



Suong Sikoeun during the Democratic Kampuchea period. (Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

Witness Provides Broad Range of Testimony During his Second Day of Examination by the Prosecution

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Monday, August 6 marked the second day of the prosecution's examination of witness Suong Sikoeun, a Khmer Rouge intellectual, in Case 002 against accused Nuon Chea, Khieu Samphan, and Ieng Sary at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC).

Three hundred villagers from Kampong Cham province filled the public gallery during the morning session, and 100 people from Kien Svay district, Kandal province, observed during the afternoon.

All parties were present, except the accused Ieng Sary who was in his holding cell. Trial Chamber President Nil Nonn granted Ieng Sary's request to follow the day's proceedings from his holding cell due to his poor health.

President Nonn noted the presence of a new lawyer, who had been recognized by the bar and sworn in into the Courts of Appeal of the Kingdom of Cambodia. National Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyer Pich Ang requested that the Court recognize this new lawyer as defending the interests

of the civil parties. President Nonn recognized him as such, granting him the rights and privileges of other civil party lawyers.

President Nonn gave the floor to International Senior Assistant Prosecutor Vincent de Wilde to examine the witness.

The Prosecution Continues Its Examination of the Witness

Mr. de Wilde commenced his examination of the witness with follow-up questions on the witness's testimony last Thursday. First, Mr. de Wilde referenced Mr. Sikoeun's testimony wherein he had said that Khieu Samphan and Ieng Sary went to the liberated zone in Cambodia after the trip made by the witness, Khieu Samphan, and Ieng Sary to China and Vietnam in May 1974. Mr. de Wilde inquired how long Ieng Sary remained at that time in the liberated zone. Mr. Sikoeun asked for clarification as to which liberated zone Mr. de Wilde was referring, noting that there were many zones in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. After Mr. de Wilde specified that he was talking about the liberated zone in Cambodia, the witness replied that he did not have knowledge of it.

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness about the date that he returned to Cambodia after working in Hanoi with the Voices of the FUNK (National United Front of Kampuchea), noting that the April 1975 date to which he testified on Thursday conflicted with other information. The witness asked President Nonn if he could choose not to respond because the question appeared to be not relevant. President Nonn instructed the witness that it was his obligation to reply and noted that the question was relevant as it pertains to the history of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). After asserting that he could not recall the exact date of his departure given the passage of time, Mr. Sikoeun said he could "at least" state that he arrived at Phnom Penh in May 1975. He further testified that he could not recall if he left Hanoi before Ieng Thirith, adding that it is possible she returned before he did.

Turning to the witness's testimony on Thursday regarding the evacuation of Phnom Penh, Mr. de Wilde specifically recalled when the witness testified that he was given different reasons about Phnom Penh's evacuation, specifically, the fear of American bombings and of famine and that "the evacuation of Phnom Penh was to disseminate the spy networks from the enemy." Mr. de Wilde asked the witness when he was given these reasons. Mr. Sikoeun replied that these reasons came not from documents nor direct instructions from the leaders that clearly setting out these three points, explaining that these points were his "own conclusion and a summary." When Mr. de Wilde asked further questions about when and where he got this information, Mr. Sikoeun reiterated that they were his summary based on his personal understanding. He asserted, "Nobody has to tell me regarding this point. I am not a person who is blind or uneducated; I can do that." President Nonn reminded the witness that he is obligated to reply to questions posed to him based on what he has known, remembered, witnessed, or observed and that he is not to give testimony grounded in his own subjective conclusions, since he is not an expert witness. President Nonn also instructed Mr. Sikoeun to refrain from making comments that are not relevant to the question posed.

Mr. de Wilde reiterated his question, asking the witness who told him that the purpose of Phnom Penh's evacuation was to disperse enemy spy networks. Mr. Sikoeun replied that he heard it

from the radio broadcast, not an individual person. He also thanked the President for his reminder and asserted that he knows what he has to do.

Mr. de Wilde inquired whether, based on the broadcasts and what the party was saying, there were numerous enemy spy networks in Phnom Penh. The witness replied that he did not know, and explained that CPK party members were assigned tasks and had to accomplish them "within the framework of the task assigned." He indicated that knowledge on this subject was "beyond my competence."

Moving on, Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if he heard of class struggle during his time as a party member. Mr. Sikoeun replied that he was aware of class struggle prior to his becoming a party member, as he had previously read Karl Marx. Mr. de Wilde next asked about the specific classes for which there was clear antagonism, according to the party. The witness asked the President to have Mr. de Wilde clarify the question, and Mr. de Wilde clarified that he was asking what the strategic and other social classes were during the time that Phnom Penh was being evacuated. Mr. Sikoeun indicated through his response that the workers were one class. Mr. de Wilde asked about which classes were fighting. Although the witness appeared to answer, his response was not translated into English. After President Nonn reminded the prosecutor to simplify his questions, Mr. de Wilde asked how many, and what, classes existed in society at this time according to the party. Mr. Sikoeun replied that all people were evacuated from Phnom Penh "without exception, whether they be from proletarian class or feudalist class or whatever class." When Mr. de Wilde asked if, specifically, capitalists, feudalists, landowners, or bourgeoisie were evacuated from Phnom Penh, Mr. Sikoeun reiterated that all classes had been evacuated.

Moving on, the prosecutor indicated that he would be showing a document to the witness, but first that he had questions relating to its alleged author. He proceeded to inquire whether Mr. Sikoeun knew an individual by the name of Mr. Thiounn Prasith and if Mr. Prasith worked during the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) regime at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ("the Ministry"). The witness confirmed that he knew Mr. Prasith and that this man had worked at the Ministry. He added that Mr. Prasith had been a "close" friend. Mr. de Wilde inquired whether, in light of his close relationship with Mr. Prasith, the witness would be able to recognize a document written by him. After Mr. De Wilde confirmed that he was referring to Mr. Prasith's writings in the Khmer language, the witness responded, "It would depend on the document," adding that so far as he was aware Mr. Prasith more frequently wrote in English than in Khmer. Mr. de Wilde commented, "But, nevertheless, I could imagine that you could tell us if indications on a document by Thiounn Prasith are indeed his own since you were a close friend of the man."

