

**ឯកសារទទួល**  
DOCUMENT RECEIVED/DOCUMENT REÇU

ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date of receipt/Date de reception):  
..... 25 / 01 / 2010 .....

ម៉ោង (Time/Heure): ..... 13: 00 .....

មន្ត្រីទទួលបន្ទុកសំណុំរឿង/Case File Officer/L'agent charge du dossier: ..... Uch Arun .....

Number: D121/6.2

I. Regarding the confession of MEAK Touch (ម៉ាក់ ទូច)

1. The only annotations on the confession of MEAK Touch are mine and Nuon Chea's.

- Nuon Chea annotated: "Comrade Vǎn (វ៉ាន់)" on the top left hand corner of the cover.

- I made an annotation in the margin on the cover and underlined a number of points in the text.

I underlined the name DĨNH Nhâ Liem (ឌីញ ញ៉ាឈៀម), the Vietnamese ambassador, but did not underline the name PHOUN Sripasert (ភួន ស៊ីប៉ាស៊ីត) the Lao Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. This was the stance in which I was trained by the Party. I held that the Vietnamese Communist Party of Lê Duǎn had set itself up as the father of Indochina. Wherever their party members went, they systematically worked in accordance with their Indochina Federation plan and in a state of awareness.

Specifically, DĨNH Nhâ Liem's official government status was that of ambassador, but he had more political power and potential upon MEAK Touch than did PHOUN Siprasert, the Deputy Prime Minister of Laos.

MUT Savoeun (មុត សាវៀន) was chairman of the UNHCR<sup>1</sup> in Aranh, not someone who was active with MEAK Touch. So then, MEAK Touch did not compile that name into the list.

2. MEAK Touch implicated 60 persons, none of whom were arrested and sent to S-21 after 21 February 1978, the day that I sent this confession to upper echelon.

Observations

Four persons were arrested and sent to S-21 prior to 20 November 1977, the day MEAK Touch and his wife were arrested. However, MEAK Touch did not know that, and did not write "already arrested."

These four persons were:

<sup>1</sup> UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Human Rights

**ឯកសារចម្លងត្រឹមត្រូវតាមច្បាប់ដើម**  
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ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ ត្រឹមត្រូវ (Certified Date /Date de certification):  
..... 25 / 01 / 2010 .....

មន្ត្រីទទួលបន្ទុកសំណុំរឿង /Case File Officer/L'agent chargé du dossier: ..... Ratanak .....

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- YOU Thán (យូ ថាន់) (Entry 7 in MEAK Touch's list) was arrested on 25 October 1976
- TIV OI (ទីវ អុល) (Entry 19) was arrested on 9 July 1977.
- ĒNG Mak (អេង ម៉ាក) (Entry 20) was arrested on 13 October 1976. (Cite E2/24.5, the compliant of UL Say (អ៊ុកល សាញ), the wife of ĒNG Mak)
- SBAUV Him (ស្បូវ ហ៊ឹម) alias Oeun (អឿន) (Entry 60) was arrested on 17 February 1977.

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II. Regarding the confession of SĂN Pau (សាន់ ប៉ូ)

3. SĂN Pau (សាន់ ប៉ូ) implicated 34 persons.

All 34 persons had no family name noted, so the S-21 Prisoner List cannot be used to see who was arrested and sent to S-21 before or after SĂN Pau.

Specifically I did not know even one of these 34 persons, so I am unable to clarify.

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III. Regarding the confession of VĂN Piny (វ៉ាន់ ពីនី)<sup>2</sup>

(Arrested 20 November 1977)

(Confession ended on 17 February 1978)

