

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

ព្រះពទាសាខក្រឧត់ ទា

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

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Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

TRANSCRIPT OF TRIAL PROCEEDINGS PUBLIC

Case File Nº 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC

20 June 2016 Trial Day 421

Before the Judges: NIL Nonn, Presiding

Claudia FENZ

Jean-Marc LAVERGNE

YA Sokhan

YOU Ottara

Martin KAROPKIN (Reserve) THOU Mony (Reserve)

The Accused:

KHIEU Samphan

NUON Chea

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List of Speakers:

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language
Judge FENZ	English
The GREFFIER	Khmer
Mr. KAING Guek Eav (2-TCW-916)	Khmer
Mr. KOPPE	English
Judge LAVERGNE	French
Mr. LYSAK	English
The President (NIL Nonn)	Khmer

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- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Court opens at 0901H)
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Please be seated. The Court is now in session.
- 5 Today, the Chamber continues to hear testimony of witness Kaing
- 6 Guek Eav alias Duch.
- 7 Mr. Em Hoy, please report the attendance of the parties and other
- 8 individuals to today's proceedings.
- 9 THE GREFFIER:
- 10 Mr. President, for today's proceedings, all parties to this case
- 11 are present.
- 12 Mr. Nuon Chea is present in the holding cell downstairs. He has
- 13 waived his right to be present in the courtroom. The waiver has
- 14 been delivered to the greffier.
- 15 The witness who is to continue his testimony today -- that is,
- 16 Kaing Guek Eav alias Duch, is present in the courtroom.
- 17 Thank you.
- 18 [09.03.05]
- 19 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 20 Thank you, Mr. Em Hoy. The Chamber now decides on the request by
- 21 Nuon Chea.
- 22 The Chamber has received a waiver from Nuon Chea dated 20 June
- 23 2016 which states that, due to his health, that is, headache,
- 24 back pain, he cannot sit or concentrate for long. And in order to
- 25 effectively participate in future hearings, he requests to waive

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- 1 his right to be present at the 20 June 2016 hearing.
- 2 He advises that his counsel advised him about the consequence of
- 3 this waiver, that in no way it can be construed as a waiver of
- 4 his rights to be tried fairly or to challenge evidence presented
- 5 to or admitted by this Court at any time during this trial.
- 6 Having seen the medical report of Nuon Chea by the duty doctor
- 7 for the accused at the ECCC dated 20 June 2016, which notes that
- 8 Nuon Chea has back pain and feels dizzy when he gets up and
- 9 recommends that the Chamber shall grant him his request so that
- 10 he can follow the proceedings remotely from the holding cell
- 11 downstairs, based on the above information and pursuant to Rule
- 12 81.5 of the ECCC Internal Rules, the Chamber grants Nuon Chea his
- 13 request to follow today's proceedings remotely from the holding
- 14 cell downstairs via an audio-visual means.
- 15 [09.04.46]
- 16 The Chamber instructs the AV Unit personnel to link the
- 17 proceedings to the room downstairs so that Nuon Chea can follow.
- 18 That applies for the whole day.
- 19 Before I hand the floor to the Defence Counsel for Nuon Chea, I
- 20 would like to mention six documents in order to get clarification
- 21 from witness. Court officer, please deliver the documents to the
- 22 witness and have the AV Unit display it one at a time on screen.
- 23 QUESTIONING BY MR. PRESIDENT RESUMES:
- Q. Duch, I placed the documents in order from 1 to 6, and I'd
- 25 like to ask you about these documents. The first one is E3/3689,

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- and ERN in Khmer is 00174874; English, 00221784; and French,
- 2 00326427 (sic).
- 3 This document is a confession of Lun En, commander of Battalion
- 4 705, Regiment <601> and Division <174>. Please review the
- 5 document, and I have a few questions to put to you. And I will
- 6 not delve into the content of this confession, but I'd like to
- 7 ask you about the annotation which is now marked in red square.
- 8 [09.07.06]
- 9 The first one is to the top <>. Could you please read it <>?
- 10 However, firstly, can you tell the Chamber if you identify this
- 11 document?
- 12 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 13 A. Mr. President, I have not seen this document before. However,
- 14 I believe that the handwriting is recognizable. The first top
- 15 handwriting, I tried to read it, but it is not legible.
- 16 As the second box at the bottom, it's about <Lun En's background
- 17 and activities>. Is -- the handwriting belongs to Son Sen, and it
- 18 reads "A copy sent to Brother Nuon", that's what I can read.
- 19 O. Thank you. And the document is dated 21 October '77. And for
- 20 the parties -- that is for the parties' information.
- 21 Now I move to the second document, and please refer to the second
- 22 document, Witness. It's E3/1831, and the ERN in Khmer is
- 23 00005463; and in English, 00831455; and in French, 00343398.
- 24 Witness, please review that document, and I'd like to ask you
- 25 about the handwriting which is now in red square. First tell the

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- 1 Chamber if you can identify this document.
- 2 [09.09.57]
- 3 A. I do not recognize this document. As for Division 174, I do
- 4 not have any recollection about that division. As for the
- 5 annotation in the red square or red box <on the top left>, I am
- 6 not sure if I can read it properly, and it could mean that, "It
- 7 is not thoroughly read". However, the handwriting belonged to Son
- 8 Sen.
- 9 To the bottom part, that is, the second red box, "A copy sent to
- 10 Brother Nuon" came with that, and I believe it is Son Sen's
- 11 handwriting.
- 12 Q. Thank you. And this document is dated 22nd October '77. Now I
- 13 move on to the third document.
- 14 Witness, please also refer to the third document, and it is
- 15 E3/1889. ERN in Khmer is 00001378; and in English, 00796688; and
- 16 in French, 00763394. This is a confession of Sao Tong Ly, and the
- 17 date is 22nd October '77.
- 18 [09.12.07]
- 19 And Witness, do you recognize this document? That is the first
- 20 question. And the second question is, please read the annotations
- 21 in the red boxes starting from the first top left box.
- 22 You may review it first and tell the Chamber if you identified it
- 23 and, second, if you identify the handwriting in the annotations.
- 24 A. Mr. President, this person Sao Tong Ly, I do not recall his
- 25 name offhand. Second, the handwriting is of Son Sen, and I can

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- 1 read it clearly. And the first box reads, "Not yet read".
- 2 And below that, there is another box, and it is -- it is read
- 3 "Northwest", so it means this document is involved the Northwest
- 4 Zone.
- 5 As for the further right box, it reads, "Two copies to Brother
- 6 Nuon" and in the bracket "Not yet read". And the second line is
- 7 the date, that is, "9 November '77".
- 8 [09.14.05]
- 9 Q. Thank you. Please refer to the next document, that is,
- 10 E3/3665, and Khmer ERN is at 00174111; and in English, 002264 --
- 11 rather, 224634; and in French, 00386361. To me, I cannot read the
- 12 handwriting. However, the date seems to be of <18> October '77
- 13 since it's part of a compilation of similar documents.
- 14 And what I -- and this document is a confession of Pheng <Sun>,
- 15 alias Chey.
- 16 My first question to you is whether you can identify this
- 17 document and, second, if you identify the annotations in the red
- 18 boxes. And if so, please tell the Chamber whose handwriting it
- 19 is.
- 20 A. Thank you, Mr. President. In the top left red box, it is Son
- 21 Sen's handwriting. And it reads, "Already gave one copy to
- 22 Brother Nuon", and the date is "22nd October '77".
- 23 [09.16.28]
- Q. Thank you. And to the right, I haven't put in a red box, but
- 25 it reads, "PP" and a half sign. Can you tell the Chamber what it

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- 1 means?
- 2 A. Thank you, Mr. President. The shorthand of "PP" and "half"
- 3 could be used by Son Sen and Brother Nuon as well. It means that
- 4 -- the Central Zone.
- 5 Q. And now I refer to the fifth document, that is, E3/1839. And
- 6 at Khmer, ERN 00004351; English, 00835986; and French, 00766985;
- 7 and the date is 25th October '77. And I have two points that I'd
- 8 like to ask you to confirm, and they are in red boxes.
- 9 And I believe the second box has already been clarified by you
- 10 just then. And there is another box to the bottom, so as usual,
- 11 first tell the Chamber whether you identify this document,
- 12 second, if you identify the handwriting and read it to the
- 13 Chamber.
- 14 A. The name on this document is Di Leng, alias Pheap, and
- 15 Division 174. I do not recall any of these particulars. It could
- 16 be a division that belongs to the Central Zone.
- 17 And the annotation in the first top left corner, it is read
- 18 rather clear, and it reads, "Not yet read thoroughly". And the
- 19 handwriting belongs to Son Sen. The middle box, it reads, "PP"
- 20 and <"Middle">. And <> it <also> refers to the Central Zone. And
- in fact, the third line reads "Central Zone".
- 22 And for the bottom annotation, it's Son Sen's handwriting, and it
- 23 reads, "A copy is given to Brother Nuon".
- 24 [09.20.07]
- 25 Q. Thank you. And the last document that I'd like you to clarify

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- 1 is E3/3683. And it is on Khmer page 00174734; English is at
- 2 00221781; and French, <00289871>. Again, please review this
- document. And the date of this document is 10 October '77.
- 4 I put a red box around the annotation that is to the bottom left
- 5 of the page. Please tell the Chamber if you identify this
- 6 document. Second, if you can read the annotation, please read it
- 7 to the Chamber and tell the Chamber whose handwriting it is.
- 8 A. Mr. President, allow me to talk briefly about this document.
- 9 The person who confessed is Um Chhoeun, alias Mai, and I
- 10 recognize this name. And this person was brought to S-21. Um
- 11 Chhoeun, alias Mai, was also a professor like myself. However,
- 12 since 1968, Brother Mok assigned him to work at the Northwest
- 13 Zone. And later on, he was arrested and sent to S-21.
- 14 [09.22.29]
- 15 As for the annotation in the red box, I can only read part of it.
- 16 The first part, I cannot read it. And in the bracket, it reads
- 17 "Comrade Khieu sent it to Comrade Nhim". And the date is "15
- 18 November '77".
- 19 And in fact, below that, it said "Not yet read", <> it's the same
- 20 handwriting <as the annotation in this box>.
- 21 And as for the owner of the handwriting, in particular the last
- 22 part, <it could be> Brother Nuon's handwriting. It's bigger and
- 23 it's easier to read. And the handwriting there is "Not yet read".
- 24 I hope I respond -- have responded to all your questions.
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

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- 1 Thank you. Indeed, you have responded to all the questions that
- 2 I'd like to ask you.
- 3 So it's better to clear all these things up, and it is good that
- 4 you mentioned the big handwriting which is read "Not yet read".
- 5 And thank you.
- 6 And Judge Lavergne, it seems that you want to put a question to
- 7 the witness. You may proceed.
- 8 [09.24.28]
- 9 QUESTIONING BY JUDGE LAVERGNE RESUMES:
- 10 Yes. Thank you, Mr. President.
- 11 Q. Witness, most of these documents date to October or November
- 12 1977. You said that there was a very important date which was 15
- 13 August 1977, as of which you reported directly to Nuon Chea.
- 14 It appears, when we read these documents, that you <were>
- 15 addressing these confessions first to Son Sen.
- 16 So do these documents refresh your memory in any way regarding
- 17 the people you would report to and the way things were organized?
- 18 [09.25.20]
- 19 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 20 A. Thank you, Your Honour.
- 21 I'd like to make a detailed response regarding this matter so it
- 22 is clear to the Chamber.
- 23 Brother Son Sen departed -- left <>, that is, on the 15 August
- 24 '77. I did not see him since that date.
- 25 And the first document that I sent to him was my letter <stating>

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- 1 that young interrogators seemed to want to use torture. And that
- 2 letter was sent to him -- rather, was given to him before his
- 3 departure.
- 4 And later on, he wrote a reply, and I knew that Son Sen's
- 5 handwriting was difficult to read, so I asked my staff to
- 6 actually type it and make a copy so that interrogators could
- 7 stick it on the wall in the interrogation room because that is
- 8 <an instruction> of the Party. And I do not recall the date of
- 9 that document.
- 10 And during the previous proceedings, I wanted to read those
- 11 letters from Son Sen <> regarding torture, and I was interviewed
- 12 by Rithy Panh for his movie, and he provided me the document. So
- 13 I recalled that that letter was sent to me from Son Sen on the
- 14 5th of October '77.
- 15 So that was later than the 15 of August <>.
- 16 Upon given the letter <> to me by Rithy Panh, then I recalled the
- 17 date of that document.
- 18 And Brother Son Sen went to the front battlefield, and whenever
- 19 870 or Pol Pot> required him to work> or to be in Phnom Penh,
- 20 he would return <under> the instruction of Pol Pot <or 870> and
- 21 sometimes he also worked on S-21 documents.
- 22 [09.27.59]
- 23 I was shown some documents during my testimony or during the
- 24 proceedings in Case 001 and I observed that those documents that
- 25 he annotated, most of those letters were dated 11 November '77.

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- 1 And I only observed that there was only one document dated 25th
- 2 November '77. That's why I made my conclusion to the Chamber and
- 3 during my confrontation <yesterday> with Counsel Koppe regarding
- 4 the dates.
- 5 <I clarified that these three documents came at different dates,>
- 6 and I confirmed that Son Sen departed me, but he still worked on
- 7 some remaining documents at S-21, so the three dates include the
- 8 5th October <>, 11 of November '77 and, lastly, 25th November
- 9 '77.
- 10 [09.29.13]
- 11 However, as I said, most of the documents that you provided me
- 12 are the documents that S-21 sent to 870, and it seems that only
- 13 one of these documents had his annotation <in> return. And the
- 14 date is 9 November '77 from Son Sen, and another document dated
- 15 22nd October '77.
- 16 So these annotations were all made after 15 August '77. And the
- 17 sixth document, that is, E3/3683, Son Sen dated it as 14 November
- 18 '77, and the handwriting that I concluded that it was Brother
- 19 Nuon's handwriting dated the 15th of the same month and year.
- 20 So based on my analysis and review of those documents, I still
- 21 stand by my statement that I stopped seeing Son Sen, starting
- 22 from 15 August '77 and these annotations have dates after 15
- 23 August '77, because Son Sen was called by 870 to <work with them
- 24 and at the same time, he tried to> finish off his remaining work
- 25 <at S-21>. So he worked together with Brother Nuon.

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- 1 And I believe my response is detailed.
- 2 [09.31.13]
- 3 O. I would like you to make one more clarification.
- 4 When confessions were addressed by you, yourself, <or by> the
- 5 Office S-21, to whom were they sent? Were they sent to Son Sen,
- 6 were they sent to Nuon Chea or they were sent to Office 870,
- 7 without you knowing the real <recipient>? Do you know to whom the
- 8 confessions you sent were given?
- 9 A. Thank you, Your Honour.
- 10 When Son Sen did not go to the battlefield yet, I sent the
- 11 documents to Son Sen, Brother Son Sen, <> through <his>
- 12 messengers, namely, Phorn and <Noeun>. <Phorn> came frequently to
- 13 S-21 to collect the documents. And on the documents, I made
- 14 annotation that "To Brother 62".
- 15 He used this code when he worked with S-21, and <when he worked
- 16 with the Division>, the code <> was <Brother> 89.
- 17 However, after Son Sen went to battlefield, Toeung came to
- 18 collect the documents, Chiv also came to get the documents and,
- 19 later, <Chiv> changed his name to Sot.
- 20 [09.33.09]
- 21 They came to collect the documents after Son Sen had gone, so the
- 22 instructions from the upper echelon were clear concerning who
- 23 would come to collect the documents, and particularly the
- 24 documents of S-21 that I am referring to.
- 25 No one dared to come and collect the document without the clear

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- 1 or appropriate instructions from the upper echelon, so those who
- 2 came to get the documents from me, the first person who came to
- 3 -- came to collect documents after Son Sen had gone was Toeung,
- 4 <and> Chiv <alias Sot>, <later on, Pang, Lin or> Ky, the chief of
- 5 Office K-7, messenger of the Centre, also came to collect the
- 6 documents. <After Pang was arrested, only Lin was responsible to
- 7 collect the documents.> This is -- concerns -- this is concerning
- 8 the persons who came to collect the documents from me, Your
- 9 Honour.
- 10 Q. So if I were to sum up what you've said, you've stated before
- 11 the 15th of August 1977, you gave the documents -- can you hear
- 12 the translation?
- 13 That is, before the 15th of August 1977, you gave the documents
- 14 to messengers, whom you knew were Son Sen's personal messengers.
- 15 After the 15th of August 1977, there was a change in the group of
- 16 messengers, and the messengers at this time were from the Centre.
- 17 Did I properly understand your testimony?
- 18 [09.35.21]
- 19 A. You confuse -- you are confused with the date 17 August. At
- 20 the time, I raised my hand that I wanted to change the date, but
- 21 you made the correction already, the 15 August.
- 22 Your summary is correct, Toeung and Chiv, alias Sot, were not the
- 23 messengers of the Centre. They were Nuon Chea's messengers.
- 24 Q. Very well. Once again, before the 15th of August 1977, the
- 25 messengers who came to get the confessions were Son Sen's

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- 1 messengers. After that date, it was Nuon Chea's messengers.
- 2 Is that correct?
- 3 [09.36.24]
- 4 A. After that date, yes, messengers of Brother Nuon, Toeung and
- 5 Sot, came to collect the documents. And there was one time when
- 6 Nuon Chea went to a visit in China. < After that time, messengers
- 7 of the Centre, Pang, <and> Ky also came to collect the documents
- 8 under the instructions of the upper echelon, not only Toeung came
- 9 to collect the documents. After the date 15 August 1977, Pang,
- 10 <or> Ky also came to collect the documents under the instructions
- 11 of the superiors above.
- 12 Q. On <a large part of these> documents, you recognized Son Sen's
- 13 handwriting. For how long had you known Son Sen's handwriting?
- 14 <And on what basis can you confirm that it is indeed> Son Sen's
- 15 handwriting<?>
- 16 A. Your Honour, I started to recognize Son Sen's handwriting from
- 17 1973, at the time, he issued a laissez passer to me when I was
- 18 working at M-13.
- 19 And <> I confirmed the handwriting of Son Sen in relation to the
- 20 date of annotation of 5th October 1977. Again, I started to
- 21 recognize Son Sen's handwriting from 1973 when he issued a
- 22 laissez passer to me when I was at M-13. And after that period, I
- 23 had frequently seen his handwriting <until the time Phnom Penh
- 24 fell, his handwriting was then not as easy to read as the
- 25 handwriting on the laissez passer he issued for me>.