National Co-Lawyer for Khieu Samphan Mr. Kong Sam Onn objected that the question called for a conclusion by the witness. Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if he believed he would be able to recognize Mr. Prasith's identifying information on a document, including his revolutionary name and spouse's name. The witness confirmed that he would be able to identify this information, given that he knew Mr. Prasith well; he noted, though, that he would have to look at the document.

Mr. de Wilde showed the witness an excerpt from what is believed to be a biography written on December 25, 1976, by Thiounn Prasith. Mr. de Wilde directed the witness's attention to the page that showed information including the author's revolutionary names and the marital status and asked the witness to identify whether Mr. Prasith wrote this document.

International Co-Lawyer for Nuon Chea Jasper Pauw objected to Mr. de Wilde's technique and argued that the line of questioning was suggestive. After hearing Mr. de Wilde's response, President Nonn sustained the counsel's objection, finding the question to be leading, and directed Mr. de Wilde to reframe the question.

Attempting to rectify the question, Mr. de Wilde inquired Mr. Sikoeun could say who wrote the document and whether he recognized the writing and indentifying information. Mr. Pauw argued that the question was "substantively exactly the same," suggesting that Mr. de Wilde could have first asked who the author was and then perhaps ask follow up with questions regarding Thiounn Prasith, "not the other way around." After Mr. de Wilde's response, President Nonn sustained Mr. Pauw's objection and noted again that the question was leading. President Nonn told Mr. de Wilde that he could not ask if the witness knew who the author was because there was already a leading question indicating Thiounn Prasith as the author.



Thiounn Prasith (center) joins leng Sary (front right) in greeting a Malaysian delegation visiting Cambodia. (Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

Moving on from the question of authorship, Mr. de Wilde read an extract from the biography:

[B]efore returning back to the country in late 1975, I did not notice that April 17 of 1975 was the end of the People's Democratic Revolution. I thought that the Revolution would be maintained for a certain amount of time. I did not realize that there had been major measures such as the evacuation of people and the abolition of the currency. Then I realized that these were very important acts to continue the socialist revolution and to establish socialism. Then, I realized that these were very important acts that needed to be done after an exhausting war.

Mr. de Wilde inquired whether what was described within the excerpt matched what the witness had heard in the radio broadcasts or from party members regarding the abolition of currency or the Phnom Penh evacuation. International Co-Lawyer for Ieng Sary Michael Karnavas objected,

arguing that the passage was discussing someone else's state of mind and that Mr. de Wilde's question was improperly asking the witness to comment on and draw a conclusion from this state of mind. After hearing Mr. de Wilde's defense of his question, the judges conferred, and President Nonn did not sustain the objection and directed the witness to respond to the question posed.

After Mr. de Wilde repeated his question, Mr. Sikoeun replied that, to his knowledge, "of all socialist countries, only Cambodia evacuated people out of the city and they abolished currency, and Mr. Prasith shared the same sentiment with me as well that it was not the practice in other socialist countries. Even in China, they evacuated people out of the city, but currency was put in circulation. ... To my understanding, this was something extraordinary in Cambodia."

Next, Mr. de Wilde referenced a biography in French that the witness provided to the Office of the Co-Investigating Judges (OCIJ). Mr. de Wilde asked if the Khmer version of this document was Mr. Sikoeun's revolutionary biography written during the DK regime. The witness stated that the biography before him was his. Mr. de Wilde quoted from the document, reading, "I was in full agreement with the party conceptually, as well as in regard to abolition of currency, and of markets, salaries, and the evacuation of the city populations, as well as in terms of cooperatives, and the continuation of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism, *et cetera*." Mr. de Wilde inquired, "Were all of these questions important questions, issues that the party had decided on, and, therefore, that you could not contest in any case when writing a biography?" Mr. Sikoeun replied that as a member of the party, he "had to implement the party's line." Therefore, he said, he would adhere to and accomplish tasks that the party assigned.

Witness's Relationship with Ieng Sary Examined

Moving on, Mr. de Wilde referred to testimony from Thursday regarding Mr. Sikoeun's relationship with Ieng Sar, and asked the witness whether Ieng Sary had asked him to "do something special for the party within the FUNK." The witness replied that, while a FUNK member in Beijing, he was appointed by Ieng Sary to represent the AKI (Khmer Information Agency) there.

When asked who told him that he would be returning to Cambodia during his April 1974 trip to Africa and Europe with Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan, the witness replied that Ieng Sary did. He also testified that Ieng Sary ordered that he remain in Hanoi working for the Voice of the FUNK in May 1974.

Moving on, Mr. de Wilde asked the witness where he worked after his approximately monthlong stay at B-20. The witness replied that he was working with Ieng Sary, his superior, although the Ministry had not been set up yet. Regarding the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sikoeun testified that it was "led by" Ieng Sary as the deputy prime minister in charge of the Ministry. He confirmed that he worked at the Ministry until January 1979. Mr. de Wilde then asked if the witness continued to work with Ieng Sary after 1979, inquiring specifically whether Mr. Sikoeun worked with Ieng Sary in the Democratic National Union movement during this time. National Co-Lawyer for Ieng Sary Ang Udom objected to the question, contending that it was beyond the scope of the trial. After hearing Mr. de Wilde's response, the judges conferred, and President Nonn said that the objection was not sustained and directed the witness to respond. After Mr. de

Wilde repeated his question, the witness asked President Nonn to have the Prosecutor clarify the exact date he was referring to. Mr. de Wilde clarified that he was referring to the date when the Democratic National Union was created up until 1996. After the witness provided a response relating to the hierarchy of the CPK, describing how Pol Pot made decisions which the Ministers then relayed, Mr. de Wile noted that he did not think the witness replied to his question, as he was asking about after 1979.

