

Suong Sikoeun's testimony continued in the ECCC on Thursday but was not completed due to the witness's ill health.

# Tribunal Hears Another Day of Split Witness Testimony By Mary Kozlovski

On Thursday, August 16, 2012, trial proceedings in Case 002 involving the accused Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan resumed at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC).

Witness Suong Sikoeun – an intellectual who returned to Cambodia from abroad during the Khmer Rouge period – was questioned further by the defense team for Ieng Sary. After Mr. Sikoeun's testimony was again paused due to his health, the prosecution continued its examination of witness Sa Siek.

Ieng Sary observed the day's proceedings from a holding cell, while Nuon Chea retired to a holding cell after the morning session.

#### Trial Chamber Addresses Document Issue Raised by Defense Teams

Trial Chamber Judge Silvia Cartwright addressed the issue of document use when examining witnesses, after International Co-Lawyer for Nuon Chea Jasper Pauw asked during Wednesday's proceedings that a rule be established to guide the procedure. Judge Cartwright said the issue – and a query from Mr. Pauw as to whether documents put before the chamber were distinct from those on lists provided by the parties – would be raised at the forthcoming trial management meeting. Separately, Judge Cartwright asked Mr. Pauw to provide a list of documents they wished to use to put questions to the witness and clarify if they were before the chamber.

## Ieng Sary Defense Resumes Examination of Witness Suong Sikoeun

International Co-Lawyer for Ieng Sary Michael Karnavas again led questioning of witness Suong Sikoeun, in a session dotted with interruptions as the defense attempted to clarify portions of the witness' prior testimony.

Mr. Karnavas began by returning to Mr. Sikoeun's August 2 testimony regarding the Khmer Information Agency<sup>1</sup> that he represented in China and elsewhere from 1970 to 1974. In responding to a question from Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun said that Ieng Sary appointed him as AKI representative to China at a hotel in Beijing that was part of the GRUNK (Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea) Council of Ministers' compound. When asked how he wound up in Beijing<sup>2</sup>, Mr. Sikoeun said all members of the Khmer student union in France – of which he was president – signed a letter supporting Prince Norodom Sihanouk's appeal on March 23, 1970,<sup>3</sup> which he presented to Prince Sihanouk.

Mr. Karnavas asked who controlled the Khmer Information Agency, to which Mr. Sikoeun responded that the "internal resistance" controlled the agency – and not Sihanouk or any Cambodians residing abroad – though he confirmed that as chairman of FUNK (National United Front of Kampuchea), Prince Sihanouk could use services of the state and front "within the framework" of the resistance. Mr. Karnavas queried whether this "framework" meant that Prince Sihanouk's information was censored. Mr. Sikoeun said he obtained information from the Vietnamese diplomatic mission in Peking but did not know how it was transmitted there.

Proceedings became stilted as Mr. Karnavas attempted to ascertain Prince Sihanouk's whereabouts after the coup d'état in Cambodia. Mr. Sikoeun said Prince Sihanouk was visiting the former Soviet Union on his way to Peking when he learned of the coup from the Union's deputy prime minister, and he confirmed Prince Sihanouk lived in Peking from 1970 to 1974, barring a one-month trip to Cambodia in 1973 with Ieng Sary.

Returning to the Khmer Information Agency, Mr. Karnavas again asked if Prince Sihanouk could transmit his communications directly or whether they had to be censored to meet certain parameters. Mr. Sikoeun said at the time he was also chairman of the front's information office in Peking. If Prince Sihanouk had a message for broadcast or publication it was included in the AKI bulletin, which ran twice a week, Mr. Sikoeun said, though he was unsure if Prince Sihanouk had any involvement in the AKI.

Mr. Karnavas questioned Mr. Sikoeun about a trip he made to Romania with Prince Sihanouk in the early 1970s. Mr. Karnavas asked Mr. Sikoeun if he travelled to Romania with Prince Sihanouk on multiple occasions. Mr. Sikoeun said he went there with Sihanouk in 1973 and returned to the country in 1974 as an assistant in a delegation which included Ieng Sary and was led by Khieu Samphan. After repeated inquiries by Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun said that Prince Sihanouk was present in Romania in 1973, along with Ieng Sary, where a reporter interviewed

<sup>3</sup> In his testimony on Wednesday, August 15, 2012, Mr. Sikoeun said that Prince Sihanouk appealed to his compatriots to rise against the Lon Nol regime and "go to the maquis to stage armed resistance".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Sikoeun appeared to refer to the agency by the acronym AKI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mr. Sikoeun also referred to Beijing in his testimony as Peking.

