

### **អ**ត្ថិខំសុំបំទ្រះចិសាមញ្ញតូខតុលាការកម្ពុបា

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

# ្សិត សាសស ព្រះឧសាដ្យខ្មែ ទាំត សាសស ព្រះឧសាដ្យខ្មែ

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

## អគ្គដ៏ស្ដីដូរ្វឹះសាលាដ៏ម៉ូច

Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

# TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS - "DUCH" TRIAL PUBLIC

Case File Nº 001/18-07-2007-ECCC/TC

6 April 2009, 0910H Trial Day 4

Before the Judges:

For the Civil Parties:

NIL Nonn, Presiding Silvia CARTWRIGHT YA Sokhan HONG Kimsuon KONG Pisey TY Srinna

Jean-Marc LAVERGNE THOU Mony

MOCH Sovannary KIM Mengkhy Silke STUDZINSKY

YOU Ottara (Reserve) Claudia FENZ (Reserve)

Alain WERNER
Philippe Canonne

For the Trial Chamber:

DUCH Phary

SE Kolvuthy

LIM Suy-Hong For Court Management Section:

Matteo CRIPPA Natacha WEXELS-RISER KAUV Keoratanak

For the Office of the Co-Prosecutors:

CHEA LEANG Robert PETIT YET Chakriya William SMITH TAN Senarong Alexander BATES Jurgen ASSMANN PAK Chanlino

For the Accused Person KAING GUEK EAV

KAR Savuth François ROUX Heleyn UÑAC

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# List of Speakers:

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language
JUDGE LAVERGNE	French
MS. MOCH SOVANNARY	Khmer
MR. PETIT	English
MR. ROUX	French
THE ACCUSED	Khmer
THE PRESIDENT (NIL NONN, Presiding)	Khmer

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- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Court resumes at 0910H)
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 The Trial Chamber declares the continuing of the hearing. First,
- 5 the Chamber instructs the greffiers to work on the list of those
- 6 who are present during today's hearing.
- 7 THE GREFFIER:
- 8 Your Honour, Mr. President, the list of those participants today
- 9 has been checked. Today there is a civil party lawyer who is
- 10 present, Mr. Philippe Canonne. Thank you.
- 11 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 12 Would the greffier please make a record of the list of those who
- 13 are present in today's hearing in order to make it accurate in
- 14 the transcript? Next the Trial Chamber responds to the pending
- issues raised by the civil parties on 31 March and 1 April 2009.
- 16 The Chamber wishes to answer briefly two various requests for
- 17 clarification presented by the parties during the hearing held
- 18 last week. Thereafter the Trial Chamber will issue two
- 19 decisions.
- 20 [9.12.19]
- 21 Firstly, the Chamber wishes to reiterate its understanding that
- 22 during his response to the opening statement by the
- 23 Co-Prosecutors, the defence lawyer did not make any formal
- 24 submission on the legality of the proceedings or the jurisdiction
- 25 of this Court.

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- 1 Secondly, the Chamber wishes to clarify the issue of the
- 2 scheduling of the trial, the questioning of the accused,
- 3 witnesses, and experts, as well as the hearing of civil parties.
- 4 The Trial Chamber wishes to reiterate the indication provided in
- 5 its direction on the scheduling of the trial dated 20 March 2009
- 6 that it will question the accused first and then, in turn, the
- 7 relevant civil parties, witnesses and experts in the order it
- 8 considers useful.
- 9 The Trial Chamber plans to follow the sequence of facts presented
- 10 in the Closing Order. The parties will be informed of the facts
- 11 scheduled for any given trial day approximately two weeks in
- 12 advance. On any given fact the Chamber will first hear the
- 13 accused person, then give the floor to the parties to ask
- 14 questions to the accused. Thereafter the Chamber will call civil
- 15 parties, witnesses and experts pertaining to the specific facts.
- 16 These will first be heard by the Chamber, then the floor will be
- 17 given to the parties.
- 18 [9.14.15]
- 19 As a rule of the ECCC Internal Rules, the accused should only be
- 20 confronted with written witness statements after the witnesses
- 21 have been heard, provided that these witnesses can be brought to
- 22 Court. As a rule of the ECCC Internal Rules, the Trial Chamber
- 23 will endeavour to call each witness only once. However, for
- 24 witnesses who are relevant to more than one fact, the Trial
- 25 Chamber will decide on a case-by-case basis whether they shall be

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- 1 heard at one time with regards to all facts, or whether they will
- 2 be recalled afterwards. Any additional evidence pertaining to
- 3 this fact will be presented, i.e. any additional documents in the
- 4 case file pertaining to this fact will be read or summarized in
- 5 accordance with the provisions of Rule 87.2.
- 6 The Chamber wishes to clarify that cross-examination is a manner
- 7 of questioning typical of common law systems. Proceedings before
- 8 this Court are governed by a primarily civil law system.
- 9 Cross-examination as a manner of questioning is not suitable for
- 10 a civil law system.
- 11 With regards to the scheduling of the hearing of civil parties at
- 12 trial, the Trial Chamber will hear those civil parties who have
- 13 knowledge of specific facts at the time when the Chamber deals
- 14 with these facts. All other civil parties will be heard at the
- 15 same time towards the end of the trial proceeding. It is
- 16 currently not possible to foresee the exact scheduling of the
- 17 hearing of these civil parties.
- 18 [9.16.26]
- 19 The Chamber will provide scheduling of the hearing of civil
- 20 parties, witnesses and experts two weeks in advance. However,
- 21 where civil parties, witnesses or experts live abroad, the
- 22 Chamber will endeavour to provide a schedule at least four weeks
- 23 in advance. It will be helpful for the scheduling of civil
- 24 parties, witnesses and experts who live abroad if the Trial
- 25 Chamber could be informed as soon as possible of any dates when

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- 1 they are available or unavailable.
- 2 Thirdly, Mr. Hong Kimsuon, the civil party lawyer for groups 2
- 3 and 4 indicated that the pseudonyms used in the Closing Order do
- 4 not correspond to those used by the Trial Chamber. The Chamber
- 5 wishes to clarify that during the trial the pseudonyms assigned
- 6 by the Trial Chamber for references to protected witnesses or
- 7 civil parties will be used. The difference in the use of the
- 8 pseudonyms raised by the civil parties' lawyers was due to the
- 9 fact that the public version of the Closing Order containing
- 10 pseudonyms assigned by the Co-Investigating Judges was read out
- 11 in Court.
- 12 Finally, the Trial Chamber issues the following two decisions.
- 13 Firstly, the request by the civil party lawyer for group 2 to
- 14 allow them to comment on the accused's response to the opening
- 15 statement by the Co-Prosecutor is rejected. The reason is that
- 16 Rule 89.2 which foresees a response by the accused to the opening
- 17 statements by the Co-Prosecutors, does not foresee any response
- 18 by the civil parties. Contrary to the submissions made by the
- 19 civil party lawyer, the fact that the accused responds to the
- 20 opening statement is foreseen by the rules.
- 21 Second decision: (a) the request by the civil parties' lawyers
- 22 to make submissions with regards to the defence request to
- 23 release the accused for the duration of the trial, as well as the
- 24 document filed by the civil parties' lawyers for group 3 on 1
- 25 April 2009, Document Number E39, containing submissions in

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- 1 response to the defence request is rejected.
- 2 [9.19.38]
- 3 Reasoning: Rule 82.3 does not foresee the possibility for such
- 4 intervention. This rule, which deviates from Cambodian law, is
- 5 the result of a conscious decision by the ECCC plenary shaping
- 6 civil parties' participation in proceedings before the ECCC,
- 7 which is dealing with mass crimes by balancing the rights of
- 8 civil parties with the need to a fair and expeditious trial.
- 9 While the Trial Chamber always notes decisions issued by the
- 10 Pre-Trial Chamber with great interest, it is not bound by these
- 11 decisions.
- 12 2(b) The civil parties are invited to comment on the subsidiary
- 13 request made by the defence that the period of detention before
- 14 the Military Court by the accused be taken into account for any
- 15 sentencing purpose and that the accused be entitled to a
- 16 reduction of any sentence in lieu of compensation for the breach
- 17 of his rights. Any comments shall be made in writing within five
- 18 days from today.
- 19 The reasoning: Civil parties will not normally be allowed to
- 20 comment on what sentence should be imposed. The subsidiary
- 21 request concerned legal issues on which their comments are
- 22 invited.
- 23 Next, before we start our proceedings, are the facts concerning
- 24 M-13 according to Rule 23.7 of the Internal Rules. I would like
- 25 to invite the civil party lawyer group 3 to request for the

