេ ជាម
Met Leng	មិត្តឡេង
Min Saleh	មីន សឡេះ
Mit Min	ម៉ិត មីន
Meun Khan aka Roeun	ម៉ឺន ខន ហៅ រឿន
Mogammado Yikriya	ម៉ូហាំម៉ាឌូ យិក្រីយ៉ា
Mohammad	ម៉ូហាំម៉ាត់
Mohammad Zen	ម៉ូហាំម៉ាត់ សេន
Mussa Hassan	ម៉ូសា ហាស្សាន
Mut	មុត
Mut Heng	មុត ហេង
Muy Tech Leng	មុយ តិចឡេង
Nasy Ahmad	ណាហ្សី អះម៉ាត់
Nat	ណាត
Nate Thayer	ណេត ថេយយើ

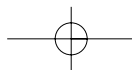
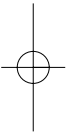


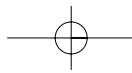


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Oukoubah

Ney Pena	នៃ ប៉េណា
Ngao Hien	ង៉ាវ ហ៊ិន
Ngao Suy	ង៉ាវ សុយ
Nget Bou	ណែត ប៊ូ
Nin	និន
No Satah	នោ សាតាស៍
Norng Aung Math	នង អុងម៉ាត់
Norng Chhon	នង ឆុង
Nousha Zayida	នូស្សា ហ្សាយីដា
Nun Huy aka Huy Sre	នុន ហ៊ុយ ហៅ ហ៊ុយស្រែ
Nun Ruos	នុន រស់
Nuon Chea	នួន ជា
Ny	នី
Oeun	អឿន
Oeung Hoeung	អឿង ហឿង
Paige Johnson	ដេដ ជនសន៍
Peang Met	ពាង ម៉េត
Peng	ប៉េង
Phat Kosal	ផាត កុសល
Phauk Chhoeun	កោក ឆឿន
Pheara	ភារ៉ា
Phen	ផេន
Pheng Pong Rasy	ផេង ពង្សរ៉ាសី
Phikho Moeng Ratha	ភិក្ខុ ម៉ែង រដ្ឋា
Pin	ប៊ិន
Pol Pot	ប៉ុល ពត
Pon	ប៉ុន
Prak Khan	ប្រាក់ ខន
Prok Khoeun	ប្រុក ឡឿន
Pros	ប្រុស

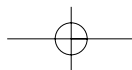
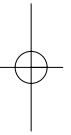
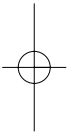


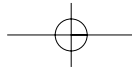


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Oukoubah

Pruonh	ព្រួញ
Pry Yusuf	ព្រីយូសុះ
Ra Biriya	រ៉ា ប៊ីរីយ៉ា
Rahman	រ៉ាស៊ីម៉ាន
Rasinah	រ៉ាស៊ីណា
Res Tort	រេស ទត
Rieh	រឿស
Roun Atikah	រួន អាទីកាស
Roun Math	រួន ម៉ាត
Roun Nop	រួន ណុប
Roun Savy	រួន សាវី
Roun Sman	រួន ស្មាន
Run	រួន
Ruos Saret	រូស សារ៉េត
Ruy Neavkorng	រុយ នាវកង
Ry	រី
Sa	សា
Sa Him	សា ហ៊ីម
Sa Ibrahim	សា អ៊ីប្រាហ៊ីម
Sa Lim	សា លីម
Sa Loh	សា ល័ស
Sa Math	សា ម៉ាត
Sa Roun	សា រួន
Sa Saleh	សា សឡេ
Sa Zen	សា សេន
Safa	សាហ្វា
Safitah	សហ្វីតា
Sah Kae	សា កៃ
Saleh	សឡេ
Saleh Ahmad	សឡេ អះម៉ាត

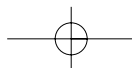
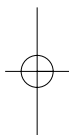
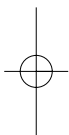