4. VĂN Piny implicated 106 persons in his political circle.

Among them, 19 persons were members of the Royal Government of National Union (GRUNK) and were members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea that can be found in the S-21 Prisoner List: MÈN Chun (ម៉ែន ជុន) (Entry 34 in list of persons involved in treason with VĂN Piny); MAI Sakhân (ម៉ៃ សាខន) (Entry 49); HÈNG Pech (ហេង ពេជ) (Entry 64); KÈV Meas (កែវ មាស) (65); TEP Sâm-an (ទេព សំអាន) (Entry 67); TĂM Leang Hăk (តាំ លាងហាក់) (Entry 68); SVAY Baurei (ស្វាយ ប៊ូរី) (Entry 71); CHEA Khân (ជា ខន) (Entry 73); HOU Nim (ហ៊ូ នីម) (Entry 78); PHÔK Chhay (ផោក ឆាយ) (Entry 79); PHÔK Ky (ផោក គី) (Entry 80); KEN Aun (កិន អួន) (Entry 81); TIV Ol (ទីវ អុល) (Entry 83); MEI Phăt (ម៉ៃ ផាត់) (87); TAUCH Phoeun (តូច ហ្វឿន) (88); SEANG Păosè (ស៊ាង ប៉ៅសៃ) (91); TAUCH Khamdoeun (តូច ខាំឌឿន) (92); CHĂO Sēng (ចៅ សេង) (93); and CHEA San (ជា សាន) (95).

In the annotations of these 19 persons only one, SVAY Baurei alias Pau (ប៊ូ) (Entry 71), was arrested and sent to S-21 after Piny's confession.

SVAY Baurei was arrested on 10 March 1978, 22 days after this confession.

<sup>2</sup> VĂN Piny was selected to work as General Secretary of the "General Association of Khmer Students (AGEK) by the founding congress of that society in 1965." Piny was an upper strata person who moved in wide circles and knew Samdech Sihanouk's people, Lon Nol's people, CPK people, FUNK people, etc.

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## IV. Regarding the confession of LEAN Sereivuth (លាន ស៊ីវុធ)

Regarding the check of the table of LEAN Sereivuth against the S-21 Prisoner List:

- I did not verify the group about which Sereivuth wrote "In France."
- I did not verify the group about which Sereivuth wrote "Angkar has already arrested."
- The Sector 42 (Central Zone) group of four does not have family names stated, so I did not verify them.
- In the group about which Sereivuth wrote "no grasp," one, TUON Chautsirin (តួន ច្បួន ច្បួន) (Entry 31 in Sereivuth's table), was arrested on 5 August 1977.
- In the group about which Sereivuth wrote "K.15 combatants" one, KOU Thipheak (entry 40), was arrested on 10 June 1978.

Summary:

One, KOU Thipheak (គូ ធីភាគ), was arrested 6 months and 28 days after Sereivuth's arrest.

Regarding the document "Responses of LEAN Sereivuth, Office K15 Combatant, Foreign Ministry, Regarding the Traitorous Activities of LEAN Sereivuth" "3.2.1978":

This document is a copy. I believe that the original of this document was held at S-21 because:

- "List of Names of Traitors", the final page is a carbon copy, so the names of three persons, entries 52, 53, and 54 are completely illegible.

Furthermore, the cover page is annotated after 7 January 1979: "Lean Serei Vuth, student from France, arrested 12.11.77. Smashed on 31.3.78. 32 years old."

I believe that this is an annotation by the Tuol Sleng Museum Committee initially chaired by ING Pech (អ៊ឹង ប៉ិច).

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V. Surrounding the confession of SĂN Eap (សាន់ អ៊ាប) alias Khon (ខុន)

6. The chronology of the confession of SĂN Eap (សាន់ អ៊ាប) alias Khon (ខុន), Phnom Penh Branch of Sector 103 Commerce.

I have never seen this document D43/IV before.

I explain as follows:

The letter dated 14 April 1978 is the letter of Sè (ស៊ែ), Zone 801 Secretary, transmitting the confessions of SĂN Eap (សាន់ អ៊ាប) alias Khon (ខុន) and Saey (ស៊ីយ៉ា) alias Phàng (ផាំង) to 870.

7. Sè (ស៊ែ) or KÂNG Chab (កង ចាប) was originally named CHĂN SÂM (ចាន់ សំ).<sup>3</sup> Zone 801 or the New North Zone was created in 1977 and included Uddor Mean Chey Province Preah Vihear Province (Sector 103), and the west bank side of Steung Traeng Province.

8. Even though 103's Commerce Branch was located in Phnom Penh, it was under the supervision of KÂNG Chab alias Sè because 103 was subordinate to 801.