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- 1 recognition of their international co-lawyer which was not yet
- 2 done during our initial hearing. Please, the international
- 3 lawyer for group 3.
- 4 [9.22.25]
- 5 MS. MOCH SOVANNARY:
- 6 Thank you. My name is Moch Sovannary of the civil lawyers, group
- 7 3, and my respects to the President and Your Honours. I would
- 8 like to present and to request for permission of my international
- 9 co-lawyer, Mr. Philippe Canonne, who is the President of the Bar
- 10 in France, and he was sworn in and permitted to practise his
- 11 profession before the ECCC and he abides by the laws of the
- 12 Government of Cambodia and he is also recognized by the Pre-Trial
- 13 Chamber to participate in the proceedings on behalf of the civil
- 14 parties group 3. Therefore, I request the Chamber to recognize
- 15 him to participate in the proceedings, certainly proceeding from
- 16 this day onward. Thank you.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Mr. Philippe Canonne please stand up. Mr. Philippe Canonne, the
- 19 Trial Chamber recognizes you as a lawyer representing the civil
- 20 party group 3 for the purpose of the proceedings before this
- 21 Trial Chamber. Pursuant to this recognition, you enjoy the same
- 22 rights and privileges as the national lawyer. Please be seated.
- 23 Security guard, please bring Mr. Kaing Guek Eav, the accused,
- 24 into the dock.
- 25 [9.24.30]

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Next the Trial Chamber would like to inform that the Chamber will
- 3 now have the questioning proceedings regarding the facts at M-13.
- 4 Before questioning the accused on the facts related to the
- 5 security office M-13, the Trial Chamber would like to inform that
- 6 before the commencement of questioning of the accused related to
- 7 the M.13 facts, the facts committed at the security office, or
- 8 M-13, which was responsible by the accused is not part of the
- 9 facts stated in the Closing Order because the jurisdiction of the
- 10 Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia is limited from
- 11 17 April 1975 to 6 January 1979.
- 12 Secondly, the Closing Order reference to the facts related to
- 13 Duch, to the accused, as the deputy secretary and later the
- 14 secretary of S-21 only. However, in order to understand the
- 15 context of S-21 relating to the organizing of structures, the
- 16 operation and functioning of the S-21 and other reasons, and the
- 17 personality of the accused during this hearing, it is related and
- 18 necessary for the accused himself who describes to, during the
- 19 both the investigation phase and during his response to the
- 20 opening statement by the Co-Prosecutors, the Trial Chamber would
- 21 like to inform the parties that during the questioning of the
- 22 facts on M-13, questionings will also be raised regarding the
- 23 context, and political context in historical context during that
- 24 time.
- 25 The detention of the accused during the 1968, the 1970, and the

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- 1 consequence of his detentions, his duty during the establishment
- 2 of M-13 and his relevance to the Communist Party of Kampuchea,
- 3 the civil parties have also seen all the documents related to the
- 4 fact. One is the interview of Horm In, the DC-Cam document,
- 5 annex 4, B.59, the response of In Vorn DC-Cam document, annex 12.
- 6 B.59, the entire submission of the OCP, 1925 document, the DC-Cam
- 7 magazine, "Searching for the Truth", 1983, "The security system
- 8 of the special zone M-13" with the ERN 0080395 0080457 and the
- 9 response of the accused with the UNHCR representative, Mr.
- 10 Christoph Peschoux. It's Document B number 9.
- 11 Because the proceeding is going to take quite some time, the
- 12 Chamber allows Mr. Kaing Guek Eav to sit during the proceeding in
- 13 response to the questionings raised.
- 14 Before questioning on the facts, the Trial Chamber would like to
- 15 enquire with Mr. Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch, can you describe
- 16 about the establishment of the operations of the security office,
- 17 M-13 which was located in Amleang, Kampong Speu province and the
- 18 M-13B which you used to work in, if you still can recall them?
- 19 Can you describe the facts related to those offices to the
- 20 Chamber? The floor is yours.
- 21 [9:29:53]
- 22 MR. ROUX:
- 23 Mr. President, with your leave, before the accused takes the
- 24 floor the defence would like to make some submissions with regard
- 25 to the document to which you have just referred which is the

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- 1 statement by Duch to the United Nations, specifically to Mr.
- 2 Peschoux.
- 3 This statement was filed by the Office of the Co-Prosecutors
- 4 under footnote 710 in the final submission. I note that when the
- 5 Office of the Co-Prosecutors refers to this statement, it
- 6 indicates rightly 'Statement by Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch as a
- 7 suspect at HCDHONU which is the Human Rights Commission of the
- 8 United Nations, statement as a suspect.
- 9 My learned friends of the prosecution, I'm referring to your
- 10 footnote number 710 of the final submission. While it is true
- 11 that Duch was interviewed as a suspect, the note should have
- 12 contained the information that Duch was told that he had the
- 13 right to remain silent. This information does not appear in the
- 14 document.
- 15 [9:31:03]
- 16 This means that this statement was taken when Duch was a suspect
- 17 but he was not told that he had the right to remain silent. Most
- 18 important, he was not informed that this statement would one day
- 19 be included in the prosecutor's case file.
- 20 Consequently, as the defence has always said, it repeats, that
- 21 this document should not be used against the accused. If the
- 22 accused wishes to refer to the document he has the right to do so
- 23 but on no account can the prosecution refer to the document
- 24 itself. Thank you.
- 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

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- 1 Please, the Co-Prosecutor, the floor is yours.
- 2 MR. PETIT:
- 3 Good morning, Your Honours. Quite briefly, I hope.
- 4 [9:33:24]
- 5 As this Court well knows, this Court is free to consider any
- 6 relevant evidence provided, among others, that such evidence is
- 7 not contrary to the interest of justice. Therefore, I submit,
- 8 obviously, that the declaration of the accused to the
- 9 representative of the High Commissioner of Human Rights at the
- 10 time is, on its face, obviously very relevant. That is the
- 11 criteria.
- 12 If there is any grounds that the defence thought would warrant
- 13 its exclusion, if indeed the defence thought that, for whatever
- 14 reason, this statement of the accused should not be part of the
- 15 file then it had a very clear duty, a duty to present a motion
- 16 before the Co-Investigative Judges to have that statement
- 17 withdrawn from the file. This is a very specific rule and duty
- 18 as articulated by the Rules.
- 19 The defence did not do that, and as it has been stated, that
- 20 document has been in the file since the very inception; was
- 21 specifically referred to during the investigation; the defence
- 22 did, at the time, state when it was raised by the
- 23 Co-Investigative Judges that it had concerns about the statement
- 24 but did not follow suit with these concerns with the appropriate
- 25 action which was a motion to have that statement taken out of the

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- 1 file. It is now in the file and it is before you to consider.
- 2 Again, I am somewhat puzzled by the assertion from the defence,
- 3 although right, to dictate to you or the parties and -- for this
- 4 particular document, giving the right to the accused himself, to
- 5 decide which document we may or may not consider.
- 6 If it's in the file it is open for your consideration and for
- 7 debate. At least that is how I interpret your previous rulings
- 8 and the law.
- 9 [9:37:03]
- 10 And let me say, finally, that if this document is indeed titled
- 11 by us in our introductory submission as suspect statement it is
- 12 because we identified any previous statement made by Kaing Guek
- 13 Eav, aka Duch, as a suspect statement to differentiate them from
- 14 witness statements, expert statements, et cetera.
- 15 So if I'm not mistaken you will see, among other things,
- 16 statement made by the accused to journalists referred to in our
- 17 introductory submission as suspect statement. This, of course,
- 18 does not in any way legally qualify the circumstances much less
- 19 the statement that was given at the time; not by judicial
- 20 officers, not in the context of an arrest, not in the context of
- 21 a possible prosecution by state agents but rather a statement
- 22 given freely by the accused to representative of the United
- 23 Nations Human Rights Commissioner who are acting within their
- 24 mandate to gather evidence of violations of human rights.
- 25 If indeed the defence can foresee any legal reasons why this

