

អត្ថិខំសុំបំទ្រះចិសាមញ្ញតូខតុលាការកម្ពុបា

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Chambres Extraordinaires au sein des Tribunaux Cambodgiens

្សិត សាសស ព្រះឧសាដ្យខ្មែ ទាំត សាសស ព្រះឧសាដ្យខ្មែ

Kingdom of Cambodia Nation Religion King Royaume du Cambodge Nation Religion Roi

អគ្គដ៏ស្ដី៩ម្រះសាលាដ៏មុខ

Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS - "DUCH" TRIAL PUBLIC

Case File Nº 001/18-07-2007-ECCC/TC

8 April 2009, 0906H Trial Day 6

Before the Judges:

NIL Nonn, Presiding Silvia CARTWRIGHT

YA Sokhan

Jean-Marc LAVERGNE

THOU Mony

YOU Ottara (Reserve) Claudia FENZ (Reserve)

For the Trial Chamber:

DUCH Phary SE Kolvuthy

LIM Suy-Hong Matteo CRIPPA

Natacha WEXELS-RISER

For the Office of the Co-Prosecutors:

CHEA LEANG

Robert PETIT YET Chakriya William SMITH TAN Senarong Alexander BATES

Jurgen ASSMANN PAK Chanlino

For the Accused Person KAING GUEK EAV

François ROUX KAR Savuth

For the Civil Parties:

HONG Kimsuon KONG Pisey TY Srinna

MOCH Sovannary KIM Mengkhy Silke STUDZINSKY Alain WERNER Philippe CANONNE

For Court Management Section:

KAUV Keoratanak

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List of Speakers:

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language	
MR. HONG KIMSUON	Khmer	
MR. KAR SAVUTH	Khmer	
JUDGE LAVERGNE	French	
MR. PETIT	English	
MR. ROUX	French	
MS. STUDZINSKY	English	
THE ACCUSED	Khmer	
THE PRESIDENT (NIL NONN, Presiding)	Khmer	
WITNESS TC1, MR. BIZOT	French	

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- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Judges enter the courtroom)
- 3 [09.07.47]
- 4 THE GREFFIER:
- 5 Please be seated.
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 The Trial Chamber announces the continuation of our proceedings.
- 8 THE GREFFIER:
- 9 Report about the presence of the parties and the witness for
- 10 today's proceeding.
- 11 Mr. President, all the parties are present in this morning's
- 12 proceeding. The witness is also present.
- 13 THE PRESIDENT:
- 14 The security officers bring the accused to the dock.
- 15 Before proceeding, I give the floor to the civil parties' lawyers
- 16 in Groups 2 and 4 who haven't had a chance to question the
- 17 accused, and the Trial Chamber would inform the time limit for
- 18 each group is 30 minutes.
- 19 And the second reminder is that for the questioning to the
- 20 accused, try to avoid repeated questions and please make your
- 21 questions accurate for longer questions. Break them out into
- 22 smaller questions in order to make them more precise and to give
- 23 the opportunity to the accused to understand their response
- 24 properly.
- 25 First, the civil parties' lawyers for Group 2. The floor is

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- 1 yours.
- 2 [09.09.48]
- 3 MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 4 Good morning, Mr. President. Good morning, Your Honours. Thank
- 5 you very much.
- 6 BY MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 7 Q. I start now. First, I would like to know do you agree that
- 8 M-13 was the killing centre?
- 9 A. Good morning, Madam lawyer. At first, I am certain it is a
- 10 killing mechanism from the 20 of July '71 through the 17 April
- 11 '75.
- 12 Q. Do you agree with me that it can be called a killing
- 13 centre? And please answer short and precise to my questions.
- 14 A. I do not -- object to that. I have already informed it is
- 15 a killing mechanism which started from the 20 of July '71 'til
- 16 the 17th April '75. Besides those 10 people whom I released, the
- 17 rest have been executed or transferred elsewhere.
- 18 [09.11.49]
- 19 MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 20 Please, again, keep it short and answer only with "yes" or "no"
- 21 if the questions can be answered only with "yes" or "no".
- 22 MR. ROUX:
- 23 Sorry, Mr. President, I cannot accept that. I cannot accept
- 24 that. My colleague is asking questions and she's getting answers
- 25 and you're not going to direct the answers. You're directing

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- 1 your questions but you do not direct the answers.
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Please continue with another question because the objection by
- 4 the defence counsel is effective.
- 5 BY MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 6 Q The staff recruitment for M-13, you told us yesterday you
- 7 had around 20 staff members. Can you tell us what was their age
- 8 when they entered? From which age -- how old were they until
- 9 which age?
- 10 A. For the children who stay with me until they went to S-21,
- 11 mostly were 15 or 16 years-old but below 18 years-old.
- 12 Q. Which was the youngest age?
- 13 A. The youngest one was my messenger, Comrade Chen. When he
- 14 went to stay with me he was 12 or 13 years-old.
- 15 [09.14.34]
- 16 Q. Girls as well?
- 17 A. There was one female staff, one old woman female staff who
- 18 was the wife of KW-08.
- 19 Q. How many of your staff members did you recruit yourselves?
- 20 A. Let me -- yesterday I already informed Your Honours that I
- 21 recruited all the M-13 staff. If not happy -- if unhappy, I
- 22 would send them back.
- 23 Q. My question was how many of your staff members did you
- 24 recruit yourself, personally?
- 25 A. All the staff of M-13 office were recruited by myself.

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- 1 Q. Personally and directly?
- 2 A. We couldn't do any work alone. We had to work with the
- 3 committees under district or sub-district levels and it's under
- 4 the agreement with the Zone Committee, but the initiative to
- 5 recruit the staff is mine.
- 6 Q. Did you tell these minors and children what work they will
- 7 do in M-13?
- 8 A. I think I already responded to this question already with
- 9 Your Honours. They were brought in to guard only -- the
- 10 exception was two. So mostly they guard and do the production,
- 11 and those who are capable, who were capable, I asked them to
- 12 interrogate and only one person of mine, who was my messenger --
- 13 Q. That was not my question. I have asked you -- and please
- 14 listen. I have asked you what did you tell them when you, for
- 15 example, went into the villages and tried to recruit or recruited
- 16 staff and you spoke with the first time when them at the -- in
- 17 the recruitment process? What did you tell the children what
- 18 they will expect in M-13?
- 19 A. Yesterday I reported to Your Honours that if I wanted to
- 20 have additional staff I would ask my assisting staff myself if
- 21 anyone was good, and then I got the report back from them. After
- 22 I surveyed then I seek opinion from the upper echelon, and then I
- 23 would ask my staff again. So I submitted a request to my upper
- 24 echelon first.
- 25 Q. Excuse me, I don't know -- don't you understand my

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- 1 questions? Because I do not get any answer which is related to
- 2 my questions, and therefore I have doubts. I don't know what --
- 3 if it's a translation problem or whatever. If you don't like to
- 4 respond, then tell it frankly then I know what the reason is.
- 5 A. You already know that I want to answer. I do not object.
- 6 But probably you do not understand my response. I already said I
- 7 did not personally go to contact those people first. That is the
- 8 important point.
- 9 [09.19.12]
- 10 Q. Did you tell them that they will work in a killing centre?
- 11 A. We recruited them from the district or subdistrict
- 12 committees. Then we would order them to work. We did not use
- 13 the word "killing office". It was the duty of the Communist
- 14 Party of Kampuchea. I could not say such a word, although the
- 15 killing office was the concept of the present understanding
- 16 because that -- what happened was inhumane and there was no law
- 17 to protect such office, but they did not use the word "the
- 18 killing office". They were invited to do the revolutionary work;
- 19 and what was the revolutionary work at the time? It was the
- 20 killing, the execution.
- 21 Q. Did you promise them or/and their parents goods, education
- 22 for the children, material support?
- 23 A. The materials; let me tell you at the time probably there
- 24 were still some old revolutionary people. They will receive 15
- 25 riels per month to support for the tobacco, and those who did not

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- 1 smoke they would save for the haircuts, for instance. And then
- 2 there's some miscellaneous clothings, for example. There was
- 3 nothing special. We eat what we -- we ate what we could find
- 4 together, and that's what happened, so I did not promise what --
- 5 these sort of things to them.
- 6 [09.21.14]
- 7 And about the education; it is my obligation to teach them the
- 8 Party's line. That is the truth.
- 9 Q. How many of your children staff ran away during the whole
- 10 time from 1971 until '75?
- 11 A. Let me tell you. Those who escaped, they could not escape
- 12 unless I intended them to return. Then I would find a method for
- 13 them to leave. Today I think you would see one or two people,
- 14 the KW-30 and 32, whom I let them returned before the 17 April
- 15 '75.
- 16 Q. Am I right that you want to say that nobody ran away during
- 17 this four -- from your staff?
- 18 A. Let me emphasize clearly to you that the organizing
- 19 structure of the Khmer Rouge was clear. The structure was even
- 20 at district or subdistrict levels, so nobody could escape at the
- 21 time. If someone dare to escape from the M-13 office without
- 22 authorization from me, I will report it to the upper echelon,
- 23 then the village or subdistrict chiefs would find them. So
- 24 talking about escape, it was none. But if I intended for them to
- 25 leave, yes, it happened.

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- 1 [09.23.19]
- 2 Q. Besides Pal , who was punished, what happened to the other
- 3 staff members? Did you punish them?
- 4 A. Pal was not only punished by the upper echelon but they
- 5 ordered me to arrest, to interrogate and smash. So a punishment
- 6 is so light to say in this regard. Besides Pal at M 13A, nobody
- 7 else was arrested and killed with the order from the upper
- 8 echelon. There was one who was punished at Office M-13B, and the
- 9 name was Pi.
- 10 Q. Am I right; only Pal from M-13A was punished from the
- 11 staff?
- 12 THE INTERPRETER:
- 13 The interpreter could not hear the accused.
- 14 THE ACCUSED:
- 15 The one who decided to order the arrest or smash, the only one
- 16 who was from that order was Pal and that's the former torture
- 17 that you talked about.
- 18 BY MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 19 Q. When you trained your staff in M-13 did you tell them that
- 20 people can plant thousands of potatoes or 5200 cassava trees, and
- 21 that killing two people a day is not a great deal for them? Did
- 22 you tell them or give them these words?
- 23 [09.26.09]
- 24 A. Let me clarify this to you. At that time there was no
- 25 plantation, no private plantation or to receive the products as a

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- 1 personal produce. It was collective, so it was distributed
- 2 collectives by -- according to the organization. About the two
- 3 people you talk whom who were killed, I did not understand you;
- 4 I did not know whom you were talking about.
- 5 Q. My question is; did you encourage the children to kill at
- 6 least two people per day, when you said, only to give an example,
- 7 people can plant hundreds of plants or potatoes or whatever and
- 8 then killing only two people is not a big deal for them. That
- 9 was the question.
- 10 A. Let me tell you, honestly, I never put that into
- 11 comparison. Going vegetables is part of the revolutionary work,
- 12 take the enemies to be smashed. Let me use the wordings used by
- 13 the CPK at the time. When the Party get you the order you have
- 14 to carry it out, and that's the orders that I give it to my
- 15 subordinates, according to the current situation and the current
- 16 human rights laws. And according to the universal declaration so
- 17 that human rights, this is a crime and that's the fact.
- 18 [9.28.02]
- 19 The two views at different times were contrasting. At that time
- 20 I was their commander. At this time I bow my head before this
- 21 Trial Chamber as I was once a leader. At that time I --
- 22 Q. So in answer to my question -- and again, try to answer the
- 23 questions.
- 24 MR. ROUX:
- 25 Mr. President, could you ask, please, my colleague to address

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- 1 herself with a bit more respect? To speak to the accused with a
- 2 bit more respect, please.
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Please prepare your wordings and your attitude appropriate in
- 5 order to put proper questions to the accused, and this is in
- 6 order to facilitate the smooth proceeding of the Trial.
- 7 MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 8 Your Honour.
- 9 BY MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 10 Q. I only wanted to remind you to answer shortly and
- 11 accurately. Am I right, and did I understand from yesterday that
- 12 you told the Court that you assigned the smashing to peasant
- 13 children?
- 14 [9.30.02]
- 15 A. Which two children you talk about; can you explain or make
- 16 it -- can you clarify that because I had more guards and the two,
- 17 whom I assigned to carry out their duties. From what I recalled,
- 18 I meant except the two children.
- 19 So, please, can you check whether this is a translation issue?
- 20 But in general, there were more than 10 guard whom I assigned
- 21 their duties.
- 22 Q. But -- then I try to rephrase. Can you confirm that you
- 23 assigned this duty to smash to children, to your minor staff; is
- 24 this right?
- 25 A. This is the issue that's real, that happens by the

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- 1 (indistinct) mountains that you can see, I informed the Chamber,
- 2 I assign the children to smash people; that is the fact.
- 3 Q. Then, I would like to know if this is right; did you
- 4 observe the first time when they killed a prisoner? Did you
- 5 observe this first time?
- 6 A. I informed the Chambers already, and even outside the
- 7 Chamber I also talked about that, that I did not go and observe.
- 8 I ordered them to carry out their duties that was based on the
- 9 orders from my superior. I did not go and witness it.
- 10 Q. Were you informed if they were the first time killing
- 11 somebody, if they were reluctant?
- 12 [9.32.43]
- 13 A. Reluctance or not, I am not sure. But at a later stage I
- 14 learned that one of my staff, Comrade Pon reported to me that
- 15 Comrade Meas smashed the people by using -- by swinging his legs;
- 16 that's the information I received from my subordinate about the
- 17 smashing.
- 18 Q. And your answer before, only to be clear about this, you
- 19 will tell us that you never witnessed a killing, execution in
- 20 M-13, which was hundred -- around 100 metre from your office? Is
- 21 this what you want to say?
- 22 A. Let me tell you, the lawyer, that Amleang was not as clean
- 23 or as empty as Phnom Penh. It was forest. So four metres from
- 24 the detention or 10 metres from the detention you cannot see
- 25 anything but the forest, you cannot see people.

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- 1 And at M-13, the one week, grave was at the other side, so it was
- 2 not even 100 metres away.
- 3 Q. That means the answer is yes?
- 4 A. It is true, because I need not go and witness even if it
- 5 was less than 100 metres.
- 6 Q. I come now to the prisoners and I would like to know,
- 7 maybe, that you have said it yesterday, or before yesterday but
- 8 for translation problems I would like to ask you the following
- 9 question; how many prisoners were, on average, in M-13?
- 10 [9.35.16]
- 11 A. At M-13A, after 30 prisoners escaped we never had any
- 12 prisoners, more than 10 of them, at a time.
- 13 Q. You want to say that in average, I know this event, 30
- 14 prisoners escaped in one day but -- and then you had an average
- 15 10 prisoners every -- in your prison; is this right?
- 16 A. I just said you could check it. There were two stages.
- 17 Before the prisoners escaped we send the prisoners to do the
- 18 farming and after that we never kept more than 10 prisoners;
- 19 after they interrogated and we ask for opinions then they were
- 20 sent to be smashed. So there were no more than 10 prisoners at a
- 21 time. ...
- 22 Q. And can you clarify when this happened that the 30
- 23 prisoners escaped?
- 24 A. It was in 1972. I apologize. It could be in late '72 or
- 25 early but the location was the location. It was at a location

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- 1 near Pis Mountain called Tuol Svay Meas or in Amleang
- 2 Subdistrict, Thpong District, Kampong Speu Province.
- 3 [09.37.25]
- 4 Q And yesterday you said on average every day you received or
- 5 every 10 days you received -- sorry -- every 10 days around you
- 6 received one prisoner, one new prisoner.
- 7 A. Let me clarify to you that the prisoners coming in, was not
- 8 the plan that we could decide. It came upon when they were sent
- 9 to us. Occasionally one or two or three prisoners came, is what
- 10 I said.
- 11 Q. Did you group these prisoners according to categories?
- 12 A. What categories do you want me to talk about? Can you
- 13 please clarify?
- 14 Q. For example, light offenders and serious offenders. For
- 15 example, cadres or an old soldier, whatever -- this is only to
- 16 give you examples but this is what I mean with categories
- 17 .
- 18 A. Let me clarify that those who were detained at M-13 only
- 19 two of them were special; the TC-1 had their own sleeping place,
- 20 and later on there were two prisoners who were special, one cadre
- 21 from Hanoi, Prack Put. He is a Deputy Battalion who was charged
- 22 for killing his own commander and the head owner of a proper
- 23 place. And another one is Sangha Hoeun who was a member of Sector
- 24 33 in the Southwest Zone. There was a separate special for these
- 25 two prisoners. They had a mosquito and a proper sleeping place

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- 1 so it was not as the same as where my guards resided.
- 2 Q. And am I right -- do I understand you right that all other
- 3 prisoners were in the same -- or were treated equally and
- 4 therefore can be considered as one group?
- 5 A. All prisoners -- let me clarify to you the lighter
- 6 prisoners would not be brought to M-13A. They would be moved to
- 7 M-13B. Only for serious prisoners whose confessions were needed
- 8 they were sentenced to M-13A. So they were not light prisoners.
- 9 [09.41.11]
- 10 Q. How long did those light prisoners -- light offences --
- 11 stay in M-13A before they were transferred to M-13B?
- 12 A. You ask me this question, it means you do not have a grasp
- 13 of the situation. Let me clarify the situation to you in detail,
- 14 if you permit?
- 15 Q. Can you -- it would be sufficient for me to have an average
- 16 timeframe how long they stayed for the transfer, let's call it,
- 17 or waiting in transit.
- 18 A. That's why I said you did not understand the situation.
- 19 There were no prisoners transferred from M-13A to M-13B. And
- 20 that's what I clearly stated yesterday to the Chamber.
- 21 [9:42:25]
- 22 When the M-13B was -- when the M-13A was created they were sent
- 23 there and there was no prisoners sent from M-13A to M-13B. There
- 24 was no transit. And the waiting period for the M-13B before they
- 25 were released at the M-13B was the decision of the South District

