

### អច្ចខំសុំ៩ម្រៈទិសាមញ្ញតូខតុលាការកម្ពុជា

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

# ព្រះរាជាឃាត្តមិនអតិ ជាតិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាតុក្រុ

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

## អតិន្នុន្សតិន្

Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

#### TRANSCRIPT OF TRIAL PROCEEDINGS **PUBLIC**

Case File No 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC

12 January 2012 Trial Day 14

Before the Judges: NIL Nonn, Presiding

Silvia CARTWRIGHT

YA Sokhan

Jean-Marc LAVERGNE

YOU Ottara

THOU Mony (Reserve)

Claudia FENZ (Reserve)

Trial Chamber Greffiers/Legal Officers:

**DUCH Phary** Matteo CRIPPA

For the Office of the Co-Prosecutors:

**SENG Bunkheang** Tarik ABDULHAK **VENG Huot** 

Vincent DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL

Dale LYSAK

For Court Management Section:

**UCH Arun** 

ឯកសារជើន

ORIGINAL/ORIGINAL

CMS/CFO: Kauv Keoratanak

The Accused: **NUON Chea** 

**IENG Sary** 

KHIEU Samphan

Lawyers for the Accused:

SON Arun

Michiel PESTMAN

ANG Udom

Michael G. KARNAVAS

KONG Sam Onn

Lawyers for the Civil Parties:

PICH Ang

Élisabeth SIMONNEAU-FORT

LOR Chunthy **MOCH Sovannary HONG Kimsuon** SIN Soworn Barnabé NEKUIE

**VEN Pov** SAM Sokong

Nushin SARKARATI

TY Srinna **PHANG Vichet** 

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

### INDEX

THE ACCUSED, MR. NUON CHEA	
Questioning by Mr. Lysak resumesp	age 8
THE ACCUSED, MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN	
Questioning by Judge Lavergnepa	ge 65

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

# **List of Speakers:**

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language
MR. ABDULHAK	English
MR. ANG UDOM	Khmer
MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN	Khmer
MR. KONG SAM ONN	Khmer
JUDGE LAVERGNE	English
MR. LYSAK	English
THE PRESIDENT (NIL NONN, Presiding)	Khmer
MR. NUON CHEA	Khmer
MR. PESTMAN	English
MR. SENG BUNKHEANG	Khmer

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Court opens at 0908H)
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Please be seated. The Court is now in session to continue its
- 5 proceedings to hear evidence.
- 6 And before we commence today's session, the Chamber wishes to
- 7 remind the parties that, in order for our proceedings to be
- 8 conducted properly, the parties should be reminded and remember
- 9 the recommendations made by the translation interpreting unit as
- 10 follows:
- 11 One, the parties should be reminded that the Trial Chamber of the
- 12 ECCC uses three languages. When parties are to refer to documents
- 13 or any reference, the parties are reminded to read the ERN
- 14 numbers or the document numbers slowly and precisely and, if
- 15 possible, the parties are reminded to repeat those numbers. The
- 16 parties should spell the names that are deemed difficult to
- 17 pronounce, especially the international parties who refers to the
- 18 Khmer names. They are reminded to pronounce those names
- 19 precisely; otherwise, it would be difficult to be answered.
- 20 [09.12.01]
- 21 Secondly, parties are reminded to activate their mic before they
- 22 speak. This is the same issue that the Chamber reminds the
- 23 parties; however, we note that during our proceedings, this
- 24 problem persists. The Chamber hopes that the parties to the
- 25 proceedings try their best to conduct together the proceedings

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 properly.
- 2 Security guards are instructed to bring the Accused to the dock
- 3 before the Chamber.
- 4 (The accused Nuon Chea is taken to the dock)
- 5 Mr. Ang Udom, we note that you are on your feet.
- 6 MR. ANG UDOM:
- 7 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 8 [09.13.07]
- 9 I would like to draw everyone attention to your observation just
- 10 now. I heard that you remind everyone of us here to pronounce the
- 11 Khmer name precisely. I do not think that they can do so; for
- 12 instant, as we have heard from the International Co-Prosecutor,
- 13 the word Khem Ngun was not pronounced properly, and there was a
- 14 problem in understanding. So I would like to suggest perhaps we
- 15 can let the Khmer colleagues to pronounce the name rather than
- 16 trying to suggest the international colleagues to pronounce the
- 17 Khmer name properly. This may expedite the proceedings.
- 18 [09.14.13]
- 19 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 20 Thank you for your suggestion.
- 21 When the Chamber says that we want everyone to try their best,
- 22 the Chamber believes that parties are well prepared so when it
- 23 comes to the names and the names of -- the names of the persons
- 24 or the name of the places, the Chamber reminds that the parties
- 25 try their best to pronounce those names properly. All parties

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 should rehearse pronouncing the names before they are here. They
- 2 may rehearse when they are in the office. They're not supposed to
- 3 rehearse spelling or pronouncing the names here. It is only the
- 4 suggestion, and we hope every party will try their best to
- 5 pronounce the names correctly, and as we know that we are dealing
- 6 with names of both persons and places.
- 7 [09.15.38]
- 8 If parties are not able to pronounce the names correctly, we will
- 9 have to spend a lot of time on understanding each other when it
- 10 comes to these names.
- 11 Before giving the floor to the Co-Prosecution, the Chamber would
- 12 like to inquire the Co-Prosecutors about the amount of time that
- 13 they would like to have for them to put their questions to the
- 14 accused concerning the first segment of the trials. The first
- 15 trial segment deals with the historical background of the regime.
- 16 The Chamber intends to give the whole morning today for the
- 17 prosecution to give -- to put questions to the Accused, so the
- 18 Chamber would like to hear the opinions of the Co-Prosecution on
- 19 this.
- 20 MR. LYSAK:
- 21 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 22 [09.17.14]
- 23 We're obviously very mindful of the need to move along as quickly
- 24 as we can. I will try to cover as -- as much as I can this
- 25 morning. We have covered a lot of the, I think, more difficult

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 policy issues relating to documents about the 1960 Congress
- 2 already, so perhaps if I just may start by giving you a brief
- 3 overview of what the remaining areas I need -- I need to cover.
- 4 We are just in the middle of talking -- finishing about the
- 5 secret defence units. I'll turn at that point to the 1963
- 6 Congress and events in the 1963 to 1970 period. My questions
- 7 there will be more to follow up and clarify a few events rather
- 8 than deal with detailed policies as I have been doing. So I hope
- 9 to be able to move through that period fairly quickly.
- 10 And then, similarly, there will be a heavy section related to the
- 11 events post the March 1970 coup.
- 12 And then, the final area will be to address the policies that
- 13 were developed relating to cooperatives and movements -- movement
- of the population in the 1973 to '75 period.
- 15 So there are a number of areas remaining to cover. We believe, as
- 16 the party with the burden of proof, it's quite important. I will
- 17 move along as quickly as I can; it will depend, of course, a lot
- 18 -- a lot on the Accused and whether we receive direct answers to
- 19 our questions; and if the Accused is cooperative, we should be
- 20 able to move along fairly quickly.
- 21 [09.19.00]
- 22 I would anticipate that we may need a little more than this
- 23 morning, but I will do my very best to move along as quickly as I
- 24 can. We are here to assist the Chamber so if -- if -- I will
- 25 introduce each of the areas that I'm going to question on and if

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 the Chamber believes that -- that is not a useful area to cover,
- 2 I'll be happy to move on to another at any time; so I hope that's
- 3 helpful and -- and responsive to your question.
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 Thank you.
- 6 [09.19.37]
- 7 Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 8 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 9 Mr. President, before we continue our proceedings this morning, I
- 10 have a short comment which I would like to raise concerning the
- 11 documents.
- 12 First of all, I would like to reiterate my position, for the
- 13 purpose of the record, that I cannot accept the credibility of
- 14 the copied documents that are used as the basis for the questions
- 15 put forward before me. And for these reasons, I would like to
- 16 exercise my right not to question -- not to answer to questions
- 17 that are raised on the basis of those documents by various
- 18 parties or any documents that are presented before the Court by
- 19 me or by any other parties. I am making this statement in
- 20 general, because I would like to avoid repeating my position
- 21 again and again throughout the proceedings. However, I have the
- 22 -- the intentions to examine the documents the Co-Prosecutors
- 23 wish to present to me.
- 24 [09.22.07]
- 25 Even though I can challenge the authenticity of the document at a

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 later state, for the purpose of effectiveness, I would like to
- 2 request the Chamber order the prosecutions to inform me about the
- 3 documents that they intend to present to me in a timely manner.
- 4 By so doing, I will be able to examine thoroughly the documents
- 5 and to present my submissions for the purpose of the documents in
- 6 this Court.
- 7 In the events that the documents are lengthy, I request that the
- 8 prosecution pinpoint the relevant portions. As of now, I have
- 9 difficulty in examining the documents that are presented to me in
- 10 the Court, because I was not provided sufficient time to read and
- 11 to consider the documents before I was questioned.
- 12 [09.23.57]
- 13 For these reason, I am of the view that I find it hard to
- 14 understand many questions asked by the prosecution on the basis
- 15 of those documents. I believe that my request will ensure my
- 16 smooth explanation of the documents and to expedite the
- 17 proceedings. If I intend to -- rather when I intend to elaborate
- 18 on the document presented before me, it does not mean that I
- 19 accept the authenticity of the document.
- 20 Thank you.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 Thank you, Mr. Nuon Chea, for your firm position and there is a
- 23 number of -- there are a number of requests that the Chamber
- 24 would like to consider.
- 25 As for the authenticity of the documents, the Chamber recalls

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 that it's already rendered on this issue, and the Chamber hopes
- 2 that this is the last time that we will talk about this issue,
- 3 and the Chamber will not rule on the issue twice unless it is
- 4 overturned by a higher court.
- 5 [09.25.51]
- 6 The Chamber already informed everyone yesterday that if you do
- 7 not answer the question put -- put forward by the prosecution
- 8 concerning the documents in the case file, the Chamber presumes
- 9 that you exercise your rights to remain silent. In this case, the
- 10 prosecution can continue with another question.
- 11 And with regards to your question -- rather with your -- to your
- 12 request for the prosecution to provide you the documents in
- 13 advance, the Chamber will deliberate on this request and decide
- 14 in due course. These documents have, however, been placed in the
- 15 case file for three years, and you have your counsel and the
- 16 counsel have their assistants so they should be able to assist
- 17 you in this case.
- 18 [09.27.35]
- 19 And next, the Chamber would like to hand over to the prosecution,
- 20 and the prosecutors should be reminded that they -- both the
- 21 international and the national colleagues -- should try their
- 22 best to expedite the proceedings.
- 23 Thank you.
- 24 MR. LYSAK:
- 25 Thank you, Mr. President.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Just to add an additional -- when explaining the remaining
- 2 questioning, I forgot to also mention that my national colleague
- 3 will have probably an hour, hour and a half of questions of his
- 4 own when -- when I'm finished.
- 5 QUESTIONING BY MR. LYSAK RESUMES:
- 6 Q. Mr. Nuon Chea, when were when we broke off yesterday, we
- 7 were discussing the issue of secret defence units, and the next
- 8 question I had for you is that you had stated last month to Judge
- 9 Cartwright that the secret defence units had the authority to
- 10 smash spies who infiltrated party meetings.
- 11 [09.28.48]
- 12 My question for you is what were done with spies or any enemy
- 13 agents who were captured by the Secret Defence Units?
- 14 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 15 A. Mr. President, concerning this issue, the Democratic Kampuchea
- 16 was very cautious about its revolutions and about the traitors
- 17 who infiltrated into the Angkar. As a result, spies were
- 18 appointed in order to gather information concerning those people
- 19 before the information was reported to the superiors who will
- 20 thoroughly deliberate on the issue before they handed down their
- 21 measures to deal with the issue.
- 22 Q. I'm sorry; who is it that would deliberate on what measures
- 23 would be taken against such spies?
- 24 A. Those people who were vested with authority to do that were
- 25 those who were tasked with spying and observing people whose

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 activities were suspicious or whose activities were regarded of
- 2 activities of those who infiltrated in the Party.
- 3 [09.31.32]
- 4 Q. Well, once it was determined that a person was a spy who had
- 5 infiltrated party meetings, as you indicated, were they taken to
- 6 security offices, were they just killed, were they allowed to go
- 7 back to the enemy? What happened to the people who the Secret
- 8 Defence Unit determined to be spies who had infiltrated the
- 9 Party?
- 10 A. This had to take a long period of time to investigate the
- 11 people. It may take one year to two years or so, and those people
- 12 later on were rounded up and sent to S-21 where their confessions
- 13 or testimonies would be taken further.
- 14 Q. Mr. Nuon Chea, I'm talking about the period prior to April
- 15 1975 and, specifically, the period that we've been discussing in
- 16 the 1960s where the Party had established secret defence units.
- 17 But let me follow up your question this way; when were security
- 18 offices first established by the Party? Were there security
- 19 offices that were established in the 1960s or in the 1970s prior
- 20 to 17 April 1975?
- 21 [09.33.38]
- 22 A. I do not know this clearly because I had never been in charge
- 23 of the security. My role was to oversee the assembly affairs.
- 24 Q. I understand your testimony that your research on this was not
- 25 your responsibility but, as the Deputy Secretary of the Party,