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- 1 statement should now, after two years, be withdrawn from your
- 2 consideration I would invite it so that it may assist you to make
- 3 legal arguments to that effect. Thank you.
- 4 MR. ROUX:
- 5 Mr. President, you will forgive me but I will respond in a few
- 6 words. I think my colleague did not understand what I said.
- 7 [9:39:38]
- 8 I did not say that the document should be withdrawn. I just
- 9 recalled that on the 21st of January 2008 we expressed the most
- 10 explicit reservations before the Co-Investigating Judges. You
- 11 will see that on page 2 of the examination before the
- 12 Co-Investigating Judges of the 21st of January, 2008.
- 13 As my learned friends of the Co-Prosecutors knows, the document
- 14 is indexed as D38. We expressed reservations. We did not say
- 15 that the document should be withdrawn. What we said, and I
- 16 maintain this, is that this cannot be used against the accused in
- 17 view of the circumstances in which the document was obtained.
- 18 I say that it is not normal for the United Nations Human Rights
- 19 representative to have taken the statement without informing the
- 20 person that he was considered to be a suspect, and that this
- 21 statement would one day be used in the file of a prosecutor. As
- 22 a Human Rights office, the minimum, or the least one can do, is
- 23 to respect human rights, and we know that this document is at
- 24 issue.
- 25 The accused may wish to use some passages of the document as he

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- 1 wishes, so the document cannot be used against the accused, but
- 2 the accused cannot in any way be prevented from using the
- 3 document, and this is a position it has always put to the Co
- 4 Investigating Judges, and up until today.
- 5 [09.41.50]
- 6 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 7 A question to the defence to elucidate the issue with regard to
- 8 this document.
- 9 Does the defence consider it possible that the Chamber refers to
- 10 the document as a basis to examine the accused or not? Or does
- 11 the defence consider that it alone has the possibility or the
- 12 right to refer to the document?
- 13 MR. ROUX:
- 14 Thank you, Your Honour. It is the same answer that we gave to
- 15 the Co-Investigating Judges. The accused, having expressed the
- 16 same reservations as I have, has agreed to answer the questions
- 17 of the Judges with regard to this document. So the accused will
- 18 agree to the Chamber putting questions to him on the basis of
- 19 this document, but the defence cannot agree that the information
- 20 in this document should not be used against the accused who --
- 21 because the accused was not granted or read his rights at the
- 22 time. That is our position.
- 23 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 24 The floor is yours, Co-Prosecutor.
- 25 [9.43.30]

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- 1 MR. PETIT:
- 2 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 3 I submit that you should decide at this point whether this
- 4 document can be submitted for your consideration for its
- 5 incriminating and exculpatory information, so there should be a
- 6 debate and a decision to ensue since this statement, we submit,
- 7 contains material that could be of use to you in reaching a
- 8 decision, either for incriminating or exculpatory information
- 9 with regard to the crimes for which the accused has been brought
- 10 before you.
- 11 I fail to understand how a defence -- the accused's statement,
- 12 which, on the face of it, contains information that could be
- 13 relevant to the ascertainment of the truth and for the
- 14 development of your intimate conviction -- I fail to see how this
- 15 material can be set aside for the purposes of your judgement by
- 16 an opening statement made by one of the parties. If you cannot
- 17 take account of the material, then this should be the subject of
- 18 a debate and a decision. We, for our part, repeat that the
- 19 contents of this statement made by the accused, until such a time
- 20 as the statement is removed form the case file, should and must
- 21 be taken into account for incriminating and exonerating
- 22 circumstances as you judge necessary.
- 23 So I would request that the Chamber provide clarifications,
- 24 either now or later, as to the status of this statement. If
- 25 there is to be a discussion, then let it be organized either in

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- 1 writing or orally. Thank you.
- 2 (Deliberation between Judges)
- 3 [9.48.05]
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 After listening to the comments and the request by the defence
- 6 counsel and the response by the Co-Prosecutor regarding the
- 7 document by the UNHCR representative, the Chamber would like to
- 8 inform the parties that all the parties can make a written
- 9 submission according to your understanding to the Chamber, so
- 10 that the Chamber will consider and issue a decision at a later
- 11 stage.
- 12 Next, for our proceeding on the questioning -- on the facts
- 13 related to the accused, the Chamber would like to ask Mr. Kaing
- 14 Guek Eav, alias Duch, to describe the establishment and the
- 15 location of security office, M-13, located in Amleang, Kampong
- 16 Speu, and the M-13B where you used to work, according to your
- 17 recollection. The floor is yours.
- 18 [9.49.49]
- 19 THE ACCUSED:
- 20 Mr. President, I would like to express my thanks for allowing me
- 21 to speak on the history of M-13 to allow me to talk about M-13.
- 22 Also I have a request. Before I want to mention M-13, I would
- 23 like the President to inform all the participants about my
- 24 history before even litigation or M-13, if the President permits.
- 25 [9.50.31]

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Yes, the Chamber permits the accused.
- 3 THE ACCUSED:
- 4 The Trial Chamber, Your Honours, my interest with politics
- 5 started in 1957. Until 1964, in October, I decided to join the
- 6 Revolution. I believed my decision was proper at the time.
- 7 I sacrificed everything for the Revolution, sincerely and
- 8 absolutely. In this context, the salary I received, which was
- 9 7,200 riels, which I planned before I started to work that I
- 10 would save that money that I would save 4,000 to 5,000 for my
- 11 future. I changed that idea. I sacrificed all this for the
- 12 Revolution.
- 13 At the same time, there was an event observed by the people that
- 14 I used to frequently visit my mother in Stoung. I never visited
- 15 her again because I knew my parents understood that it was a good
- 16 path that I chose, however, they did not want me to do it because
- 17 of fearing of imprisonments or death or arrest.
- 18 The second -- the third observation, especially for my teachers
- 19 whom I taught at school, they observed my sympathy and my feeling
- 20 at the time. I would like to inform the President, at that time,
- 21 I resumed my activities within a communist party amongst the
- 22 half-colonial, half-dictatorship regime. I did not I wasn't
- 23 afraid of being arrested or imprisonment. Mr. President, my
- 24 activities at the time, which was absolute with the Revolution,
- 25 caused the head of the Monks to adore me, to appreciate me.