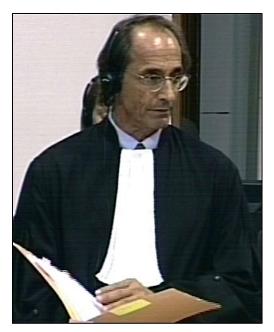
him. Mr. Karnavas asked Mr. Sikoeun if he attended meetings in Bucharest where Prince Sihanouk spoke before Cambodian students from Paris, to which Mr. Sikoeun said he attended when Ieng Sary received students from France.

Mr. Karnavas sought context on a section from Mr. Sikoeun's August 2 testimony, in which he stated:

My understanding is that Sihanouk forces were the tactical forces. At the same time the CPK [Communist Party of Kampuchea] selected some individuals who could join the party from the beginning until its completion. They were regarded as the tactical forces but secondary as opposed to the strategic forces. But at the same time some individuals from the tactical forces could be regarded as the long-term forces for the movement.

President Nonn deemed the question repetitive, and Mr. Karnavas moved on to another passage in the testimony relating to a trip the witness made with Prince Sihanouk to Vietnam in 1970. Mr. Sikoeun said the purpose of the journey was for Prince Sihanouk to express gratitude for Vietnamese support of the newly established FUNK and GRUNK, which was also backed by China. Mr. Sikoeun said as a representative of students in France, he attended some meetings to congratulate or welcome delegations, and a representative for students in Russia was also present. When asked by Mr. Karnavas if "tactical or strategic" meetings were held with Vietnamese authorities, Mr. Sikoeun said he only recalled that Vietnamese leaders greeted Sihanouk warmly at a banquet, where a band played songs written by the prince.

After quoting from Mr. Sikoeun's prior testimony, Mr. Karnavas asked who was giving the witness instructions when he was in charge of international news in Hanoi, to which Mr. Sikoeun responded that he received instructions from Ieng Thirith, who was in charge of the voice for the FUNK. In response to Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun said he was involved with combing through and selecting news, but it had go through Ieng Thirith before being broadcast and she could also propose news to be written.



Mr. Karnavas read two passages – from Mr. Sikoeun's August 2 and August 6 testimony respectively – which referred to Ieng Sary's roles and responsibilities, particularly in relation to Pol Pot and in the realm of policy for Democratic Kampuchea (DK). In response to Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun confirmed he was never present at a meeting where Pol Pot was conversing with Ieng Sary and members of the Standing or Central Committee.

Mr. Karnavas referred to Mr Sikoeun's August 6 testimony – in which the witness distinguished the phrases "responsible" and "in charge" when referring to Pol Pot and Ieng Sary – and asked the witness who appointed him to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). Mr. Sikoeun said Ieng Sary proposed it, but he assumed, within the Standing Committee of the Central

Committee, Pol Pot must have made the decision because Nuon Chea did not know him well. Mr. Sikoeun related that it was Pol Pot who allowed his then-wife, for whom Ieng Sary and Mr. Sikoeun vouched, to return to Cambodia. Mr. Sikoeun said that later "the center" – which he said was a reference to Pol Pot – decided anything relevant to him. "Ieng Sary was the one who asked us to do things, but this final word was from Pol Pot," Mr. Sikoeun testified.

Mr. Karnavas cited Mr. Sikoeun's August 6 testimony, in which he responded to a question about the creation of DNUM (Democratic National Union Movement) in the post-1979 period:

Ieng Sary actually gave me instructions, but he did not have the authority to decide on the assignments that were tasked to me. Decisions were made at a Standing Committee level and, in particular, by Pol Pot. So my assignments were not done by Ieng Sary; it was ordered by Pol Pot. So Pol Pot first had to make the decision that ministers in charge would issue such orders or relay just such orders to the subordinate, and that's how the command hierarchy works.