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- 1 Committee, whether they had to be detained for half a month or a
- 2 month that was their decision depending on the situation at the
- 3 time.
- 4 Q. I come now to different torture; to punishment methods. I
- 5 would like to know if breasts of female prisoners were burned as
- 6 a method of punishment or/and torture?
- 7 A. Let me clarify to you that only I was the interrogator for
- 8 female prisoners so I never saw any breasts of any female
- 9 prisoner. If I did not even see their breasts how could I put
- 10 torture onto their breasts?
- 11 Q. Did it happen or was it a method to insert things like, for
- 12 example, a torch or other things into the anus of prisoners?
- 13 A. Are you talking about the M-13 or S-21; can you clarify?
- 14 It did not happen at M-13. It happened only at S-21.
- 15 [09.44.43]
- 16 Q. Were prisoners in M-13 stripped of their clothes?
- 17 A. For the male prisoners whether they were stripped or not it
- 18 is up to them but they will never be naked because there were
- 19 also female prisoners. And for the female prisoners none were
- 20 stripped but they did change clothes when they went for bath.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 The time is almost run over for your group so please try to make
- 23 it quickly.
- 24 MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 25 Mr. President, if you allow that we can share among us the time

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- 1 to take the whole of one hour and to share it among us? Is this
- 2 okay?
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Between which group and which group? Because you already
- 5 consumed 40 minutes already -- 45 minutes already. You only have
- 6 15 minutes left for the civil parties' lawyers because each group
- 7 has 30 minutes. So you sort by the time limit.
- 8 MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 9 Mr. President, I would like to share it with Group 4 and only to
- 10 recall that I started with my questions according to this clock
- 11 there, but say at 9.10 and not at 9 o'clock, and I would like to
- 12 continue.
- 13 BY MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 14 Q. Were pliers used to remove fingernails?
- 15 A. I already reported to the Co-Prosecutors, no, there was no
- 16 such method at M-13.
- 17 (No interpretation)
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 19 Please can you say again because the Khmer interpreters cannot
- 20 hear the English channel. Mr. Roux, could you please speak again
- 21 so that the other interpreters on separate channels can
- 22 translate?
- 23 MR. ROUX:
- 24 Your Honours, thank you. I was saying that this morning the
- 25 civil parties have been reminded not to ask again -- not to

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- 1 repeat questions that have already been asked. I note that for
- 2 at least 10 questions put by my colleague the accused has offered
- 3 an answer. I have also answered -- he has said that, "I've
- 4 already answered Judge Lavergne. I've already answered the
- 5 Co-Prosecutor. I've already answered the Chamber."
- 6 This has been said at least 10 times already this morning, so
- 7 could we possibly ask the civil parties not to keep asking the
- 8 same questions over again. Thank you.
- 9 [09.48.52]
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 Can I remind the lawyer. The Chamber also noticed the same
- 12 thing. Please ask questions which are -- which have not yet been
- 13 asked, and please make your questions precise because the accused
- 14 already responded to questions raised by the Chamber and by the
- 15 relevant parties, and do not repeat those questions.
- 16 BY MS. STUDZINSKY:
- 17 Q. I come now to killing methods. Did you hear prisoners
- 18 screaming while they were tortured and/or before they were
- 19 killed?
- 20 A. Not only I who was there; for those who stayed there did
- 21 not hear the prisoners because they were hit with a bamboo club
- 22 at the base of their neck.
- 23 [09.52.32]
- 24 Q. Can you complete the answer, because I referred to the
- 25 screaming or possible screaming of the prisoners also to torture

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- 1 and maybe before they were killed, of course, if they were
- 2 screaming and if you have listened this -- heard this.
- 3 A. No, I did not hear. I did not hear anything at all.
- 4 Q. Were throats -- prisoners' -- cut so that the blood
- 5 spilled?
- 6 A. No.
- 7 Q. I come now to Pal. I would like to know how did you get
- 8 knowledge of the moral offence that Pal allegedly had committed?
- 9 How did you get the knowledge of this?
- 10 [09.52.17]
- 11 A. Pal committed immoral offence at the M-13B office in the
- 12 position as deputy chief of that office. He had immoral offence
- 13 with -- I don't call that woman a prisoner but she was there, she
- 14 was beautiful. There were two of them, Comrade Pi and Comrade
- 15 Pal, but Comrade Pal's secret was revealed and he was
- 16 transferred.
- 17 And then Comrade Pi was also implicated, so that secret was
- 18 revealed and broke out entirely at M-13B and the superior
- 19 acknowledged what happened, and I also was aware of the event.
- 20 Q. Can you clarify what kind of moral offence he was charged
- 21 with?
- 22 A. The language -- all my language, or the language of the CPK
- 23 was it's sexual immoral offence. Whatever you call it, it's up
- 24 to you.
- 25 Q. Did you get an advice what is behind this word; what it

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- 1 means, this term?
- 2 A. In the case of Comrade Pal the superior knew. The superior
- 3 made decision and transferred him out of M-13B to another unit.
- 4 And for Comrade Pi the superior knew the situation but did not
- 5 allow him to join the Youth League. I already informed the
- 6 Chamber about this event yesterday.
- 7 Q. I try it again. Can you specify what "moral offence" meant
- 8 in this case with Pal? What has he done? Very concrete.
- 9 [09.54.57]
- 10 A. In the Cambodian tradition, as well as in the revolutionary
- 11 rank, if people had sexual affairs without being married that's
- 12 called immoral offence. And if in the rank, if the Onka did not
- 13 marry them then and if they had sex, that's they committed an
- 14 immoral offence. And after they get married and if they had sex,
- 15 that's their own affair, their own family.
- 16 Q. Does this include voluntary and non-voluntary sexual
- 17 intercourse?
- 18 A. For the rape on a woman, that was serious. If it was
- 19 consensual that would be light offence. In the case of Comrade
- 20 Pal and that woman, that would be called moderate. But if he did
- 21 rape, then he would be cuffed immediately. That was the
- 22 implementation at the time.
- 23 Q. You mentioned yesterday meetings for self-criticism. Who
- 24 participated in these meetings in M-13?
- 25 A. The criticism and self-criticism was done within its

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- 1 framework. I, the candidate, I did it within the Party's
- 2 branch. For my group, when we held a meeting at the Party's
- 3 branch, there were four of us from the beginning. The Chairman
- 4 of Office 305, Ros Cheatho alias Chet, the office of 307
- 5 Chairman, Sien Pause alias Neath, Office M-13A, Kaing Guek Eav
- 6 alias Duch and M-13B, Ho Kim Eng alias Sum. These were the four
- 7 members who held meetings on a fortnight basis -- fortnightly
- 8 basis.
- 9 [09.57.48]
- 10 Q. And then were there also meetings only among staff, you and
- 11 staff of M-13A, meetings concerning self-criticism?
- 12 A. I just informed you that for the Party's livelihood
- 13 meetings there was Ho Kim Eng alias Sum and Kiang Guek Eav alias
- 14 Duch in that meeting; therefore, your question is repeated.
- 15 Q. Were these meetings held at night?
- 16 A. All the meetings were held during the day from morning 'til
- 17 afternoon.
- 18 Q. Did they last the whole day, those meetings?
- 19 A. I just informed you it started from the morning until the
- 20 afternoon so it was one whole day, and it's a repeated
- 21 questioned.
- 22 Q. I'm sorry, in the English translation I have never heard
- 23 that you described how long it lasted, and I'm sorry if you have
- 24 told this already yesterday or before yesterday.
- 25 [9:59:49]

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- 1 Can you please tell us what was it what you personally criticized
- 2 and what was it what you -- when you criticized yourself, which
- 3 points did you raise concerning others and yourself?
- 4 A. I would like to tell you that from the beginning if you
- 5 listen, please -- listen carefully to what I'm about to say. The
- 6 livelihood meeting has had the following agenda: First, about
- 7 the previous work; to report about the previous work achievement.
- 8 Second, to examine the previous work for bad or good quality.
- 9 Third, at the same time, we had to self-criticize. It means it's
- 10 self-criticism; to reflect us as the people, why we produce such
- 11 bad quality and not to make the work progressive.
- 12 So after we put ourself into situation, then we would receive
- 13 criticism from the other meeting members, then it will say okay,
- 14 you would make -- you made a mistake at this point or that point
- 15 and this is the areas that you need to improve so that's called
- 16 criticism from others.
- 17 And after the criticism from everyone -- let me just continue.
- 18 So after the criticism was finished, then the Branch or Chairman
- 19 would sum up then for us to make our impression on the 15-days'
- 20 period that we have done; therefore, during the last three or
- 21 four years, it was held every fortnight. So then it's hard for
- 22 me to sum up my criticism or self-criticism in a few words.
- 23 Q. Give me one example. What did you criticize or when you
- 24 criticized yourself, can you tell us one example that you've
- 25 submitted in this meeting?

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- 1 A. During a self-criticism, usually I talked about during the
- 2 15-year -- the 15-days' period what I achieved and why did I
- 3 achieve it. The reason because I studied the line and I
- 4 understood the line and I implemented the line to be
- 5 responsibility; that was about my good quality.
- 6 And when I talked about my bad quality during that time, what I
- 7 lacked of personally, I probably did not pay attention to are you
- 8 catching those people -- spies -- they allowed their people to
- 9 escape. So I had to raise a measure to improve, to educate the
- 10 combatants, the cadres to understand better.
- 11 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 12 The civil party lawyer for Group 2 or and the civil party lawyer
- 13 for Group 4, if you don't have any questions to ask then allow
- 14 the whole time to the civil party lawyers in Group 2. The civil
- 15 party lawyer Group 4.
- 16 MR. HONG KIMSUON:
- 17 I have about 10 questions, Your Honour.
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 19 So now the time is over for the civil party lawyer Group 2 and I
- 20 give the floor now to the civil party lawyer Group 4.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 So the civil party lawyer Group 2, your time is up and now the
- 23 time is for the civil party
- 24 lawyer Group 4. Please do not repeat the same questions and if
- 25 the answers of the

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- 1 accused is already clear, do not ask the same thing unless you
- 2 need to clarify the points which are not clear.
- 3 [10.05.16]
- 4 MR. HONG KIMSUON:
- 5 Thank you, Mr. President, Your Honours. I am representing Group
- 6 4 with Pierre-Olivier Sur as my colleague, as my international
- 7 colleague.
- 8 With Your Honours leave, if the translation might not make it
- 9 clear, let me clarify in order to avoid being instructed from
- 10 Your Honour for repeating the same questions.
- 11 [10:06:12]
- 12 BY MR. HONG KIMSUON:
- 13 Q. Let me ask to Mr. Kaing Guek Eav alias Duch from what I
- 14 have heard, you stated that -- you stated regarding the decision
- 15 for the recruitment of the young childrens as your staff, it was
- 16 done through the hierarchical structure through the village and
- 17 sub-district Committee, but you did not do it yourself or make
- 18 your own decision because it's illegal; is that correct?
- 19 A. Yes, we -- as my people, it's easier to understand.
- 20 For example, if I want to have a staff and the quality is a good
- 21 class, good morality and unless the parents who -- live among
- 22 those villages or sub-district committees.
- 23 [10.06.57]
- 24 So when I was satisfied with it, then I would put a request to
- 25 the Zone Committee. Once the zone approved, it would come down

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- 1 to the sector; the sectors come down to the village or
- 2 subdistrict's committee, and that would relay to me.
- 3 Q. Thank you. Let me continue the question regarding the
- 4 illegality.
- 5 So in between the 20 of July '71 through the 17 April, 1975 --
- 6 that was the period within the liberated zone -- you were the
- 7 chairman of M-13. During that period, they -- I mean the Angkar
- 8 or whomever; we are not clear -- at what level is that authorized
- 9 or what's the law for you to abide?
- 10 A. I apologize. It was not the law. They used the word
- 11 "lying" or "principle"; not law.
- 12 Q. Thank you. So in principle, can you explain whether the
- 13 principle was clearly stated in a document with points one, two,
- 14 three that needs to be implemented?
- 15 A. Thank you. The principles; let me clarify it, for example,
- 16 are on certain issues.
- 17 Q. Only related to M-13?
- 18 A. M-13 was not independent. The principles that M-13 had to
- 19 abide by was -- the achievement was the property of Angkar. So
- 20 all the achievements were spoiled, all the -- were spoiled. It
- 21 means what we get from our enemy and what is the achievements,
- 22 the weaponry, they all belong to Angkar. So we cannot keep them.
- 23 Q. I clearly heard that.
- 24 A. That is the principle. I don't want to explain that to you
- 25 but that is the principle and is a new principle. I only saw

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- 1 that document.
- 2 [10:09:20]
- 3 But there were some old principles. It means the lower level had
- 4 to respect the upper level and the upper level had to respect the
- 5 party. So when I joined the party I needed to respect the party.
- 6 Q. I understand that. So the existing old principle was put
- 7 in document with instructions to implement in points one, two,
- 8 three or it was verbal?
- 9 A. The principles, they said that a lower level had to respect
- 10 the upper level. It was in the party's statute.
- 11 Q. Thank you. Let me continue the question regarding the
- 12 questioning or the interrogation of those who were sent to M-13.
- 13 You said it was related to all these principles and not law. So
- 14 let me ask you, when you interrogated -- because in a document
- 15 you were skilful in interrogation -- did you personally
- 16 interrogate all male or female prisoners or just only the female
- 17 prisoners as you have just stated?
- 18 A. All the main people, like I have said, it was my
- 19 responsibility.
- 20 For example, TC-1 and probably the TC-1 would be giving the
- 21 testimony soon.
- 22 Secondly, for the female prisoners because I was afraid that a
- 23 young interrogator would commit an immoral offence, so I took
- 24 that responsibility of interrogation.
- 25 [10.10.56]

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- 1 Third, whomever I thought needs to be released then I would
- 2 interrogate that person personally, so I would give up the case
- 3 file for that person in order to ask for a favour from the upper
- 4 echelon for that person's release.
- 5 Q. Thank you. So you said important people -- so the upper
- 6 echelon, you said. Who were the upper echelon? Were they the
- 7 party or the Central Committee or the Brothers that you used to
- 8 call?
- 9 A. The upper echelon, as I said, my direct upper echelon who
- 10 organized the security work at the Special Zone was Vorn Vet from
- 11 the beginning -- Brother Vorn Vet.
- 12 Q. Please talk about the surrounding areas around M-13
- 13 office.
- 14 A. There are two duties. Like I talk to Ms. Studzinsky, the
- 15 party's work was held in a meeting every fortnight, and another
- 16 one is the security affairs. Sorry, I did not say it in French.
- 17 So it was the security affairs. It means to receive the people
- 18 to be detained, to interrogate to get a confession and send it to
- 19 the upper echelon so it doesn't go through my branch chairman.
- 20 So that was the security work of M-13 and it needs to be gone
- 21 through two zones. For the Special Zones I will report through
- 22 Brother One, and for the Southwest Zone I would report to Brother
- 23 Si and sometimes I reported to Brother Vet.
- 24 Q. Thank you. Let me continue the questioning.
- 25 What is the important point that you regarded a person as

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- 1 important when the upper echelon send it to you? Was it in
- 2 writing whether he was, for example, a well-known spy or inside
- 3 the enemy? Was it already stated or it was up to you to make
- 4 that decision?
- 5 A. The important people from the Special Zone, for example, it
- 6 was clear. For example, I got instruction from Vet, okay, you
- 7 put pressure on this person, on that person.
- 8 [10.13.33]
- 9 And for the Southwest Zone, after I got a situation, I asked the
- 10 opinion from Brother Si. So after I got a situation, I asked for
- 11 his advice.
- 12 Q. Thank you. Let me continue. All the questioning -- that
- 13 you regarded those people as enemy, was it from your initiative
- 14 to make it tough or light; upon your discretion?
- 15 A. What you sai, it's almost close to my words. When I see
- 16 their fault, then if I wanted to release, then I would ask
- 17 accordingly. So in order to release I would find a way, a gap.
- 18 [10.14.32]
- 19 Like in the case of Horm In where you understand the situation.
- 20 Horm In came with five people and if so four would not have any
- 21 chance to be released, only Horm In because his father was a
- 22 candidate member and with the party of the committee of Amleang
- 23 subdistrict and he was poor; he was a humble person. So I
- 24 arrested that person and seek opinion from Brother Si for his
- 25 release.