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 were you aware whether security offices were established prior to
- 2 17 April 1975?
- 3 A. I don't know.
- 4 Q. Can you tell the Chamber, please, what S-39 was?
- 5 [09.35.02]
- 6 A. I don't know it either.
- 7 Q. You've -- you've never heard of S-39; is that your statement,
- 8 Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 9 A. Yes, it is. The only things I knew were the tasks that I was
- 10 -- I were supposed to undertake. Everyone was confined to only
- 11 understand their own affairs and businesses; because I was in
- 12 charge of education and, for that reason, I knew more about
- 13 educational -- education affairs, and I was asked to provide
- 14 education to members of the Party.
- 15 Q. Were you aware of the existence of M-13 prior to April 1975?
- 16 A. I don't know.
- 17 Q. Let me now turn to the second Party Congress that was held in
- 18 1963, Mr. Nuon Chea. Do you recall where the second Party
- 19 Congress was held?
- 20 A. The second party congress took place, so far as I remember, at
- 21 a flat on de Gaulle Street -- Charles de Gaulle Street.
- 22 Q. Whose flat or apartment was this?
- 23 A. I don't know whose apartment it was. It was a rented apartment
- 24 and I do not know who the owner of the apartment was.
- 25 [09.37.55]

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Q. How many people attended the second Congress in 1963?
- 2 A. I don't know how many people were there.
- 3 Q. Do you recall whether it was more than the number of people
- 4 who attended the first Congress or was it the same group of
- 5 people?
- 6 A. I can say that there were more people than those who attended
- 7 the first Party Congress.
- 8 Q. Do you recall any of the new people who attended the second
- 9 Congress who had not attended the first Congress, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 10 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 11 Could Mr. President ask the Co-Prosecutor to repeat the question;
- 12 I have not really got the whole message.
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 Can prosecutor then repeat your last question?
- 15 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 16 Q. My question was simply whether -- do you remember any of the
- 17 new people who attended the second Congress who had not been
- 18 present at the first Congress?
- 19 [09.40.23]
- 20 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 21 A. I don't remember. It was a long time ago.
- 22 Q. Fair enough. One of the key things that was decided at the
- 23 second Congress was the election of Pol Pot as Secretary of the
- 24 Party. You have previously stated that the reason Pol Pot was
- 25 appointed secretary instead of yourself was because of your

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 relation to Sieu Heng -- referring to the former Party Secretary
- 2 -- a relative of yours, who had defected to the Sihanouk
- 3 government in 1958.
- 4 Is it correct that this is the reason that Pol Pot became the
- 5 secretary and that it was because the People's group had accused
- 6 you accused you of having a relation to Sieu Heng?
- 7 [09.41.27]
- 8 A. In order for someone to be recruited as the Secretary of the
- 9 Party, there could have been several elements of the
- 10 qualification. First, the person must have revolutionary value
- 11 and that they must have been supported by the mass, and also age
- 12 or seniority is part -- or was part of that criteria as well, but
- 13 it is secondary.
- 14 Q. My question to you, Mr. Nuon Chea, is whether the People's
- 15 Group Faction of the Party had made an accusation against you
- 16 based on the fact of your relationship to Sieu Heng?
- 17 A. It was part of the clauses, but -- or conditions, but there
- 18 were other elements; for example, Pol Pot had several other good
- 19 qualifications as opposed to me.
- 20 Q. Who were the leaders of the People's group faction of the
- 21 Party who were present at the second Congress?
- 22 [09.43.45]
- 23 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 24 Mr. President, I don't understand the terms "People Group" --
- 25 "the leader of the People Group." Could you please simplify the

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 terms?
- 2 [09.44.13]
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Co-Prosecutor is now advised to rephrase the question and that
- 5 the case file should be referred to; for example, the hierarchy
- 6 of the administration of the leadership as the terms secretary or
- 7 deputy secretary or chairman and members of the Standing
- 8 Committee, members of the Central Committee. Have -- if they are
- 9 not well put in the questions, we do not expect that the accused
- 10 person may be able to respond precisely to the intended question
- 11 so could you please rephrase the question.
- 12 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 13 Yes, I'm sorry, Mr. President.
- 14 [09.45.22]
- 15 Q. By the people's group, I was referring to what has also been
- 16 called Pracheachon Group which my understanding is simply the
- 17 Khmer words for people. So, I'm not sure if I've pronounced that
- 18 word correctly, but when I -- when I use the word "people's
- 19 group" I am referring to what you've previously talked about, the
- 20 Pracheachon Group; do you understand what I'm referring to, Mr.
- 21 Nuon Chea?
- 22 [09.45.54]
- 23 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 24 A. My apologies and I think perhaps the prosecutor has mistaken
- 25 the terms. The People Group was another separate group that

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 conducted some overt activities; for example, like publishing
- 2 newspapers. They conducted their activities in public, but the
- 3 Party's activities had different roles. They were acting in
- 4 secret so please do not mistake the People Group for the Party's
- 5 group. As I already state, time and again, they should be
- 6 well-distinguished.
- 7 Q. I am well aware of that distinction, Mr. Nuon Chea. My
- 8 question to you was whether there were people associated with the
- 9 people's group, such as Keo Meas who were present at the second
- 10 Congress?
- 11 A. Keo Meas was a member of the People Group. He did not attend
- 12 the second Party Congress because the two groups were clearly
- 13 distinguished. The People Group was the group that acted publicly
- 14 when the Party's group acted in secret so the two could not be
- 15 mixed up.
- 16 Q. Is it your testimony then that there were no people associated
- 17 with the people's group who were present at the second Congress;
- 18 is that correct?
- 19 [09.48.23]
- 20 A. Yes, it is.
- 21 Q. And I'd just like to confirm with you, there was a new
- 22 Standing Committee elected at the second Congress that consisted
- 23 of Pol Pot as Secretary and yourself as Deputy Secretary? Did the
- 24 Standing Committee appointed at the second Congress also include
- 25 Ieng Sary and So Phim?

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 A. The terms "being elected" and "appointed" are two different
- 2 terms. Appointed or selected normally happened without going
- 3 through any election so people recruited through three means;
- 4 appointed, elected secretly and publicly. So I would like to ask
- 5 whether you are now referring to people being elected or
- 6 appointed?
- 7 Q. Mr. Nuon Chea, you were the one who was present at the second
- 8 Congress. Were the members of the Standing Committee elected or
- 9 were they appointed?
- 10 A. At that time, the latter term would be best. They were
- 11 appointed.
- 12 Q. And is it correct that the Standing Committee that was
- 13 appointed at the second Congress consisted of Pol Pot as
- 14 Secretary, yourself as Deputy Secretary and Ieng Sary and So Phim
- 15 as members; is that correct?
- 16 [09.50.59]
- 17 A. Yes, it is.
- 18 Q. And were there any other persons who were appointed either as
- 19 full-rights or alternate members of the Standing Committee at the
- 20 second Congress?
- 21 A. I find it difficult to understand your question because you
- 22 used the terms "appointed", "elected." I would like you to be
- 23 precise; which term do you refer to? If people cannot be at the
- 24 same time appointed, elected, and assigned; for example. So they
- 25 are very confusing.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 International Co-Prosecutor is now advised to rephrase the final
- 3 -- the last question he may put.
- 4 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 5 Q. Perhaps it is a translation issue. I thought I'd used the word
- 6 "appointed" as you had indicated, Mr. Nuon Chea. My question is
- 7 simply whether there were any additional persons, other than the
- 8 four I've already mentioned, who were appointed as full-right or
- 9 alternate members of the Standing Committee at the second
- 10 Congress?
- 11 [09.53.18]
- 12 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 13 A. People including So Phim and Ta Mok and Son Sen were also part
- of the people appointed during that time. I don't remember the
- 15 rest of the other people who were also appointed, I'm afraid.
- 16 Q. Other than the appointment of a new Standing Committee and
- 17 Central Committee, do you recall any other matters that were
- 18 decided at the 1963 Congress?
- 19 [09.54.05]
- 20 A. I don't know whether I'm mistaken, but if I remember
- 21 correctly, at that time, the other matters that were decided was
- 22 also on the changing of name of the party from the Labour Party
- 23 to the Communist Party of Kampuchea.
- Q. Thank you, Mr. Nuon Chea. I'd now like to turn to the 1963 to
- 25 1970 time period and I wanted to start by seeking to clarify the

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 location or locations to which Pol Pot and the other party
- 2 leaders were moved when they fled from Phnom Penh in March or
- 3 April of 1963.
- 4 Khieu Samphan has written in his book "Considerations on the
- 5 History of Cambodia" that Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, and Son Sen were
- 6 initially located at a Vietnamese base area at Chambak in Tay
- 7 Ninh Province and near the base of the South Vietnamese National
- 8 Liberation Front. Is that correct, Mr. Nuon Chea; was that the
- 9 initial location to which Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, and Son Sen were
- 10 first moved?
- 11 [09.56.53]
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 Mr. Nuon Chea, have you understood the last question put to you?
- 14 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 15 A. So far as I remember, they were located at the border of
- 16 Vietnam and Cambodia; they were in Cambodian soil although it was
- 17 close to the border area.
- 18 [09.57.32]
- 19 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 20 Q. My question is, was the location at or near a South Vietnamese
- 21 National Liberation Front military base?
- 22 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 23 A. I think it was part of the secrecy and I may not know the
- 24 details.
- 25 Q. Is it not true that you're the one who took Ieng Sary and Son

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Sen to that location, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 2 A. No, I was not the one who took them there; however, it was
- 3 part of the decision that made collectively by Pol Pot, and
- 4 people were assigned to bring these people to the location, and I
- 5 did not know the details although I knew that the people could
- 6 have been taken there.
- 7 Q. Khieu Samphan has also written that:
- 8 "By early 1964, Saloth Sar persuaded the Viet Cong to let the
- 9 Cambodians set up their own location in order to avoid political
- 10 complications and so that the Cambodians might prepare the
- 11 revolution and steps by themselves. It was this base area that
- 12 they called Office 100. Office 100 was on Vietnamese territory
- 13 under strict Viet Cong control."
- 14 [09.59.43]
- 15 I'm reading from document D213.2 at English ERN 00498238, French
- 16 ERN 00643842, and Khmer ERN 00380380.
- 17 My question, Mr. Nuon Chea, is I wanted to confirm whether Pol
- 18 Pot, Ieng Sary, and Son Sen were initially moved to one location
- 19 near the Vietnamese base, but then by early 1964 had moved and
- 20 established Office 100 at a different location in that area; is
- 21 that correct?
- 22 A. As I remember, it is not correct because in 1974, as I
- 23 remember, the base was changed to Rattanakiri province. They no
- 24 longer lived there because the enemies kept attacking.
- 25 Q. Mr. Nuon Chea, I'm going to get to the period when the Office

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 100 was relocated to Rattanakiri. I'm asking you now about the
- 2 period that I understand to be from 1963 through 1966 when Office
- 3 100 was located near the Vietnamese border.
- 4 [10.01.45]
- 5 Do you recall that during that time period Office 100 was located
- 6 near the Vietnamese border?
- 7 A. As I remember -- the point is I did not live with them so I
- 8 couldn't know, but I went to work there once -- once with Pol
- 9 Pot. The Office -- I don't know whether the Office was located
- 10 near or far; I was not very good at the geography. But what I
- 11 know is that Pol Pot did not like to live near Vietnam or the
- 12 Vietnamese because he did not want to have any confusion among
- 13 the Khmer and the Vietnamese people; he wanted the Khmers to live
- 14 in the Khmer area and the Vietnamese to live in the Vietnamese
- 15 area. But they may have some kind of communication; I am not
- 16 sure. But as -- for one thing I know is that they do not live
- 17 together.
- 18 Q. In your discussion with Khem Ngun, you told him -- you told
- 19 him that in relation to Office 100 when it was located near the
- 20 Vietnamese border the following:
- 21 "I went back and forth. I took cadres to work; took them from Koh
- 22 Kong, the Southwest. Lots of Ta went."
- 23 I'm reading from IS 20.28 at Khmer ERN 00078197, English ERN
- 24 00184668, and French ERN 00596190.
- 25 Was it not the case that you made frequent trips to Office 100