Mr. Karnavas sought clarification on whether the answer referred to the post-1979 period or his tenure at the MFA. After a brief objection by International Senior Assistant Co-Prosecutor Vincent de Wilde about clarity given that Mr. Sikoeun's explanation related to the post-1979 period, President Nonn told the witness he could respond to the question. Mr. Sikoeun said that the situation – as described in his testimony – applied both from 1975 to 1979 and in the post-1979 period until Ieng Sary detached from the Khmer Rouge movement in 1996.

Mr. Karnavas cited another section of the witness's August 6 testimony about trust, asking the witness what trust meant at the time given his comment that secrecy was paramount. In a somewhat convoluted response, Mr. Sikoeun said trust could only be used "in a comparative sense" and depended on the biographies of individual members. Pressing Mr. Sikoeun on the question of trust, Mr. Karnavas asked if trust came into play with information that might be passed from a higher to a lower authority. Mr. Sikoeun said there had to be a level of trust before information was relayed from upper to lower levels and it could also depend on lines or networks. Mr. Sikoeun explained that though he joined the resistance as young boy, because he did not have "proper line or network" he was not fully trusted. The witness said Khieu Samphan may have trusted him more but he was talkative and Khieu Samphan was an "expert" in secrecy.

Mr. Karnavas then asked Mr. Sikoeun about his testimony, which stated that he was director of information and propaganda at MFA until 1979 and that Pol Pot assigned him to be the director of "Kampuchea information or press agency." In response to Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun said he had initially refused to accept the role because he had too many duties in 1977 and 1978, resting only between 4.30 a.m. and 5 a.m. everyday. However, Mr. Sikoeun recalled that Pol Pot told him he could work on only five stories per day and he was thus assigned to the position. Mr. Karnavas queried what he deemed a contradiction in testimony, as the witness implied he had the right and authority to refuse an appointment by Pol Pot. Mr. Sikoeun said Ieng Sary advised him not to take up the position, and he had declined the offer because he knew Pol Pot since he was young; he was not afraid of him and used to express opposition to his positions, such as during tripartite negotiations. Mr. Sikoeun said he only learned what happened during the regime after 1979 and if he had known then, he might not have dared refuse.

Mr. Karnavas asked what it would mean if Mr. Sikoeun opposed Pol Pot, to which the witness responded that he believed he would have been all right as he had known Pol Pot for a long time, though Mr. Sikoeun said he was pained when Pol Pot ordered Son Sen and his family to be killed. "I think that should not have happened," he asserted.

Focusing on the "information agency" that Mr. Sikoeun had testified was within the portfolio of the Ministry of Information and Propaganda, Mr. Karnavas inquired whether this was within the MFA or a separate ministry. However, in response to Mr. Karnavas' inquiries, Mr. Sikoeun said that it was under neither and dealt directly with Pol Pot, though he communicated through Sau Se – the head of the party branch. Mr. Sikoeun said he did not know how Sau Se contacted or related information to Pol Pot.

### Ieng Sary Defense Questions Witness on MFA Duties

Mr. Karnavas referred again to Mr. Sikoeun's prior testimony relating to his duties as MFA spokesperson and his superiors in which he remarked that Ieng Sary was his direct supervisor though he worked directly for Pol Pot as party secretary on certain tasks. When Mr. Karnavas questioned him about the comment, Mr. Sikoeun said that as party secretary Pol Pot could assign tasks to party members without having to go through their direct supervisor.

Citing the August 6 testimony, Mr. Karnavas inquired about an article on DK foreign policy that the witness had said Nuon Chea requested he prepare and asked what authority Nuon Chea had over him. Mr. Sikoeun said that Nuon Chea was deputy party secretary and also had direct authority with party members. In response to Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun said he was unsure if Pol Pot and Nuon Chea obtained clearance from Ieng Sary to allow him to complete such functions, but it was unnecessary in certain circumstances. Mr. Karnavas asked if Mr. Sikoeun ran tasks Pol Pot assigned to him by Ieng Sary, to which Mr Sikoeun said that he would deal with Pol Pot directly without consulting Ieng Sary. In response to a question from Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun maintained that if performing a task for Pol Pot, he had no obligation to report it to Ieng Sary – though if Ieng Sary asked, he would – but if he was ordered to keep something secret by Pol Pot, he had to respect that instruction.