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- 1 However, he beat me; I knew that he liked me very much so I told
- 2 the truths to the head of the Monks and he pardoned me.
- 3 At that time, he also gave me some advice that the path I took
- 4 was correct and that probably I'd try and be the Free Khmer at
- 5 the time. The Khmer Free was not positive. They would use other
- 6 people as shield for their own protection. So with this
- 7 encouragement, I continued my activities.
- 8 [9.54.37]
- 9 On the 29th of October -- my apology, I would like to talk about
- 10 my sacrifice of the 5,000 riel's and I only saved 1,900 for my
- 11 monthly living. During a vacancy in 1967, I tried to work as a
- 12 labourer to see how difficult it was. I gave away my teacher's
- 13 clothes and wore the labourer's clothes to work. In one day I
- 14 earned 20 riel's and I worked the whole days of the week.
- 15 In July in June or July '67, I started a special secret section
- of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Chhay Kim Hour was the
- 17 instructor at the time and there were plenty of documents at that
- 18 time. One of the documents was a strategic view of the CPK. A
- 19 second document is the strategical policy for the CPK and these
- 20 documents no longer exist.
- 21 And a third is the party's statute, the 1960 party's statute.
- 22 And the fourth is the view and the fifth is the view also of the
- 23 party members.
- 24 In October 1967, Vorn Vet asked me to work. It was a first time
- 25 I met with Vorn Vet. He introduced me to the party, but then the

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- 1 induction has to be done in Cham Karleu . So he took me to the
- 2 countryside.
- 3 Then I went to say goodbye to my parents; let me say in details.
- 4 My father was shocked at the time. He gave me a lucky waistband
- 5 for luck. So I said goodbye to my parents, to my friends. My
- 6 friends gave me a watch. So I said goodbye to my friends in
- 7 Kampong Thom. I went to say goodbye to my head of Monk and
- 8 another friend in the pagoda as well. So I departed.
- 9 [9.55.55]
- 10 At that time, the party induction was done on the 25th of
- 11 November '67 and the inductor was those people who knew me and
- 12 Mr.Ke Pok. At that time, I stood before the party's flag. I
- 13 raised my hand to respect and to swear to be sincere to the
- 14 party, the class and the people of Kampuchea for my entire life
- 15 and to serve the party, the class and the people for my entire
- 16 life without being in fear and that I would sacrifice anything
- 17 for the party. That's the principle of party inductions that was
- 18 done on the 25th of December and I was arrested in January. I
- 19 was not afraid when I was arrested because that the path I chose.
- 20 On the 3rd of April, '70, before the National Assembly, after
- 21 three weeks I returned back from my home, I returned in order to
- 22 receive the duties from the parties. At that time, I was told I
- 23 should be aware of myself because Lon Non had their own secret
- 24 spies in order to arrest the people, so I was careful at the
- 25 time.

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- 1 At the same time, I also made a report, my analysis, and I was
- 2 very vigilant at the time. Those who were released from prisons
- 3 all remained but except one, but I did not make a presumption
- 4 that he was arrested by Non's clique because the person was
- 5 female.
- 6 In August 1970 or '68 I think it was '70 August '70, I went
- 7 to the countryside a second time in order to conduct my
- 8 activities. That was when I see the complicated conflict. First
- 9 I only saw the conflict between the Revolution and Mr. Nol, but
- 10 now I saw complicated conflict between the Vietnamese Labour
- 11 Party in Anlong Province -- went to establish its organization in
- 12 Cambodia.
- 13 [9.58.51]
- 14 They shot and killed Cambodian person Pin Em in the Bassac River
- 15 in Prek Sdei. They killed a candidate of their own Labour Party,
- 16 but the person was Kampuchea, Krom origin, Mr. Chao Kem pagoda.
- 17 I thought that was an ordinary conflict, but then I believed it
- 18 is the implementation of a Chinese federal policy. At that time,
- 19 there was a conflict, internal conflict between the CPK in order
- 20 to grab power. Mr. Sisovat Batmony alias Sok Batchamreun was the
- 21 Deputy Secretary in charge of Sector 20 -- 25 and he was a party
- 22 member and a party member Huon Kheat and three party members were
- 23 arrested, the Secretary, Sok Batehamreun under house arrest. I,
- 24 myself and Comrade Pon were still in a military unit to serve -
- 25 to teach morality, and until May, I had good connection with

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- 1 the general staff of Sector 25, then I move to southwest and
- 2 that's when I went for training. And on the 28th of May -- of
- 3 July to that I became the head of the office M-13. So that was
- 4 the historical background of my involvement with the revolution.
- 5 [10:00:37]
- 6 At the time that I received duty as the head of M-13 I begged
- 7 them that; I was so afraid because these police office had to pay
- 8 respects to the superior and if the superior was Botehamreun or
- 9 Bat Mony, the former 25 secretary sector. They would be in
- 10 danger; if the superior was arrested, then someone else would be
- 11 arrested.
- 12 After I heard that Mr. Jacquin who said, your opinion was right;
- 13 those who were arrested were responsible for the history, so do
- 14 not demands to make any arrest even if you report you have to be
- 15 careful and not biased or to -- wants to arrest this or that
- 16 person.
- 17 So the persons who were decided to be arrested were the party
- 18 members who decide, like Mr. Ta Mok or Um Chhoeun or Mr. Si of
- 19 Chou Chet or Mr. Pal or Huot Heng or Vorn, Brother Vorn and as
- 20 the President know, Vorn Vet they were members of the central
- 21 committee so they were responsible before the history. So you
- 22 don't have to be concerned, you just focus on your work, your
- 23 duty.
- 24 He also said the people wants their children to accomplish this
- 25 task in order to protect our liberated zones, to protect the

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- 1 lives of the people. I did not ask, I begged them but I did not
- 2 ask any questions; I just wanted to teach, that's all.
- 3 So Hok is already dependant upon the threat -- the teaching of
- 4 the police related to the killings of the people in the country.
- 5 So the people needs to have friends and he also said he was
- 6 afraid. Mr. Chhay Kim Hor said it's regretful that you comrade,
- 7 you did not read a book. It is in French. I told him, "Oh
- 8 Brother, my baby could not do according to the movie that we
- 9 bought in Phnom Penh."
- 10 However he said, "Try your best. Don't forget that we liberate
- 11 the country, not to liberate the land without its people. It's
- 12 important for us to liberate the people." So I could not protest
- 13 against him and I told him, "I dare not to kill anyone, I dare
- 14 not." He said, "With the intellectuals we had to be strict."
- 15 [10:03:24]
- 16 However, we learned from the people and let the persons do it.
- 17 We only had a duty to tell them, so I accepted.
- 18 To sum up with the M-13, its historical background. Firstly, one
- 19 person who was arrested was name Heang, Kao Heang, I forget. I
- 20 asked him, I begged him but he wouldn't answer. At that time I
- 21 asked him at a man's resident near the road at that time.
- 22 [10.04.03]
- 23 So then people came and beat him up and Kao Hing said, "I was a
- 24 spy, I was assigned to come" and then ask where was the best and
- 25 that was the time I tried to analyse the truth. That was the

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- 1 time I tried to say and analyse, so for those who cannot be freed
- 2 then I would ask Pom to interrogate. Yes, he tortured -- I
- 3 allowed him to torture, yes.
- 4 And for those people who I wanted to release and that I could
- 5 release then I would interrogate those persons by myself. I
- 6 released some people but at that location, as mentioned in the
- 7 book of (indistinct). It was dark, it was wet, and people died
- 8 due to the lack of light, starvation, hygiene or medicine.
- 9 So I moved the place from Tmor Kob, Anlong Veng to another
- 10 village near Pis Mountain called the Tuol Svay Meas or Taleav.
- 11 And the -- we went to the rice field at the time and then we
- 12 fought to seize the weapons because I did not want to be a police
- 13 and then I met Mr. -- Comrade Vorn Vet to punish me, you can
- 14 discipline me and Vorn Vet looked straight in my face and he turn
- 15 aside; he did not give me any answer and then he sent people,
- 16 more, for interrogation. So I thought, oh, I will not be able to
- 17 escape this duty.
- 18 [10:05:58]
- 19 In order to comfort myself I recite a poem, L 'amour da Rouge, I
- 20 just try to recite it in French.
- 21 [10:06:15]
- 22 (Accused speaks in French, No interpretation)
- 23 I tried to recite the poem. So in order to resolve the conflict
- 24 within myself, that's what I did. And at that time there was an
- 25 event, another event which caused me in time of the conflict. I