Nevertheless, Mr. de Wilde continued, focusing in on the 1975 to 1979 period. He asked the witness whether he closely collaborated with Ieng Sary at this time, after which the witness sought clarification of the term "collaborator." After Mr. de Wilde rephrased, asking if he was "close in professional terms to Ieng Sary" at this time as a Ministry employee, Mr. Sikoeun requested that the prosecutor clarify the word "closely." But Mr. Sikoeun went on to give his response anyway, which included the remark that "it seems foreigners working in Cambodia do not understand the context of the country." The witness continued, "If you talk about closely related, of course I knew him since I was young. I knew his wife as well, but it does not mean that I just blindly followed him, in terms of whatever he assigned to me. In general, it is the same thing when it comes to Mr. Khieu Samphan." He further referred to how they were members of the Marxist-Leninist circle, commenting that they "loved each other as brothers or sisters" and asserted that he felt pain when leaders of the Khmer Rouge fought between themselves. President Nonn reminded the witness to limit his response to the questions asked and not to make unnecessary comments.

In an apparent attempt to rein in the witness, Mr. de Wilde read from the witness's May 6, 2009, OCIJ statement, on which, he said, he had based the initial question. He read:

Ieng Sary did not inform me personally. He said this during a meeting at the Department of General Politics, if I remember correctly, which his closest collaborators attended, that is to say, Thiounn Prasith, Keat Chhon, ... Sokun, Chan Youran, Tep Bunret, and myself, as well as So Se, who was a secretary of the party cell. Thiounn Prasith and Keat Chhon were accused of being CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] agents, and the Security Committee wished to arrest them. Ieng Sary explained that the Ministry could not operate without them, and you must understand that he had complete trust in them. All of these people like me were part of the Marxist-Leninist group of Khmer students in Paris, of which Ieng Sary was the founder with Keng Vansak and Roth Samoeun.

Mr. de Wilde inquired whether Ieng Sary trusted the witness. Mr. Sikoeun indicated in his response that there was a limit to trust, clarifying that "there was not 100 percent trust. It doesn't exist that way. Let's say it is 51 percent. That's just the percentage I can give, for the sake of understanding."

Moving on, Mr. de Wilde asked the witness about his duties within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the 1975 to 1979 period. The witness replied that Keat Chhon, Choun Sarin, and himself were assigned by Ieng Sary to organize the Ministry, which was then referred to as Pteah Kaong. Mr. Sikoeun also said that in 1975, he was in charge of the Europe and Southeast Asia sections. Starting from June 1977, he became the head of the Department of Information and Propaganda within the Ministry, as well as a Ministry spokesperson until 1979. He further testified that he was the deputy director of the Ministry's protocol section and a member of the Ministry's political section. When asked who headed the protocol section when he was the

deputy of it, the witness replied that it was Madame So Se, the wife of Pich Bunnaret. When asked whether after May 1975 he was fully responsible for the Kampuchea Press Agency, the witness replied that he was assigned as the director of the Kampuchea Information or Press Agency by Pol Pot.

Returning from the morning break, Mr. Pauw stated their intent to file a written Rule 35 motion notice later in the week in connection with Hor Namhong's statements in last Friday's *Cambodia Daily*. President Nonn said if there was any issue, he may submit it in writing to the Chamber.

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness who proposed him to be director of the AKI, the Kampuchea Press Agency. It was not clear from the English interpretation what the witness's response was, however. Mr. de Wilde quoted the following statement made by the witness to the OCIJ: "On the proposal from Ieng Sary, Pol Pot assigned me to take charge of the Kampuchea Press Agency regarding work in foreign languages and the morning broadcasts. I received instructions from Ieng Sary." Mr. de Wilde then asked the witness about the purpose of the AKI agency. Mr. Sikoeun first responded to the excerpt read by Mr. de Wilde, stating that the statement that Pol Pot appointed him at Ieng Sary's behest was incorrect. He said that Ieng Sary did not agree or disagree to his appointment then because it did not affect his Ministry work. He also clarified that during the Songkum Reastr Niyum it was not the AKI but the AKP.

Mr. de Wilde requested the witness explain the function of the AKP and the articles he wrote for the agency. Mr. Sikoeun testified that the AKP disseminated local and international news, adding, "It was in a similar situation to other news or information agencies." After noting that the excerpt described the witness as heading the foreign language bureau of the Democratic Kampuchea press agency, Mr. de Wilde asked what foreign languages were broadcast. After describing his work schedule and his responsibility for writing, translating, and broadcasting, Mr. Sikoeun explained that the broadcasts were done in Vietnamese, English, French, Chinese, and Thai. He further recalled that the English broadcast was intended for Southeast Asian countries and added that it was also listened to in Vietnam and Laos.



Regarding the substance of these programs, the witness testified that the broadcasts were about the "production activities, about the events occurring inside the country, also about the activities at the international level by the leadership." When asked who instructed him about the foreign language radio broadcast, he replied, "The broadcast was far from the charge of Ieng Sary. I was directly charged in this regard by Pol Pot."

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness how his duty as head of the Ministry's Propaganda and Information Department since June 1977 differed from his duties at the AKI and AKP. The witness replied that the Propaganda and Information

Department "directly related to the international activities, including international news, or the dissemination of information of our diplomatic activities at various other countries. Also, it would ... deal with the credentials of other diplomatic activities within the Democratic Kampuchea." When asked if there was a translation section within this department to translate documents from other languages to Khmer, the witness replied that it was the section's daily task to translate and that it was done from Khmer to foreign languages as well as from foreign languages to Khmer. When asked specifically if articles from Western countries pertaining to Cambodia were included in those translated into Khmer, Mr. Sikoeun indicated that he could not remember but noted that this was not this section's direct task as there were there other ministries aside from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that were designated to address this matter.

Mr. de Wilde inquired whether there was a department within the Ministry that was responsible for listening to foreign radio broadcasts. The witness said that his section was in charge of listening to foreign broadcasts in French, English, Chinese, and Vietnamese. When asked why these foreign language radio broadcasts were listened to and if he was told to report about them, the witness stated that there were daily, weekly, and monthly bulletins regarding the broadcasts. He explained, "It was to deal with the foreign broadcasts in relation to the context of the situation inside the Democratic Kampuchea." Regarding whether these radio programs included international stations like BBC or Voices of America, the witness confirmed that they did and noted that he was responsible for listening to all of them.

