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

# ព្រះព្យាលាខ្មែងខ្មុំ បា បានិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាតុក្រុ

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

#### ឯកសារជើង

ORIGINAL/ORIGINAL

ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date): 13-Aug-2012, 15:21 CMS/CFO: Sann Rada

### អនិត្តម៉ូន្ត នេះមារបាត្តតិច

Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

# TRANSCRIPT OF TRIAL PROCEEDINGS PUBLIC

Case File Nº 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC

7 August 2012 Trial Day 91

Before the Judges: NIL Nonn, Presiding

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## List of Speakers:

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language
MR. ANG UDOM	Khmer
MR. CHAN DARARASMEY	Khmer
MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL	French
MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA	French
MS. GUISSÉ	French
MR. KARNAVAS	English
MR. KONG SAM ONN	Khmer
MS. MOCH SOVANNARY	Khmer
THE PRESIDENT (NIL NONN, Presiding)	Khmer
MR. ONG THONG HOEUNG (TCW-490)	Khmer
MR. PAUW	English
MR. PICH ANG	Khmer
MS. SIMONNEAU-FORT	French
MR. SUONG SIKOEUN (TCW-694)	Khmer

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- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Court opens at 0902H)
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Please be seated. The Court is now in session.
- 5 Today, we will continue to hear the testimony of the witness,
- 6 Suong Sikoeun, who will be questioned again by the Prosecution
- 7 and later on by the civil parties for -- civil party lawyers.
- 8 [09.03.27]
- 9 Greffier, could you report to the attendance of the parties and
- 10 the individuals summoned by the Chamber?
- 11 THE GREFFIER:
- 12 Mr. President, all parties to the proceeding are present except
- 13 the accused Ieng Sary, who is present in the holding cell
- 14 downstairs. He requests to waive his right directly through his
- 15 counsel for his participation this morning in the courtroom, and
- 16 that is for the whole day. The letter of waiver has been
- 17 submitted to the greffier.
- 18 As for the next witness -- that is TCW 490 -- he's present in the
- 19 waiting room, awaiting the instruction from the Chamber.
- 20 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 21 Thank you.
- 22 The Chamber will now decide to the request by Ieng Sary. The
- 23 Chamber received the request by Ieng Sary, dated 7th August 2012,
- 24 through his counsel, to waive his direct presence in the
- 25 courtroom and to follow it in the holding cell downstairs through

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- 1 a remote means for the entire day proceeding.
- 2 [09.04.53]
- 3 Sovann Mich, the treating doctor of the Accused at the detention
- 4 facility, examined Mr. Ieng Sary this morning and observes that
- 5 he is fatigued, especially while he's talking and walking, he has
- 6 a backache, so he cannot sit for long, and recommends that he
- 7 cannot sit or stand for long.
- 8 As Ieng Sary also requests to waive his direct presence in the
- 9 courtroom, due to his health, and that he has been also examined
- 10 by the treating doctor, and that he requests to follow the
- 11 proceeding in the holding cell downstairs, and that he is able to
- 12 communicate with his counsel, his request is granted, and he is
- 13 authorized to follow the proceeding in the holding cell
- 14 downstairs through audio-visual means for the entire day
- 15 proceeding.
- 16 [09.06.06]
- 17 AV booth, you're instructed to link the proceeding to the holding
- 18 cell downstairs for him to follow.
- 19 I notice the defence counsel is on his feet. You may proceed.
- 20 MR. ANG UDOM:
- 21 Thank you, Mr. President. Good morning, Your Honours. Good
- 22 morning, everyone in and around the courtroom. I have an
- 23 information and observation to be made this morning.
- 24 This morning, we received an instruction from Mr. Ieng Sary
- 25 regarding difficulty and the loss of his ability to follow the

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- 1 proceeding yesterday. As of yesterday, in particular for the
- 2 afternoon session, his memory deteriorated greatly and that he
- 3 could not competently follow the proceeding.
- 4 If it continues, and if we receive such instruction further by my
- 5 client, I'd like to request the Chamber to adjourn the hearing of
- 6 important witnesses when it relates directly to my client and the
- 7 Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That is the express right of the
- 8 Accused, as it states that, if the Accused cannot competently
- 9 follow the proceeding, that shall be the case. Thank you.
- 10 (Judges deliberate)
- 11 [09.09.20]
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 Thank you, National Defence Counsel for Ieng Sary.
- 14 The Chamber noted the information passed to the Chamber by you
- 15 regarding the status of your client. We have not received any
- 16 clear request from you, so we will not make any decision. If you
- 17 wish to make a formal request, please do so based on the
- 18 procedure enforced, and you shall do it as soon as possible
- 19 before the hearing commence.
- 20 The floor is now given to the prosecutor to continue posing
- 21 questions to this witness. You may proceed.
- 22 [09.10.24]
- 23 QUESTIONING BY MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL RESUMES:
- 24 Thank you, Mr. President, Your Honours. Good morning to all of
- 25 the parties. Good morning to the public, and good morning to the

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- 1 witness.
- 2 Q. Before picking up on the subject that we were tackling
- 3 yesterday afternoon, with your permission, Mr. President, I would
- 4 like to read a different excerpt from a manuscript, ES3.9, which
- 5 the witness wrote himself, and the pages I want to put up in
- 6 French is page 46, 00079031; in English 0081300; and in Khmer
- 7 00583631. The witness has a copy of this, and it's on page 46 for
- 8 his copy.
- 9 So the quote is as follows -- I think it's somewhere in the
- 10 middle of the page, Mr. Witness, and you said that:
- 11 "To be accepted as a member of the Party, and to be well-regarded
- 12 by the leadership, for one's indefectible fidelity and one's
- 13 steadfastness before all tests, that was everybody's basic wish.
- 14 The Party represented an all-powerful institution. It was in a
- 15 way a new god."
- 16 As an intellectual, Mr. Witness, was it simple, under the
- 17 democratic regime, to accept the paramount power of the
- 18 Democratic Party of Kampuchea?
- 19 [09.13.08]
- 20 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 21 A. Regarding this matter, there are two aspects to it: first, in
- 22 regard to the intellectual aspect; and the second aspect is in
- 23 regards to the Revolutionary who wished to become a Communist. So
- 24 which aspect has the priority?
- 25 All of us agreed at the time that the second aspect -- that is,

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- of wanting or transforming to become a Communist -- it has more
- 2 priority than the first aspect as being intellectuals. That was
- 3 the thinking at the time.
- 4 Q. And during that period, was there the slightest possibility
- 5 that you were able to take a critical glance towards any of the
- 6 policies conducted by the Party in the country? Was this
- 7 something that was within the bounds of possibility?
- 8 [09.14.43]
- 9 A. It was not achieved. I, myself, together with other Party
- 10 members, did not have the intention to pursue it, as we all
- 11 considered the Party as a god. Whatever was said by the Party, we
- 12 had to follow it and accomplish it. Whatever views expressed by
- 13 the Party, we had to agree and conform to such opinions of the
- 14 Party.
- 15 We were educated in the western countries, which were the best
- 16 for the capitalists and the feudalists. Even if we tried to
- 17 eliminate our old views and try to get hold to the new views, we
- 18 cannot be 100 per cent pure; we were still influenced somewhat by
- 19 the old view.
- 20 Q. Thank you. Was it, perhaps, because the Party had this divine
- 21 nature that it did not tolerate the existence or the practice of
- 22 other religions?
- 23 A. As for each Communist, as once said by Karl Marx, that
- 24 religion is an opium for the people. So religion was considered
- 25 as an opium in the ideology, which was against the Revolution.

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- 1 Q. Thank you, Mr. Witness.
- 2 Let me turn back to this document and turn the page and take
- 3 pages 32 and 33; in French it's 0079717 to 18; in Khmer
- 4 005183623; and in English 00813093. This is the same document
- 5 E/340.
- 6 [09.17.47]
- 7 Under heading 5, it says "Official Proclamation of the Communist
- 8 Party of Kampuchea" -- and I quote:
- 9 "On the 27th of September 1977, an official delegation of the
- 10 Communist Party of Kampuchea, led by Pol Pot, travelled to the
- 11 People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic
- 12 of Korea on official visit. This provided the leadership of
- 13 Democratic Kampuchea with an opportunity to officially proclaim
- 14 the existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), which
- 15 had been formed at the congress held in Phnom Penh on the 30th of
- 16 September 1960."
- 17 And this is where it gets more interesting. You say:
- 18 "For two consecutive days and nights, the entire Ministry of
- 19 Foreign Affairs staff was mobilized to prepare and circulate
- 20 French and English translations of a document about the history
- 21 of the Party under the title, 'Solemn Proclamation of the
- Official Formation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK)'. We
- 23 also wrote the speech that Pol Pot was due to deliver in China
- 24 and North Korea."
- 25 [09.19.14]

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- 1 Mr. President, if I have your leave, I would like to show the
- 2 witness a document which reproduces that speech by Pol Pot. The
- 3 reference of the document is E3/144. There are no precise pages I
- 4 want to show. I just want to ask the witness if he recognizes the
- 5 document as the one that was drafted by the Ministry at that
- 6 time. I have the French version in my hands here, that's the
- 7 original in fact, and, of course, as well, I would like to put
- 8 the first page up on the screen, if I may.
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 Yes, you may proceed.
- 11 Court Officer, could you deliver the hard copy for the witness's
- 12 examination?
- 13 [09.20.40]
- 14 BY MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 15 Q. The title concerns the "Grandiose Victory of the Communist
- 16 Party of Kampuchea". And on the second page, it says it's a
- 17 speech by Comrade Pol Pot, Secretary of the Communist Party of
- 18 Kampuchea, at the meeting commemorating the 17th anniversary of
- 19 the foundation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and on the
- 20 occasion of the solemn proclamation of the official existence of
- 21 the CPK, 7 -- 27th of September 1977. And below that, it says
- 22 that it is published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of
- 23 Democratic Kampuchea in 1977.
- 24 Do you recognize this document, Mr. Witness, as being one of the
- 25 ones which the ministry drafted on that particular occasion, and

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- 1 as you also have said, taking two days and two nights to produce
- 2 it?
- 3 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 4 A. This document was translated and published. It was translated
- 5 into French and English and it was disseminated by the propaganda
- 6 and information section of the MFA.
- 7 [09.22.11]
- 8 Q. Thank you, Mr. Witness. I have no further questions about the
- 9 contents of the document, but I'd like to come back to where we
- 10 were yesterday.
- 11 And you said that, apart from yourself, who had four and a half
- 12 incriminations and documents, and Keat Chhon, who had some 60 --
- 13 did Thiounn Prasith end up being incriminated in a number of
- 14 documents as well?
- 15 A. I do not know about the whole incriminating documents.
- 16 However, as I knew, Thiounn Prasith was implicated as a CIA agent
- 17 and the security section intended to arrest him together with
- 18 Keat Chhon.
- 19 Q. How did you learn that Thiounn Prasith, along with Keat Chhon,
- 20 had been incriminated in a number of documents? Was this
- 21 discussed at meetings?
- 22 A. I knew because I was told by Ieng Sary, and I learned of that
- 23 during the meeting when he said so, but I cannot recall the exact
- 24 detail -- date of the meeting.
- 25 [09.24.03]

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- 1 Q. Yesterday, you also said that Mr. Touch Kham Doeun's
- 2 confessions had been read by Ieng Sary, and you also talked about
- 3 a meeting with him where you said that you were incriminated by
- 4 Ros Sarin. How did Ieng Sary obtain these confessions in which
- 5 you were incriminated along with others, in particular Touch Kham
- 6 Doeun's own confessions and others in which you, yourself, were
- 7 incriminated?
- 8 A. I do not know clearly regarding this matter.
- 9 Q. Apart from Touch Kham Doeun's confessions, what other
- 10 confessions might Ieng Sary have read or for that matter
- 11 mentioned at meetings?
- 12 A. I cannot recall the names clearly. I can only recall that some
- 13 confessions were read out by him. And as I observed, one
- 14 confession by the name of Poeng Kim Sear, who was a doctor and
- 15 the brother -- the younger brother of Poeng Soy, who was the
- 16 editor-in-chief of a newspaper. I am not sure whether he is
- 17 living today. He's elderly and he's from Siem Reap.
- 18 [09.26.23]
- 19 And why I could recall that confession is that the writing which
- 20 -- the writing by this Poeng Kim Sear, who was incriminated and
- 21 accused, he was actually a sympathizer of the Revolutionary
- 22 Movement and for the progressive people.
- 23 As for his other brother, Poeng Soy, he was also a close friend
- 24 of Ieng Sary, Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan, and myself, but I was
- 25 younger compared to them.

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- 1 What I observed was the inclusion of his delegation, that he was
- 2 inducted into the CIA network, and the formality was that very
- 3 much similar to the CPK induction process, and the swearing was
- 4 -- were almost identical.
- 5 So I conclude that the writing was made and the coercion, because
- 6 the process bore very similarity to that of the CPK process of
- 7 the induction.
- 8 Q. Did Ieng Sary read other confessions to you; for example, Koy
- 9 Thuon's confession?
- 10 A. As for other confessions, yes, there were. There was one
- 11 occasion that a wife of a cadre, who was a foreigner and worked
- 12 at the Pasteur Institute in Phnom Penh -- that document was about
- 13 Madam Keat Chhon, who was originally Vietnamese and who worked at
- 14 the Pasteur Institute.
- 15 [09.29.27]
- 16 As for Koy Thuon's confession, he did not read it out. However,
- 17 on the morning of the 7th of January 1979, prior to the
- 18 Vietnamese force and the force of the National Salvation Front
- 19 entered Phnom Penh, So Hong, who was then the general secretary
- 20 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave Koy Thuon's confession
- 21 to me to keep it.
- 22 At that time, I was about to leave the -- with my other 10  $\,$
- 23 colleagues through the Propaganda Ministry and he handed me that
- 24 confession, but I was not sure whether that confession was the
- 25 original copy or it was a copy of the original. I had a rough

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- 1 look and -- of that confession before I destroyed it at the
- 2 Ministry of Propaganda. At that time, the Vietnamese force and
- 3 the force of the National Salvation Front entered Phnom Penh. On
- 4 the night before I fled Phnom Penh, I destroyed that document.
- 5 Q. Thank you.
- 6 [09.31.03]
- 7 Now I wish to -- I would like to show you or, in any case, read
- 8 an excerpt from one of your interviews, and it is at E3/177 (sic)
- 9 or D168. And this is the first reply you provide to a question
- 10 from the Co-Investigating Judges; it's quite easy to find. It's
- 11 normally on page 2 in Khmer as well as in the other languages.
- 12 Mr. President, may I please display this document on the monitor
- and provide a paper copy to the witness?
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 Yes, you may proceed.
- 16 Court Officer, please obtain the hard copy document from the
- 17 Prosecution and present it to the witness.
- 18 BY MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 19 Q. So it's on page 2 and it's the first reply, and you say in
- 20 this record in answer to the first question that "the situation
- 21 was tense, especially within the Foreign Ministry in 1978".
- 22 And then you continued by saying that:
- 23 "...we had started hearing about the disappearance of Koy Thuon, Hu
- 24 Nim, Touch Phoeun, and there were also people who disappeared
- 25 from the office within the ministry. For example, Ms. Sua Vasi,

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- 1 who was born Cheam Sam At, who was in charge of the 'diplomatic
- 2 store' provisioning the diplomats. Everyone was worried. I
- 3 remembered that Ms. Saur Se, from the East Zone, was terrified."
- 4 And you already spoke, Witness, about Mr. Touch Phoeun, who was
- 5 the older brother of Touch Kham Doeun, and what role well, you
- 6 mentioned his role in the excerpt I just read, but--
- 7 But, Ms. Cheam Sam At alias Roeun, what role did she play? Was
- 8 she a member of the Party committee at B-1?
- 9 [09.33.21]
- 10 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 11 A. Madame Cheam Sam At was obviously the member of the Party
- 12 because she was the wife of Sua Vasi, and Sua Vasi was once the
- 13 chairman of Office 870, which was the Party Centre Office.
- 14 But she -- I do not know whether or not she had any portfolio in
- 15 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but she was also in -- she was
- 16 also involved in the diplomats section of the Ministry of Foreign
- 17 Affairs.
- 18 Q. And as far as you know, back then, did Ieng Sary defend her as
- 19 he did for Keat Chhon or Thiounn Prasith?
- 20 A. Like yesterday, I talked about the disappearance and I
- 21 listened to the radio, and then it -- they reported that there
- 22 were arrests. I would like to make a distinction between arrests
- 23 and disappeared. It was not the arrest; what I knew was the
- 24 disappearance. I did not know where those people were taken to;
- 25 they disappeared, but that does not mean that they were arrested.