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 during the period; it was at the -- near the -- near the
- 2 Vietnamese border?
- 3 [10.04.34]
- 4 A. Mr. President, as I remember, I went there occasionally; I do
- 5 not go there frequently. The Office was located very far away.
- 6 The Offices were located far away from one another and they were
- 7 not near Vietnam; let me make this clear.
- 8 Q. Mr. Nuon Chea, Khieu Samphan has written about three meetings
- 9 of the Central Committee that occurred during that period when
- 10 Office 100 was located near the Vietnamese border in 1964, 1965,
- 11 and 1966. I'd like to quickly ask you a few questions about each
- 12 of those.
- 13 [10.06.04]
- 14 The first in relation to 1964 -- well, first, let me start by
- 15 asking you this. Did you attend meetings of the Standing or
- 16 Central Committee at Office 100 between 1963 and 1966?
- 17 A. Mr. President, in 1964, 1965 or in 1966, Pol Pot, Ieng Sary,
- 18 and Son Sen moved out of Office 100 near Vietnam to Rattanakiri
- 19 province, as I have said earlier. At that time, in October 1965,
- 20 Pol Pot travelled to Hanoi and Beijing.
- 21 Q. Mr. Nuon Chea, is it not correct that it was not until 1966
- 22 that Office 100 was moved to Rattanakiri? Is that correct?
- 23 A. As I recall it, they moved to Rattanakiri before 1966.
- 24 Q. I'll come back to the Central Committee meetings, but while
- 25 we're talking about the move to Rattanakiri, what was the reason

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 that Office 100 was moved from its previous location near the
- 2 Vietnamese border to Rattanakiri?
- 3 A. As I remember, Rattanakiri was a good location which could be
- 4 used as a revolutionary base and no enemy could arrive there.
- 5 [10.09.11]
- 6 That was the reason why the Northeast zone was used as the bases
- 7 for the Central Committee.
- 8 Q. How often did you travel to Rattanakiri during the period that
- 9 Office 100 was located there?
- 10 A. Mr. President, I went there only once, because the road was
- 11 very difficult to travel. It could not, at that time, accommodate
- 12 cars. We went there on foot. It took us one month to go and come
- 13 back.
- 14 Q. And, because it took so long to travel to Rattanakiri, is it
- 15 correct, then, that the number of meetings that you held with the
- 16 other leaders, during the period Office 100 was located at
- 17 Rattanakiri -- that the frequency of meetings was much less? Is
- 18 that correct?
- 19 A. Mr. President, yes it is correct.
- 20 Q. Okay, let me return to the 1964 Central Committee meeting that
- 21 Khieu Samphan has written about.
- 22 [10.11.05]
- 23 In his book, he described a meeting of the Central Committee, in
- 24 October 1964, that lasted weeks and took place "in the middle of
- 25 the forest on Cambodian territory near the border".

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 [10.11.20]
- 2 This is a cite to D213.2, at Khmer 00380380, French ERN 00643842,
- 3 and English ERN 00498238. Were you present at the meeting --
- 4 October 1964 meeting of the Central Committee?
- 5 A. Mr. President, I did not attend the meeting.
- 6 Q. Khieu Samphan has also written about a January 1965 Central
- 7 Committee meeting, at which the committee decided to reject the
- 8 doctrine of peaceful transition to socialism, and confirmed that
- 9 the use of revolutionary violence was absolutely necessary. Do
- 10 you recall attending that meeting of the Central Committee, Mr.
- 11 Nuon Chea?
- 12 A. Mr. President, I could not recollect that.
- 13 Q. And last, Mr. Khieu Samphan has also described in his book a
- 14 1966 Central Committee meeting, at which he says three decisions
- 15 were made: first, to change the Party name to the Communist Party
- of Kampuchea; second, to move the Party headquarters to a remote
- 17 location in Rattanakiri; and third, for each zone to make ready
- 18 to join in armed struggle. And this is a reference to document
- 19 D213.2 at Khmer ERN 00380389 through 380390, English ERN
- 20 00498243, and French ERN 00643847. Do you recall being present at
- 21 that meeting of the Central Committee in 1966?
- 22 A. Mr. President, in 1966, as I remember it, the movement became
- 23 intense.
- 24 [10.14.54]
- 25 As a result, I also attended the meeting to decide on combining

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 the political struggle with the armed struggle, but by
- 2 maintaining the political principle. And the armed conflict was
- 3 used as only the supplement.
- 4 Q. Was this a meeting of the Central Committee?
- 5 A. Mr. President, the question seems to be so dense. We had a
- 6 number of meetings. We had a number of meetings of the Central
- 7 Committees.
- 8 [10.16.14]
- 9 I'm not sure whether -- which Central Committee meeting the
- 10 Co-Prosecutor is referring. It is hard for me to answer this
- 11 question.
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 Could the international Co-Prosecutor rephrase the question to
- 14 make it easy to understand, so that the Accused can respond to
- 15 it?
- 16 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 17 Yes, thank you, Mr. President.
- 18 Q. You had just described a meeting you recalled, where a
- 19 decision was made regarding the use of armed violence, because
- the movement had become intense in 1966.
- 21 [10.17.05]
- 22 So my question is -- was the meeting that you were referring to,
- 23 where this decision was made -- was this a meeting of the Central
- 24 Committee, a meeting of the Standing Committee, or some other
- 25 meeting?

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 2 A. Mr. President, the decision was made by the Standing Committee
- 3 meeting.
- 4 Q. Who was present at this meeting, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 5 A. During that time -- I could not really recall it -- but there
- 6 were Pol Pot, Son Sen, and a number of cadres. But as I can
- 7 recall it, Pol Pot, during that time, went abroad. After the
- 8 meeting, Pol Pot travelled abroad.
- 9 Q. Was Mr. Ieng Sary present at this meeting?
- 10 A. Mr. President, Mr. Ieng Sary was not at the meeting. He was
- 11 also abroad.
- 12 Q. What was Mr. Ieng Sary doing abroad in 1966?
- 13 A. Mr. President, I am not clear about that.
- 14 [10.19.23]
- 15 He was the representative of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to
- 16 position in Vietnam and China, but as to his detailed work, I
- 17 could not recall them.
- 18 Q. Where was it that this meeting of the Standing Committee was
- 19 held?
- 20 A. Mr. Co-Prosecutor, what do you mean by the meeting at that
- 21 time? When? Because there were a lot of meetings. Could you, Mr.
- 22 Co-Prosecutor, specify that?
- 23 Q. We've just been discussing a meeting of the Standing Committee
- 24 in 1966. Where did that meeting take place, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 25 A. Mr. President, I could not recall about the meeting in the

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 jungle.
- 2 Q. Do you recall whether this meeting was held in Rattanakiri, or
- 3 was it held at Office 100 -- the area of Office 100 when it was
- 4 located near the Vietnamese border?
- 5 A. As I said, it was confusing at the border. But I'm confident
- 6 that it was on the Cambodian soil and not the Vietnamese soil.
- 7 Because, as you may know already, Mr. President, we may not be
- 8 clear about the border. Our Khmer agents may not have been
- 9 arrived at the exact border line.
- 10 Q. I wasn't asking -- I understand your testimony regarding the
- 11 issue of whether it was located on Cambodian or Vietnamese
- 12 territory.
- 13 [10.22.25]
- 14 What I'm trying to clarify, Mr. Nuon Chea, is whether this
- 15 meeting of the Standing Committee in 1966 -- did this take place
- 16 while the Party Headquarters was still at that location? It's
- 17 original location? Or did it take place after the Party
- 18 Headquarters had moved to Rattanakiri?
- 19 A. Mr. President, the meetings were held in different place. For
- 20 one time it was in this place and the other time it was in the
- 21 other place.
- 22 So for me to determine whether -- where the meeting was held, it
- 23 is very difficult. Because at that time, the B-50 planes bombed
- 24 -- rather the B-52 planes bombed day and night, and we were not
- 25 able to position in one place. The situation -- that is, we had

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 to understand the situation clearly. Otherwise we can't tell
- 2 clearly where the meeting was. I cannot tell where the -- in
- 3 which village the meeting was held. And this is my answer, your
- 4 Honour.
- 5 Q. Thank you. At the time that Office 100 was moved to
- 6 Rattanakiri, is it correct that Ieng Sary was appointed secretary
- 7 of the Northeast zone?
- 8 A. Mr. President, I do not remember this.
- 9 Q. And after the time that Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Son Sen, and other
- 10 leaders moved to Rattanakiri, how was the responsibility for the
- 11 country divided as between you and the leaders who were located
- 12 in Rattanakiri?
- 13 A. Mr. President, the distribution of the leadership in the
- 14 country was in two.
- 15 [10.25.41]
- 16 One is for the Northeast zone, and this include Rattanakiri,
- 17 Mondulkiri, and perhaps Kratie and Stung Treng. And for the other
- 18 part, it is the part that I was responsible for when it comes to
- 19 the leadership. But it was the zone secretaries who were
- 20 immediately supervising the areas. And these include Southwest
- 21 and Northwest.
- 22 Q. How many zones were there, during this time period that you're
- 23 discussing, Mr. Nuon Chea? You've mentioned the Northeast zone,
- 24 the Southwest, the Northwest. Were there any other zones in
- 25 existence at this time?

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 A. I do not remember that for sure. There may be five or six
- 2 zones. But let me say this. The division of these zones was not
- 3 very clear. It depended on the leadership purpose.
- 4 [10.27.43]
- 5 Wherever it allowed good leadership, the area would be divided
- 6 into zones. For example, for Kampong Chhnang, it was located in
- 7 isolation, and it was connected to Pursat, so we could not be
- 8 fixed. It is very difficult to tell. It depended on the exact
- 9 situation of the fighting.
- 10 Q. So during this period that Office 100 was located in
- 11 Rattanakiri, and you were responsible for the entire country
- 12 except for the Northeast zone, were there other leaders of the
- 13 party located with you in Phnom Penh?
- 14 A. Mr. President, I was not responsible for the overall
- 15 leadership. Those who had immediate supervision were the zone
- 16 secretaries. Besides these, there were also cities committees.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 It is appropriate to adjourn for now.
- 19 Before we adjourn, the Chamber would like to inform the lead
- 20 co-lawyers for civil parties that they should prepare the names
- 21 of those civil party lawyers who you give authorities to put
- 22 questions to witnesses, civil parties, or experts, and to provide
- 23 the list of those names to the Chamber well in advance to avoid
- 24 the case that the lawyer that receives the authorization may wish
- 25 to lodge any objection and the Chamber has not yet recognized the

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 lawyer.
- 2 The Chamber would like adjourn for 20 minutes, and will be back
- 3 after that. The Court is now adjourned.
- 4 (Court recesses from 1031H to 1051H)
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Please be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 7 We'd like to proceed to the Co-Prosecutor to continue putting
- 8 questions to Nuon Chea.
- 9 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 10 Q. Thank you Mr. President.
- 11 [10.52.42]
- 12 Mr. Nuon Chea, when we left off you were discussing the
- 13 organizational structure that existed during the period that Pol
- 14 Pot, Ieng Sary, and Son Sen and Office 100 was located in
- 15 Rattanakiri, and you had described the zones that you recalled
- 16 and also mentioned that there were city committees.
- 17 I'd like to follow up on that and my first question would be who
- 18 was on the Phnom Penh City Committee during the period from 1966
- 19 to 1970 when Office 100 was in Rattanakiri?
- 20 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 21 A. The city committees were independent. I only assisted them
- 22 with managing. I generally oversaw the committees, but people of
- 23 respective committees would be managing the actual affairs of the
- 24 committees.
- 25 [10.54.37]

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Q. My question was who was on the Phnom Penh Committee during
- 2 this time period we've been discussing from 1966 to 1970?
- 3 A. They were Vorn Vet.
- 4 Q. And do you recall anyone other than Vorn Vet who was on the
- 5 Phnom Penh City Committee during that period?
- 6 A. I don't remember other people, let alone their names, because
- 7 it was their secret affair that not anyone else could know.
- 8 Q. Is it correct that during the period that Office 100 was
- 9 located in Rattanakiri because of the difficulty and length of
- 10 time to travel there that there were no meetings of the Central
- 11 Committee during that time period?
- 12 A. Yes, it is correct.
- 13 Q. Did you have any contact or communications with Khieu Samphan
- 14 prior to April of 1967, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 15 A. I have never had any contact with Mr. Khieu Samphan.
- 16 [10.57.38]
- 17 Q. Yeah, I'd like to ask you just a few questions regarding the
- 18 April 1967 period which was the time that Khieu Samphan and Hu
- 19 Nim were -- fled Phnom Penh.
- 20 In his 2004 book "Cambodia's Recent History and the Reasons
- 21 Behind the Decisions I made", Khieu Samphan has stated that in
- 22 fleeing Phnom Penh, quote:
- 23 "We accepted the proposal of the CPK to allow us to take shelter
- 24 in the countryside."
- 25 And he also indicates that that proposal was sent to him in a

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 letter delivered by a messenger that he knew and trusted. This is
- 2 a reference from document IS 4.23 at Khmer 00103820 through
- 3 103821; English ERN 00103733 through 103734; and French ERN
- 4 00595394 through 595395.
- 5 My question to you, Mr. Nuon Chea, were you -- did you assist in
- 6 helping Khieu Samphan and Hu Nim to escape from Phnom Penh in
- 7 1967?
- 8 A. No, I don't know anything about this.
- 9 [10.59.43]
- 10 Q. Do you know who wrote the letter described by Khieu Samphan
- 11 proposing that the Party would take him to the countryside?
- 12 A. No, I don't know anything about this either, because it was
- 13 none of my assigned duties. As I indicated, people minded their
- 14 own business.
- 15 Q. So is it your testimony, Mr. Nuon Chea, that you were
- 16 completely unaware that the Party had removed Khieu Samphan...
- 17 helped remove Khieu Samphan, and helped him take shelter in the
- 18 countryside? Were you completely unaware of that in 1967?
- 19 A.I do not know about this at all.
- 20 Q. And do you recall that because of the difficulty of travelling
- 21 to Rattanakiri and communicating with the leaders there, that in
- 22 late 1967 a meeting was held in Phnom Penh at Vorn Vet's house
- 23 between yourself, So Phim, Ta Mok, Mey Mann, Vorn Vet, and Kong
- 24 Sophal to discuss the commencement of armed struggle? Do you
- 25 recall that meeting, Mr. Nuon Chea?