The prosecutor inquired whether these broadcasts referenced crimes committed by Democratic Kampuchea against its people. Mr. Sikoeun responded, "Usually, yes, there were some programs related to that. However, I did not report that matter to the leadership." When Mr. de Wilde asked whether he was obliged to do so as Ieng Sary's subordinate, the witness asserted that he would tell Ieng Sary exactly what was reported. He said this report was made orally, noting that if it was in writing, "the report would go to the committee and that would be a different matter." After Mr. de Wilde sought clarification about Mr. Sikoeun's reports to Ieng Sary, the witness further explained that Ieng Sary proposed that he report to him exactly the contents of the foreign broadcasts, without adding or omitting anything. Additionally, the witness stated that he did know if Ieng Sary relayed information about crimes alleged to other leaders.

Moving on, Mr. de Wilde asked the witness what his duties were as a spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and who his direct superior was. Mr. Sikoeun testified that Ieng Sary was his direct superior but added that in certain other tasks and areas, he would work directly for Pol Pot.

Mr. de Wilde Asks the Witness about Meetings at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Switching to a different topic, Mr. de Wilde inquired what types of meetings were held at B-1, or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during the DK regime period of 1975 to 1979. Mr. Sikoeun described various meetings, including a meeting of the party branch within the whole ministry that happened every fortnight, working meetings at sections that took place every three days, and also monthly meetings attended by the Ministry's overall staff. He noted that there were detailed study meetings that happened every three or six months. Lastly, he noted that there were other meetings happening every week or every three of four days for the purpose of self review and criticism.

Mr. de Wilde asked about what meetings Ieng Sary presided over. The witness indicated that Ieng Sary presided over "long political training sessions" and other meetings relating to policy or politics but would not attend "various other meetings. When asked if Ieng Sary attended the branch or party meetings, Mr. Sikoeun clarified that the Ministry was divided into the department section, which dealt with diplomatic affairs, and the bureau section, which handled, for example, production, security, and food. He explained that Ieng Sary attended meetings in both sections that related to the party. Asked whether he was involved with the bureau section, Mr. Sikoeun said that this section had a party branch of which he was a member; So Se was the secretary of this branch. The diplomatic section, the witness explained, was further divided into the Ministry's secretariat, protocol, production, political affairs, and propaganda and information sections, the later of which was the witness's responsibility. Regarding whether So Se was under Ieng Sary's orders, the witness confirmed that she was.



Suong Sikoeun (right) joins others at a meeting during Lao Prince Sophanavong's visit to Cambodia during his visit to Cambodia during the regime of Democratic Kampuchea. (Source: Documentation Center of Cambodia)

Next, Mr. de Wilde asked if there were any reeducation sessions in any of the meetings referenced by the witness and, if so, who participated. Mr. Sikoeun replied that all the Ministry cadres would attend the long-term study sessions. Regarding the purpose of these reeducation sessions, he replied that they were "first to grasp the Revolutionary situation and the building of Socialism in the country. The participants should be able to grasp the practical tasks assigned to each staff member. And there would also be a session of introspection of each attendee." When asked about what Ieng Sary discussed during these sessions, the witness explained that in the long term study sessions, Ieng Sary would largely present the party documents, but he could not recall what specifically was given to them. He described how they related to the situation inside and outside the country, as well as the DK Revolution's status and the tasks that needed completion.

Asked whether the topic of "enemies burrowing from within" was discussed in relation to the internal matters, Mr. Sikoeun replied that it was, "for sure." He described how the documents

mentioned infiltrated enemies, of which there were several types—the foreign enemies, the domestic enemies, and the enemies within the party itself. The foreign enemies were the American Imperialists and, starting from late 1977, the Vietnamese, he explained. The witness also said there were other spies. As for domestic enemies Mr. Sikoeun stated that they included the agents of these enemy imperialists, particularly enemies "burrowing from within." He described how enemies within the CPK were emphasized in documents then and explained that they were "remnants of the previous regimes, those who exploited the people in the previous regimes." He recalled, "Particularly we wanted to get rid of those who were greedy, those who loved to hold onto their power and exploited people's labor, and those who were extravagant." He stated that this last group of enemies, enemies within the CPK itself, was considered to be the party's main enemy.

Mr. de Wilde inquired about what Ieng Sary said in the documents about "getting rid of these enemies." Mr. Sikoeun responded:

To my understanding at the time, getting rid of the enemies meant that the enemies themselves were secondary, but what was primary was the networks that were hidden inside. If we wanted to get rid of individuals it was not difficult, but the systems that were operating over there were the enemy. It was not that easy to get rid of the feudalist mentality and systems, and that was the main target of the ideological training at that time.

When asked about what was discussed at B-1 regarding how to identify and eject enemies, the witness replied that this was outside his knowledge.

Moving on, the prosecutor asked about internal meetings that occurred in each section, which he said the witness had previously testified were held once every three days. When asked who organized the meetings and determined their purposes, Mr. Sikoeun clarified that in some sections it occurred once a day, while in others, once every three days. He explained that there were self-criticism and criticism sessions during these meetings, and they also set up tasks for the next day or the next three days. He noted that while approval for internal meetings typically had to come from the upper levels, the operational meetings were organized at the lower level.

Regarding the meetings within his section, the Department of the Information and Propaganda, Mr. Sikoeun testified that they set forth the duties to be completed and that they also attended self-criticism and criticism sessions. He stated that they "did not dwell on political or important matters." Mr. Sikoeun explained that 20 people worked in the Department of Information and Propaganda, including Long Norin, before Mr. Norin was assigned to head the Protocol section.

Regarding internal departmental meetings, the witness confirmed that it was his duty to report to leng Sary about the meeting. He described that the working procedure was that these reports were mainly given orally.

Turning to meetings with heads of sections and departments, Mr. de Wilde inquired what Ieng Sary did during these meetings. Mr. Sikoeun replied that Ieng Sary chaired the meetings, adding that a meeting of all the section heads only occurred when there were "important events." He could not recall the date or the number of participants at those meetings. When asked if Ieng Sary was the only one who spoke at these meetings, he responded that Ieng Sary was the only

one to deliver a keynote address about the overall situation, foreign affairs, and instructions to carry out in the future.