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- 1 And in 1986, there was another time when I went to see Son Sen.
- 2 <In 1988, > I came back from China. His handwriting, at the time,
- 3 was becoming so messy or so complicated, and it <was> difficult
- 4 <for me> to read from that time onward. <It was read to me
- 5 instead by young staff at an office.>
- 6 So in summary, I started to recognize his handwriting in 1973, on
- 7 my laissez passer.
- 8 [09.39.38]
- 9 Q. Very well. On the last document presented to you, you have
- 10 stated, if I do understand you correctly, that, according to you,
- 11 it was Nuon Chea's handwriting. Is that something you inferred or
- 12 <did> you <have> a basis for asserting that it was, indeed, Nuon
- 13 Chea's handwriting, and for how long had you known his
- 14 handwriting?
- 15 A. Your Honour, Brother Nuon's handwriting was recognized by me
- 16 since the time he went to supervise me. He never issued a laissez
- 17 passer for me, but he sent me <> short notes with the name Buon
- 18 (phonetic), not <Nuon>, at the time. And those notes were
- 19 received by me after 15 August 1977 up to 6 January 1979.
- 20 [09.41.09]
- 21 Four of them, four short notes with the square handwritings were
- 22 given to me. That is why I could recognize his handwriting. And a
- 23 while ago, I said it is easy for me -- it was easy for me to read
- 24 the big handwriting, and that handwriting belongs to Brother
- 25 Nuon. <So, I recognized his handwriting not because I saw that

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- 1 his position was Son Sen's superior, but because I recognized it
- 2 as I used to see his handwriting. When I fled after the arrival
- 3 of the Vietnamese, I clipped those short notes from Brother Nuon
- 4 together and kept them> at my house. And those short notes can be
- 5 the evidence to show that the handwritings belong to Nuon Chea.
- 6 Q. I didn't quite understand<, what do you have at home and what
- 7 do you call "home"?> What notes <do you want to talk about>?
- 8 A. Thank you for the question for clarification.
- 9 I told the Chamber already that Brother Nuon did not contact me
- 10 on the telephone communication, and in case of <necessity>, he
- 11 would send me short notes with four or -- with three or four
- 12 lines to me <>.
- 13 From 15 August 1977 up to 6 January 1979, when I fled, he wrote
- 14 me four <to five> short notes or letters, <five> of them,
- 15 perhaps. And <> those small notes <were> kept by me in a separate
- 16 folder. <I clipped those notes together> and <I kept> those <>
- 17 notes in <a>> folder <at my house>. And those notes can be as the
- 18 evidence to show to the Court Nuon Chea's handwriting.
- 19 [09.43.55]
- 20 Q. And today, where <is this folder>?
- 21 A. The -- in fact, the folder was kept by me at my house <on
- 22 Monivong Boulevard>, and I did not bring <it> along when I fled.
- 23 I only got a pen with me when I fled. And the documents together
- 24 with those notes at my house were collected -- had been collected
- 25 <already> after the regime.

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- 1 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 2 Well, thank you for these explanations.
- 3 I have no further questions for the witness, Mr. President.
- 4 [09.44.57]
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 I thank you very much.
- 7 And the floor is now given to the defence team for Mr. Nuon Chea,
- 8 to put questions to the witness.
- 9 You may proceed now, Counsel.
- 10 QUESTIONING BY MR. KOPPE:
- 11 Thank you, Mr. President. And good morning, Your Honours . Good
- 12 morning, counsel. Good morning, Mr. Witness.
- 13 Q. Let me follow up on this subject, the dates or the time that
- 14 Son Sen went to the battlefield. It was the subject I was
- 15 discussing with you last Thursday.
- 16 It seems that in your testimony, there are two crucial dates. One
- 17 is the 15th of August 1977, the day Son Sen went to the
- 18 battlefield, and 25th of November 1977. That is the day that you
- 19 said that Son Sen's last signature could be seen. And I believe
- 20 you concluded that on having read the case file.
- 21 Now, let's keep those two dates in mind, 15 August and the 25th
- of November '77.
- 23 [09.46.26]
- 24 As I said, crucial in your testimony is that Son Sen had left
- 25 Phnom Penh and was at Neak Loeang at the battlefield.

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- 1 Mr. Witness, I would like to start with you, reading some
- 2 excerpts from Radio Phnom Penh, or from the Phnom Penh News
- 3 Service.
- 4 Mr. President, I'll be referring to some FBIS reports, of which
- 5 there are no Khmer and French translations, only English. The
- 6 first document that I'll be using is E3/143; English, ERN
- 7 00168769.
- 8 It's a report, Mr. Witness, from 28 September 1977. And it's a
- 9 report about a delegation led by Pol Pot leaving Democratic
- 10 Kampuchea to go to China.
- 11 [09.47.48]
- 12 And in this document, it describes the delegation and it also
- 13 describes the delegation seeing Pol Pot off at Pochentong
- 14 airport. And the delegation seeing Pol Pot leave for China on the
- 15 28th of September consists of Comrade Khieu Samphan, chairman of
- 16 the State Presidium, Comrade Nuon Chea, chairman of the Standing
- 17 Committee of the Cambodia People's Representative Assembly, Cheng
- 18 An, Ieng Thirith, Mey Prang, Yun Yat, Comrade Savat and also Son
- 19 Sen.
- 20 So according to this radio report or broadcast report, Son Sen
- 21 was saying goodbye to Pol Pot on the 28th of September 1977, and
- 22 I presume could not have been, that day -- on that day at the
- 23 battlefield.
- 24 Can you give me your reaction?
- 25 [09.49.24]

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- 1 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 2 A. Mr. President, I would like to respond to the question of
- 3 Koppe as follows.
- 4 Once again, I would like to make a clarification for the Chamber.
- 5 The date 15 August '77 and the date 25th November 1977, were made
- 6 mention clearly by me when I answered the question by Judge
- 7 Lavergne. It was clear at the time.
- 8 Fifteen August 1977, was the date when <> Brother Son Sen <left,>
- 9 from that time onwards, although sometime I had the occasions to
- 10 see him. <The document dated 25th was the last document that I
- 11 saw with his signature. > And <it> was shown <to me> in the
- 12 proceedings Case 001 against me <or this Case>.
- 13 [09.50.45]
- 14 The date -- first date, 15 August '77, was the date when I
- 15 separated from him, and 25/11/77, was seen by me on the document
- 16 when I was shown in the proceedings in Case 001 against me <or
- 17 this Case>.
- 18 Brother Son Sen was the member of Politburo of the Party Centre.
- 19 <Brother Pol could call on him at any time. > The distant from
- 20 Neak Loeang to Phnom Penh was about 60 kilometres, and the road
- 21 condition back then was good.
- 22 He could come with no difficulty, so Brother Son Sen could come
- 23 to Phnom Penh any time <Brother Pol> wanted.
- 24 [09.51.36]
- 25 And the same happened on the date when he saw Pol Pot's -- Pol

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- 1 Pot off <to China>. That was the matter between the Party
- 2 <Centre> and the Brother Son Sen. To my recollection, Pol Pot
- 3 went to China on the 27 <>. And I believe that <I knew the names
- 4 of all> those people <who> came to see Pol Pot off at the time.
- 5 Q. Well, Mr. Witness, it wasn't only on the 28th of September
- 6 that Son Sen apparently found the time to travel to Phnom Penh.
- 7 On the 27th of November '77, the President of Burma visited DK.
- 8 Mr. President, E3/291, English ERN only, 00168600; describes the
- 9 visit of His Excellency, U Ne Win, President of Burma. And
- 10 present at the meeting receiving him were Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary,
- 11 Vorn Vet, Thiounn Thioeunn, Yun Yat, others and, again, Son Sen.
- 12 Can you react to that, please?
- 13 [09.53.23]
- 14 A. Thank you, counsel.
- 15 The President of Burma back then was not U Ne Win, to my
- 16 recollection. And perhaps it was U Maung Maung Kha, the -- who
- 17 was the President of Burma. But I did not discuss -- I will not
- 18 discuss this issue, the President of Burma. I am now answering
- 19 the question of Counsel Koppe.
- 20 Son Sen was the member of the Political Bureau of the Party
- 21 Centre, so the -- concerning the secret issues or <non secretive
- 22 issues or concerning the fact that he came to greet any
- 23 particular dignitaries, he would come when he was invited from
- 24 Neak Loeang to Phnom Penh. And the distance from that to Phnom
- 25 Penh was not far. <So, he could come anytime on demand of 870 or

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- 1 the Politburo of the Party Centre.>
- 2 [09.54.39]
- 3 Q. That's fine. In the same document, E3/291, English ERN only,
- 4 00168605, which relates a radio broadcast on the 29th of
- 5 November, two days later, there, the President of Burma is being
- 6 said goodbye. And it says that Son Sen and others, "joined the
- 7 motorcade from the state guest place or palace to Pochentong
- 8 airport, where President Ne Win and the others were greeted."
- 9 So Son Sen welcomed him and told him goodbye two days later, so
- 10 he was in Phnom Penh for all those days. And it seems he was also
- in Phnom Penh on the 3rd of December 1977 saying welcome to a
- 12 very high Chinese delegation.
- 13 Mr. President, I'll be -- I'm referring now to E3/1339, English
- 14 ERN only, 00168316. It's the visit of Standing Committee member
- 15 of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Yonggui. He's visiting on
- 16 the 3rd of December and he's leaving on the 15th of December, and
- 17 Son Sen is also saying goodbye.
- 18 So it seems, Mr. Witness, that Son Sen was also in Phnom Penh in
- 19 December. And he didn't talk to you then or he didn't visit you?
- 20 A. Thank you. Concerning the case that Son Sen came to Phnom Penh
- 21 under the invitation of 87 -- 870, it is clear for all of us. I
- 22 will not discuss further.
- 23 Chen Yonggui was, in fact, came to -- coming to Cambodia, <> and
- 24 870 held a special receipt celebration -- celebration for Chen
- 25 Yonggui. Son Sen was the member of Politburo or Party member, and

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- 1 he was the deputy prime minister and Minister of the National
- 2 Defence.
- 3 He had the role to come and receive and also see Chen Yonggui off
- 4 as the deputy prime minister and Minister of National Defence.
- 5 [09.58.03]
- 6 Q. What I don't understand, Mr. Witness, if it was so easy for
- 7 Son Sen to travel between Neak Loeang and Phnom Penh, why was it
- 8 that he had transferred his duties to Nuon Chea on the 15th of
- 9 August 1977?
- 10 A. Brother Son Sen did not hand over the authority to Brother
- 11 Nuon Chea. Brother Nuon Chea was the second in CPK, and Son Sen
- 12 was the seventh. <He held higher position than Son Sen.>
- 13 After Son Sen had gone to the battlefield, Brother Nuon Chea came
- 14 to supervise me through Pang.
- 15 No, it did not -- it was not Brother Son Sen transferring the
- 16 authority to Nuon Chea. Brother Nuon Chea came to supervise me
- 17 directly.
- 18 [09.59.37]
- 19 Before that, <he> supervised me <through Son Sen> and, later on,
- 20 <after Son Sen went to the battlefield, > it was Nuon Chea who
- 21 supervised me <directly>. <But for some tasks, he ordered Pang to
- 22 supervise me.>
- 23 This is the working approaches of 870. Evidence -- remaining
- 24 evidence shows that Son Sen came to Phnom Penh on a frequent
- 25 basis to finish off the remaining work at S-21. I said that

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- 1 because it is due to the contemporaneous signatures of Son Sen.
- 2 O. Well, let me see about that, Mr. Witness, because now I would
- 3 like to refer you to something you said yourself. And in order
- 4 for you to be able to read exactly what you said and also to be
- 5 able to have a look at the documents, I have prepared binders for
- 6 you.
- 7 And Mr. President, with your leave, I would like to give the two
- 8 binders to the witness. I will keep updating them with
- 9 transcripts, and I believe we can also put the various documents
- 10 on the screen.
- 11 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 12 Yes, you may do that.
- 13 (Short pause)
- 14 [10.01.35]
- 15 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 16 Q. The binder that you now have in your hand consists of the
- 17 various statements you made yourself. That is a binder we will
- 18 keep updating, Mr. Witness, because I will -- I would like now to
- 19 be speaking about a document that was shown to you in your own
- 20 case which is called "The Last Joint Plan".
- 21 In E3/1579, that's in your statement to the Investigating Judges;
- 22 English, ERN 00398206; French -- sorry, Khmer, 00398197; and
- 23 French, 00398214.
- 24 Mr. Witness, you've -- you are being shown -- that's your
- 25 statement. And in the other binder, there is actually "The Last

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- 1 Joint Plan", two pages of it that I would like to show you. It's
- 2 Tab 3 in the other binder.
- 3 [10.02.54]
- 4 This is what you said, and let me read it to you:
- 5 "However, another document written by Pon at my request has been
- 6 found and constitutes a summary report of the networks of
- 7 traitors. This document was presented by David Chandler in his
- 8 book about S-21 as an, "ultimate plan", which I am supposed to
- 9 have drafted. In reality, Pon drafted it upon my orders. The
- 10 document did not yet have a title, but Ung Pech, the first
- 11 Chairman of the Tuol Sleng Museum, wrote on top of the first,
- 12 "S-21 summary report".
- 13 And then you say the following, and that is important to me:
- 14 "All of this demonstrates that Son Sen still considered himself
- 15 to be my superior, and I acted the same way. The fact that he
- 16 called me to the training session, that he asked me to draft this
- 17 document and that he continued to deal with security issues by
- 18 calling me demonstrate this."
- 19 Do you recall saying this, Mr. Witness?
- 20 [10.04.50]
- 21 A. I think the Defence Counsel still confused about the dates,
- 22 and allow me to clarify it once again.
- 23 The document made by Comrade Pon initially was not shown to me by
- 24 OCP. I saw the title of the document and I was wondering at the
- 25 time, and <> during the proceedings in Case 001, the OCP provided

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- 1 me a copy of a scanned colour page, and I was given like three
- 2 minutes to review the document. And it was not my handwriting,
- 3 but Pon's.
- 4 And I said it was Pon's handwriting, so then, from that day
- 5 onward, everyone understood that the document was written by Pon.
- 6 And I explained that before he left for the front battlefield, he
- 7 gave instructions to me to prepare a work plan and a report about
- 8 the enemy's activity in term of their attempts to destroy
- 9 security. And I assigned Pon to do that because Pon was assigned
- 10 to interrogate important prisoners who were former senior cadres
- 11 of the CPK.
- 12 I actually made my own report, but it was not finished.
- 13 [10.06.54]
- 14 Q. Mr. Witness, let me interrupt you because -- let me take you
- 15 to the -- that document, "The Last Joint Plan", E3/527. And I've
- 16 printed for you a page from that document. That's Khmer page
- 17 00285387, and the English page is 00069054. And this is an
- 18 interesting page because it shows that this document was most
- 19 likely drafted in April 1978, because it actually includes that
- 20 month.
- 21 It also, on Khmer page 00285393 and English page 00069057, refers
- 22 to incoherent incriminations against So Phim, Ros Nhim and Bong
- 23 Si -- Brother Si.
- 24 So it seems that the last joint plan was ultimately, or at the
- 25 last drafted -- at the latest moment drafted in April '78.