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 [11.01.44]
- 2 A.I don't recollect it.
- 3 Q. Do you recall telling Mr. Khem Ngun about that meeting when
- 4 you had your discussion with him in 1998?
- 5 And the reference, Your Honours, to this would be document IS
- 6 20.28 at Khmer ERN 00078198; English ERN 00184669; and French ERN
- 7 00596192.
- 8 Do you recall describing a meeting to Mr. Khem Ngun regarding the
- 9 decision to start the armed struggle in 1968 being made, that
- 10 decision being made at a meeting in late 1967 in Phnom Penh?
- 11 A. No, I don't.
- 12 Q. All right. I want to turn now, Mr. Nuon Chea, to the period
- 13 after the March 1970 coup, and I have some questions related to
- 14 the 1970 to '72 period to start with.
- 15 [11.03.54]
- 16 My first question relates to the alliance between the Party and
- 17 the King Father Sihanouk, the FUNK or GRUNK Alliance. Can you
- 18 tell us who it was that negotiated that Alliance following the
- 19 March 1970 coup?
- 20 A. Could the prosecutor repeat the question?
- 21 Q. Yes, my question was: Following the coup in March 1970, who
- 22 was it that negotiated the alliance between the Party and the
- 23 King Father?
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 Counsel for Khieu Samphan, you may proceed.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 2 Thank you, Mr. President. I heard that through the interpretation
- 3 that the year was referred to as 1975; is that so?
- 4 [11.05.47]
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Interpreters are advised to be very careful with rendition
- 7 concerning the term and the dates, and when you refer to the
- 8 Norodom Sihanouk Party, for example, it is not understood which
- 9 party is referred to.
- 10 It is now important that the dates are precisely rendered and the
- 11 Co-Prosecutor is also advised to be precise when it comes to
- 12 dates, so that interpreters can also be precise when rendering
- 13 the dates in the questions being put to the Accused.
- 14 Misinterpretation of a rendition of the question would be
- 15 difficult to respond, for example, if 1970 has been mistaken for
- 16 1975, then the response would not be possible because there could
- 17 have not been any coup d'état in 1975.
- 18 The Co-Prosecutor is now advised to rephrase the question and
- 19 interpreters are advised to be precise.
- 20 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 21 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 22 Q. Yes, I am, of course, referring to the coup d'état of 18 March
- 23 1970 and the question is that following the coup d'état, who was
- 24 it that was responsible for negotiating the alliance, the FUNK
- 25 and GRUNK alliance between the Party and Sihanouk?

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 2 A. I have no knowledge of this. I was in Cambodia when the King
- 3 was in China.
- 4 [11.08.20]
- 5 Q. Could you tell the Chamber what the National Liberation Armed
- 6 Forces were?
- 7 A. How am I supposed to describe about this? I was not in charge
- 8 of the army or the military.
- 9 I would like to say this time and again that I have no knowledge
- 10 of anything about military because the military was the affairs
- 11 of people who managed the zones.
- 12 Q. Did you have any role or positions in either FUNK or GRUNK?
- 13 A. I do not have any roles in those.
- 14 Q. Do you know whether FUNK, the FUNK organization, held
- 15 congresses or meetings during the period between March 1970 and
- 16 April 1975?
- 17 A. No, I don't know.
- 18 Q. Were there any representatives of the Party who were assigned
- 19 to take positions with either FUNK or GRUNK?
- 20 A. No, I don't know. I don't know anything with regard to
- 21 administrative affairs.
- 22 [11.10.59]
- 23 Q. I take it then that you would be unable to tell the Chamber
- 24 what Khieu Samphan's role was in FUNK or GRUNK?
- 25 A. Indeed, I don't know what Khieu Samphan's roles could have

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 been.
- 2 Q. I want to ask you now some questions regarding the period when
- 3 the Party headquarters were moved from Rattanakiri to the Chinit
- 4 River region.
- 5 Is it correct that following the March 1970 coup d'état that the
- 6 Party headquarters were moved from Rattanakiri to the Chinit
- 7 River area; is that correct?
- 8 A. I don't remember.
- 9 [11.12.32]
- 10 Q. Did you spend any time at offices, Party offices, located at
- 11 the Chinit River during the period from 1970 to 1975, Mr. Nuon
- 12 Chea?
- 13 A. I had never been in one place long. I could have moved places
- 14 -- very frequently.
- 15 Q. I understand that you frequently changed locations, Mr. Nuon
- 16 Chea. My question is whether there were Party offices located at
- 17 the Chinit River where you spent time in the 1970 to 1975 period.
- 18 A. Since I changed places, I sometimes moved to -- at the zones
- 19 to educate people. I would never stay put in one place for a long
- 20 period of time.
- 21 For that reason, I indeed also came to provide educational
- 22 courses or sessions to people at the Chinit River.
- 23 Q. Is it correct that the Party established a school for
- 24 political training at the Chinit River in 1970 or 1971?
- 25 [11.15.06]

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 A. There was no political school, ever established.
- 2 Q. When you conducted political training or political education
- 3 at the Chinit River in the 1970-75 period, where did you do that?
- 4 What offices did you use?
- 5 A. Sometimes we had to ask for the assistance of the Zone
- 6 Committees or chiefs to assist us with the locations.
- 7 Q. Were you aware of an office called S-71 that was located in
- 8 the Chinit River region during the 1970-75 time period?
- 9 A. No, I don't recollect it.
- 10 Q. In his interview with the Co-Investigating Judges, Mr. Khieu
- 11 Samphan stated that he first met you and Pol Pot in September
- 12 1970 at the Chinit River.
- 13 And the reference, Your Honours, is Case File Number D46 at
- 14 English ERN 00156744; French ERN 00156667; and Khmer ERN
- 15 00156614.
- 16 My question, Mr. Nuon Chea, is do you recall meeting Khieu
- 17 Samphan at the Chinit River in September of 1970?
- 18 [11.17.40]
- 19 A. No, I don't.
- 20 Q. Do you have any knowledge as to where Khieu Samphan was
- 21 located during the period from March 1970 to April 1975?
- 22 A. No, I don't, because it was part of the secret affairs.
- 23 Q. I want to read to you now from a "Revolutionary Flag" issue,
- 24 Mr. Nuon Chea, but before I do that, you've already indicated
- 25 that during the period Office 100 was located in Rattanakiri,

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 that there were no meetings of the Central Committee.
- 2 Is it correct that in 1970 or 1971 meetings of the Central
- 3 Committee resumed? Is that correct?
- 4 A. I think I already stated clearly that I do not recollect it;
- 5 the things happened a long time ago.
- 6 Q. Well, Mr. Nuon Chea, when the Central Committee had meetings
- 7 in the period between March 1970 and April 1975, where did it
- 8 meet?
- 9 [11.20.01]
- 10 A. As indicated, we met in the jungle. I did not remember the
- 11 locations we met from 1970 to 1975, locations of the meeting or
- 12 other the locations could be changed from time-to-time.
- 13 Q. Well, were those meetings held in the jungle in Rattanakiri or
- 14 were they held in the jungle near the Chinit River?
- 15 [11.20.53]
- 16 A. So far as I recollect, the meetings were held when the office
- 17 moved to Stung Chinit or Chinit River.
- 18 Q. I'd like to read to you now a -- direct you to a statement
- 19 made by Pol Pot in a 1975 speech to the Revolutionary Army of
- 20 Kampuchea, which is in the Case File at D243/2.1.1 at Khmer ERN
- 21 00063334; English ERN 00401496; French ERN 00538971.
- 22 Mr. President, apparently we have some problem today with showing
- 23 documents on the screen, so I'm simply going to read the
- 24 statement to the witness -- to the accused and then ask him a
- 25 question.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 The statement I want to ask you about, Mr. Nuon Chea, is as --
- 2 reads as follows:
- 3 "Immediately after the coup in 1970, the leadership organization
- 4 in the various zones found it very difficult to communicate with
- 5 one another, but it was imperative to have meetings of the
- 6 Central Committee of the Party to assess the situation after the
- 7 coup and bring up the measures of waging war and estimate how the
- 8 war would go."
- 9 My question to you, Mr. Nuon Chea, is: is it correct that,
- 10 following the coup, Central Committee meetings resumed and that
- 11 one of the key issues discussed in those meetings was the armed
- 12 struggle against the Lon Nol regime?
- 13 [11.23.29]
- 14 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 15 Mr. President, if you allow, I would like to have access to the
- 16 document if available?
- 17 MR. LYSAK:
- 18 Mr. President, I have a copy to provide, and let me just turn to
- 19 the -- the Khmer page is 63334.
- 20 [11.25.05]
- 21 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 22 These documents are the copied documents. Can I have access to
- 23 the original document?
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 The Co-Prosecutor may proceed to the next question because the

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Chamber has made it very clear that when the accused person
- 2 intends not to respond to questions, then it is presumed by the
- 3 Chamber that he exercises his right to remain silent on that
- 4 question.
- 5 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 6 Q. Do you recall discussing issues concerning the armed struggle
- 7 against the Lon Nol regime in meetings of the Central or Standing
- 8 Committee between March 1970 and April 1975?
- 9 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 10 A. From 1970 to 1975, it was five years period already, and I
- 11 just would like to know in which particular meeting the
- 12 Co-Prosecutor is referring to, so that I can respond.
- 13 Q. How often did the Central Committee meet during the period
- 14 from 1970 to 1975?
- 15 [11.27.14]
- 16 A. There is no way we can determine how the meetings could be
- 17 held regularly. It was based on the actual situation back then.
- 18 Q. Is it not correct that there were annual meetings of the
- 19 Central Committee during that time period in addition to any
- 20 extraordinary meetings based on the situation?
- 21 A. Sometimes there were regular meetings, sometimes there were
- 22 extraordinary meetings, and we were flexible enough to
- 23 commensurate with the practical situations.
- 24 [11.28.28]
- 25 Q. And can I ask you, during the same time period between March

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 1970 and April 1975, were there separate meetings of the Standing
- 2 Committee?
- 3 A. I don't recall it.
- 4 The Standing Committee worked on a daily basis. For example, when
- 5 the meetings were needed then they would convene the meetings, so
- 6 there is no way to determine whether the meeting is -- were
- 7 regular or not.
- 8 Q. Where was it that meetings of the Standing Committee took
- 9 place in the period between March 1970 and April 1975?
- 10 A. Mr. President, I will not answer to this question, I have
- 11 answered several times already.
- 12 There were a lot of mobile guerrilla attacks.
- 13 Q. You're saying that the locations of the meetings changed; is
- 14 that correct?
- 15 A. Mr. President, yes, it is correct.
- 16 Q. You have made a -- testified earlier that how prior to 1975
- 17 the military forces consisted of zone armies.
- 18 Is it correct though that there was a Joint Battlefield Committee
- 19 that was responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the
- 20 various zone armies?
- 21 A. Mr. President, I do not understand the question by the
- 22 Co-Prosecutor.
- 23 [11.31.21]
- 24 Q. My question, Mr. Nuon Chea, is that you've indicated that
- 25 there were separate zone armies. I'm asking you this: How was it

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 that military strategy and tactics were co-ordinated between
- 2 those zone armies in the period between March 1970 and April
- 3 1975?
- 4 A. Mr. President, as I have said, I was not responsible for the
- 5 army, so I do not know how they did it. It was up to each zone to
- 6 do according to their situations.
- 7 [11.32.12]
- 8 Q. Mr. Nuon Chea, was there not an entity called the Joint
- 9 Battlefield Committee that included representatives from the
- 10 zones as well as representatives of the Party Centre leaders that
- 11 was responsible for co-ordinating military activity? Is that
- 12 correct?
- 13 A. Mr. President, if there were study sessions, yes, there were,
- 14 there were the joint sessions. There were cadres along with
- 15 soldiers. Here I'm talking about study sessions. But if there
- 16 were no study sessions, I cannot comment on that.
- 17 Q. Are you saying that as the Deputy Secretary of the Party, Mr.
- 18 Nuon Chea, you were unaware during the period of the existence of
- 19 the Joint Battlefield Committee that was responsible for
- 20 co-ordinating military strategy?
- 21 A. Mr. President, I do not understand the question by the
- 22 Co-Prosecutor. What do you mean by the strategies and tactics?
- 23 Q. Let my question be very simple, Mr. Nuon Chea.
- 24 Were you or were you not aware of the Joint Battlefield Committee
- during the period between March 1970 and April 1975?