When Mr. Karnavas asked if that would be considered insubordination to Ieng Sary, Mr. de Wilde objected that the question was "leading" and attempting to have the witness confirm his own conclusions. Mr. Karnavas argued that the inquiry was predicated on the facts stemming from the witness himself, but after the judges conferred, President Nonn ruled the objection was valid.

Mr. Karnavas asked Mr. Sikoeun about his statement that the MFA was divided into two sections – the department section, which dealt with diplomatic affairs, and the bureau section dealing with production, security and food – which were under different party branch organisations. Mr. Sikoeun confirmed that he fell under the department section, dealing

with diplomatic affairs, where party branch head Sau Se chaired meetings.

In response to inquiries from Mr. Karnavas about the location of his office, Mr. Sikoeun testified that it was located in the B-1 compound, which included a "curved glass house" used for offices, a one-story villa used as a residence, accommodation for cadres and combatants, and four or five other buildings.

Mr. Karnavas quoted from a December 17, 2007, statement from Mr. Sikoeun in which he was asked to explain the MFA's management structure. In response to Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun said he stood by the structure and confirmed that Sau Se held three different positions but had no real authority as secretary of the party, mainly leading meetings and reporting on them to So Hong or Ieng Sary. Sau Se's main role was in the general secretariat and the protocol section, preparing documents and reception of guests, Mr. Sikoeun said. He further explained that So Hong dealt with the bureau section and security for foreign guests visiting Cambodia in coordination with Phy Phuon and certain other cadres. In 1975, Mr. Sikoeun testified, he knew Phy Phuon, who told him he was in charge of security, protection for diplomatic representatives, residences and compounds in Cambodia. Mr. Sikoeun asserted that he knew Phy Phuon only in that capacity.

Mr. Karnavas referred to a March 13, 2009 statement from Mr. Sikoeun in which he was asked whether "the bureau and the office" were under Ieng Sary and commented that in practice, as Pol Pot's nephew – So Hong – was head of the "office," the latter could do what he wanted in both sections without consulting Ieng Sary. Asked about the relationship between Pol Pot and So Hong, Mr. Sikoeun said that a person close to him – whom he would not identify – told him after 1979 that Pol Pot did not like or have great trust in So Hong because he was a person "of middle path" and not very determined. Mr. Sikoeun explained that when he occasionally worked with Pol Pot, he did not see So Hong, only Ieng Sary, which suggested So Hong had "nothing to do with the diplomatic section or matters directly." Mr. Sikoeun also said he contacted Pol Pot about diplomatic affairs, for instance, when they had to prepare the "black paper" issue in September 1977.

In response to repeated questions from Mr. Karnavas, Mr. Sikoeun said he did not know So Hong or Phy Phuon prior to 1975 and did not learn between 1975 and 1979 if the two had worked together or had any connection with "Pang" before 1975. The witness further testified that Phy Phuon had no particular office and floated from place to place to perform his duties, including to the building where Mr. Sikoeun's office was located. Mr. Sikoeun said that between 1975 and 1979 he may have spoken to Phy Phuon conversationally, not on their tasks and duties. The witness said:

Political Section. According to the document, Mr. Sikoeun said different people were in charge at the Party Affairs Section, whom he did not know.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mr. Karnavas quoted from the document, listing names and positions including: Ieng Sary, Chairman (also named as Chairman of the General Political Section); So Hong, General Secretary and Office Chairman; Phy Phuon, alias Cheam, Chairman of the Security Section; Sau Se, Chairperson of the General Secretariat and the Protocol Section, and Secretary of the Party Branch; Suong Sikoeun, Chairman of the Propaganda and Information Section; Ny Kan, Chairman of the Protocol Section and former sector secretary in the West Zone, who succeeded Sau Se to the position in late 1977; as well as Uk Sokkun, Chuon Prasith and Keat Chhon who were "intellectuals" in the General

It was embedded in the principle of the CPK. People only minded their own business; people were advised not to dig into other peoples' business. If I had to ask Phy Phuon about his tasks, I would have breached the CPK's principle. I was not afraid of the party, but I was afraid that if I could have done so, Phy Phuon would denounce me of breaching CPK's principle.