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- 1 So I tried to find the gap in order to release the prisoners.
- 2 [10.14.59]
- 3 Q. Thank you. Let me continue the questioning.
- 4 For every interrogation at M-13A, there was no release from what
- 5 you said, right? Before the people were being smashed or killed
- 6 -- it's called today -- did you hold a meeting with the committee
- 7 of your upper echelon to make that decision?
- 8 A. Yesterday, I already talked about this to the Judge. After
- 9 the interrogation, I take the confessions to my boss and if
- 10 they're satisfied then, and the person needs to be smashed, then
- 11 I would follow the order.
- 12 Q. Yes, this is regarding to the decisions. Thank you.
- 13 For every meeting -- you already expand the meeting -- the
- 14 differences -- the different ties to the meetings, the party
- 15 meeting or the other type of meeting. When a prisoner escaped,
- 16 you said that at Pis Mountain they did rice farming and the
- 17 lawyer asked how many escaped; then 30 prisoners escaped. At
- 18 that time was any of the 30 escapees re-arrested?
- 19 A. None was arrested, only the guards -- some guards got
- 20 wounded, for example, Comrade Pon.
- 21 Q. Let me ask you, from the Pis Mountain to the Oudong or to
- 22 Kompong Speu area, what is the longest distance. I do not know.
- 23 Like I responded to Mr. Panith (sic) yesterday, from Oudong to
- 24 Chamkar Mon I do not know the distance, nor from Amleang to
- 25 Chamkar Mon, nor from Amleang to Oudong. That's what I said to

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- 1 Kimsuon yesterday.
- 2 Q. I did not ask for exact kilometre but I just want to know
- 3 which one is further.
- 4 A. In practice, for those 30 people who escaped, they went
- 5 towards the Chamkar Mon direction.
- 6 [10.17.08]
- 7 Q. Thank you. The camp at the Pis Mountain where the
- 8 prisoners escaped and the M-13 location where they were detained,
- 9 when we talk about the distance from the M-13 to the Lon Nol
- 10 area, was it closer than to the Pis Mountain or was it further?
- 11 I meant from Phnom Penh, from Pis to M-13 and to Chamkar Mon.
- 12 These two locations, comparing to M-13, which one is closer to
- 13 Kampong Speu or to Oudong area?
- 14 A. Let me clarify to you. The Pis Mountain, or what I call
- 15 that exact location, is called Tuol Svey Meas or Ta Liev, was the
- 16 location of Office M 13. So it is at the base of the Pis
- 17 Mountain or on a hill called Tuol Svey Meas or Ta Liev.
- 18 Q. Thank you. My last question to you is: you used to say in
- 19 your statement that when you said if you had an intention not to
- 20 do the police security work because the smashing was involved,
- 21 for example, the questioning or the interrogation of the prisoner
- 22 was also inappropriate and you would want to move yourself to the
- 23 Lon Nol area, but because it was further and because you would be
- 24 fearful that you were recognized, could you highlight or
- 25 enlighten us on this particular matter?

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- 1 A. Let me clarify. I would want you to read my statement
- 2 again. I want to remove myself from that police office but I
- 3 could not have the ability to escape or run away from it. That's
- 4 the reason. So it was clear yesterday, the Co-Prosecutors asked
- 5 me -- or whether the judge, I'm not sure -- whether, if you have
- 6 a permit to travel. When I go within the Southwest Zone I have
- 7 my own permit, and I when I was at the special zone I had my own
- 8 permit for travelling. And particularly yesterday Judge Lavergne
- 9 asked me when I was talking -- when I understood about Lon Nol's
- 10 regime about my mum went to ask for my release from the Lon Nol.
- 11 That's what happened.
- 12 Q. Yes, we heard that. Let me ask another question.
- 13 [10:19:51]
- 14 Before the M 13 closedown, from the documents I read when you
- 15 provided the interview to the Co-Prosecutors, some people were
- 16 sent for smashing and some were sent to Sector 25. Were there
- 17 any prisoners whom you regarded as enemy transferred to S-21?
- 18 A. No. None was transferred from M 13 to S-21. M-31 (sic)
- 19 finished on the 30 April.
- 20 MR HONG KIMSUON:
- 21 Thank you, President.
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Next I would give the floor to the defence counsel. If you have
- 24 any questions to ask the accused regarding the facts at M 13, if
- 25 you have, the floor is yours.

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- 1 QUESTIONING BY DEFENCE COUNSEL
- 2 BY MR. KAR SAVUTH:
- 3 [10.21.05]
- 4 Q. I would like you to confirm, in M 13 do you have the right
- 5 to arrest anyone to detain in M 13?
- 6 A. Now, talking about the rights to arrest, no, I had to
- 7 follow the three principles issued by Vorn Vet. M 13 could only
- 8 wait to receive the people who were arrested. This is Rule
- 9 Number 1. Secondly, Comrade, you should not touch any human from
- 10 the Angkar. And Number 3, please be away from the children or
- 11 the girl in the village. And I had followed these principles
- 12 that I survived here until today.
- 13 Q. Question number 2: when you were the chief of M 13 did you
- 14 ever kill a person -- any person on your own?
- 15 A. I would like to say when Brother Chhay Kim Huor advised me
- 16 -- Kim Huor told me that it is the weakness of the intellectual
- 17 and you need to learn from the peasant and you allow them to do
- 18 that job, and what you need to do is to make an order. So the
- 19 principle is -- lie in this teaching and advice. This is clear.
- 20 And in practice I did advise and order my subordinate to execute,
- 21 and I give the instruction like I addressed to lawyer Kimsuon.
- 22 So when you are talking about I personally killed anyone, I would
- 23 like to confirm again I never killed anyone with my own hands;
- 24 ever.
- 25 Q. So you never killed anyone on your own. And when the upper

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- 1 echelon assigned you to be the chief of M 13, did you receive any
- 2 order to kill any prisoner?
- 3 A. When they say the person was decided to be arrested, M 13
- 4 had to detain, interrogate and smash for the upper echelon, but
- 5 in practice when I get the confession I came over to consult,
- 6 when I get the approval to smash, and then I order for the
- 7 smashing. And if sometimes they ask me to act further, I will
- 8 follow.
- 9 [10.24.18]
- 10 So when the upper echelon say that you can go ahead, smash, I
- 11 will do that. So when you get the confession, you wait until you
- 12 get the approval. So the lawyer understand well. After -- and
- 13 then I do not do any things that -- after interrogation I wait
- 14 until the approval is obtained and I then --
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Could you please slow down so that we can put on a proper record.
- 17 So Mr. defence pause a little before the accused gives the
- 18 response. Please continue.
- 19 BY MR. KAR SAVUTH:
- 20 Q. So in general, you mentioned that you were the chief of the
- 21 prison. Do you accept that statement?
- 22 A. As I was a chief of M 13 and also as a chief of S 21, all
- 23 crimes including detention, inhumane detention against other
- 24 inmates, women and children, and further to the execution of
- 25 women and children, I admit it all. If there was no me who was

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- 1 there who made decision and order, there would be another person
- 2 to replace, but I was there and I make decision. I order. I do
- 3 not implicate anyone other than me. It was in my hand.
- 4 MR. KAR SAVUTH:
- 5 I have no more question, Your Honour, thank you.
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 Mr. Francois Roux, do you have any question to ask the accused,
- 8 please?
- 9 MR. ROUX:
- 10 Thank you.
- 11 BY MR. ROUX:
- 12 Q. Mr. Duch, when Judge Lavergne started questioning you, you
- 13 -- we spoke a bit about the Communist Party and about your
- 14 engagement in the Communist Party, and I would like you to
- 15 explain to us, in this Community Party, what was -- what did
- 16 "secrecy" mean in this Party, and how did you go about with the
- 17 secrecy in your functions at M-13 and then later at S-21? What
- 18 was the policy of secrecy within the Communist Party?
- 19 A. When I joined the revolution, I was trained to keep
- 20 secrecy. For example, we went out to spread the flyers, window,
- 21 when we were assigned to do that job, and we should not reveal
- 22 anything to other, that we did that work. This is number one.
- 23 [10:28:45]
- 24 Number two: So what is our connection in the political party?
- 25 Who is your supervisor? We should keep this a secret. Who were

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- 1 your subordinate? These matter should not be revealed. I went
- 2 out of Skon. The party activity at Skon was continue, but there
- 3 was someone who replace me, but I do not tell this to anybody.
- 4 The task at M-13, for example, tomorrow, or five day in the
- 5 future, Koy Thuon -- I am sorry, I went too fast. For example,
- 6 they had brought Prak Sonn for interrogation here. I get the
- 7 blame from Ta Mok, but I keep it secret; I didn't told -- tell
- 8 anybody. And then, if I kill anybody, or I order someone to kill
- 9 anyone, how many people, where they were buried, this is remain
- 10 secret.
- 11 Another example: Comrade Sorm, chief of Office 201, came to me
- 12 and ask me to wait, to arrest one of the victim. I went out to
- 13 wait and I didn't told anyone, other than my force who were ready
- 14 to make the arrest, and, before everybody see me, see me there to
- 15 be arrest, that's the order made by the upper echelon already.
- 16 [10:31:29]
- 17 So, the keeping of secrecy, we are successfully kept that kind of
- 18 confidentiality. I heard a proverb later, but I did not -- the
- 19 most confidentiality you keep, you can survive longer. Or, we
- 20 can say there were four secrecy of four nots: Not to speak, not
- 21 to know or not knowing, and not see, and do not hear -- we can
- 22 say four nots. So they had us try to continue to conceal
- 23 everything, or to keep the confidentiality in this manner. Even
- 24 though the place is the burial place of M-13, no one could be
- 25 there.

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- 1 I inform to the prosecutor yesterday I have the emotional
- 2 friendship with -- I have a close relationship to the village
- 3 chief around the office. So they have their own task, I have my
- 4 own task, but our friendships, we have our friendships, and we
- 5 respect one another. We help each other in the spirit of you're
- 6 in the same revolution.
- 7 So, in conclusion, we try to keep a secret for everything. All
- 8 the task remain in confidentiality. There is another proverb:
- 9 If you keep the confidentiality, that you have 50 percent of
- 10 success.
- 11 Q. You have said that when new guards arrived at M-13, you
- 12 took care of their political education. Would you at that time
- 13 teach them that they had to keep confidentiality and secrecy?
- 14 Did you teach them the principles of confidentiality? And did
- 15 you tell them that, in case of a breach of secrecy, there would
- 16 be punishment or sanctions?
- 17 [10:35:45]
- 18 A. During that regime, the old base Y in Amleang, everybody
- 19 know about the secrecy. The location of M-13, everybody at
- 20 Amleang knows -- knew the place. My face and my name, all the
- 21 village around Amleang know me very well, all know me, but they
- 22 did not say anything, they didn't tell anybody. And this is the
- 23 common knowledge of the villager at that time about myself.
- 24 [10:37:17]
- 25 On the contrary, the question posed by the lawyer, the use that I

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- 1 take to be the guard, did I train them before I train or
- 2 education, the confidentiality must be the first priority. The
- 3 detailed education from one day to another from one to another we
- 4 continue forever.
- 5 Normally, based on my experience, the confidentiality even though
- 6 it was classic in nature, we need to keep continue to educate, to
- 7 remind all of the times. If you fail to do that it might fade
- 8 away or the practice will become looser or not so strict.
- 9 [10.39.04]
- 10 Q. So can I say that in the Party from the top to the very
- 11 bottom of the hierarchy everyone had to keep secrecy and everyone
- 12 knew that if he or she would violate the rule, breach the rule of
- 13 secrecy his or her life could be endangered. Would that be a
- 14 fair statement?
- 15 A. Yes, it is the truth.
- 16 Q. You often state before these Chambers that you were in
- 17 charge of executing; you were obeying orders from your superiors.
- 18 Can I infer from this that within the Party each and everyone
- 19 obeyed orders from superiors within their respective positions
- 20 within the hierarchy and anyone disobeying orders from superiors
- 21 would run the risk of losing their life?
- 22 A. Anyone saw that, and the lawyer could understand that
- 23 situation.
- 24 Q. You say that, "I was accountable to Vorn Vet; I reported to
- 25 Vorn Vet." Would you say that Vorn Vet himself also obeyed his

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- 1 own superiors? Do you believe that if Vorn Vet thereafter was
- 2 killed in S-21, do you think that this was because he had
- 3 disobeyed orders from his superiors? Would it be correct to say
- 4 this? Thank you.
- 5 A. Regarding Brother Vorn, I never saw any case that he
- 6 violate the order from Brother Pol. I said about the discussion
- 7 between Brother Mok and Brother Vorn.
- 8 In the case of releasing TC-1, it indicated Vorn Vet take the
- 9 decision to protect the decision of the Party Secretary. He's
- 10 there to defend the decisions of the Party. It was said that he
- 11 respect the operation.
- 12 [10.42.48]
- 13 When Brother Vorn was arrested I did not specify the reason of
- 14 his arrest, as I told the Co-Investigating Judges. When I enter
- 15 to meet with Vorn to see him and to ask to beg for excuse from
- 16 him, at that time Brother Vorn told me that Brother Pol, it's a
- 17 kind of person full of paranoia; he trusts nobody at all.
- 18 Q. Apologies. When you're referring to Brother Pol, you are
- 19 referring to Pol Pot, Brother Pol Pot?
- 20 A. Yes. In the Party framework of discussion when they refer
- 21 to Pol it's Pol Pot. Let me try to continue.
- 22 [10:44:18]
- 23 I would like to continue. The arrest of Vorn Vet, because of the
- 24 suspicion by Pol Pot, I dare not to specify whether or not Vorn
- 25 Vet, Brother Von, violated or disobeyed, how many time he disobey

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- 1 the order of Brother Pol, I could not say that. However, he
- 2 violated to the degree that he lose all his trust to another
- 3 member.
- 4 In conclusion, the violation of the discipline or the Party line
- 5 or failed to obey the order from the upper echelon will end up
- 6 with death.
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Mr. defence lawyer, do you have more questions to ask?
- 9 [10:45:40]
- 10 And now the Trial Chamber declare a recess for 15 minutes and we
- 11 will return after that and we'll come back at 11, five minutes.
- 12 (Court recesses from 1046H to 1110H)
- 13 THE GREFFIER:
- 14 Please be seated.
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 The Chamber is now in session.
- 17 Next, I would like to invite the defence lawyer, Francois Roux,
- 18 to continue his line of questioning to the accused.
- 19 MR. ROUX:
- 20 Thank you, Your Honour.
- 21 BY MR. ROUX:
- 22 Q. So we had broken off on the subject of secrecy. We were
- 23 talking about the need to obey. I believe we have understood
- 24 from your answers that you yourself obeyed the orders of your
- 25 superiors in a feeling of fear.

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- 1 Did your own subordinates obey you likewise and likewise with a
- 2 feeling of fear?
- 3 [11.11.34]
- 4 A. This matter is correct.
- 5 Q. Several former guards from M-13 -- and we shall also be
- 6 seeing the same for S-21 -- say that you were an authoritarian
- 7 chief, a hard chief. What would you say about that?
- 8 A. First, let me answer in one word; I was a leader with
- 9 authority. I never spoke freely on anything. Whatever I spoke
- 10 was strictly on the topic. Vorn Vet gave me that model because
- 11 whatever he said he would do it or carry it out. Son Sen also
- 12 provided me the same model. The proverb of our leadership was be
- 13 gentle but be strict.
- 14 Q. This style of exercising authority, was this style
- 15 reproduced further in the lower echelons? Your own subordinates
- 16 -- were your own subordinates likewise authoritarian, vis-à-vis
- 17 his subordinates, and likewise all the way down the
- 18 chain-of-command?
- 19 A. In general, you cannot find exact similarity.
- 20 The cadres from 703 Division was in the form of wildly animated.
- 21 They were lousy; they spoke a lot. I myself was strong, strict.
- 22 Even my deputy was second by me. So the attitude of in
- 23 leadership is not the same.
- 24 That's all.
- 25 [11.16.28]

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- 1 Q. I would like to talk now about the self-criticism meetings
- 2 that were referred to and that were part of the policy of the
- 3 Communist Party.
- 4 You have provided answers to questions earlier on regarding what
- 5 happened in these self-criticism meetings so I need not dwell
- 6 upon that. But I would like to ask whether you can explain to us
- 7 the concept of the Party in seeking -- what was the goal, what
- 8 was the goal of these meetings? These regular criticism and
- 9 self-criticism meetings were supposed to achieve what in the
- 10 objectives of the Party?
- 11 [11.17.19]
- 12 A. The criticism and self-criticism is an interpretation. It
- 13 is a translation into a foreign language in order to make them
- 14 understand. In fact, the actual word was Party's livelihood
- 15 meeting. We had to do the Party's livelihood meeting as we
- 16 needed to eat. We needed the Party's livelihood meetings. It
- 17 means like we needed the food. We cannot avoid not eating the
- 18 food.
- 19 The Party's livelihood meeting, what is the purpose of it? In
- 20 order to build a new political view which is in line with the
- 21 principle Party of the parties at each stage. We built the
- 22 parties within our livelihood, in our livelihood meeting. So we
- 23 understood the Party's line through these livelihood meetings.
- 24 We had our new stance and position due to these livelihood
- 25 meetings.

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- 1 We built our collective stance and get rid of our personal
- 2 stance. We sacrificed our private individual stance, our stance
- 3 of power and we built our collective stance. We built our stance
- 4 to respect the organizational discipline. When we hit our
- 5 organizational discipline stance with respect to the upper
- 6 echelons to the decisions of the parties; that is the most
- 7 important.
- 8 For example, on the organizational stance in 1993 or '94 -- I'm
- 9 confused. I apologize. It was in '73 or '74 the Party raised an
- 10 organizational line. It means whoever the original class is,
- 11 they were the cadres in that class. Therefore, if they were born
- 12 peasants, poor peasants, they would be in the leadership roles to
- 13 lead us.
- 14 In Sector 32 -- I'll give you another example -- from the
- 15 beginning Chhay Kim Huor was supervising a number of peasants as
- 16 his subordinates who were also the sector cadres. After the new
- 17 line implemented, then he was -- he became the subordinates of
- 18 those peasants who became his superiors. After 1975 Ta Mok
- 19 became person number 4, and he was a poor peasant.
- 20 [11:24:30]
- 21 That is the livelihood meeting in order to build political
- 22 stance, to build the psychological stances and to build the
- 23 organizational stance in line with the political, psychological
- 24 and organizational stances of the Party. That is what is called
- 25 the criticism or self-criticism as the Party livelihood meeting.