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- 1 I simply said yesterday that they disappeared.
- 2 [09.35.24]
- 3 One of the radio station -- it could have been either Voice of
- 4 America or Radio Free Asia -- reported that I said those people
- 5 were arrested, but I said yesterday that they disappeared and I
- 6 did not know where those people were taken to and I had no idea
- 7 whether or not those people were arrested or they were simply
- 8 removed or transferred to other post. They disappeared from
- 9 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some were transferred to
- 10 Ministry of Industry, and some may have been transferred to other
- 11 ministry. That I did not know. So I want to emphasize -- I cannot
- 12 say for sure whether or not Ieng Sary defended those people,
- 13 because I did not know whether or not those people were subject
- 14 to arrest or they simply disappeared to somewhere else.
- 15 Q. Mr. President, I simply would like to mention for the purposes
- 16 of the record, Chuem Vasith (sic) alias Roeun, that her name is
- on a prisoners list at S-21 -- and the reference is IS 16.47, and
- 18 this list is entitled "Office of the Ministry from 12 February to
- 19 12 March 1977" -- and she is described in this document as a
- 20 member of the Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who
- 21 entered S-21 on the 17th of February 1977.
- 22 [09.37.04]
- 23 Witness, if we look at the same record, D168, record of
- 24 interview, on page -- on the following page -- that is to say,
- 25 page 3, page 3 in French as well -- I don't have the page number

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- 1 in English. But at 00327244 -- and, President, I wish to read an
- 2 excerpt from this page and to display it on the screen, with your
- 3 leave.
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 Yes, you may proceed.
- 6 BY MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 7 Q. So, you said:
- 8 "Militants were required total frankness towards the Party.
- 9 Enemies from within were divided into several categories. They
- 10 were the CIA agents, KGB agents, Vietnamese agents and agents of
- 11 the SDECE, French Intelligence Agency -- Service de documentation
- 12 extérieure et de contre-espionnage" -- French Counter
- 13 Intelligence Agency, [corrects the interpreter]."
- 14 [09.38.25]
- 15 And in this record, you provide a certain number of examples of
- 16 people who were members of these different agencies. Can you do
- 17 the same and assist us in understanding which examples there were
- 18 of -- if people who were members of the French Counter
- 19 Intelligence Bureau?
- 20 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 21 A. To my knowledge, at that time it was the allegation and --
- 22 based on the confession of only two identified: Mr. Chau Seng,
- 23 who was the former chief of cabinet of the then Prince Sihanouk
- 24 -- and in the Front he was the minister with the portfolio of
- 25 special mission of the GRUNK -- and Mr. Van Piny, who was the

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- 1 former cultural advisor attached to the Embassy of Cambodia to
- 2 France, and he was also the vice minister of the Royal Government
- 3 of -- the GRUNK government. These are the two names I could
- 4 recall.
- 5 Q. And both of these people, did they work at B-1 after 17 April
- 6 1975?
- 7 A. No, they didn't -- they did not come to work in B-1.
- 8 Q. And who told you that Chau Seng and Van Piny were French
- 9 secret agents?
- 10 [09.40.48]
- 11 A. I cannot recall who told me about that, but it could have been
- 12 through one of the confessions and I cannot even recall whose
- 13 confession was that either.
- 14 Q. Thank you.
- 15 Do you know Mr. Lean Sirivut? And I apologize once again for my
- 16 pronunciation.
- 17 A. Lean Sirivut was my cousin, and before returning to Cambodia,
- 18 he worked with the Democratic Kampuchea Embassy in Beijing. He
- 19 was the brother-in-law of Duong Sam Ol -- Kong Sam Ol (phonetic),
- 20 rather.
- 21 Q. Was he also accused of being a French spy under the regime of
- 22 Democratic Kampuchea?
- 23 A. That I am not sure because later on I obtained a copy of his
- 24 confession -- and to my recollection, but I cannot recall it
- 25 precisely, I apologize to the Chamber, but to the best of my

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- 1 recollection he had his network with the official of the Republic
- 2 -- of the Khmer Republic under the Lon Nol administration.
- 3 [09.42.57]
- 4 Q. Thank you. For the purposes of the record, we have here Lean
- 5 Sirivut's confessions under index IS 5.46.
- 6 Now, regarding Van Piny, there are many documents placed on the
- 7 case file, including prisoner list at S-21, in particular,
- 8 E3/1666.
- 9 Can you provide us with examples of KGB agents who were mentioned
- 10 when you were working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
- 11 [09.43.41]
- 12 A. I do not know the complete story, but what I knew back then
- 13 was that the former president of Khmer Students' Union in the
- 14 USSR, back then, Mr. Hak Seang Lay Ni, he was the agent of the
- 15 KGB, KGB.
- 16 Q. And what about Keo Bori and Krin Lean, who, apparently, had
- 17 studied in Moscow? I think you spoke about them yesterday. Were
- 18 they also accused of being KGB agents?
- 19 A. I do not know exactly, but probably there could have been such
- 20 accusation that's why they were arrested. Normally, those
- 21 students who went to study in the USSR was accused of being the
- 22 KGB. And when I went to China, they also accused me of being a
- 23 member of KGB as well. When I returned to Cambodia then they
- 24 accused me of being CIA agents. It was all exaggeration.
- 25 Q. Thank you.

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- 1 For the purposes of the record, again, we have the confessions at
- 2 S-21 of Hak Seang Lay Ni, indexed under IS 5.25 and D108/31.20.
- 3 And we also have Krin Lean's confessions -- alias Sam -- indexed
- 4 IS 5.40.
- 5 Witness, is it possible for you to give us examples of CIA agents
- 6 now?
- 7 A. Mr. President, can the prosecutor be directed to give precise
- 8 question concerning the CIA agent? Can the prosecutor clarify
- 9 this question?
- 10 [09.46.21]
- 11 Q. Yes, maybe I can read an excerpt of the written record that I
- 12 provided to you, Witness. In French, it's on pages 3 and 4; in
- 13 Khmer, it's on page 00327234; and in English, 00327244. And with
- 14 your leave, President, can we display this page on the monitor?
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Yes, you may proceed.
- 17 BY MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 18 Q. The question was centred on people who were accused of being
- 19 CIA agents and you answered -- and I quote:
- 20 "...(we can mention Koy Thuon[...], Hu Nim, In Sopheap, all the
- 21 intellectuals, the members of the General Association of Khmer
- 22 Students, all the regional leaders of the Northwest Zone, Ke Kim
- 23 Huot, Khek Penn, Van Piny, etc.)."
- 24 [09.47.33]
- 25 So we see that there are many names, but can you tell us who were

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- 1 -- who was Ke Kim Huot and what his duties were?
- 2 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 3 A. Ke Kim Huot, his revolutionary name was Huot (sic). He was in
- 4 charge of Sector 4 or Sector 7 of the Northwest Zone. He was
- 5 later appointed to be the Ambassador of the Democratic Kampuchea
- 6 to Yugoslavia in 1978.
- 7 Q. And did he go to his duty station in 1978?
- 8 A. No, he didn't. I learned about that because on -- one day
- 9 before he departed for Yugoslavia, the Ambassador of Yugoslavia
- 10 to Cambodia, Mr. Michael (phonetic) Lompar, requested a courtesy
- 11 call on Mr. Ke Kim Huot. At that time, to my recollection, Mr.
- 12 Ieng Sary told to the director of Protocol Office, Mr. Ny Kan,
- 13 that he told the Ambassador of Yugoslavia to Cambodia that Mr. Ke
- 14 Kim Huot were not to be sent to Yugoslavia due to his illness.
- 15 [09.49.45]
- 16 Q. And do you know where he went instead of going to Yugoslavia,
- 17 Witness?
- 18 A. That I do not know.
- 19 Q. And for the purposes of the record, President, we have the
- 20 confessions at S-21 of Ke Kim Huot alias Huot. It's placed on the
- 21 case file under index IS 5.36.
- 22 Who was Mr. Khek Penn? And what were his duties at the Ministry?
- 23 A. Khek Penn did not come to work at the ministry office, but as
- 24 far as I know, he was in charge of the Communication Committee
- 25 for Cambodian-Thai Relation Committee. At that time, he resided

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- 1 in Poipet.
- 2 [09.51.01]
- 3 Q. Yes, he was at Poi Pet. But, hierarchically, was he part of
- 4 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
- 5 A. Yes, I met him because he came once or twice to Ministry of
- 6 Foreign Affairs and I met him there.
- 7 Q. And what was his alias -- his revolutionary nickname?
- 8 A. I cannot recall his revolutionary name. It's on the tip of my
- 9 tongue, but I may recall it later on.
- 10 Q. Was it Sou, Witness -- if you remember, of course? If it's not
- 11 that, well, you can tell us.
- 12 A. Yes, yes that is correct, Sou. Sou was his revolutionary name.
- 13 Q. Mr. President, on the case file we have Khek Penn Penn --
- 14 Sou's confessions indexed under D43/IV-Annex 29.
- 15 I am almost done, Witness. I would like now to speak to you about
- 16 Mr. Svay Bory.
- 17 You told us that he was a kind of trainee at the Ministry; that
- 18 his job was not clearly defined within the MFA. Was Svay Bory, as
- 19 other people, employed on a temporary basis at the Ministry of
- 20 Foreign Affairs?
- 21 A. I do not know whether or not he came to Ministry of Foreign
- 22 Affairs on a temporary basis, but he first came to the Ministry
- 23 of Foreign Affairs, he did not have any specific duties to carry
- 24 out. Of course, he was given some things to do as well, for
- 25 example, he was asked to write articles and other office stuff.

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- 1 But, basically, he came to the Ministry under observation as to
- 2 which position he was to be given, but he stayed at Ministry of
- 3 Foreign Affairs for only a short period of time.
- 4 [09.54.30]
- 5 Q. Do you know what happened to him then, afterwards? What
- 6 happened to Svay Bory afterwards?
- 7 A. That I do not know. He was no longer present at the Ministry
- 8 of Foreign Affairs without any information. Like Mr. Sarin Chhak
- 9 and General Duong Sam Ol, they came to Ministry of Foreign
- 10 Affairs for some times and then they disappeared and I did not
- 11 know where they went to.
- 12 Q. For the purposes of the record, Svay Bory is mentioned in a
- 13 prisoners list at S-21, indexed under IS 16.139, we can also find
- 14 his confessions IS 5.101 and in this S-21 document it is
- 15 mentioned that he was a deputy at the Propaganda and Information
- 16 Department of the Ministry.
- 17 [09.55.54]
- 18 And the last aspect the last point I would like to touch upon
- 19 in my question, were certain base cadres such as Ke Kim Huot,
- 20 called to the ministry or to become diplomats or at least as they
- 21 were told during the period of Democratic Kampuchea.
- 22 A. Back then, before anyone was posted overseas as the diplomats,
- 23 for us as the group of intellectuals, we did not have any
- 24 prospect of becoming the diplomats because of our pedigree. We
- 25 were not considered pure, and our position was not considered

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- 1 firm as well, so nobody was to be sent to be the ambassador. For
- 2 example, the representative of a Democratic Kampuchea to the UN
- 3 headquarter in New York, there were a lot of intellectual cadres
- 4 -- for example Mr. Chan Yourann, Mr. Thiounn Prasith, just to
- 5 name a few.
- 6 [09.57.27]
- 7 But the appointment to be the representative of Cambodia to the
- 8 UN had to follow the requirements and the principle of the
- 9 leaders, so they did not meet this requirement. The
- 10 representative of the Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nation
- 11 was appointed later in 1979, when the situation was ripe, and
- 12 then these intellectuals were appointed. Mr. Thiounn Prasith was
- 13 appointed to be the representative of the Democratic Kampuchea to
- 14 the UN.
- 15 Q. Witness, can we return to the period of Democratic Kampuchea?
- 16 Can we return to the period of between April '75 and January
- 17 1979? And if you can tell us, among all of these base cadres, who
- 18 transited through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to
- 19 become diplomats? Did some of them, such as Ke Kim Huot,
- 20 disappear before taking on their duties?
- 21 A. Mr. Prosecutor, I am telling you about the chain of a story
- 22 about that, but because you interrupted me, I could not finish my
- 23 response.
- 24 [09.59.01]
- 25 Of course, the cadres who came to work with the Ministry of

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22

- 1 Foreign Affairs, had to meet the requirements and the principal
- 2 laid down by the Democratic Kampuchea before they are considered
- 3 competent to be posted overseas as diplomats. And when those
- 4 people were sent to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as I said
- 5 earlier on, that those individuals were not the one who was
- 6 called upon by Mr. Ieng Sary himself.
- 7 Mr. Ieng Sary was like an administrator who will be supervising
- 8 the work of them, but the decision of the appointment was up to
- 9 Pol Pot. As to who were to be sent to Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 10 was to be decided by Pol Pot. The detail about some protocols of
- 11 diplomats when they are attached overseas, for example the
- 12 presentation of credentials to the country with which he is
- 13 attached.
- 14 [10.00.32]
- 15 Q. Could you give us some names as indeed you already did to the
- 16 Investigating Judges of base cadres who went through the Ministry
- 17 and who subsequently disappeared or who -- as you said about Meak
- 18 Touch, he was ambassador in Laos before he was liquidated in '78
- 19 in Tuol Sleng. That comes from your draft manuscript IS 3.9 --
- 20 00079016 in French; in Khmer, 00583622; and in English, 00813092.
- 21 You gave some names to the Investigating Judges. Do you remember
- those names, Mr. Witness?
- 23 A. I cannot recall all their names.
- 24 Regarding Meak Touch, I didn't know that he was sent to Tuol
- 25 Sleng. At that time, I did not even know about the name of Tuol

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- 1 Sleng. At that time, I did not know about Tuol Sleng or S-21,
- 2 neither Boeng Trabek. Only Chau Seng and Van Piny, who told me
- 3 after I asked him where he was, he said that he was at Boeng
- Trabek and that was all. 4
- 5 So I could not say in regard to Meak Touch who was at Tuol Sleng,
- 6 as I did not know the whereabouts of Tuol Sleng at the time.
- 7 [10.02.40]
- As for the diplomats, namely: Meak Touch, who was the ambassador 8
- 9 to Laos; and Cheam, ambassador to Vietnam -- at that time, it was
- 10 known as the North Vietnam; and Ke Kim Huot, who came from the
- 11 Northwest; and there was some other cadres whose names I could
- 12 not recall. They were separate from the rest -- I refer to the
- 13 group. And there was a person by the name of Teanh and another
- 14 one by the name of Nat, who came to the Ministry of Foreign
- Affairs for a short period of time. 15
- 16 Q. Thank you.
- 17 I am almost done, but I would point out for the record, that Meak
- Touch alias Kem's confession is indexed E3/15747 (sic) and IS 18
- 19 5.59.
- 20 Concerning Nat, these are the In Lorn's confessions -- alias Nat
- 21 -- D366/7.1.77.
- 22 And, concerning Teanh, these are Sun Ty's confessions -- alias
- 23 Teanh -- reference IS 5.100.
- 24 A final question, Mr. Witness, before we pass the torch to the
- 25 civil parties: Did Ieng Sary tell you why he agreed for the base

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- 1 cadres to go through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prior to
- 2 their fate being decided upon? You said it was a decision by Pol
- 3 Pot. But why did Ieng Sary accept to let these people be
- 4 temporarily allocated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
- 5 [10.05.17]
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 Witness, wait.
- 8 Defense Counsel for Ieng Sary, you may proceed.
- 9 MR. KARNAVAS:
- 10 Thank you, Mr. President. Good morning, everyone. I try to keep
- 11 my objections limited even though there have been some major
- 12 leading.
- 13 In this particular instance, there's a fact that is assumed;
- 14 that's not in evidence. The gentleman never said anything about
- 15 Ieng Sary agreeing, nor has he said that Mr. Ieng Sary had a
- 16 choice.
- 17 I think the way the question is posed is quite suggestive. The
- 18 gentleman has been doing that all day yesterday, all day this
- 19 morning. I'm allowing it because we're before professional
- 20 judges, but there's got to be a limit to this sort of technique.
- 21 [10.06.12]
- 22 BY MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 23 Q. Let's go one step back, Mr. President, and ask the witness how
- 24 he knows it was a decision by Pol Pot to temporarily allocate
- 25 base cadres to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs while waiting for

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- 1 their fate to be decided upon.
- 2 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 3 A. I just stated that cadres who missed the qualification to
- 4 become the representative of DK overseas were not the
- 5 intellectuals from France, despite the fact that they had the
- 6 competency or clear stands. They did not gain the trust from
- 7 Democratic Kampuchea to become the representative of DK overseas.
- 8 Therefore, only the base cadres who were for example, holding the
- 9 status of the chief of a sector, if you compare to the current
- 10 administrative arrangement which is larger than the district
- 11 chief -- or at least the chief of the district then -- who had
- 12 the qualifications and met the criteria set out by the DK
- 13 leadership to become the DK representative for the overseas post.
- 14 So they would be selected to become the DK representatives for
- 15 overseas posting.
- 16 [10.08.01]
- 17 And there was nothing strange for them to temporarily stay at the
- 18 Ministry of Foreign Affairs waiting for the posting. And If they
- 19 were not elected or were sent elsewhere, as I said, they were not
- 20 the former members of the Marxist-Leninist Circle. They were the
- 21 base cadres and as I knew -- but I could not know any deep
- 22 details than that.
- 23 Those cadres despite their temporary stay at the MFA, they were
- 24 not under any instructions of Ieng Sary because I knew it
- 25 clearly. Ieng Sary never engaged in any military combat or

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- 1 military training at the base. He, himself, was of course senior
- 2 than the rest of us.
- 3 And as I said, Khieu Samphan was also in the same bracket, but he
- 4 was older than me, so his stand was firmer and he was appointed
- 5 as the Head of State. But in reality, we were in the same
- 6 situation and that's how the Communist leadership was organized.
- 7 [10.09.51]
- 8 And I'd like the prosecutor to really understand the underneath
- 9 issues regarding that status. When I was questioned by the OCIJ,
- 10 I was presented with a document issued by the MFA. That document
- 11 was not the original but it was a copy of the typed document. The
- 12 document states that during a meeting, the base people -- or the
- 13 base cadres -- need to strive hard in order to replace us; that
- 14 is our group. Meaning that if they were able to replace us, for
- 15 example in the field of certain expertise or engineering, then it
- 16 will be a bye-bye to us; we will be gone. It means our group
- 17 would be smashed.
- 18 When I saw that document, I was wondering what it was about. I
- 19 didn't even want to believe that because it's too extreme. And I
- 20 could say it would take at least 20 years to educate those base
- 21 people to replace us.
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Prosecutor, you may continue your question.
- 24 [10.11.46]
- 25 BY MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:

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- 1 Q. Yes, to return to my last question there, is it a supposition,
- 2 an assumption on your part that it was Pol Pot himself who
- 3 decided temporarily to send the base cadres to the Ministry of
- 4 Foreign Affairs? What is your source of information here? What is
- 5 it that entitles you to say that it was Pol Pot alone who took
- 6 the decision -- or, on the other hand, within the framework of
- 7 the Standing Committee, who took the decision?
- 8 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 9 A. Let me respond. At that time, appointments were made but not
- 10 in writing or on paper. We only saw documents coming out from
- 11 Tuol Sleng. But when it comes to appointment there was no
- 12 official record. And you asked me from whom, from where I knew?
- 13 And I could respond that, legally, there shall be an official
- 14 document, but it is my understanding that in practice there was
- 15 none. As a Party secretary, Pol Pot had all the power to decide
- 16 whether he wanting to tell other superiors or not; it was at his
- 17 own discretion.
- 18 [10.13.27]
- 19 Let me give you an example regarding a radio broadcast. Of course
- 20 there was already a chairperson in charge of the broadcast, for
- 21 example regarding myself or Mr. Thuch Rin, who already passed
- 22 away. Thuch Rin was in charge of the literature and he was also a
- 23 head of the military radio station, but sometimes, when Pol Pot
- 24 wanted to broadcast a piece of information, that information was
- 25 delivered to his deputy without the knowledge -- without his

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- 1 knowledge; and that's how it was processed.
- 2 And when it comes to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pol Pot
- 3 could make a decision without the knowledge of the head -- that
- 4 is, Ieng Sary. As it refers to the Standing Committee, it is
- 5 beyond my knowledge as whether Pol Pot took consultation with the
- 6 Standing Committee when making a decision. I stayed for two years
- 7 with Pol Pot and I noticed that sometimes he made decisions on
- 8 his own without consultation with anybody or a committee.
- 9 So, legally speaking, maybe what I say is not counted, but that
- 10 was the practice at the time.
- 11 [10.15.24]
- 12 MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 13 Thank you, Mr. Witness, for your testimony.
- 14 This brings me to a close, Mr. President. I have to apologize to
- 15 my colleagues on the civil party Bench because I have somewhat
- overstep my time. Thank you very much.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 The time is now appropriate for a recess. We will take a
- 19 20-minute break and return at 25 to 11.00.
- 20 Court Officer, could you assist the witness as well as the duty
- 21 counsel during the break and have them returned to the courtroom
- 22 at 25 to 11.00? Thank you.
- 23 (Court recesses from 1016H to 1036H)
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 Please be seated. The Court is now back in session.