Mr. de Wilde inquired as to what Ieng Sary shared with the section heads, asking specifically whether Standing Committee decisions were discussed. The witness replied that Ieng Sary would typically share important events, but he could not remember what these events were. Nor could he recall if Ieng Sary talked specifically about decisions by the Standing Committee, explaining that Ieng Sary referred to collective decisions of the party.

The prosecutor moved on to meetings of the party cell that occurred once a fortnight. Regarding these meetings, Mr. Sikoeun testified that Ieng Sary presided over party cells in the Ministry and that members within the party cell included himself, Touch Kham-Doeun, Keat Chhon, Thiounn Prasith, and So Phan, who was Ieng Sary's personal secretary.

At these monthly party branch meetings, Mr. Sikoeun recalled, they discussed self-criticism. He explained that the purpose of these criticism sessions was to "build revolutionary views and standpoints of each member in accordance with the principle of 'treating the diseases in order to save life." He further described, "In communism, the building [of] ... particularly revolutionary view are the foundation for building oneself so that members have a firm standpoint. This was the primary objective, and other secondary objectives were to encourage people to work more actively in the interest of the people in the party."

When asked how he perceived the criticism and self-criticism exercises, Mr. Sikoeun described his experience with it. He set forth the points on which he was criticized, namely, for being foreign educated and for picking up foreign habits, like walking with his hands behind his back, and also for having a foreign wife. He was also criticized for not looking at others at the table before starting to eat, which was considered impolite. He stated that criticism also resulted in good ideas, as they could learn about points for improvement. However, he said he saw at the time that "those who were too frank, they tend to have problems, but those who were rather flexible, they could survive it."

Prior to breaking for lunch, Mr. Pauw requested that his client Nuon Chea be allowed to follow the remainder of the proceedings from his holding cell. As usual, President Nonn granted this request.

After retuning from lunch, Mr. Udom noted that he believed there was a translation error from Khmer to English regarding the witness's testimony about who the main enemy was. He represented that in English it was "rendered as to eliminate anyone who had the enemy kind of substance inside." President Nonn noted that the witness had referred to the "the enemy against oneself or the internal enemy against oneself." He noted that the transcript would be reviewed for this discrepancy.

Returning to the examination, Mr. de Wilde asked Mr. Sikoeun whether repeated criticisms against a party member ever resulted

in sanctions, monitoring, or investigations. The witness replied, "No. The criticism issue was not about the wrongful act against the party's line or the policy at the time."

Mr. de Wilde referred to the draft of the witness's book *Odyssey of a Khmer Intellectual*, which Mr. Sikoeun had provided to the OCIJ. The witness confirmed that the document in front of his was his draft written in 2003 as a candidate member for doctoral study. Mr. de Wilde read the following excerpt relating to the self-criticism and criticism sessions:

We were living in the fear of doing wrong. Any form of negligence or absentmindedness in the fulfillment of our task could be very serious because it could be interpreted at any moment as an act of sabotage and of treason. Living is such an atmosphere was unbearable. I had the impression that my western education and my marriage with a foreign woman was a handicap that could not be surpassed.

As Mr. de Wilde concluded reading the quote, International Counsel for Khieu Samphan Anta Guisse objected that the segment read was not included in the segments of this document that the Chamber specified in an earlier ruling may be used by the Prosecution. Mr. de Wilde argued that the Chamber ruled on the full document. President Nonn did not sustain the objection.

Mr. de Wilde inquired if self-criticism sessions created fear and paranoia and resulted in people denouncing each other. Mr. Sikoeun contended that they did not, explaining that most people at the meeting were in the same situation, having received a Western education. Some, he said, also had wives who were foreigners. Ieng Sary, whom the witness noted also had been a student in France, was "not that strict in this sense because he knew every one of us clearly."

Questions Turn to the Standing, Central, and Security Committees and Office 870

Mr. de Wilde moved on and asked the witness what he knew regarding the party's Standing and Central Committees during 1975 to 1979. Mr. Sikoeun replied that he did not have a lot of knowledge regarding these committees, only that Ieng Sary belonged to the Standing Committee. He added that it could be concluded that Pol Pot and Nuon Chea were also in this committee.

Mr. de Wilde followed up, inquiring how the witness knew that Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Nuon Chea were members of this committee. The witness's response was interrupted by Mr. Pauw's objection that the prosecutor was misstating the witness's testimony. He argued that the witness had not said he knew that Nuon Chea and Pol Pot were members of the committee.

Reframing his inquiry, Mr. de Wilde asked the witness how he became aware of the members of the Standing Committee. Mr. Sikoeun replied that he knew that Ieng Sary was a permanent member of the Standing Committee from Ieng Sary directly. He explained that as Ieng Sary was below Pol Pot and Nuon Chea in the hierarchy, he had concluded that these two were also in the committee. Regarding other members of the Standing Committee, the witness indicated that he was not in a position to know.

Mr. de Wilde inquired whether Mr. Sikoeun had heard about the Standing Committee's role within the CPK structure. The witness replied that he did not know and explained that he only knew that Ieng Sary was in charge of foreign affairs and for the intellectuals returning from France. He further explained, "Pol Pot also made the decision regarding the appointment for us

to go and work here or there, and Ieng Sary was the person who was directly responsible for us in carrying out our duties. As for myself and for other intellectuals from France, this applied all across the board."

Mr. de Wilde asked if these decisions the witness indicated were made by Pol Pot were ones the leader had made by himself or collectively. After a brief objection by Mr. Karnavas that the question calls for speculation, which was not sustained by President Nonn, the witness replied he did not clearly know but that "from the way that I lived there, I knew some of the methods of him [Pol Pot] making the decision." He indicated that Pol Pot made decisions by himself regarding the intellectuals returning from France.

Moving on, Mr. de Wilde inquired whether Ieng Sary was regularly absent from B-1, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attending meetings with other party leaders. After the witness referred in his answer to Ieng Sary not remaining permanently in Cambodia, Mr. de Wilde clarified that he had asked about meetings with other party leaders, particularly the Standing Committee members. Mr. Sikoeun replied that he did not have knowledge of this matter.