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- 1 Q. So to recapitulate and summarize, at the time when you
- 2 yourself were acting as leader or chief of M-13 what we're
- 3 dealing with is a system that operates on the basis of secrecy,
- 4 as you have said, on the basis of absolutely obeying orders from
- 5 superiors and also involving, so to speak, the destructuring of
- 6 the individual's personality. Is it correct to say this? And
- 7 all of this -- all of this operates within the context of a civil
- 8 war, is this also correct or a war for the conquest of power, for
- 9 the takeover of power?
- 10 A. That was not asked in the war to grab the power but it was
- 11 the parties and their stance. So that was the true nature of the
- 12 Party proletarian stance.
- 13 Q. We are speaking about M-13. That's why I was speaking
- 14 about the civil war at that time. So we were speaking about
- 15 M-13.
- 16 [11:27:46]
- 17 So two or three extra questions: Co-Prosecutor Robert Petit
- 18 asked you yesterday several questions on your ability to move
- 19 around when you were the head of M-13 and he, in particular,
- 20 asked you to specify if it had happened to you to spend nights
- 21 outside of M-13, to sleepover outside of M-13. So we have to go
- 22 a bit further here.
- 23 [11.28.42]
- 24 Mr. Duch, how many nights -- as far as you remember how many
- 25 nights did you spend away from M-13 between 1971 and 1975? How

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- 1 many nights did you spend away from M-13 in that period?
- 2 A. I already informed Mr. Robert Petit yesterday. I informed
- 3 him that Vorn Vet and I went to sleep at his house. But I never
- 4 went overnight to sleep with teacher Son Sen.
- 5 With Vorn Vet the first time when we received the order for the
- 6 management of M-13, I went to meet him. He was doing the
- 7 presentations in that July, the 20th of July. But when he
- 8 received guests from Phnom Penh and while he was busy with those
- 9 quests from Phnom Penh, as his second cadre from Phnom Penh, he
- 10 asked me to sleep in my hammock at his office overnight and I
- 11 shall return in the morning.
- 12 [11.31.10]
- 13 And on another occasion it was when the prison was attacked. I
- 14 sent him there and I returned.
- 15 On another day when Vorn Vet returned from his teaching I met him
- during the day and he was glad to see me. And he said, "Duch,
- 17 you can stay here overnight." So on that night I had some work
- 18 to consult with him and I left the work or the consultation on a
- 19 later stage. I would like to clarify that with teacher Son Sen
- 20 he asked me to go at the time and after that I returned home.
- 21 With Chou Chet I had a travelling letter. When it was necessary
- 22 I went to meet him and when it was done I returned.
- 23 In the livelihood meeting I did not have the qualification or
- 24 authority to hold a meeting at my place but it was held at the
- 25 Office 305. So I went in the morning. When the meeting was

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- 1 finished, I returned in the evening. My office in Amleang and
- 2 the Office 305 was in Krang Beng in Peam District.
- 3 When I received a motorcycle and I took for a ride so I took the
- 4 motorbike for a ride. I went to Seun Visot's house, alias Kon,
- 5 who was the younger sibling of my superior, to await for the
- 6 orders from my superior. And sometimes I went to Khun Phau's
- 7 house, alias Kao, the Secretary of Ponhea Lueu in order to await
- 8 for the same orders. So the travelling routes within the special
- 9 zones from my office to the special zones, yes, I did travel with
- 10 my travelling letter. So I had the work to do and the cadres
- 11 that I had to meet knew me. If I was arrested, I had all the
- 12 letters of authorization. And I also had the destination and the
- 13 cadres that I had to meet, so in summary my rights to travel
- 14 within such strict framework.
- 15 Q. Thank you. You also indicated by answering the questions
- 16 that were asked to you that you had a very narrow margin of
- 17 manoeuvre but that you had tried nonetheless to release or to
- 18 have released prisoners from M-13 and which -- however, you were
- 19 not successful at doing at S-21. And we will speak later, of
- 20 course, about S-21 but let's therefore focus on M-13 for the
- 21 moment.
- 22 [11.36.28]
- 23 Can you therefore tell us -- give us a few specifications, not
- 24 too long of course, on the way that you went about it to have
- 25 certain prisoners released, and how you got that authorization

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- 1 from your superiors, including TC-L(sic).
- 2 A. About the release of the victim who was sent to M 13,
- 3 especially TC-1, I would not go further in this TC-1. I request
- 4 not to speak more detail about TC-1. It seemed to me more
- 5 already.
- 6 I would like to say about one of the victims, is a woman. She
- 7 was sent to M 13 because she was accused of stealing earrings;
- 8 stealing earrings about five (indistinct) -- small, 0.5 gram of
- 9 gold. I did not believe that, and then the chief of the
- 10 district, Phum, also did not believe the story.
- 11 [11.38.31]
- 12 And I have two people with challenge with Chhay Kim Huor. It's
- 13 not a serious challenge. I try to insist that the victim should
- 14 not be detained in M 13 because she was not an enemy, not enemy,
- 15 but Brother Kim Huor said that, "Duch, Comrade, this woman, her
- 16 former husband was the military rank in Lon Nol regime -- has a
- 17 certain rank".
- 18 And then I try to explain to my superior regarding this matter --
- 19 Brother -- her husband was enemy, he was a soldier, but he left
- 20 her alone behind. We should not push a person to the enemy. We
- 21 should not arrest any victim who we were not sure was an enemy.
- 22 We should keep her for a while because you also said that we try
- 23 to liberate the people, not the territory, not the land in
- 24 itself.
- 25 After that discussion, he told me that "you should wait another

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- 1 few days". About a week later, he told me that "you can release
- 2 her". Another example is the second example. That woman, it was
- 3 about in August 1971.
- 4 Another story is that it was about late or early -- late August
- or early September. There was a KW-30. He chopped someone's
- 6 head with a knife and later, after my assistant and he agreed
- 7 that it was a conflict between the people and "you should keep
- 8 him for a few days and then you can release the person".
- 9 [11.42.03]
- 10 And the third story, as I told Your Honours but I did not
- 11 describe in detail, those who were from Korpp Srov. It's the
- 12 cadre from the United Fronts. There were four of them and they
- 13 have a quarrel. I reported to them and I request for the release
- 14 and he agreed to my proposal.
- 15 And later I released another person, the one who sells cows. I
- 16 did not recognize selling cattle is an enemy; I don't think so at
- 17 that time. And I insisted for a release and I succeeded at that
- 18 time.
- 19 And later there was an adolescent. I thought at that time we
- 20 should not smash a young person like this. The adolescent should
- 21 not be smashed, and I try very hard until I get his approval. I
- 22 came over to Vorn Vet and then I succeeded in helping a release
- 23 of the victim. I came over to Vorn Vet and Vorn Vet agree for
- 24 her release.
- 25 Finally, TC-1 himself, and it was very difficult for me to spend

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- 1 -- Horm In. I was fearful that it might turn me to a dangerous
- 2 situation. In conclusion, I released 10 people. If compared to
- 3 the people who lost their lives and suffered the torture at M
- 4 13A, it was a very small amount. It's about 10 per -- so I do
- 5 not consider this as a -- my good deed. This is one other story
- 6 that I want to elaborate, that why they agreed to my request for
- 7 release. It happened before 1973, those releases, except Horm In
- 8 was released after 1973.
- 9 [11.45.35]
- 10 In conclusion, the political line is to mobilize the front force,
- 11 and right after that the policy was adopted. So my effort to
- 12 release people I'm not considering as a good deed or my
- 13 credibility, but this is the truth that happened. It could be
- 14 compared to a drop of water against a large amount of water in a
- 15 pond, if compared to my crimes.
- 16 Q. So indeed, concerning this ocean that -- we spoke a lot
- 17 about torture, torture that was inflicted upon the prisoners
- 18 under your direction at M-13, and I do not believe that it is
- 19 useful to get back to this again. And you also -- and you
- 20 acknowledged the bulk of it. I would like simply to get back to
- 21 one fact, however, that you brought up yesterday. And you
- 22 explained to the Chamber that you tried a torture method that
- 23 consisted in bathing one of the female prisoners in the water and
- 24 then to expose her afterwards to the cold winds. Is that
- 25 correct?

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- 1 [11:47:45]
- 2 And first of all, maybe I would like to ask you a first question
- 3 coming -- that might come from a translation problem. Well, this
- 4 prisoner, was she dressed when she was plunged in the water or
- 5 was she naked?
- 6 A. I would like to inform you that the term of French in
- 7 "plonger" a plunge, whether or not there is a force to press her
- 8 down, there was no one press her down. So we can use the word
- 9 "submerger" in French.
- 10 Let me say about how the torture was inflicted and why it was
- 11 done. Before torture anyone I never did it in the case or in
- 12 the merit of the story. Her story; she was a prostitute before.
- 13 The enemy assign her to come to the Liberated Zone to spy. It
- 14 was her confession. I wanted to know that how many people came
- 15 along with her. We asked the question, new question, it may
- 16 effect or it may be heard to other people so I did not torture.
- 17 Then I took her away to a different place. I asked her "How old
- 18 are you?" And she said "28 years old." I opened her mouth and
- 19 asked her to count her teeth and order her to count by herself.
- 20 When she counted, the tooth's not even 32. I learn some
- 21 scientific solution, anyone who reach 20 years old so the tooth
- 22 are 32. So there was a -- the facts so that she lied me.
- 23 Finally I asked another question, "Do you feel cold?" So she
- 24 said that she feels cold so we try to test about her liar or not
- 25 and then I start to ask new questions. And then I draw into the

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- 1 story after another day.
- 2 And later the interrogation techniques together with tortures,
- 3 it's happened like that.
- 4 [11.52.28]
- 5 I tried to -- it's a little bit beyond the question posed by the
- 6 lawyer. Yesterday I had also mentioned I do not order anyone to
- 7 strip the victim of the clothes from the victim but I failed to
- 8 mention, I did not mention I did not ask anyone to take off their
- 9 clothes so I told them that so for the women when you plunge her
- 10 into the water and you could see some part, limbs of her, and may
- 11 cause us to be arose or a few not in good emotion. It is normal
- 12 that a woman when she get a show, the clothes just tie up to her
- 13 body and before we could see the breast and the hips and other
- 14 form of her body.
- 15 This is the facts that I order to stop the torture to plunge the
- 16 person to the water and expose to the air, the cold air. I
- 17 ordered to stop that.
- 18 So my response and my specific response, I did not have anyone to
- 19 strip off the victim naked and plunge into the water. I did not
- 20 want to see the sexual part of any victim at all.
- 21 Q. And you added yesterday that you put an end to this scene,
- 22 to this event, because it had generated too much emotion. What
- 23 did you mean by that exactly?
- 24 A. When the clothes are very stringy and tough on the skin or
- 25 the flesh of a woman, her body and her part expose to us and we

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- 1 feel not so good to see. And at that moment I can -- I could
- 2 refrain myself and Comrade Pon also could refrain himself from
- 3 that.
- 4 [11:55:56]
- 5 That was one of the case that both of us can refrain from going
- 6 any further. So I imagine that in the future if someone failed
- 7 all of us will be beheaded.
- 8 Yesterday I said -- I mentioned also to the Co-Prosecutor that --
- 9 or the Judge, I'm not quite sure. I told you that it is -- it
- 10 was useless to do so. Why I said like that, because after
- 11 plunging into the water and expose her to the air, a woman named
- 12 Sok, keep her response the same. She said that he had no-one
- 13 came along with her. She was assigned to come alone.
- 14 [11.57.18]
- 15 So my conclusion, I did not say that she hide the truth, so I
- 16 thought that this kind of torture is not only dangerous
- 17 sometimes; it might turn into a bad incident in the case.
- 18 Q. Duch, could you tell us what became of that woman?
- 19 A. So it was the Southwest Zone decided to smash her.
- 20 Q. And was she smashed, as you say, on your orders?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 Q. Duch, what are you saying about this today?
- 23 A. In that regime we can say we obeyed the order of the Party.
- 24 It is an obligation or of our credit and now we view that action
- 25 as it was a crime against the notion and she was a woman. The

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- 1 victim was a woman. At that time in that regime I saw -- I saw
- 2 that no other alternative to solve the matter, other than to
- 3 respect the discipline of the Party, and therefore I keep saying
- 4 that being a human being, sometimes we had to do the job that we
- 5 did not like.
- 6 At that time, to console my emotion, I take the proverb of the
- 7 French to read to memory. At that time I memorized it, it's not
- 8 in a correct written. As for the correct poem, the correct poem
- 9 is:
- 10 THE ACCUSED (Speaking in French):
- 11 "To weep is part of a very heavy burden on the path where destiny
- 12 has cast your lot. And thereafter, like me, suffer and die
- 13 without uttering a word."
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 So it seems that you have no more questions, Mr. Counsel. Yes,
- 16 please, Mr. Robert Petit.
- 17 MR. PETIT:
- 18 Thank you, Mr. President. At the risk of being a bit down to
- 19 earth, I'd like a clarification because in the translation of one
- 20 of the accused's comments, the English said that at one time M 13
- 21 was attacked, or at least that's what the English translation
- 22 came out. So I'd like a clarification from the accused. He said
- 23 that at one point that he had to be away overnight from M 13 when
- 24 it was attacked.
- 25 [12:02:57]

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- 1 Again, as I said, that is the English translation that we got. I
- 2 think at least one member of the Bench will attest to my
- 3 statement, and I'd like a clarification from the accused because
- 4 I submit that would be a new and probably relevant fact in terms
- 5 of M 13. As far as I know, no-one has ever mentioned M 13 being
- 6 attacked. So could I ask, respectfully, this Trial Chamber to
- 7 seek such clarification from the accused?
- 8 BY THE PRESIDENT:
- 9 Q. Mr. Kaing Guek Eav, can you specify this term, because the
- 10 use of the term "attack" so the Trial Chamber understands that
- 11 there is a fighting by the victims, 30 victims. So what kind of
- 12 it? So when it was attacked from any other forces, is it true?
- 13 A. Mr. President, thank you, also Mr. Co-Prosecutor, so that I
- 14 can explain more clearly.
- 15 M 13 was the victim who were detained there, and they grab the
- 16 rifle from the guards and they escape and they ran away.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 I think this is a clear response, so if you have anything to add
- 19 you do so. And now we have a time of a lunch break, and the
- 20 Trial Chamber declares the hearing adjourned for a lunch break
- 21 and we will start again from 1.30, and the accused is ordered to
- 22 be brought back to the detention facility, and the public should
- 23 come here at 1.30 -- a bit before 1.30.
- 24 (Court recesses from 1205H to 1335H)
- 25 THE GREFFIER:

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- 1 Please be seated.
- 2 [13.35.29]
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 The Chamber announced the continuation of our proceeding.
- 5 The security guards bring the accused to the dock.
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 The accused, please stand up.
- 8 [13.37.06]
- 9 Today, the Trial Chamber received a letter from the defence
- 10 counsel, Mr. Kar Savuth and François Roux, who submitted a letter
- 11 to the Trial Chamber requesting to have Marie-Paule Carnivares,
- 12 the lawyer -- to replace François Roux in the situation when he
- 13 is unavailable.
- 14 Do you agree to the proceedings of the trial with the
- 15 replacement, as requested?
- 16 THE ACCUSED:
- 17 Yes, I accept it.
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 19 Please be seated. Next, in accordance with Rule 27 of the ECCC
- 20 Internal Rule, I would like to invite the defence counsel, the
- 21 national defence counsel, to request for recognition of the
- 22 international lawyers, as requested, and she hasn't yet been
- 23 acknowledged by the Chamber. Thank you.
- 24 MR. KAR SAVUTH:
- 25 Mr. President, Your Honours, your national and international

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- 1 Judges, I am a national co-lawyer. I would like to seek your
- 2 permission to recognize Mrs. Marie-Paule Carnivares, who is a
- 3 member of the Bar of Montpellier, from France. She already took
- 4 an oath at the Bar Association of Cambodia, before the President
- 5 of the Courts of Appeal, on the 6th of April, 2009. Therefore, I
- 6 would like you, the Judges, national and international, to
- 7 recognize this lawyer as my co-defence lawyer for the accused,
- 8 Kaing Guek Eav, from today onwards. Thank you.
- 9 [13.40.03]
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 Please stand up, Marie-Paule Carnivares.
- 12 Marie-Paule Carnivares, the Trial Chamber recognized you as a
- 13 defence lawyer for the accused for the purpose of the proceeding
- 14 before this Trial Chamber. With that recognition, you enjoy the
- 15 same rights and privilege as the national co-defence lawyer, from
- 16 this point onward. Please be seated.
- 17 Next, the Chamber continue the proceeding by listening to the
- 18 testimony of the witness, François Bizot. Court Officer, please
- 19 bring the witness into the court room.
- 20 (Witness enters courtroom)
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 The Co-Prosecutor, the floor is yours.
- 23 [13.41.31]
- 24 MR. PETIT:
- 25 Mr. President, can I ask a clarification? Is it the intention of

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- 1 the Trial Chamber to have the witnesses testify beside the
- 2 accused in all cases? Or should not, more appropriately, the
- 3 accused be sitting behind his counsels? Can I ask
- 4 clarification?
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Thank you. We had a proceeding where we needs to ask about his
- 7 rights, the rights of the accused to accept his international
- 8 lawyer. So that was part of the previous proceeding.
- 9 The security guards, you can bring the accused to sit behind his
- 10 counsel now.
- 11 [13.43.12]
- 12 Mr. François Bizot, in the trial proceeding now, the Chamber
- 13 invites you to provide testimony regarding what you have known,
- 14 heard, regarding the facts at M-13, located in Amleang, in
- 15 Kampong Speu Province, during the year of 1971. First, the
- 16 Chamber would like to ask you whether your name is François
- 17 Bizot.
- 18 MR BIZOT:
- 19 Yes, my name is François Bizot.
- 20 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 21 How old are you?
- 22 (Recording malfunction)
- 23 MR BIZOT:
- 24 I worked at the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. I can start
- 25 speaking now? No? Apologies.