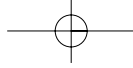


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Oukoubah

Saleh Hiet	សឡេះ ហៀត
Saleh Him	សឡេះ ហ៊ឹម
Salima	សាលីម៉ា
Salimah	សាលីម៉ាស៍
Sam	សំ
Sam Sakhon	សំ សាខុន
Samah Karim	សាម៉ាស៍ ការីម
Samas	សាម៉ាស៍
Samdech Sihanouk	សម្តេច សីហនុ
San	សន
Sara Colm	សារ៉ាកុម
Sarapat H. Yang	សារ៉ាប៉ាត ហ. យ៉ាង
Sarapat Sirinai	សារ៉ាប៉ាត ស៊ីរីណៃ
Sarapat Siriny	សារ៉ាប៉ាត ស៊ីរីនី
Saty Maream	សាតី ម៉ារាម
Sau Kham Khauy	សូ ខាំខូយ
Savooun	សាវ៉ៀន
Say	សាយ
Seam Cheu	ស៊ាម ជឺ
Sem Saufiyan	សែម សូហ្វីយ៉ាន
Sen	សេន
Seng Kim	សេង គីម
Ser Sayana	សើ សាយរាណា
Set	សេត
Set Sen	សេត សេន
Seth	សិដ្ឋ
Sethy	សិទ្ធី
Sim Mae	ស៊ីម ម៉េ
Sim Mel aka Man	ស៊ីម ម៉ែល ហៅ ម៉ាន
Sim Sorya	ស៊ីម សុរិយ៉ា

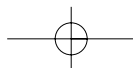
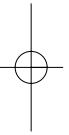
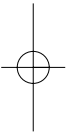


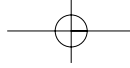


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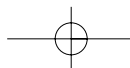
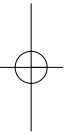
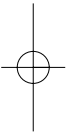
Oukoubah

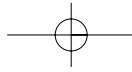
Sit Hap	ស៊ីត ហាប់
Slaiman Shukry	ស្លៃម៉ាន សុក្រី
Sleh	ស្មេះ
Sleh Ly	ស្មេះ លី
Sleh San	ស្មេះ សាន់
Sman	ស្មាន
Sman Kaji	ស្មាន កាជី
Sman Math	ស្មាន ម៉ាត់
Sman Nop	ស្មាន ណុប
Sman Ny	ស្មាន នី
Sman Sleh	ស្មាន ស្មេះ
Sman Sok	ស្មាន សុខ
Soeun	ស្មើន
Soh	សុះ
Soh (Riev Soh)	សុះ (រៀវ សុះ)
Soh Kae	សុះ កើ
Soh Kamry (Kamaruddin bin Yusof)	សុះ កីរី (កាម៉ារុទ្ធីន ប៊ិន យូសុះ)
Soh Man	សុះ ម៉ាន
Soh Math	សុះ ម៉ាត់
Soh Maut	សុះ ម៉ូត
Soh Min	សុះ មីន
Soh Ponyamin	សុះ ពន់យ៉ាមីន
Soh Tort	សុះ ទុត
Sok	សុខ
Sok Sa Aun	សុខ សាអួន
Sok Thuok aka Vorn Vet	សុខ ធ្លុក ហៅ វ៉ន វើត
Son Sen aka Khiev	សុន សេន ហៅ ខៀវ
Son Ty	សុន ទី
Sorn Keo	ស៊ិន កែវ
Sou Ahmad	ស៊ូ អះម៉ាត់