Mr. Karnavas referred back to the concept of secrecy and began to ask if it would have been permissible for Phy Phuon to disclose information to Mr. Sikoeun that he was not entitled to know, but President Nonn instructed the witness not to respond as the question appeared to be hypothetical. Mr. Karnavas rephrased the question, and Mr. Sikoeun said that the principle applied to everyone: "We did not wish to know information about others, and they also did wish to not know what they're not supposed to know." When Mr. Karnavas asked what repercussions there were if Mr. Sikoeun were to disclose confidential information, Mr. de Wilde said the question was speculative. The objection was sustained.

Again taking up Mr. Sikoeun's August 6 testimony, Mr. Karnavas queried how Mr. Sikoeun could refer to a "collective decision" by the party, if he never attended Standing Committee meetings. Mr. Sikoeun said he stated Ieng Sary did not tell him the aforementioned decision was of the Standing Committee. "As usual the decision made by Pol Pot alone represents the decision made by the party already, and other people would then agree with such decisions," he explained.

After Mr. Karnavas pressed Mr. Sikoeun on Pol Pot's decision-making process, and Mr. Sikoeun replied that in some instances Pol Pot did not have to meet with others before he made decisions, President Nonn requested that Mr. Karnavas try not to demoralize the witness with his manner of questioning.

Mr. Karnavas referred again to the August 6 testimony regarding "party cell meetings", quoting Mr. Sikoeun as saying there were two branches of the party: the party subordinate to the ministry and the other to the party cell of diplomatic affairs. Mr. Karnavas asked what was being discussed at such meetings and whether Keat Chhon and Chuon Prasith would have information about the meetings. Mr. de Wilde objected on the grounds that the quotation was only read in part – not including a reference to Ieng Sary as chair of the two cells – and defense counsel was inviting the witness to speculate as to what other people may know. Mr. Karnavas commented that the prosecution was "notorious" for taking things out of context or reading only parts of answers and that he was not denying that Ieng Sary was in the transcript.

Judge Cartwright asked that Mr. Karnavas repeat his question, and Mr. Sikoeun confirmed that those listed in his August 6 testimony were members of the party cell and attended the meetings with him.

With that response, President Nonn adjourned the hearing for a recess, and it was confirmed that Mr. Sikoeun would return to continue his testimony on Monday, August 20. Mr. Pauw informed the chamber that Nuon Chea wished to observe the afternoon's proceedings from the holding cell due to a persistent headache, back pain and lack of concentration. The request was granted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mr. Karnavas quoted from the document, listing members of the "ministry party cell," including: Suong Sikoeun; Touch Khamdoeun: Keat Chhon; Chuon Prasith; and So Phan, a personal secretary.

### Prosecution Resumes Examination of Witness Sa Siek

After the court resumed for the afternoon, International Senior Assistant Co-Prosecutor Tarik Abdulhak resumed his questioning of witness Sa Siek about books published at the printing office where Ms. Siek worked, including one with photographs of women working in salt fields with corresponding headings. The prosecution presented the witness with a copy of the magazine, *Revolutionary Male and Female Youths*, asking if the picture and caption resembled those in the book.

Ms. Siek said the photograph – which depicted activities after the liberation – and title of the document were similar to those of the book, but she could not recall the exact title of either.

Mr. Abdulhak presented Ms. Siek with a September 1977 edition of *Revolutionary Flag* magazine and asked, considering that she worked at the printing office that year, if she assisted with printing that particular document. Ms. Siek said she left the Ministry of Propaganda<sup>6</sup> in late 1977 and therefore did not work on the document and could not recall working on any documents entitled *Revolutionary Flag*.

Steering his questioning back to the Ministry of Propaganda, the prosecutor inquired whether Ms. Siek's responsibilities at the ministry changed at all between April 1975 and her transfer to the printing office, aside from her duties in the art section. Ms. Siek said that she sang and performed live shows within the art group and, once or twice a week, assisted with typing overseas radio broadcasts that were translated into Khmer. In response to Mr. Abdulhak, Ms. Siek said the chair of the art section was a man named Sao, and the man who translated news into Khmer was named Phen. Ms. Siek said she did not know where the transcripts were distributed, whether they were broadcast locally, or who decided which extracts and broadcasts would be typed.



In an attempt to query the witness about whether she was nominated to other departments in the Ministry of Propaganda – in Cambodia or abroad – Mr. Abdulhak referred to Ms. Siek's statement to investigators from the Office of the Co-Investigating Judges (OCIJ) in which she said she was named to go to a radio station in China but did not have to go as she met her husband in 1983.