Switching topics, Mr. de Wilde asked if there was a Security Committee at the Center level. The witness replied that he was not aware of whether there was a Security Committee. Mr. de Wilde referred to the witness's statement from his second interview with the OCIJ, quoting an excerpt wherein Mr. Sikoeun referred to the Security Committee. Mr. de Wilde asked what the Security Committee's function was. The witness replied that he did not know the committee's function. He explained that he also did not know who was in it during the regime but had only learned of it afterward in late 1979. He could not recall where he learned of the Committee's composition but indicated that it could have been from an article or a book, the name of which he could not recall.

Moving on, Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if he heard of Office 870 during 1975 to 1979. Mr. Sikoeun confirmed that he had, explaining that he only knew that Pong was in charge of Office 870. He referred to an incident wherein Pong took him by motobike from Pol Pot's place to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Regarding the location and name of the place from which Pong took him, the witness stated, "It was not from any office, but it was a place where they received guests. ... It could have been the B-2 Office or the Government Palace; currently it is the former house of the French Governor along the riverfront." The witness stated that he was not aware of where Pol Pot was working at the time.

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness whether he went to other locations where leaders like Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea were in the course of his duties as an interpreter. Mr. Sikoeun replied, "I went to interpret for Pol Pot in the house I mentioned earlier; it was situated along the riverfront. ... Pol Pot worked in that office, and I interpreted for him over there when he received the female Vietnamese delegates some time in early 1977. That is all I knew about this place and for other offices that Pol Pot worked, I did not know."

Returning to the subject of Office 870, Mr. de Wilde asked if Mr. Sikoeun knew of anyone besides Pong who worked for Office 870. The witness replied that he did not know of anyone else then. Further, when asked if Pong often went to the Ministry, the witness testified that he only saw Pong once.

The Witness's Interactions with Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea during the DK regime

The prosecutor turned to a different topic, asking about the witness's encounters with various leaders. He asked the witness whether he frequently met Khieu Samphan during the DK regime. Mr. Sikoeun in his response indicated that he was a French interpreter for the leaders and that



Khieu Samphan, as the President of the State Presidium, received credentials of foreign diplomats. Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if he conversed with Khieu Samphan outside of his duties as an interpreter during meetings between Khieu Samphan and foreign diplomats. Mr. Sikoeun responded that he never conversed with Khieu Samphan in a "private capacity." He recalled how Khieu Samphan went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and instructed the witness to write two news articles to be published.

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if he traveled to Beijing during the summer of 1975 with Khieu Samphan, Ieng Sary, and Ieng Thirith. Mr. Sikoeun replied that during the period of 1975 to 1979, he only went abroad with Khieu Samphan to Sri Lanka in 1976 for the Non-Aligned summit, a trip on which Ieng Sary also went.

Regarding contact with Nuon Chea during the DK period, the witness explained that he never met Nuon Chea in person but had talked to him once by telephone wherein Nuon Chea requested that he write an article about DK foreign policy. He noted that he once saw Nuon Chea from far away during a party presentation by Pol Pot. He confirmed that this presentation was at a political education session and stated that it took place in Borei Keila. He further testified that this session was for party cadres, "starting from the chairman or the secretary of the district or sectors committee." When asked who spoke at this political education session, Mr. Sikoeun recalled, "Pol Pot and Nuon Chea were the speakers in those political education sessions." He testified that the sessions occurred in 1976, perhaps in June. He could not immediately recall what political or ideological subjects were discussed at these sessions but described that the discussion included "the evolution of the situation, particularly from the democratic revolution to socialist revolution, as well as the international evolution of the national liberation, and, at that time, this movement was springing up around the world."

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if he was present at large annual sessions, such as in the Olympic Stadium at the official anniversary for the Communist Party. Mr. Sikoeun recalled attending a March 1978 rally to this effect held at the Olympic Stadium. He said that Pol Pot delivered the address and that high-ranking party officials were in attendance, but he could not recall specifically who was there. Regarding Pol Pot's speech, he stated that he remembered it because of the tension between DK and Vietnam. He recalled that Pol Pot said that "one combatant of Democratic Kampuchea could smash up to eight Vietnamese combatants, so, in sum, even if we kill all the Vietnamese then there would remain some Cambodians; ... at least two million Cambodians could still survive." He described getting "goose bumps" when he heard Pol Pot's speech. The witness could not answer whether Nuon Chea frequently went to general assemblies in the zone as it was "outside the scope of my responsibility."

Returning to the witness's earlier reference to a telephone call from Nuon Chea, Mr. de Wilde asked if the discussion in the call was connected with the "black book of foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam vis-a-vis the Democratic Kampuchea." Mr. Pauw objected to Mr. de Wilde's manner of questioning, arguing that it was leading and that Mr. de Wilde should have asked what was discussed during the telephone call. After additional argument back and forth between counsel and a conference with the judges, President Nonn did not sustain the objection and told the witness to respond to Mr. de Wilde's question. Mr. Sikoeun replied that his discussion via telephone with Nuon Chea was not related to the writing of this black book.

The prosecutor then quoted from a passage in Mr. Sikoeun's OCIJ interview, in which the witness is recorded as stating in response to a question of whether he met Nuon Chea from 1975 to 1979:

I never had any direct relations with him. I only saw him during a meeting organized in September 1977 for the drafting of the black book. ... Nuon Chea was more of an observer than an active participant. After the meeting, I remember that Nuon Chea called me at the end of 1977 to ask me to write an article about the foreign policy of Democratic Kampuchea for the Kampuchea newspaper.

Mr. de Wilde asked what the roles were of Ieng Sary and Nuon Chea in the writing of the "black book," which Mr. de Wilde said was published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The witness replied that Ieng Sary and Nuon Chea were not involved with its publication, "except in the case that they, as I recall, in fact, as I recall, Pol Pot called some of the cadres from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and I can really recall myself, Keat Chhon, Thiounn Prasith, and Ny Kan, then the Chief of Protocol." He stated that Nuon Chea and Ieng Sary were also there and Pol Pot gave a presentation regarding the content. He described how Nuon Chea and Ieng Sary were "only like minute recorders ... of the presentation." He gave



an example of how they would take notes on Pol Pot's presentation and draft articles from what he had said, preserving the main content. They would then present it for Pol Pot's review before publication. He reiterated that Nuon Chea and Ieng Sary were not involved with the drafting of the black book, adding that Pol Pot wrote it.