Sè made the decision to arrest SĂN Eap (សាន់ អ៊ាប) alias Khon (ខុន). When a person Sè was interested in was interrogated, Sè followed-up and made corrections. The confession was a secret document that had to be handed over to Sè (directly or via the Sector Secretary) so that Sè could handle it.<sup>4</sup>

9. The Party's Standing Committee consisted of seven persons, five of whom were stationed in Phnom Penh: Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, IENG Sary, VORN Vĕt, and SON Sen. According to the principle of centralized democracy all power was centralized in the hands of the Secretary. In terms of actual implementation, Com 870 meant Pol Pot, even though in theory it meant five people.

10. The Zone Secretaries reported all work to 870 every week<sup>5</sup> by using the Zone messengers to take the documents and hand them over to K.17, the Central Messenger Office.

11. I have just received document D43/IV in Case File 002. It is the sole Zone 801 Special Branch document that I have seen.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The S-21 Prisoner List shows the name CHĂN SÂM alias Sè (Entry 503) on page ERN 00 171 443.

<sup>4</sup> Decision dated 39 June 1976, paragraph 1.

<sup>5</sup> Decision dated 30 March 1976, paragraph 2.

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12. Annotation: “អ/២ 19/4/78, follow-up” is in Nuon Chea’s handwriting.

13. “Follow-up” was an order to follow-up on Kham My (ខាំមី). I believed that the persons who received and carried out this order were:

- CHHIM Sâm-aok (ឈឹម សំខុក) alias Pàng (ប៉ង់). Secretary, S-71.
- Lin (លីន), Deputy Secretary, S-71.

This is because Kham My was a member of the S-71 Committee.<sup>7</sup> Analysis of some of the events in that era shows that S-71 was under the personal command of Pol Pot.

14. The document places a burden upon Kham My.

Nuon Chea paid attention to and considered this confession since it was necessary for him to underline and annotate under the name of Kham My and Kham My’s activities. As I understand it, lives at 870 primarily relied upon the loyalty of Kham My.

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<sup>6</sup> Observations: Previously I received two documents which were Zone documents sent to 870: The first is D58/II, which the East sent to 870 (Case File 001). The other one is E52/4.52, which Mok, Southwest Zone Secretary, sent to 870.

<sup>7</sup> I remember that Kham My was in charge of a military unit which may have been a brigade, for protecting the Office of the Center. In late 1975 I heard Son Sen call this unit Unit 180. The events when the foreign visitor was shot in late 1978 (or early 1979) led to me hearing about Y-8 (យ៉ាត), which was one part of this unit. The four combatants that I let them keep until 7 January 1979 were smashed at 12:00 noon; there were Y-8 combatants. Recently DÈNG Chiv (ដេង ជីវ) (a witness) announced that he was a former combatant of Y-10, which was part of a unit supervised by Kham My.

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VI. Regarding the confession of PÈN Va Sai (ប៉ែន វ៉ាសៃ)<sup>8</sup>

15. I did in fact know PÈN Va Sai, but at this time I cannot recall the case of Va Sai being held at S-21. I believe that this is because at that time I was so worried about my own life. I did not want to know about or hear about anything at all.

16. I believe that at that time, I did not receive any special instructions. If in fact there had been any that would have led me to remember this situation, I surely would have forced myself to obey them. I did not even annotate the cover page.

17. As for underlining some of the names in the text and making the cross marks in front of some names in Va Sai's summary list, I do not know who did that.

18. I want to inform you according to my opinion and recollection that:

The five persons that have cross marks in front of their names in Va Sai's list of "Traitor Forces" all are people that they were still using at that time at the Foreign Ministry:

- ÌN Sopheap (អ៊ិន សុភាព) (Entry 1 in Va Sai's list)
- CHĀN Yourān (ចាន់ យូរ៉ាន់) (Entry 36)
- LONG Naurin (ឡុង ណូរិន) (Entry 42)
- SĪN Phālla (ស៊ិន ផល្លា)<sup>9</sup> (Entry 54)
- The female Sin (ស៊ិន)<sup>10</sup> (Entry 96)

I believe that these markings were made to aid the memory for analysis, follow-up, and decisions.

Let me make it clear that of these five persons, at least four were kept alive and used throughout (at least until 23 October 1991.)

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<sup>8</sup> PÈN Va Sai (ប៉ែន វ៉ាសៃ) and I studied in the same class together during the 1962-1963 school year and were separated ever since then.