Mr. Abdulhak asked about the role of Hou Nim at the Ministry of Propaganda, to which Ms. Siek responded that Hou Nim left the ministry in late 1976, along with Tiv Ol. Mr. Abdulhak sought detail on the content of broadcasts made by the ministry from 1975 to 1979. Ms. Siek said that the broadcasts encouraged people to work hard in the rice fields to promote self-sustainability and to increase production from two, to three tons per hectare. When Ms. Siek said she could not recall broadcasts about the CPK lines, Mr. Abdulhak referred back to her interview with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sa Siek previously testified that she left the Ministry of Propaganda in late 1977 to work at the printing office.

OCIJ, in which she described broadcasts about party lines and national defense. Mr. Abdulhak quoted from the witness's answer, that "when the lower forces were strong, the upper forces were not easily shaken" and that the broadcasts encouraged people but did not talk about any shortcomings.

After Ms. Siek confirmed the comments Mr. Abdulhak questioned what she understood such broadcasts to mean, but National Co-Lawyer for Khieu Samphan Kong Sam Onn objected that the prosecution was encouraging the witness to express opinions rather than voice facts. Mr. Abdulhak argued that such information was within the witness' knowledge, as she had heard the broadcasts and worked at the ministry and its associated offices for a number of years. The objection was not sustained, and Ms. Siek testified that at the time she believed it was a good broadcast that encouraged people to build forces.

Mr. Abdulhak presented the witness with a copy of a FBIS (Foreign Broadcast Information Service) broadcast dated May 10, 1978, and entitled "Educational Program: Democratic Kampuchea's National Defense Situation from April 1977 to April 1978." He quoted a paragraph initially read to her by the OCIJ:

The party instructed that we must try to destroy as many of the enemy as possible and preserve our forces to the maximum. We were small in number and we had to attack a larger force. Therefore we had to preserve our forces to the maximum and try to kill as many of the enemy as possible. This was our slogan. In terms of numbers, one of us had to kill 30 Vietnamese. If we could implement that plan, we could certainly win.

Ms. Siek said she did not recall hearing the broadcast. Mr. Abdulhak quoted Ms. Siek as saying in her statement that the paragraph was the party line, the term "we" related to senior leaders including Pol Pot and his deputies, and to "smash" means to kill when referring to people, and to destroy if referring to material. Ms. Siek confirmed the statements.

International Co-Lawyer for Khieu Samphan Anta Guisse requested that the witness be shown the sentence preceding the one quoted by the prosecution, to which Mr. Abdulhak responded that the defense was free to take up such issues in her cross-examination.

## Broadcasts of Confessions from Vietnamese Soldiers Examined

Mr. Abdulhak turned his questioning to the broadcasting of confessions from Vietnamese prisoners, as discussed by the witness with the OCIJ. Ms. Siek said she partly recalled the broadcasts, which occurred after fighting in the battlefields, when interviews with arrested Vietnamese soldiers who surrendered would be aired. The broadcast would include the name of the soldiers, Ms. Siek said.

In response to further questions from Mr. Abdulhak about the broadcasts, Ms. Siek said she did not know who decided to air the confessions, or for what purpose, and she never heard them discussed at ministry meetings, as she worked in a different section of the ministry.

Mr. Abdulhak returned to the witness's statement in which investigators showed her two confessions – one broadcast on March 27, 1978, and the other on March 10, 1978 – which she had commented were done in order to "let the people know that the Vietnamese soldiers had

been actually captured." Ms. Siek said that she may have forgotten, but she confirmed the statement back them that interviews with Vietnamese prisoners of war would be taken and played on the radio. Ms. Siek confirmed that people listening to the broadcasts could hear the original interviews with the prisoners. Mr. Abdulhak attempted to clarify the procedure for preparing the tapes, asking who recorded them and how they were transported to the Ministry of Propaganda. Ms. Siek said when arrests were made, one or two people would conduct and record interviews, which would be interpreted if conducted in Vietnamese.

When Mr. Abdulhak asked if Ms. Siek knew what happened to the soldiers, the witness said she did not know, but she indicated to investigators that it was likely they would never be sent to their home country.