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- 1 You're saying that Son Sen ordered you to write this and that
- 2 this document demonstrates that he considered you -- he
- 3 considered himself to be still your superior. Is that correct?
- 4 A. This document was not produced in a day. It could not be
- 5 produced in a day's time. I did not know how many months it took
- 6 Pon to produce a final version of this document, but -- and Hor
- 7 wrote <> on the last page that it was <finished at S-21> on the
- 8 12th of July '78, so allow me to confirm it was an incremental
- 9 compilation made by Pon.
- 10 [10.09.41]
- 11 Q. Well, I'm not giving up yet, Mr. Witness. In that same WRI,
- 12 E3/1579, you also speak about Comrade Pin, who came to a study
- 13 session in a wheelchair because his car had been blown up by a
- 14 mine. Do you remember when it was that Comrade Pin came to a
- 15 study session during which Son Sen was also present, came in a
- 16 wheelchair after his vehicle had been blown up by a mine? Do you
- 17 remember when that was?
- 18 A. Can you please specify which study session and which year
- 19 since I do not have the document with me?
- 20 Q. Well, I'm -- you referred in your own WRI, to an education
- 21 session during which you said it was the last time you saw Son
- 22 Sen. And you remember that, at this education session, Comrade
- 23 Pin was present but that Comrade Pin had come in a wheelchair
- 24 because his car was -- had been hit by a mine. My question to you
- 25 is, do you recall when this education, that Son Sen attended,

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- 1 took place?
- 2 [10.11.34]
- 3 A. I recall about that study session, although I do not recall
- 4 the date. And compare it to the 15 August, it is likely that that
- 5 study session happened after the 15 August. And in 1978, I no
- 6 longer attend any study session with Son Sen. In fact, in 1978, I
- 7 attended study session with Brother Pol.
- 8 And in '77, it was with Son Sen.
- 9 So it is possible that, at that time, 870 assigned Son Sen to
- 10 open a study session at the general staff. However, regarding
- 11 Brother Pin, it seems that he actually had gone to the
- 12 battlefield before Brother Khieu went.
- 13 Q. Let me interrupt you, and then I'll finish because it's almost
- 14 time, Mr. President.
- 15 Was it -- is it possible or do you remember whether Brother Pin
- 16 was injured in around or just before 8 April 1978?
- 17 [10.13.23]
- 18 A. I do not recall that. I did not know about that date but, in
- 19 fact, Brother Pin had his car stepped on a mine and it exploded,
- 20 so he got injured and he could not walk for a while. And he came
- 21 to the study session on a wheelchair. But I do not recall the
- 22 date of the training session by the general staff, and usually it
- 23 did not happen in April or March, but it happened usually around
- 24 July.
- 25 So first, Pol Pot would have a study session amongst those

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- 1 members of the Central Committee, and then <Brother Khieu would
- 2 take those documents to conduct study sessions for those at the
- 3 general staff. So, Brother Pol never taught study sessions on any
- 4 other months than July>.
- 5 Q. Just for completeness sake, Mr. President, I was -- in
- 6 relation to the date of 8 of April 1978, I was referring to
- 7 document E3/1117, English, ERN 00434870; which seems to suggest
- 8 that just before 8 of April, Comrade Pin was injured by an
- 9 anti-tank mine.
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 Thank you, Counsel.
- 12 It is now time for a short break. We'll take a break now and
- 13 resume at 25 to 11.00.
- 14 Court officer, please assist the witness at the waiting room
- 15 reserved for witnesses and civil parties during break time and
- 16 invite him back into the courtroom at 25 to 11.00.
- 17 The Court is now in recess.
- 18 (Court recesses from 1015H to 1034H)
- 19 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 20 Please be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 21 And the floor is given to the defence team for Mr. Nuon Chea to
- 22 resume its questioning. You may proceed.
- 23 BY MR. KOPPE
- 24 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 25 Q. Mr. Witness, let me finish this subject about Son Sen and the

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- 1 battlefield.
- 2 I know you don't accept the testimony of Lach Mean, but let me
- 3 nevertheless confront you with what he said two months ago in
- 4 this courtroom on the 26th of April at around 14.29.
- 5 [10.35.40]
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 Please wait, Counsel.
- 8 Lach Mean. Please pronounce it correctly with the names.
- 9 Otherwise, the witness is confused with another individual. And
- 10 another witness is Pin, not Pun, so one time I heard Pun and
- 11 another time I heard Pin, so the actual name is Pin.
- 12 MR. LYSAK:
- 13 Mr. President, before we move on to the next subject, I had
- 14 assumed Counsel was going to actually advise the Court of the
- 15 telegram that he had cited. It should be noted the telegram that
- 16 he mentioned just before the break in which Comrade Pin is
- 17 injured, document E3/1117, let me just make it clear for the
- 18 record what this telegram says:
- 19 "Comrade Pin has been injured again, injured again by the
- 20 internal enemy. His vehicle ran over an anti-tank mine laid by
- 21 the enemy."
- 22 [10.36.53]
- 23 And then later on, it explains:
- 24 "Comrade Pin himself was lightly wounded and is able to talk by
- 25 field telephone."

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- 1 Interestingly, too, this telegram is from Son Sen himself using
- 2 the code number he used while on the battlefield, 47, so this is
- 3 actually a telegram sent while Son Sen was on the battlefield.
- 4 And the fact -- 47, yes.
- 5 The fact that Comrade Pin was not injured in this incident is --
- 6 seriously injured, is also reflected in a telegram one week
- 7 later, E3/859, which reports he was still at the battlefield at
- 8 that time.
- 9 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 10 Mr. President, I don't need to go into the discussion. The reason
- 11 I was using this telegram because it describes the actual
- 12 incident, a vehicle running over an anti-tank mine, which is
- 13 exactly the same thing that Duch had referred to in his own
- 14 statement. But let me move away from this. I'm sure we will have
- 15 submissions on this subject.
- 16 [10.38.16]
- 17 Q. I was referring you to Lach Mean, and I said I know you don't
- 18 acknowledge Lach Mean's testimony. However, on the 26th of April
- 19 2016, in this courtroom, at 14.29, he said that in 1978, he saw
- 20 Son Sen three or four times during the period that he worked as
- 21 an interrogator, which was 1978.
- 22 Maybe you can just give a quick reaction, Mr. Witness.
- 23 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 24 A. Thank you, Counsel. Mr. President, before I answer the
- 25 question, I would like to clarify the last question put by the

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- 1 counsel before the break.
- 2 He made mention about the date, 18 April 1978<, that> there was a
- 3 session <> held by Son Sen. <That's not correct.> In fact, the 17
- 4 April 1978 was the celebration of victory against Lon Nol regime.
- 5 It was special on the day because Pol Pot chaired that
- 6 celebration, and the participants included Uncle Nuon, Brother
- 7 Thiounn Thioeunn, Brother Vorn and Brother Hem. They were on the
- 8 stage.
- 9 [10.40.17]
- 10 It was on that day, a little bit before that time, the arrest of
- 11 Si happened, Si, alias Chou Chet. <It was around> April <that> I
- 12 asked Pang about the arrest of Chou Chet. I had asked Pang
- 13 whether Brother Vorn had been in the meeting to decide the arrest
- 14 of Chou Chet, so I am sure that Brother Son Sen did not chair
- 15 <any> meeting on the 18 April 1978. <Son Sen was at the
- 16 battlefield. Only> Pol Pot, <Brother Nuon, Thiounn Thioeunn,
- 17 Brother> Vorn <and> Brother Hem <> were present on the stage <at
- 18 that time>.
- 19 Concerning the question in relation to Lach Mean testimony, I do
- 20 not recognize the statement of Lach Mean concerning his role at
- 21 S-21 in the proceeding of Case 001 against me.
- 22 [10.41.48]
- 23 Q. Fine. Thank you, Mr. Witness. Let me move to my next subject.
- 24 And that is the evidence that you gave in relation to your
- 25 overall position in the Party's hierarchy.

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- 1 Now, one of your very last WRIs in the Case 003 and 004, your
- 2 testimony on the 1st of February 2016 -- Mr. President, I don't
- 3 think there is an E3 number yet, but it is document E319/42.3.1,
- 4 question and answer 8, so it's the same in all languages.
- 5 Mr. Witness, you called yourself a "medium level cadre". What did
- 6 you mean with that when you said that?
- 7 A. The "<mid-level> cadres" were used by me and also by CPK. <It
- 8 meant that > cadres entered the Party long time ago, but <were>
- 9 not yet <members of the Party Centre>. <They could supervise an
- 10 office>. And for those who became members of the Party <Centre>
- 11 were considered cadres of the Centre. For example, Pang and Uncle
- 12 <Nuon and Brother> Hem were <great leaders>.
- 13 Again, mid-level cadre could only lead or supervise an office.
- 14 [10.44.11]
- 15 Q. Did you at one point in time in an interview with Nate Thayer
- 16 also call yourself a Party member at its lowest level?
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Please hold on, Mr. Witness.
- 19 You have the floor first, International Deputy Co-Prosecutor.
- 20 MR. LYSAK:
- 21 Yes. Just two quick points, one just a request for the
- 22 references, ERN and document references for the Nate Thayer
- 23 quote.
- 24 Second, just a housekeeping matter. I think the interview that
- 25 Counsel quoted from before, E319.42.3.1, was one of the Duch

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- 1 interviews we had identified in an 87.4 motion and suggested that
- 2 they should be admitted during Duch's testimony. I don't think
- 3 the Court has -- I don't know if the Court has formally ruled on
- 4 the request we filed. If I did, perhaps I missed the ruling. But
- 5 there was a -- we sent an email before the start of Duch's
- 6 testimony with two of his WRIs that the Defence hadn't included
- 7 and a confession, one of the underlying documents from the OCIJ
- 8 list.
- 9 [10.45.41]
- 10 The Trial Chamber asked us to file a formal request, which we
- 11 did, back a couple weeks ago, but I don't think there's been a
- 12 ruling on it. But I think that these documents should be formally
- 13 admitted before Counsel uses them. And of course, we agree to
- 14 their admission.
- 15 (Judges deliberate)
- 16 [10.46.23]
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 The Chamber decides that the document is admitted as evidence by
- 19 the Chamber, and the reasoning for the decision will be issued in
- 20 due course.
- 21 And counsel and concerned parties can use those -- the document
- 22 or those documents for the basis of questioning the witness.
- 23 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 24 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 25 Answering the first question, I'm referring to E3/347; English

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- 1 ERN only, 00002523.
- 2 [10.47.15]
- 3 Q. So my question again, Mr. Witness, you call yourself a Party
- 4 member at its lowest level.
- 5 Did you, indeed, say that, and if yes, what did you mean with
- 6 that?
- 7 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 8 A. Thank you, Counsel.
- 9 Concerning the issue between me and Nate Thayer, I did have very
- 10 minimal conversation with him. <> On the 24th of April 1999, I
- 11 went to Monorom Hotel in Battambang, and the <> interviewer was
- 12 Christophe Peschoux, the former deputy of <OHCHR> in Cambodia.
- 13 And <Thomas> Hammarberg was the director at the time.
- 14 Mademoiselle -- Madam Ruth Hugo was also there, and the one who
- 15 assisted me in psychological support at the time was <Father
- 16 Bernard>, and <Heng> Ham Kheng was the interpreter. <Nate Thayer
- 17 was there. He was the only one who did not know French. He did
- 18 not know Khmer. He knew English.>
- 19 [10.49.00]
- 20 <So, > I did not have much conversation with Nate Thayer. He once
- 21 went to Samlout and showed me Kung Kien's document. And after
- 22 that interview or the meetings, statements were known and were
- 23 seen in <> documents. And perhaps there was not good translation
- 24 of the statements that I gave.
- 25 I was <not responsible for an entire ministry. I was a cadre at

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- 1 a> lower level, <but> not the lowest level. <I was a mid-level
- 2 cadre.> I was <a> Party member <> for quite some time, <but I was</pre>
- 3 not a member of the Party Centre yet. > And perhaps at the time we
- 4 did not understand each other between the -- in language
- 5 communication. There was clear procedure in hierarchy within the
- 6 CPK.
- 7 [10.50.10]
- 8 Q. It might have been, indeed, the Peschoux interview, but let me
- 9 move on to my next question, that is also about your position in
- 10 the hierarchy, or at least how you considered yourself.
- 11 I've put in a binder for you something you and your lawyer said
- on your behalf. It's document E3/5725; English, ERN 00145457;
- 13 Khmer, 00145434; French, 00145476. It's in the green folder. Mr.
- 14 Witness, it's in the green folder, the other one. Mr. Witness.
- 15 I have put more than one folder. It's actually the green folder
- 16 which is lying there.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Court officers, please assist the witness in finding documents
- 19 <so that it> could be found quickly by the witness.
- 20 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 21 Q. Yes. So whenever, Mr. Witness, I'm going to something you said
- 22 yourself, I will go to that binder that you have in your hand.
- 23 In that testimony, or in that statement, one can read that your
- 24 lawyer called you or said that you had the -- that you were the
- 25 equivalent of a Colonel in the hierarchy. In that statement, you

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- 1 can also read that you didn't study with highest ranking cadres,
- 2 but with those at the battalion and regiment level.
- 3 And your lawyer is also quoted as saying something you endorsed,
- 4 that you were, "very distant from those at the high level".
- 5 Do you remember saying this, and do you remember your lawyer
- 6 saying that?
- 7 [10.53.15]
- 8 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 9 A. Thank you. Mr. President, the issue has something to do with
- 10 the understanding of François Roux, and he, perhaps, did not
- 11 understand the <words> used by the <CPK>.
- 12 I did not deny that I was the secretary of a regiment, the
- 13 independent regiment. That means the regiment was not under any
- 14 other brigades or divisions, so I was not a high level cadre, but
- 15 I was <a mid-level> cadre, <not a cadre of the Centre>. And that
- 16 <confusion> happened because we did not understand each other due
- 17 to language difficulty.
- 18 [10.54.17]
- 19 Q. Let me interrupt you, Mr. Witness. It wasn't François Roux who
- 20 said that on your behalf. It was Mr. Kar Savuth who said it on
- 21 your behalf.
- 22 He said that you were the equivalent of a Colonel in the
- 23 hierarchy and that you were very distant from those at the high
- 24 level, and you agreed with him. You were asked that question.
- 25 So please, do you remember this and can you give a reaction to

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- 1 that?
- 2 THE INTERPRETER:
- 3 Correction from the interpreters. The witness said he was the
- 4 mid-level cadre.
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Please wait, Witness.
- 7 Judge Lavergne, you have the floor.
- 8 [10.55.02]
- 9 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 10 Yes. Counsel Koppe, can you <remind us of the> date on which
- 11 <these statements were> made?
- 12 <Unless I am mistaken, > it was a statement made <during a> debate
- 13 regarding <pre-trial> detention. It was not on the merits.
- 14 MR. KOPPE:
- 15 "Et alors", I would say in French, and -- I mean, it's argued on
- 16 his behalf. I don't think it matters where -- on what occasion it
- 17 was.
- 18 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 19 And so Mr. Koppe, it appears that, at the time, Duch was not
- 20 examined on the merits. <The debate took place without him taking
- 21 the floor. > In any case, I think it is important <that this
- 22 information be reflected in> the record.
- 23 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 24 Q. Mr. Witness, did your lawyer, Kar Savuth, call you a Colonel,
- 25 equivalent of a Colonel, and that, with your endorsement, he said

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- 1 that you were very distant from those at the highest level -- at
- 2 the high level?
- 3 [10.56.39]
- 4 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 5 A. Mr. President, from what I heard, Judge Lavergne prohibited
- 6 the Counsel from asking the same issue, so the same question on
- 7 the same issue was put by counsel, so does the Chamber allow me
- 8 to answer the question?
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 Duch, you are allowed to answer the question. <It> was to have
- 11 the proper records in the transcript <to show the relation
- 12 between> the proceedings in <first stage and other stages
- 13 regarding your defence lawyer's right to intervention during the
- 14 proceedings in Case 001 before the Chamber concerning whether or
- 15 not the accused should be detained>.
- 16 So that was the statement of your defence counsel back then, and
- 17 the question by Koppe is about your reaction to that statement.
- 18 So what is your reaction?
- 19 [10.58.02]
- 20 BY MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 21 A. Thank you, Mr. President. And allow me to make a clarification
- 22 in relation to the question by Koppe as follows.
- 23 Within CPK, the ranks, ke> Colonel, six stripes, seven stripes
- 24 <were called something else>.
- 25 <I was a secretary of a regiment.> I was not the Party member of