Srei Thiep	ស្រី ធៀប
Sren Man	ស្រេន ម៉ាន
Srong Yusuf	ស្រង់ យូសុវៈ
Steve Heder	ស្ទីវ ហេដឌើ
Sulaiman Hafisoh	ស៊ូឡៃម៉ាន ហាហ្គីសោវៈ
Summers, Laura	សាំម៉េ ឡូរ៉ា
Sup Roun	ស៊ុប រូន
Ta Chen	តាចិន
Ta Mok	តាម៉ុក
Ta Nat	តាណាត
Ta Soh (Riev Soh)	តាសុវៈ (រឿវ សុវៈ)
Taheu Safi E	តាហ៊ី សាហ៊ីអ៊ី
Tea Meng Tek	តា ម៉ង់តេក
Tep Hun	តេព ហ៊ុន
Tep Math	តេប ម៉ាត់
Tep Yunus	តេប យូណុវៈ
Tes El	តេះ អេល
Thlang La	ថ្លង់ ឡា
Thong	ថ្លង់
Tit Tum	ទិត ទុំ
Tony Sony	តូនី សូនី
Top Vorn	តុប វ៉ន
Toun Ahmad	តួន អះម៉ាត់
Toun Haji Idris	តួន ហាជី អ៊ីទ្រីស
Toun Haji Mohammad Ali	តួន ហាជី ម៉ូហាម៉ាត់ អាលី
Toun Haji Mohammad Kaji bin Mussa	តួន ហាជី ម៉ូហាម៉ាត់ កាជី ប៊ិន មូសា
Toun Haji Mohammad Tort	តួន ហាជី ម៉ូហាម៉ាត់ ទត
Toun Haji Yusuf Avny	តួន ហាជី យូសុវៈ អាវ៉នី
Toun Mit	តួន មីត
Toun Nasir bin Abnuhajar	តួន ណាសៀវ ប៊ិន អាប៊ុនូហាជើវ

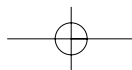
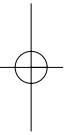
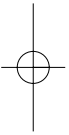


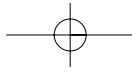


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Oukoubah

Toun Sarifah	គួន សារីហ្វាស់
Toun Seh No	គួន សេស នេ
Toun Slaiman bin Yusuf	គួន ស្លៃម៉ាន ប៊ិន យូសុវៈ
Toun Soh Rosat	គួន សុះ រ៉ូសាត
Toun Yakaup	គួន យាក់ក្អុប
Toun Yusuf bin Set	គួន យូសុវៈ ប៊ិន សេត
Treh	ទ្រេស
Tres Sarom	ទ្រេស សារ៉ូម
Try	ទ្រី
Tum	ទុំ
Tumad Afan	ទូម៉េត អាហ្វាន
Tuy	ទុយ
Ung Pech	អ៊ុង ប៊ិច
Ungkary Dauman	អ៊ុងការី ដូម៉ាន
Uy Meng	អ៊ុយ ម៉េង
Van Math	វ៉ាន ម៉ាត់
Vang	វ៉ង
Vann Nath	វ៉ាន ណាត
Vat	វ៉ាត
Vong	វង់
Vun	វុន
Vuth	វុធ
Ya	យ៉ា
Ya Man	យ៉ា ម៉ាន
Ya Soh	យ៉ា សុះ
Yakaup Mussa	យាក់ក្អុប មូសា
Yan	យ៉ន
Yem	យ៉ែម
Yem Khan	យ៉ែម ខន
Yilhae	យិលហើ





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Oukoubah

Yin Nean

យិន នាន

You Him

យូ ហ៊ឹម

Youk Chantha

យុក ចាន់ថា

Youk Chhang

ឃុន យុក

Yunus Yafaetr

យូណុះ យ៉ាហ្វេត្រ

Zakariya Adam

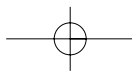
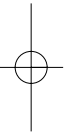
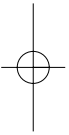
ហ៊ីរ៉ាគារីយ៉ា អាដាម