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- 1 Before I hand over to the Civil Party lawyers, I would like to
- 2 ask Mr. Suong Sikoeun: We have received information from the
- 3 greffier that you are now encountering health concern; what is
- 4 your impression of your testimony this morning? Can you proceed?
- 5 [10.37.38]
- 6 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 7 Thank you, Mr. President. Due to my health concern because,
- 8 following my heart surgery and operation, my ears cannot hear
- 9 clearly and my eyesight is not that good as well -- and I see
- 10 that my health is deteriorating and, if I continue today,
- 11 probably my health will exacerbate.
- 12 So I would like to earnestly request the Court that I be allowed
- 13 to take a rest this afternoon so that I can regain my strength
- 14 before I can resume my testimony tomorrow morning.
- 15 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 How about tomorrow? Do you envisage that you can testify the full
- 18 day tomorrow, taking into account your state of health at the
- 19 moment?
- 20 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 21 Tomorrow, at least in the morning, in my personal assessment of
- 22 my health now, I will be able to provide testimony. But in the
- 23 afternoon, I will make every effort to testify, but if my health
- 24 condition does not allow, then I would like to inform Mr.
- 25 President accordingly during the morning session.

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- 1 Is that possible, Mr. President?
- 2 (Judges deliberate)
- 3 [10.40.50]
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 Mr. Suong Sikoeun, your request is granted. So your testimony
- 6 will proceed until 12.00 this morning, and this afternoon we are
- 7 not going to hear your testimony, but the trial Chamber will hear
- 8 another witness, TCW-490, this afternoon.
- 9 And as for this particular witness, TCW-490, the Chamber will
- 10 start putting preliminary questions to the witness before we hand
- 11 over to the Prosecution.
- 12 And for your information, the two witnesses, Mr. Suong Sikoeun
- 13 and TCW-490, could do alternatively due to health reasons. And
- 14 tomorrow we will examine the health status of the witness as to
- 15 whether or not he can proceed the whole day. Otherwise, we will
- 16 alternatively hear the testimony of TCW-490. And we take into
- 17 every consideration the health concerns of the witness and of
- 18 course we will reserve the right to proceed alternatively between
- 19 these two witnesses.
- 20 [10.42.35]
- 21 So I now hand over to the Lead Co-Lawyers for the Civil Parties.
- 22 You may proceed.
- 23 MR. PICH ANG:
- 24 Thank you, Mr. President. Good morning, Your Honours and members
- 25 of the Court and the public. I would like to delegate to the

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- 1 lawyer for the civil parties, Lawyer Moch Sovannary and Mr.
- 2 Ferdinand Djammen Nzepa. Thank you, Mr. President.
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Your request is granted. You may now proceed.
- 5 QUESTIONING BY MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 6 Good morning, Your Honours. Good morning, Witness. My name is
- 7 Moch Sovannary. I am the lawyer for the Civil Parties.
- 8 On behalf of the Civil Parties, first of all, I would like to
- 9 thank you very much for making every effort to respond to the
- 10 questions, and I thank you for taking time of your schedule to
- 11 participate in these proceedings. And your participation is very
- 12 important to ascertaining the truth and it will contribute to the
- 13 future generations.
- 14 Q. I have a few more questions to ask in addition to the
- 15 questions put by the prosecutors.
- 16 My first question to you is: When you were working with the
- 17 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, did you know Ouk Ket?
- 18 [10.44.20]
- 19 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 20 A. First of all, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Mr.
- 21 President for granting leave for me and taking my health concern
- 22 into consideration, and I also thank the lawyer for the Civil
- 23 Party for your encouragement and your sentiment on my
- 24 contribution to the proceedings here.
- 25 And responding to your question, Mr. Ouk Ket did not come to work

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- 1 with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but I knew him clearly. I
- 2 also knew his wife as well. His wife is a French national, and
- 3 she worked with the DK embassy in Senegal or Egypt -- I am not
- 4 sure, but she worked in either one of these embassies. And I knew
- 5 their characters very well. They were very industrious. They were
- 6 very gentle, polite, and very open minded. And in communication,
- 7 he was someone whom -- everyone could approach him very easily.
- 8 Q. Thank you, Witness.
- 9 [10.45.57]
- 10 So I move on to my next question concerning Mr. Ouk Ket. During
- 11 the Democratic Kampuchea period, did Mr. Ouk Ket work in the
- 12 embassies of Cambodia of Democratic Kampuchea overseas for the
- 13 entire period of the Democratic Kampuchea or he was called back
- 14 sometime during this period?
- 15 A. I'm afraid I cannot answer this question because I don't know.
- 16 In the framework of my responsibility at the Ministry of Foreign
- 17 Affairs, I had no knowledge about the transfer or the rotation of
- 18 the ambassadors or diplomats overseas. It was the decision of the
- 19 Ministry.
- 20 Q. I have one follow-up question on this point: So is it fair to
- 21 say that the management of the embassies of Democratic Kampuchea
- 22 overseas was under the direction and supervision of the Ministry
- of Foreign Affairs? Is that correct?
- 24 A. Yes, generally, it is under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
- 25 but I also mentioned earlier on that Democratic Kampuchea was a

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- 1 Communist regime, so in any particular ministry, it was not up to
- 2 the leader of that institution or ministry who was responsible
- 3 but instead the secretary of the Party attached to the ministry
- 4 or the embassy who had the power and had all overall
- 5 responsibilities.
- 6 [10.48.00]
- 7 And as for the actual movement or internal work arrangement, I
- 8 did not know.
- 9 Q. Thank you.
- 10 Yesterday, you responded to the Prosecution that you created a
- 11 habit of reporting to your superior, particularly the task that
- 12 you have carried out to Mr. Ieng Sary.
- 13 So my question to you is: Was it a formal working arrangement or
- 14 a working procedure that each section or department had to report
- 15 to Mr. Ieng Sary?
- 16 A. That I do not know, but one thing that I knew very clearly was
- 17 that the report was made orally; rarely was it made in writing.
- 18 It is not difficult to understand because, during the Democratic
- 19 Kampuchea, we had to adhere to confidentiality and secrecy. So,
- 20 if we had to report it in writing, then we may not be able to
- 21 keep that secrecy. So we had to report mainly orally.
- 22 Q. Thank you. Do you know Rochoem Ton or Phy Phuon or Ton -
- 23 Cheam, rather?
- 24 A. I do not know him clearly, but he was once the deputy district
- 25 -- deputy governor of Malai district.

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- 1 [10.50.32]
- 2 Q. Thank you. Thank you.
- 3 I would like to move on to the next point. In your record of
- 4 Interview with the Office of Co-Investigating Judges concerning a
- 5 discussion you mentioned about the transfer of the administration
- of Phnom Penh to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 7 I would like to ask leave of Mr. President--
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 Lawyer, you are advised to read the numbers out slowly for the
- 10 record.
- 11 MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 12 Thank you, Mr. President. It is the record of Interview dated the
- 13 12th of March 2009, document E3/371; ERN in Khmer, 00288234 to
- 14 35; French ERN 00288241 to 42; English ERN 00290413 to 14.
- 15 And with your leave, Mr. President, I would like to have this
- 16 document presented to the witness.
- 17 [10.52.36]
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 19 You may proceed.
- 20 The court officer is now instructed to obtain the hard copy
- 21 document from the lawyer and present it to the witness.
- 22 (Short pause)
- 23 I note the defence counsel is on his feet. You may proceed.
- 24 MS. GUISSÉ:
- 25 Good morning, President. Good morning to all of the parties. I'll

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- 1 just take advantage of this little technical pause to point out
- 2 that since both parties are Khmer speaking, to ask them to speak
- 3 slowly and to have a break between the question and the answer,
- 4 because when listening to the French, it's very difficult to keep
- 5 up. Thank you very much.
- 6 [10.54.05]
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Thank you.
- 9 We are all aware of the working languages here, and the Chamber
- 10 has advised the parties time and again that we have to be at all
- 11 times vigilant of the fact that we will have to move -- we have
- 12 to ensure that there is a pause in between questions and answers
- 13 to ensure that the record is clear.
- 14 Please proceed.
- 15 BY MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 16 Q. So I would like to read out this portion. Responding to the
- 17 question of the Co-Investigating Judges, you said:
- 18 [10.54.52]
- 19 "The Democratic Kampuchea was a communist country, so Party had
- 20 the sole decision on all the matters, including foreign affairs
- 21 matters. This policy was determined by Pol Pot, the Party
- 22 secretary, and my fate was also decided by him. In this respect,
- 23 Pol Pot appointed me to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and he
- 24 later appointed me to be the director of the Kampuchea
- 25 Information Agency. Another example is that the ministry had

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- 1 responsibilities extending far beyond foreign affairs. It was
- 2 also responsible for civil aviation. At one time, there was even
- 3 discussion whether to transfer the administration of Phnom Penh
- 4 to the ministry, but Ieng Sary opposed it."
- 5 On this particular portion, I would like to draw the attention of
- 6 the witness on the last segment of this portion that you
- 7 presented to the Office of Co-Investigating Judges.
- 8 [10.56.27]
- 9 So my question to you is that: The discussion on the transfer of
- 10 administration of Phnom Penh to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
- 11 in what framework was this decision made? Was it decided by the
- 12 Central Committee or it was decided by any particular committee
- 13 or decision-making body?
- 14 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 15 A. I did not -- I do not know as to which body decided on that
- 16 matter. I only learned from it from Mr. Ieng Sary.
- 17 Both the civil aviation as well as the governance and
- 18 administration of Phnom Penh were not actually within the Foreign
- 19 Affairs Ministry and he told us that at the time.
- 20 Q. You testified that Mr. Ieng Sary opposed this idea.
- 21 So my question to you is that: Was Mr. Ieng Sary's opposition
- 22 effective?
- 23 A. I could say that it was effective, but I did not know whether
- 24 or not there were other people who opposed this idea as well. But
- 25 his opposition to this idea was effective because later on, the

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- 1 administration of Phnom Penh was not under the Ministry of
- 2 Foreign Affairs.
- 3 [10.59.01]
- 4 Q. Thank you.
- 5 My next question concerns your record of interview and document
- 6 E3/377. It is the record of interview dated the 7th of May 2009.
- 7 The relevant page in my document, ERN in Khmer, 00327235 to 36;
- 8 French ERN 00327255; English ERN 00327245 to 46.
- 9 And, Mr. President, with your permission, I would like to have
- 10 this document displayed on the screens and I would also like to
- 11 have this document in hard copy for the witness.
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 You may proceed.
- 14 Court Officer, please obtain the document from the lawyer and
- 15 give it to the witness.
- 16 [11.00.45]
- 17 BY MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 18 Q. During the time that you are now reading the document, I would
- 19 like to read the abstract of your written record of interview.
- 20 Let me read the quotation. You said that:
- 21 "In order to avoid their criticism, I requested to live at the
- 22 countryside: and as for the Democratic Kampuchea, becoming a poor
- 23 person was the last ambition of all Party members. However, we
- 24 were disappointed when Ieng Sary said we would be killed when we
- 25 go there."

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- 1 So the question in regarding this quotation is that: Within the
- 2 framework of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, did Ieng Sary have
- 3 the ability or is the one who would decide on the transfer of the
- 4 personnel to work at the countryside, or vice versa? Was it --
- 5 did it fall under his competency?
- 6 [11.02.10]
- 7 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 8 A. I do not know whether it was within his competency, but I made
- 9 that request, together with In Sopheap, as he was also
- 10 criticised. But when it comes to whether he has the authority to
- 11 do so, I do not know.
- 12 Q. My next question is related to the disciplines for the staff
- 13 at B-1 ministry. In the case where a staff or a cadre at the
- 14 Ministry of Foreign Affairs was decided that made a serious
- 15 mistake, what was the major imposed on that cadre? Or you can
- 16 also give us an example regarding your own section?
- 17 A. I, myself, did not know exactly how the sanction or discipline
- 18 were put in practice. In general, I knew that for Party members
- 19 or for any staff, the first discipline or sanction would be the
- 20 re-education. This meant that we treat the people's sickness in
- 21 order to make the people become better. There was no immediate
- 22 discipline. That was based on the Party's lines.
- 23 [11.04.18]
- 24 And unless such re-education was not effective, then the second
- 25 measure would be imposed. And that would include the suspension

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- 1 of the membership of that individual to the Party. That would be
- 2 considered a serious organizational matter to be taken against
- 3 such person.
- 4 However, within my own section, no such sanction was -- it did
- 5 not occur in my section since no one actually violated the
- 6 disciplines.
- 7 Q. Now, I move to another topic regarding the people who actually
- 8 returned.
- 9 I'd like to seek the President's leave to present a document of
- 10 his interview with OCIJ dated 17 March 2009. The document is
- 11 E3/101. ERN in Khmer is 00290437, the French ERN is 00290448 to
- 12 49, and the ERN in English is 00290442 to 43.
- 13 And so I would like to seek leave from the President to hand the
- 14 hardcopy to the witness.
- 15 [11.06.35]
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 Yes, you may do so.
- 18 BY MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 19 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 20 I'd like now to read the extract from your statement to the
- 21 Investigating Judges -- quote:
- 22 The question is: "How was -- what -- how was the arrangement for
- 23 the return of the intellectuals?"
- 24 And you said that: "Everyone has to transit through the Cambodian
- 25 embassy in Beijing. And as they had the communication with other

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- 1 embassies in Phnom Penh and it was done through two lines -- that
- 2 is, the Party's line and the state or the government line -- it
- 3 could be the instructions order from Pol Pot through the Party's
- 4 branch in Beijing. As for me, I was in charge of only receiving
- 5 them at the airport." End of quote.
- 6 The question is the following: How many times did you go to the
- 7 airport to receive those diplomats, and in what year?
- 8 [11.08.25]
- 9 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 10 A. As I recall, the statement does not include the fact that I
- 11 went to receive foreign diplomats, not the Cambodian diplomats
- 12 returning from overseas. Those Cambodian diplomats returning from
- 13 overseas, I never received them. I met them once as I told the
- 14 prosecutors. It was in late 1975 in a house in Phnom Penh, but I
- 15 never went to receive them at the airport.
- 16 Q. Thank you.
- 17 My next question is the following, regarding the confessions.
- 18 This morning you answered to the prosecutor's questions regarding
- 19 the confessions.
- 20 My question is: What was the purpose of Ieng Sary showing certain
- 21 confessions to you and to other staff of the Ministry of Foreign
- 22 Affairs?
- 23 A. As I recall, during -- it was made during the presentation on
- 24 the internal situation. That also covers the situation regarding
- 25 the production and the fulfilment of the quota set by the Party,

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- 1 and the strengthening of the new revolution, and also the enemy
- 2 activities, both inside and outside the country, within the
- 3 Party's ranks, as well as within the military.
- 4 Q. Thank you.
- 5 This is related to the disappearance of a staff at B-1. Yesterday
- 6 and today -- today, in the morning session -- you testified
- 7 regarding the arrest of Touch Kham Doeun and the implicating
- 8 documents of Thiounn Prasith, for instance, and that Ieng Sary
- 9 defended them.
- 10 [11.11.15]
- 11 My question is the following: Did you know how effective it was
- of Ieng Sary's defence for these two individuals?
- 13 A. Yes. It was effective, because the two continued to fulfil
- 14 their duties at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 15 Q. Thank you.
- 16 My next question is related to the production unit at Chraing
- 17 Chamres. In your written record of interview with OCIJ dated 19
- 18 of December 2007, you described an event related to that unit.
- 19 And I'd like to seek the President's permission to present that
- 20 document to -- and to hand that document to the witness. It is
- 21 D191/26 (sic). ERN in Khmer is 00204151; and in French, it is
- 22 00343362; and in English, 00223640 to 41.
- 23 [11.12.59]
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 Yes, you may proceed.