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 A. I told you again and again that I was not responsible for the
- 2 military, so I do not know about that.
- 3 Q. In your testimony on the 14 December 2011, in discussing the
- 4 period that Ieng Sary was abroad, located in China, you stated
- 5 that he came back to Cambodia -- and I quote -- "every five or
- 6 six months". I'm quoting here from E1/22.1, at page 7.
- 7 My question is: When Ieng Sary returned from China every five or
- 8 six months during the 1971 to '75 period, did he participate in
- 9 meetings with other Party leaders?
- 10 [11.35.37]
- 11 A. Mr. President, I never said the phrase "five or six months".
- 12 Q. Well, the record will reflect what you said, Mr. Ieng Sary
- 13 (sic). Let me ask you another question.
- 14 Is it correct that, when Ieng Sary came back from China to
- 15 Cambodia during the 1971 to '75 time period, that he came back
- 16 and participated in meetings of the Standing and Central
- 17 Committee?
- 18 [11.36.24]
- 19 A. I do not recall that.
- 20 Q. I want to now ask you some questions regarding the Third Party
- 21 Congress held in 1971.
- 22 Were you present at the Third Party Congress that was held in
- 23 1971, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 24 A. In 1971, yes, I did.
- 25 Q. Where was that congress held?

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 A. I do not remember the place, Mr. President.
- 2 [11.37.38]
- 3 Q. Do you remember how many people attended the Third Party
- 4 Congress?
- 5 A. Mr. President, I do not remember the number of those who
- 6 participated the congress either.
- 7 Q. Do you recall what matters were discussed and decided at the
- 8 1971 Party Congress?
- 9 (Short pause)
- 10 A. Mr. President, I do not remember it.
- 11 Q. Can you identify for the Chamber anyone, other than yourself,
- 12 who was present at the Third Party Congress in 1971?
- 13 A. Mr. President, I do not remember that.
- 14 Q. Do you recall a meeting of the Central Committee in 1972,
- 15 where it was decided to close the markets in the liberated zones?
- 16 [11.40.16]
- 17 Do you recall that meeting, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 18 A. Mr. President, I do not recall that because it was the
- 19 administrative issue.
- 20 Q. Let me read to you now, Mr. Nuon Chea, a statement from the
- 21 September to October 1976 "Revolutionary Flag" to see if that
- 22 refreshes your recollection regarding the 1972 meeting. I'm
- 23 reading from -- we'll read from document D243/2.1.7, at Khmer ERN
- 24 00063072, English ERN 00450510, and French ERN 00491878. That
- 25 issue of "Revolutionary Flag", Mr. Nuon Chea, contains the

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 following statement:
- 2 "The party made an assessment, and saw that the situation was
- 3 like this, and decided to close the markets in the liberated
- 4 zones in 1972. Closing the markets was no minor matter. It was a
- 5 very mighty revolutionary moment that struck right at the
- 6 economic foundations of the capitalists and feudalists. We did
- 7 not use military force to kill them. We got control of the
- 8 important products like rice, oil, salt, cloth, and medicine.
- 9 When we were able to control the strategic products, we gained
- 10 strategic control over the entire economy. We did not let various
- 11 merchandise enter or leave the liberated zone. Therefore, in just
- 12 a short time, the markets had nothing at all to sell."
- 13 [11.42.40]
- 14 Does this refresh your recollection, Mr. Nuon Chea, that the
- 15 party decided, in 1972, to close the markets in liberated zones?
- 16 A. Mr. President, I do not remember that. But I don't think there
- 17 was closure of markets in 1972.
- 18 Q. When is it that you recall that the markets were closed in
- 19 liberated -- in the liberated zones?
- 20 A. Mr. President, it was up to the zone committees.
- 21 Q. How much of the territory of Cambodia had been liberated as of
- 22 1971 or 1972?
- 23 A. Mr. President, I do not understand the question.
- 24 Q. Let me ask you about one specific area.
- 25 [11.44.27]

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Do you recall when it was that Kratie was liberated?
- 2 A. Yes. The Kratie province was liberated.
- 3 Q. When was it that Kratie province was liberated?
- 4 A. As you said, it was probably in 1971 or 1972.
- 5 Q. And is it correct that, when Kratie province was liberated in
- 6 1971 or '72, that the residents were allowed to continue to live
- 7 in the towns and that markets were allowed to continue to be
- 8 open? Is that correct?
- 9 A. Mr. President. It remains the same.
- 10 Q. And do you recall that a time came when the party decided that
- 11 it was unhappy with the behaviour of people in Kratie, and
- 12 therefore decided to close the markets and to evacuate the people
- 13 to cooperatives?
- 14 [11.46.22]
- 15 Do you recall that, Mr. Nuon Chea?
- 16 A. Mr. President, I do not recall that, because I was in a
- 17 different area and Kratie province was in another location. It
- 18 was located in -- it was under the control of other people.
- 19 Q. Can you explain to the Chamber what the term "seizing the
- 20 people" means?
- 21 A. Mr. President, I never heard of the word "seize people".
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Could the Co-Prosecutor put the question again? The word, in
- 24 Khmer language, "to seize people" is hard to understand.
- 25 MR. PESTMAN:

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Your Honour. Maybe it's more helpful to quote the original Khmer
- 2 text, or ask the National Co-Prosecutor to quote the original
- 3 version of the statement.
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 Yes, thank you.
- 6 MR. LYSAK:
- 7 Yes, Mr. President, I'm happy to do that.
- 8 [11.48.14]
- 9 So at this time, what I would like to do then is to show to the
- 10 witness the December 1976 to January 1977 "Revolutionary Flag",
- 11 which is issue D243/2.1.9. And the questions that I'm going to
- 12 ask come from page Khmer 00063040, English page 00491424, and
- 13 French page 00504049.
- 14 And we can also put part of this on the screen.
- 15 Number 25? The whole page. Oh, it's not working? Oh, okay.
- 16 Mr. President, I understand that our screen is still not working
- 17 to be able to show things, so--
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 19 Can the court officer put the document on the screen?
- 20 (Short pause)
- 21 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 22 I demand the document for me to read.
- 23 [11.50.21]
- 24 I insist again and again.
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 The Chamber does not require that.
- 2 Now we are working on the content of the document on which the
- 3 Co-Prosecutor raises his question. Could the International
- 4 Co-Prosecutor read the page? Because, through the translation,
- 5 there may be misunderstanding of the purpose of the question, and
- 6 so the answer is not possible.
- 7 MR. LYSAK:
- 8 Mr. President, what I'd suggest is that we have either the
- 9 Chamber or my national colleague can read the Khmer version, the
- 10 original language, so that the original language is read to the
- 11 witness. I could read alternatively, I can read the English
- 12 parts that I have, but it may be better for the witness to hear
- 13 the original Khmer.
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 Could a national colleague or the National Co-Prosecutor read the
- 16 document in Khmer?
- 17 MR. SENG BUNKHEANG:
- 18 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 19 [11.52.20]
- 20 I will read the document in Khmer after it is printed.
- 21 (Short pause)
- 22 MR. LYSAK:
- 23 My apologies, Mr. President. It's taking us a few minutes. We
- 24 weren't expecting the screens not to be working today, so we'll
- 25 find the Khmer original page for that, but it could take us just

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 another minute.
- 2 (Short pause)
- 3 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 4 Can I have the document for me to read?
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 The Chamber already informed you on this.
- 7 [11.54.42]
- 8 There are thousands of thousands of pages of the documents
- 9 available in the case file. And to manage these documents for the
- 10 case file, we apply the measures that have been applied in other
- 11 international tribunals as well. And again, the Chamber has
- 12 already ruled on this issue. Parties are entitled to put
- 13 questions -- rather, put documents before the Chamber and the
- 14 Accused is entitled to exercise his right to remain silent -- to
- 15 respond to the question. This is what the Chamber ruled on
- 16 yesterday.
- 17 (Short pause)
- 18 Counsel Ang Udom, we note you are on your feet.
- 19 MR. ANG UDOM:
- 20 May I assist on this issue? Because we have obtained the Khmer
- 21 document.
- 22 [11.57.10]
- 23 I'm not sure whether I can hand over this document to the
- 24 prosecution.
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Yes, please.
- 2 MR. SENG BUNKHEANG:
- 3 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 4 [11.57.47]
- 5 We have now obtained the document, and I would like to read in
- 6 Khmer language, at ERN number 0006340, beginning with the phrase
- 7 which read:
- 8 "One, we took him, two we took them, 100 we took them, 1,000 we
- 9 took them, and so on until we fought for and seized the people
- 10 from Phnom Penh too. When the enemy has the people, the enemy has
- 11 a military, an economy. When the enemy has no people, the enemy
- 12 has no military and no economic strength. Our reasoning is
- 13 correct, thus our line is very correct. We fight to conquer the
- 14 people at every location.
- 15 "An example: the fighting in Banam in 1973. We took everyone in
- 16 Banam town, expelling the ethnic Vietnamese, the ethnic Chinese,
- 17 the military, the police. We took everyone, trying up the people
- 18 from the enemy.
- 19 "An example: the fighting on Highway 6, Chenla II, 1971. The
- 20 enemy intended to take everything from Taing Kouk to Kampong
- 21 Thom. They cut off everything from Kampong Thmâ to Kreung, and
- 22 used this triangle to capture the people and round up the people
- 23 for use as a political force and economic force, to seize the
- 24 North Zone adjacent to Kratie so that the contemptible Thieu's
- 25 forces could attack from the South and take Kratie.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 [12.00.28]
- 2 "However, they were defeated. Why was that? Because we pulled out
- 3 the people. When all the people were pulled out, they gained no
- 4 additional forces. They had no additional strength in terms of
- 5 economics or manpower. They grew even weaker. We attacked and cut
- 6 them in pieces, cutting off the heads and tails of their main
- 7 force units, and creating the preconditions for the decisive
- 8 attack. The decisive factor in the victory -- we pulled out
- 9 people.
- 10 [12.01.04]
- 11 "For example, we liberated Oudong in 1974. We pulled out all the
- 12 people. When they took it back, they had no forces. They had no
- 13 forces of the people. They had no economic or military strength.
- 14 We were able to fight them, and we did not even have to fight
- 15 them. When we made the decisive attack on Phnom Penh, we let them
- 16 be, and we attacked to the front instead.
- 17 "This is a very important strategic line. Control the people, and
- 18 conquer the people. That's why our party members, our combatants,
- 19 the state power in the base areas, do anything that impacts the
- 20 people. They must understand the strategic meaning of the people
- 21 in this way. Whatever side has the people, that side wins,
- 22 whether they are strategic people or tactical people. When the
- 23 tactical people are with us, they help us. But when the tactical
- 24 people are with the enemy, they help the enemy."
- 25 I finish my reading here, Mr. President.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Thank you, Mr. Co-Prosecutor. And Mr. International
- 3 Co-Prosecutor, you may continue now on the Accused.
- 4 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 5 I do not understand what we mean by the phrase "to improve", "the
- 6 people from the enemy". I heard it twice. What do we mean by
- 7 that?
- 8 [12.03.13]
- 9 How do we mean by -- what do we mean by "to improve people from
- 10 the enemy"? This is the reason why I demand the document, to read
- 11 it clearly, so that I understand what it means. You say we were
- 12 to improve people from the enemy -- I don't understand it at all.
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 You now wait for the question from the Co-Prosecutor.
- 15 [12.03.43]
- 16 The last question for this morning, and just listen to the
- 17 question and see whether you can answer this question.
- 18 BY MR. LYSAK:
- 19 Q. My first question to you, Mr. Nuon Chea, is: Can you explain
- 20 to the Chamber the party line of seizing or controlling the
- 21 people that was described in this document?
- 22 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 23 A. I would like to exercise my right not to respond to that
- 24 question.
- 25 MR. LYSAK:

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Mr. President, if you would like me to give you an update as to
- 2 how much additional time I'm -- at this point, I'm happy to do
- 3 that. My estimate is that I probably have an additional half hour
- 4 to an hour, depending again on how things proceed with the
- 5 Accused.
- 6 [12.04.55]
- 7 My colleague probably has about an hour and a half of questions,
- 8 so I would anticipate we would need one more half-day session, at
- 9 the most, to finish our examination.
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 Since it is now appropriate time for lunch adjournment, the Court
- 12 will take the lunch break and resume by 1.30.
- 13 We note that Nuon Chea is raising his hand.
- 14 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 15 My health is weaker. I'm afraid that I may not be able to attend
- 16 the session in the afternoon.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 May we know for sure what request it is? Because, if the request
- 19 is not clear, the ruling will be ambivalent as well.
- 20 [12.06.08]
- 21 The Chamber has to understand your clear purpose of this before
- 22 we can determine on the case.
- 23 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 24 Mr. President, I will proceed to produce the request at -- by my
- 25 counsel in due course.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Is it correct to say that you would like to be excused from
- 3 participating directly in this courtroom and that you would
- 4 follow the proceedings from the holding cell? Is that what you're
- 5 saying? Like you did yesterday?
- 6 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 7 Yes, it is, your Honours. I would like to follow the proceedings
- 8 from the holding cell.
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 Your request is granted, but the Counsel has to submit this
- 11 document concerning your request for following the proceedings
- 12 through remote participation to the Chamber as soon as possible,
- 13 and that the request shall be signed or thumb printed by the
- 14 Accused.
- 15 [12.07.50]
- 16 MR. ANG UDOM:
- 17 My client also shares the same concern. He has been sitting in
- 18 this courtroom for the whole morning and he complains that he has
- 19 a back pain and he would like to be excused from this courtroom
- 20 and be allowed to observe the proceedings from his holding cell
- 21 instead.
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 The request is granted and that the request in writing shall be
- 24 submitted to the Chamber, in which the accused person shall give
- 25 the thumb print or signature.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Security personnels are now instructed to bring the accused
- 2 persons to the holding cells and have them kept there, except
- 3 Khieu Samphan, who shall be returned to the courtroom. Nuon Chea
- 4 and Ieng Sary are permitted to observe the proceedings from the
- 5 holding cells, and AV officers are instructed to connect the AV
- 6 equipment and the footage of the courtroom to the cell so that
- 7 they can follow the proceeding. Thank you.
- 8 (Court recesses from 1209H to 1335H)
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 Please be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 11 During this afternoon's session, the Chamber will hear Khieu
- 12 Samphan.
- 13 Security personnels are now instructed to take Khieu Samphan to
- 14 the dock.
- 15 Counsel Kong Sam Onn you may now proceed.
- 16 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 17 Thank you, Mr. President. I would like to ask for clarity whether
- 18 Khieu Samphan is now heard on the historical background or the
- 19 administrative structure and work relations.
- 20 [13.36.49]
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 Security personnels are instructed to bring the Accused to the
- 23 dock first before we address the question by the counsel. Bring
- 24 him to the dock.
- 25 (Short pause)

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 This is the order by the President of the Chamber. It must be
- 2 followed immediately.
- 3 (The accused Khieu Samphan is taken to the dock)
- 4 [13.37.41]
- 5 May we inform national counsel for Mr. Khieu Samphan that the
- 6 Chamber has already indicated very clearly the facts for the
- 7 first segment of the hearing. We hope that counsel is well
- 8 informed and that -- prepared -- because we have already made it
- 9 clear what matters are to be discussed during the first segment
- 10 of the trial proceedings.
- 11 Please also be informed that since Mr. Khieu Samphan's situation
- 12 is different from that of Mr. Ieng Sary, Mr. Ieng Sary indicates
- 13 very clearly that he will exercise his right to remain silent
- 14 from the very beginning of the trial proceedings until the
- 15 conclusion of the trial proceedings with regard to this severed
- 16 facts, as stated in this first segment.
- 17 However, with regard to Mr. Khieu Samphan, we have already
- 18 informed him about his rights and he has not indicated clearly
- 19 yet whether he would like to exercise his right to remain silent
- 20 although we have been informed by the accused person that
- 21 whenever any inculpatory evidence being presented in the
- 22 courtroom against him, it is the moment that he would be
- 23 responding to the questions to challenge such evidence.
- 24 That is why, today, we ask him to be here before us, to indicate
- 25 his position precisely. Indeed, if the Chamber had learned that

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 he would like to exercise his right to remain silent as Mr. Ieng
- 2 Sary did, then the Chamber would have not called him to clarify
- 3 this position.
- 4 [13.40.57]
- 5 So we would like him indeed, to clarify the position.
- 6 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 7 Thank you, Mr. President. Through me, Mr. Khieu Samphan has
- 8 maintained his position that he would not respond to the
- 9 questions as he's already did -- said so on the 13 of December
- 10 2011. Thank you.
- 11 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 12 Thank you, Counsel. The issue is clear. Mr. Nuon Chea counsel,
- 13 you may now proceed.
- 14 MR. PESTMAN:
- 15 Thank you very much. Just very briefly, I would like to inform
- 16 the Trial Chamber that my client was very tired after this
- 17 morning's session and that he is currently downstairs, sleeping.
- 18 So he's not actively participating in the procedure. The telly
- 19 has been turned off. Thank you.
- 20 (Judges deliberate)
- 21 [13.42.53]
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 I would like to hand over to Judge Lavergne to proceed -- or to
- 24 put questions to the accused person, Mr. Khieu Samphan.
- 25 Mr. Khieu Samphan, please proceed.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:
- 2 Mr. President, could you please inform to me what kind of
- 3 questions that I shall be put? If the questions are relevant to
- 4 the historical background of Democratic Kampuchea I perhaps may
- 5 not respond to such questions. I made it clear already that I
- 6 would not be responding to questions; only I had to wait after
- 7 the prosecutors have put all their questions and I believe that
- 8 such position has already been clear and my counsel already
- 9 echoed my position. I have already indicated in the statements
- 10 before the Court in details with regard to the historical
- 11 background of the Democratic Kampuchea.
- 12 So I have nothing else to add on top of this. If this session is
- 13 about the administrative structure, then I think perhaps it is
- 14 not yet time to discuss this matter.
- 15 [13.44.38]
- 16 I refer to document E155. It is only after the historical
- 17 background of the Democratic Kampuchea has been concluded that
- 18 the second portion, which is about the administrative structures
- 19 of the Democratic Kampuchea or the regime, could have been
- 20 brought before this Chamber; and I reserve my right to only
- 21 respond to issues with regard to the administrative structure
- 22 when the relevant matters being put before this Chamber.
- 23 Otherwise, I would not respond and I will not be responding to
- 24 questions with regard to the historical background of the
- 25 Democratic Kampuchea.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Thank you, Mr. Khieu Samphan, for your current position which
- 3 clarifies things. We have noted that you have been clear with
- 4 regard to your position that you would not respond to questions
- 5 relevant to the historical background of the Democratic
- 6 Kampuchea.
- 7 We do not know whether Judge Lavergne still wishes to put any
- 8 further questions to Mr. Khieu Samphan at this time.
- 9 [13.46.06]
- 10 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 11 Thank you, Mr. President. Before dealing with the problem
- 12 regarding Mr. Khieu Samphan, I would like to focus on Mr. Nuon
- 13 Chea's absence.
- 14 I'd like to know what the defence is submitting. Is the defence
- 15 submitting that Nuon Chea is not able to partake in these
- 16 proceedings or is it simply saying that Nuon Chea is waiving his
- 17 right to participate in this hearing? And if he is so doing, did
- 18 they file any kind of motion to that effect? What is the exact
- 19 status of this situation?
- 20 [13.46.51]
- 21 MR. PESTMAN:
- $\,$  22  $\,$  Before the interval I waived -- I filed a document in which Nuon
- 23 Chea waived his right to be present.
- 24 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 25 In order to clarify things, he is not objecting -- you're not

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 saying that your client is not fit to attend the Hearing; he is
- 2 simply waiving his right to partake in this Hearing, is that what
- 3 you are saying?
- 4 MR. PESTMAN:
- 5 Well, I kept it brief on purpose. I do not want to wake him up
- 6 and I have filed a document in which he waives his right to be
- 7 present during the remainder of today's Hearing. He signed it and
- 8 I gave it in both Khmer and English to the Registrar.
- 9 [13.47.46]
- 10 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 11 Thank you for this clarification. Mr. Khieu Samphan, I believe
- 12 everyone has understood your position. However, you should hear
- 13 the position of the Bench as well. You made a certain number of
- 14 statements on 13 December last, statements that we could say are
- 15 willful and in which you made a certain number of comments
- 16 pertaining to paragraph in the Closing Order regarding the
- 17 historical context which is the part that we are focusing on
- 18 right now; and in the case -- or on the case file we have a
- 19 certain number of documents that regards you and that regards the
- 20 historical context of Democratic Kampuchea; so the objective of
- 21 today's hearing, or this afternoon's, is twofold.
- 22 [13.49.02]
- 23 First of all, having heard your comments, we would like to obtain
- 24 some clarification in relation to the comments that you made in
- 25 December. Then, in relation to the documents that may regard you,

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 I find it important that you know what the Chamber's questions
- 2 might be in relation to these documents and it's important also
- 3 for us to know whether you believe these documents are relevant.
- 4 This is why these documents will be tendered to you and maybe
- 5 there will be -- maybe excerpts will be read to you and we will
- 6 give you the opportunity to provide comments.
- 7 [13.49.53]
- 8 But if you intend not to answer or to respond to these documents,
- 9 you will be free to do so as well. But you should understand,
- 10 today you are given an opportunity.
- 11 Does this make the Chamber's position clearer to you or do you
- 12 want things to be clarified further? Would you like us to tell
- 13 you what kind of questions we may ask you?
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 Counsel, you may proceed.
- 16 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 17 Thank you, Mr. President. After having observed the remarks made
- 18 by Judge Lavergne, I have two points to raise in my request.
- 19 First, we would like to confirm that Mr. Khieu Samphan has waived
- 20 his rights to respond to any questions relevant to the historical
- 21 background and it has been made clear; and Judge Lavergne has
- 22 already indicated that he has fully understood this. So, my
- 23 suggestion is that we shall not have any further questions to be
- 24 put to Mr. Khieu Samphan with regard to historical background.
- 25 [13.51.27]

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 And with regard to point number two concerning the intention to
- 2 seek clarifications relevant to the statement Mr. Khieu Samphan
- 3 made earlier on, may I ask that I be given some time to discuss
- 4 with my client before we address the Court on this?
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 International Co-Prosecutor, you may now proceed.
- 7 MR. ABDULHAK:
- 8 Thank you, Mr. President. Good afternoon. If I may, just by way
- 9 of a brief clarification, I believe back in December Mr. Khieu
- 10 Samphan indicated that he was not exercising his right to remain
- 11 silent, as the President just indicated, but that at a later
- 12 point in the trial, once he has heard the evidence, he would
- 13 respond. We took that to mean "testify", answer questions both
- 14 from the Judges and from the parties.
- 15 [13.52.31]
- 16 If I understood correctly my learned friends' submissions and,
- 17 indeed, Mr. Khieu Samphan's position as it stands now, it appears
- 18 that Mr. Khieu Samphan does not wish to answer questions at all,
- 19 but rather to simply make statements. I may be misunderstanding
- 20 that position -- I think there's a little bit of confusion.
- 21 But certainly we are nearing the end of this portion of the first
- 22 phase of the trial, and if Mr. Khieu Samphan's position is that
- 23 he will first hear the evidence and then respond, then we would
- 24 submit that the appropriate time, as regards to historical
- 25 background, is now or before the conclusion of this segment. And

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 so our position is that Mr. Khieu Samphan should be asked to
- 2 clarify.
- 3 Is he refusing to testify and simply taking the position that he
- 4 will make statements as the trial proceeds? If that is the case,
- 5 then the prosecution would make submissions in relation to the
- 6 negative inferences that may be drawn from such a position. Thank
- 7 you.
- 8 (Judges deliberate)
- 9 [13.55.34]
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 The Chamber will indeed offer some time for Mr. Khieu Samphan and
- 12 his counsel to consult one another but before that, since Judge
- 13 Lavergne has indicated that he would like to put questions to Mr.
- 14 Khieu Samphan with regard to the clarifications concerning the
- 15 Democratic Kampuchea and a few issues respectively, then I would
- 16 like Judge Lavergne to proceed.
- 17 [13.56.28]
- 18 Mr. Khieu Samphan, we note that you raise your hand.
- 19 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:
- 20 Mr. President--
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 Mr. Khieu Samphan, you can remain seated while speaking. The
- 23 Chamber allows you to do that.
- 24 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:
- 25 Mr. President, I indicated on the 13 of December clearly this