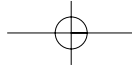
Zakariya Ahmad

ហ៊ីរ៉ាគារីយ៉ា អះម៉ាត់

Zakariya bin Ahmad

ហ៊ីរ៉ាគារីយ៉ា ពិន អះម៉ាត់



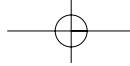


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Oukoubah

Place Names

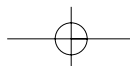
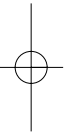
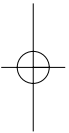
Transliteration	UNTAC Map	Current Map
Akmaok		
Andaung Svay		
Bak Roteh		
Baren		
Basakk		
Batheay	Batheay	Batheay
Boeng Tasrei		
Boeng Trabek		
Bos Khnaor	Bos Khnaor	
Cham Leu		
Chamkar Leu	Chamkar Leu	Chamkar Leu
Chey Yau		
Chhlaung	Chhlong	Chhlong
Chrauy Changvar		
Chroy Metrei		
Chumnik		
Daem Mien		
Dambe	Dambe	Dambe
Damrei Sa		
Damrei Slapp		
Ek Phnum	Ek Phnom	Ek Phnom
Kampong Kong		
Kampong Saom	Kampong Saom	Kampong Saom
Kampong Smanh	Kampong Smach	
Kang Meas	Kang Meas	Kang Meas
Khsach Andet		
Khpab Rokar	Khpop Rokar	
Khpab Tanguon		
Kilo Sounam		
Koh Khsach Tonlea		
Koh Khyang		
Koh Kor		
Koh Thmei		
Koh Thum	Koh Thum/Koah Thum	Koh Thum
Kohe		
Kracheh		
Krang Yauv		
Krauch Chhmar		
Krek		
La-ang		
Matt Peam		

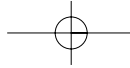


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Oukoubah

Transliteration	UNTAC Map	Current Map
Mean Chey		
Mukh Kampoul	Muk Kampoul	Muk Kampoul
O Chhamchha		
Paes 2		
Peam		
Phnum Dil		
Phnum Itthris		
Phnum Prasitth		
Phnum Tauch		
Phnum Thum		
Po Tonle		
Po Tonle Kram		
Pochentong		
Ponhea Krek	Ponhea Krek	Ponhea Krek
Ponhea Leu	Ponhea Leu	Ponhea Leu
Popel		
Preah Andaung		
Preah Vihear	Preah Vihear	Preah Vihear
Prek Bakk	Prek Bak	
Prek Chrey		
Prek Kdam		
Prek Kauy	Prek Kov	
Prek Phneou		
Prek Pra		
Prek Reang		
Prek Sdao		
Prek Sdei	Prek Sdei	
Prek Taduong		
Prek Tahob		
Prek Takok		
Prek Tapeou		
Prek Thmei		
Prek Trapp	Prek Troap	
Prey Chrey		
Prey Nup	Prey Nup	Prey Nup
Prey Sa		
Prey Thnang		
Psar Thmei		
Reusseï Chroy		
Roka Kaong		
Rokar Khpuos	Rokar Khpoas	
Rokar Popram	Rokar Proqram	
Saang	Saang	Sa-ang

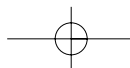
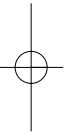
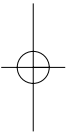




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Oukoubah

Transliteration	UNTAC Map	Current Map
Samrong		
Snuol	Snoul	Snuol
Sre Cham	Sre Cham	
Sting Trang	Stung Trang	Stung Trang
Suong	Suong	
Svay Prateal		
Ta Khmao	Ta Khmau	Ta Khmau
Tbaung Khmum	Tbong Khmum	Tbong Khmum
Thmei		
Thum		
Tonle Sab	Tonle Sap	
Toting		
Tuol Rokar	Tuol Rokar	
Trapeang Chhouk	Trapeang Chhuk	
Trea	Treo	
Tuol		
Tuol Kok		Tuol Kork
Veal		
Veal Rinh		



THE DC-CAM RESEARCH PROJECT

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 2000, 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:

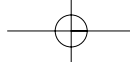
- ◆ serve as resource on the history of the Democratic Kampuchea regime;
- ◆ provide information that promotes accountability by serving as potential evidence for a future Khmer Rouge criminal tribunal;
- ◆ produce scholarly publications, generate scholarly exchange, catalyze training, and create internships;
- ◆ provide a cross-check on and confirmation of Khmer Rouge primary documents; and
- ◆ provide a broader overall understanding of the Democratic Kampuchea regime.

DC-Cam's Research Project reflects our 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 held hostage by the past. Research may also facilitate an eventual accounting for some of the crimes of the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime. When the survivors know who did what to 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. This research series is for memory and justice, and will assist in building a foundation for the rule of law and genuine national reconciliation, which in turn are prerequisites for sustainable economic and social advancement.