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- 1 the Centre. Brother Pin was not also the member of the Centre.
- 2 There were two cadres <at a division level> from the <qeneral>
- 3 staff who were members of the Centre, <> Muth and Met. <Brother
- 4 Pin, > Nat, I, <Oeun > and others were invited to a study session
- 5 chaired by Son Sen.
- 6 So above me, there was committee of a division, and above the
- 7 division, there were cadres of the Centre, for example, Pang, Met
- 8 were the assistants to the Centre. And there were also candidate
- 9 members of the Centre. And there were full right members of the
- 10 Centre above the candidate members. <And then there were 870
- 11 Committee and the Standing Committee.>
- 12 [10.59.48]
- 13 So in terms of <> hierarchical orders, there were many cadres
- 14 above me. This is <> the hierarchy <of the CPK, and he compared
- 15 my rank to Major, Lieutenant Colonel, or Colonel, > so that was
- 16 his analysis in relation to my rank.
- 17 And as I said, I was the secretary of an independent regiment
- 18 and, above me, there was a division.
- 19 MR. KOPPE:
- 20 Q. And is it correct that you were only allowed to study with
- 21 those at the battalion and regiment level?
- 22 A. In the regiment, there were battalions and companies. I
- 23 supervised members in my regiment. Hor was deputy secretary of
- the regiment, and Huy was a member of the regiment committee.
- 25 And later on, <after Huy was arrested,> I promoted Comrade Phal

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- 1 to regimental level. <I did not assign anyone to supervise the
- 2 battalion yet. I only assign people to supervise the company
- 3 level.> As for Peng, was a company level, and Him Huy was at
- 4 platoon level.
- 5 So I -- my regiment capacity was only within S-21 hierarchy, and
- 6 it did not interact or interfere with the other regiments.
- 7 [11.01.50]
- 8 Q. Let me see if I can approach it from another direction, Mr.
- 9 Witness.
- 10 You compared yourself with someone else in terms of hierarchy.
- 11 That is document E3/106, that's also in the green binder, I
- 12 think; English, ERN 00177635; Khmer 001772 -- sorry, 7625; and
- 13 French, 00177646.
- 14 In this WRI, E3/106, Mr. Witness, you said that during the
- 15 regime, you had the same rank as Prime Minister Hun Sen, that is,
- 16 the commander of a regiment. Is that correct?
- 17 A. From 17 April to the 7 January 1979, I never heard of Hun
- 18 Sen's name, and only after 1990 or maybe before that, Hun Sen
- 19 became the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1978 or '79, and that
- 20 was the time that I heard of his name. And I asked people about
- 21 him, and people said that before he fled to Vietnam to "Yuon"
- 22 country, he was a secretary of a regiment. And before that, he
- 23 was secretary of Special Battalion, and it was a special position
- 24 he held there.
- 25 [11.04.32]

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- 1 And that was what I knew about Hun Sen's position within the
- 2 rank. And I said that he and I were at the same level, <at a
- 3 regiment level, > and that's what I made a comparison, that is, my
- 4 position and the position of the current Prime Minister.
- 5 Q. Let me follow up on this because in that same statement, you
- 6 said the following:
- 7 "Hun Sen at the time had the same rank as me, that is, commander
- 8 of a regiment, but he had combatants under his orders and was at
- 9 the border, which was not the case for me." End of quote.
- 10 What does that distinction exactly mean?
- 11 A. Hun Sen had soldiers under his command in his regiment, and
- 12 they were fighting along the Cambodia "Yuon" border. Let's say
- 13 he would take his soldiers to walk for 10 kilometres, and
- 14 probably it took him two hours. And his soldiers were fully
- 15 armed, and nobody dared to get in his way.
- 16 As for me, I had nothing. I could not do that. That's the
- 17 comparison that I refer to.
- 18 So Hun Sen could flee to Vietnam with his fully-armed soldiers,
- 19 but for me, I could not do that because I had nothing.
- 20 [11.06.38]
- 21 Q. Well, that brings me to my next subject, the nature and
- 22 character of Regiment 21, or S-21.
- 23 In your testimony, E3/453, English, 0014758 -- 7983 (sic); Khmer,
- 24 00146572; French, 00147944, you said that S-21 was part of the
- 25 military.

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- 1 And in E3/347, you said that -- at English, 00002523; "We were
- 2 considered an armed force."
- 3 Also, you gave extensive testimony as to the military character
- 4 of Regiment 21 being under the subordinate of the general staff.
- 5 So, Mr. Witness, isn't it true there is not really any
- 6 contradiction between the S-21 regiment in terms of military
- 7 hierarchy and the regiment of Prime Minister Hun Sen?
- 8 (Short pause)
- 9 [11.08.39]
- 10 A. Allow me to speak about the regiment within the general staff
- 11 of the Centre's army. And the independent regiments included S-21
- 12 and the regiment of Brother Win (phonetic), that is, the clothes
- 13 -- the garment factory, and another regiment of Pheap (phonetic),
- 14 that is, the artillery, and another regiment in charge of
- 15 telecommunications. So for people who are familiar with the
- 16 general staff would know about this structure.
- 17 As for Pin, Pin had a regiment under his supervision, and that is
- 18 a separate structure since they had combat forces. Then they had
- 19 the regiment of infantry, regiment of reconnaissance and regiment
- 20 of special force like Hor. Hor was from the special force from
- 21 703, and he was assigned as deputy secretary of S-21.
- 22 As for the regiment under Hun Sen command, he led that regiment
- 23 far from me so I do not want to make any comment on that.
- 24 [11.10.16]
- 25 Q. Let's move away from him. Let's return to what I'm actually

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- 1 trying to get at.
- 2 In that same interview that I referred to, E3/347, same English
- 3 ERN only, there's a literal transcript of your interview, and it
- 4 goes as follows:
- 5 "So were you civilian or military?"
- 6 And then you say, "We were considered armed force."
- 7 "Question: And thus military?"
- 8 "Yes."
- 9 So isn't it true that from the very beginning of its creation
- 10 until the very end, S-21 or Regiment 21 was a military
- 11 organization, a militarily-run organization?
- 12 [11.11.23]
- 13 A. Allow me to clarify it, Your Honour.
- 14 Regarding the independent regiments <> of the general staff meant
- 15 that they were an entire <military> entity by themselves. And I
- 16 don't think there is any question about this.
- 17 Q. So you do not dispute that you were a military officer from
- 18 the very beginning until the end of S-21's existence. Correct?
- 19 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 20 Q. Now let me discuss two documents with you. They are in your
- 21 binder.
- 22 One document is E3/849, Mr. President. English, ERN 00183956;
- 23 French, 00334995; Khmer, 00052319. And in your folder, in your
- 24 black folder -- your black folder, Mr. Witness, it's number 4.
- 25 And maybe we can have it on the screen as well, with your leave,

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- 1 Mr. President.
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Yes, you may proceed.
- 4 [11.13.38]
- 5 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 6 Q. Here it is on the screen as well. Mr. Witness, this is a
- 7 document, dated 7th of April 1977. It's called "Joint statistics
- 8 of Armed Forces over the period of March 1977", and it lists the
- 9 various divisions and military offices. And you can find under
- 10 number 13, between the other military divisions, Office S-21.
- 11 And there, it says that the total number of combatants that were
- 12 part of Regiment 21 was 2,327.
- 13 Do you see that number, Mr. Witness?
- 14 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 15 A. Thank you. Yes, I see it.
- 16 Q. And in the next column, it says "Not including components" or
- in the French, "sans compter les éléments". That refers,
- 18 presumably, to prisoners.
- 19 But is it correct that in March '77, Regiment 21 had about 2,327
- 20 combatants?
- 21 [11.15.45]
- 22 A. Thank you. And the column that reads "Not including
- 23 components", previously I believed that the figure did not
- 24 include prisoners in Phnom Penh; however, after I rethink about
- 25 this, it means this figure did not include those at the rice

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- 1 fields. But as I maintain that I did not have a concrete figure,
- 2 <it might be over 2,000, > and the number included those that had
- 3 to be fed and <that may include those at the rice fields and> may
- 4 exclude prisoners who were chained or who were being
- 5 interrogated. And the statistic shows the food regime and the
- 6 expenses for prisoners and staff at S-21.
- 7 Q. I'm not sure if I completely follow, but let -- let me -- let
- 8 me check. Are you saying that that number of 2,327 included the
- 9 prisoners?
- 10 A. I am not sure about that. So maybe some components were not
- 11 included as the word "components" or "somasapheap" (phonetic) is
- 12 too general. So it -- it may exclude those who were sent for
- 13 re-education at the rice fields or maybe my combatants at the
- 14 rice fields. Although they were referred to as combatants at the
- 15 rice fields, they did not have full rights as they were being
- 16 refashioned. So I am uncertain as what were excluded from this
- 17 figure.
- 18 [11.18.06]
- 19 Q. Well -- well, let me see if I can assist you by showing you
- 20 another document which is also in that same binder, Mr. Witness.
- 21 That's E3/1136; English, ERN 00543743; Khmer, 00160081; French,
- 22 00548764. It's a document which is called "A Rice Consumption
- 23 Plan" and it dates the 4th of January 1976.
- 24 I hope you can find it, Mr. Witness. It's -- oh, it's not in your
- 25 binder; I -- I'm just told, sorry for that. Maybe we can show it

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- 1 on the screen and then you can have a look on the screen, Mr.
- 2 Witness.
- 3 This is a -- a rice consumption plan for all military divisions
- 4 including Regiment 21, but it was the time that Comrade Sen or
- 5 Nat was still in charge and you will see on the number 11 that
- 6 Unit 21 consisted of about 2,048 members. So that's Khmer page
- 7 00160081. There it is. Maybe you can go to number 11, Mr.
- 8 Witness.
- 9 (Short pause)
- 10 [11.20.19]
- 11 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 12 I have -- if you have difficulty reading on the screen, Mr.
- 13 Witness, I have a printed copy for you. If you don't need it,
- 14 it's -- this document being from January 1976, I don't think
- there were many prisoners at Prey Sar; maybe Prey Sar wasn't
- 16 founded at all yet.
- 17 Q. Is it correct that Regiment 21 consisted of about 2,000
- 18 combatants in January '76?
- 19 (Short pause)
- 20 [11.21.19]
- 21 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 22 A. Mr. President, regarding the management of staff of the
- 23 forces, I was not directly involved; as I said, the leaders,
- 24 Brother Son Sen and Brother Nuon, actually focused the work on
- 25 the confessions of the enemy. So it is difficult for me to

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- 1 provide you with a concrete response, Counsel, because I cannot
- 2 provide you a concrete one; although, I may make my conclusion.
- 3 Regarding the rice consumption or fuel consumption for use
- 4 including the medicines, they were all covered and distributed by
- 5 the general staff. So the general staff had all this list of the
- 6 consumption and distribution; I, myself, did not involve in that
- 7 and as I said, my chief only focused my work on the confessions
- 8 of the enemy.
- 9 [11.22.36]
- 10 Q. I'm not sure if -- if I can follow you in this answer, Mr.
- 11 Witness. You -- you were the Chairman of Regiment 21; surely, you
- 12 would at least be able to tell us how many combatants were in the
- 13 regiment that you led.
- 14 A. Allow me to remind you, Counsel, that when I first questioned
- 15 by the Chamber, I said that combatants from 703 who became part
- 16 of S-21 were between 300 to 600 and I also had 17 combatants that
- 17 I took from Amleang and I did not pay focus on the total
- 18 statistics. As for the consumption -- rice consumption of food,
- 19 it was the responsibility of the general staff.
- 20 [11.23.56]
- 21 And allow me to clear the matter, since I was the deputy chief,
- 22 by October or mid-October, I took that position and I stopped
- 23 collecting document from houses -- from the houses of those
- 24 senior Lon Nol regime officers and officials and whenever Son Sen
- 25 called, Nat and I would go together. Son Sen never called Nat to

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- 1 go alone.
- 2 As for other divisions, Son Sen only called the secretaries of
- 3 the divisions for meetings and, later on, when Nat was removed, I
- 4 alone went to see him and Hor did not accompany me. So he only
- 5 called me to update him on the confessions and the progress of
- 6 the confessions of the enemy and we also saw surviving documents
- 7 from the general staff about the meetings held at the rice fields
- 8 and I did not go there since Comrade Huy was <the one who went>
- 9 there.
- 10 And before I <saw> documents, that is, the work of the general
- 11 staff on the rice consumption plan etc., I still thought that
- 12 Division 703 only gave me 300 to 600 staff; that is, soldiers
- 13 from their division, so I did not pay attention to the overall
- 14 figure of staff <>.
- 15 [11.25.52]
- 16 Q. So -- so let me get this right. You're the chairman of
- 17 Regiment 21, but basically you -- if this document is correct,
- 18 you have no idea what about 2,000 or 1,900 men of your regiment
- 19 were, in fact, doing; correct?
- 20 A. Mr. President, I have reiterated the points several times.
- 21 Initially, S-21 belonged to Nat and the detention and
- 22 interrogation was at Takhmau Hospital and later on, they had
- 23 another office in Phnom Penh and that was the initial founding of
- 24 S-21.
- 25 And I joined S-21 by mid-October. At the time, I, myself,

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- 1 interrogated some prisoners and I taught staff how to interrogate
- 2 prisoners. Finally, Nat was reassigned; however, he still had
- 3 authority to finish off his remaining works at S-21.
- 4 As for me, although I was secretary of the regiment, the Party
- 5 entrusted in me and that I should focus only on the confessions
- 6 of the enemy and others would take care in term of the rice
- 7 consumptions and other works. And my superior never questioned me
- 8 at all about the rice productions in the rice fields, not at all,
- 9 and surviving documents actually were the evidence <> that <Huy
- 10 was the one in charge of the works at the rice fields, not Hor
- 11 nor I>.
- 12 [11.27.59]
- 13 Q. Let me move to another document, Mr. Witness, that is, I
- 14 think, in your binder; it's E3/1585. It is a -- a list of
- 15 participants of the first general staff training; English, ERN
- 16 00897649; Khmer, 00095532; and French, 00611636. And in your
- 17 binder, it is number 11 in your folder.
- 18 On -- there is actually two pages I put in your document. It
- 19 lists the participants of this first general staff training, all
- 20 the division members; Division 310, Division 450, etc., etc. It
- 21 also says Office 62, 37 cadres and you are participant 284; Hor
- 22 286; Huy 287, but you are listed as a member of Office 62. Do you
- 23 know why it was that you and Hor and Huy and others were listed
- 24 as participants coming from Office 62?
- 25 (Short pause)

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- 1 [11.30.20]
- 2 A. Regarding Office 62, it was the -- an office in charge of
- 3 logistics. Initially, Brother Sao was assigned to take charge of
- 4 this logistic office and <Office 62> is not <referred to> my
- 5 office<>.
- 6 Regarding letters or documents that I wrote to Brother Son Sen,
- 7 usually I addressed him as "To Brother 62" and messengers from
- 8 the general staff knew that it was meant to Brother Khieu; that
- 9 is, Son Sen. So Office 62 had 37 staff so that refers to that
- 10 logistics office under the supervision of Brother Sao.
- 11 Q. But in this document, you were also considered to be part of
- 12 Office 62; do you remember whether that was a -- whether there
- 13 was a reason for that, that you were considered as a member of
- 14 the general staff?
- 15 [11.31.54]
- 16 A. When I was called for -- to attend study sessions and that I
- 17 went along with Son Sen, I went in my capacity as Office S-21 and
- 18 when I attended study sessions with others; that is, when Comrade
- 19 Saom made -- provided lectures during those trainings and the
- 20 office was -- he instructed that <the title> S-21 should not be
- 21 used and that Office 62 should be used instead and that is what
- 22 happened.
- 23 Q. But my -- my point is whether S-21 was a part of the general
- 24 staff office from the beginning until the end. Let me try it
- 25 differently, Mr. Witness, and that will be my last question, Mr.