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- 1 Court Officer, could you deliver the document to the witness?
- 2 BY MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 3 Q. I'd like to read the quote that, in -- there was one case in
- 4 1977 when there was a meeting in the unit with Ieng Sary:
- 5 "There was a report that Seng Ly, an internee from France, who
- 6 was at the Chraing Chamres Unit, went to shoot a bird and walked
- 7 into the military administered zone, and he was arrested by the
- 8 military and disappeared since. At that time, Chraing Chamres
- 9 Unit contacted the military to -- for his release, but the
- 10 military responded that they did not know." End of quote.
- 11 My question is: During that meeting that Ieng Sary reported about
- 12 this incident, what -- what was the content of that meeting?
- 13 [11.14.39]
- 14 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 15 A. I cannot recall it clearly. It could be just an ordinary
- 16 working meeting, or it could be another type of meeting, because
- 17 there were various kinds of meetings, big or small, important or
- 18 a normal meeting. It could be a weekly meeting or a monthly
- 19 meeting. I cannot recall exactly the nature of that meeting.
- 20 Q. During the meeting, at that time, where it was held?
- 21 A. The meeting with Ieng Sary was held at B-1 ministry -- that
- 22 is, MFA.
- 23 Q. Did you know the reason for the disappearance of Seng Ly,
- 24 which is a special case here? He was at the Chraing Chamres
- 25 Office, but the report was made through Ieng Sary. Can you tell

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- 1 us the reason?
- 2 [11.16.10]
- 3 A. I do not know. I do not know the reason for that. And I did
- 4 not try to know that matter, because at that time we should only
- 5 know what we were supposed to know. And whatever affairs we --
- 6 besides the affairs of our section -- then we should not know.
- 7 And as for me, I only should know about the affairs dealing with
- 8 the Propaganda and Information Office within the ministry.
- 9 Q. Thank you.
- 10 My last question is the following. You testified that, at your
- 11 return to Cambodia in May 2005 (sic), the question is: Along the
- 12 way that you made your trip, did you see the flock of people
- 13 evacuating -- or being evacuated from Phnom Penh?
- 14 A. No, I did not see that kind of event as -- upon my return to
- 15 Cambodia, when I first travelled by a ship from -- to Phnom Penh
- 16 , I did not see the current flow of the evacuation as it was
- 17 already concluded.
- 18 [11.18.20]
- 19 Q. My apologies. I have two more questions.
- 20 During the time that you worked at the Ministry of Foreign
- 21 Affairs, you stayed at the -- in Phnom Penh until the fall of the
- 22 regime. Did you ever see the exodus of people from Phnom Penh in
- 23 April, or did you see their return to Phnom Penh at any time
- 24 during the regime?
- 25 A. No, I did not.

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- 1 Q. My last question, regarding your written record of interviews
- 2 with OCIJ dated 12 March 2009, document E3/371. ERN in Khmer is
- 3 00288238; and in French, 00288245; and in English, 00290417.
- 4 I'd like to seek your leave, Mr. President, to have the document
- 5 shown on the screen and to deliver the hard copy to the witness.
- 6 [11.20.05]
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Yes, you may proceed.
- 9 Court Officer, could you assist the process?
- 10 (Short pause)
- 11 The Prosecutor, you may proceed.
- 12 MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 13 Mr. President, several times, in my headset, I heard that this
- 14 was a statement made to the Co-Prosecutors Office, and of course
- 15 it was a statement made to the Co-Investigating Judges. For the
- 16 sake of the record, this ought to be corrected. Thank you.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Civil Party Counsel, could you provide the specification of the
- 19 document again?
- 20 [11.21.11]
- 21 BY MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 22 The document is the written record of the interview of this
- 23 witness with the Co-Investigating Judges.
- 24 Q. Let me give you a quote of the -- your statement -- that you
- 25 said: "I was the Khmer Rouge cadre until 1975, because the Khmer

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- 1 Rouge were not wrong until then. But they subsequently betrayed
- 2 their ideals."
- 3 The question is: During the Khmer Rouge regime, did you ever see
- 4 -- or observe -- the events that you would say those activities
- 5 actually betrayed their ideals?
- 6 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 7 A. From 1975 to early 1979, I did not know. I did not see about
- 8 the killings or the crimes committed throughout the country. I
- 9 was only -- I stayed only in Phnom Penh and when I went to the
- 10 countryside to accompany foreign delegations, I did not see such
- 11 crime. So I could not know the sheer scope of the tragedy.
- 12 [11.23.00]
- 13 Q. Thank you, Mr. President. In that same record of interview,
- 14 you clearly stated -- or expressed your view.
- 15 And my question is: What did you know that would lead you to say
- 16 that they betrayed their ideals? Because I seem not to understand
- 17 your response.
- 18 A. I made such a conclusion after 1979, while I worked at the
- 19 Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Back then I did not know about such
- 20 crimes.
- 21 MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 22 Thank you, Mr. Witness, once again for your cooperation and
- 23 responding to my questions.
- 24 [11.24.10]
- 25 Mr. President, I thank you very much and I'd like to -- your

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- 1 permission to hand the floor to my colleague.
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Yes, you may do so.
- 4 QUESTIONING BY MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA:
- 5 Thank you very much, Mr. President. Your Honours, colleagues,
- 6 Witness, good morning.
- 7 Q. Since we were in Phnom Penh, let's stay there. On the 25th of
- 8 May 1975, you arrived by boat. How did you experience the city
- 9 when you stepped off this boat?
- 10 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 11 A. When I arrived in Phnom Penh, frankly speaking, I was not
- 12 surprised because I already knew that people were -- had already
- 13 been evacuated. What I -- what my first impressions -- because I
- 14 had lived overseas for so long in France -- that is, in Paris --
- 15 in Beijing, and in other countries, so my first impression was
- 16 finding the city was so small. So, again, that was my first
- 17 impression.
- 18 [11.25.48]
- 19 And, secondly, I met some of my former members of the
- 20 Marxist-Leninist Circle in Phnom Penh, namely Mol Phourik, who
- 21 was an engineer for the public works. I met him, and probably he
- 22 knew that I would be wondering of seeing him in Phnom Penh to
- 23 assist the work, and that's what he told me. He was allowed to
- 24 stay in Phnom Penh to assist with the works.
- 25 So these were my two impressions upon my arrival in Phnom Penh.

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- 1 Q. Yes. So, it seems to me that you were looking at an empty city
- 2 and then you took residence in a house. And in this house, did
- 3 you receive visits from colleagues? Did you meet other people at
- 4 that time?
- 5 [11.26.58]
- 6 A. When I arrived, I stayed at a pink house belonging to one of
- 7 the princesses, the wife of the then Prince Sihanouk. I believe
- 8 she was the first wife of the Prince Sihanouk then. It was near
- 9 the Royal Palace. In French it was called "la maison rose" -- or
- 10 the "pink house", in English. And in 1975, it was the -- it was
- 11 used as the bureau for the Thai diplomatic mission in Phnom Penh.
- 12 At that time, I stayed with Keat Chhon. Keat Chhon had some of
- 13 his former friends, the majority of them were the members of the
- 14 CPK infiltrated in Phnom Penh, including Touch Phoeun, and a few
- 15 other professors who used to come and go to that Pink House.
- 16 Q. Mr. Witness, my question, really, was to know if you discussed
- 17 the situation in the country with others at this time.
- 18 A. Mr. President, I'd like the civil party counsel to clarify the
- 19 question, since I do not understand it clearly.
- 20 [11.29.20]
- 21 Q. Let me try and phrase this in a different way: When you
- 22 received quests and colleagues, did you discuss the prevailing
- 23 situation in the country?
- 24 A. Usually, guests of those people you earlier spoke about, their
- 25 former friends, where were they, for instance, because we did

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- 1 have some former friends as majority of them were those members
- 2 of the Marxist-Leninist Circle in Paris, including Khieu Komar,
- 3 Ros Chethor. They were intellectuals returning from overseas. So
- 4 we mainly spoke about them.
- 5 Also there was a person named Panara who also went to study in
- 6 France, and when he arrived in Phnom Penh, he was appointed,
- 7 together with me, as the core persons as part of the Party -- of
- 8 the CPK.
- 9 [11.31.02]
- 10 Q. Must I understand from this witness that, at no moment when
- 11 you were speaking with your numerous friends, you spoke about the
- 12 evacuation issues, about the issues related to the city of Phnom
- 13 Penh?
- 14 A. To my recollection, I did not talk about that matter with them
- 15 because all of those friends resided in Phnom Penh, and the Party
- 16 kept them in Phnom Penh in order to undertake certain functions,
- 17 so they did not talk or describe anything concerning the
- 18 evacuation of Phnom Penh City.
- 19 Q. Thank you, Witness, for this clarification.
- 20 Now, I would like to speak about another issue. Yesterday, when
- 21 you were being examined by the Co Prosecutor, you told him that
- 22 when you were a member of the FUNK -- that is to say, from 1970
- 23 to 1973 in Beijing, Ieng Sary nominated you the representative of
- 24 the AKI -- the AKI press agency in Beijing.
- 25 [11.32.38]

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- 1 And in the document that you have in front of you, E3/42 -- the
- 2 exact ERN in French is 00327224; Khmer, 00327203; English,
- 3 00327214 -- and in this examination -- or in this interview by
- 4 the Co Investigating Judge, you say that you were also in charge
- 5 of security when you were in Beijing. So was it Ieng Sary who
- 6 appointed you a person in charge -- or Ieng Sary appointed you as
- 7 person in charge of information? But who appointed you to the
- 8 position of security?
- 9 A. I have already responded to that question earlier. At that
- 10 time, I was a member of the FUNK, a committee in Beijing, and the
- 11 person who appointed me to be in charge of security was General
- 12 Duong Sam Ol, who was the chairman of this committee.
- 13 Q. Was it necessary to have specific skills? Were you -- was this
- 14 a choice or were you asked to demonstrate specific skills to be
- 15 in charge of security or was this just a random choice?
- 16 [11.34.39]
- 17 A. I think I have already responded to this question when it was
- 18 posed by the prosecutor, and I said that I did not have any
- 19 necessary qualification or skills, because security back in
- 20 Beijing was not an issue because it was in Beijing, in China. And
- 21 General Duong Sam Ol appointed me for the reason that I was close
- 22 to him, and I assumed that position because I knew him
- 23 personally. And if it was not him as the supervisor, then I would
- 24 not do it because I was not interested in arresting people or so,
- 25 but if I was tasked to do something to do with economic matters

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- 1 or so, then I would be interested.
- 2 Because during the Democratic Kampuchea I was often placed in
- 3 charge of economic affairs. For example, I was once -- supervised
- 4 the warehouse and stocks. So, whenever people needed anything, I
- 5 would give to them. So there was no specific criteria for the
- 6 requirements to be in charge of security as what it may be
- 7 required in the present day.
- 8 Of course, there may be certain requirements in the present day
- 9 concerning the qualification to -- or skills before a person
- 10 assumes the position, and it was not like the practice in the
- 11 foreign countries that people must have certain skills before
- 12 they are appointed a position.
- 13 [11.36.35]
- 14 Q. Thank you, Witness, for your answer.
- 15 Now, I would like to continue speaking about the intellectuals.
- 16 They were very much courted to return to Cambodia, and who was
- 17 the person encouraging the intellectuals, Cambodian intellectuals
- 18 living abroad, to return to Cambodia?
- 19 A. On that particular issue, overall, it was the responsibility
- 20 of the Front or the -- each organs. For example, if it was in
- 21 France then the organization in charge of that would appeal them
- 22 to return.
- 23 And I think the situation of that time was quite pressing, that
- 24 even if there wasn't an appeal then the people would be eager to
- 25 come back to the country, because at that time there was a united

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- 1 front headed by then Prince Sihanouk, and in Cambodia as well, we
- 2 -- people tend to respect our Buddhists, Buddha, monks and
- 3 dhamma. But at that time Khieu Samphan was considered Buddha, and
- 4 Hu Nim was considered the monk, and Hou Youn was considered the
- 5 dhamma. So, at that time, Cambodians used -- loved these three
- 6 individuals so much. They were well-respected, and that was the
- 7 strategy -- the -- that was the tragedy that we had to endure.
- 8 [11.38.42]
- 9 In 1975, we met all the requirements to become an independent
- 10 country that we could build our country in unity and harmony. We
- 11 could fulfil these requirements, but conversely it turned out to
- 12 be a tragedy in the world's history. This was the suffering and
- 13 the disappointment we have endured.
- 14 Q. Witness, during this period, from '70 to 1975, are you aware
- 15 of the fact that Ieng Sary had to go abroad to convince
- 16 intellectuals abroad to return to Cambodia?
- 17 A. It was his duty, and for your information he was the first
- 18 president of the Students' Union in France, and in addition, he
- 19 was also one of the founders of the Leninist-Marxist Circle in
- 20 France. So he returned to Cambodia in order to serve the people
- 21 and the nation, and this commitment was well-received by the
- 22 intellectuals residing in France, and at that time Sihanouk also
- 23 appealed to people to return to Cambodia to serve the nation.
- 24 But as for the fate of those people who returned to Cambodia at
- 25 that time, I think that Ieng Sary himself did not know, and I am

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- 1 a hundred per cent sure about that, that I think that Ieng Sary
- 2 did not know what would happen to those returnees.
- 3 [11.41.44]
- 4 If I were in his shoes at that time, I would do the same thing as
- 5 what he did, because we had to explain the qualification needed
- 6 to serve the country, and nobody could imagine that there was
- 7 execution or so in the country and if anybody told us that we
- 8 would not believe it either, and the scale and magnitude of the
- 9 execution and the tragedy was learned only after 1979.
- 10 And even I, myself, and Cambodian people would not have survived
- 11 without the 1979. Ieng Thirith, Suong Sikoeun, and others were
- 12 also in the lists. I did not know who prepared those lists, but
- 13 the lists to be smashed. So in -- the situation in January 1979
- 14 was that -- and that aspect was of course there.
- 15 [11.42.53]
- 16 If anyone who studied dialectical materialisms, they would
- 17 understand that there were negative aspects, there were bad
- 18 aspect, and good aspect of it.
- 19 Q. Witness, you remember that in 1974 you went to Paris with Ieng
- 20 Sary in order to try to convince your compatriots abroad to
- 21 return to Cambodia. And during these meetings, were they your
- 22 students who challenged or who criticized the situation in
- 23 Cambodia at the time?
- 24 A. The meeting was held in 1975. At that time, it was not
- 25 Democratic Kampuchea government, it was still the GRUNK

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- 1 government, and we sent a delegate to the United Nations, and in
- 2 that meeting I did not know exactly who were the members of that
- 3 delegation. And the overall situation back then in 1975, those
- national compatriots were eager to come back to the country to 4
- 5 rehabilitate the country, and there was no one who objected that,
- 6 and I did not -- I do not recall as to who joined the Movement.
- 7 [11.44.53]
- Q. Thank you, Witness. 8
- 9 Now, I would like to turn to another document. This is a letter
- 10 or a reply to your former wife, and it's an interesting letter.
- 11 I'm going to give you the French ERN numbers. Well, first of all,
- it is index D115/2.5, and this is a letter dated from 5 October 12
- 13 1996, and in this letter -- let me give you the French ERN first:
- 00323628. Khmer, 00251078; English, 00181975 -- 9075. 14
- 15 In this letter, you say that she is facing Son Sen who are known
- 16 for being the true butchers of the Khmer people.
- 17 So my question is the following: Both of these people you
- 18 mention, Son Sen and Ny Kan, what did they do to be considered
- 19 "butchers" as such? Do you have any ideas in that regard?
- 20 A. Mr. President, could you please advise the lawyer to present
- 21 this document? Because I think that I did not present this
- 22 document, and Ny Kan was my friend, and I did -- I never
- 23 mentioned anything that he was a "butcher".
- 24 [11.47.00]
- 25 And as for Mr. Son Sen, when Malai rallied the government, I was

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- 1 also accused of being an associate with Son Sen, but I did not
- 2 mention anything about them being a butcher, particularly for Ny
- 3 Kan, I had never mentioned anything about him.
- 4 So I would appreciate it if you could present me with this
- 5 document.
- 6 MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA:
- 7 Unfortunately, I don't have the Khmer version. Somebody might
- 8 have it, and this will be given to you. Court officer -- can the
- 9 court officer please provide this document to the witness?
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 You may proceed.
- 12 Court Officer, please obtain the document from the lawyer and
- 13 present it to the witness.
- 14 (Short pause)
- 15 [11.48.49]
- 16 BY MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA:
- 17 Q. I hope that the witness can find this excerpt I was speaking
- 18 about.
- 19 Can he, therefore, answer my question? And, since it is written
- 20 here, why can he state that they were "true butchers"? What did
- 21 they actually do?
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Lawyer, can you please tell the relevant ERN pages? And to be
- 24 precise, you can also tell the paragraph number or line number,
- 25 because I am of the opinion that the witness cannot locate the

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- 1 portion where you want to discuss.
- 2 MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA:
- 3 (No interpretation) 00251078 -- and we highlighted this in
- 4 yellow. I think he can locate the passage very easily because we
- 5 highlighted it in yellow.
- 6 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 7 Mr. President, could the lawyer be directed to present the
- 8 original letter I wrote? And it was in French. The original
- 9 letter was in French because I sent to my French wife, and this
- 10 one is -- this document is typewritten, it was not a handwritten
- 11 letter. So--
- 12 [11.51.07]
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 It is good.
- 15 Then, Lawyer, please be advised that you present the original
- 16 version of the letter to the witness and this witness can read
- 17 French, so it is conducive as well if you present it to the
- 18 witness in original format.
- 19 MR. SUONG SIKOEUN:
- 20 Mr. President, this is not my handwriting. It is a typed document
- 21 that I have with me now. I don't think that this is the authentic
- 22 document.
- 23 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 24 I note the defence counsel is on his feet just now. So, the
- 25 International Lead Co Lawyer for the civil party, do you have