Mr. de Wilde then asked the witness whether, if this book was published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the witness knew of Ieng Sary reading this book before its publication. Mr. Karnavas objected that Mr. de Wilde was leading the witness.

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if the Ministry published the black book, and Mr. Sikoeun replied that he published it, as part of the Propaganda and Information section. He added that the book was translated into English and French. When asked whether this meant that Ieng Sary read the book prior to publication to verify its compliance with what Pol Pot had said, the witness indicated in his response that this was not necessarily the case. For example, he stated that it was possible it could have been sent directly to Pol Pot or through Ieng Sary.

Returning from the afternoon break, Mr. de Wilde indicated to the bench that he would not finish his examination of the witness by the end of the day. Returning to his questions for the witness, he referred to the witness's earlier references to being contacted by Pol Pot and others from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When asked how they contacted him, Mr. Sikoeun replied that he could not clearly recall but said that he learned of these communications from Ieng Sary, whom he met with two or three times per week. He also recalled that Ny Kan, the individual in charge of the Protocol office, asked him to go. He confirmed that Pol Pot never directly contacted him.

Witness Questioned about Disappearances and Former Diplomats

Mr. de Wilde asked the witness if he was aware during the DK regime of disappearances of personnel within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or those who had temporarily been sent there. Mr. Sikoeun confirmed that he noticed disappearances of Ministry personnel. When asked what kind of personnel disappeared, he replied that those who disappeared from the Ministry included the following: So Se, alias Ven, who was the secretary of the party cell at the bureau section before being appointed to the general politics department; Keo, who was the head of civil aviation, which was then subordinate to the Ministry; an engineer who stayed in a house near the Royal Palace and worked with the Ministry for a short period before he was transferred to the Ministry of Industry before disappearing; and Tun Chea Run, as well as other staff members. Mr. Sikoeun stated that he was not aware of why these people disappeared.

Mr. de Wilde focused his next questions on former diplomats who were abroad when Phnom Penh fell. Mr. De Wilde inquired who asked the diplomats from the former regime to return to Cambodia after Phnom Penh fell. The witness replied that after the fall, diplomats overseas continued to work overseas. He explained that the decision to call those diplomats to return to Cambodia was made in late 1975. He added, "Normally Pol Pot was the one who rendered that decision; it was not up to Ieng Sary to decide." When asked how he knew that Pol Pot made this decision, the witness responded, "If Ieng Sary did not make that decision, who else could make that decision? It must have been Pol Pot." Mr. de Wilde followed up, asking the witness if he personally participated in Standing Committee meetings. Mr. Sikoeun replied that he did not play a role in the Central Committee meetings. (It is not clear whether this was a translation error of "Standing Committee.") Mr. De Wilde further asked if Mr. Sikoeun was ever sent the Standing Committee minutes, to which the witness replied that he had not been.

Moving on, the prosecutor requested Mr. Sikoeun provide names of the former diplomats who were asked to return to Cambodia. The witness listed Sarin Chhak, the minister of foreign affairs for the National United Front of Kampuchea; San, the ambassador for Cambodia in Russia; Huot Sambath, the ambassador for Cambodia in Yugoslavia; Sokunthy, the acting *charge d'affaires* to Balong; His Royal Highness Prince Metheavy, responsible for the affairs of the Cambodia embassy in Germany; and additional diplomats whose names he could not remember. When asked if Cambodian ambassador Nou Pich alias Sin was among the list of diplomats, Mr. Sikoeun indicated that he was. Asked about In Sophann, the witness stated that Mr. Sophann was the brother of In Sokan. In Sokan, the witness said, had been a member of the former student union in France and was then the *charge d'affaires* for Cambodia in Albania.

Mr. de Wilde asked how many of these diplomats came through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when they returned in late 1975. Mr. Sikoeun replied that these diplomats did not return to the Ministry, recalling that Ieng Sarv had them meet with him at a house Phnom Penh. He recalled the following individuals were the exceptions and had gone through the Ministry: Touch Kham-Doeun, who was the former president of the Student's Union in France, a former party member, and a former member of the Marxist-Leninist Circle; Sarin Chhak; and General Duong Samol. When asked if the Ministry welcomed them at the Pochentong Airport, the witness replied that he did not know who received them there, explaining that his knowledge was of meeting them at a house in Phnom Penh. He stated that he was not aware of where they were sent



from there. Asked if he met them in Phnom Penh as part of his Ministry duties, Mr. Sikoeun explained that he went with Ieng Sary and other Ministry personnel. But he could not recall the location of this meeting.

Mr. de Wilde inquired whether Mr. Sikoeun learned what happened to these former diplomats, such as San, Sokunthy, Huot Sambath, Nou Pich alias Sin, In Sophann, and Sisowath Metheavy. Mr. Sikoeun replied that he was not aware of the fate of these diplomats at that time but found out about it later in 1979. He explained that in 1979 he learned of their disappearances from a student he later met in France.

Mr. de Wilde noted that the names Nou Pich alias Sin and Nou San alias Chea were contained in an S-21 prisoner list and that In Sophan was listed on an S-21 execution list. He also noted there were also S-21 confessions for Hout Sambath and Kunthy.

Incriminations within Confessions Discussed

Mr. de Wilde focused on Touch Kham-Doeun. The witness testified that they both were members of the Marxist-Leninist circle in France. Asked if Mr. Touch Kham-Doeun worked at the Ministry when he came back to Cambodia, Mr. Sikoeun confirmed that he did. When the prosecutor inquired about the fates of Touch Kham-Doeun and his wife during this period, the witness asserted first that their houses were near each other, that their wives were close, and that Touch Kham-Doeun's oldest sister was the witness's adopted daughter. He then described when Touch Kham-Doeun left his house in 1979, which he said he "vividly" recalls. He said that the event occurred when Ieng Sary was away on an official tour to Malaysia and Singapore with Thiounn Prasith. He described how Touch Kham-Doeun's wife was happy "because she thought he would go to the countryside because during the democratic period, intellectuals who returned from overseas and attached to the base or to the countryside, it brought honor to the family, to refashion themselves in the countryside, so they were very happy because they thought he would be asked to teach English in the countryside." Mr. Sikoeun noted that he only found out about

Touch Kham-Doeun's arrest later. He also confirmed that he did not see the witness being taken away but added that he saw him preparing clothes for the trip.