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- 1 President.
- 2 Maybe you can have a look at document E3/2028; that's document 15
- 3 in your binder. It's Khmer, ERN 00021084; English, 00185219.
- 4 That's a prisoners list from S-21, Mr. Witness, and various
- 5 people who belonged to S-21, for instance, number 3: Nhem Thai,
- 6 ex-economic support unit; Ly -- Ly Thong, deputy chief of the
- 7 mapping group; all these cadres from S-21 who were arrested were
- 8 called or were -- were considered to be prisoners from the
- 9 general staff office. Do you see that document, Mr. Witness?
- 10 (Short pause)
- 11 [11.34.34]
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 Counsel, are you sure that the document is part of the dossier
- 14 before Witness?
- 15 And Court Officer, please assist the witness since the document
- 16 shown on the screen is not that clear.
- 17 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 18 It's Document Number 15 in your binder. E3/2028.
- 19 (Short pause)
- 20 [11.36.20]
- 21 Q. So Mr. Witness, prisoners who worked for S-21, even in July
- 22 '78, were still considered to be prisoners coming from the
- 23 general staff office?
- 24 (Short pause)
- 25 [11.37.18]

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- 1 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 2 A. Regarding the general staff office, as I made mention earlier,
- 3 it refers to the logistics office or Office 62.
- 4 As for prisoners who were arrested, it is likely that most of
- 5 them came from the logistics office and, of course, logistic
- 6 office was under the direct supervision of the general staff
- 7 office committee. And S-21 was not under the direct supervision
- 8 of the general staff office committee as our primary work was to
- 9 obtain the confessions of the enemy, but the general staff would
- 10 take care of supplies and logistics <and invitations for study
- 11 sessions>.
- 12 And S-21 was directly under 870 in term of confessions of the
- 13 enemy. So we could say that it -- S-21 was part of the general
- 14 staff since we obtained food, fuel, batteries, <medicines, > etc.,
- 15 from the general staff and the decision <would> be made from the
- 16 general staff office <regarding those supplies>.
- 17 And when we got sick, we had to go to the hospital and <it> would
- 18 mean that we were part of the general staff. The only exception
- 19 was the confessions of the enemy that it had to be exclusively
- 20 sent to 870 and that was the organizational structure of S-21;
- 21 that's why it is labelled as an independent regiment and the food
- 22 supplies and logistics were decided and made by the general staff
- 23 office and only the enemies confessions were sent directly from
- 24 S-21 to 870.
- 25 [11.39.44]

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Thank you and thank you, Witness. It is now appropriate for a
- 3 lunch break. We take a break now and resumed at 1.30 this
- 4 afternoon to continue our proceedings.
- 5 Security personnel, you are instructed to take Khieu Samphan as
- 6 well as Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch, to separate waiting rooms
- 7 downstairs and have Mr. Khieu Samphan returned to the court
- 8 before 1.30. As for Duch, have him returned at 1.30 this
- 9 afternoon.
- 10 The Court is now in recess.
- 11 (Court recesses from 1140H to 1331H)
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 Please be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 14 And the floor is given to the defence team for Mr. Nuon Chea, to
- 15 resume the questioning.
- 16 But please wait, Duch, you can take the floor first.
- 17 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 18 Thank you, Mr. President. First of all, I would like to make a
- 19 clarification in relation to some events.
- 20 In 1977 -- late-1977, to my recollection, that is, on <27>
- 21 September 1967 (sic), Pol Pot celebrated the creation of the
- 22 Party <at Borei Keila> and I was resent> at the time and after
- 23 the celebration, Pol Pot took the airplane and left <for
- 24 Beijing>.
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

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- 1 Please clarify the date again. I heard you say 1967, the -- the
- 2 date -- the year; perhaps 1977?
- 3 [13.32.49]
- 4 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 5 That is right, Mr. President. Thank you for the -- for reminding
- 6 me, <27> September <1977>. He celebrated the -- the creation of
- 7 the Party <in Cambodia> and in the evening, he left for China.
- 8 <He visited China for about a month.> Then he came back; he held
- 9 the study sessions among the members of the Centre until October
- 10 and then Son Sen convened a study session <at Borei Keila> for
- 11 <military cadres including me>. Pin was also there <after he was
- 12 injured>. It was during the time that we saw the signature of Son
- 13 Sen on S-21 documents, so during the period he was in Phnom Penh
- 14 <> on a permanent basis. This is what I want to clarify, Mr.
- 15 President.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 Thank you very much and the floor is now given to the defence
- 18 team for Nuon Chea.
- 19 [13.34.10]
- 20 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 21 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 22 Good afternoon, Mr. Witness. Before the lunch break, we were
- 23 speaking about S-21 and Regiment 21 being subordinate to the
- 24 general staff from the beginning till the end.
- 25 You were also mentioning Son Sen. Let me follow up with reading

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- 1 another excerpt from Phnom Penh Radio Broadcasting about Son Sen.
- 2 Mr. President, that is, document E3/293; English only, ERN
- 3 00169774.
- 4 Mr. Witness, this is about an event on the 29th of July 1978, and
- 5 it says -- the title is "Son Sen Leads Military Delegation to the
- 6 People's Republic of China."
- 7 Let me read to you the first sentence of that press report. It
- 8 says, and I quote:
- 9 "A military delegation of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea
- 10 led by Comrade Son Sen, alternate member of the Standing
- 11 Committee of the CPK Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister for
- 12 National Defence, and Chairman of the Committee of the General
- 13 Staff of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army at 12.30 on 29 July,
- 14 left Phnom Penh by air force for -- by air for an official
- 15 friendship visit to China." End of quote.
- 16 Do you remember this event, Mr. Witness, Son Sen leaving for
- 17 China in July '78, leading a military delegation?
- 18 [13.36.41]
- 19 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 20 A. Thank you. Yes, I can recall that and there was a civilian,
- 21 <Brother Rith, Yun Yat's younger brother-in-law>; that person was
- 22 not <a> soldier. Brother Rith was also seeing Son Sen off <but I
- 23 cannot recall any of the delegation from military <>.
- 24 Q. So -- so as this press report indicates, on the 29th of July,
- 25 Son Sen was still the chairman of the general staff and still

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- 1 deputy prime minister for national defence; do you know whether
- 2 there was ever a moment after 29 July '78, that Son Sen stepped
- 3 down as deputy prime minister for national defence or chairman of
- 4 the committee of the general staff?
- 5 [13.38.02]
- 6 A. The -- things changed at S-21. After 15 of August 1977,
- 7 secretary of S-21 reported directly to Uncle Nuon; that was the
- 8 change at S-21 and the rest was remaining the same.
- 9 And the study session <for the general staff> had been held by
- 10 Son Sen, but later on, <in> 1978, Pol Pot convened the meeting
- 11 among the <S-21 staff> as well. <And Son Sen held study sessions
- 12 for other regiments under the general staff.> So these were the
- 13 changes, nothing changed beside two issues that I raised.
- 14 The only thing that changed, as I said, the secretary of the
- 15 regiment of S-21 reported directly to Uncle Nuon when he <came to
- 16 supervise S-21>.
- 17 Q. Well, I'm not sure if you answered my question, but my
- 18 question was: Did Son Sen, after 29 July, step down as prime
- 19 minister for -- deputy prime minister for national defence or
- 20 from his position as chief of the general staff; yes or no?
- 21 A. I have just told the Court nothing changed. The position of
- 22 Brother Son Sen as the deputy prime minister and minister of
- 23 national defence was still the same. He was still the chairman of
- 24 the general staff; nothing changed in relation to his position.
- 25 Q. Mr. Witness, are you aware of any documents; a "Revolutionary

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- 1 Flag, " a -- a telegram, radio broadcast, anything that would
- 2 support your evidence that Nuon Chea took over from Son Sen on
- 3 the 15th of August 1977?
- 4 (Short pause)
- 5 [13.41.09]
- 6 A. That was a normal matter within CPK, that was <a> minor issue
- 7 within CPK; when one is -- was absent, the other one took charge.
- 8 But <what happened was> that the high-level cadre lower himself
- 9 to be in charge of S-21 <when the lower level went away. The
- 10 "Revolutionary Flag" documents were written for the purpose of
- 11 educating people within the Party regarding the psychological and
- 12 political structure.> There was <no circular, there was> no
- 13 evidence <for that, but> the practice, at the time, was like
- 14 <that>.
- 15 Q. But you were Party member at this lowest level far away from
- 16 the top; you couldn't possibly know, could you?
- 17 A. Thank you. How <> could I <> not know <clearly> about that
- 18 issue? Uncle Nuon called me to see him and said Brother Son Sen
- 19 had gone to the battlefield and <he would worked with me from
- 20 then on, but he would also assign> Pang <to work with me
- 21 occasionally as well>. <What he said was clear.>
- 22 [13.42.46]
- 23 Q. Now, let me finish this subject with -- according to you or
- 24 something. You said -- last week, on the 8th of June at 9.58 in
- 25 the morning, you said and I quote:

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- 1 "When Son Sen talked to me, he was not in his capacity as chief
- 2 of the general staff, but talking in his capacity as Angkar." End
- 3 of quote.
- 4 Can you tell me how you knew that? What happened if you were
- 5 calling; would he say, "Hello, Duch, now I'm talking to you not
- 6 as chief of staff, but as Angkar", or how were you able to
- 7 distinguish between those various capacities?
- 8 A. Thank you, Counsel, for this question. S-21 <was established
- 9 since August 1975.> In fact, I was in <management> of S-21 in
- 10 mid-October 1975 and at the time, there were individuals who
- 11 wanted to contact chief of S-21. <During a meeting, > Seat Chhae,
- 12 alias Tum wanted to talk to me about a female. Son Sen <was also
- 13 at that meeting and he> saw that. That female's name was Kim
- 14 (phonetic); he <said> she had only a <set> of clothes <she was
- 15 wearing> when she arrived at S-21. <I told him it was fine.>
- 16 Later on, Brother Khieu called me and said, "Duch, I led you at
- 17 S-21 as Angkar, not as a general staff." So no one could
- 18 interfere and check the documents at S-21, only he could <> have
- 19 the access to the document at S-21. <He represented Angkar, and
- 20 he came on behalf of Pol Pot. > That happened in late 1975 and
- 21 early 1976.
- 22 [13.45.31]
- 23 And as I said, Brother Nuon lower himself to took charge -- to
- 24 take charge of me; he was Angkar. So Brother Khieu, when he came
- 25 to work at -- at S-21, he came to work at S-21 on behalf of

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- 1 <Angkar, > Brother Pol and Brother Nuon Chea and when Brother Son
- 2 Sen had gone to the battlefield, Nuon Chea came to work at S-21
- 3 as Angkar as well.
- 4 Q. Although you have no reason of knowing this at all, but do you
- 5 know who was going to succeed Pol Pot in the case Pol Pot would
- 6 die?
- 7 A. Thank you very much. I do not know how to respond to the
- 8 question. You asked the question; you should find the answer for
- 9 yourself.
- 10 [13.46.43]
- 11 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 12 This is a hypothetical question. Such question cannot be put to
- 13 the witness as instructed by the Chamber.
- 14 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 15 Well, it's not a hypothetical question. I know the answer to the
- 16 question, but I think the witness doesn't know the answer to the
- 17 question, but I'm not inviting for speculation, Mr. President, so
- 18 I'll move on.
- 19 Q. Mr. Witness, do you recall what Ta Mok's opinion was of you?
- 20 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 21 A. In 1973, Ta Mok and I had a brawl or dispute. At the time, he
- 22 came to Office 201 to train soldiers. He was a -- he arrested a
- 23 cadre from Hanoi and sent to S-21 and that cadre <named> Prach
- 24 Som (phonetic), alias Pot (phonetic). I talked about this
- 25 individual already.

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- 1 <That> Pot (phonetic) shot <his own Battalion> secretary <named>
- 2 Yan (phonetic).
- 3 I ran to see him and he <asked if> Yan (phonetic) came to attend
- 4 the study session and I was told to check the hammock and the
- 5 cadre's stuff and I was warned that if Pot (phonetic) did not
- 6 confess, I should break his head. And then I was given a pistol,
- 7 <a>> small one, with the six-point-something calibre. The pistol
- 8 had no bullets. <> After taking the pistol, I went to Comrade Yan
- 9 (phonetic). When <> I went to Comrade Yan (phonetic) --
- 10 [13.49.23]
- 11 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 12 The counsel does not want to hear the response as you have just
- 13 answered. I do not know the intention of the counsel. He wants <>
- 14 you <to guess> the opinions of Ta Mok <towards you>. I do not
- 15 <how general> the question <is>, but <he's asking you to guess
- 16 someone else's opinion towards you.>
- 17 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 18 Indeed, that was my question and let me immediately read to the
- 19 witness why I want to know this. Mr. President, E3/1564; English,
- 20 ERN 00403892; Khmer, 00403981 (sic). In -- in this WRI, Duch, the
- 21 witness, says, "Ta Mok detested me since '73 and he did not want
- 22 to employ me."
- 23 French, by the way, 00403902.
- Q. Is it true, Mr. Witness, that Ta Mok detested you?
- 25 [13.50.34]

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Please repeat the document number -- document number and ERN
- 3 numbers. The interpreters did not follow you reading the document
- 4 identity and ERN numbers and please mention the document number
- 5 together with ERNs twice.
- 6 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 7 It's document E3/1564; English, ERN 00403892; Khmer, 00403981;
- 8 French, 00403902.
- 9 Q. My question, Mr. Witness: Is it correct that Ta Mok detested
- 10 you since 1973 and he did not want to employ you?
- 11 [13.51.43]
- 12 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 13 A. Thank you. I thank you very much for your question, but this
- 14 question is not of my interest to give my response because the
- 15 question is not full; it's partial one. If <> you do not want to
- 16 listen to my statement <regarding Yan (phonetic)>, I think <>
- 17 what I said is correct. I do not have anything <more> to tell
- 18 you.
- 19 Concerning my case with Yan (phonetic), that was known to Pol Pot
- 20 and the fact that Ta Mok did not want to use me, that was known
- 21 to Pol Pot as well. Ta Mok did not test me.
- 22 Q. Maybe something went wrong in the translation. I was using the
- 23 English word "detested" you, despised you, found you
- 24 contemptible; is that something that you said?
- 25 [13.53.01]

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- 1 A. Superior and subordinate -- <there is always a reason> when
- 2 superior hates a subordinate, <and> the subordinates hate the
- 3 superior. <If you do not want to listen to the reason, there's
- 4 nothing more I can tell you about it. > So he did not use me; <he
- 5 talked about that with> Pol Pot and I learned that the issue
- 6 between him and I was known to Pol Pot from Vorn <in 1973>.
- 7 JUDGE FENZ:
- 8 I--
- 9 MR. KOPPE:
- 10 The reason I'm asking --
- 11 JUDGE FENZ:
- 12 I think perhaps what -- what the witness tried to do when he was
- 13 interrupted earlier is explain the reason for this kind of
- 14 assessment.
- 15 [13.53.51]
- 16 MR. KOPPE
- 17 I -- I understand, but it's -- the story takes forever and I
- 18 wanted to interrupt him, but the actual reason why I'm asking is
- 19 -- let -- let me -- let me go to that particular document. That's
- 20 Thet Sambath's book, Mr. President, E3/4202 on English page 119;
- 21 Khmer, ERN 00858361; French, 00849450; and English, 00757538.
- 22 There is -- there the situation is described as follows: Ta Mok
- 23 told Nuon Chea to get rid of you because you were malfunctioning
- 24 completely. Nuon Chea tried three times with Son Sen to have you
- 25 fired; you were investigated, but Son Sen didn't want to let you

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- 1 go.
- 2 Is that something you knew at the time; is that something that
- 3 you heard of?
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 Please wait, Mr. Witness. You have the floor now International
- 6 Deputy Co-Prosecutor.
- 7 [13.55.24]
- 8 MR. LYSAK:
- 9 I -- I'd ask Counsel that Counsel simply read the quote rather
- 10 than characterizing it because some of the characterizations he's
- 11 made are -- are his own. He should just read the quote from the
- 12 book.
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 Mr. Witness, you are instructed to respond. Do you recall the
- 15 question?
- 16 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 17 A. Mr. President, I think that Thet Sambath was an external
- 18 person; he knew nothing about what happened.
- 19 I knew Nuon Chea. I knew what he was like and what Ta Mok was
- 20 like and what Son Sen was like back then. So I do not have
- 21 anything to explain about the imaginary opinions of Thet Sambath.
- 22 Thet Sambath was not engaged in the task, so how could he be sure
- 23 of what happened?
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 You may proceed, Judge Lavergne.