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- 1 anything to raise?
- 2 [11.52.37]
- 3 MS. SIMONNEAU-FORT:
- 4 No, I simply wanted to let you know, President, that as always,
- 5 here, we are showing a document that is on the case file, and
- 6 this is a document that has never been challenged by anyone, and
- 7 he, the witness, is able to read it in French since he wrote this
- 8 document in French. And I think he can see what this document is
- 9 about since the particular passage is highlighted.
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 Witness, please examine the content of this document. This
- 12 document was re typed, and you can simply scan through this
- 13 document and, if there is anything that you want to object
- 14 against the content of this document, then you can do so, but the
- 15 document is now presented to you. Please go through it briefly.
- 16 [11.53.55]
- 17 MR. SUONG SIKOUEN:
- 18 Mr. President, I would like to seek your permission to consult
- 19 with my duty counsel.
- 20 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 21 This question is -- this question does not incriminate you. You
- 22 may consult with your duty counsel when you are of the opinion
- 23 that the question put to you may incriminate you, but this
- 24 question is -- does not incriminate you.
- 25 So, if the duty counsel provides you other advice other than the

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- 1 ones that concerns with the possibility of self-incrimination,
- 2 then the duty counsel may deviate from his role.
- 3 MR. SUONG SIKOUEN:
- 4 Mr. President, I only recognize that this document was not the
- 5 original handwritten document of mine, and I don't know why the
- 6 lawyer had the possession of this document. And as far as I can
- 7 remember, I could comment nothing about Ny Kan because he was a
- 8 close friend of mine and he was the secretary at the West Zone,
- 9 so I had nothing to do with him and I had no comment concerning
- 10 the two persons mentioned here as the "butchers" or so. And his
- 11 wife is also my close friend as well.
- 12 [11.56.44]
- 13 So I wanted to verify it against my original handwriting letter.
- 14 And I also want to consult with my duty counsel whether or not in
- 15 the legal procedure these kinds of document has any probative
- 16 value.
- 17 I didn't -- I do not intend to discuss of -- on the content, but
- 18 I simply want to seek consultation with my duty counsel whether
- 19 or not it is official.
- 20 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 21 This document is already in the case file, and if you are
- 22 suspicious of the substance of this document due to the
- 23 translation of your original version or you can simply recall of
- 24 what happened at that time in relation to that situation, you
- 25 simply clarify the situation over there whether or not such thing

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- 1 happened or it was not actually true according to your
- 2 recollection.
- 3 Counsel, you may proceed.
- 4 [11.58.13]
- 5 MR. KONG SAM ONN:
- 6 Thank you, Mr. President, Your Honours. I would like to assist
- 7 the Chamber that the witness has already reviewed this document
- 8 and this witness asked that the original document be presented to
- 9 him so that he can verify whether or not the substance or the
- 10 contents of the document that has been retyped and his original
- 11 was the same. And as the President said just now, the document is
- 12 already in the case file, but the authenticity of this document
- 13 remains a question.
- 14 So, before this document is admissible, it is important that the
- 15 original document authored by this witness is presented to him.
- 16 Thank you.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Two options now: one, the duty counsel has the original document
- 19 -- first, the lawyers, do you have the original document of the
- 20 witness; and, second, if you do not have -- do you have any other
- 21 questions to put to the witness because now the time is also
- 22 appropriate for lunch adjournment.
- 23 [11.59.55]
- 24 MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA:
- 25 Thank you, President. We are not fabricating this evidence. We're

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- 1 just using documents that are on the case file that are available
- 2 to everyone and, the original document is probably in the case
- 3 file and you could find it.
- 4 In any case, we have an official document here that is recorded
- 5 and has been officially approved. So either he challenges the
- 6 content or he -- maybe he believes he never wrote it, but we do
- 7 have another document. This is an article of the Phnom Penh Post
- 8 from 15 November to 28 November 1996 and it's indexed at
- 9 D115/2.5. This is the article which -- letter to his former wife.
- 10 So, Witness, do you challenge having had this letter published in
- 11 the Phnom Penh Post in 1996? President, if you give me leave, I
- 12 can provide to the witness, the copy of this letter in the Phnom
- 13 Penh Post of which he challenges -- which he contests today.
- 14 [12.02.00]
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Prosecutor, you may proceed.
- 17 MR. DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL:
- 18 Thank you, President. Just for the purposes of clarification, it
- 19 seems to me that the original copy we have in the case file is
- 20 what, indeed, appeared in the "Phnom Penh Post".
- 21 If I understood, at the beginning of the article or, rather, at
- 22 the very end, it said in English -- and this was translated from
- 23 the French original by Philippe Hunt, and the two other documents
- 24 that were provided to the witness are the French translations and
- 25 Khmer translations of this article that was published in its

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- 1 original version by the Phnom Penh Post between 15 and 28
- 2 November 1996.
- 3 And what is published here is a letter dating from 5 October
- 4 1996, so we don't have the original handwritten letter on the
- 5 case file. It must -- probably is still at the "Phnom Penh Post"
- 6 if they have kept it, but what we have is the article that did
- 7 appear in the paper and then there was a translation to Khmer and
- 8 into French.
- 9 [12.03.15]
- 10 MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA:
- 11 Thank you, President. I have a few small questions,
- 12 unfortunately, on this document if the Chamber grants me the
- 13 time.
- 14 I would like to make a side point to remind the witness that if
- 15 he had challenged this letter in the "Phnom Penh Post" of 1996, I
- 16 believe that he could have maybe contested it in writing that
- 17 challenged the truthfulness of this document, and he hasn't done
- 18 it. Maybe this afternoon or tomorrow he'll provide us with this
- 19 letter, but I do see that this article is on the case file and I
- 20 understand that the questions I might be asking are problematic,
- 21 but I will continue.
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Now, if the witness does not respond to your questions, do you
- 24 have any additional questions to ask or you still insist that the
- 25 witness respond to this question? So you have to specify your

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- 1 position on that. You probably ask him about when this issue was
- 2 reported by "Phnom Penh Post" or so.
- 3 [12.04.45]
- 4 And I also indicated very clearly that if you have other
- 5 questions you may proceed because even if the witness cannot
- 6 respond to this one specific question, then we can still move on.
- 7 Can you advise the Court as to how much time you will need
- 8 because we will have to schedule it for the adjournment for
- 9 lunch?
- 10 MR. DJAMMEN NZEPA:
- 11 I might need a little under half an hour, but it might not be
- 12 possible today, President. I -- of course, I can put my questions
- 13 to him tomorrow when he feels a bit better.
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 The time is now appropriate for lunch adjournment. The Chamber
- 16 will adjourn now until 1.30 this afternoon.
- 17 And this afternoon the Chamber will listen to the testimony --
- 18 hear the testimony TCW-490, and this witness is scheduled to
- 19 provide testimony alternatively with Witness Suong Sikoeun, due
- 20 to their health reason. Mr. Suong Sikoeun has requested the Court
- 21 that he be granted permission to take a break this afternoon.
- 22 [12.06.37]
- 23 And, Mr. Suong Sikoeun, for your information, your testimony has
- 24 not yet come to a conclusion. So the Chamber, once again, called
- 25 you to testify before the Chamber tomorrow morning, at 9 o'clock

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- 1 in the morning.
- 2 And the same is for the duty counsel; you are also invited to
- 3 provide assistance to the witness.
- 4 And, Court Officer, please facilitate with the WESU unit to
- 5 accommodate the witness and his duty counsel and make sure that
- 6 they are present in this courtroom before 9 o'clock in the
- 7 morning, tomorrow.
- 8 And I note the defence counsel is on his feet. You may proceed.
- 9 MR. PAUW:
- 10 Thank you, Mr. President. Just to inform you that Nuon Chea is
- 11 suffering from a headache, a back pain he has back pain and
- 12 he's suffering from a lack of concentration and therefore, would
- 13 like to follow the proceedings this afternoon from his holding
- 14 cell.
- 15 And we have prepared the waiver. Thank you.
- 16 [12.07.43]
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Having noted the request by Nuon Chea through his defence counsel
- 19 to follow the proceedings from the holding cell downstairs for
- 20 the remainder of today due to his health concern -- and the
- 21 Defence team has already made it clear that it would submit the
- 22 waiver of Mr. Nuon Chea, together with his thumbprint or
- 23 signature -- so the request is granted. Mr. Nuon Chea may follow
- 24 the proceeding by audio-visual means from the holding cell for
- 25 the remainder of today's hearing, and Mr. Nuon Chea has expressly

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- 1 waived his right not to be present directly in this courtroom.
- 2 The Chamber requires the defence team for Nuon Chea submit the
- 3 waiver of Mr. Nuon Chea immediately with the signature or
- 4 thumbprint of Mr. Nuon Chea.
- 5 [12.08.57]
- 6 Audio AV assistant is instructed to connect the audio equipment
- 7 so that Mr. Nuon Chea can follow the proceeding for the remainder
- 8 of the day, of today's proceeding.
- 9 And security guards are instructed to bring the Co-Accused to the
- 10 holding cell downstairs. Mr. Nuon Chea is to be remained in the
- 11 holding cell where the audio-visual equipment will be connected
- 12 for him. And Mr. Khieu Samphan is to be brought in this courtroom
- 13 this afternoon, before 1.30.
- 14 The Court is now adjourned.
- 15 (Court recesses from 1209H to 1332H)
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 You may be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 18 This afternoon, we will hear the testimony of a new witness --
- 19 that is, TCW-490. As we informed the public this morning, and as
- 20 reported by the greffier, the witness is present and ready to be
- 21 summoned to the courtroom for his -- for the testimony by the
- 22 Chamber.
- 23 Once again, I'd like the greffier, Se Kolvuthy, to report
- 24 regarding the witness status and regarding his relationship, if
- 25 any, to the parties, and whether he's already took an oath. You

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- 1 may proceed.
- 2 THE GREFFIER:
- 3 Mr. President, the witness summoned by the Chamber to testify --
- 4 that is, witness TCW-490 --is present in the waiting room to be
- 5 called by the Chamber.
- 6 [13.35.15]
- 7 The Chamber -- expressed that, to his knowledge, he has no
- 8 relationship by blood or by law to any of the civil party.
- 9 However, he has a relationship with a civil party, 124, but no
- 10 relationship by blood or by law to any of the parties or any of
- 11 the Accused. The witness already took an oath voluntarily this
- 12 morning.
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 Thank you.
- 15 Court Officer, could you invite the witness to the courtroom? And
- 16 if he is accompanied by a duty counsel, please also invite the
- 17 duty counsel.
- 18 (Witness enters courtroom)
- 19 [13.38.28]
- 20 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 21 Good afternoon, Mr. Witness.
- 22 First, we will ask you some initial information regarding your
- 23 background before we ask you questions, and we will also inform
- 24 you regarding the use of the microphone and how the system works
- 25 in the courtroom.

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- 1 Before you respond, please wait until you see the red light on
- 2 the microphone so that your voice will go through the
- 3 interpretation system, as it will be translated into the working
- 4 languages of the Court.
- 5 QUESTIONING BY THE PRESIDENT:
- 6 Q. Mr. Witness, can you tell us your name?
- 7 MR. ONG THONG HOEUNG:
- 8 A. My name is Ong Thong Hoeung.
- 9 Q. Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung, can you tell us your date of birth?
- 10 A. (Microphone not activated)
- 11 [13.39.55]
- 12 Q. You need to wait until you see the red light.
- 13 A. I was born on the 7th August 1945.
- 14 Q. Thank you. Where is your current address?
- 15 A. I lived in Brussels, in Belgium.
- 16 Q. Thank you. What is your current occupation?
- 17 A. I am a retiree.
- 18 Q. Thank you. What is your father's name?
- 19 A. My father's name is Ong Ly, alias Douch (phonetic).
- 20 Q. Thank you. And your mother's name?
- 21 A. Her name is Nieng (phonetic) Try Yei. Both of them passed
- 22 away.
- 23 Q. Thank you. What is your wife's name?
- 24 [13.41.29]
- 25 A. Chuor Bounnie is her name.

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- 1 Q. Thank you. How many children do you have?
- 2 A. I have two daughters.
- 3 Q. Thank you.
- 4 Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung, as reported by the greffier, to your
- 5 knowledge, you have a relationship with a civil party -- TCCP124
- 6 -- but you do not have any relationship by blood or by law to the
- 7 three Accused -- that is, Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan --
- 8 and any other parties who have been recognized as a civil parties
- 9 in this case; is that correct?
- 10 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 11 Q. Also, as reported, you voluntarily took an oath this morning;
- 12 is that correct?
- 13 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 14 Q. Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung, in your capacity as a witness before
- 15 this Chamber, we will now inform you of your right and
- 16 obligation. As a witness to the proceedings before this Chamber,
- 17 you may refuse to respond to any question or assertion that may
- 18 incriminate you. "Self-incrimination" means if you believe that
- 19 your response might incriminate you, you may decline to respond.
- 20 [13.42.45]
- 21 Do you understand this right?
- 22 A. Yes, I do.
- 23 Q. Do you require -- do you need a duty counsel, or you wish to
- 24 testify on your own without the assistance of a duty counsel?
- 25 A. Thank you, Mr. President, but I do not need a duty counsel.

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- 1 Q. Thank you.
- 2 Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung, also in your capacity as a witness to
- 3 testify before this Chamber, you must respond to the questions
- 4 put to you by the Chamber or by any of the parties, except in the
- 5 case that you believe that your response may incriminate you.
- 6 [13.44.50]
- 7 As a witness, you must tell the truth that you have known, have
- 8 heard, have experienced, and remember or observed personally
- 9 regarding the events related to the questions put to you by
- 10 Judges of the Bench or any of the parties. Do you understand
- 11 that?
- 12 A. Yes, I do.
- 13 Q. Thank you.
- 14 Mr. Witness, have you ever given any interview to the Office of
- 15 the Co-Investigating Judges of the ECCC during the past years?
- 16 And if so, how many times, and where were the interviews taken
- 17 place?
- 18 A. I was interviewed once in Phnom Penh. I cannot recall the
- 19 location clearly, but it was somewhere near the vicinity of the
- 20 Independence Monument.
- 21 Q. Can you recall the date?
- 22 A. It's about -- it was about more than three years ago.
- 23 [13.46.18]
- 24 Q. Thank you. Regarding the interview that you made with the
- 25 investigators of the Office of the Co-Investigating Judges and

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- 1 before you came into this courtroom, have you reread that
- 2 interview? That is, the one that you made with the investigators
- 3 of the OCIJ in order to recollect your memory?
- 4 A. Yes, I reread the statement, and it is correct.
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Thank you.
- 7 The Chamber would like to inform the Prosecution that, regarding
- 8 the hearing of the testimony of this witness, the Chamber (sic)
- 9 will be given the floor first. And you may proceed.
- 10 QUESTIONING BY MR. CHAN DARARASMEY:
- 11 Thank you, Mr. President. Good afternoon, Your Honours. Good
- 12 afternoon, everyone in and around the courtroom. Good afternoon,
- 13 Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung. I would like to ask you some questions, so
- 14 please try to bear with us and respond to my questions.
- 15 [13.47.57]
- 16 Q. First, it is in relation to your education. Can you tell us
- 17 which schools did you attend and what degrees did you obtain?
- 18 MR. ONG THONG HOEUNG:
- 19 A. I studied at my native village. I also studied at the college
- 20 in Kaoh Thum, and later on I attended "lycée" in Phnom Penh. And
- 21 then I went to study in France in 1965 in political economic
- 22 field.
- 23 Q. Besides that political education field -- economic field --
- 24 did you study in other specialized area?
- 25 A. No, I did not. But I closely followed the situation as it

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- 1 happened in Europe, and also the French literature.
- 2 Q. Now I would like to touch upon your living in France. Can you
- 3 tell us the main reason for you to leave Cambodia for France?
- 4 A. As the other Cambodian people or people in the Third World
- 5 country who regarded France as a symbol of education -- since my
- 6 childhood, it was my dream to go to France. And as I got the
- 7 opportunity, so did I go to France.
- 8 Q. Thank you. When did you go to France and how long did you stay
- 9 in France?
- 10 A. I stayed in France from 1965 until 1976.
- 11 Q. Thank you.
- 12 [13.50.45]
- 13 Did you ever become a member of a political party or any
- 14 political movement during your stay in France?
- 15 A. While I was in France, initially, I would sympathize with the
- 16 French Socialist Party. And after the 1970 coup d'état and after
- 17 the appeal by the Prince Sihanouk -- that is, the five points in
- 18 the appeal which was made in 1970 -- I volunteered to be a member
- 19 of the Khmer union -- or the Khmer Students' Union.
- 20 Q. Thank you. Can you tell us the reason for you to become a
- 21 member of the French Socialist Party and later, a member of the
- 22 Khmer Students' Union?
- 23 A. Initially, I became a member of the French Students' Union
- 24 because at that time I was fond of Michel Rocard. I respected him
- 25 a lot, and my friends -- my French friends or friends from Africa

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- 1 also had the tendency towards that movement, and I decided to do
- 2 so.
- 3 [13.52.31]
- 4 Q. Thank you. What was the reason for you to join the Khmer
- 5 Students' Union?
- 6 A. Since I was in Cambodia, I always had a huge respect for the
- 7 "Three Cleaned People", namely Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn, and Hu
- 8 Nim. And while I was in France, I clearly knew the three used to
- 9 be members of the Khmer Students' Union, and for that reason I
- 10 liked to follow their path and to use them as my exemplary
- 11 models.
- 12 Q. Thank you. Can you tell us the main purpose for the
- 13 establishment of the Khmer Students' Union?
- 14 A. It was actually a long story. However, as I know, Khmer
- 15 students who first arrived in France were not -- were only a few
- 16 -- that is after the Second World War. Those students -- they
- 17 were the senior students, including Rithivung (phonetic) --
- 18 formed an association -- that is, the Khmer Student's Association
- 19 -- and amassed the students at that time.
- 20 [13.54.27]
- 21 That association was the only association in France at the time,
- 22 and there were about 20 members in that association, although I
- 23 am not clear. I learned of that during my research for my book.
- 24 They both tried to form another for the independence of Cambodia.
- 25 However, their resistance later split into two. First, there were