<sup>9</sup> I never knew and never heard of SĪN Phālla alias Khān (ខាន់). Let me confirm that this name is not in the S-21 Prisoner List.

<sup>10</sup> Comrade Sin (female), original name was YOU Yuksorn (យូ យុក់ស៊ិន), was held at Prey Sâ Prison during 1968-70.



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VII. Surrounding the confession of MOK Sâm-ol (ម៉ុក សំអុល) alias Hong (ហុង)

#### DC-Cam Documents

19. After examining and verifying many times, I conclude that all the annotations on these documents are the annotations of Nuon Chea.

##### A. Red annotations

- “Social Action has already sorted all this/these out.”<sup>11</sup> (On the cover)
- The red line in the margin of page 3 of the confession
- The annotation: “Conclusion, CIA” (Page 10 of the confession)

##### B. Black annotations

- Has the name UY Sat (អ៊ុយ សាត) alias Kem (កឹម) in the East” (On the cover)
- Has the name Sary (សារី) alias Poul (ពូល) in the Central” (On the cover)
- “Sent to Comrade Chăn 27/2/78” (On the cover)
- “In the East, Older Sister Pàk (ប៉ាក់) (Soem សឹម)” (In the margin on page 3 of the confession, right in front of the name UY Sat.)

I think that, I believe that, these documents were held at 870. One was a copy<sup>12</sup> sent to Chăn<sup>13</sup>.

20. “Social Action has already sorted everything out” meant that they had carried out the orders, decisions to make arrests at Social Action.

I believe that in this case Nuon Chea received a decision from Pol Pot, or at least this was the policy.

21. The person who sent the confession (a copy?) to Chăn was Nuon Chea.

<sup>11</sup> The word “send/to send/sent” written at the beginning of the sentence has been erased.

<sup>12</sup> In cases in which confessions were related to both a Zone and Phnom Penh, S-21 sent two copies of the documents.

<sup>13</sup> Chăn alias Sēng Hong, the Secretary of Sector 21 of the East Zone and later the Deputy Secretary of the East.

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As a result, Chăn (East) arrested UY Sat alias Kem and sent him to S-21 on 3 March 1978, four days after Nuon Chea's annotation.

22. UY Sat alias Kem alias Kun (កុំ) was Secretary of Lvea Subdistrict or was called the Secretary of the militia production company, Sector 24.

As for Sary alias Poul in the Central Zone, I cannot find his name in the S-21 Prisoner List.

The reason why these two names are on the cover of the confession is that Nuon Chea compiled those to names from the list (page 12) were he had made the crosses in front of the names as a memory aid.

### **Tuol Sleng Documents**

23. The annotation: "Reported, 9.1.78" is mine. Let me confirm that this document was a document held at S-21.

24. Let me confirm that as for every confession (including this one), I was the person who sent them to Nuon Chea alone after SON Sen went to the battlefield.

The core work of Special Branch in that era was sending confessions to upper echelon: it was the confessions that upper echelon wanted in order to increase their suspicions and to stupidly continue arresting and killing people, their own flesh and blood.

### **DC-Cam and Tuol Sleng Documents**

25. Physical torture was a tactic that was authorized to be used.

I believe that this was the policy for all Special Branch offices throughout the country in that era. So then, there was nothing that had to be hidden from upper echelon and from the organizations that had the duty to read documents and carry out the orders of upper echelon.

### **DC-Cam Document**

26. The annotation "Conclusion, CIA" at the end of the document inscribed in red in the margin of page 3 and the annotation "in the East, Older Sister Pāk (Soem)" right in front of the name UY Sat are the annotations made by Nuon Chea.

I think that doing this made him remember more clearly.

27. Let me confirm that initially Nuon Chea made the annotations in the margin of page 3 and the cross marks in front of the name of UY Sat and Sary alias Poul at the

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end of the document. I believe that those two persons were the subjects of his decision to make arrests or he proposed that they be arrested.

### Tuol Sleng Documents

28. Let me once again confirm that they scanned documents are documents that were held at S-21.

- The competition of interrogation document dated 233 January 1978. I annotated: "Propose that he remove some names. Duch" This was my order to the interrogator.