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- 1 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 2 Yes, Counsel Koppe, when you refer to the book <by> Thet Sambath,
- 3 <was> Thet Sambath <himself referring to> the statement made by
- 4 Nuon Chea; otherwise, what is the source of <what you read to us?
- 5 What is the basis>? Can you clarify that issue please?
- 6 [13.57.14]
- 7 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 8 No, I cannot, Judge Lavergne, but I'm -- I'm happy to read the
- 9 exact quote, also, following the remarks from the Prosecution.
- 10 It says, not as a quote, Nuon Chea later told Son Sen three times
- 11 about what Ta Mok had told him. Son Sen said he would investigate
- 12 the matter, but he didn't remove Duch and said he was good.
- 13 Nuon Chea also told Pol Pot what Ta Mok had said and then follows
- 14 a quote, "I don't know what he thought about that."
- 15 Q. But having -- having said that, Mr. Witness, let me ask the
- 16 question in general. Are you aware of any attempts to have you
- 17 removed from your position, any attempts from people in the
- 18 Standing Committee to have you removed and Son Sen refused?
- 19 [13.58.29]
- 20 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 21 A. That is why I said Thet -- Thet Sambath was a man out of the
- 22 story or he was not engaged in the task. The statement by Uncle
- 23 Nuon was beyond the truth. I wanted to explain you <the truth,
- 24 but> you interrupted me, so that's all I could say. So how could
- 25 I explain that to you if you interrupted me? I want to tell the

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- 1 truth about what happened.
- 2 Q. Let me move on to my next subject, Mr. Witness, and that is
- 3 your work at S-21, itself, and your work in relation to
- 4 investigations into treason and rebellion etc.
- 5 But before I go into that, let me first ask you some questions
- 6 about the beginning of S-21 at what is presently known as the
- 7 Tuol Sleng Museum and the last days of your work there.
- 8 It's still, to me, a bit unclear as to when the exact moving of
- 9 the operation of S-21 was to what is now known as the Tuol Sleng
- 10 Museum or the formerly known Ponhea Yat High School.
- 11 [13.59.58]
- 12 In -- I'm referring to a statement or testimony that you gave to
- 13 the investigators of the Investigating Judges, E3/5748; Khmer,
- 14 ERN 00153458; English, 00153567; French, 00153444. There you say,
- 15 "In April '76, I decided to transfer the centre to the Ponhea Yat
- 16 High School."
- 17 I'm trying to be very specific as to the dates. You have given
- 18 testimony that Division 170 cadre, Yim Sambath, was arrested
- 19 shortly after he threw that grenade; do you recall whether you
- 20 were already working from the Ponhea Yat High School when Yim
- 21 Sambath was arrested or were you still at the other premises when
- 22 the grenade incident of the 4th April '76 happened?
- 23 (Short pause)
- 24 [14.01.41]
- 25 A. At that point in time, I worked at the former National Police

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- 1 Headquarters and <I> assigned Comrade Hor to interrogate Yim
- 2 Sambath. The building he was interrogated in was -- actually
- 3 faced the north direction.
- 4 Q. North where?
- 5 A. It was the building in the -- the middle.
- 6 Q. So just to be a hundred percent clear so that I understand,
- 7 when Yim Sambath was arrested, you had not yet moved to what is
- 8 now known as the Tuol Sleng Museum premises; correct?
- 9 A. First allow me to correct your statement. You refer to Tuol
- 10 Sleng Museum; in fact, Tuol Sleng Museum is a new label after 7
- 11 January 1979 and the word "S-21 Office" was the official name
- 12 assigned by the <Communist> Party <of Kampuchea>, so please don't
- 13 get confused between the two.
- 14 And regarding <the arrival of> Yim Sambath, at that time, the
- 15 interrogation office of S-21 was at the PJ location that is the
- 16 National Police Headquarters.
- 17 Q. That's very clear. Before I come back to the interrogation of
- 18 Yim Sambath, just to be sure, I would like to -- to show you a
- 19 document that's in your binder, tab 29. I'm not sure if the
- 20 binder is --here's the binder again.
- 21 So, Mr. President, that is document E3/1062 -- 10062 -- 10062.
- 22 There's a Khmer version only. It's document ERN Khmer, 01012815;
- 23 and maybe we can have it on the screen as well.
- 24 [14.04.52]
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

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- 1 Yes, you may proceed and AV unit, please project the document on
- 2 screen.
- 3 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 4 There it is; tab 29, Mr. Witness.
- 5 (Short pause)
- 6 [14.05.37]
- 7 MR. KOPPE:
- 8 I would like you to have a look at that document and then
- 9 especially the second name from the top.
- 10 (Short pause)
- 11 [14.06.04]
- 12 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 13 A. Yes, I see it.
- 14 Q. What does it say? Which name?
- 15 A. It's 107. That is the number. It reads "Yim Sambath, Kbal
- 16 Thnal, Phnom Penh, Group of 50, <Division 170> from the East".
- 17 The date is 4/4/76.
- 18 Q. So this is the day that Yim Sambath was arrested but he was
- 19 not yet detained at any building on the premises of the former
- 20 Ponhea Yat High School. Correct?
- 21 A. In the Democratic Kampuchea regime when someone was arrested
- 22 means the person will be sent straight to be detained. There was
- 23 no judicial proceedings against that person.
- 24 Q. That was not my question. I am trying to establish what the
- 25 exact date was when you moved the S-21 organization to what is

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- 1 now known as the Tuol Sleng Museum premises, formally the Ponhea
- 2 Yat High School. You said it was after Yim Sambath was arrested.
- 3 Can you give us an indication as to how long after the grenade
- 4 incident it was that S-21 was established at what is now known as
- 5 the Tuol Sleng Museum?
- 6 [14.08.04]
- 7 A. Mr. President, allow me to clarify this matter again.
- 8 It's S-21. We should refer to it as S-21 and it belonged to Pol
- 9 Pot. Why do you keep using the words, "Now known as <Tuol Sleng>
- 10 museum"? And I said the label <Tuol Sleng> museum was only used
- 11 after 7 January '79, because Duch was the president or chief of
- 12 S-21 office <that> belonged to Pol Pot.
- 13 And I have mentioned at length regarding the assignment by the
- 14 Party Centre <for me> to be <deputy> chief of S-21, that is, from
- 15 the 15th August '75 and by mid-March 1976, the Party Centre
- 16 assigned me to be chief when Nat was transferred out. He was no
- 17 longer the secretary of S-21.
- 18 And from the day that Nat left, I was acting as chief. And when
- 19 the superior called me to work with him, I was the only one who
- 20 was called and before that when Nat was in, I would go along with
- 21 Nat.
- 22 So, initially I was deputy and later on I became chief. I have
- 23 made mention of this on several occasions and I hope that you
- 24 would not put these questions again.
- 25 [14.10.04]

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- 1 Q. Mr. Witness, it would be better for everyone if you actually
- 2 listened to the question I am asking you.
- 3 Let me try it with a different document. Let me show you on the
- 4 screen. I don't think it's in the binder, document E3/10085. Mr.
- 5 President, that is, Khmer 01013478. With your leave I can give a
- 6 paper copy to the witness and maybe he can be shown --
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Yes, you can proceed.
- 9 AV Unit, please project the document on the screen as <requested>
- 10 by the Defence Counsel.
- 11 (Short pause)
- 12 [14.11.17]
- 13 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 14 Q. Mr. Witness, do you recognize the document?
- 15 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 16 A. Chan Chakrey, alias Mean was the Secretary of Division 170 and
- 17 I know this person, <> we were born in the same year. He was
- 18 arrested and sent to S-21. However, the handwriting on this
- 19 document did not belong to anyone at S-21.
- 20 Q. Now, you have given testimony that Chan Chakrey was arrested
- 21 on the 19th of May 1976. Considering this document, was S-21 on
- 22 the 19th of May, still not moved to the premises, what is now
- 23 known as the Tuol Sleng Museum?
- 24 [14.12.56]
- 25 A. I can recall that Chan Chakrey was interrogated at the outside

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- 1 compound of the former Ponhea Yat High School. He was not
- 2 interrogated within the -- in the compound of the premises.
- 3 Q. So by the time that Chan Chakrey was interrogated, you had in
- 4 fact moved; correct?
- 5 A. Yes, that is correct <>.
- 6 Q. Now, let me go to the last days of the operation of S-21. You
- 7 have given testimony about that last day, the 7th of January
- 8 1979. Let me quote to you so that I can help you a bit.
- 9 E3/452, Mr. President; English, ERN 00147564; Khmer, 00146550;
- 10 and French, 00147927.
- 11 You said: "On 7 January, at 11 hours, an opposition army tank
- 12 force arrived at my house. At that time all S-21 personnel were
- 13 bewildered because this was contrary to the instruction and
- orders of 6 January '79." End of quote.
- 15 Can you say something about the state of bewilderment of you and
- 16 the other S-21 cadres? Why was it that you were bewildered?
- 17 A. In fact, the word "bewilderment" was not a proper translation
- 18 of the Khmer term. If you want to know the real situation at the
- 19 time, I can explain that to you. Otherwise, you may keep the word
- 20 "bewilderment" with you.
- 21 [14.15.37]
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Witness Duch, please state the matter clearly so that is clear
- 24 once and for all. Of course, you are being cross-examined by the
- 25 Defence Counsel and they have different techniques and strategies

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- 1 in questioning you.
- 2 So please respond to the questions put to you by the Defence
- 3 Counsel so that it is clear and you would not be asked that
- 4 question again.
- 5 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 6 A. Thank you, Mr. President. A few days ago I made mention of
- 7 that situation as well.
- 8 On the 6th of January 1979, Comrade Lin came to me and asking me
- 9 to go and work with the brother. So I went, that is, at the
- 10 Suramarit Buddhist School.
- 11 And at that time I went to work with Brother Hem and not Brother
- 12 Nuon. And of course the way that I worked with Brother <Hem>, I
- 13 made mention of that at length. And allow me to repeat what
- 14 Brother Hem said.
- 15 [14.17.01]
- 16 He said that Comrade -- and here he wanted to refer to everyone
- 17 that we should not be panicked or surprised. Although a "Yuon"
- 18 group came deep inside, Roeun and San were defending against
- 19 their advancement and so that we should keep working. That night
- 20 I was not well and Thirith (phonetic) sent my younger <sibling
- 21 back>. In fact, I sent my younger <sibling> to learn how to do
- 22 the childcare course. And by 12 o'clock I heard the thundering
- 23 sounds of convoys of vehicles and I was wondering what happened
- 24 because we just received instructions from the Party <a day
- 25 before that>.

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- 1 At 11 o'clock, I was taking my wife for a meal and then a tank
- 2 was rolling <pass my house> and I said, "Oh, the 'Yuon' had
- 3 arrived <at Phnom Penh>." And I shouted to the soldiers to stop
- 4 having their meals and return to their respective posts and
- 5 awaiting new instructions. At the time Hor was standing near me
- 6 and <I asked him> about the four people from Y-8 and he said that
- 7 the four had been smashed
 the four had been smashed
by Nan> per instructions from Brother
- 8 Nuon.
- 9 [14.18.41]
- 10 And I sent people to survey the roads. They saw people from <Yun>
- 11 Yat School who wanted to take refuge with us. And once in a while
- 12 a tank was passing by to the north direction.
- 13 And by about 3 o'clock, I left S-21, that is, the former Ponhea
- 14 Yat School and I headed towards Son Som Kosal (phonetic) pagoda,
- 15 <at that time, it was a> school. And by about 5:30 or 6 p.m., I
- 16 took a shortcut <at> the <Steung Meanchey> radio station <and I
- 17 went toward the Air Defence Forces headquarter>.
- 18 And I actually asked them to cooperate in order to counterattack
- 19 the advancement of the "Yuon" and then <the chief of the> air
- 20 force from 502 said, "How come <no one told you> brother, because
- 21 everybody left and why you are still here? <I will leave too as
- 22 soon as I destroyed> the artillery cannons<>".
- 23 So then we went further and at National Road Number 4, I saw
- 24 columns of tanks rolling. At that time we split into two
- 25 <groups>. Van took a group and left to the other side of National

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- 1 Road Number 4 while I took another group to Tmat Pong.
- 2 [14.20.18]
- 3 So the situation was not bewildered. Of course, we all had
- 4 experience, we were calm and nobody <in my group> was in a panic
- 5 mode. But I was <just surprised> because the situation seems to
- 6 contradict what the Party just instructed us not many hours ago.
- 7 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 8 Well, Mr. Witness, what I am particularly interested in about
- 9 that day is the following. And let me read to you what you said
- 10 to the Investigating Judges.
- 11 Mr. President, E3/452; English, 00147570; Khmer, 00146557;
- 12 French, 00147932.
- 13 You were talking about confessions and you said the following,
- 14 and I will quote you:
- 15 "The confessions had to be done in duplicate. I kept the copies
- 16 and originals were sent to the upper echelon. The copied
- 17 documents I kept in my garage. And when I fled I never touched
- 18 all those documents." End of quote.
- 19 [14.21.46]
- 20 Q. My first question is where exactly did you keep those
- 21 confessions that you had assembled in the garage?
- 22 A. I left -- I kept those things on the floor in the garage since
- 23 I did not have any <cabinets> to store them. Comrade Chhen, my
- 24 messenger, was the one who usually maintained those documents in
- 25 the garage.

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- 1 And allow me to add one thing. Initially I made two copies of
- 2 documents. However, if the document had to be sent to a zone then
- 3 I had to make extra copies, for example, one <more> copy <made to
- 4 be sent> to the North Zone, as the policy of making two copies
- 5 was the initial concept.
- 6 [14.23.07]
- 7 Q. Do you remember the copies of those confessions that you kept
- 8 in the garage on the floor whether these were all the confessions
- 9 or all the statements ever given to you or to interrogators by
- 10 the prisoners? Was that the total -- those confessions, were they
- 11 all there were?
- 12 A. I am not sure about the confessions whether they were all the
- 13 confessions or whether they were confessions of important
- 14 prisoners. There could be some confessions <remaining> at the
- 15 office of Comrade Pon.
- 16 Q. When you fled with the others did you see any of the other
- 17 cadres, especially Suos Thy, but also others, carry any of the
- 18 confessions from S-21?
- 19 A. I do not recall that. However, I recall that Mam Nai, Hor,
- 20 Pon, Phal and I went together as a group and only Comrade Van,
- 21 that is, a cadre who took another group <and went to the south of
- 22 the National Road. Comrade Van's original name was Nhep Ho, > in
- 23 fact, there was his WRI <> although he did not come to testify
- 24 here in person. <Comrade Van was Comrade Peng's biological
- 25 brother. > And I cannot recall who else went with Comrade Van.

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- 1 Also, for Comrade Thy I did not know which group he fled along
- 2 with.
- 3 [14.25.38]
- 4 Q. Now, in your own trial you have read extensively the book that
- 5 historian David Chandler wrote on S-21, document E3/1684. And in
- 6 his book English, ERN 00192685; Khmer, 001981835 (sic); and
- 7 French, 00357268; in his book he says that about 4,300
- 8 confessions were roughly saved, were found around the premises of
- 9 S-21 at S-21 itself.
- 10 Do you remember reading that in Chandler's book and are you in a
- 11 position to say whether that is in fact the total number of
- 12 confessions that either you at your house kept or others at other
- 13 places?
- 14 A. Regarding the confessions of the enemy, and allow me to use
- 15 the word enemy because that was the term that was used during the
- 16 regime, I cannot recall how many confessions there were. And I
- 17 also do not recall about what was stated by David Chandler. And
- 18 because of the sheer amount of papers he said he was swimming
- 19 amongst those documents and he could not know the exact number of
- 20 documents.
- 21 [14.27.52]
- 22 Q. I realize it is difficult to know exact numbers but, again, my
- 23 question is 4,300 confessions. Could that be an accurate total
- 24 that was found in your house and other houses by the Vietnamese
- 25 troops?

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- 1 A. I cannot say anything about that because there were also many
- 2 prisoners who were smashed without having any confessions. Of
- 3 course the number of confessions of 4,000 or something is also a
- 4 lot but I cannot say for sure whether that was the actual number.
- 5 I do not want to make a speculation here.
- 6 Q. I will get back to that number when we will talk about some
- 7 other subjects of S-21.
- 8 But let me return now, Mr. Witness, to the person that I referred
- 9 to earlier, Yim Sambath. As you confirmed, he arrived at the
- 10 other premises of S-21 on the 4th of April '76, but he was
- 11 arrested for a reason.
- 12 Earlier you said he was arrested because he had thrown a grenade
- 13 behind the Royal Palace. Can you expand a little bit as to what
- 14 happened? What had Yim Sambath done? Can you be more specific?
- 15 Can you give more details as to what exactly happened with him
- 16 and other Division 170 cadres?
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Witness, please hold on.
- 19 Judge Lavergne, you have the floor.
- 20 [14.30.26]
- 21 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 22 Is Yim Sambath supposed to have had any conversations apart from
- 23 the interrogations of this prisoner at S-21<, whether at S-21> or
- 24 at the central police station? Was what he was able to read from
- 25 the interrogations of a prisoner not tainted by torture?

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- 1 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 2 Well, there are various documents that actually refer to an
- 3 incident and I want to establish whether the incident took place.
- 4 So it seems that before Yim Sambath was arrested maybe there were
- 5 eye witnesses as to what happened. So throwing off a grenade or
- 6 bombs or multiple grenades is an action and doesn't necessarily
- 7 have anything to do with statements or confessions.
- 8 Q. So my question is, Mr. Witness, do you know anything about
- 9 that grenade-throwing incident other than your information from
- 10 any statements, any confessions from anyone?
- 11 (Short pause)
- 12 [14.32.13]
- 13 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 14 A. I would like to clarify the location behind the Royal Palace.
- 15 That location was initially managed or owned by Division 170 of
- 16 Chakrey.
- 17 Division 180 managed by Pang, Lin and Kham My, was the division
- 18 protecting <the> Centre.
- 19 And after the grenade-throwing incident, Division 170 was removed
- 20 from that location <>.
- 21 <> Pang went to that location and examined what happened. <He was
- 22 interested in a house where Yim Sambath stayed. He called me
- 23 there to show me that house. We agreed that it was more than 50
- 24 percent chance> that a person from inside the house went outside
- 25 and threw the grenade <>.