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- 1 tried to please him, he sent Sangha Hoeun who is his clique, to
- 2 me for interrogation and Sam Bet was a theatre actor. He likes
- 3 Sangha Hoeun and Sam Bet the same.
- 4 So they both (indistinct) theatres. I knew that he was at
- 5 Chamkar Kranch so I went to ask him and he said, want meet. Yes,
- 6 I said, yes, I want to meet him and he wrote a letter to Sangha
- 7 Hoeun and then I took the letter to him and I dare not to beat
- 8 him. And Ta Mok are satisfied with me and he instructed me that,
- 9 Comrade Duch, be careful. This is the certain period and the
- 10 previous certain period be lost, a piece of our land successively
- 11 but for Sangha Hoeun I was not allowed to beat.
- 12 It is normal if the superior made any instructions, nobody dare
- 13 not to release or to do anything against it until the living
- 14 condition made him die.
- 15 [10:08:17]
- 16 At the same time also there is a conflict between him. One day
- 17 one Hanoi cadre was arrested. He was a Deputy Commander of the
- 18 company so I met him at the military office and he asked me --
- 19 you had to ask him quickly and urgently who ask him to do the
- 20 activity. Don't forget to read the papers that was sent.
- 21 It was a piece of paper torn from a book, from Comrade Chong. I
- 22 said, oh, that is going to be a disaster and then we wish to meet
- 23 Comrade Yan, a deputy commander and then I took the small
- 24 (indistinct) made from Comrade Yan. I think Pot shot Comrade Yan
- 25 or Comrade Yan shot himself but I dare not to protest, Mr. Mok,

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- 1 so I went to -- I went to report to Comrade Vorn and Vorn
- 2 reported to Cham.
- 3 At that time Ta Mok said, "I would not use Duch anymore," so then
- 4 there was a word from the centre that we had to be political,
- 5 done by our position on technical. At that time there was an
- 6 event also in Am leang, one person's name Bot; he fled with
- 7 another person's wife. He ran away with that woman to Oudong and
- 8 met with Hang Yiv, a colonel, and a lieutenant-colonel of the Lon
- 9 Nol soldiers and a few days later he returned but Comrade Si
- 10 arrested him and sent him to me for interrogation, and when I
- 11 interrogated, yes, I beat him at the time and he revealed about
- 12 the weapons, that the weapons were brought into the liberated
- 13 zone in order to revolt against me and Ta Mok said, "Find those
- 14 weapons and the company will be given to the battalion", and Chou
- 15 Chet advised me at the time -- and at that time people from
- 16 Amleang were arrested, about 50 of them, so I could not recall
- 17 the names but I probably remember about 20-plus of those people's
- 18 names.
- 19 And, finally, for my own experience, I interrogated one person,
- 20 Mr. Nget Sambun, by myself. It took me nearly one month to
- 21 complete, therefore, the torture, the beating and the
- 22 interrogation; I did strive my best to do it.
- 23 To sum up, what I did at M-13, I recall them clearly. I
- 24 determined that I will write a document about my crimes that I
- 25 did unto my people at the time and to record those names

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- 1 involved. Whatever the cruel activities did by myself, I would
- 2 reveal, and I already planned it. It might take 15 to 20
- 3 paragraphs. I plan to write that context in order to rise above
- 4 my own personal crimes that I committed on the nation and my own
- 5 people.
- 6 [10.12.00]
- 7 I would like to clarify that from then on Chhay Kim Hour did not
- 8 say anything about the revolution, about it liberates the land or
- 9 its people. He did not talk on that particular topic anymore.
- 10 Other people said, "Oh, what we did was true. We only eradicate
- 11 the dictatorship of the proletariat class." I said, "Oh, it's
- 12 going to be a disaster". That's what I wanted to avoid from the
- 13 Police Office, but I did not.
- 14 At the M-13, in summary, that's what it is, and I would like Your
- 15 Honours to question me as you please. Thank you.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 I would like the accused to sit down and respond to questions.
- 18 Next, I don't know whether our judges have any questions to ask
- 19 the accused concerning the M-13.
- 20 QUESTIONING BY THE BENCH:
- 21 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 22 Q. When you spoke for the first time before this Court, you
- 23 answered to the accusations that were carried out against you,
- 24 and you said -- and I hope that I'm not going to misrepresent
- 25 what you said -- you said that the Cambodian people have suffered

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- 1 following the executions that started in 1966, in particular
- 2 because of the policies that were implemented by Lon Nol, and
- 3 then as of the coup d'etat of 1970 there was -- if I've
- 4 understood correctly -- there was a competition between all of
- 5 the parties to kill the Cambodian people. So the first thing
- 6 that I want to know, do you confirm this statement which seems to
- 7 me to be the first sentence that you pronounced?
- 8 [10.15.01]
- 9 A. Thank you, Judge Lavergne. My review concerning the
- 10 execution of Cambodian people, I still maintain the position, the
- 11 previous view, regarding that matter. My crimes in which I
- 12 participated at M-13, I would elaborate as the following.
- 13 The death toll of people at M-13 I would like to seek forgiveness
- 14 like the victims who died at S-21. People who died, I will
- 15 express my remorse and seek their forgiveness at the right time
- 16 when the Court allows me to do so.
- 17 Coming back to the execution concerning the killing of my people,
- 18 I think it relates to the politics and I will be elaborating
- 19 further if you think I may be of any assistance, but based on my
- 20 analysis.
- 21 Q. Maybe we will have the opportunity to get back to M-13 a
- 22 bit later. I would like now to speak about the period that was
- 23 before M-13 because I think it's also important to redraw the
- 24 historical context in which M-13 came about. You spoke about the
- 25 executions that started in '66. I'd like you to tell us if,

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- 1 personally, you were a witness to political violence and what you
- 2 can tell us about this.
- 3 A. Thanks, Judge Lavergne. I have followed the political
- 4 situation after the 1966 election, clearly. However, I did not
- 5 witness the situation by myself, although the -- what's stated by
- 6 Khieu Samphan in his book, I did not really clearly see that. I
- 7 know that the execution in Samlaut was little but everything
- 8 caused by General Lon Nol.
- 9 [10.18.28]
- 10 Q. Still in the political context -- of course, we will go
- 11 back to your detention, speak about your detention a bit later,
- 12 but you also spoke about the coup d'etat of 1970, so a coup
- 13 d'etat through which Sihanouk was deposed and a republican regime
- 14 that was set up by Lon Nol was installed.
- 15 Can you tell us, you were -- can you tell us how this was
- 16 perceived? In particular, how the declaration of March 1970 was
- 17 perceived through which Prince Sihanouk asked the Cambodian
- 18 people to rise up? I'd like to understand how the CPK, Communist
- 19 Party of Kampuchea, experienced this period and was there a real
- 20 union? What happened, in fact?
- 21 [10:19:40]
- 22 A. Judge Lavergne, I would like to respond to your question
- 23 based on my political view. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk was the
- 24 Head of State of Cambodia. His position was the populist to
- 25 preserve his throne. It was not Norodom Sihanouk. Lon Nol was

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- 1 affiliated with the United States, and when he grasped or
- 2 controlled the Assembly in 1966, he managed to -- he really
- 3 caused the dispute and the uprising in Samlaut at the Sihanoukist
- 4 side, and the other side is the Communist side which are
- 5 affiliated with Marxist and Leninist, and these things were mixed
- 6 up.
- 7 I think through my understanding, if Richard Nixon did not be
- 8 quick to allow Lon Nol to start the coup d'etat and allowing
- 9 Khmer Rouge to cooperate with Sihanouk, I think Khmer Rouge would
- 10 be demolished or otherwise they would never be able to stand up
- 11 again. But Mr. Kissinger and Richard Nixon weren't quick and the
- 12 Khmer Rouge noted the golden opportunity and King Sihanouk
- 13 declare from China that all Cambodian people go through the
- 14 Marxist jungle and then the Khmer Rouge troop will build up from
- 15 1970 to 1975.
- 16 I think this is the political context and people tried to gain --
- 17 to have political gain. Lon Nol tried to benefit from politics
- 18 and then Sihanouk also tried to gain benefit for his side.
- 19 [10.22.43]
- 20 At the time, there were a union, a union outside (indistinct),
- 21 also the Government of Cambodia in Beijing. It's called the
- 22 Mittapheap Hotel in Beijing. And for Pol Pot, he was in a jungle
- 23 to conduct his activities, to control the army and the people in
- 24 order to fight against Lon Nol. So that's the political parties
- 25 according to the view that I understand, but it's my personal