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- 1 the leftists, and secondly there were the rightists. And the
- 2 Khmer Students' Union was the leftist movement.
- 3 Q. Thank you. Can you tell us the relationship between the Khmer
- Students' Union and the Communist Party of Kampuchea? 4
- A. Frankly speaking, at that time I did not know that there was a 5
- 6 Communist Party of Kampuchea in Cambodia at all.
- 7 Q. Thank you.
- [13.55.38] 8
- 9 Who was actually the president of the Khmer Students' Union? And
- what was the criteria to become a member? And how the information 10
- was disseminated within the Khmer Students' Union? 11
- 12 A. Shortly after my arrival, Mr. Touch Kham Doeun, who already
- 13 passed away at S-21 -- and then there was Suong Sikoeun, who was
- 14 the president of that union. At that time, I contacted him at the
- 15 Khmer House and, as I knew at that time, Suong Sikoeun was the
- 16 president of that union.
- Q. Thank you. Who was actually the founder of the Khmer Students' 17
- Union? 18
- 19 A. My apology. As I wrote in my article, the founders were Ieng
- 20 Sary, Khieu Samphan, Thiounn Mumm, and some other senior people
- 2.1 whose names I cannot recall. But I wrote all of their names in my
- 22 book.
- 23 Q. Thank you. When -- or in what year was the Khmer Students'
- 24 Union established?
- 25 A. I cannot recall it clearly, but it was around 1956. I'd have

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- 1 to check my book to make sure.
- 2 Q. Thank you. When did you become a member of that union?
- 3 A. I cannot recall the exact date, but clearly it was after the
- 4 coup d'état by Marshall Lon Nol.
- 5 Q. Thank you.
- 6 [13.58.04]
- 7 My next question is related to Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. Can
- 8 you tell us when Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan returned from France
- 9 to Cambodia?
- 10 A. I do not know the exact date. Of course, I wrote all of that
- 11 in my book, but I cannot recall offhand. Khieu Samphan returned
- 12 probably in 1954, but I cannot recall the exact date. And Ieng
- 13 Sary arrived before Khieu Samphan.
- 14 Q. Thank you. Did you know or did you read any article and
- 15 learned of the reasons for their arrival in Cambodia?
- 16 A. At that time, I did not know the reason.
- 17 [13.59.12]
- 18 Occasionally, I learned of the name Khieu Samphan as he was
- 19 mistreated. He was stripped naked near the Independence Monument
- 20 as he wrote an article in the "Observateur" newspaper. That's how
- 21 I learned, but I do not know the real reason.
- 22 Q. Thank you. Did you know or hear about the word "Khmer Rouge"
- 23 while living in France?
- 24 A. I heard of the word "Khmer Rouge" since I was in Cambodia. And
- 25 while I was young, the word "Khmer Rouge" represented the

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- 1 cleanness and they were represented by Hu Nim, Hou Youn and Khieu
- 2 Samphan.
- 3 Q. Thank you. I would like to now move to the next question on
- 4 the National United Front of Kampuchea which was established
- 5 before 1975. Can you tell the Court about this Front? When was it
- 6 established -- when was it established and what was the reason
- 7 for its establishment?
- 8 [14.00.47]
- 9 A. The National United Front of Kampuchea, or FUNK, was
- 10 established in Peking in China after the statement made by
- 11 Samdech Sihanouk. It was a five-point statement of Prince
- 12 Sihanouk, and it -- and Thiounn Mumm and Sarin Chhak were the one
- 13 who drafted the statement.
- 14 Q. Can you elaborate further the primary objective of the
- 15 establishment of this National United Front of Kampuchea?
- 16 A. I respond to this question based on my understanding of the
- 17 situation back then. My understanding of the situation then was
- 18 that the political programs of the National United Front of
- 19 Kampuchea then was to reunite Cambodian and Khmer people in order
- 20 to build a just and fair society, and it was not a communist
- 21 society. So people from different political belief could join the
- 22 Front, they could be from the royal families or from other
- 23 political trends.
- 24 [14.02.27]
- 25 Q. Who was the chairman or president of this Front?

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- 1 A. The chairman of FUNK was his Royal Highness Samdech Norodom
- 2 Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth.
- 3 Q. Where did the FUNK receive its funding from?
- 4 A. Back then, I was still young, I did not know that much. But I
- 5 -- it was a supposition, but I thought that Cambodian people in
- 6 the country would not have money to send to support this movement
- 7 in Beijing. Probably it was supported by the government of China.
- 8 Q. Did Khieu Samphan or Nuon Chea ever participate in the FUNK?
- 9 A. I knew Mr. Khieu Samphan, I had never met him in person, not
- 10 until today, I had never met him in person. And Nuon Chea, I did
- 11 not even hear of his name. At that time, I did not hear of Nuon
- 12 Chea, I did not know. But I learn about Mr. Khieu Samphan and he
- 13 was of course in the FUNK. But Nuon Chea and Pol Pot, I did not
- 14 hear of them; I did not know what position they held at the time.
- 15 [14.04.19]
- 16 Q. How about Ieng Sary? Did Ieng Sary ever join the activities of
- 17 the FUNK?
- 18 A. When I was in a foreign country, gradually I got to know Mr.
- 19 Ieng Sary. By "getting to know", I mean I did not know him
- 20 personally but I heard more and more about him. I cannot recall
- 21 it exactly, but probably immediately after the coup d'état or
- 22 around two year following the coup d'état. He went to Beijing
- 23 representing the Cambodian Party, and at that time I was a
- 24 student and I thought that Ieng Sary would go there in order to
- 25 provide support to Samdech Sihanouk. He could act -- I thought at

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- 1 that time that as Chou En-Lai who was supporting Mao Zedong.
- 2 But when he got there, then he knew many Cambodian students who
- 3 used to study during his time in France. And then he had
- 4 influence on the Cambodian student community over there and it
- 5 gained momentum from then.
- 6 Q. Can you explain to the Court the relationship between Ieng
- 7 Sary with the Communist Movement in the country and his
- 8 relationship with Beijing?
- 9 [14.06.19]
- 10 A. Well, at that time, I was very young compared to other senior
- 11 people. If you ask me about that relationship, it's beyond my
- 12 ability to respond.
- 13 Q. So the FUNK started its activity in Beijing and then it came
- 14 to Cambodia. Can you tell the Court, in which areas of Cambodia
- 15 did the FUNK operate?
- 16 A. To my knowledge and according to the information I received at
- 17 that time, the activities started mainly in the countryside.
- 18 There were some sympathizers in the city as well. It is my
- 19 supposition, but I heard from Mr. Ieng Sary once in a while that
- 20 the FUNK political agenda was based on reuniting Cambodia. And
- 21 Mr. Ieng Sary did not take that political program very seriously
- 22 but it's -- once again, it is my supposition.
- 23 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 24 Witness, we have heard times and again that you mention about the
- 25 suppositions in your statement. Once again, if you try to guess

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- 1 anything, then it's not going to have any probative weight in
- 2 your testimony. So you have to rely on your -- rely your answer
- 3 on a -- any particular source, rather than trying to speculate.
- 4 That does not carry any evidentiary weight before the Chamber.
- 5 The Defence Counsel for Khieu Samphan, you may proceed.
- 6 [14.08.50]
- 7 MS. GUISSÉ:
- 8 Thank you, Mr. President. Good afternoon to all of you. Good
- 9 afternoon, Witness. I am -- I apologize for interrupting you once
- 10 again. I'm going to request, once again, if it's possible to slow
- 11 down because we have a hard time following the French
- 12 interpretation. Thank you.
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 There may be two options. Mr. Prosecutor, can you make sure that
- 15 you press the button of your mike? And you should ensure that
- 16 there is a pause between questions and answers.
- 17 You can -- in addition, the AV technician, please make sure that
- 18 the mike for the witness be activated once the question has
- 19 already been asked and interpreted.
- 20 [14.09.58]
- 21 BY MR. CHAN DARARASMEY:
- 22 Q. Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung, I would like to now continue my
- 23 question. You told us about Ieng Sary communication with the
- 24 Cambodian student in France and the FUNK. How did Mr Ieng Sary
- 25 communicate information from Cambodia to student in France?

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- 1 MR. ONG THONG HOEUNG:
- 2 A. In my personal observation, it was not my supposition but it
- 3 was my observation, that Mr. Ieng Sary circulated information
- 4 through the bulletin -- information bulletin of the Front. And
- 5 secondly, he tried to establish a core force of Cambodian
- 6 students and he would train them to hold on to the standpoint
- 7 which he represents back in Cambodia.
- 8 [14.11.43]
- 9 Q. For FUNK, following its inception, did it create any other
- 10 movements? And if so, where those movements were taking place?
- 11 A. No, I don't know about that.
- 12 Q. Thank you.
- 13 About Sihanoukism, the Sihanoukist Movement was established --
- 14 and who were the founders of this movement? And when was it
- 15 established?
- 16 A. Sihanoukist Movement was established by Samdech Sihanouk
- 17 himself. And Sihanoukist Movement had many trends, one of which
- 18 were those who were close to the Royal Palace, and another
- 19 supportive of those who worked closely with Samdech Penn Nouth
- 20 and Sarin Chhak; namely, Van Piny, Chan Yourann, Hor Namhong, and
- 21 others.
- 22 Q. Following the establishment of the FUNK, did it also establish
- 23 a representative office of FUNK in Paris?
- 24 A. Following the establishment of the Front in Beijing, Paris was
- 25 the second location where this Front was established. And Mr. Ok

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- 1 Sakun was the one in charge of the representative office in Paris
- 2 then.
- 3 [14.14.36]
- 4 Q. Thank you. What were the main missions of this representative
- 5 office in Paris?
- 6 A. The overall goal of establishing this representing office was
- 7 to propagandize to students in France and elsewhere in Europe.
- 8 Second objective was to publicize to the media outlets in Europe.
- 9 And third was to establish relationship with dignitaries as well
- 10 as political parties in Europe.
- 11 Q. Thank you. The Front -- the FUNK and the Khmer Students' Union
- 12 had some relationship. Can you describe the relationship between
- 13 the FUNK and the Students' Union in France?
- 14 A. Back then, a student did not resist in order to support
- 15 communism, but instead they try to resist to support
- 16 non-communist movement. That was what I knew at that time.
- 17 Secondly, the Front Movement, under the direction of Mr. Ieng
- 18 Sary, was meant to reconcile and unite Khmer people who had
- 19 different political trends to join as one unified association.
- 20 [14.16.57]
- 21 Q. Thank you. Just now you say that the representative office of
- 22 FUNK in France also published bulletin in France. So can you name
- 23 the -- can you tell the names of that bulletin?
- 24 A. It was called the National United Front of Kampuchea Bulletin,
- 25 if I remember correctly.

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- 1 Q. Thank you. Now I would like to move on to another topic
- 2 concerning the Khmer delegation in France. Can you tell me the
- 3 purpose of the visit of Khmer delegations to France?
- 4 A. I did not know the main purpose, but what I knew was that they
- 5 went there in order to publicize information to international
- 6 community.
- 7 Q. Who were part of this delegation? And who were the head of the
- 8 Cambodian delegation to France back then?
- 9 A. I knew that Ieng Sary was part of the delegation. Mr. Suong
- 10 Sikoeun was also part of the delegation, Mr. Chan Yourann and
- 11 others I cannot recall.
- 12 [14.19.06]
- 13 Q. Thank you. Mr. Ieng Sary was part of this delegation. What was
- 14 the main agenda for his visit? And where did he go in France? And
- 15 what statement did he make when he were in Paris?
- 16 A. He delivered many statements, but the one I remembered the
- 17 most was that the Cambodian people would succeed and gain victory
- 18 based on our own force. And he made this statement following the
- 19 meeting between the United States and Vietnam and other
- 20 imperialist, but I cannot recall them all.
- 21 Q. Did Mr. Ieng Sary ever attend -- how often did Mr. Ieng Sary
- 22 lead the delegation to France?
- 23 A. Mr. Ieng Sary visited France the most because he was the one
- 24 who communicated with his foreign counterparts. He visited South
- 25 America or other foreign countries. And normally he had to stop

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- 1 by Paris and he met Cambodian student and Cambodian communities
- 2 in Paris. And of course over there in France there were many
- 3 Cambodian nationals there and there were members of medias there,
- 4 as well. So he often stopped by Paris, but I cannot recall
- 5 exactly how many times he visited Paris.
- 6 [14.21.49]
- 7 Q. You said Mr. Ieng Sary visited Paris often. Did he make that
- 8 visit prior to 1975 or after 1975?
- 9 A. In my personal opinion -- I am not sure, but it could be both
- 10 prior to 1975 and after 1975.
- 11 Q. Thank you. Did Mr. Ieng Sary ever attend the United Nations
- 12 General Assembly?
- 13 A. Yes, I knew that Mr. Ieng Sary used to visit the United
- 14 Nations and he stopped over by Paris.
- 15 Q. When did he go to the United Nations and what did he address
- 16 the United Nations General Assembly then?
- 17 A. I'm sorry; I cannot recall the exact date.
- 18 Q. Can you recall the content of his statement he addressed the
- 19 United Nations General Assembly?
- 20 A. The thing that I can still recall was that he repeated many
- 21 times that the resistance force of Cambodia was self-reliant; we
- 22 had to rely on our own force. And Democratic Kampuchea was an
- 23 independent country and a non-aligned nation and a country that
- 24 does not -- oppose against imperialism.
- 25 [14.24.12]

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- 1 Q. When you were in France before you returned to Cambodia, did
- 2 you ever hear about the torture or execution of Cambodian people
- 3 in Cambodia?
- 4 A. After Phnom Penh was evacuated, I also heard about the
- 5 suffering of people in the countryside and mistreatment of people
- 6 in the countryside. And people who lived in the countryside could
- 7 not even pick the fruits that they had grown or planted, they
- 8 could not even cook the chicken that they had raised.
- 9 But back then, I did not believe that Cambodian people did not
- 10 have enough food to eat because I had been away from the country
- 11 for a long time. Then I could not believe my ears even if my
- 12 brothers who came to tell me the story, I did not believe him. I
- 13 only believed that Cambodian people did not kill their own
- 14 people.
- 15 [14.25.48]
- 16 A. Thank you. Just now you say that you also heard about the
- 17 evacuation of people out of Phnom Penh city. How did you know
- 18 this information? And what else did you know about this
- 19 evacuation; for example, what was the magnitude of the evacuation
- 20 itself?
- 21 A. I learned from international news, particularly news in
- 22 French, it discussed a lot about the evacuation. It mentioned
- 23 about Cambodian people who took refuge in the French embassy, and
- 24 there was information about the forbidden of people who sought
- 25 refuge in French embassy.

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- 1 So information were going around in the news at that time. But I
- 2 did not believe it because I was convinced that that was not the
- 3 real situation on the ground in Cambodia at the time.
- 4 Q. Thank you. After you received information about the evacuation
- 5 of people out of the city as well as the execution of the people,
- 6 did you ever receive any information directly from Mr. Ieng Sary?
- 7 Or did you ever hear any information explanation, whatsoever,
- 8 from the leadership of the Democratic Kampuchea then?
- 9 [14.27.29]
- 10 A. At the time, I can recall clearly when he was at the United
- 11 Nations General Assembly, he had a press statement over there
- 12 that those people who had been evacuated were returned gradually
- 13 back to the city. And I was one of the sympathizer of -- as well,
- 14 and I thought that those people who had sacrificed their life and
- 15 their happiness to save the country would not do anything that
- 16 would put their country at risk. So, whatever he said at that
- 17 time, I believed completely.
- 18 Q. Thank you.
- 19 So I now move on to another topic concerning your return back to
- 20 Cambodia. What was the motivation for your repatriation back to
- 21 Cambodia?
- 22 A. In hindsight, the feeling of many Cambodians, including
- 23 myself, was that we did not want to stay in foreign country, we
- 24 want to return and to die back in our native country. That was
- 25 the strong belief of the general Cambodians. At that time, if I

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- 1 lived overseas and when I close my eyes I could imagine my native
- 2 village, my people and relatives.
- 3 And I never for once wanted to stay or leave till my death in a
- 4 foreign country.
- 5 [14.30.03]
- 6 Q. My apology for arousing such an emotional question to you.
- 7 With whom did you return to Cambodia?
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 The time is appropriate for an afternoon break and also for the
- 10 witness to recompose himself. We shall take a break and return at
- 11 10 to 3.00.
- 12 Court Officer, could you assist the witness during the break and
- have him return to the courtroom at 10 to 3.00?
- 14 (Court recesses from 1431H to 1450H)
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 You may be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 17 The Prosecutor, you may resume your questioning of the witness.
- 18 BY MR. CHAN DARARASMEY:
- 19 I thank you, Mr. President. Allow me to resume.
- 20 Q. My question to you is in regards to your returning back to
- 21 Cambodia. Did you return to Cambodia voluntarily or were you
- 22 forced to?
- 23 MR. ONG THONG HOEUNG:
- 24 A. In fact it was a voluntary return. I was not forced to do so.
- 25 [14.52.02]

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- 1 As I said earlier, I thought of my country and my wife had
- 2 already returned in January, six months prior to my return. So
- 3 there were several reasons for me to return.
- 4 Q. Why did your wife return to Cambodia before you?
- 5 A. My wife was a professor and she was never involved in
- 6 politics. She only thought of the culture, and the friends, and
- 7 the Khmer literature. However, after our marriage, and as I
- 8 wanted her to return to Cambodia, and so she did, although she
- 9 never said of anything regarding her return to Cambodia; that was
- 10 because of my advice.
- 11 Q. Thank you. So it means that you both agreed to return to
- 12 Cambodia?
- 13 [14.53.58]
- 14 A. Yes, you can say so.
- 15 Q. Thank you. With whom did you return to Cambodia at the time?
- 16 A. I cannot recall it clearly. It was in July 1976. Amongst us
- 17 there were former military personnel from the United States.
- 18 There were about 10 of them. There were chargé d'affaires of the
- 19 GRUNK from Cuba, Mr. Pov (phonetic) Seang and his wife, who was
- 20 the daughter of -- a Khmer film star, Dara Dirivath (phonetic),
- 21 and a daughter, and there were the wife of Srey Thonn, who was
- 22 the younger in-law of Madam Ieng Thirith. He married the younger
- 23 sister of Ieng Thirith, and Ms. Thonn was probably chargé
- 24 d'affaires in the east -- in East Germany, and a while after she
- 25 died, the three children came along, as well as the mother of