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 The Chamber will ask you some questions regarding the -- your
- 3 identification, so please listen to the -- my questions, in order
- 4 to understand them properly, about the identification.
- 5 [13.44.59]
- 6 The next question is, how old are you?
- 7 MR BIZOT:
- 8 I am sixty-niine years of age.
- 9 THE PRESIDENT:
- 10 What is your nationality?
- 11 MR BIZOT:
- 12 I am a French National.
- 13 THE PRESIDENT:
- 14 What is your current address?
- 15 MR BIZOT:
- 16 I now reside in Chiang Mai, in northern Thailand.
- 17 THE PRESIDENT:
- 18 What is your current occupation?
- 19 MR BIZOT:
- 20 I am a researcher and a professor. I am a member of the École
- 21 Française d'Extrême-Orient, the French school for oriental
- 22 studies.
- 23 THE PRESIDENT:
- 24 According to the report from the Greffier, Mr. François Bizot
- 25 have no direct or indirect blood links to any parties of this

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- 1 Tribunal?
- 2 MR BIZOT:
- 3 This is correct, I have no kinship relation to the list of names
- 4 that I've been in a position to read. Thank you.
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Mr. François Bizot, as a witness, the Chamber requires you to
- 7 make an oath before making a testimony. Do you agree to that?
- 8 MR. BIZOT:
- 9 Yes, I do agree.
- 10 THE GREFFIER:
- 11 Please take the text of oath to the witness in the French
- 12 language.
- 13 (Mr. François Bizot, Witness TC-1, sworn)
- 14 QUESTIONING BY THE BENCH
- 15 BY MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Q. Mr. François Bizot, were you detained by the Khmer Rouge
- 17 cadre, Khmer Rouge soldiers at Oudong Mountain and detained at
- 18 the Security Office M 13 located in Amleang district, Kampong
- 19 Speu province, in 1971?
- 20 A. That is correct, Your Honour.
- 21 Q. Mr. François Bizot, can you describe the actual scenes that
- 22 you have seen at the office M 13 located at the aforementioned
- 23 location during the times you were detained there until your
- 24 release to Phnom Penh at the time?
- 25 [13.49.02]

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- 1 A. Certainly, Your Honour. However, I would like to begin my
- 2 testimony with the mentioning of a small episode from the end of
- 3 my detention, the day before I was released from M 13 on the 24th
- 4 of December 1971.
- 5 I was authorized by the accused, Duch, to throw a farewell lunch
- 6 to my co-inmates, who were all tied up. Chicken soup had been
- 7 prepared, thanks to the money that had been confiscated from me
- 8 when I had been arrested. So with that money I could throw this
- 9 party. Other people approached me and said, "French comrade,
- 10 don't forget us, please. Don't forget us, please."
- 11 Today it is Duch who is the accused and he is the one, so to
- 12 speak, who is all tied up, who is in chains symbolically. So in
- 13 today's circumstance, I would like to remember the prisoners of M
- 14 13. I can never forget them; in particular, my two helpers,
- 15 assistants, Hok Lay and Baing Son who were executed in a
- 16 different camp because they had worked with me. It is in the
- 17 name of all these people, on behalf of all those people, that I
- 18 would like to give testimony today.
- 19 [13.51.20]
- 20 This being said, three months earlier within the context of my
- 21 research on Cambodian Buddhism, I went to the region of Oudong.
- 22 I had been thrown out of the Conservation d'Angkor where I had
- 23 been working earlier. I'd had to flee because of the invasion
- 24 and I continued my research work in the Kandal province.
- 25 On 10th of October, I started and I moved towards the north of

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- 1 Oudong to go to a monastery which is called Vat O close to the
- 2 village of Tuol Ta Pi. I had come via the car of the École
- 3 Française d'Extrême-Orient with my daughter, Helen, who was
- 4 barely over two years old then, and two assistants whose names I
- 5 have already mentioned, and there were also two or three
- 6 villagers with us.
- 7 [13.52.41]
- 8 The idea was that they would show me the way to the monastery,
- 9 Vat O. We were received in the monastery by the abbot, the
- 10 venerable abbot, and I realized that things were not exactly
- 11 normal. The abbot was indeed extremely nervous, so I then
- 12 realized that there had been some kind of ambush, either for me
- 13 or that there had been a patrol, a militia patrol, and I was
- 14 immediately picked up by the patrol, the militia. My two helpers
- 15 were tied up. They had their arms tied up behind their backs. I
- 16 fought back and did not have my hands tied up.
- 17 I demanded -- to no great avail, of course -- but I demanded to
- 18 meet a person who was in charge and we were taken to the village
- 19 of Tuol Ta Pi where we stayed approximately two hours. During
- 20 those two hours, I was questioned by an officer in charge who
- 21 listened to what I had to say; in particular, that I had gone to
- 22 that monastery to look into rituals of Cambodian Buddhism. And
- 23 at the end of my explanation to him, his inference was that I was
- 24 a CIA agent and he said so to me.
- 25 We were searched, perhaps they were looking for a microphone or

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- some kind of listening device, and my two helpers were taken away
- 2 in one direction and I was taken elsewhere. I was tied up and I
- 3 was taken away on a dirt track. On this dirt track, I was
- 4 accompanied by two young guards. One of them was carrying a gun.
- 5 We spent the first night in some kind of a sala, an open pavilion
- 6 close to a village, and the following morning I arrived in a
- 7 village that I could not identify. There I found my two
- 8 companions who had already arrived, and they were in a position
- 9 whereby their legs were shackled with a khnoh, a wooden khnoh,
- 10 which is a kind of -- it's a system where you have two small
- 11 beams with a small piece that the -- that will lock the ankles
- 12 into position. So I was put next to them in the same position.
- 13 [13.55.44]
- 14 Some time later we were picked up and I was judged by a tribunal
- 15 of Khmer Krom. I could recognize the Khmer Krom accent. And
- 16 there were two greffier who were taking notes of what I was
- 17 saying, and around this court or improvised people's tribunal,
- 18 there were some 50 villagers behind me and on either side of me.
- 19 My questioner was leaning on a desk that was on a podium. He
- 20 said he knew me. He had already seen me in Saigon and he said
- 21 that the lackeys of American imperialism needed people like me
- 22 who were fluent in languages, and who knew Khmer in particular,
- 23 in order to provide money to the people who were fighting on
- 24 behalf of the Americans because they did not trust their own
- 25 soldiers. Naturally I denied these charges, which were quite

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- 1 meaningless. I said, "If you are sure of what you're saying,
- 2 well, you might as well kill me right now, here and now". This
- 3 made the people behind us applaud.
- 4 After which I'll perhaps make the story a little bit shorter than
- 5 it would be in totality, but the person who was the questioner
- 6 said that there was a contradiction between what Onka knew and
- 7 what I had just answered. And consequently I had to be deemed to
- 8 be somebody in the position of being accused, charged with a
- 9 count that I did not recognize. I was immediately put back into
- 10 the khnoh device alongside my two companions. A meal was given
- 11 to us and, having heard noise -- shouts around the house of
- 12 people who were saying, "Why are you waiting? Strip him and kill
- 13 him, " whereupon Khmer Rouge came up, unbound me, blindfolded me
- 14 and took me away to a place where I was supposed to be executed.
- 15 [13.58.45]
- 16 I never knew and never shall know whether it was a mock execution
- 17 or whether it was a failed execution. It was not completed.
- 18 Nevertheless, I was not executed and I was taken away on a track
- 19 whereby the following morning I would be reaching M-13 without my
- 20 companions.
- 21 It happened to be that Lay Son arrived there a little after me in
- 22 the same camp. When I arrived there I did not have -- I did not
- 23 have a global view of the camp right away but I was welcomed by
- 24 one of the chiefs over there who proved to be cynical and
- 25 aggressive and who, therefore, gave the necessary orders so that

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- 1 one of my heels be put into some kind of shackle at the end of a
- 2 stick onto which were already a metal bar to which 10 to 15 other
- 3 prisoners were already tied to. And of course I was frightened
- 4 not only by this idea but also by my situation at the end of this
- 5 bar. And having a bone composition that is quite sturdy, my heel
- 6 was not able to come into this shackle and the chief gave the
- 7 indication so that they could come up with a shackle that would
- 8 be able to fit my ankle.
- 9 THE INTERPRETER:
- 10 Interpreter corrects himself, sorry: ankle.
- 11 MR. BIZOT:
- 12 So then came a young man, and when this young man arrived -- I
- 13 did not notice this right away but I was saying -- I was reading
- 14 while they were looking for this shackle that was going to fit my
- 15 ankle. I was saying that I wished to take a bath in the rice
- 16 paddy because it had been two days and two nights that we had
- 17 been walking on mud, and mud that had been soaked by the rains
- 18 and, therefore, I wished to bathe. And it was by insisting on
- 19 the fact that I wished to take five minutes to take -- to bathe
- 20 in the river that the young man that I had just noticed said to
- 21 me, "Okay, you want" -- in Khmer, "You want to bathe?" And it
- 22 happened that I was able to bathe right away and I understood
- 23 that the person in charge of the camp was not the aggressive
- 24 person I had met right at the beginning but that there was
- 25 somebody above him who had the possibility to counter his orders.

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- 1 [14.02.10]
- 2 I forgot to say that the first person I met, the chief, had
- 3 completely refused; denied everything to me. So therefore, I
- 4 went to bathe and when I came back, and given that the problem of
- 5 my shackles had not been settled, the young man who had
- 6 authorized me to bathe gave indications so that I'd be brought to
- 7 a separate place outside of the three huts in which the prisoners
- 8 were lodged, about 40 to 50 of them, and I was therefore led
- 9 under some kind of bamboo roof -- under some kind of bamboo
- 10 storage space that was receiving -- where rice bags were stored,
- 11 which was right next to the camp, and rice was left there every
- 12 week on carts. And therefore under this shed I was placed -- and
- 13 the place was -- there were three bags of rice there. So my foot
- 14 was locked up in a chain to -- was chained to one of the small
- 15 bamboo posts that would hold up this shed.
- 16 [14.03.45]
- 17 And I remember that it started raining and that I remained there
- 18 for a while under the rain. And then the night fell and I was
- 19 served a meal by a young guard between -- under the rain and
- 20 between the puddles. That was my first night in the camp and I
- 21 fell asleep quite quickly.
- 22 And the next day I got to know better the person who I had
- 23 already noticed as being the head of the camp and I had learned
- 24 from the guards that his name was Duch because they were speaking
- 25 about him as such; Duch.

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- 1 Quite quickly he took the decision to carry out the
- 2 interrogations himself that were going to start. And he said to
- 3 me that there were counts against me that were very serious and I
- 4 had to write down my first statement of innocence. I wrote down
- 5 a certain number of statements of innocence on sheets of paper
- 6 that he -- it looked like a camp from which you would never
- 7 return.
- 8 And the young guards in my day-to-day existence would follow me
- 9 all the time and through their childishness and their perverse
- 10 character they would -- they spoke to each other and it was quite
- 11 easy to understand what they were talking about and it was quite
- 12 easy for me to imagine what I could expect from them.
- 13 So this being said, the interrogations, the daily interrogations
- 14 went on with the head of the camp and myself. I was -- it's 27
- 15 years ago so I was 30 years old and they were asking me questions
- 16 always with a certain amount of politeness, I must say. And I
- 17 was (indistinct) myself on my own through my constant anger to be
- 18 taken for what I was not in this unjust situation which really --
- 19 which made it that they thought that I was a CIA spy, but of
- 20 course this was very, very far from what I was. And I was
- 21 brought to rebel, I must say, in answering these questions, and I
- 22 asked him questions in return and this lasted for weeks and weeks
- 23 and it's obvious that with this kind of pace a certain habit set
- 24 in which was not without, I must say -- which somehow, I must
- 25 say, built some kind of, let's say -- I wouldn't say friendship

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- but some kind of familiarity.
- 2 And if I remember correctly I would see him every week. I had to
- 3 report -- he would have to make reports and he would write them
- 4 down very late at night and very early in the morning. And his
- 5 reputation was the reputation of somebody who was a tireless
- 6 worker, who did not speak much, and he was very much devoted to
- 7 his responsibilities as a camp leader.
- 8 [14.08.05]
- 9 And the interrogations -- my interrogations always happened in a
- 10 polite way and I was never beaten. I think that Duch somehow
- 11 considered that if I had been -- if I was a CIA agent or not, he
- 12 would try to wait to obtain the -- he said that the best way to
- 13 obtain truth from me would not be to beat me but to start just
- 14 talking to me, to start conversing with me. And the way that to,
- 15 let's say, to go -- to under -- to go into me would be to ask me
- 16 questions about my work, about my work with the Angkor
- 17 conservation project, about Buddhism, about Cambodian Buddhism,
- 18 which he knew as well as I, and I was asked by him to give him
- 19 the maximum amount of precision with the aim of verifying that if
- 20 -- that I indeed had the profile of a scholar and this competence
- 21 that I have to stand as a scholar working on Cambodian Buddhist
- 22 manuscripts.
- 23 And, therefore, I asked Duch to -- if I could be given a notebook
- 24 that he brought me one day with a ballpoint pen and a razor
- 25 blade, and I was -- I really very much wanted to shave. That is

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- 1 to say that, Your Honour, here I have it, if you -- here it is.
- 2 And I can maybe show you the cover of this notebook.
- 3 (Microphone not activated)
- 4 So I wished only to show you this element that -- on this
- 5 notebook that was given to me by Duch, and this is the notebook
- 6 on which I -- which I used and I wrote down a few childhood
- 7 memories; I wrote a few poems in it and I tried to set up an
- 8 issue -- I tried to come up with some kind of argumentation that
- 9 would be convincing in relation to my work, my scholarly work
- 10 with Buddhism, and to prove to him that I was indeed a scholar.
- 11 And that when later it became clear that I was going to be
- 12 released, Duch asked me -- and I asked him if I could keep this
- 13 notebook and he said yes, he was going to read it and that he
- 14 would decide upon that, and then he read my notebook and I think
- 15 with a lot of attention, by the way. He asked me a few questions
- 16 about it and he also looked and then he gave it back to me. And
- 17 therefore you can see the notebook is still here.
- 18 [14.13.01]
- 19 So I must say that this notebook which I have brought with me
- 20 today I never read over it again, I must say.
- 21 Duch, as I said, would come at least once a week. He would come
- 22 from the village or from where he was going -- where he was going
- 23 often too in any case -- and what was really surprising was to
- 24 see what poor health Duch was in, as most of us there. Well, not
- 25 most of us actually, I dare say, because I was lucky enough not

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- 1 to be ill and I was even disturbed about that, and when people
- 2 asked me questions about, you know, my health and I would invent
- 3 -- sometimes said that I was sick so I wouldn't create envy among
- 4 the prisoners. But it was in November-December, it was at the
- 5 time when there's a lot of malaria and malaria really wreaked
- 6 havoc in the camp and a lot of people died there and those who
- 7 did not die were in a very severe state of fatigue.
- 8 And one day Duch said to me that he would leave the next day and
- 9 that he would maybe have some good news to give to me and,
- 10 therefore, I was very impatient and I was waiting for him to come
- 11 back the next day, and that after he returned he made me know
- 12 that I could go back to my family. And when I learnt this -- and
- 13 I didn't believe in it, of course.
- 14 You must understand that, Your Honour, that nothing was said
- 15 clearly. Lies were our daily bread I must say. Nothing could be
- 16 believed in. Lies were present when you were saying to somebody
- 17 -- when you would lead somebody to death we would also lie to
- 18 him. You would never tell him, of course. It was denied until
- 19 the last moment.
- 20 And this promise of freedom seemed to me also -- well, I couldn't
- 21 believe in it because since -- as I said, I could never bring any
- 22 evidence of my innocence and that he would never have also any
- 23 evidence on my guilt. But okay, I was the only one to believe
- 24 this and, this being said, hope never left me and hope never
- 25 leaves a prisoner. And at the same time I had already understood

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- 1 that my life was in his hands but not only my life, however.
- 2 [14.16.31]
- 3 So when he said to me that I was going to be released it was
- 4 something that I did not register and of course it did not make
- 5 me joyful on the spot, but my attitude was to say "Okay. Prove
- 6 it to me. Unshackle me. Untie me" these shackles which were so
- 7 painful. And then, indeed, he gave the order right on the spot
- 8 to the young guard to take my shackles off. And I said, under
- 9 these conditions if I am innocent, therefore, if I'm released I'm
- 10 innocent. And if I'm innocent the two Khmer who were with me
- 11 they are also innocent so please set them free as well and Duch
- 12 gave the order to the young guard to release my two companions,
- 13 my two Khmer companions and I met them, therefore, three months
- 14 later. And I do not need to tell you how strong that moment was.
- 15 [14.14.04]
- 16 We met again. We didn't say much but we met again, and this
- 17 became for me a strong reason for hope.
- 18 For them it certainly was not the case, however. They believed
- 19 that it was a way to try to cover things and none of them -- none
- 20 of my co-prisoners believed when they saw me go that I would be
- 21 released. All thought secretly that, indeed, that the way I was
- 22 going to follow was also the way that my predecessors had
- 23 followed.
- 24 Therefore, I had to be -- I was supposed to be released on
- 25 Christmas Day and for a silly story of -- a bicycle story that