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- 1 Later on, an individual, Yim Sambath, was arrested and I was
- 2 instructed not to interrogate <him myself and not to let Pon
- 3 interrogate him, so I let Hor interrogate him instead>. <I was</pre>
- 4 instructed not to beat him.>
- 5 <And Yim Sambath's first confession was that> the
- 6 grenade-throwing incident was meant to only break a little stuff
- 7 at that place, not to cause destruction <> to make the incident
- 8 known to the world. <Later on, he eventually underwent torture as
- 9 well.>
- 10 [14.34.08]
- 11 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 12 Q. But what did you know about that incident? Did people die? Was
- 13 it one grenade, more than one grenade? Were there eye witnesses?
- 14 Can you tell us anything about that particular day?
- 15 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 16 A. Eye witnesses, under the Western law, were not found after the
- 17 incident but, as I said, that location was in charge by Division
- 18 170. So whatever happened within the location of 170, Division
- 19 170 should be responsible before the Party. After the explosion
- 20 of the grenade, Division 170 was removed <from that location
- 21 under Angkar's order>.
- 22 [14.35.27]
- 23 Pang took me to that location and explained to me about what had
- 24 happened and I presumed <that there was a> 50 percent <chance>
- 25 that an individual from within the house <where Yim Sambath

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- 1 stayed> went outside and <threw> the grenade <>. Later on, Yim
- 2 Sambath was arrested. Again, that location was managed by
- 3 Division 170 <and Yim Sambath's unit was there> and no one got
- 4 injured from the incident.
- 5 Q. You spoke at E3/9362, that Yim Sambath detonated grenades,
- 6 multiple, behind the Royal Palace. Did those grenades explodes on
- 7 the same day as he was arrested on the 4th of April '76?
- 8 If you are looking for it, it's E3/9362; English, ERN 00792004;
- 9 Khmer, 00787956.
- 10 So again my question: Was Yim Sambath arrested on the same day as
- 11 those grenades were detonated behind the Royal Palace?
- 12 A. The grenade-throwing incident and the day that he was arrested
- 13 <were> not close to one another. He was not immediately arrested
- 14 after the incident.
- 15 In practical speaking, that location was managed by Division 170
- 16 and Yim Sambath's <platoon> was there as well. That <platoon> was
- 17 managed by Yim Sambath. < I would like to clarify that there was
- 18 only one grenade thrown there. In Khmer, singular and plural
- 19 nouns are not different, we just say "grenade", but in French,
- 20 they use the article "les" with plural nouns.>
- 21 [14.38.06]
- 22 Q. So then my following question would be, how did you come to
- 23 Yim Sambath? Why was it that Yim Sambath was arrested?
- 24 A. Regarding the arrest of Yim Sambath it is because, number one,
- 25 that location was in charge by him to secure the security of

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- 1 Phnom Penh and, number two, which enemy could enter into that
- 2 headquarters or location? And after I went with Pang to the
- 3 location to examine the situation, I presumed <> that there was
- 4 an individual from within the house went outside and threw <> the
- 5 grenade <there>.
- 6 [14.39.26]
- 7 Q. Now, you said on multiple occasions that Yim Sambath was not
- 8 tortured. Let me read to you something more specific on this,
- 9 E3/356; English, ERN 00242900; Khmer, 00242889. The reason as to
- 10 why Yim Sambath was not, "tortured" is because you said, "Son Sen
- 11 did not want himself in an inferior position with respect to Chan
- 12 Chakrey, who would have been able to hold against him that the
- 13 confession had been made under torture." End of quote.
- 14 What exactly did you mean when you said that Son Sen did not want
- 15 to be in an inferior position with respect to Chan Chakrey?
- 16 A. For clarity, I would like to explain the issue in broad
- 17 aspect. Chakrey was an individual suspected by the Centre.
- 18 Chakrey was <Phim's favourite>, <Phim was> the secretary of the
- 19 east and then <Chan Chakrey> was removed and put in the general
- 20 staff as an assistant to the general staff <so that he could be
- 21 monitored>. So he was <an> assistant <of the general staff, not a
- 22 full member of the general staff committee>.
- 23 And after the division of the land, <Division 170 was located>
- 24 behind the Royal Palace <where Yim Sambath threw a grenade>.
- 25 So the decision to arrest was made by Son Sen and I was

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- 1 instructed by Son Sen not to interrogate Yim Sambath by myself
- 2 and <another> individual should be assigned to interrogate <him>
- 3 but not Pon. <Son Sen instructed us not to beat him.>
- 4 After the arrest, I gave Yim Sambath to Hor for interrogation. A
- 5 few hours later, I went on my motorbike to see Hor and Hor gave
- 6 me <Yim Sambath's audio recorded confession> together with a text
- 7 and I wrapped that <up> and sent it up the line.
- 8 [14.43.08]
- 9 <Later on, Son Sen called people including Chakrey to work. There
- 10 were Chakrey, myself, the audio recording, > and <> a photograph
- 11 of Yim Sambath sitting and drinking coconut which was given to
- 12 him. That photo was shown to Chakrey so that he confessed and at
- 13 the time Chakrey said that <only> Yim Sambath who did or created
- 14 the incident. And Son Sen got angry after hearing that.
- 15 So Son Sen instructed me not to beat up Chan Chakrey and, as I
- 16 said, I showed the photograph of Yim Sambath drinking coconut
- 17 <and the audio recording> to Chakrey to confess. <That was what
- 18 happened at that time and the statement made in the Case was> a
- 19 summary of the incident and since it <was a> summary <it was> a
- 20 bit different from <what really happened>. <So, that is why I
- 21 want to clarify what really happened.>
- 22 Let me add another point. Later on, Yim Sambath still underwent
- 23 torture but for the first or initial stage <when his confession
- 24 was audio recorded at first, > he was not tortured.
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

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- 1 Thank you, Mr. Witness. It is now break time.
- 2 The Chamber will take a short break from now until five past 3
- 3 p.m.
- 4 Court officers, please assist the witness in the waiting room
- 5 during the break time and invite him back to the courtroom at
- 6 five past 3 p.m.
- 7 The Court is now in recess.
- 8 (Court recesses from 1445H to 1505H)
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 Please be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 11 And again, the floor is given to the Defence Counsel for Nuon
- 12 Chea to put further questions to the witness.
- 13 [15.06.07]
- 14 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 15 Q. Yes, Mr. Witness. We were speaking about the interrogation of
- 16 Yim Sambath before the break. Let me read to you what you said in
- 17 E3/429, your statement to the Co-Investigating Judges; English,
- 18 ERN 00403920; Khmer, 00403908. You said, and I quote:
- 19 "Son Sen said that Chakrey responded violently when he read the
- 20 confession. Son Sen then decided to continue the investigation
- 21 before any arrests were made." End of quote.
- 22 Can you tell us what kind of investigations Son Sen conducted
- 23 before any arrests were made?
- 24 [15.07.32]
- 25 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:

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- 1 A. After having heard the tape of the confession of Yim Sambath,
- 2 I was also there because Son Sen called me. There were myself,
- 3 Chakrey, Saom, an assistant to the general staff. So there were a
- 4 few of us, Son Sen, Chakrey, myself and Saom.
- 5 After we listened to the taped confession of Yim Sambath, Chakrey
- 6 became agitated and the words he used were rather serious. Of
- 7 course, I cannot imitate what he said at the time. He said that
- 8 there was no other line of traitors. There was only Yim Sambath.
- 9 And at the time Son Sen made the proper <announcement> that Yim
- 10 Sambath was interrogated and not beaten. And Son Sen said Chakrey
- 11 was agitated. And the way Son Sen worked was similar to that of
- 12 the <Communist Party of Kampuchea> as well as <other general>
- 13 police offices. They tried to find all the <relevant> elements
- 14 before a decision was made for the arrest, that is, after those
- 15 elements were found and investigation complete.
- 16 So the evidence was that Yim Sambath threw a grenade behind the
- 17 Royal Palace. That was one element. Then they searched for other
- 18 elements before someone was arrested. For example, regarding the
- 19 arrest of Chakrey or Brother Chhouk, they tried to find all those
- 20 relevant elements before a decision was made.
- 21 For example, when Phim had to make that decision regarding the
- 22 arrest of Chhouk, Phim was called for a meeting <with> the
- 23 <Standing Committee> before that decision was made.
- 24 [15.09.55]
- 25 Q. I am specifically interested in the words that you used in

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- 1 that excerpt. Son Sen decided to continue the investigation. What
- 2 did he do other than maybe continue interrogating Yim Sambath?
- 3 What kind of investigation methods did Son Sen apply after the
- 4 grenade incident?
- 5 A. Chakrey was given to Son Sen by Pol Pot's order. So they did
- 6 whatever they could in order not to <> raise any suspicion <that
- 7 he was under the Party's monitoring>. They usually would send
- 8 Chakrey on this assignment or that assignment.
- 9 And allow me to give you an example. I got married on the 20th of
- 10 December '75 and Son Sen said I could take a rest for 10 days,
- 11 but three days after, I was sent to Kampong Som and Chakrey also
- 12 went <there>. And Nat went with Chakrey, so that he could monitor
- 13 the activities of Chakrey.
- 14 So they usually would send him <on made up missions> in order to
- 15 check on his activities and at that time <I was there to check> a
- 16 ship coming into the port <>.
- 17 [15.11.42]
- 18 Q. So would Chakrey be followed? Was his division infiltrated?
- 19 I think, Mr. President, there is something wrong with the -- do
- 20 you hear me?
- 21 (Short pause)
- 22 [15.12.34]
- 23 BY MR. KOPPE:
- Q. Can you hear me, Mr. Witness?
- 25 So my question is, do you know what specific investigation

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- 1 methods were used before Chakrey was arrested? Was he monitored?
- 2 Was he followed?
- 3 (Short pause)
- 4 [15.13.18]
- 5 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 6 Q. Let's try again. Can you hear me?
- 7 So my question is, Mr. Witness, do you know what kind of
- 8 investigation methods were used against Chan Chakrey? Was he
- 9 monitored? Was he being observed? Was his unit or regiment
- 10 infiltrated? What is it exactly that Son Sen did to gather
- 11 evidence against Chan Chakrey?
- 12 (Short pause)
- 13 [15.14.10]
- 14 MR. KAING GEUK EAV:
- 15 A. There was no infiltration of forces. Regarding the grenade
- 16 incident, Yim Sambath was not the only one who was subjected to
- 17 investigation. People who were implicated in Yim Sambath's
- 18 confessions were also under investigation and Nat, Nat would
- 19 constantly follow Chan Chakrey.
- 20 At S-21, if someone's confession was of a high interest, then we
- 21 would receive strict instructions to do it properly, that is, in
- 22 terms of interrogating that individual.
- 23 [15.15.01]
- 24 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 25 Q. Let me ask it more concretely. Do you know what was done

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- 1 between the 4th of April 1976 and the 19th of May 1976, when Chan
- 2 Chakrey was arrested?
- 3 (Short pause)
- 4 [15.15.57]
- 5 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 6 A. I was not there when Nat had to monitor Chan Chakrey at the
- 7 general staff office. However, those who had links to Division
- 8 170, were gradually arrested. When names were mentioned in the
- 9 confessions then those names of those individuals were subject to
- 10 be under surveillance as well.
- 11 Chakrey and Sour Sophan were removed and Sokh became the
- 12 secretary of the division. <Sokh> was the person who was trusted.
- 13 [15.16.40]
- 14 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 15 Q. Well, let me take you a document, the content of which you
- 16 were unaware of at the time but a document that you saw in your
- 17 case file much later. That is, in your binder, document number 2.
- 18 That is, Mr. President, E3/183; English, ERN 00183393 and
- 19 further; Khmer, 00019108 and further; French, 00292868. And
- 20 specifically I am interested in page 11 of that document which is
- 21 in Khmer, 00019121; French, 00292881; and English, 00183403.
- 22 These are minutes of the standing committee meeting of 9 October
- 23 1975.
- 24 And on that page that is in your document, the subject of
- 25 discussion within the standing committee was Comrade Mean and the

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- 1 division. Let's ask you first. Is Comrade Mean the same person as
- 2 Chan Chakrey?
- 3 (Short pause)
- 4 [15.18.45]
- 5 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 6 A. Yes. Comrade Mean was Chan Chakrey.
- 7 Q. Now, in this document which, as I said, is dated on the 9th of
- 8 October '75, it turns out that Chan Chakrey is already monitored
- 9 closely in politics, in ideology, etc. It says in these minutes:
- 10 "From his previous history, we may get the idea he could not
- 11 stand it and fled, but he did not join the enemy. He came into
- 12 Angkar and Angkar sent him to the base."
- 13 And then it says, "Must be careful about speech that he is seen
- 14 as a traitor. If we use the word traitor that is serious. Finding
- 15 his history through our own networks is better and Comrade Mean
- 16 was formerly close to Comrade Chhouk."
- 17 It ends with saying that, "Comrade Mean has many good points."
- 18 Now again, at the time you were unaware of the content of this
- 19 document, but is it known to you or was it known to you at the
- 20 time that, before the grenade incident or the grenades incident,
- 21 Comrade Chakrey was already monitored very closely?
- 22 [15.20.44]
- 23 A. I know part of <it>.
- 24 (Short pause)
- 25 [15.21.26]

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Defence Counsel, you should proceed with further questions as he
- 3 just responded that he knew part of the event. If he makes a
- 4 lengthy response probably you would interrupt, so please further
- 5 with your question so that the witness can respond to those
- 6 questions.
- 7 [15.21.52]
- 8 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 9 Indeed, but I saw him going through the pages and I thought he
- 10 was going to provide more evidence. That's why I was waiting, Mr.
- 11 President.
- 12 Q. But again, Mr. Witness, did you know that Comrade Mean or Chan
- 13 Chakrey was already closely monitored before the grenade incident
- on the 4th of April? And if yes, what did you know?
- 15 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 16 A. I started to know about the event when Son Sen sent me and Nat
- 17 with Chakrey to Kampong Som.
- 18 After we met, Son Sen said the situation at present was difficult
- 19 because Chakrey <had> quite a senior position and if he were to
- 20 incite another group <to rebel, > it would be very difficult to
- 21 control him. For that reason we had to come up with different
- 22 assignments for him to go here or there. In this case that he was
- 23 sent on a mission to Kampong Som with us.
- 24 And that was the first time that I knew about that.
- 25 [15.23.32]

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- 1 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 2 Let me turn to another document. I am not sure whether you are
- 3 aware of that document. It is in your binder under tab number 32.
- 4 Mr. President, that is, document E3/13; Khmer, ERN 00052402 and
- 5 further; English, 00940336 and further; French, 00334972.
- 6 Q. Mr. Witness, these are minutes of a meeting of secretaries and
- 7 deputy secretaries of divisions and independent regiments on the
- 8 9th of October 1976. If you have found it, then maybe my first
- 9 question is: Is it correct that you were not present at this
- 10 meeting?
- 11 (Short pause)
- 12 [15.25.33]
- 13 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 14 A. Thank you. Based on my recollection, I did not attend the
- 15 meeting on 9 October '76. No, I did not attend that meeting.
- 16 Q. Do you know why it was that you were not present or were you
- 17 not allowed to be present at meetings attended by secretaries and
- 18 deputy secretaries of divisions and independent regiments?
- 19 A. My work was rather separate from theirs. If they dealt with
- 20 tanks or radios or telecommunications, I would not have any
- 21 comments to make on those topics and, of course, <others> did not
- 22 understand the nature of <my> work as well.
- 23 If I made report of this particular confession or that
- 24 confession, they would not have a clue of what I talked about.
- 25 That's why I did not attend that meeting.

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- 1 Q. Now, in the meeting, the grenade incident is being discussed.
- 2 On English, ERN 00940341; Khmer, 00052405; and French, 00334975;
- 3 we can read that the history of Chakrey is that he was originally
- 4 in the North, but there were previously incidents of guns being
- 5 fired near the fine arts school and leaflets being thrown near
- 6 the Royal Palace. Then in early April '76, they threw grenades
- 7 and threw leaflets again.
- 8 And then, a little bit further, Son Sen is speaking and is
- 9 talking to division commanders, including division commander Oeun
- 10 of Division 310, and he says:
- 11 [15.28.31]
- 12 "The Enemies to the East. The key plan of the enemy of the East,
- 13 the Vietnamese with the Soviets behind them, was to attack from
- 14 the inside through the traitorous forces of Ya, Keo Meas, Chhouk
- 15 and Chakrey. What they would have liked in terms of an attack
- 16 from the outside was to attack in the Czechoslovakian and Angolan
- 17 style, but this was merely a moral boost because given our
- 18 situation this was not something the enemy could do." End of
- 19 quote.
- 20 Mr. Witness, do you remember Son Sen speaking to you ever about
- 21 the key plan of Ya, Chhouk, Chakrey with the Vietnamese
- 22 supporting them?
- 23 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 24 Witness, please hold on. International Deputy Co-Prosecutor, you
- 25 have the floor.