DC-Cam's Research Methodology

Given the experience levels of DC-Cam researchers, we do not strictly apply the standard social science research hypothetical-deductive methodology. Rather, our research strategy is to comb secondary sources, primary sources, and interviews with 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 as yet do not 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. The kind of liberal education and broad curricula that routinely encourage academic excellence is

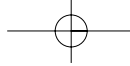


therefore presently out of reach in Cambodia. We thus understand why scholars such as Dr. Craig Etcheson conclude that under present circumstances, it is impossible to expect our researchers to produce publishable studies in a mere one-year timeframe. Dr. Steve Heder has likewise concluded that the efforts of our researchers would be most wisely engaged in producing field reports. We humbly wish to challenge these conclusions.

We wish to thank our donors - King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia; the governments of the Netherlands, United States, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, Denmark, and New Zealand; the Yale Sterling Library; and DanChurchAid - 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 funders have been patient in allowing our researchers a chance to mature. We also gratefully acknowledge the past support of the governments of Canada, Australia, Japan, Kuwait, and Germany; the United Nations' Center for Human Rights in Cambodia; Oxfam-Hong Kong; the Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale University; US Defense POW/MIA Office; Fanny and Leo Charitable Trust; the National Endowment for Democracy; ReddBarna Norway; and William B. O'Boyle.

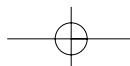
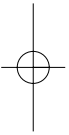
DC-Cam firmly believes in the learning-by-doing method when it comes to writing a research paper. All researchers are free to write as their fancy dictates, as long as they faithfully cite all of their sources and produce papers free from plagiarism. They are asked to observe the way renowned Cambodia scholars have written their books, while a modern research primer is also available to ensure that the researchers are versed in the basics of their craft (*Writing Research Papers: A Complete Guide*, Lester, 1993). Numerous leading Western scholars are on DC-Cam's Board of Associate Advisors (TAA), and are available for consultation when questions arise. Dr. Craig Etcheson, Dr. Steve Heder and Prof. David Chandler all have generously tutored our research staff. DC-Cam also provides its researchers with the opportunity to learn from its overseas interns, including Kalyanee Mam, Rachel Hughes, and Colleen McGinn. In addition, we constantly seek opportunities for our staff to attend conferences and human rights-related training abroad.

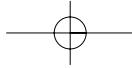
DC-Cam has been carrying out a broad program of oral history. All interviews are structured to begin with very general questions, such as "what happened to you before and during the Pol Pot time?" The DC-Cam field research policy is based firmly upon experience that has demonstrated the importance of avoiding leading questions. We seek to uncover individual responsibility and command responsibility for genocide, war crimes, 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 in the locale where they were situated 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. Our researchers 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. We also pay due care with respect to the way a researcher dresses and conducts him or herself, because this can impact the extent and reliability of the responses. It is wise to recall the aphorism, “When in Rome, do as the Romans do.” A foreign look or socially inappropriate talk invites exaggeration, distortion, or even lies. DC-Cam researchers are not permitted to tip or compensate interviewees in any way. A tape player and manual note-taking are both used to record interviews, and the interviewees are made aware that they are being recorded. The vital task of transcribing interviews is usually begun immediately.

For purposes of security, logistics and reporting, researchers fill out a research trip checklist and a result form, entries of which include the number of interviews, names of interviewees, time, place, tapes used, photos, negatives, materials obtained, and a content summary. A small camera is used to take photos. 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.



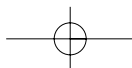
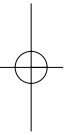
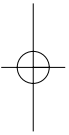


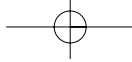
About the Author

Ysa Osman is the son of Ibrahim Ysa and Ahmad Sa-E-Dah. Osman was born in 1971 in Svay Khleang village (Svay Khleang subdistrict, Krauch Chhmar district, Kampong Cham province), where villagers revolted against the Khmer Rouge suppression of Cham Muslims.

Osman completed high school in 1992. He also studied Islam and completed Qur-ān studies in that same year..

In 1999, Osman joined the Documentation Center of Cambodia. He is the author of Oukoubah and is currently working on a paper about the Cham Muslims rebellion against Democratic Kampuchea.