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- 1 Ieng Thirith also on board, and Ieng Thirath, the daughter of
- 2 Ieng Thirith also came along. At that time, the person was a
- 3 professor at a secondary school. So, for that family, there was
- 4 Ieng Thirith's mother, two of her younger sisters and three
- 5 nephews -- in fact, one niece and two nephews.
- 6 [14.56.51]
- 7 Q. Thank you. While you were travelling together with those who
- 8 you just described, was the wife of Ieng Sary and the relatives
- 9 of the family give you any information regarding the situation
- 10 back home?
- 11 A. The memory that I had was that they all had sad faces. I could
- 12 not say whether the sadness was the result of her husband who
- 13 just passed away -- that is the one who was the ambassador to
- 14 East Germany -- or whether the sadness because of their return to
- 15 the country. But they were a friendly group of people and I
- 16 really respected the mother of Ms. Ieng Thirith. She did not
- 17 speak much and I respected her as I respected my mother. She was
- 18 gentle in her speech and that family in general were not
- 19 politically motivated.
- 20 They did not know much about politics. They never joined FUNK.
- 21 That's how my impression was. And their the reason for
- 22 returning to Cambodia was that may be because of their -- the son
- 23 who held a senior position in the country, and maybe because the
- 24 daughter of Ms. Thonn, whose father passed away recently, had a
- 25 very sad face and wept occasionally. I'm not sure why she wept;

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- 1 it could be because she was forced to return home, or for some
- 2 other reasons. But, in general, they were quiet and friendly
- 3 while we were on the plane.
- 4 [14.59.12]
- 5 Regarding other people, including those military personnel from
- 6 the United States, they were actually those who recently fled
- 7 from Kampong Som to Thailand and they were former residents in
- 8 Khmer -- in Kampuchea Krom and their wish was to return back home
- 9 to defend their country, and sometimes they were -- some of them
- 10 were experts in different fields and for the purpose of defending
- 11 the country.
- 12 Q. Thank you.
- 13 Before your return to Cambodia, did you receive any bad news
- 14 regarding the situation back home? Aand if so, what was the news
- 15 about?
- 16 [15.00.10]
- 17 A. The news that I really wanted to hear is in relation to my
- 18 wife, who had returned to Cambodia before me. I was really
- 19 anxious as I did not receive any news at all after her return.
- 20 And for those who were lucky to leave, including Suong Sikoeun
- 21 and In Sopheap, who left with the delegation, I kept asking
- 22 people about the whereabouts of my wife, and I was told she was
- 23 okay. She was at the pedagogical institute, etc. That's how those
- 24 friends told me and, of course, I believed them.
- 25 But I did not know whether my friends told me the truth or they

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- 1 actually knew about the real situation.
- 2 Of course, we received other news about the refugees leaving
- 3 Cambodia due to the worse situation and starvations in the
- 4 countryside. And as I used to live in Cambodia as well, I could
- 5 always imagine that where there is water, there is a fish and so
- 6 there would be plenty of food to live on in Cambodia. However,
- 7 that was my subjective conclusion and as I had been abroad for so
- 8 long, my sentiment did not lead me to the suspicion of what I was
- 9 told.
- 10 I strongly believed that we have Tonle Sap and Tonle Bassac, and
- 11 the food should be abundant, and I did not believe in the issue
- 12 of starvation.
- 13 Q. Thank you. The aircraft which you took from France, where did
- 14 it land on the way to Cambodia?
- 15 [15.03.17]
- 16 A. Back then, there was no direct flight to Cambodia. All the
- 17 flights had to stop over and transit in Beijing. So I had to stop
- 18 over in Beijing and stayed there for two nights before I
- 19 continued to Cambodia.
- 20 Q. Thank you. So in Beijing, when the flight landed over there
- 21 and stopover there, who went to receive the Cambodian delegates
- 22 at the airport in Beijing?
- 23 A. When I got to Beijing, I saw Cambodian youths in -- which were
- 24 wearing short sleeve shirts and black trousers. They were not
- 25 diplomats. They were youths who spoke Khmer and they were the

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- 1 staff members of the embassies. There were four or five of them
- 2 standing there to wait for us.
- 3 And the passengers on the plane were of three categories: one was
- 4 the family members of Ieng Sary, and to my recollection, for this
- 5 group of people, the Chinese official came to take them.
- 6 And Hay Kim Seang, who was the chargé d'affaires of Democratic
- 7 Kampuchea to Cuba. I knew him actually, this gentleman, because
- 8 he was the former student in Moscow. He went to stay at the
- 9 Cambodian Embassy in Beijing.
- 10 And I had to be taken to a hotel not too far from the airport. It
- 11 was actually the hotel reserved for passengers who had to transit
- 12 in Beijing.
- 13 [15.05.51]
- 14 Q. When you arrived at the airport in Beijing, were you told of
- 15 any information about Cambodia at all?
- 16 A. When I arrived in Beijing, I did not receive any information,
- 17 but the youth who went to receive us, they told me that they were
- 18 the former combatants, that they were supposed to be the heroes
- 19 because they had conquered the war in Cambodia. And they told me
- 20 that if I had free time, I should visit the Cambodian Embassy,
- 21 and I went to visit Tiananmen Square and then I continued to
- 22 visit the embassy -- Cambodian Embassy over there.
- 23 And what I noted over there was that there were a lot of young
- 24 people working over there, and Mr. Touch (phonetic) Chheang was
- 25 the Ambassador back then. And as -- looking at his appearance, I

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- 1 did not think that that person was a diplomat, was an ambassador
- 2 because his physical appearance did not tell me that he was a
- 3 diplomat. But he lived with his family in the embassy and other
- 4 than that, there were other young officials working at the
- 5 embassy.
- 6 [15.07.45]
- 7 I had met with diplomats in other countries, but --- for example,
- 8 Mr. Pech Chheang was someone who was senior but what I noted that
- 9 was a bit strange was that there were young people working in
- 10 this embassy. That was my observation, and Mr. Pech Chheang also
- 11 talked about the situations in Cambodia and he told me about the
- 12 situation, and he asked me a lot of questions about my knowledge
- 13 about the Cambodian country. And he -- I talked to Mr. Pech
- 14 Chheang and he told me that the information that I had received
- 15 about Cambodia was not true because he continued to convince me
- 16 that those people were of a revisionist sentiment. So, now,
- 17 Cambodian society at the time did not need those people anymore.
- 18 So I asked other people about him, and he -- I was told that he
- 19 used to be a teacher back in Cambodia. But then I thought that
- 20 probably this person was overjoyed with the victory. I thought to
- 21 myself, "I know Khieu Samphan, Ieng Sary, and others before". But
- 22 I did not believe whatever people told me because I had already
- 23 believed in the situation back in Cambodia.
- 24 [15.09.35]
- 25 Q. Thank you. You said you met with the diplomats in Beijing and

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- 1 you also listened to their description of the situation back in
- 2 Cambodia. So, upon hearing their story, did you still intend to
- 3 return to Cambodia or you intended to return back to France?
- 4 A. Upon hearing the story by those diplomats, when I returned to
- 5 the hotel, I thought to myself, "Why they told me those stories?"
- 6 It raised suspicion in my mind. Then I thought to myself -- well,
- 7 since I had already decided to return to Cambodia, I had to reach
- 8 Cambodia.
- 9 Q. Thank you.
- 10 While you were in Beijing, did you ever meet personally with Ieng
- 11 Sary or any other senior leaders of the Democratic Kampuchea
- 12 while in Beijing?
- 13 A. No I didn't. I did not meet anyone other than the people I
- 14 have just mentioned earlier.
- 15 [15.11.23]
- 16 Q. Thank you. Then when did you leave Beijing for Cambodia?
- 17 A. I cannot recall it well, but it could have been two or three
- 18 days. No longer than two or three days after I arrived in
- 19 Beijing, then I left for Cambodia.
- 20 Q. Thank you. So before you left Beijing for Cambodia, did you
- 21 ever receive any information or statement made by Ieng Sary or
- 22 other leaders of the Democratic Kampuchea? That was before you
- 23 left Beijing for Cambodia.
- 24 A. No, I didn't. If I were in France, I would go to the news
- 25 outlet and got a newspaper to read in French, but in Beijing I

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- 1 did not have -- I could not read Chinese. So I could not get and
- 2 understand the information in Chinese. And I did not have access
- 3 to Khmer speaking radios over there as well, so I did not know
- 4 any information.
- 5 Q. Thank you.
- 6 So I would like to move to another topic concerning your arrival
- 7 in Cambodia. So, when you got back to Cambodia, I would like to
- 8 know about the place you stayed as well as the work you did.
- 9 When you first arrived in Cambodia, you landed at Pochentong.
- 10 What was your overall impression of the situation surrounding
- 11 Pochentong?
- 12 [15.13.23]
- 13 A. It was -- the memory was vivid. It was like I travelled and
- 14 landed in Pochentong yesterday.
- 15 When the aircraft landed in Cambodian territory, militaries,
- 16 students -- stared out of the aircraft window and then they saw
- 17 vacant lands, they saw different pictures out of the aircraft
- 18 windows. And then they were very excited for arriving home. And
- 19 they saw -- they saw the large pitch or holes because of the
- 20 carpet bombardment by the U.S. B-52.
- 21 So we were very deeply moved by this situation, and we wanted to
- 22 arrive in Cambodia as soon as possible, so that we could see by
- 23 our own eyes what happened to our country.
- 24 Then when we landed, personally, I can't recall because I left
- 25 Cambodia in 1965 and I never returned to Cambodia until that day.

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- 1 Because I could still recall that on that day, my wife -- or my
- 2 mother saw me off at the airport, and I looked at the buildings
- 3 and landscape towards the west of the airport. But when I
- 4 arrived, I did not see any such same situation. I only saw a few
- 5 mechanics -- Chinese mechanics who were dressed in white. And
- 6 other than those mechanics and technicians, I only noted that the
- 7 people were wearing different types of clothes. It was not the
- 8 clothes worn by the people working in the airport normally. I did
- 9 not know. I just wondered to myself where I -- which country I
- 10 was in. I thought that I was not in any particular country.
- 11 [15.16.01]
- 12 So, at that time, if they asked whether or not I wanted to board
- 13 the plane and return back or not, I would probably have done that
- 14 because I did not even know where -- in which country I was
- 15 really in, because the situation was different. Because the
- 16 person who actually conducted the search of the arrival
- 17 passenger, they had with them a bucket where they removed our
- 18 belongings.
- 19 And then I went out at the arrival gate and then I hoped that I
- 20 would see my wife, but actually I did not. I saw So Hong. So Hong
- 21 waved his right (sic) at me. Of course, So Hong used to live in a
- 22 foreign country. He visited France once or twice. I met him over
- 23 there as well, and he used to tell me that if I came from Kaoh
- 24 Thum hometown, he would accompany me back to my hometown.
- 25 So he -- actually, So Hong, looked at me as if I was somebody who

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- 1 was not equal to him when I met him. He just pointed to other
- 2 people -- said -- saying that "those people would come and
- 3 receive you", and then he just walked away. And then I started to
- 4 get on a Volkswagen or so -- make of the car, I cannot recall --
- 5 and then, when I got on the car, they took me along the way to a
- 6 Khmer-Soviet technical school in Phnom Penh.
- 7 [15.17.57]
- 8 Q. Thank you, Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung.
- 9 I would like to expand further on that. When you arrived in
- 10 Pochentong Airport, beside So Hong, did you meet anyone else?
- 11 A. I met a few other Khmer people who used to live overseas; for
- 12 example, Hak Sieng Lay Ni and one or two others. Hak Sieng Lay Ni
- 13 was a former student in Moscow and I met him and then he just
- 14 tapped on my shoulder, and then he left. He did not speak much.
- 15 He simply came and see me. I was surprised when I got that
- 16 because I used to know him, and I considered him a close person
- 17 to me. But when I met him for the first time, he simply tapped on
- 18 my shoulder and left and I was taken aback by that, and then they
- 19 asked me to get into the car. Then I just did.
- 20 [15.19.20]
- 21 Q. Thank you. You mentioned about So Hong. Did So Hong tell you
- 22 on your arrival what position he held at the time?
- 23 A. No, I did not know at the time, but I met him and Ieng Sary.
- 24 People told me that he was the close aide of Ieng Sary.
- 25 Q. Did you ask the person who took away or removed your passport

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- 1 from you -- did you ask them for the reason for the removal of
- 2 your passport?
- 3 A. I dare not ask because I understood the atmosphere over there.
- 4 I did not even dare to open my mouth to ask. I looked at the
- 5 people's facial expression around me. They were very serious. I
- 6 did not dare even to smile at them.
- 7 Q. Thank you. When you left the Pochentong International Airport,
- 8 what was your impression of the situation along the road into
- 9 Phnom Penh?
- 10 [15.20.56]
- 11 A. First, I still had a good memory of Pochentong road connecting
- 12 to Phnom Penh, and my sister's house was not quite far from the
- 13 Khmer Soviet technical school. So before I left for France, I had
- 14 acquainted myself with the location. I noted that back then there
- 15 were many people and traffic was quite hectic as well.
- 16 But surprisingly, when I returned this time, I did not see many
- 17 traffic and I also witnessed some broken cars left unattended on
- 18 the street, and I also saw some of the things that had not been
- 19 maintained for a long time, and houses were abandoned as well.
- 20 And certain houses were not occupied by people, and trees and/or
- 21 grass were growing on those old and dilapidated houses. I thought
- 22 that these houses were not occupied by any owners.
- 23 [15.22.16]
- 24 Q. So, along the way, did you notice the presence of any soldiers
- 25 of the Democratic Kampuchea guarding along the streets?

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- 1 A. Apart from the soldiers, I did not see the presence of
- 2 civilians. I only noted that there were soldiers, and those are
- 3 very young soldiers.
- 4 Q. When the intellectuals or other Cambodian people who returned
- 5 from France and elsewhere to Cambodia, did the leaders of the
- 6 Khmer Rouge -- Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary or Khieu Samphan -- prepare
- 7 any welcome ceremony or so for those returnees?
- 8 A. (No interpretation) -- I did not meet those senior leaders. I
- 9 only met Ieng Sary a few weeks later after that.
- 10 MR. CHAN DARARASMEY:
- 11 (No interpretation)
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 (No interpretation)
- 14 [15.24.15]
- 15 BY MR. CHAN DARARASMEY:
- 16 Q. When you arrived in Cambodia--
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 (No interpretation)
- 19 Prosecutor, you may continue.
- 20 BY MR. CHAN DARARASMEY:
- 21 Thank you, Mr. President. I would like to continue my question.
- 22 Q. When you left Pochentong Airport, where did they take you to
- 23 and what work was assigned to you?
- 24 [15.25.28]
- 25 MR. ONG THONG HOEUNG:

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- 1 A. On the first day of our arrival, they took us from Pochentong
- 2 Airport and then they dropped us at the former Khmer-Soviet
- 3 Technical School.
- 4 Q. Did they assign any work for you to undertake? And if so, what
- 5 was the assignment? And where did you undertake those
- 6 assignments?
- 7 A. When we first arrived, they told us to take a little rest. At
- 8 that time, they offered us rice to eat. And they only offered us
- 9 the old rice to eat, and I also noticed that people surrounding
- 10 that premise are physically very thin and skinny. And they kept
- 11 telling us that we had to be patient because soon the situation
- 12 would be better.
- 13 So we had to stay over there for a few more days and then they
- 14 assigned us to go to the rice fields and they also asked us to
- 15 restore broken houses as well. And sometimes they asked us to
- 16 take away the rocks in order to make way for rice growing, and
- 17 they also asked us to move the houses as well.
- 18 [15.27.36]
- 19 Q. Thank you. When you were staying at the "techno" school, did
- 20 you receive any information about your wife and if you did, where
- 21 did you get the information from?
- 22 A. When I first arrived, I met some of my friends whom I had just
- 23 been away from each other for four months or five months, but I
- 24 saw their physical look. It was like they were the Jewish people
- 25 in another country that I watched in the films.

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- 1 And I saw some old, senior people, like Om Meng Mao and others --
- 2 had to do hard labour; they had to carry water and they had to
- 3 work very, very hard, and he had to pick up and search the
- 4 rubbish bin in order to look for the banana skin. I used to meet
- 5 those old people who ate "fromage" and send cheese and good foods
- 6 back in the foreign country, but when I witnessed that situation,
- 7 I was deeply moved.
- 8 [15.29.32]
- 9 And when I was observing that, I saw my wife from a distance, and
- 10 then I realized that my wife must have been working with this
- 11 technical school. But even if my wife saw me from a distance, she
- 12 dare not approach me, but not until late in the afternoon, when
- 13 she completed her task. She came to meet me briefly. She told me
- 14 that I had to do whatever I was assigned to do, and I must never
- 15 put my hands on my vest when I talked to anyone. I had to be
- 16 polite and respect the rules. And if I had anything in my
- 17 possession -- for example, candies or medicine, or so -- I must
- 18 not share with anyone else or -- because if they learn that, I
- 19 would be in trouble. That's what my wife told me at that time.
- 20 Q. Thank you. When did you and your wife come to live together?
- 21 A. I cannot recall it clearly. However, it was about one week or
- 22 10 days after. They gave us a place on the third floor or
- 23 something at that technical institute and where I stayed with my
- 24 wife.
- 25 Q. Thank you.