Mr. Abdulhak cited a broadcast transcript from an April 1975 issue of FBIS, reading out a passage dated April 21, 1975, attributed to Minister of Information and Propaganda Hou Nim:

My homage to every venerable Buddhist monk, my respects to all brother countrymen, my respects to all beloved Cambodian people national liberation armed forces combatants of both sexes and to cadre ... After having fought valiantly for five years and one month under the most difficult circumstances and with a great spirit of sacrifice and the highest revolutionary heroism to crush the US imperialists' most ferocious and barbaric war of aggression, and to overthrow the most traitorous, fascist, corrupt and contemptible Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Son Ngoc Thanh, Cheng Henh, In Tam, Long Boret, Sosthene Fernandez clique, the Cambodian revolutionary army and the great Cambodian people definitely liberated Phnom Penh on the 17 April 1975.

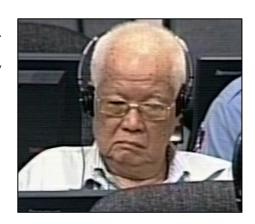
Ms. Siek said she could not recall the broadcast, though she said that when Phnom Penh was liberated a similar broadcast was aired.

The prosecutor read a broadcasted statement by Khieu Samphan that appeared to have followed the aforementioned broadcast:

This is our nation's and people's greatest historic victory. ... It has opened the most brilliant and righteous path which led the Cambodian people and the CPNLAF [Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces] in waging the powerful people's war to fight the enemy in every field – military; political; economic - and then its efforts to drain the population from controlled areas, successively smashing all enemy maneuvers, relentlessly attacking and draining the enemy of its military, political, economic and financial strength, food and rice, until it reached a point from which it cold not recover. Finally, the enemy died in agony.

Ms. Siek said she did not listen to that particular broadcast but said that imperialists at that time referred to Americans.

Mr. Abdulhak referenced another broadcast from Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB) dated April 15, 1977, and labeled a speech by Khieu Samphan, president of the state presidium of DK, at a mass meeting in Phnom Penh, marking the second anniversary of April 17, 1975, and the birth of DK. Mr. Abdulhak asked the witness if she recalled broadcasts of speeches made by leaders that were given at mass meetings, to which Ms. Siek responded that



she could not recall that particular text. Ms. Siek said that before the liberation people would be asked to attend statements made by Khieu Samphan, but she was not instructed to, and after the liberation, she did not go to such sessions, nor was she instructed to.

In a contradiction to her previous testimony, pointed out by Mr. Abdulhak, Ms. Siek responded to a question about whether she saw Khieu Samphan's family after April 1975 by saying that she saw Khieu Samphan himself at the propaganda section for a few days when she moved there after April 17, 1975. Ms. Siek said she did not know where he went thereafter and did not speak to him while he was there.

Mr. Abdulhak asked if the witness recalled an interview by court investigators of her now-deceased husband, Sot Tha, at which point Mr. Karnavas objected to the use of the statement of the aforementioned interview for questioning. International Co-Lawyer for Khieu Samphan Anta Guisse endorsed the objection. Mr. Abdulhak said that such objections pre-empted questions and that he was not going to ask Ms. Siek about the contents of statements given by her husband to OCIJ.

President Nonn said the objection was appropriate but not sustained as the chamber wished to hear from the prosecution first. Mr. Abdulhak began explaining that the document contained a summary of words spoken by the witness in the presence of OCIJ investigators. Ms. Guisse made a brief inquiry as to whether the document had been seen and signed by the witness. Mr. Abdulhak replied that reports by CIJs are official records of the court and do not require witness signatures and was permitted to proceed.

However, in an intermission, President Nonn questioned the witness about her literacy and if there was a misunderstanding in her statement to OCIJ that she could read and write Khmer. Ms. Siek said she had studied some of the alphabet by herself, but could not read or write very well, and said she could read the documents that had been put before her but it took her a long time to understand the text. President Nonn said documents therefore did not need to be shown to the witness.

## Prosecution Questions Witness about Visit from Wife of Khieu Samphan

Mr. Abdulhak read from the document – that describes a meeting on March 14, 2010, during which Sot Tha's interview was cancelled because he was unwell – that states that Ms. Siek said that a week prior to the investigators' arrival, Khieu Samphan's wife visited Sot Tha at their home.