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- 1 view.
- 2 Q. You probably have heard about the National United Front of
- 3 Kampuchea and of the Popular Armed Forces for the National
- 4 Liberation of Kampuchea. What did these armed -- these armed
- 5 forces, were they composed of Khmer Rouge battalions or were they
- 6 battalions made up of Sihanoukist soldiers, or was it an army
- 7 that was entirely controlled by the Khmer Rouge?
- 8 A. Your Honour, my understanding on the army was limited, so
- 9 I'll try to explain according to what I understand. In 1968, it
- 10 was the year the Khmer Rouge started its war, its revolutionary
- 11 war. The 18th of January 1968, the Communist Party of Kampuchea
- 12 assigned Ros Nhoem to strike in Bay Damran. It was the 18th not
- 13 the 17th and that date was changed to the 17th because Pol Pot
- 14 saw it was overlapping with the 18th of March. 18th January was
- 15 the starting day.
- 16 In the northwest they used Veay Chap Mountain as the base. In
- 17 the southwest there is a zone secretary, Ma Mang, who used our
- 18 mountain as its base. At the Vor Mountain was Ta Mok. He used
- 19 the Vor Mountain as his base for his circling. And for Ke Pok
- 20 and Kuy Thuon they used Prey Lòng and Prey Sen jungles as their
- 21 base, and Pol Pot in 1968 he was at the liberated zone in the
- 22 northeast area in Ratanakiri. That is what Lon Nol said during
- 23 an interview or press statement. The land was about the size of
- 24 the Kampong Chhnang Province, so the army created was established
- 25 in a militia form, and let me clarify that. The militia war was

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- 1 the second stage.
- 2 [10.26.26]
- 3 The first stage was the secret movement. It was since 1966 that
- 4 was in a document in a confession. They trained the people by
- 5 having their own militia group, and when the people was upset
- 6 with Lon Nol and to protect Sihanouk, then Pol Pot fetched up
- 7 those forces for his own use, and from the beginning from what I
- 8 can recall, there was only a company, not even a battalion.
- 9 And then the forces kept increasing and the victory on the Royal
- 10 Armed Forces of the Lol Nol region was due to Vietnam's support,
- 11 who based their base near Tonle Sap to fish, and at that time
- 12 they took the opportunity to strike and to gain power in
- 13 Kampuchea, as I said, in S'ang and Kaoh Thum. The Communist
- 14 Party of -- the Vietnam labour who would like to help the Chinese
- 15 federation. Therefore, the Committee for the Army, which
- 16 assigned Khieu Samphan as their head, was just a picture, an
- 17 image to show to the world. But Pot Pol, he himself controlled
- 18 the army from the beginning. So the creation of the armed forces
- 19 was started that way.
- 20 That's what my understanding is for Your Honours.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 The Trial Chamber will adjourn for 20 minutes until a quarter to
- 23 11 when we will resume.
- 24 (Court recesses from 1028H to 1054H)
- 25 THE GREFFIER:

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- 1 Please be seated.
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 May the defence counsels please rise.
- 4 MR. ROUX:
- 5 A problem that I would like us to solve; the interpreters have
- 6 trouble translating and the French, because as well as the
- 7 English speakers have a hard time understanding everything that
- 8 is being said and I requested the accused to speak more slowly
- 9 and to have -- make pauses.
- 10 [10.55.04]
- 11 But I think that it would be useful that the interpreter from
- 12 Khmer to English also make it known when he has a problem because
- 13 otherwise the translation at the end of the line is not correct.
- 14 So therefore we are in a legal hearing and if the interpreter
- 15 does not understand, well, please make it known.
- 16 And the second request is; is there a technical system so that
- 17 when the accused pronounces proper nouns, either place names or
- 18 people names -- so that the greffier and in particular the Khmer
- 19 greffier can write them down immediately, that we would then be
- 20 able to see on our screens and we would see them, of course, in
- 21 Latin characters -- the Khmer nouns in Latin characters so that
- 22 we are sure that we understand properly what is being expressed.
- 23 This is my request. It shouldn't be that difficult. So please,
- 24 the Cambodian greffiers, could you please list on the screen the
- 25 proper nouns when they are pronounced and then the accused would

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- 1 like at that moment to speak more -- please speak a little bit
- 2 more slowly so that we can get the proper names properly.
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 The Trial Chamber acknowledged the request made by the defence
- 5 counsel and for the reasons concerning the greffier, the greffier
- 6 also took note of the request.
- 7 First, I would like to clarify that the accused, when responding
- 8 to the question raised by the parties and the Chamber itself,
- 9 please speak slowly. And secondly, please speak in short phrases
- 10 in order to facilitate the interpreting. And for other technical
- 11 requests, the Trial Chamber will facilitate with the IT section
- 12 and the CMS section in order to make these proceedings smoother.
- 13 Before we continue our questioning regarding the security office,
- 14 M-13, the Chamber would like to notify to other parties that if
- 15 the parties has to make a submission or brief response regarding
- 16 the accused by the UNHCR, Mr. Christoph Preschoux, Document B09
- 17 the ERN from 849748 to 788.
- 18 Please do your submission, not in excess of four pages in the
- 19 Khmer language and two pages in the Khmer (sic) or the French
- 20 version, and the deadline is the 4 p.m. of the 8 April 2009, if
- 21 you wish to do so.
- 22 For the next proceeding I would like to invite Judge Lavergne to
- 23 continue the questioning. The Co-Prosecutor, the floor is yours.
- 24 The submission is no more than two pages for the French or the
- 25 English version. For the Khmer versions the limit is four pages.

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- 1 For the next proceeding, please Judge Lavergne, if you have any
- 2 questions for the accused?
- 3 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 4 Q. So we're going to continue with the historical context of
- 5 the creation of M-13. You spoke to us about the coup d'etat; you
- 6 spoke to us about the Prince Sihanouk's call on the population.
- 7 You spoke about the Khmer Rouge Forces and you also specified
- 8 that you were not a direct witness of all -- of a certain number
- 9 of facts; in particular, you were not in the army back then.
- 10 Were you part of the Khmer Rouge Army or not?
- 11 A. In December 1970 there was a committee for Sectors 25. I
- 12 was a political instructor at a military base at the time. I was
- 13 not a cadre -- a leadership cadre for combat.
- 14 In May '71 I noticed that the environment at that time was not a
- 15 revolutionary one, it was a fighting amongst each other so I went
- 16 to the southwest.
- 17 In summary, I was in the army but I was a political instructor.
- 18 [11:02:29]
- 19 Q. Excuse me. Did you see any bombings, and what kind of
- 20 bombings did you witness?
- 21 A. In Sector 25 in S'ang and Kouh Thum areas I saw the
- 22 bombing from the airplanes. It's called Sky Raider in Khmer. It
- 23 was an ordinary bomb, and also a flame bomb. At that time there
- 24 were heavy artillery, 105, from Ta Khmao and S'ang to the
- 25 liberated area in Prek Toch market in S'ang to the liberated

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- 1 zone.
- 2 When I went to Am leang I did not see it. I saw ordinary bomb by
- 3 the Sky Raider dropping on the villages and the firing from the
- 4 airplanes to the ground nearby the vicinity of my birth. And the
- 5 B-52 I saw it in the sky when I lighted out and saw it but it did
- 6 not drop the bomb there, the B-52 dropped bombs near southwest
- 7 ones and near the special southwest ones.
- 8 Q. I shall now come to the time when you joined the Communist
- 9 Party. When did you become a full fledged member of the
- 10 Communist Party, where you first encountered it? Did somebody
- 11 introduce you to start with? How did it happen?
- 12 [11:05:12]
- 13 A. I would like to clarify that in 1965-66 I joined an
- 14 organization called Massed Population Movement. It's a CVK
- 15 language which called the focused person. I do not know what it
- 16 is the equivalent to the -- for foreign languages.
- 17 I would like to clarify that this focal organization that I
- 18 joined was almost equivalent to the Youth League of Cambodia, but
- 19 because I already earned wages I was asked to join that
- 20 organization.
- 21 Later, as I informed, Your Honours, in October, in early October
- 22 '67, one would told me that the party decided to let you join
- 23 this party but the induction person unable to do it at that place
- 24 but it can be -- it would be conducted in another place in a
- 25 remote area. In the remote area I met Ke Pok, the Secretary