- After a number of names had been removed, they brought the new document with fewer names than before to me with one copy maintaining the original cover, the cover that stated that the interrogation had been completed on 23 January 1978. Then I made a annotation on this document "Reported on 23 February 1978."<sup>14</sup>

29. The documents that I sent to Nuon Chea, Nuon Chea used them to arrest people at Social Action and he ordered Chăn (Sēng Hong) to arrest UY Sat.

30. On the document entitled "More on the history of the activities of MOK Sâm-ol alias Hong, Chairman of the Malaria Eradication Hospital at Social Action", interrogation finished on 5 March 1978, I made the annotation "This contemptible Hong is spreading greatly. The first time he even played Comrade Poeun (ព្រីន)." )"

31. Poeun was the son in law of IENG Sary.

As policy, whenever a senior person or the child of a senior person was implicated, S-21 had to report and request the opinion of upper echelon; this was a necessity.

In the case of Poeun and Menh (ម៉េង), husband and wife, I reported to and asked the opinion of Nuon Chea. I remember that at that time Nuon Chea first laughed at me in derision because he saw that I was so frightened.

When I returned to my location, I instructed and ordered them to remove the names.

As I recall, I believe that the document relating to the completion of interrogation on 5 March 1978 was not transmitted to upper echelon. My annotation records that the this time the document was not sent because I had already reported the previous document on 23 February 1978.

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<sup>14</sup> Meaning that it was the document that I reported on 23 February 1978 that Nuon Chea took for use and sent one copy to Brother Chăn in the East on 28 February 1978, what is now the DC Cam document.

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Done on 20 November 2009

Signature Eav

KAING Guek Eav alias Duch

### **Responses to Additional Questions**

#### **Response One**

- "Comrade Vãn" as Nuon Chea noted on the responses of MEAK Touch was IENG Sary.

- IENG Sary in fact did receive the responses of MEAK Touch. I believe that IENG Sary did read these responses.

- MEAK Touch was the Cambodian ambassador to Laos. It may have been that many people had implicated him that The Organization withdrew him from Laos back to Kampuchea on 28 January 1977. On 20 November 1977 Meak Touch was arrested and sent to S-21.

#### **Response Two**

- Anything involving Vietnam had to be noted. I remember that I reported that SON Sen had observed the attitude of KOY Thuon toward the Vietnamese delegation(s) that came to visit the liberated zone prior to 1975.

- Also, may I clarify that I annotated the responses of MEAK Touch on 21 February 1978, after 1 January 1978 when Pol Pot and Lê Duan had mutually considered one another as being enemies.

My annotations on MEAK Touch's documents were the report of S-21 regarding the possibility of activities by a clearly identified enemy, DÍNH Nhâ Liem.

#### **Response Three**

- The list of "Traitor Forces" was written by the person making the confession under the control of the interrogator. It was not me who made it.

- The names in the list of "Traitor Forces" were for the Standing Committee to examine and decide policy, then were handed over to the owners of the units to examine and contribute their opinions to decide.

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- I do not believe that as for the lists that the interrogators gave me as attachments to the confessions that it was left up to the persons making the confessions not to list all those names.

- Let me confirm that there was no case such as this last one.

#### **Response Four**

- Confessions were secret documents. They had to be issued from the Police Offices and reach the hands of the Zone Secretaries directly or indirectly. Indirectly meaning passing through the hands of the Sector Secretary in cases where the Police Office belonged to a Sector.

- All documents, including Special Branch documents that the Zone Secretaries sent to Pol Pot, were secret documents. They had to be transmitted through clear messenger networks recognized by the Standing Committee. This was a policy that had to be respected.

- Separately, as for the documents that are the confessions of SĂN Eab alias Khon and Saey alias Phàng, I believe that Pol Pot received them and handed them over to Nuon Chea to read and examine and take measures and ask for his (Pol Pot's) decisions.

- Let me make it clear that S-21 had no right to receive any Special Branch document from any Zone, any Sector, any District, or any Special Branch Office.

#### **Response Five**

- In the confessions I sent to upper echelon, I did not underline the names in the lists of "Traitor Forces." Any underlines or markings, whether few or many, indicating that I was demanding those persons be arrested would have been a violation of the Party line that upper echelon would not have been forgiven.