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- 1 had been borrowed by a young guard and he didn't bring the bike
- 2 back to the camp and therefore my release was postponed to the
- 3 next day. Of course this little delay in relation to what was
- 4 scheduled really put me in a great state of confusion. But no
- 5 matter, nonetheless it was Christmas Eve and this was the
- 6 opportunity, since I was free, to spend my first night without
- 7 chains but also to get to know better or, let's say, to know in a
- 8 different perspective or to be somebody differently who was also
- 9 going to start developing a different attitude towards me because
- 10 I was in a situation that was kind of a preparatory situation
- 11 because I was on my way to freedom.
- 12 And around fire, because often the guards would light fires at
- 13 night because it was cold and it gets really cold in a Cardamom
- 14 forest at that period of the year, a really icy cold -- ice cold
- 15 nights. And when -- and during the most difficult nights I had a
- 16 log that -- the guards would give me a log of wood so that I
- 17 could sleep on warm ground. So therefore, I came close to the
- 18 fire and this was the opportunity for me to speak.
- 19 [14.17.16]
- 20 So we could talk more freely. We talked about our families and,
- 21 Duch, as far as I could see, had no family other than his
- 22 parents. He had not -- he had not established his own family.
- 23 He wasn't married or didn't have children. And he also inquired
- 24 about what had happened to Helene, my little girl, my daughter
- 25 who had been with me in the car but who had remained in the

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- 1 village, the last village close to the monastery of Vat O and she
- 2 had stayed behind with one of the girls who stayed -- who were
- 3 with us to play with the children.
- 4 And that circumstance was one of the most constant and deepest
- 5 reasons for suffering. Throughout my detention I did not know
- 6 where my daughter was, what had happened to her. So I was
- 7 reassured on this point.
- 8 And a few days earlier in two different times I had cause to
- 9 wonder about the ways and means available to the camp to get
- 10 people to talk because I had understood, of course by always
- 11 interpreting signs and messages chiefly from what I perceived
- 12 from the guards -- in spite of their own orders they said
- 13 everything to me -- I knew that we were close to Amleang. They
- 14 were talking about this amongst themselves. So I managed to
- 15 understand that prisoners were beaten. They would be hit.
- 16 The fact that I was authorized to wash on the first day was
- 17 repeated thereafter. It was an acquired right, so to speak, that
- 18 I was entitled to a bath every evening.
- 19 [14.19.39]
- 20 Now, during one of these bathing sessions in a little rivulet
- 21 that was perhaps no more than 30 centimetres deep but,
- 22 nevertheless, it was nice clean water, I saw on the other side of
- 23 this little rivulet a hut. And in this hut or, rather, in front
- 24 of this hut I was bold enough, actually, to go closer to this hut
- 25 and I saw that there was a vertical bamboo pole, a rather thick

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- 1 pole with rings on it, rattan rings. I immediately understood or
- 2 interpreted that this was a place where people would be tied up
- 3 by their wrists in this kind of device. I promptly went away
- 4 from this place.
- 5 And another memory I have, after bath memory -- and the bath was
- 6 the only time and circumstance where I could have a different
- 7 view; different from that of the view that I could have from the
- 8 end of my tether during the day -- I happened upon a former
- 9 prisoner who had been there for sufficiently long to still be a
- 10 prisoner; that's to say, to be an inmate like the others but
- 11 released from the need to work like all the others. And he was
- 12 busy sharpening a rattan stick. And I asked him, "Hey, comrade,
- 13 who are you going to hit with that piece of bamboo?" "No, no,
- 14 no, I'm not the one who does the hitting. Of course I'm not the
- 15 one who does the hitting." In no way did I have the feeling that
- 16 he was going to be hitting people with that.
- 17 But it's with these two feelings, the feelings from these two
- 18 little episodes that I asked that evening, "Who does the
- 19 hitting?" And Duch quite unhesitatingly answered that sometimes
- 20 he did the hitting. He would hit the prisoners because they
- 21 would lie and because their testimony would come up with
- 22 contradictions and that he hated lying. Lying was abhorrent to
- 23 him and this kind of job was not at all to his liking but it was
- 24 the responsibility that Angkar had entrusted to him; it was his
- 25 job and the particular task was part of his duties.

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- 1 [14:23:10]
- 2 So I was somewhat horrified and I think that this event was a
- 3 turning point or a landmark event for me. And it is no doubt the
- 4 origin or the starting point of the process inside me, your
- 5 Honour, I should say that until then I had felt reassured. I
- 6 considered that I was on the right side of humankind and there
- 7 were monsters and, thank heavens, I would never be amongst the
- 8 ranks of them. There was a difference due to history, to one's
- 9 sensitivities, and that this had to do with a condition of nature
- 10 and not everybody could be a monster. Some people were born into
- 11 those ranks and other people would never belong to those ranks.
- 12 [14.24.31]
- 13 But that evening Duch's answer and my perception of the man in
- 14 the course of the different questioning/interrogation episodes
- 15 opened my eyes. This was an eye-opening event for me on the
- 16 evening of Christmas Day. I had expected to encounter a monster,
- 17 an inhumane person, but I realized then that things were much
- 18 more tragic, much more frightening.
- 19 I realized that in front of me there was a man who looked very
- 20 much like many friends of mine, a Marxist, a human being who was
- 21 a Marxist who was prepared to surrender his life for his country
- 22 for the revolution. He believed in this cause and the ultimate
- 23 goal of his commitment and his belief was the welfare and
- 24 wellbeing of the inhabitants of Cambodia. He was fighting
- 25 against injustice, inequity and although through the various

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- 1 clichéd descriptions of the Khmer peasant used by the Communist
- 2 Khmer propaganda that such a peasant would not necessarily be the
- 3 completely fabricated archetype.
- 4 Nevertheless, even though there might be some diabolic form of
- 5 naiveté in this archetype there nevertheless was a measure of
- 6 true sincerity, fundamental sincerity in his perceptions, as is
- 7 the case with many revolutionaries. I, myself, in Paris had many
- 8 friends who were committed to this Communist revolution and they
- 9 were looking at events in Cambodia with a gaze that to me was
- 10 quite horrifying but it was, in their eyes, justified by the fact
- 11 that the ends in fact justify the means and that end to justify
- 12 those means would be the independence of Cambodia, Cambodia's
- 13 right to self-determination, putting an end to dire poverty, and
- 14 of course the great dreams and hopes for the future. The
- 15 Cambodians have not been the only people that have killed people
- 16 for the sake of fulfilling a dream.
- 17 [14.27.25]
- 18 So speaking of the monster in front of me, in a way it was his
- 19 duty. It was his duty to be the interrogator, the questioner.
- 20 As far as I understood, Your Honour, and I didn't see everything,
- 21 didn't understand everything -- I can only testify on the basis
- 22 of what I have seen and what I remember, but from all of what
- 23 I've seen and remembered, his job was to write up reports on the
- 24 people sent to him for execution purposes. And then I truly
- 25 realized that this monster was indeed endowed with human

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- 1 characteristics and this was extremely disturbing. I myself was
- 2 no longer sheltered and it would be the greatest possible mistake
- 3 to turn such monsters into a different category of people, a
- 4 different species.
- 5 None of this was thought through by me at the time, of course,
- 6 but that encounter and the whole ordeal where I was sure I would
- 7 die, this kind of slow cooking leading up to the moment of my
- 8 release, all of this welled up in me again later on.
- 9 In the meantime, the horrible dimensions of the crimes in Tuol
- 10 Sleng of course happened and added to the gravity of what had
- 11 happened in M-13. And I thought that then -- I then thought that
- 12 if there was something to be said I had to say that I had known
- 13 this man when he was a young man, a junior revolutionary who had
- 14 been trained under his comrades and he had been entrusted with a
- 15 particular mission and he had done his job in a frightening way
- 16 but extremely rigorously, very thoroughly, and always with a view
- 17 to doing his job well and fully. I then figured that it was
- 18 necessary to make known that this kind of danger was not due to a
- 19 person who was a monster, a different category of person; that
- 20 this person was a human being like any other human being.
- 21 Consequently, it is necessary to make a distinction between what
- 22 humans do from what humans are.
- 23 [14.30.20]
- 24 And I also realized that to be guilty for what one has done it
- 25 does not have a total bearing on what one is. It does not

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- 1 necessarily fully taint what one is. And I also understood that
- 2 the situation in which Duch was did not allow him to step back or
- 3 step out, not just because he could fear death but also in
- 4 relation to the gaze of others, the commitments that you make
- 5 when you go undercover in this kind of situation. It's very
- 6 difficult to step out of this kind of situation, so he was
- 7 trapped into that situation and that is what he is still fearful
- 8 of to this day.
- 9 Your Honour, I have concluded my testimony. Thank you.
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 Next, I would like to ask whether our Judges of the Bench would
- 12 like to pose any question to the witness. Judge Lavergne, you
- 13 take the floor.
- 14 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 15 Q. Thank you for this testimony. I have a number of questions
- 16 to ask of you to clarify the meanings of what you have said.
- 17 First of all, regarding the camp itself and the facts, you have
- 18 stated that in your opinion there were approximately 40 to 50
- 19 inmates in that camp. Have you noted or noticed whether those
- 20 inmates came from specific categories of the Cambodian
- 21 population? Were they chiefly war prisoners, country people,
- 22 townspeople? Did you observe a major change in the demography of
- 23 the camp? Was there a new supply, so to speak, of prisoners over
- 24 time?
- 25 [14.36.51]

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- 1 A. I think there were about 50 people at the time when I was
- 2 there, and I was there for only three months. What I could
- 3 witness at the time allowed me to understand that basically most
- 4 of these people were peasants under -- and they came from areas
- 5 that were under Khmer Rouge control. And the fresh supplies,
- 6 using your terminology, Your Honour -- these new supplies were
- 7 prisoners who came one by one or they might possibly be
- 8 accompanied. I remember one man who had come in and he had his
- 9 little daughter accompanying him. Well, they would come in small
- 10 groups of two or three.
- 11 [14.37.21]
- 12 Those people probably came from the same areas and I think they
- 13 came from areas which were at the border between the Khmer
- 14 Rouge-dominated territory in the southwest, which was a bastion
- of the Khmer Rouge, and the other areas which were close to the
- 16 so-called government-controlled areas. And it appears that M 13
- 17 -- I can't be sure of this but I would surmise that M 13 was
- 18 already being specialized into some kind of counterespionage
- 19 policing centre, or the -- what we had in M 13 were people who
- 20 were found in places where they were not supposed to be, and
- 21 there was no clear explanation of what they were doing in those
- 22 other areas, in those other zones.
- 23 So perhaps some people who were simply peddling goods or just
- 24 more or less legally were captured and excused of espionage. I
- 25 encountered an arrival of military prisoners. I think there were

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- 1 about 15, perhaps even 30; I can't remember. And the camp of
- 2 course had been extremely -- was in upheaval over this because
- 3 there was no -- the camp was not duly equipped, could not deal
- 4 with this new consignment. They were sent off the following day.
- 5 They were kept in the camp only one night. M 13 was not a camp
- 6 for receiving war prisoners, and that is what I would guess.
- 7 Q. You presented to us the situation that was yours
- 8 especially, so I'd like you to give us a few more details on the
- 9 situation of your co-prisoners, we could say. You said that they
- 10 were shackled, that their ankles were shackled. Could you tell
- 11 us what were the hygiene conditions in which they were living?
- 12 How were they able to -- were they able to bathe? How would --
- 13 were they -- did they have enough to eat?
- 14 A. All of the prisoners, except for a few rare exceptions,
- 15 were -- had one leg that was shackled by some kind of sliding
- 16 shackle on a common bar. Each barrack, each hut -- and the floor
- 17 of each hut, which was about 80 centimetres from the ground --
- 18 could house about 20 prisoners, maybe 15 or 20; maybe if you
- 19 packed them together, a bit more.
- 20 [14.41.26]
- 21 And there were three huts, three, and one of the huts was rather
- 22 destined for people who were prisoners who were ill, and it was
- 23 -- there were essentially therefore two huts that were filled
- 24 with prisoners who were packed, let's say. And concerning
- 25 hygiene, there was no possibility, absolutely no possibility, for

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- 1 them -- for any prisoner to bathe.
- 2 Outside of this possibility, when it would rain -- that's what
- 3 happened to me when I was there -- was the possibility to use the
- 4 bamboos that were used to urinate. It was like a big bamboo
- 5 stick that you can find in certain Cambodian forests, and that
- 6 could be used as big cups with which you can -- which you harvest
- 7 the sugar from the sugar farms. And it was this kind of wide
- 8 bamboo that was used and that was hanging from one or -- from the
- 9 ends of each barrack, so that the prisoners could urinate without
- 10 disturbing the others.
- 11 And to relieve themselves, to defecate, it was something else,
- 12 and each prisoner would say in absolute horror -- would recall in
- 13 absolute horror their experience of having to use leaves. It was
- 14 a hole, you see, that was filled with faeces covered --
- 15 surrounded by mud, next to which the prisoner had to squat with
- 16 one foot on each one of the planks that were right -- sitting
- 17 next to the hole, and the hole was about one metre 50 wide. And
- 18 the fear of falling into the hole was really -- was terrible for
- 19 the prisoners, and in fact it had happened. So that's -- yes,
- 20 that's what I would say.
- 21 [14.40.35]
- 22 Q. The food; what can you tell us about the food?
- 23 A. Well, the food was distributed twice a day. The food was
- 24 made up of -- well, it was -- it was rice, delicious rice that
- 25 had been beaten that morning by two prisoners who had the

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- 1 privilege of not being shackled, and they were working on the
- 2 rice paddies in the neighbouring villages, and this rice was
- 3 delicious. I would like to repeat this and I remember that. I
- 4 don't know if it was -- whether I was hungry or it really was the
- 5 quality of the rice itself, but that was -- the only thing, that
- 6 rice, was unlimited in -- so it was a full plate -- a whole full
- 7 plate full of rice but there was nothing else. But we could eat
- 8 as much of it as we wanted.
- 9 Q. Was it the same diet for all of the prisoners, or do you
- 10 think that you were privileged?
- 11 A. I was going to add this, Your Honour. I was privileged
- 12 indeed. If I remember correctly, as of the moment when Duch
- 13 considered that I was not guilty of the charges against me and in
- 14 order to keep me in good health, I had the possibility to share
- 15 -- I enjoyed the possibility of sharing soup, to eat the same --
- 16 the soup of the guards. But outside and for the other prisoners,
- 17 I would say, outside of my case, well, the prisoners' diet was
- 18 the same for everybody. I'd like to specify that the guards'
- 19 soup was a very, very simple meal; very frugal.
- 20 [14.46.41]
- 21 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 22 Your Honour, would you like us to take a break or shall we
- 23 proceed?
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 The Chamber would take a 20-minute break resuming at five past

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- 1 three.
- 2 I would like the witness to wait at the waiting room and coming
- 3 back at when the court resumes.
- 4 (Court recesses from 1447H to 1509H)
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 The Court official, please bring in the witness to the courtroom.
- 7 (Witness enters the courtroom)
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 The Court is now back in session.
- 10 Coming next, I would like to give the floor to Judge Lavergne to
- 11 continue asking questions to the witness.
- 12 [15.10.35]
- 13 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 14 Q. Before we had the break, you spoke about the detainee
- 15 population and you said that it was mainly made up of peasants.
- 16 You also spoke about children. Can you give us more details
- 17 about the children -- or the child who was a ward, detained at
- 18 M-13?
- 19 A. Well, as far as I recollect, I remember more specifically a
- 20 little girl, but I don't think I remember any other children in
- 21 the camp. I remember also having said to Duch that I felt that
- 22 the presence of this little girl was absolutely unbearable, this
- 23 little girl who was accompanying her father.
- 24 I have a very clear memory of their arrival in the camp because
- 25 where I was placed was at the entrance of the camp, the entrance

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- 1 as well as the exit. So I would see the people come in and the
- 2 people go out, of course.
- 3 And the father of this little girl was brought before Duch and
- 4 Duch looked at his file and after that he sent him away, and the
- 5 guards who had brought the father and the little girl brought the
- 6 father back out of the camp and the father -- there was something
- 7 rather -- very specific here is that the Khmer Rouge would never
- 8 answer the prisoners' greetings but, however, Duch did.
- 9 So this man who had his hands tied behind his back, when Duch
- 10 gave the file -- took the file from the guard and the prisoner
- 11 greeted Duch and Duch saluted him, and Duch looked at the little
- 12 girl -- she was nine years old. I learned that later that she
- 13 was only nine. And he hesitated for a while and said to her a
- 14 few words. I was too far to really distinguish them, but I could
- 15 also see from where I was the front of the guards' hut and in the
- 16 front there was some kind of porch where Duch would set up his
- 17 working table. So I saw that the father said a few words to his
- 18 little daughter as if he was going to come back.
- 19 Would you like me, Your Honour, to continue about the story of
- 20 this little girl?
- 21 [15.14.07]
- 22 Q. Well, I'm not sure that it's necessary. Just to find out
- 23 if there were other children and simply maybe to specify that
- 24 this child survived?
- 25 A. Yes, she stayed in the camp for a few days. Of course, she