When Mr. Abdulhak asked if the witness recalled discussing a visit by Khieu Samphan's wife with court investigators, Ms. Siek said that Khieu Samphan's wife told her during a visit not to hide anything if Sot Tha was ever asked. Ms. Siek testified that she met Khieu Samphan's wife after 1979, as had her husband, and she came to ask questions about whether Sot Tha remembered seeing Khieu Samphan at certain places because Khieu Samphan could not recall. In response to questions from Mr. Abdulhak, Ms. Siek said Khieu Samphan's wife told them that if investigators asked questions about Khieu Samphan they must tell the truth, and she had been honest in her testimony about him.

### Witness' Activities at Ministry of Propaganda Examined

Mr. Abdulhak questioned Ms. Siek about meetings she attended at the Ministry of Propaganda from 1975 to 1977. Ms. Siek said meetings were held in groups, including "livelihood meetings" – on about a weekly or fortnightly basis – and those about performances and recording of songs. Ms. Siek confirmed that she took part in "humble" self-criticism sessions at the ministry whereby attendees would criticize themselves and request criticism from others about their shortcomings. When asked by Mr. Abdulhak if Hou Nim attended such sessions, Ms. Siek said they were held among youths and Hou Nim was not present.



Hou Nim during the Democratic Kampuchea period. (Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

Asked if she met with Hou Nim to discuss broadcasts or artistic performances, the witness said that there was a morning meeting that various sections attended that Hou Nim was present at and offered advice about work performance. Mr. Abdulhak asked Ms. Siek where Hou Nim went after receiving a telephone call during the meeting. Ms. Siek said she did not know, but she presumed that he had to go to work.

Mr. Abdulhak quoted from Ms. Siek's statement, in which she was asked how she knew that Hou Nim had been arrested and answered that his phone rang during the meeting and he told the attendees to take a break for a while, then "at 3 o'clock a military truck came to take his wife away." When Mr. Abdulhak asked the witness how she knew that Hou Nim had been arrested, she said there was a phone call and he left in a hurry and since that day she "never saw him returning." However, Ms. Siek said, the record that quoted her as saying he was arrested might not be very accurate. "He told us that he had to go to work somewhere, but maybe when the statement was re-read to me I did not catch that phrase," she asserted.

Mr. Abdulhak asked Ms. Siek about the fate of Koy Thuon. Ms. Siek said that she knew him through the zone art groups, and she later heard rumors about him being a traitor. "I am uncertain whether he is alive or he already passed away," she said, "In my feeling I presume that he died because I haven't seen him since."

Mr. Abdulhak inquired if other people working in the arts, or as artists, disappeared or were removed after Koy Thuon disappeared. Ms. Siek said that later in the ministry some youth, singers and newsreaders were replaced, and some were transferred to work in the rice fields and

were relocated elsewhere. Ms. Siek said she never saw them again and did not know their fate, as she was moved to the printing office and later to B-20 at Dey Krahorm. In response to a question from Mr. Abdulhak, Ms. Siek said her supervisor told them Koy Thuon was a CIA agent.



Koy Thuon (right) appears with an arts group during the DK period. (Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

Mr. Abdulhak asked if Yun Yat continued to lead the ministry that combined the Ministry of Propaganda and the printing office until 1979. Ms. Siek said by early 1978 she was removed from that office and left Phnom Penh. Mr. Abduldak asked how the cadres felt about the removal and departure of people. Ms. Siek said Hou Nim and his wife and some youths around her age were taken and others were told they would be sent to work in the rice fields, which concerned her because she did not know if they were sent to work, or where they were sent.

Ms. Siek said a vehicle, usually from Yun Yat's office at the ministry, picked up those who left, and she did not know who made the decision to remove them. Hu Nim's wife was picked up in a military vehicle, but later only the ministry vehicle was used, Ms. Siek testified.

Mr. Abdulhak began to ask about Ms. Siek's own removal but then suspended his questioning. Noting the witness was emotionally distressed, President Nonn adjourned the day's proceedings. National Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyer Pich Ang suggested that for such witnesses, an expert should be present to provide emotional support. President Nonn reminded the ECCC Witness and Expert Support Unit to provide emotional support to the witness.

Proceedings are set to resume on Monday, August 20, 2012, at 9 a.m. with questioning of Suong Sikoeun by the Ieng Sary defense and further examination by the prosecution of Sa Siek.