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- 1 General of the old mass zone and then I was inducted into the
- 2 party as a candidate, as a candidate of the party on the 25th of
- 3 December '70.
- 4 On the 5th of January -- on the 25th of December '69. My
- 5 apologies, Your Honours, I got confused with the dates. Let me
- 6 speak again.
- 7 I became a party member as a candidate on the 25th of December
- 8 '67. It's 25th of December 1967 I was introduced as a party
- 9 member candidate by Mr. Ke Pok, the Secretary of the old mass
- 10 zone.
- 11 On the 5th of January '68 I was arrested and detained in a
- 12 prison. When I was in that big prison it was led by Brother Tep
- 13 Sien . Then I was introduced as a full right member on the 20 of
- 14 May '69 -- sorry -- on the 20 of July '69 -- introduced by Tep
- 15 Sien. This Brother Tep Sien changed his name to Son Sen later
- 16 on. Brother Son Sen was a permanent member of the National
- 17 Assembly. He introduced me as a full right member on the 20th of
- 18 July 1969.
- 19 Q. You told us awhile ago about your teachers. You said that
- 20 they played an important role in your life. Did you get to know
- 21 the Communist Party through your teachers? How did you get to
- 22 know the Communist Party?
- 23 [11:09:35]
- 24 A. I would like to clarify that first my teacher, my official
- 25 teacher, there were one or two of them who made me interest on

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- 1 the political movement, Mr. Par Khamhout and my future teacher,
- 2 Son Sen. But I fully joined the politics due to the fact that
- 3 the government arrested more than 10 progressive men, including
- 4 Chhay Kim Hor, and that's when I fully joined the movement,
- 5 together with other friends at the pedagogical institute, at the
- 6 National Pedagogical Institute. It was where the training was
- 7 conducted for the progressive men.
- 8 At that time I joined the movement with other friends, with Kang
- 9 Saran. Kang Saran was a first promotion student from Kampong
- 10 Thom. He was a Khmer literate teacher-trainer, together with
- 11 some of my old friends from my village. So we studied together
- 12 -- Thom.
- 13 So the teachers, that's one side, but the decision to join the
- 14 revolution movement is another side. The teachers who influenced
- 15 me, only these two, but the biggest one was Son Sen, who was --
- 16 later on became my superior. And those who joined the activities
- 17 together with me was Kang Saran, Hou Ngea and Lon, alias Nat, the
- 18 first S-21 chairman at a later stage. We conducted the
- 19 activities together.
- 20 [11.12.36]
- 21 Q. There is this extremely important event that is your arrest
- 22 and detention. If I understand you correctly, you were arrested
- 23 on the 5th of January 1968 and you were freed on the 3rd of April
- 24 1970. Would that be accurate?
- 25 A. The date that Your Honour described is correct. It's from

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- 1 what I have just spoken to you. Those who arrested me were in
- 2 Chamkar Leu in Chamkar Leu District, Kampong Cham Province. They
- 3 were police of Norodom Sihanouk. Those who arrested me were from
- 4 Stoung. Mr. Soeun who was one promotion before me at that
- 5 college, it was his duty to arrest me but I could not escape so
- 6 that's how it happened. They were the police force.
- 7 I was imprisoned in Tuol Kork, at the police station in Tuol Kork,
- 8 not at the National Police Headquarters in Pasteur Road. I was
- 9 in prison at a location in Tuol Kork area. In general the Khmer
- 10 Rouge will be imprisoned at the General Police Headquarters or
- 11 the PJ prison.
- 12 So I was in prison at the Norodom Sihanouk Prison in Tuol Kork.
- 13 Later I was released, as everybody knows. The event on the 18th
- 14 of March, General Lon Nol conducted a coup d'etat to overthrow
- 15 Lon Nol in order to boast to the world that he was not cruel as
- 16 the Sihanouk who arrested people to imprison them. So he
- 17 released those prisoners, those political prisoners including the
- 18 Khmer Rouge, the Free Khmer and the Viet Cong, and the Thiv Kee.
- 19 The words that I used, Thiv Kee, was used by the Khmer people.
- 20 The official name was the Republic Government of Vietnam led by
- 21 Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky, his deputy. So at that time
- 22 the political prisoners were all released, including myself.
- 23 [11.15.57]
- 24 I would like to take this opportunity to inform Your Honours, as
- 25 I said this morning, that I was warned to be careful at the time

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- 1 by Nol's younger sibling -- had secret agents to arrest and
- 2 execute people. And now let me continue. So it was the police
- 3 of Sihanouk who arrested me and Lon Nol was the one who released
- 4 me.
- 5 Q. As it appears in the Closing Order, you were arrested for a
- 6 breach of state security in collaboration with foreigners. Did
- 7 you appear before a court, were you tried, were you able to
- 8 present a defence, were you sentenced, and to what?
- 9 A. I would like to clarify that the allegations on me was
- 10 classic one, opposing the peace of the territory and collaborate
- 11 with the foreign power. That was the words accused on the Khmer
- 12 Rouge and the Free Khmer. I was imprisoned from the 5th of
- 13 January 1968 until June, when I was tried. I did never see any
- 14 lawyer until the hearing date. I saw Muong Lao Kam, who was my
- 15 lawyer. It took half a day to try me and it's finished. I was
- 16 imprisoned for 20 years with hard labour. I did not appeal. So
- 17 a fortnight after I was transferred to a big prison in Phnom
- 18 Penh. It was called Central Prison, at that place where I met
- 19 with the branches of the secretary who conducted his clandestine
- 20 activities.
- 21 [11.19.17]
- 22 Q. Before you were transferred to the Central Prison were you
- 23 detained in a prison in Prey Sar or near Prey Sar?
- 24 A. First, I was imprisoned in a police prison in Tuol Kork like
- 25 I informed Your Honour just then. Later on I was transferred to

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- 1 a PM prison in Phnom Penh. There were two PM prisons at the
- 2 time; the Phnom Penh section PM prison and the nationwide PM
- 3 prison. I was imprisoned in both locations and I think it was in
- 4 May 1968 I was transferred from the Phnom Penh prison to Prey
- 5 Sar. Prey Sar was an army prison of the Lon Nol. That was when
- 6 the prisoners were shocked and terrorized for every breath they
- 7 take -- they took. That was when two persons were executed
- 8 illegally, even when we were imprisoned in the prison.
- 9 One person's name Lau San he was executed and the other person
- 10 was a peasant, Chheang Hok, he was also executed. They were
- 11 caught, and I saw with my own eyes.
- 12 [11:21:17]
- 13 Therefore, I was in prison in Prey Sar Prison probably from May
- 14 '68 until June -- end of June or early July '69 when I was
- 15 transferred to the Central Prison.
- 16 Q. You've just told us that you were an eyewitness of illegal
- 17 executions or some of your co-detainees. Can you explain to us a
- 18 little more clearly what you meant? You referred to terror; can
- 19 you tell us your feelings, how you experienced this particular
- 20 period of your detention?
- 21 A. When I was in prison, at the police prison in Tuol Kork, I
- 22 and the police spoke on a friendly basis, as an ordinary person
- 23 every day. When I was at the PM prison in Srah Chok, the
- 24 threatening situation for me not to talk to either inmates was
- 25 banned, especially from the chief, from the chief of the room who