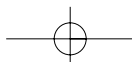
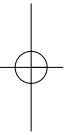
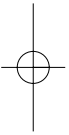


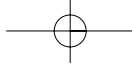
About the Translator



Oukoubah was translated from Khmer to English by Rich Arant, who is fluent in Khmer, Thai, Lao and Vietnamese. He studied these languages at the Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State.

Mr. Arant served in the United States Army from 1972-78, where he was based in Thailand. He was later transferred to the Pearl S. Buck Foundation in Thailand (1979-81). He was in the United States Air Force from 1982-92 in Hawaii and Thailand. He served in the Defense Intelligence Agency from 1992 to 1997 in Thailand and Cambodia. He holds a BS in Chemical Engineering from the University of Louisville and a BS in Electrical Engineering from the Air Force Institute of Technology (USA).





Haji Saleh Yahya



Haji Math Labaroun



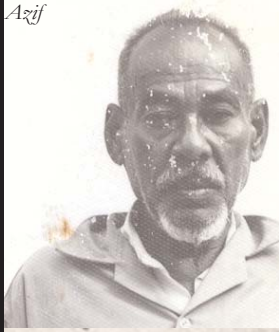
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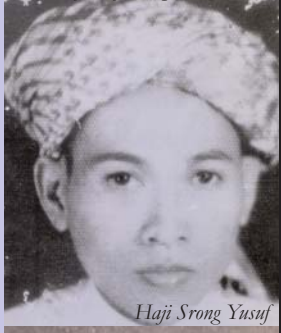
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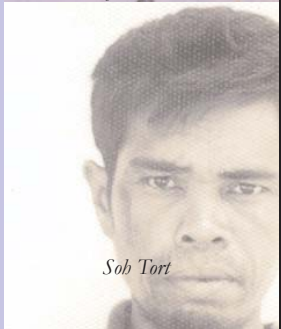
Haji Math Sleb Slaiman



Ismael



Kim Karim Sabal



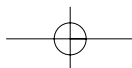
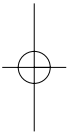
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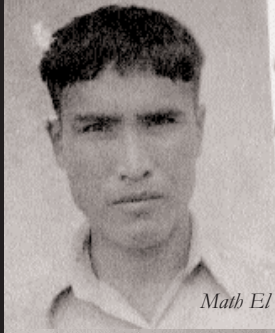
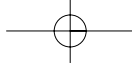


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Kim Karim Sabal

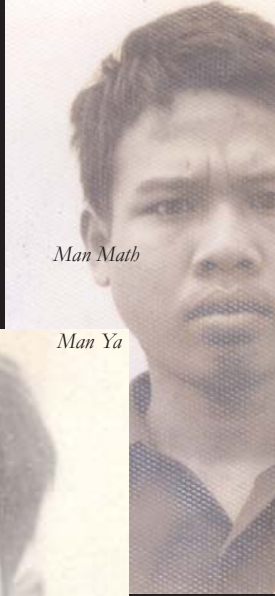




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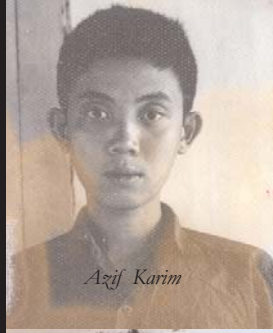


Mae Math



Man Matb

Man Ya



Azif Karim



Matb Lob



Hassan



Sob Man

Ismael Abma



Azif Halima



Lep Math



Mariyan



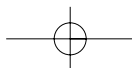
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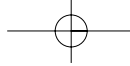


Azif Sara Bin



Haji Sulaiman Shukry



**OUKOUBAH-Justice**

126. And if ye punish, let your
punishment

Be proportionate to the
Wrong that has been
Done to you:
But if ye show patience,
That is indeed the best (course)²¹⁶³
For those who are patient.

²¹⁶³

In the context this passage refers to controversies and discussions, but the words are wide enough to cover all human struggles, disputes, and fights. In strictest equity you are not entitled to give a worse blow than is given to you. Lest you should think that such patience only gives an advantage to the adversary, you are told that the contrary is the case, the advantage is with the patient, the self-possessed, those who do not lose their temper or forget their own principles of conduct.

THE HOLY QUR-ĀN
S.16 A.126 J.14, p.770