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- 1 was crying and she refused to eat and, after a little while, she
- 2 was taken care of by the young guards we could say. And she
- 3 partook in -- maybe not very actively -- but still she partook in
- 4 the daily confession sessions.
- 5 All of the guards -- when it wasn't raining at least -- would sit
- 6 around between their hut and where I was so, therefore, I was a
- 7 prime witness of this, I could really -- so, therefore, it was a
- 8 collective confession where everybody had to ask for forgiveness
- 9 for his own failings and also try to help their colleagues recall
- 10 their failings, so failings that they could not remember maybe.
- 11 So this, of course, was always the object of bickering and even
- 12 fighting, and the little girl partook in this. And then she
- 13 became, I would say -- yes, she participated in the guards' tasks
- 14 I would say.
- 15 [15.15.50]
- 16 Q. Concerning these self-criticism sessions, you are telling
- 17 me that the guards had to help each other become aware of their
- 18 individual failings. Did this mean that this was something
- 19 encouraging -- denouncing?
- 20 A. Yes, denouncing was a quality, was required in fact. We
- 21 would state, as an example, young revolutionaries who did not
- 22 hesitate accusing or having suspicions on their parents to show
- 23 that they were good revolutionaries.
- 24 Q Is this something that you heard personally or is this
- 25 something that you saw or is this something that was related to

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- 1 you later?
- 2 A. I was able myself to see examples of this kind when the
- 3 Khmer Rouge started appearing in this area of Siem Reap, a little
- 4 bit before and then afterwards, but I didn't stay there very long
- 5 -- it was in 1970, the month of May, if I remember correctly, and
- 6 very rapidly it was clear that being able to denounce someone as
- 7 an anti-revolutionary whether -- on the basis of whatever. I
- 8 mean, even if it was just on the basis of some kind of slight
- 9 form of dissident behaviour or just a simple curse, or even in
- 10 the middle of the family, not necessarily around other Khmer
- 11 Rouge, that was enough for them to be called upon to go meet
- 12 Khmer Rouge cadres or leaders. They would receive a little piece
- 13 of paper to be summoned. So this denouncing system was already
- 14 set up.
- 15 [15.18.20]
- 16 And then in the camp there was somebody; I never really knew if
- 17 he was somebody who would tell on others or -- but anyway I liked
- 18 him. He was a prisoner who, by the way, died in the camp and who
- 19 was also somebody who had been in the camp for a year and a half,
- 20 I think, in fact. He had done nothing. Well, that's not
- 21 something, of course, that is to his advantage because most times
- 22 even when you had done something it was considered that you had
- 23 done nothing.
- 24 But no matter what, there were so little against him that he was
- 25 very free, so he would come speak to me often and what he would

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- 1 tell me was maybe also a way -- I don't know if Duch was aware of
- 2 us, but it was maybe a way to try to appease me, to appear that
- 3 he was on my side, to maybe try to be sure that I was not going
- 4 to try to escape. But he told me many, many stories that he had
- 5 lived in the Khmer Rouge area and I would say that denouncing,
- 6 which is another form of lying, in fact -- it was the essence of
- 7 their, let's say, revolutionary proliferation, you could say.
- 8 Q. Regarding different categories of inmates, there were those
- 9 who were in chains and shackled, those who were not shackled.
- 10 Was there a day regime, was there a night regime? Were the
- 11 non-shackled inmates -- were there many of them?
- 12 A. No, there were not many of them and most of them were busy
- 13 doing the kitchen work. I can't tell you much about whether they
- 14 were shackled at night, those who were not shackled at day. One
- 15 of them actually ran away so perhaps they were not shackled and
- 16 this case of flight had given a hard time to the guards. A
- 17 number of them went out of the camp to try and catch him. Some
- 18 of them said that they actually caught him and killed him. I'm
- 19 not sure this is true.
- 20 [15.20.41]
- 21 Anyway, that person who was in charge of husking the rice every
- 22 morning, and who often, himself, brought me my ration, was a
- 23 rather quiet person, not talkative. We all -- when he ran away
- 24 we -- all of us of course felt pangs of longing. We would all
- 25 have wanted to do the same. Those people who were free to move

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- 1 about the camp were prisoners who had been there for a long time
- 2 and who had to some extent earned the right to not be shackled
- 3 because they had worked, because they had been -- they had abided
- 4 by the conditions that were imposed on them and had not rebelled.
- 5 So they had thus earned the right not to be shackled.
- 6 Q. You referred earlier to the guards and their behaviour as
- 7 childish. You talked about them as being very young. Could you
- 8 give us further clarifications about these guards? Were they all
- 9 children? Were some of them adults? Was there a hierarchy
- 10 amongst them?
- 11 A. I am not sure whether there was any kind of hierarchy
- 12 amongst them. Of course they did have a chief. There was Duch's
- 13 deputy who was older and there were a few Khmer Rouge cadres whom
- 14 I saw but I don't remember much about them. I remember a little
- 15 bit about one young man because he came several times. He was in
- 16 charge of organizing discussions and confessions in the evening,
- 17 confessions amongst the young guards. These were indoctrination
- 18 sessions, so to speak. But amongst themselves I would say that
- 19 there was a lot of bickering or quarrelling.
- 20 [15.23.45]
- 21 These were nice lads from the local villages. I had the
- 22 permission, on one occasion, for the preparation of the farewell
- 23 dinner that I mentioned at the beginning of my statement. I had
- 24 the permission to accompany one of these young lads to a hamlet,
- 25 rather than a village, right on the edge of the forest, to his

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- 1 mother's house where we were to go and purchase the 13 chickens
- 2 to be used for my farewell dinner.
- 3 So these were young lads from the neighbourhood. In a way they
- 4 enjoyed better treatment in terms of food rations and in terms of
- 5 the behaviour of their superiors. They enjoyed a kind of measure
- 6 of protection. There was protection for the representatives of
- 7 the people who believed in the revolution and this allowed these
- 8 children to work with the revolutionaries. So in a way they were
- 9 protected thereby and their behaviour amongst themselves was the
- 10 normal behaviour of kids having fun amongst themselves, both
- 11 cruel and perverse and at the same time endearing.
- 12 Nevertheless they were not -- I saw always the same guards over
- 13 the three months I was there but their behaviour was changeable
- 14 so you couldn't expect the lad who was nice to you on Monday to
- 15 still be nice to you on Tuesday.
- 16 Q. Now to the issue of interrogations or questioning.
- 17 Reference was made to a so-called soft method. Is this
- 18 terminology that you've actually heard when you were in M-13?
- 19 A. No, Your Honour. I used this particular phrase by way of
- 20 anachronism. In S-21 I know very well from what I have read that
- 21 there was a so-called soft method and a so-called hard method.
- 22 [15.26.41]
- 23 As far as I'm concerned, I have not wanted to refer to any
- 24 particular technique. I can simply say that I was not hit,
- 25 beaten or tortured in order for confessions to be extracted from

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- 1 me. That is what I meant.
- 2 Q. You said you were asked to draft a statement of innocence;
- 3 those were your terms. Were you asked to produce that kind of
- 4 document under that kind of terminology or were you asked to
- 5 produce confessions?
- 6 A. Well, perhaps it looks like confessions, but from my
- 7 recollection -- I don't know, perhaps I invented that term in the
- 8 meantime, but I always understood this to apply to statements of
- 9 innocence. I was supposed to draft text to prove that I was not
- 10 guilty of the charges brought against me.
- 11 So this was normally the second part of a CV; I was supposed to
- 12 draft a curriculum vitae giving all the details that were
- 13 relevant about my studies, my life, my father and mother, why I
- 14 was in Cambodia and, thereafter, I was supposed to swear about my
- 15 innocence. And to give greater grounds or solidity to what I
- 16 wrote, I was supposed to write, "I swear upon the head of my
- 17 daughter that I have never been -- whatever, whatever". So I was
- 18 supposed to state that I was innocent through these pieces of
- 19 drafting.
- 20 [15.28.50]
- 21 Q. You've also referred to what you saw in a hut on the other
- 22 side of the small river or the creek, and that you -- on the
- 23 basis of what you saw, you produced certain -- some measure of
- 24 inference, but were you ever a direct eyewitness of scenes of
- 25 violence? Did you hear shouts or screams or anything that apart

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- 1 from what you saw may allow you to believe that any kind of
- 2 violent activities were happening there?
- 3 A. No, I never heard any screams or shouts from there and I
- 4 was never the eyewitness to any form of violence during my whole
- 5 detainment -- the whole period of my detainment at M-13.
- 6 However, I do think I recollect that having been authorized to
- 7 talk to my two helpers -- my two assistants -- at the time when
- 8 Duch accepted that they be unchained like me. So we had an
- 9 opportunity to sit together and to talk as I've already stated,
- 10 Your Honour, and although they never said so outright, they were
- 11 sure that we would never be released or at least they certainly
- 12 feared that we would never be released.
- 13 And they said that here, in this place, prisoners were beaten,
- 14 were hit, they were beaten with sticks on their ribs and as every
- 15 prisoner wore a shirt -- a black-buttoned shirt -- even when the
- 16 shirt was in rags, the shirt would still be worn and, due to
- 17 this, you could not see any traces of whatever blows they may
- 18 have received. I don't think my memory fails me when I mention
- 19 this point that was revealed to me by my companions.
- 20 [15.31.30]
- 21 Q. You have talked about statements made to you by the accused
- 22 during an evening encounter. We need not dwell upon that. Could
- 23 you tell us a bit more about conversations you had with Duch
- 24 regarding relationships between the Khmer Rouge and Vietcong
- 25 Communists?

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- 1 A. One of the first things I remember mentioning to Duch was
- 2 the comment that was, at the time, quite ubiquitous, "But you
- 3 work hand-in-hand with the North Vietnamese -- you, Khmer Rouge
- 4 -- but once you will have won the battle together, do you think
- 5 they're going to just walk out and leave you alone?"
- 6 And by saying that and expressing my distrust regarding the
- 7 Vietnamese divisions that had entered Cambodia, chiefly
- 8 mentioning the name of Sihanouk as their safe conduit. And with
- 9 cigarettes, I remember seeing them coming in to villages. I
- 10 remember seeing them coming to Srah Srang, handing a cigarette to
- 11 a peasant and the only Khmer that they knew were
- 12 Sihanouk-Sihanouk, so this would be their safe conduit. And by
- 13 talking about this, I was in reference -- I was speaking in
- 14 reference to the party which at the time was already beginning to
- 15 distance itself from the co-operation, collaboration, with the
- 16 big brother from the neighbouring country.
- 17 I also -- during those conversations, I also said that when North
- 18 Vietnamese divisions arrived in the Siem Reap region and the
- 19 village where I was living, 13 kilometres north of Siem Reap, was
- 20 -- ended up being on the other side of the line of the Vietnamese
- 21 troops that surrounded Siem Reap.
- 22 [15.34.07]
- 23 I then attempted -- tried to get out to go to the Angkor
- 24 Conservation, like every morning to go to my normal workplace
- 25 without clearly realizing that the roads were blocked -- were cut

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- 1 off, and that North Vietnamese soldiers were already there.
- 2 They were positioned and so they halted -- they made me stop, and
- 3 it was an officer of theirs who came a couple of hours later to
- 4 question me. He was about 50 years-old. I was not allowed to
- 5 stand up. I had to sit -- to remain seating. He made me say my
- 6 name, write it, spell it in the sand on the ground which I did
- 7 with my finger. He asked me where I was, what I was doing here,
- 8 who I was. He said I was extremely lucky to have been arrested
- 9 by his soldiers because if I had continued -- actually, I was
- 10 captured by the North Vietnamese together with two people who
- 11 were wounded; one of them had a bullet in his stomach.
- 12 I had actually walked alongside a truck that had had an accident
- 13 on the road and another person was a young boy who'd received a
- 14 piece of shell next to that truck. And there were two people who
- 15 were still alive there; one little boy whose lower abdomen had
- 16 been opened by shrapnel, and there was that soldier with a bullet
- in his stomach -- in his belly.
- 18 And I had put them both in the car to take them to the hospital
- 19 in Siem Reap on my way to work. So I had been arrested and the
- 20 Vietnamese officer sent me back home. He said that if I had
- 21 driven only 500 metres further, I would have been shot down.
- 22 Q. I think we're moving a little bit too far away from the --
- 23 from my question. My question specifically, once again, was:
- 24 Can you tell us precisely what Duch -- what the relations,
- 25 rather, at that time between the Khmer Rouge and the North

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- 1 Vietnamese? Did you have any information about plans, about
- 2 anything that was afoot?
- 3 [15.37.21]
- 4 A. Apologies, Your Honour, I got carried away by my own
- 5 recollections. So I was given a laissez-passer by the officer,
- 6 the Vietnamese officer, for me to return to my village, and then,
- 7 I never ever moved around again without that laissez-passer, and
- 8 I have it here. To this day I have it here with me.
- 9 It is drafted in Vietnamese and it says, "Laissez passer Brother
- 10 Bizot or Comrade Bizot, so that he can go back home." This was
- 11 worded in a sufficiently broad way to be useful in many
- 12 circumstances. Later on, when I was back in Phnom Penh, in
- 13 charge of the EFEO School in Phnom Penh and when I would have to
- 14 do excursions in the countryside, I would always carry this
- 15 laissez-passer because the troops you encountered, or might
- 16 encounter, were of course Vietnamese and were not Khmer Rouge.
- 17 In those days, there were still very few Khmer Rouge.
- 18 When I was arrested, at that point, I thought this might be an
- 19 asset for me to have a Vietnamese laissez-passer. Actually I
- 20 discovered later on that this was an item that made me that much
- 21 more suspect, and Duch did not say very much about these issues
- 22 and I don't remember very clearly but I don't -- but I do think
- 23 that he was very wary about the presence of the North Vietnamese
- 24 and he perceived this as a danger, a threat for his country.
- 25 Q. So you were released from the camp. Eventually, you wrote

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- 1 a book, "Le Portail" or "The Gate" in English. In which year did
- 2 you draft this book?
- 3 A. I wrote this book in the year 2000, Your Honour.
- 4 [15.39.41]
- 5 Q. On page 26 of this book, you wrote the following: "I was,
- 6 by unfortunate circumstances, one of the witnesses. On October
- 7 10th, 1971 while conducting research at a monastery in the region
- 8 Oudong, 30 kilometres north of Phnom Penh, I was arrested and
- 9 then chained up in a Khmer Rouge detention camp. For three
- 10 months, I saw the abomination spread its cloak over the
- 11 countryside. As soon as I was released, the French embassy asked
- 12 me to translate a booklet on the political program of the United
- 13 National Front of Kampuchea that I had brought with me from the
- 14 bush. Its contents foreshadowed the horror. Already, there was
- 15 mention of the evacuation of the towns and the establishment of a
- 16 state-controlled collectivism based on a reduced population but
- 17 these warnings, duly relayed to Paris, had fallen on deaf ears
- 18 and France stubbornly maintained its support for the Khmer
- 19 Rouge."
- 20 So I would like to know, you state in this document -- do these
- 21 documents correspond to what you wrote in this book or do you
- 22 have another recollection?
- 23 A. It was during the dinner that was organized, my farewell
- 24 dinner that was organized by the Khmer Rouge leaders of the
- 25 region -- the region of Amleang -- that the highest ranking cadre

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- 1 in this dinner, the one who would speak all the time to speak to
- 2 me -- to laugh as well, to make political comments on the future
- 3 victory of the Khmer Rouge. Well, after a little while, he said
- 4 to me that he wished -- because the Khmer Rouge were already very
- 5 much present in Phnom Penh and it was therefore difficult for the
- 6 revolutionaries to get access to the embassies. So he asked me,
- 7 therefore, if I would accept bringing documents to the French
- 8 embassy, and I accepted and I took these documents. They were
- 9 put into a folder which I put in my own -- in my shirt, and I
- 10 just asked that the documents should not be too heavy.
- 11 And my release would -- also meant my return to Phnom Penh in a
- 12 republican context therefore, within which it was very much
- 13 possible that I would raise questions because, up until then, the
- 14 only prisoners who had been released were prisoners who were
- 15 Vietnamese, and the -- those who had been captured by the Khmer
- 16 Rouge had not been released.
- 17 THE INTERPRETER:
- 18 Interpreter correction: the prisoners had been captured by
- 19 Vietnamese.
- 20 MR BIZOT:
- 21 These documents contained two booklets that were printed in
- 22 Khmer. I cannot remember the title nor the content of these
- 23 booklets. However, I translated this text because -- I took a
- 24 lot of caution to do so. I was afraid of being captured if my
- 25 house was -- would be searched and, if they had found this

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- 1 document, this would have meant that I would have to leave
- 2 Cambodia and that's what I did not want. I wanted to continue
- 3 staying in Cambodia with my family and to pursue my work. That
- 4 was my only concern.
- 5 [15.45.12]
- 6 So therefore, I translated this document very, very, very
- 7 quickly. It was very, very difficult to do so and I gave this
- 8 document to the French embassy as well as the photographs that
- 9 accompanied this text. There were about 20 photographs that were
- 10 all black and white pictures that were showing Khmer Rouge
- 11 soldiers, maybe their weapons as well, and that were also showing
- 12 a few figures from the Khmer Rouge regime who were already -- had
- 13 already been suppressed by the regime. There were pictures of
- 14 Hou Yun and Hou Nim who seemed to be alive on the pictures, in
- 15 any case.
- 16 If I can remember this text more, it is because, when I started
- 17 writing, when I felt the urge to write this book -- my book -- I
- 18 noticed that I had a hard time remembering the details of that
- 19 period of my life, which was based on emotions essentially. I
- 20 wrote this book, you must understand, not as a report nor as an
- 21 account, but on -- I wrote this book on the basis of feelings,
- 22 and since this was a -- I was dealing here with a political text
- 23 so therefore how could I include it in the book. And I was lucky
- 24 enough to find in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign
- 25 Affairs and I was able to obtain a copy, not of the text I had

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- 1 trusted unfortunately but of the summary that the Chargés
- 2 d'Affaires back then, Mr. Anju (phonetic), had composed the
- 3 summary of my translation.
- 4 [15:43:02]
- 5 And this summary of my translation you can find it in the
- 6 archives of the French Foreign -- the Ministry of Foreign
- 7 Affairs. It's a text that is -- that was not that interesting, I
- 8 must say, but in any case, you can find the title. And this is
- 9 why I was able to be rather precise when I was relating the
- 10 title, this text in my book.
- 11 Q. So I'd like to specify. I'd like to specify that
- 12 verifications were conducted by the Co-Investigating Judges
- 13 concerning these documents and requests were made to the Ministry
- 14 of Foreign Affairs in France and documents were found and they're
- 15 included in the case file under Code E27.13 and E27.14. And I
- 16 believe that it would -- I think it's easy to agree that these
- 17 documents do not correspond to the descriptions you give of these
- 18 documents in your book.
- 19 In any case, I do not see, for example, there is any mention of
- 20 the evacuation of cities or the implementation of state
- 21 collectivism based on a reduced population. I do not see that in
- 22 these documents, mention of this.
- 23 A. Indeed. Indeed. This is not included in the summary of
- 24 these documents.
- 25 Q. So, therefore, you think that you were able to reconstruct

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- 1 memory, therefore, and include this information or is this
- 2 something that was already something that was existing in 1971?
- 3 A. Everything is possible, Your Honour. But I believe that I
- 4 remember in particular that there was a term that -- I had a hard
- 5 time translating this text, you must understood, but there was a
- 6 term that I translated by filthy rich. It was "riche" in French.
- 7 It was a kind of new word that I had a hard time understanding
- 8 because it meant -- rich people wasn't really the right nuance.
- 9 I translated this by well, the filthy rich and I do not believe
- 10 that I composed this text beyond its content, which I remember in
- 11 broad terms but not precisely, however, but it is probable that
- 12 the terms that I use in the book are terms that were used later
- 13 on in papers as well as in what -- in certain expressions that we
- 14 use, local collectivism, reduced populations, and these specific
- 15 terms, well, I used them concerning a text that I only remember
- 16 in general terms.
- 17 [15.50.10]
- 18 Q. Last question. You state the way that you question your
- 19 analysis of your feelings, that you state your -- how your
- 20 feelings towards Duch. And I'd like to mention a sentence in
- 21 your book, The Gate, page 428. You state the following: "Beings
- 22 who belonged to our history that time etches from our past, deep
- 23 in our memories, and even if they have been an instrument of our
- 24 unhappiness they eventually arouse a sort of affection within
- 25 us."