#### **Response Six**

- The leadership of each individual Police Office would tell them about physical torture. Specifically:

- CHAY Kim Hor alias Hok instructed me on all matters including the matter of torture in order to obtain responses when he made his presentation to me upon creation of M-13.

- SON Sen, who came to govern M.13 in mid 1973 already considered this matter to be a general truth.

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### Response Seven

- As for number of confessions that had to be copied per individual person, I gave instructions to the interrogators to master that so that The Organization would have enough for use and also there would be one hold copy.

- S-21 was required to send confessions only to The Organization. Initially, they were transmitted to SON Sen via messengers Phân (ផាន់) and Noeun (នឿន). Later on, to Nuon Chea via his messengers Toeung (តឿង) and Chiv (ជីវ).

### Response Eight

- I remember that I have already reported that IENG Thirith's rights were equal to the rights of division-level cadres:

- Thirith had no right to make a decision to smash.

- However, she did have the right to request The Organization to keep a number of people who had been implicated in responses.

- It was also policy that The Organization did not arrest people when the owner of the unit did not agree. To the contrary, if the owner was a stubborn person, The Organization would find a means to arrest the owner of the unit, for example, Chakrei (ចក្រី).

- Nuon Chea's notation "Social Action has sorted it/them all out" shows that Nuon Chea, the person who implemented Pol Pot's orders in this case, had already carried out the orders before he recorded this.

### Response Nine

- In the case of Poeun and Menh, I really did report to and ask the opinion of Nuon Chea.

- I think that:

- If Nuon Chea reported this in a meeting to Pol Pot, IENG Sary may have been present, but not IENG Thirith.

- If Nuon Chea personally informed Pol Pot after meeting me, it was a matter between just the two of them.

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### Response Ten

- Removing someone's name from a confession was done on a clear, specific orders during any designated period. For example, in the responses of LY Phèl (លី ផែល) I removed the reference to "that man," meaning SAO Phim, from one copy (or two copies, I forget.) The copy sent to The Organization, the original, was complete.

- S-21 was very vigilant about this matter, and never made a misstep. Let me clarify about KÈ Pok's lie in document D83 when he said that the name removed with black ink was KOY Thuon (ERN 00 164 129\_KH). In fact, it was his (KÈ Pok's) name.

Let me make it clear that KOY Thuon's first responses ended on 29 January 1977. With the arrests of Old North Zone cadres, they began lying from the beginning on 31 January 1977 with the cooperation of KÈ Pok. So, I believe that KÈ Pok learned that The Organization had arrested KOY Thuon at that time.

In fact, by his third responses (if I remember correctly) KOY Thuon began to implicate KÈ Pok. With the third responses, SON Sen decided to have KOY Thuon be evasive about KÈ Pok temporarily. With the fourth responses, KOY Thuon was authorized to give responses involving KÈ Pok. When the response were finished, SON Sen had S-21 use a BIC pen to remove only KÈ Pok's name in any copy given to any location where KÈ Pok was.

Approximately half a month later, SON Sen told me by telephone that KÈ Pok had shown him the document with his name, and that he had cursed me. At that time, I took it in stride and was not angry, and SON Sen took it in stride and did not blame me. Now when I see KÈ Pok's lie, I still take it in stride.

I report this matter to make it clear that removing someone's name from a document demanded thoroughness and the highest vigilance. The important thing was that it was only done on orders to do so.

### Response Eleven

- I have no specific grasp on the matter of the arrest of MOK Sâm-ol alias Hong.

- In principle, Thirith had to know. Only when she was in agreement could they have made the arrest.

### Response Twelve

- Five individuals including CHĂN Yourăn had been implicated, but the Party decided to keep them and use them.

- I believe that this was agreed to in a meeting presided over by Pol Pot.

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- At a minimum the attendees included Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, and IENG Sary ...

**Response Thirteen**

- When I was chairman of S-21, I received letters from SON Sen and NUON Chea.

- As I recall, they were short letters, just several words, brief, urgent orders.

Observation:

- SON Sen signed his letters as Khieu (ខ្មែរ).

- NUON Chea signed his letters as Buon (ប្លុន)

Done on 20 November 2009

Eav

KAING Guek Eav alias Duch