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- 1 [15.29.45]
- 2 MR. LYSAK:
- 3 Thank you, Mr. President. It should be very clear -- and counsel
- 4 has skipped over these parts of the minutes that much, if not
- 5 all, of the information Son Sen is reporting in this meeting is
- 6 described as coming from the responses or answers of the people
- 7 who had been arrested.
- 8 And specifically if you look at page -- I have just the English
- 9 page, but one of the pages cited by counsel, 00940341, in English
- 10 states:
- 11 "From the responses of these men, we knew of a certain number of
- 12 their plans." End of quote.
- 13 Our position is that the document may be used because it shows
- 14 the use of confessions by the leaders but in terms of -- in terms
- 15 of the -- being used to show the truth of these plans, it should
- 16 be very clear that this information is coming from confessions
- 17 and is not admissible for that purpose.
- 18 MR. KOPPE:
- 19 If I may respond, Mr. President. That is speculation on the side
- 20 of the Prosecution.
- 21 We have established that Chan Chakrey was monitored already
- 22 extensively. The witness, on multiple occasions, has talked about
- 23 surveillance, other monitoring proceedings, investigation
- 24 methods. Simply saying that anything that was ever known by Son
- 25 Sen or others must have as its only source confessions is

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- 1 speculation. So I think, in general terms, this question should
- 2 -- I should be able to ask this question.
- 3 [15.31.44]
- 4 MR. LYSAK:
- 5 Briefly, it's not speculation, it's right in the document itself.
- 6 A second -- it's only counsel who's described investigation
- 7 methods. The witness has said nothing other than someone
- 8 monitored or watched this person.
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 The objection of the International Deputy Co-Prosecutor is
- 11 appropriate because the question is based on the content of the
- 12 confession.
- 13 Mr. Witness, please do not respond to the <last> question that
- 14 has been put by Counsel Koppe.
- 15 [15.32.35]
- 16 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 17 Q. Mr. Witness, tomorrow I will come back to you and read from
- 18 evidence that has nothing to do with S-21, so I'll be revisiting
- 19 this subject extensively. So let's park that subject for a
- 20 second.
- 21 Let me talk about the investigation method of monitoring or
- 22 surveilling people.
- 23 What is it that you know about that, in general? What was done
- 24 other than interrogating people?
- 25 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:

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- 1 A. It is difficult for me to comment in relation to the
- 2 surveillance on New People <at the base area>, but what I can say
- 3 is that people had been evacuated from Phnom Penh and other
- 4 provinces and they were placed together with the Base People or
- 5 the Old People. They worked together and lived together
- 6 collectively. <They were under surveillance.>
- 7 However, the Base People had the authority to supervise the
- 8 newcomers or New People and the <commune> and village levels had
- 9 the authority to report to the upper echelon on <irregular
- 10 activities of some> people<>.
- 11 [15.34.46]
- 12 Q. Well, let me read to you two things that you said to
- 13 investigators.
- 14 First, something you said in document E3/65; English, ERN
- 15 00147523; Khmer, 00146483; French, 00147898. You said:
- 16 "Regarding those for whom it had been decided to arrest, if they
- 17 had important status, they were monitored extremely closely
- 18 before they were arrested."
- 19 And in another document, E3/451; at Khmer -- at English, ERN
- 20 00204339 until 340; Khmer, 00187650, 51; and French, 00186170,
- 21 you said, and I quote you:
- 22 "Normally --
- 23 [15.35.53]
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 Once again, Counsel Koppe, read slower the ERN numbers and also

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- 1 the document identity number, otherwise the interpreters cannot
- 2 follow your reading of the ERNs number and you will waste the
- 3 time to repeat it again.
- 4 MR. KOPPE:
- 5 E3/451; Khmer 00187650 to 51; English 00204339 till 340; French,
- 6 00186170. In this document, E3/451, Mr. Witness, you said:
- 7 "Normally --
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 Again, there's issue with the ERN numbers and document identity
- 10 number. Perhaps something went wrong with the interpretation
- 11 system that makes the interpreter could not hear what you were
- 12 saying.
- 13 The AV Unit said there is no interpretation, equipment error.
- 14 I remind you again, Counsel Koppe, to read slower the ERN
- 15 numbers. The interpreter did not follow you a while ago.
- 16 [15.37.50]
- 17 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 18 Well, I'm happy to read it a third time, but -- E3/451; English,
- 19 00204339 till 340; Khmer, 00187650 till 51; French, 00186170.
- 20 Q. Now, again for the third time, Mr. Witness. In this document,
- 21 E3/451, you said:
- 22 "Normally, implication in one confession was not sufficient for a
- 23 person to be arrested. It had to occur several times.
- 24 Furthermore, a number of suspects were under close surveillance
- 25 and we waited for such implication in the confession, as was the

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- 1 case with Chakrey and Pang." End of quote.
- 2 Is that something you said? Is that correct that implication in
- 3 one confession was not sufficient?
- 4 [15.39.18]
- 5 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 6 A. Thank you. Concerning the fact that one time confession was
- 7 not justified for the arrest, <that is true>. Only one confession
- 8 could not justify for the arrest.
- 9 In principle, the principle set by Pol Pot during the 17 April
- 10 celebration, 10 confessions could be the justification. <But that
- 11 was just a speech to make it look good. Some people just needed
- 12 only one confession. For example, the case of Chakrey and Comrade
- 13 Pang, > Chakrey was under surveillance or was suspected for a long
- 14 period of time and as long as there <was any> sufficient
- 15 confession, Chakrey would be arrested. < As for high ranking
- 16 people, for example, > there were implications in the case of Vorn
- 17 in the confessions of prisoners, but the instruction needed to be
- 18 obtained from the upper echelon <whether or not to listen to such
- 19 confessions>. <As for the case of> Pang, at the beginning, <he
- 20 defended S-21> but, later on, he <was angry with S-21>.
- 21 We were advised
by Brother Pol not to believe in everything that
- 22 was said in the enemies' confessions>, the enemies may have
- 23 <their ways> to change their confessions.
- 24 [15.41.09]
- 25 Q. Let me see if I can try it differently. Is it possible, Mr.

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- 1 Witness, that you had no idea at the time what kind of
- 2 surveillance or monitoring happened in relation to people who
- 3 were subsequently arrested because the only thing that you did
- 4 was read and analyse confessions.
- 5 Is it correct that you had no idea what kind of investigation was
- 6 going on outside your workplace?
- 7 A. I could just say in one word. Some people were arrested based
- 8 on one or two words in the confessions <of one or two people>,
- 9 <those people> were under surveillance for a long time ago
- 10 already, so they were arrested not based on <S-21 documents>. <At
- 11 the outside, people followed the Party's principle, the Principle
- 12 10b, anyone> who worked well <as a team> and could adhere to the
- 13 lines of the Party, they were considered good.
- 14 [15.42.35]
- 15 Q. The reason I'm confronting you with the possibility that
- 16 because of your position in the hierarchy, you might have not had
- 17 any idea what was going on in terms of investigation, is what was
- 18 written down in the last joint plan about implications against So
- 19 Phim and Ros Nhim. But more specifically about -- because of a
- 20 document that was shown to you earlier I think by the President
- 21 of the Chamber. That's document E3/1604. It is Document 12 in
- 22 your binder.
- 23 It is an annotation from you on Koy Thuon's confession. The
- 24 document -- the Khmer ERN is 00006757; I repeat 00006757 -- maybe
- 25 we can have it on the screen as well -- and English 00773088.

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- 1 And in that annotation on Koy Thuon's confession, it says:
- 2 "He will write everything about Comrade Nhim and Brother Phim's
- 3 story."
- 4 So here, Koy Thuon in his confession is implicating Nhim and
- 5 Phim. Do you recall that annotation?
- 6 A. The annotations were made by the brothers up the line without
- 7 my knowledge, and that information was leaked to me when Son Sen
- 8 was on phone with me, that he was -- he said that Khuon attacked
- 9 our forces. So the annotations were made separately by the
- 10 superiors above. And I was told separately by Son Sen that Khuon
- 11 attacked our forces.
- 12 Q. Now, this annotation is dated 8 March 1977, and it talks
- 13 about Koy Thuon's implication of Ros Nhim. Do you remember when
- 14 Ros Nhim was arrested?
- 15 [15.45.55]
- 16 A. Brother Nhim was arrested in 1978. I do not know -- recall
- 17 the month when he was arrested. The arrest of Nhim <happened>
- 18 before the arrest of Phim.
- 19 Q. Is it correct that Ros Nhim was arrested sometime May-June
- 20 1978?
- 21 A. That may have been so, in May, probably -- it may have
- 22 happened in May. <In> June, the event at the East started to
- 23 arise and the arrest of Phim <and others happened all over the
- 24 place>.
- 25 Q. Now, are you able to tell us why it took 12-13 months before

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- 1 Nhim was arrested? He was implicated already by Koy Thuon in
- 2 March '77. I believe Brother Phim was already implicated much
- 3 earlier. Do you have any idea why it took so long for Ros Nhim to
- 4 be arrested?
- 5 [15.47.28]
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 Please hold on, Mr. Witness. You may proceed, Co-Prosecutor.
- 8 MR. LYSAK:
- 9 Yes, Mr. President. I think counsel is testifying himself here
- 10 and he read a few words from this annotation, but he left out the
- 11 subsequent comments by Son Sen in which he clearly states that he
- 12 considered this to be fabrication. So to then ask why it took
- 13 this long from this date after he was implicated, Son Sen says
- 14 right in this annotation he considers this to be a fabrication.
- 15 BY MR. KOPPE:
- 16 Well, I think the Prosecution is testifying now on behalf of the
- 17 witness.
- 18 But the question still stands, and let me move away from this
- 19 document. That's fine with me.
- 20 Q. Mr. Witness, do you remember when it was the first time that
- 21 So Phim and Ros Nhim were implicated?
- 22 [15.48.45]
- 23 MR. KAING GUEK EAV:
- 24 A. I do not remember it. Concerning Brother Phim, I was <>
- 25 interested in his case <too>; in December 1975, <Sok

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- 1 Butchamroeun> ordered the killing of a cadre <from the city>. His
- 2 name was <Huon> Keat (phonetic).
- 3 I said at the time before the arrest of a Party member, there
- 4 should be a decision from the Centre. It was said at the time
- 5 that Sok Butchamroeun was the member of the Centre. <That's not
- 6 correct.>
- 7 It was from the time onwards that I was interested in the case of
- 8 Phim. It was not good to arrest a Party member without the
- 9 decision or instruction from <the> Centre.
- 10 I do not know about the case of Nhim when was he so concerned by
- 11 the Party, but for the case of Phim, it happened like what I
- 12 described. Phim defended <Yang> Ly Phel (phonetic), Yang Mon
- 13 (phonetic) <who came to work at> the general staff of the army,
- 14 and he <took> some of the people from the prison, who <did not
- 15 join the party yet, and made one of them> the secretary of Pea
- 16 Reang <district>, for example. There was another case. He
- 17 expanded the forces by using the former Lon Nol soldiers in the
- 18 army. <That was also wrong.> There were different scenario and
- 19 cases. For example, he asked the soldiers of the East to wear the
- 20 enemy's uniforms <or the American military uniforms> and he
- 21 advocated his action at the time by saying <Revolutionary Army of
- 22 Kampuchea> were poor <and we should use whatever we confiscated>.
- 23 So he had contradicted views with <Pol Pot's principles>. That
- 24 made me interested in his case.
- 25 [15.51.17]

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- 1 Later on, I do not know which individual implicated Phim. Hor was
- 2 so scared at the time <because Phim was the secretary of the East
- 3 Zone>, and <Hor asked> Son Sen <about Phim's case>. Son Sen
- 4 replied that Brother Phim did not betray but, later on, I was
- 5 told by Son Sen that Hor should not be allowed to read any
- 6 documents, secret documents, of S-21. It might have impacts on
- 7 cadres.
- 8 So, not one confession could be the justification for the arrest
- 9 of <a high profile cadre like> Brother Phim. He was -- he had
- 10 been under surveillance for quite a long time before he was
- 11 arrested in June.
- 12 There was one meeting of the political bureau of the Party
- 13 Centre, and after that meeting, subordinates of Brother Phim
- 15 time. So, <> after having <a> confession, one individual was
- 16 never arrested immediately.
- 17 [15.52.35]
- 18 Q. So then my very concrete question is, do you remember how
- 19 long it took before the upper echelon was finally convinced that
- 20 So Phim was a traitor? How long until the first -- between the
- 21 first time So Phim was implicated and the ultimate moment of him
- 22 being definitely suspected as traitor and his suicide on 3 June
- 23 '78? How long did that period of surveillance last?
- 24 A. Your question is not based on the real situation, how long
- 25 <before the decision was made? How many people did the Centre

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- 1 want to arrest? In reality, they had to wait until it was the
- 2 right time to do so>; the decision to arrest was based on the
- 3 practical situation whether there would be <any> reaction <from
- 4 the public or not>. <They tried to avoid any reaction from the
- 5 public. Even so, there were still reactions. > The arrest of <any>
- 6 high profile cadre would <result in having reactions from> the
- 7 public. So there was no clear principle of how long <someone>
- 8 could be arrested <after that person was implicated in a
- 9 confession>. The <870> would have to consider thoroughly before
- 10 the arrest <could> happen, otherwise, the society would be in
- 11 chaotic situation. < Although they had tried to consider this
- 12 issue, the situation in the whole country still became chaotic
- 13 after the arrest of Phim and Nhim.>
- 14 [15.54.23]
- 15 Q. Let me try it in another different way, Mr. President -- Mr.
- 16 Witness, sorry.
- 17 How many times was Phim implicated before it was decided that he
- 18 was betraying Democratic Kampuchea -- 10 times, 15 times, 20
- 19 times -- do you know?
- 20 A. At S-21, I, <> myself did not total how many times Brother
- 21 Phim was implicated, but at S-21, Hor was so scared <that he
- 22 would be in trouble> because he learned that high profile cadres
- 23 were implicated gradually. He went to ask and seek advice from
- 24 Brother Khieu and Brother Khieu <said that it was okay, but>
- 25 later on, <Brother Khieu> advised me not to let Hor read S-21

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- 1 documents.
- 2 So how many times he was implicated could not be told by me, it
- 3 based on the practical situation during that period.
- 4 Q. Mr. Witness, did the upper echelon take your work seriously?
- 5 Did they take the confessions that you provided seriously? Isn't
- 6 it true that many confessions were not taken seriously at all?
- 7 [15.56.15]
- 8 A. Thank you, Counsel. They would consider whether <it was>
- 9 seriously or not based on whether or not they got other
- 10 information <that could> be used as a basis. And they would have
- 11 to consider whether <or not> the confessions I sent were feasible
- 12 or could be used for the basis.
- 13 <For instance, > Brother Phim was <implicated that he had
- 14 contacts> with the <East meaning> "Yuon"<, not the East in terms
- 15 of the East Zone>. That was mentioned in various documents, so he
- 16 was put under surveillance. <> Confessions from S-21 were <a
- 17 small> part of the justification and whether <or not the
- 18 confessions could be used <as the basis, depended on them, <on
- 19 how many people supported the arrest of Phim> after <they read
- 20 the confessions>.
- 21 MR. KOPPE:
- 22 Mr. President, I'm coming to a new subject. Maybe this would be
- 23 an appropriate time to break.
- 24 [15.57.40]
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

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- 1 Thank you, Counsel. Thank you, Mr. Witness.
- 2 It is now time for the adjournment today. The hearing will resume
- 3 tomorrow on Tuesday 21 June 2016 at 9 a.m. Please be informed and
- 4 please be on time as scheduled.
- 5 I'm grateful to you, Mr. Kaing Guek Eav alias Duch. The hearing
- 6 of your testimony as a witness has not come to an end yet. You
- 7 are therefore invited to come here and testify once again
- 8 tomorrow.
- 9 Security personnel are instructed to bring the two accused,
- 10 together with the witness, back to the ECCCs detention facility
- and have them returned into the courtroom tomorrow before 9 a.m.
- 12 That's for the accused. And as for Kaing Guek Eav, he should be
- 13 brought into the courtroom at 9 a.m. in the morning.
- 14 The Court is now adjourned.
- 15 (Court adjourns at 1558H)

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