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- 1 My question is related to K-15. Do you know K-15? If so, what was
- 2 K-15? And where was it located? And who actually established that
- 3 K-15? And who, actually -- the head of K-15?
- 4 [15.31.22]
- 5 A. K-15 was a technical institute. It's the code name for that
- 6 institute. When I arrived, the person who was the head was Phum -
- 7 Bong Phum. The person was younger than me, but out of respect, we
- 8 call him Bong -- or Brother, Brother Phum.
- 9 He was the head, and he was the one who received us. One of my
- 10 friends whispered to me that that person, Phum, had another name
- 11 -- but I cannot recall the name -- and that he used to study at
- 12 that technical school. But he advised me just to ignore it and
- 13 not -- pretend not to know him or to know his background.
- 14 Q. Thank you. What was the purpose of the establishment of K-15?
- 15 A. It was a re-education place, or centre.
- 16 Q. Can you tell us when it was established?
- 17 [15.33.23]
- 18 A. I do not know, but when my wife returned, she went to that
- 19 institute. So it means that it had been established upon the
- 20 arrival of my wife in January.
- 21 Q. Besides the person by the name of Phum, did you recognize any
- 22 other individuals working at that technical school?
- 23 A. There were a few soldiers -- or three or five soldiers, but I
- 24 cannot recall the names. And they were young.
- 25 Q. Thank you. Did you ever see Ieng Sary or Khieu Samphan or Nuon

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- 1 Chea or any other leaders of the Khmer Rouge go there to visit or
- 2 to hold a meeting -- at K-15, I mean?
- 3 A. Upon my return and upon my departure, no. There was none. But
- 4 my wife told me upon her arrival there was a study session
- 5 chaired by Khieu Samphan.
- 6 Q. Did she tell you the content of that study session?
- 7 A. I asked her what did he teach. She said, first, Khieu Samphan
- 8 -- she actually called him Brother Khieu Samphan or Bong Khieu
- 9 Samphan -- she talked that it was right that we were patriotic,
- 10 that were returning to Cambodia, and, number two, Cambodia is
- 11 being developed and it needs the resources, and also that we had
- 12 to build ourselves. And besides that, I cannot recall any other
- 13 point.
- 14 [15.35.52]
- 15 Q. You said K-15 was an education -- re-education centre. What
- 16 types of people were sent to be re-educated at K-15?
- 17 A. Those Cambodian people coming from overseas, like my group.
- 18 However, they were also subdivided.
- 19 There were those Khmer students from overseas, and there were
- 20 soldiers. I learned at a later stage that some Cambodians
- 21 arriving from overseas were taken away, but I did not know where
- 22 they were taken to.
- 23 But, in general, that location was for Cambodians arriving from
- 24 overseas. However, some other Cambodians from overseas were not
- 25 taken to K-15, and I saw their names later at Tuol Sleng. The

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- 1 majority of those people at K-15 were from France, and others
- 2 from the United States or military soldiers who were later on
- 3 taken away. There were also some Cambodians from the Soviet Union
- 4 or from the Eastern Bloc who were also later taken away from
- $5 \quad K-15.$
- 6 [15.37.35]
- 7 Q. Did you know the reasons for the categorization of people
- 8 arriving from overseas?
- 9 A. Back then, I did not know. I did not know why some of the
- 10 Cambodians arriving from overseas were taken away.
- 11 Q. During your stay at K-15, did you actually see any particular
- 12 events or general events during that time? Can you describe it?
- 13 A. The general situation was that we had to rebuild ourselves.
- 14 And we rebuild ourselves -- means to break the rock in order to
- 15 build the rice field. And -- for example, that was done near
- 16 Borei Keila -- or to grow morning glory. And as we were told, to
- 17 engage in intensive labour was an effective way to rebuild
- 18 oneself. And then there would be sessions for criticism and
- 19 self-criticism. And on a weekly basis there would be a team
- 20 meeting, and once in a while there would be a study session.
- 21 That was the general situation, and it is rather difficult to
- 22 explain any further, as we just engaged in the production, in
- 23 carrying rocks, in doing whatever task we were assigned to. Some
- 24 of us would work with fertilizer number one, which was one of
- 25 their main strategies.

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- 1 [15.40.02]
- 2 Fertilizer number 1 means the mixture of the faeces with urine.
- 3 That was one of the core tasks of the Revolution. And if we were
- 4 able to produce effective fertilizer number one, it would mean we
- 5 were effective in rebuilding ourselves. So, in short, it means
- 6 that we would be able to get rid of our existing stance or status
- 7 in the class.
- 8 Q. My question is in regards to freedom and discipline practiced
- 9 at K-15. If any of the residents at K-15 -- workers at K-15 --
- 10 were they allowed any freedom? Or if they made any mistake, what
- 11 kind of discipline applied to them?
- 12 A. We saw first, as ourselves, what re-education was. The
- 13 re-education was for us to forget everything in the past. And the
- 14 main point was that we shall be able to understand that if we
- 15 want a freedom, freedom does not exist, because Angkar or
- 16 organization itself is a freedom.
- 17 And the word "Angkar" itself -- for example, when it comes to
- 18 criticism or self-criticism, it means we were limited to
- 19 criticize our group members only, those from overseas. Or maybe
- 20 someone could not engage intensively in the labour force or some
- 21 others would still have their sentiments -- sentimental feelings
- 22 overseas, in Paris or somewhere else overseas.
- 23 [15.42.40]
- 24 And if somebody senior made a mistake or something, then we would
- 25 not be -- we were not there to criticize. It would be Phum, the

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- 1 head. Phum would represent justice. He would represent Angkar.
- 2 And we did not have the authority to criticize him or to
- 3 criticize any combatant working in that centre. We could only
- 4 criticize ourselves among the group to rebuild our stance.
- 5  $\,$  And usually we would engage in this criticism and self-criticism
- 6 before we took a rest. And the main objective was that we would
- 7 serve our boundless organization -- or Angkar, because Angkar
- 8 represented the justice. And if we believed in that perception,
- 9 then there would be nothing else to consider. Angkar was the main
- 10 thing -- as -- in part of our life there. And we refashioned
- 11 ourselves in order to become a pure labour or peasants' class.
- 12 [15.44.03]
- 13 But the question is whether the labour class or the peasant class
- 14 could lead to a better future. I did not see it that way, but I
- 15 was also rather confused. I was not -- know the intention of
- 16 assigned re-education. Everything was mixed up, because
- 17 everything which was related to Angkar -- would mean that thing
- 18 or that aspect would be perfection. We could only criticize our
- 19 group members. So when you come to talk about freedom -- freedom
- 20 did not exist in that sense. No freedom, no democracy -- that
- 21 means no free speech. If we speak -- if we were to speak, it
- 22 meant we might make mistakes as well. That's what the situation
- 23 was at K-15.
- 24 We did not have a freedom of speech. We also did not have a
- 25 freedom of not speaking.

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- 1 Q. What about the disciplinary sanction? How the disciplinary
- 2 sanction worked, if someone made a mistake?
- 3 A. In that centre, I never witnessed any beat-up or any torture.
- 4 I also never saw anyone die at that location.
- 5 [15.45.51]
- 6 I, of course, saw people who were taken out, but I did not know
- 7 the reason for them to be taken out. Probably they were taken out
- 8 by Angkar for some other reasons. Some soldiers who came with me
- 9 -- they were taken out, and some of them were not satisfied with
- 10 the situation at that centre.
- 11 At that time, I did not have any suspicion at all that they would
- 12 be taken out and executed at S-21. I never thought of it that
- 13 way. We -- I did not witness any physical torture. Of course,
- 14 there was -- this psychological torture that we suffered by
- ourselves internally. But we were never beaten up.
- 16 Q. What about the food regime?
- 17 A. In my book, I wrote a portion regarding the food ration. It
- 18 was like a thick gruel, but it's not rice. There were more
- 19 morning glory with just a few grains of rice.
- 20 There was barely any fish in the soup, or in that gruel mixed
- 21 with morning glory. It's like the food we give pigs to eat.
- 22 Q. Who actually made the decision regarding this food ration? Was
- 23 there any order? Or who actually made that decision?
- 24 [15.48.01]
- 25 A. I did not know. Everybody said it was from Angkar.

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- 1 Q. What was the purpose of the establishment of Angkar and what
- 2 did it mean?
- 3 A. I think we have to ask the brothers -- or "bong bong" -- who
- 4 actually established Angkar.
- 5 For us, Angkar asked us to re-educate ourselves, but I did not
- 6 know the purpose of such re-education.
- 7 Q. Did you ever hear Ieng Sary or Nuon Chea or Khieu Samphan say
- 8 anything or disseminate anything regarding the lines of the Party
- 9 from the upper to the lower echelons, either at K-15 or at other
- 10 locations?
- 11 A. I stayed at K-15. That was after my arrival in Cambodia and
- 12 after a time I left in '79. I never heard of the name Nuon Chea.
- 13 I did not know who he was, and during the time of my stay at K-15
- 14 we heard of the word "Angkar", and "Angkar" educated us that we
- 15 shall have pride in the Kampuchean Revolution, that we shall
- 16 rebuild ourselves.
- 17 [15.50.10]
- 18 I heard of all that points, but I did not know the purpose of
- 19 such rebuilding or re-education -- until when it should conclude.
- 20 As I said, I did not know the purpose of the rebuilding oneself,
- 21 or how we should learn anything regarding the revolution through
- 22 such medium.
- 23 I could not grasp anything at the time. I just blindly followed
- 24 what I was asked to do. I was rather hopeless back then, and I
- 25 just wished the end would come -- when we heard on the radio that

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- 1 the revolution would be marvellous and that it would last for the
- 2 next 3,000 years. It was very difficult to recount the story, but
- 3 in short it means the future was not near.
- 4 Q. Thank you.
- 5 Did you ever know -- hear about the disappearance of people
- 6 during the Khmer Rouge regime? And what does it mean? And why
- 7 some people disappeared?
- 8 [15.51.44]
- 9 A. I came to know about the disappearance clearly only when I
- 10 returned to Phnom Penh in May or June 1979. At that time, I went
- 11 to Tuol Sleng, which was also known as S-21, and I worked there
- 12 for a period of time. And there -- where I learned that those
- 13 comrades who disappeared had their names at Tuol Sleng. Then I
- 14 realized those friends who disappeared from the "Red Land" Camp
- 15 were sent to be killed at Prey Kong, or Kong Forest. It's about 3
- 16 kilometres from Tuol Sleng. It's just a rough estimating of the
- 17 distance, because from the Dei Kraham -- or the "Red Land" --
- 18 Camp we could see that area. So people -- some of the people had
- 19 their names listed at S-21, and some were at the "Red Land" Camp
- 20 in Stueng Trang district.
- 21 Q. Can you tell us more regarding the place where you stayed and
- 22 worked? Did you personally witness the activities of the Khmer
- 23 Rouge cadres? What did they do to all the Cambodian people at the
- 24 location where you either lived or worked?
- 25 A. At K-15 or at other locations, we only lived within the

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- 1 parameter of the camp. We did not have any contact with the
- 2 outsider or with other people. We were not allowed to do so. So,
- 3 during my entire time staying in the camp during the Khmer Rouge
- 4 regime, I was not aware of the living conditions of the people.
- 5 [15.54.41]
- 6 We did not receive any letters from anyone. We were not visited
- 7 by anyone. We only lived amongst ourselves. And we were not
- 8 allowed to contact any other individuals besides the members of
- 9 our group.
- 10 For example, at K-15, I saw an old man who was walking along the
- 11 rail tracks. If we were to go and talk to him, then we would be
- 12 criticized during the meeting. So, besides -- who were allowed by
- 13 Angkar to contact, we would not be allowed to contact any other
- 14 individual, so I did not know anything at all regarding the
- 15 living status of the Cambodian people. We were told that people
- 16 would have three meals per day in the community, but in reality
- 17 we did not know anything and we did not witness any such
- 18 situation. And when we were told that they had three meals per
- 19 day, we wished that we would be able to join the people at the
- 20 community to have that same luxury of three meals per day.
- 21 [15.56.00]
- 22 Q. I'd like to move on to another topic. It is in relations to
- D-2. Can you tell us what D-2 was, and where it was located, and
- 24 the purpose for its establishment?
- 25 A. I stayed at K-15 for a while after my arrival. Probably I had

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- 1 stayed there for three months or a little bit more than three
- 2 months. Then some of us were transferred to the factory, and
- 3 others were sent to Angkor Chey. It was a state farm.
- 4 As for myself and a few of my friends -- there were five other
- 5 friends -- we were sent to D-2. D-2 was a factory located in
- 6 between Phnom Penh to Preaek Pnov. It was around the vicinity of
- 7 kilometre number 6, but I currently cannot locate that place.
- 8 [15.57.20]
- 9 It was an old factory. We were sent there and there were five of
- 10 us altogether. And the head of the factory, by the of Sok, told
- 11 us that during the attack on Phnom Penh, Angkar instructed him
- 12 and his group, who were soldiers -- and there were about 200 of
- 13 them -- to station at that factory. And his group -- the majority
- 14 of them were young soldiers -- made their base there for various
- 15 reasons, including that they were not familiar with the Phnom
- 16 Penh location.
- 17 So they based in the old factory. They did not even know what a
- 18 refrigerator looked like. And he was instructed by Angkar to make
- 19 the machinery in that factory operational. And as I observe in
- 20 the factory, there was him, who was a soldier, and there were a
- 21 few Chinese-Cambodian families. And he told me that they were the
- 22 former workers who used to work in that factory, so that the
- 23 factory could function as these former workers could teach the
- 24 soldiers to operate the rice threshing machinery over there.
- 25 Q. Did you ever meet the Cambodian intellectuals whom you knew at

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- 1 D-2?
- 2 [15.59.28]
- 3 A. Besides my group -- that is, a group of five members -- I only
- 4 saw the soldiers and families of soldiers, and occasionally I saw
- 5 Vorn Vet, who came to inspect the place. I did not know him, but
- 6 I was told that it was Vorn Vet who came to inspect the place.
- 7 But I never saw anybody else.
- 8 Q. Did you ever see Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, or Nuon Chea
- 9 visiting D-2, or was there a meeting held at D-2?
- 10 A. No.
- 11 Q. At D-2, what was your main function, and what was the
- 12 day-to-day work assigned to personnel over there?
- 13 A. The main function of D-2 was rice mill. But it was a
- 14 traditional rice milling factory. And there were some personnel
- 15 who were attached to China in order to learn some skill in
- 16 refining iron ore. And iron ore was the raw material, and
- 17 normally every day they would send a young teenager to go out to
- 18 Phnom Penh to collect the iron pieces, and then they would be --
- 19 it would be collected and refined.
- 20 [16.01.58]
- 21 And when I went to visit that factory, I was happy because I
- 22 thought that it was a place where we would meet other people over
- 23 there. And then, when we got there, they told us that -- they
- 24 told us that we were called the "Front People". And I noted that
- 25 those people knew me -- that I was from the Front, but the --

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1 Angkar advised us that we had to hide our own identity and we had

- 2 to try to blend ourselves with other people. So we had to
- 3 remember that in our mind, that we had -- we must not let other
- 4 people that we were from a foreign country or we were educated
- 5 overseas. We had to be friends with people and peasants at the
- 6 base.
- 7 And when we got to B-2, people over there knew where we were
- 8 from, and Brother Phum, who told us not to reveal our identity to
- 9 them -- actually, those people knew us already, so we could not
- 10 maintain the secrecy. We did not know whether or not we could
- 11 really maintain the secrecy about our identity because they had
- 12 already known our identity already. And people over there -- Sok
- 13 told me that I should join his group.
- 14 [16.03.35]
- 15 Then our friends who went there, who -- told me that we must
- 16 remove our mentality of being intellectuals and we had to blend
- 17 ourselves with other peasants and we have to forge ourselves with
- 18 the people over there and then try to integrate ourselves within
- 19 the group. And they told me that I -- they told me that they
- 20 needed technician people with technical skills or so. So it was
- 21 like they were trying to convince me in order to elicit the
- 22 answer from me. And they tried to persuade me in many ways. For
- 23 example, they needed technical skill people in order to ensure
- 24 that the factory would be operational. But then we did not tell
- 25 them about our skills, because it was the order from Angkar that

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- 1 we must not reveal our identity.
- 2 So I did not join the team. Instead, we just gathered our own
- 3 team. And at that time I was assigned to be the team leader
- 4 because I was senior compared to other fellow folks over there.
- 5 And I -- my team was responsible for cutting wood in the
- 6 carpenter team, actually. And I, myself, had never crafted wood
- 7 or -- so I told them that I was ignorant. I did not know
- 8 anything. They asked us to try to craft the wood to make
- 9 furniture and things like that, and they asked us to look at the
- 10 -- you know, the design of the furniture or so, so I had to learn
- 11 how to craft the skill. And actually I knew something, but I did
- 12 not share with them because I was terrified and worried.
- 13 [16.06.08]
- 14 And people over there was very frustrated and disappointed with
- 15 me because I told them that I did not know anything. So I
- 16 pretended that I did not know anything, and consequently I could
- 17 live together with them.
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 19 Thank you, Witness.
- 20 The time is now convenient for the day adjournment. The Chamber
- 21 will adjourn now, and we will resume tomorrow, at 9.00.
- 22 And tomorrow morning, we are going to hear the testimony of Mr.
- 23 Suong Sikoeun, and then, after the conclusion of the questions by
- 24 the civil party lawyers, we will give the floor to the defence
- 25 lawyer for Khieu Samphan first.

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25

1	[16.06.56]
2	And, Mr. Ong Thong Hoeung, your testimony is not yet concluded,
3	so we will invite you to come to the Court again. Tomorrow
4	morning, we are going to hear the testimony of Mr. Suong Sikoeun
5	first, but alternatively you will be invited to stand by, as
6	well, because if, due to health reason, Mr. Suong Sikoeun is
7	unable to testify before the Chamber, then you will take his
8	place tomorrow.
9	And, Court Officer, please facilitate with the WESU unit to
10	provide assistance to him and accommodation and lodging for him.
11	And please have them back to this courtroom tomorrow morning,
12	before 9 o'clock.
13	And security guards are instructed to bring the Co-Accused to the
14	detention facility and bring them back to this courtroom before 9
15	o'clock in the morning.
16	The Court is now adjourned.
17	THE GREFFIER:
18	(No interpretation)
19	(Court adjourns at 16h08)
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