Asked if Ieng Sary discussed the arrest of Mr. Touch Kham-Doeun with him, the witness remembered that Ieng Sary read Touch Kham-Doeun's confession during a meeting. Mr. Sikoeun then summarized the content of the confession, providing the reasons given for his arrest. At the conclusion of his explanation, he noted, "This was how it was shown in the confession, and it seems to be rather logical and credible. It was like a novel, ... but it seemed that it was possible to believe." He summed up the allegation as, "Touch Kham-Doeun was the one who wrote the article and sent it to a CIA network outside through the Egyptian diplomatic mission in Cambodia."

Mr. de Wilde inquired when the meeting occurred wherein Ieng Sary read this confession and who was there. Mr. Sikoeun stated that he thinks it occurred in 1977 and that "usually the attendees were those cadres who worked within my section, within the diplomatic affairs section. They were also close friends of Touch Kham-Doeun, including Thiounn Prasith, Keat Chhon, Sokun, etc." Mr. de Wilde asked whether Ieng Sary found "the accusation of betrayal described in the confession very clear" during this meeting. The witness indicated that he did not know but said that he knew that Ieng Sary was close to Touch Kham-Doeun and that Ieng Sary was not in Cambodia when the arrest occurred. The witness suggested that had he been, Touch Kham-Doeun would not have been arrested. He further testified that Ieng Sary "defended a large number of cadres at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

Continuing his answer, Mr. Sikoeun then expanded upon Touch Kham-Doeun's confession, which he reiterated was like a novel and which he described as implicating himself. After providing additional detail about the contents of the confession, he noted, "Hak Sien-lainy was not a CIA agent because he was the president of the Khmer Communist in the Soviet Union, it means he was pro-Soviet Union. So, we can deduce that the confession was actually just the writing of a novel, and it could not be believed in and that was clear to me." Mr. de Wilde brought up the witness's previous indication that the confession appeared credible and asked whether the witness was saying that certain accusations therein related to some B-1 cadre including himself were not credible, to which the witness replied yes. He added, "When it is clearly shown that people were CIA agents then they would be arrested, but if all were to be arrested it means the Ministry would have been closed. It could not be functioning without us."

Mr. de Wilde inquired what happened if an individual was incriminated and how many incriminations were needed in the DK regime to create consequences. The witness replied, "If someone were to have three documents or three cases against him, then the person would be arrested." Mr. Sikoeun then described the cases or document against him, stating that at first he had three against him, with two added later. After rhetorically asking why he was spared, Mr. Sikoeun explained how in some of the documents he was accused of being a revisionist, pro-Soviet Union or pro-Vietnam. He was also accused in another document, which, he explained, counted only half against him because it did not call him out by name. He concluded that he could not be arrested because he only had four and a half cases against him and that he had the least amount of cases against him at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Sikoeun additionally explained that the number of cases or documents needed for imprisonment rose to eight in 1978, at the proposal of Ieng Thirith to Pol Pot. He concluded, "When I went to visit Tuol Sleng Museum, I saw a number of my friends who were loyal, ... who were good people but were taken and killed there. That was really a pity. My apology to the brothers, if I knew that that was the result, I would not have joined the group. Because I myself, I reached a point of not return, that I would not bear it any longer, that is not a revolution ... I really feel the pain."

Turning to others who had disappeared, Mr. de Wilde asked about Tiev Chinleng, In Sophann, and Hin Chamroeun, quoting an excerpt of Mr. Sikoeun's OCIJ interview, wherein he referenced them as friends who were present at a meeting in Paris meant to convince the intellectuals to return to Cambodia and whose names the witness described later finding at Tuol Sleng. Mr. de Wilde inquired whether these were the individuals to whom he was referring in his previous answer. Mr. Sikoeun replied, "Yes, when I talked about the names at Tuol Sleng, there were additional names." He added that he "saw up to five or six names that really shocked" him, in addition to these three individuals. He described how Tiev Chinleng, a close friend of Ieng Sary, had left his French wife and child to return to Cambodia. He also said that In Sophann was an engineer in Paris and was In Sokan's brother.

Returning to the confession of Touch Kham-Doeun, Mr. de Wilde questioned how Mr. Sikoeun became aware that he had been incriminated four and a half times in documents. The witness replied that he did not see the confessions and explained that Ieng Sary in 1977 called him into his office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked him to clarify allegations in Ros Sarin's confession, wherein Ros Sarin had accused the witness and Keat Chhon of being CIA agents. Mr. Sikoeun said that Ros Sarin had been his friend at the Sisowath school and Keat Chhon's friend as well. After the witness had continued on for awhile, the President directed the witness to listen to the question and to respond only to the question he was asked. Mr. de Wilde asked whether Ieng Sary asked the witness to take specific action after Ros Sarin's accusations, to which the witness replied that Ieng Sary requested he write his biography.

Turning to the witness's June 1977 biography, Mr. de Wilde noted that the witness took "great care in this biography to characterize a certain number of people as 'traitors,' as 'despicable'... or as 'contemptible.'" Mr. de Wilde represented that the following individuals were characterized as such: Ros Sarin, Saing Savat, Kaom, Ho Nim, Keo Meas, Hak Sonlai-Ng, Sok Thuon Phalla, Touch Phoeun, and Touch Kham-Doeun. He asked, "When you wrote out this biography upon Ieng Sary's request, was it normal for you to use such terms as contemptible, maybe to take distance in relation to all these incriminated people?" The witness replied:

Those individuals were announced by the party as CIA agents, and they betrayed the organization. As such, it had to be stated so; believe it or not, that was what was to be done. I do not know the fact that by putting such allegations or names that I would be labeled as an opportunist. However, if I were not to write down those names, what would be the consequence? That's what we called the Khmer Democracy. ... That was the democratic way according to the Cambodians.

With the conclusion of this response, President Nonn adjourned the proceedings for the day, announcing that the questioning of Mr. Sikoeun will continue tomorrow, Tuesday, August 7, at 9:00 a m