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 position that I would not yet respond to any questions and I
- 2 would not have anything else to add on top of my statement that I
- 3 made on the 13 of December. I hope this latest position is clear
- 4 to the Bench and to Judge Lavergne.
- 5 I think we should not waste the time of the Court to put further
- 6 questions to me on that, because I have already expressed clearly
- 7 that I would not have anything else to add on top of what I made
- 8 on the 13 of December. Thank you very much.
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 Thank you for this, but the matter doesn't end here, because
- 11 documents are put before this Chamber and-
- 12 We have noted that your counsel has requested the Chamber some
- 13 time to consult with you before you respond to any questions by
- 14 the Judge of the Bench.
- 15 [13.58.28]
- 16 And we have noted that both you and your counsel would like to
- 17 address the Court or to be heard. That's why we allowed your
- 18 counsel to address the Court -- and that you also be allowed to
- 19 make some statement. And the Chamber has informed you very
- 20 clearly, -- and every accused person before this Chamber -- the
- 21 rights -- the right to be informed of the charges, the right to
- 22 remain to remain silent, and other rights. And hopefully you have
- 23 already been informed. I would like now to hand over to Judge
- 24 Lavergne to proceed.
- 25 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 (No interpretation)
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Counsel for Khieu Samphan, you may proceed.
- 4 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 5 Mr. President, I think it is really important that I have an
- 6 opportunity to meet with Mr. Khieu Samphan first, before Judge
- 7 Lavergne proceeds to put questions to him.
- 8 [13.59.54]
- 9 Because Mr. Khieu Samphan has made it very clear that he would
- 10 not be responding to any questions, and I'm afraid that, by that,
- 11 any questions put to him would be rejected.
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 The Chamber does not proceed to put any questions, as yet. We are
- 14 now discussing about documents being put before the Chamber, and
- 15 the facts at issue -- the facts that are being debated during
- 16 this first segment that are relevant to the accused person Khieu
- 17 Samphan.
- 18 [14.00.34]
- 19 This discussion session has to be explained in advance before the
- 20 proceedings commence, and counsels and parties are advised to
- 21 listen to what the Bench would be saying and that, only after you
- 22 have grasped the full context of this explanation, that you can
- 23 proceed to consult with your client what to act next.
- 24 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 25 Thank you, Mr. President. I think there is still a problem.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Perhaps my client, Mr. Khieu Samphan, does not understand whether
- 2 he is expected to hear the questions or issues to be addressed by
- 3 Judge Lavergne, and perhaps he has not fully understood the
- 4 situation here. That's why I wish that I be given some -- like,
- 5 10 minutes to consult with him first.
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 We, the Chamber, would like to make it clear first, before we
- 8 allow you to discuss with your client -- whether we hear from you
- 9 -- your client will exercise the right to remain silent or not --
- 10 but let the Chamber explain to you first.
- 11 [14.02.12]
- 12 Judge Lavergne, you may proceed.
- 13 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 14 Right. Here we're talking about making explanations. Right now
- 15 I'm not going to be asking any questions. What I do want to point
- 16 out is that the Chamber, whatever the case, is going to be
- 17 looking at a certain number of documents that are in the file.
- 18 Those documents are ones that the Chamber believes may be
- 19 relevant. They are going to be aired in the hearing, they are
- 20 going to be presented to Mr. Khieu Samphan.
- 21 [14.02.56]
- 22 Mr. Khieu Samphan has an opportunity to react to them, and, if he
- 23 wishes, to make comments on them. That is what we are planning to
- 24 do now. Let me also say that a good number of these documents
- 25 concern statements made in the past by the Accused, or they're

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 writings that he is allegedly the author of. And they're in the
- 2 file too. These texts contain a certain number -- amount of
- 3 information and it's very important for the Chamber to know if
- 4 that information is water-tight and viable.
- 5 That is the purpose of this afternoon's hearing. I hope that
- 6 makes the objective clearer, thank you.
- 7 (Judges deliberate)
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 The Chamber now allows some time for the counsel for Khieu
- 10 Samphan and the Accused to discuss.
- 11 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 12 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 13 (Short pause)
- 14 [14.07.22]
- 15 Thank you, Mr. President. Upon my consultation with my client, he
- 16 indicated to me that he will not answer any questions regarding
- 17 the historical background. Thank you, Mr. President.
- 18 OUESTIONING BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 19 Thank you, Mr. President. Perhaps what is going to be read out
- 20 will give Mr. Khieu Samphan a chance to change his mind and to
- 21 understand the purpose of this session.
- 22 [14.08.13]
- 23 Q. The Judges have before them elements that are both inculpatory
- 24 and exculpatory. Within the file, the first elements are records
- 25 of statements made by Mr. Khieu Samphan himself, in particular in

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 D46 and D47 of the file. These were made before the
- 2 Co-Investigating Judges in December 2007.
- 3 As an example, I could read one passage from document D46. It's
- 4 on page 4 in the French version. And in this paper, Mr. Khieu
- 5 Samphan, you can see that you are asked questions about the
- 6 duties that you held. You say that, while you were still hiding,
- 7 you went into the Aoral Mountains with Ta Mok around September
- 8 1970.
- 9 "We crossed the Tonle Sap to reach the Stoeung Chinit River, and
- 10 that is where we met Pol Pot and Nuon Chea. It was the first time
- 11 I had seen them. Before that, Pol Pot was in the Rattanakiri
- 12 region, and he only re-appeared after the 1970 coup d'état.
- 13 "On the occasion of that meeting, I understood that Pol Pot, who
- 14 I only knew under the name of Saloth Sar, was the Party
- 15 secretary. He asked us to provide our identity and to supply our
- 16 social origins. I responded to him that I was an intellectual,
- 17 and Pol Pot responded that 'you are a son of the ruined feudal
- 18 class.'
- 19 [14.10.42]
- 20 "I was surprised because my family was poor. I also remember that
- 21 Nuon Chea asked Mr. Pok De Koma why he joined the revolution. He
- 22 responded, because he hated the monarchy. And Nuon Chea said
- 23 that, 'no, you are a feudalist from Sisowath dynasty, and you are
- 24 against the Norodom family'. Pok Deu Koma was very angry at Nuon
- 25 Chea."

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 [14.11.22]
- 2 I noted that in the next one, D47, that was recorded the next
- 3 day, the same expression, "son of the ruined feudal class", was
- 4 used again by Mr. Khieu Samphan. And in his second statement, on
- 5 page 6, he said: "My role was pure protocol. Everybody knows that
- 6 Pol Pot saw in me a son of the ruined feudal class, a patriotic
- 7 intellectual who had no influence."
- 8 [14.12.14]
- 9 These are, Mr. Khieu Samphan, two of the first documents that the
- 10 Chamber feels are pertinent. It would be interesting for us to
- 11 have some comment from you on what I've read or to understand
- 12 what being a son of the ruined feudal class actually signifies
- 13 for you.
- 14 Do you wish to make any comments on this, or do you feel that you
- are not going to do so -- or do you refuse to do so?
- 16 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:
- 17 A. What have I said before the Judges -- before the
- 18 Co-Investigating Judges and what has read out by the -- by Judge
- 19 Lavergne reflected what I stated on the 13th of December. That
- 20 refers to the conditions that I was admitted to the Central
- 21 Committee. I was tolerated. I was -- actually should -- not
- 22 supposed to be members of that, because I was from the feudal
- 23 class and I was not in line with the views of the party, so again
- 24 that reflected in my statements back in December last month, so I
- 25 will not have anything to comment on that further.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 [14.14.14]
- 2 And I hope that the statement that I made the other day and my
- 3 answers before the Co-Investigating Judges are beneficial for the
- 4 Judges to elaborate and adjudicate and to decide whether I was a
- 5 senior leader in the party. I hope that these documents are
- 6 useful for your considerations, your Honours. Thank you.
- 7 Q. I think what would be useful would be if you responded to
- 8 requests for clarification that may be put to you.
- 9 And let me repeat what I have already said: What does it mean to
- 10 be a son of the ruined feudalist class?
- 11 [14.15.32]
- 12 Why were you a son of the ruined feudalist class? Is this
- 13 something to do with your family? Is it more connected with your
- 14 studies? What is he referring to here?
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Counsel, we note that you are on your feet.
- 17 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 18 Thank you, Mr. President. May I reiterate Mr. Khieu Samphan's
- 19 position? He indicated that he will not answer any question, and
- 20 he just indicated just now that he will not answer any further
- 21 questions.
- 22 May I suggest that, if Judge Lavergne wishes that Mr. Khieu
- 23 Samphan to answer any questions, may we have or obtain the
- 24 questions in advance for him to study the questions? Thank you.
- 25 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Do you -- are you referring to the provisions of the internal
- 2 regulations which stipulate that I should communicate my
- 3 questions in advance to your client?
- 4 [14.17.03]
- 5 I have other issues to raise connected with these interviews that
- 6 I will come back to. For example, the date when Mr. Khieu Samphan
- 7 says he first met Pol Pot and Nuon Chea. There are documents that
- 8 would bear comparison in that regard. But I will point out that,
- 9 in that interview of the 13th of December, Mr. Khieu Samphan did
- 10 say some things about the dates on which the Kampuchea Communist
- 11 Party Congresses took place. Let's be clear, I do understand that
- 12 at this stage Mr. Khieu Samphan does not wish to make further
- 13 comments.
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 Counsel, you may proceed.
- 16 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 17 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 18 [14.18.08]
- 19 May I make a short observation in response to Judge Lavergne's
- 20 observation? He asked whether there is any provision that a
- 21 Judges could communicate or provide the questions to my client,
- 22 Mr. Khieu Samphan. May I clarify that the reason why we are
- 23 requesting for the questions is that Mr. Khieu Samphan indicated
- 24 already that he would not answer any questions, and if questions
- 25 are kept being put before him, this could be considered as

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 disturbance or intrusion to his rights. So, in case the questions
- 2 are provided to Mr. Khieu Samphan in advance and he could study
- 3 the questions and understand that he could answer to a certain
- 4 extent, he could then decide whether he would answer the
- 5 questions or not. These rights are stipulated both in the
- 6 constitution of this country as well as the law of this Court.
- 7 Thank you, your Honours.
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 It appears that the Accused has already provided a firm position.
- 10 In accordance to the law, this can be taken as the fact that the
- 11 documents be placed before the Court.
- 12 [14.20.19]
- 13 And Judge Lavergne, you may proceed.
- 14 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 15 Q. Another document that the Court might consider relevant is a
- 16 published work entitled "Cambodia's Recent History and the
- 17 Reasons behind the Decisions I Made". This document is in the
- 18 file under IS 4.23. In the French, the ERN is 00595365-00595529,
- 19 in English, 00103717-00103801, and in Khmer, 00103802 to
- 20 00103899.
- 21 This book is supposed to have been written by Mr. Khieu Samphan.
- 22 It contains some points of information that are interesting. For
- 23 example, page 27 in the French version, 00595388 in the French
- 24 version. In English, it's 00103729 to 00103730, and in Khmer,
- 00103815 to 00103816. This excerpt concerns the end of Mr. Khieu

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 Samphan's activity as secretary of state for trade. He says that:
- 2 [14.23.10]
- 3 "After a series of unfortunate events, I was unable to put my
- 4 plan to work. A few months earlier, during the student protests
- 5 in Siem Reap, Lon Nol drew up a list of 34 individuals, including
- 6 me, who were to be arrested. But the Prince interceded, and the
- 7 affair went no further.
- 8 "Then another problem arose. The National Congress, citing a rise
- 9 in the price of beef, withdrew its confidence in me. Of course,
- 10 the National Assembly could not contravene the wishes of
- 11 Congress."
- 12 [14.23.52]
- 13 I don't know, Mr. President, if I can ask Mr. Khieu Samphan if he
- 14 is indeed the author of this excerpt, if he has any comments
- 15 about it, or if I have to withhold from asking any questions at
- 16 all.
- 17 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:
- 18 A. My respects to Mr. President. I would like to answer the
- 19 question asked by Judge Lavergne. I did wrote -- I did write
- 20 that. And what I wrote there is in line with what I put in my
- 21 statement on the 13 of December. And again, I do not have
- 22 anything to add to that.
- 23 Q. Thank you. On pages 33 and onwards, French ERN 00595393 to
- 24 00595395, in English 003732 to 00103733, and in Khmer up to
- 25 001039. This concerns events that occurred in 1966, relating to

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 the coup d'état as well.
- 2 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 3 Thank you, Mr. President. If it pleases the Court, may I request
- 4 that Judge Lavergne not put any other questions to Mr. Khieu
- 5 Samphan as he already indicated that he would not answer any
- 6 questions? Therefore, any attempt to put questions to him may
- 7 confuse him and will infringe his rights. Thank you.
- 8 (Judges deliberate)
- 9 [14.27.23]
- 10 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 11 Q. I'd like to read out another excerpt from the book:
- 12 "Ironically, Lon Nol, while covering the trafficking and probably
- 13 participating it, worked to rally not only powerful social groups
- 14 which were not concealing their nostalgia for the days of the
- 15 fatted calf and their fondness for American aid, but also
- 16 high-ranking government officials and the intellectual elite who
- 17 were becoming more frustrated by the widespread corruption inside
- 18 the country.
- 19 "They declared underground war against the Prince. They spread
- 20 rumours throughout the capital about the Prince and scandalous
- 21 stories about corruption inside the Royal Family. Meanwhile,
- 22 national elections to select a new parliament were approaching.
- 23 The Prince was besieged with hundreds of letters from people
- 24 urging him to appoint them as candidates of Sangkum Reastr Niyum
- 25 and others asking him not to intervene in the appointment of any

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 candidate. This time the Prince refrained from intervening and
- 2 left the list open to all members of the movement.
- 3 "Was he exasperated by his critics? Did he want to avoid
- 4 alienating some of his faithful supporters in such a situation?
- 5 Choosing some candidates was tantamount to rejecting others who
- 6 would then join the adversary.
- 7 "Whatever his reasons, he made a grave error that would later
- 8 cause serious consequences for him and the country. Indeed, under
- 9 the pretext of fighting communism and without the knowledge of
- 10 the Prince, Lon Nol had already plotted his own rise within
- 11 Sangkum Reastr Niyum and had enlisted the support of the majority
- 12 of the provincial leaders and the heads of districts and
- 13 communes.
- 14 "Actually, the assembly that resulted from the 'free' elections
- 15 of 1966 was an instrument in Lon Nol's hands. Four years later,
- 16 this Assembly voted to depose the Prince as Head of State."
- 17 [14.30.04]
- 18 So I'm not asking any questions here again. I just would like to
- 19 ask if Mr. Khieu Samphan wishes to comment on that text.
- 20 [14.30.24]
- 21 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:
- 22 A. Mr. President, Your Honours. I do not wish to make any further
- 23 comments on top of that.
- 24 Q. So a bit further down, the following is written:
- 25 "Many, many different signs indicated that the Prince was