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- 1 So I would like to specify, when you write this sentence you're
- 2 not speaking about Duch but you're speaking about a certain
- 3 Duong, Duong who was somebody who arrested you in 1971. However,
- 4 can you apply this sentence to Duch as well, do you believe?
- 5 A. Well, The Gate was written 30 years later through the
- 6 recollection of my fears and my emotion, of my sensations back
- 7 then, which never left me over the past 38 years. And what I
- 8 relate concerning Duch and M-13 is therefore what I saw with my
- 9 own sensitivity, what I experienced then and on the basis also of
- 10 what these feelings left in me.
- 11 It's a literary approach which is based on the reconstruction of
- 12 an emotion and which, however, does not exclude that through
- 13 these emotions that stayed with me that I was -- does not exclude
- 14 the chronology that I was able to find through my emotions of the
- 15 events, and which does not exclude a certain truthfulness of what
- 16 happened in this camp.
- 17 And what Duch said or what the guard said or what I said, which I
- 18 relate in the book, I do not relate these exactly on the basis of
- 19 the exact words that were said but I relate these things on the
- 20 basis of the content of what they were communicating and on the
- 21 basis of what this meant.
- 22 [15.55.03]
- 23 And, now, you referred to a specific point, this point, this idea
- 24 of affection, that you can have affection for something even if
- 25 it has been a source of evil. I must say that my encounter with

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- 1 Duch left a print on my destiny and conditioned the entirety of
- 2 what I am today for a very simple reason and for a tragic reason
- 3 as well. It is that I owe -- I must come to terms with what's in
- 4 me in relation to a double reality, the reality of a man who was
- 5 the vector, the force of massive killing, state institutionalized
- 6 massive killing, I should say, and I cannot imagine being in his
- 7 shoes today with so much horror behind -- left behind; and on the
- 8 other hand, the recollection that I have of a young man who
- 9 committed his life and his existence to a cause and to a purpose
- 10 that was based on the idea that crime was not only legitimate but
- 11 that it was deserved. I do not know what I can make of this,
- 12 Your Honour.
- 13 My existence brought me to intimately be in contact with this
- 14 person and I cannot get rid of this idea, and I cannot rid myself
- 15 of the idea that what Duch perpetrated could also have been
- 16 perpetrated by someone else, and that by trying to understand --
- 17 I'm not trying at any moment to minimize this, of course, and to
- 18 minimize the reach and the depth and the horror of his crime;
- 19 this crime which is his.
- 20 And that's where things are particularly difficult for me. I
- 21 felt that these crimes were the crimes of a man and in order to
- 22 understand its horror -- their horror, it was certainly not by
- 23 transforming Duch into some kind of monster, but rather it was by
- 24 acknowledging in him his humanity as ours, and that is -- and
- 25 that was obviously not an obstacle, unfortunately, to the massive

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- 1 killings that were perpetrated.
- 2 [15.56.29]
- 3 And it is this awareness of this ambiguity of -- this ambiguity
- 4 in his humanity, inhumanity, that causes my tragedy, my personal
- 5 tragedy today, Your Honour.
- 6 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 7 President, I would like to ask a few questions of the accused
- 8 himself if I may. President, will you allow me to put a few
- 9 questions to the accused himself? May I put some questions to
- 10 the accused?
- 11 [16.00.40]
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 Judge Lavergne, you could proceed to ask questions to the accused
- 14 while he remains sitting at that location.
- 15 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 16 So my first question is as follows. You recall that when I asked
- 17 you questions about the conditions, the sanitary conditions for
- 18 the detainees, you said -- very firmly so -- that the inmates
- 19 could go and wash at the river. Now you've just heard what the
- 20 witness says. He says that he was the only person given that
- 21 privilege. So what could you say about this very specific point?
- 22 THE ACCUSED:
- 23 Your Honour, we both did not betray the truth. That is the
- 24 truth. When Bizot was with me we were next to a small stream
- 25 about 30 centimetres high -- deep. So he is right to say that,

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- 1 because at that time the inmates who were detained there could
- 2 not wash themselves in that stream. I personally reported
- 3 already that it was at another location when we were close to the
- 4 river.
- 5 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 6 So if I understand correctly what you are now saying, at the time
- 7 when François Bizot was detained the other prisoners did not have
- 8 the wherewithal to wash at the river. Furthermore, you will have
- 9 heard what the witness just said about lying, saying that lying
- 10 was, so to speak, the oxygen that people would breathe in the air
- 11 of M 13 and that there was the very strong presence of death, and
- 12 the witness also referred to what you said to him about torture.
- 13 That's the word that was used.
- 14 [16:04:15]
- 15 I would like to ask you what you -- what your feeling is, what
- 16 you think is. What do you think about what has been said on
- 17 these subjects?
- 18 THE ACCUSED:
- 19 Regarding the tortures, I already detailed it. First we tortured
- 20 the detainee called Kao Bun Heang. So probably that was the case
- 21 when I shared in conversation with François Bizot.
- 22 Regarding the small hut with rings, I think he did not lie to us
- 23 but those items did not belong to me. I would like to confirm
- 24 that before the establishment of M 13 there was a police office
- 25 already that was one left by the people from Hanoi. So I think

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- 1 probably that location was left over from those predecessors and
- 2 we just located at the place left over from them maybe.
- 3 I never contest the tortures we -- at that time. At least there
- 4 were two tortures, two kinds of tortures, and that's all. I
- 5 already clarified.
- 6 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 7 What is this police station manned by people from Hanoi?
- 8 THE ACCUSED:
- 9 The police office was in the same form as office of M-13 but Ta
- 10 Mok already demolished that office before the establishment of
- 11 M-13.
- 12 [16.07.36]
- 13 I was appointed as the chief of M-13 and I tried to ask Ta Mok --
- 14 to ask people to get information why Ta Mok really demolished the
- 15 police office. Because I asked that to make sure that I would
- 16 not fall in the same footsteps, I mean, to be -- got rid of by Ta
- 17 Mok.
- 18 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 19 I would like to read another excerpt from Mr. Bizot's book. It's
- 20 on page 184 and this is dialogue between yourself and François
- 21 Bizot.
- 22 François Bizot says: "I thought I overheard something about
- 23 prisoners in our camp being tied up and beaten."
- 24 And you answer, "Most of the people who arrive here" -- he
- 25 explained after a short silence -- "have been caught in the act

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- 1 of spying. It's my responsibility to interrogate them to find
- 2 out who their contacts are; what type of information they're
- 3 looking for and who is paying them. Just one of these traitors
- 4 could jeopardize our whole struggle. Do you think they're going
- 5 to reveal what they know of their own free will?"
- 6 Question by François Bizot, "But who does the beating?"
- 7 And this is your answer to François Bizot: "Ah, I cannot stand
- 8 their duplicity. The only way is to terrorize them, isolate them
- 9 and starve them. It's very tough. I have to force myself. You
- 10 can't imagine how much their lying infuriates me. When I
- 11 cross-examine them and they resort to every ruse to avoid
- 12 talking; denying our senior officers potentially vital
- 13 information, then I beat them and I beat them until I'm out of
- 14 breath myself."
- 15 [16.10.34]
- 16 Now, this description and what is in this book, does this
- 17 material evoke -- does it elicit any kind of recollection? Do
- 18 you find that it is congruent and faithful to the truth?
- 19 THE ACCUSED:
- 20 I still believe that the story that I told to Bizot was the same
- 21 story that I interrogated a spy named Kao Bun Heang. At that
- 22 time I have already reported to the judges or maybe the
- 23 Co-Prosecutor that at that time I was having malaria. I felt
- 24 dizzy.
- 25 While interrogating that person, two comrades from Hanoi walked

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- 1 freely to their place and then beat the guy and the guy confessed
- 2 that he was the spy. Having seen that I was very angry and I
- 3 was walking towards him about to beat him. Then I grabbed a whip
- 4 or stick. Then the guy begged me and then I could not beat him
- 5 because I was out of breath myself already. Then I let him to be
- 6 taken to his rest place. So it was that time that I was feeling
- 7 very bad because my health condition was not good.
- 8 [16:13:31]
- 9 So when physically I was not well and emotionally I witnessed
- 10 that situation when the two guys came to beat the guy in front of
- 11 me, then I was very emotional and I could not hold back my anger.
- 12 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 13 Apologies for interrupting you. However, from what you are
- 14 telling us should we infer that what Mr. Bizot says is not
- 15 aligned with what you said to him? Is it true or is it not true?
- 16 THE ACCUSED:
- 17 I have not read the text by Bizot clearly yet. But the story
- 18 that I still remember was that story that I just informed you,
- 19 Your Honours.
- 20 [16.15.08]
- 21 For the time being, right in front of you, I am not yet in the
- 22 position to object to that story because the story had happened
- 23 30 years ago, more than 30 years ago. Could you please leave us
- 24 -- give us some time to reconsider the matter among ourselves?
- 25 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

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- 1 Just a detail that I would like to ask, do you have the book by
- 2 Bizot? I think this book has been given to you, a copy has been
- 3 given to you by your lawyers and you have not read it?
- 4 THE ACCUSED:
- 5 No, I don't have it. At page 169 he talks about the loss of Lay
- 6 and Son.
- 7 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 8 You remember the page number but you don't remember what is
- 9 written about torture in that book?
- 10 THE ACCUSED:
- 11 I think the matter of torturings or crimes against humanity it is
- 12 true, and I know that when François Bizot was with me I never
- 13 beat him or punish him. So I observed his sorrow or his sadness
- 14 and his gratitude toward Lay and Son.
- 15 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 16 One last question. Much has said about your desire to know the
- 17 truth. Much has been said about your hatred for lying. You hate
- 18 lying. I would like to ask you to confirm what is in Document
- 19 D67 of the file. This is one of the interviews of you. And the
- 20 Co-Investigating Judges ask the following question in that
- 21 session: "This..." -- I'm quoting. And the ERN number is
- 22 00177645. That's at least the French number. D67, D67 is the
- 23 reference number of the document.
- 24 [16.18.21]
- 25 So the question asked is as follows: "This brings us on to

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- 1 asking you about the value that you see or that you saw in the
- 2 content of the confessions. Did you believe that these
- 3 confessions reflected the truth? Have your feelings about this
- 4 changed over the years? Have you started to think differently
- 5 about this?"
- 6 You then explain a number of things about S-21. We shall return
- 7 to this possibly later on. But you also say the following a
- 8 little bit further down. I quote:
- 9 "In fact, as early as M-13, the M-13 period, I knew that
- 10 confessions did not reflect the truth. I was forced to work in
- 11 the service or to serve a criminal organization all my life and I
- 12 take due responsibility for that fact."
- 13 Have you heard what I have just read out to you and have you
- 14 understood? Do you have any comments?
- 15 THE ACCUSED:
- 16 I have heard and the statement, Your Honour, just read out and it
- 17 is, of course, the statement about my position on my analysis on
- 18 the confessions taken by torture. And I still acknowledge that
- 19 this is the crimes that cannot be denied.
- 20 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 21 My question was more specific. You say specifically and
- 22 literally, "as early as the period of M-13, I knew that
- 23 confessions did not reflect the truth". That is what you say.
- 24 So can you now confirm that you knew that the confessions were
- 25 not the truth?

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- 1 [16.20.56]
- 2 THE ACCUSED:
- 3 I still maintain that the confession --
- 4 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 5 Could you repeat the last sentence, your last sentence, sir,
- 6 because I believe there was possibly a translation mistake.
- 7 THE ACCUSED:
- 8 I still maintain that all the confessions we obtained did not
- 9 reflect the truth, maybe 20 percent only that reflects, 20
- 10 percent maybe the most. Twenty percent of those confessions
- 11 reflected the truth.
- 12 And regarding the people who were implicated in such confessions,
- 13 so there was only 10 percent of truth in them.
- 14 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 15 Was there one kind of truth that was political truth and the
- 16 truth that had to be in conformity with -- well, some kind of
- 17 proletarian truth and there had to be some kind of difference
- 18 from some other kind of truth?
- 19 [16.22.56]
- 20 THE ACCUSED:
- 21 Your Honour, could you please leave me some time to consider
- 22 these deeply because it is rather complicated before I can make a
- 23 clear response?
- 24 I think -- could you please rephrase Your Honour's question by
- 25 splitting into more simplified wordings?

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- 1 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 2 You said that 20 percent only of the confessions were true
- 3 basically. Only 20 of them were true. So my question is as
- 4 follows: For the rest would you say that the confessions were in
- 5 conformity with some kind of truth that was not objective truth
- 6 but it was the kind of truth that was made desirable by the Party
- 7 line, by the proletarian ideology? Would that validate a
- 8 different kind of truth?
- 9 THE ACCUSED:
- 10 That percentage that I referred to as not reflecting the truth,
- 11 which was about 20 percent only, when we arrested a lot of people
- 12 some people who only conducted revolutionary activities but they
- 13 were accused of being the insiders. Therefore, I may pick up the
- 14 confession of Kuy Thuon. I did not read that confession but the
- 15 upper echelon read that confession. They say that the confession
- 16 was truth -- true. But for me, I still balanced between the
- 17 traitorous activities or the revolutionary activities because Kuy
- 18 Thuon said he was -- he done that because of the order from the
- 19 CIA, for example.
- 20 So the reason that I said that the confessions were not true
- 21 because it is consistent with that situation.
- 22 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 23 Really my last question now; you've heard what has been said
- 24 about the acts of denouncing. Do you understand what denouncing
- 25 is? Did you not hear the question? ...

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- 1 THE ACCUSED:
- 2 No, I have heard the question, but I don't understand the word
- 3 'délation' in French.
- 4 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 5 Délation, denouncing, is the act of denouncing, of telling on
- 6 somebody else.
- 7 So was this kind of behaviour part of the principles that people
- 8 were supposed to apply to become a good revolutionary? You heard
- 9 what was said earlier on: it was good to be able to denounce
- 10 your own father and mother.
- 11 A. This is the matter of theory. I heard this, it was said
- 12 long ago, even when I was detained at the main prison. It was
- 13 said about Vietnamese cadres who arrested their fathers and then
- 14 they pleaded before the father before -- and said -- saying, you
- 15 know, like "Sorry" before they shot their father.
- 16 [16.28.42]
- 17 In practice, I already reported to Your Honours, I do not like
- 18 allowing the subordinates, the children, to report or denounce
- 19 their parents. So I never wanted anyone to denounce their
- 20 parents.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 It is now time to break, so the Chamber would like to adjourn the
- 23 session now. The hearing will be resumed tomorrow at 9 a.m., so
- 24 I would like now to ask the security guards to take the accused
- 25 back to the detention facility and bring him here before 9 a.m.

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1	Mr. François Bizot, since you are going to be heard also from 9
2	a.m., we would like you to come back to the courtroom starting
3	from 9 a.m. tomorrow, and I would like the Court Officer to
4	facilitate with Mr. François Bizot so that he can go back to his
5	place and then come back to the Court on time.
6	And I would like to tell the public and parties to please come
7	back to the courtroom before 9 a.m. Thank you. The Court is
8	adjourned.
9	(Court adjourns at 1631H)
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