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 beginning to lose control of the government. Already in small
- 2 groups people were speaking about Suharto and about Nassusson,
- 3 Cambodian, by alluding to the bloody coup d'état that occurred in
- 4 March 1966 in Indonesia.
- 5 [14.31.14]
- 6 "Under such circumstances, Hou Youn was accused of being at the
- 7 origin of this revolution and threatened to bring him before a
- 8 military tribunal and this threat could not be taken lightly.
- 9 "We no longer felt safe in Phnom Penh. This is how we accepted
- 10 the proposal by the Communist Party of Kampuchea to take shelter
- 11 in the countryside. This proposal was made to us in a letter that
- 12 included a rather detailed analysis of the situation, leaving no
- 13 room for doubt as to who sent it.
- 14 "The messenger who delivered the letter was well-known to both of
- 15 us. He was a man respected for his age and his comportment. He
- 16 often attended meetings organized by the Association of Former
- 17 Students of Sisowath High School, a group to which we also
- 18 belonged.
- 19 "On the agreed-upon night, he led us on National Route 3 to spot
- 20 just east of Ang-Tasomm. A group of peasants waited for us
- 21 there."
- 22 [14.32.34]
- 23 So it's the same question: Do you wish to react?
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 Counsel for Khieu Samphan, you may proceed.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 2 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 3 Once again, may I reiterate that Mr. Khieu Samphan is exercising
- 4 his right to remain silent and this right shall be respected
- 5 since it is set forth in the Rules.
- 6 Judge Lavergne suggests that Mr. Khieu Samphan give his comments,
- 7 although it is not a questions to me, it is not different from
- 8 putting questions, although Judge Lavergne is asking -- or is
- 9 proposing that Khieu Samphan gives clarification of comments.
- 10 So, I'm afraid his right to remain silent has not been fully
- 11 respected by way of putting more questions to him like this. So
- 12 this makes us feel that Khieu Samphan is compelled to respond to
- 13 questions although he is not willing to do so.
- 14 May we ask that the Chamber reconsider this and that Mr. Khieu
- 15 Samphan shall not be forced to respond to any further questions
- 16 from the Bench?
- 17 (Judges deliberate)
- 18 [14.35.42]
- 19 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 20 Judge Lavergne, you may now proceed, and the Chamber has noted
- 21 the position by the Accused and Counsel for the Accused with
- 22 regard to the documents -- the questionings. But even when it
- 23 comes to documents being put before the Chamber, Mr. Khieu
- 24 Samphan also shows that he is not willing to respond to the
- 25 filing -- to the documents being put here.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 So may I suggest that Judge Lavergne proceed with only providing
- 2 the identification of the documents and that no further questions
- 3 are being put to the accused person to clarify on it because we
- 4 understood clearly that the accused person at the very beginning
- 5 said that he would not respond to questions.
- 6 But now he has even gone further to say that he would not even
- 7 respond to any requests asking him for clarifications on the
- 8 documents being put before the Chamber. So, in light of this, may
- 9 I suggest that Judge Lavergne proceed with only the
- 10 identification of the documents that the Chamber would wish to be
- 11 put before the Chamber.
- 12 [14.37.31]
- 13 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 14 Thank you, Mr. President. I think we may also say that the
- 15 Accused does not wish to use the opportunity given to him to make
- 16 whatever comment on the documents tendered here.
- 17 So I would like to return to this book entitled "The Recent
- 18 History of Cambodia". Other passages are relevant, in particular,
- 19 page 46 in the French version and page 53, which regards Mr.
- 20 Khieu Samphan's departure to Aoral Mountain after the coup
- 21 d'état.
- 22 And another document is D213.2, which apparently is a book by Mr.
- 23 Khieu Samphan himself called in English "Elements of the History
- 24 of Cambodia From the Very Beginning to Democratic Kampuchea". And
- 25 in this book, there is an excerpt, on page 10 in the French

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 version, regarding the training the young recruits of the
- 2 Communist Party of Kampuchea received; and on page 42 and 43,
- 3 there's interesting information regarding the coup d'état and the
- 4 reactions of King -- of the King Father and of Pol Pot and
- 5 another document is D58.
- 6 And this document is annexed to a letter that was -- that had
- 7 been sent by Mr. Khieu Samphan's lawyer at the very beginning of
- 8 the investigation and in which Mr. Khieu Samphan said that he was
- 9 going to provide a certain number of explanations to the
- 10 Investigating Judges and, in particular, he attached to this
- 11 letter a translation of the previously mentioned book, that is to
- 12 say the books on the elements of the history of Cambodia from its
- 13 very beginning to the period of Democratic Kampuchea.
- 14 [14.40.03]
- 15 So the ERN in French is the following: 00157640, 00157704; and in
- 16 English, 00170881, 00170884; Khmer, 00157632 to 00157639.
- 17 [14.40.36]
- 18 And another document that seems relevant here and that is indexed
- 19 as IS 18.1 and this document is titled "The Cambodia Seat at the
- 20 United Nations Organization", French ERN and in English as well
- 21 is the following: 00068101, 00068129. And there is only a partial
- 22 translation of this document into Khmer, which is under ERN
- 23 00290197, 000290198.
- 24 And I'd like to specify here that a translation request is now in
- 25 -- has been made, and I'd like also to let you know that this

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

78

1 document was drafted by the FUNK when the FUNK and the GRUNK were

- 2 trying to determine that they were the only legitimate
- 3 representatives of Cambodia, in particular before the United
- 4 Nations.
- 5 And there are also other documents. The document D243/2.1.1,
- 6 "Revolutionary Flag" issue number 8 from August 1975, and also at
- 7 D243/2.1.9, again an issue of "Revolutionary Flag" special issue
- 8 of December 1976 to January 1977, and in particular the segment
- 9 that was read this morning by the Co-Prosecutor regarding the
- 10 evacuation of the city populations.
- 11 And I will also provide you later on with other references,
- 12 references to articles or excerpts from a review called
- 13 "Nouvelles du Cambodge" "Cambodia News" -- which was published
- 14 by the Cambodian Information Agency and, in particular, I would
- 15 like to refer to lists of government members of the GRUNK, as
- 16 well as excerpts from Mr. Khieu Samphan's speeches upon various
- 17 occasions, in particular when he travelled to China, to Korea, or
- 18 to Vietnam.
- 19 So, I think that I have been relatively clear, Mr. President,
- 20 here.
- 21 [14.43.53]
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Thank you, Judge Lavergne.
- 24 (Judges deliberate)
- 25 [14.44.49]

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 International Co-Prosecutor, you may now proceed.
- 3 MR. ABDULHAK:
- 4 Thank you, Mr. President. Very briefly, perhaps, at this stage,
- 5 and just returning very quickly to my comments earlier, as we
- 6 near -- come towards the end of this segment of the trial -- and
- 7 obviously we're moving on to the administrative structures --
- 8 this might be an appropriate time to inquire from Mr. Khieu
- 9 Samphan and his counsel as to whether or not he will be answering
- 10 questions in that part of the trial. I think that will assist
- 11 both Your Honours and the other parties if we have that notice
- 12 now, as that segment, I believe, will come very shortly.
- 13 (Judges deliberate)
- 14 [14.46.42]
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Counsel, you may now proceed.
- 17 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 18 Thank you, Mr. President. In response to what raised by the
- 19 Co-Prosecutor, I would like to indicate that only after the
- 20 session on the historical background of the Democratic Kampuchea
- 21 that we proceed to the next topic. If witnesses have not yet
- 22 given testimonies with regard to this relevant portion, the
- 23 hearings on the administrative structure of the Democratic
- 24 Kampuchea shall not be convened, as yet, because in accordance
- 25 with the instruction by the -- by the Trial Chamber, document

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 E155, that only after the first phase of the trial segment
- 2 concludes that we may proceed to another segment.
- 3 [14.48.11]
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 Thank you, Counsel.
- 6 Perhaps what the Co-Prosecutor would like to know is not that; it
- 7 is more about the fact that the hearings on the historical
- 8 background of Democratic -- of Democratic Kampuchea has almost
- 9 coming to an end and that we are now proceeding closer to the
- 10 hearings on the administrative structure of the Democratic
- 11 Kampuchea. That is why the question is to Mr. Khieu Samphan by
- 12 the prosecutor whether we know he will remain silent to
- 13 questions, again, when it comes to that portion or not.
- 14 And if he would like to remain silent, Mr. Khieu Samphan is
- 15 advised to tell the Chamber to know this and if he is willing to
- 16 respond to questions, indeed, he should also indicate so, so that
- 17 he, himself, can be prepared to respond to questions.
- 18 [14.49.41]
- 19 The Chamber would also wish to know from the counsel and Mr.
- 20 Khieu Samphan on this.
- 21 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 22 Thank you, Mr. President, and thank you, my learned friend who
- 23 advises us on that.
- 24 Indeed, it is our role to be prepared to address the questions
- 25 and I am convinced that by then Mr. Khieu Samphan will be ready

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 to respond to questions.
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Mr. Khieu Samphan, may we know your position? The following facts
- 4 at issue is on the administrative structures of the Democratic
- 5 Kampuchea.
- 6 May you tell the Court about your position? Are you choosing to
- 7 remain silent again or have you changed your mind to respond to
- 8 questions to parties with relation to these indicated facts?
- 9 [14.51.29]
- 10 Counsel, you may proceed.
- 11 Counsel Kong Sam Onn, you should seek to understand the issue now
- 12 before you respond. We understand that Mr. Khieu Samphan has
- 13 expressed his intention not to respond to questions being put to
- 14 him with regard to the current issue; however, the Chamber is not
- 15 going to put questions to him again during this afternoon's
- 16 session, but only when the first topic has come to a conclusion,
- 17 the Chamber will proceed to the next topic.
- 18 And we have already communicated the message to the party
- 19 concerning this sequence of the facts to be debated so we
- 20 understand that Khieu Samphan has exercised his right to remain
- 21 silent now, but will he remain silent in the second phase when it
- 22 comes to the facts on the administrative structures of the
- 23 Democratic Kampuchea when the sessions on that portion is on?
- 24 [14.53.06]
- 25 So this case is still relevant to Case File 002/1 and we should

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

- 1 not discuss the same issues again and the Chamber would like to
- 2 know from the counsel and, in particular, from Mr. Khieu Samphan
- 3 so that we can be well-informed in our preparation for the proper
- 4 management and conduct of the future proceedings.
- 5 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 6 Thank you, Mr. President. Actually, I have fully understood the
- 7 issues, but may we ask the Chamber for two minutes to consult
- 8 with Mr. Khieu Samphan before he can respond to the Bench and the
- 9 Court?
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 You are allowed two minutes to consult with him.
- 12 [14.56.21]
- 13 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:
- 14 Mr. President, Your Honours, and ladies and gentlemen, with
- 15 regard to the question or request, as indicated by the
- 16 Co-Prosecutor, I am afraid -- and my sincere apologies that I
- 17 will not be able to address it now. Please allow me some time to
- 18 consider this.
- 19 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 20 Thank you, Mr. Khieu Samphan.
- 21 According to the schedule for today's session and as expected, we
- 22 would be questioning Mr. Khieu Samphan during this afternoon's
- 23 session and that Mr. Khieu Samphan has exercised his rights to
- 24 remain silent; the afternoon session has been more expeditious
- 25 than expected so the Chamber will adjourn today hearing session.

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 14 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 12/01/2012

25

83

1	[14.58.00]
2	Before adjourning, the Chamber wishes to inform parties to the
3	proceedings and the public that next week from Monday the 16th
4	through the 16th of January 2012, Judge Silvia Cartwright has
5	another commitment that she may be excused from attending the
6	trial proceedings and I, myself, have been consulted with the
7	Judges of the Bench, consider having Judge Claudia Fenz to be in
8	the her place when Judge Silvia Cartwright is absent. She will
9	replace her during the period when she's absent and that until
10	she comes back.
11	Also, with regard to the future hearing, the sessions will be
12	dedicated for the oral arguments concerning the documents being
13	put before the Chamber and the whole week will be dedicated for
14	that particular topic.
15	So this week hearing sessions now are adjourned, and the
16	following sessions will be convened on Monday the 16th.
17	Security personnels are now instructed to bring all the accused
18	persons back to the detention facility and have them return to
19	the courtroom on Monday the 16th of January 2012, before 9 a.m.
20	The Court is adjourned.
21	(Court adjourns at 1500H)
22	
23	
24	

Page 83