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- 1 was also a prisoner.
- 2 When I was at Prey Sar Prison, the vicious person was the chief
- 3 of the room who was also the prisoner. He reported, he kicked if
- 4 we made a mistake. As for the two friends who were let out of
- 5 the prison, I thought they were let out of prison but I did not
- 6 witness execution with my own eyes. They were let out and never
- 7 returned.
- 8 So they were take out of the room. Everybody knew and understood
- 9 and made the same assumption and later on I tried to find them
- 10 but I could not find them. This is about the execution at Prey
- 11 Sar. I did not talk about the killings at other prison which was
- 12 infamous but I did not want to talk about that.
- 13 Q. Were you yourself tortured? Were you subjected to
- 14 violence? Were any of your co-detainees tortured?
- 15 A. At Tuol Kork prison the interrogator was Lieutenant Giam Ho
- 16 (phonetic). He only verbally abused me. When I was detained
- 17 there were also three other persons who were detained with me.
- 18 These three persons, from what I knew, some of them were bitten.
- 19 [11:26:05]
- 20 When I was at the PS Prison the beater, the torturer on the Khmer
- 21 Rouge were Chhit Iv and another inspector, Hum or Ham . He was
- 22 infamous for beating up prisoners but that was their business. I
- 23 heard about it but I did not witness it.
- 24 And another person is Nguon Kheang he was an agricultural
- 25 inspector. The police beat him, even when he was at Prey Sar and

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- 1 we saw the bruises on his thighs; he showed me. I only saw the
- 2 marks on his side.
- 3 So I myself personally was not beaten. They, however, beat some
- 4 of the persons who were detained with me. And at the PS I saw an
- 5 evidence that the prisoners were beaten.
- 6 Q. What did you feel about these practices you have described,
- 7 even though you were not an eyewitness? What did you think about
- 8 these practices, the executions which you described as illegal,
- 9 first; and next the acts of torture. What did you think of them?
- 10 A. Before I joined the revolution I read a book on the
- 11 revolutionary strugglers. I read some books from China, from
- 12 Yuon. One book from Yuon was about the torture, the title was
- 13 the (indistinct) reason of (indistinct) so that's the torture
- 14 mentioned in there.
- 15 I determined that if I was in prison I would be tortured or would
- 16 be killed. It's only what I was thinking. Whether it was justly
- 17 or not we could not say but we knew that what would happen, so we
- 18 were ready for that. That was the truth about my revolutionary
- 19 life.
- 20 Q. I shall perhaps provide further detail. These torture
- 21 practices that you knew before you became detained that you faced
- 22 in detention, did you find them normal, acceptable, or were they
- 23 scandalous, in your view?
- 24 A. I have said I was ready to receive such torture. As a
- 25 revolutionary instructor I was not afraid, I knew it was coming.

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- 1 However, to consider it as a crime I only -- it was only in my
- 2 thought but there was no means to oppose it. I joined the
- 3 revolutionary in order to change, to transform that society, to
- 4 transform this sort of event; to oppose that government, to
- 5 oppose their torture so it would finish at the end.
- 6 And I even thought about a movie that I watched. It was from
- 7 China. Four of us watched that movie. It was spoken in Chinese
- 8 but there was one lady, one woman, Lao Keav who was an
- 9 interpreter at the time. Lao Keav was about similar to my age.
- 10 She interpreted for us. When the revolutionary won, then the
- 11 crackdown, the espionage will be in that way too.
- 12 So for us to make judgement whether it was acceptable or not, we
- 13 knew it was a crime but how could we oppose it? What means we
- 14 have to do it? It means we had to join the revolutionary, the
- 15 revolution, and we believed when we joined the Communist Party
- 16 will try to monitor the activities of those criminals as in that
- 17 movie.
- 18 Q. In your view, were the torture and execution crimes?
- 19 A. Now is different from that area. I understood at the time
- 20 it was criminal. However, before 1970 they were responsible for
- 21 the history.
- 22 We, the son of the motherland, had to defend the people and its
- 23 territory, therefore, later they said the Democratic Kampuchea
- 24 was a legitimate government and recognized by the United Nations.
- 25 So you were the police, you had no fault, but now I did not want

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- 1 to use those pretexts or those events to protect myself. I want
- 2 the Court, Your Honours, to judge me, to try me, and if I make a
- 3 mistake then judge me accordingly. So those were the words we
- 4 used in order to comfort ourselves; that's all.
- 5 [11.33.52]
- 6 Q. I am not speaking about your actions, I'm speaking about
- 7 torture that you say was practised at Prey Sar and I'm speaking
- 8 about the executions. Yes or no, did you feel that these actions
- 9 -- did you feel that these actions were criminal?
- 10 A. Maybe I did not understand Your Honour's questions well,
- 11 but now I try to respond. I understood that the activities by
- 12 the police on the Khmer Rouge members at the time was criminal.
- 13 It was a criminal act. In order to eradicate that criminal act
- 14 we have to do the revolution.
- 15 So let me reiterate, the activities by the police on the Khmer
- 16 Rouge was a criminal act.
- 17 Q. Still concerning your detention conditions, again, can you
- 18 tell us if you had enough to eat, if you had visits from your
- 19 family, if you had the possibility to write, if you had -- if you
- 20 were treated in an inhumane way? What can you tell us about
- 21 these detention conditions? I'm speaking about the time when you
- 22 were detained yourself.
- 23 [11.35.37]
- 24 A. I have informed the judges already the conditions of
- 25 detention, of my detention and of others' detentions are

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- 1 different -- were different.
- 2 The police prison; the food ration wasn't a variation from the
- 3 Central Prison. It was hard to eat but the police who guarded me
- 4 gave me one riel -- at that time we still used one riel -- one
- 5 riel each so then we could buy the sugar or the salt to add to
- 6 our food.
- 7 We slept on a mattress but it was old, dirty. When I was at Srah
- 8 Chau the food ration was a bit better, and at Prey Sar the food
- 9 was also better, but then there was also the stealing of the
- 10 food. So for those chiefs of prisons, they stole a lot of food
- 11 from the prisoners.
- 12 The friendships of the politicians at the Central Prison forced
- 13 the government to implement Krom 13; prisoners had their clear
- 14 food ration so nobody would dare to take it away. So the
- 15 detention, the detention was done according to that Krom was the
- 16 practice at the Central Prison.
- 17 And for the visit by family members, when I was at the police
- 18 station my mother could not come and visit at the PM prison. My
- 19 mother could not visit as well, but when I was at Prey Sar my
- 20 mother could visit me. My family members and friends could visit
- 21 me at will. It was every one day of the week; it was on
- 22 Thursday.
- 23 And when I was at the Central Prison the food was much better.
- 24 There was also a medic on standby. There was sufficient medicine
- 25 and families could visit at any day. They had to pay 30 riels

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- 1 for each visit.
- 2 That was the condition of detentions which was different from one
- 3 prison to another.
- 4 [11.39.00]
- 5 Q. You were released on April 3rd, 1970. Did certain members
- 6 of your family try to intervene to facilitate your release or to
- 7 anticipate your release?
- 8 A. I would like to talk about the policy of General Lon Nol.
- 9 After the coup d'état he conducted his policy, as I informed Your
- 10 Honours. He released all political prisoners, both the Khmer
- 11 Rouge, the Free Khmer, the Yuon Viet Cong, Viet Minh, and the
- 12 Yuon government officers in order to tell the world that Sihanouk
- 13 was vicious and that he was the proper man and did not accuse or
- 14 put any person in prison at will.
- 15 That was the political context that I would like to inform Your
- 16 Honours.
- 17 Q. I think that you did not answer my question exactly, so I
- 18 will ask it again. Did certain members of your family intervene
- 19 to make your release happen earlier, or to request your release?
- 20 A. I would like to tell Your Honours that I was tried already,
- 21 and my mother came to her cousin and her cousin was the nephew of
- 22 -- the nephew-in-law of Lon Nol. I was not sure whether my aunt
- 23 had any relation to that. When my aunt went to meet -- I'm not
- 24 sure which aunts, because I did not meet her. She arranged to
- 25 meet her father in order for my release; this was what happened.

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- 1 And if I signed an apology letter, I would be released, but I did
- 2 not sign it because I knew -- I believed that Lon Nol would be
- 3 defeated. But my uncle and my aunt's gratitude, I never forget
- 4 that. That was the gratitude. It was their gratitude when I was
- 5 released. My uncle and my aunt, I never forget them. When the
- 6 revolution would win, I would assist them in order to pay us
- 7 gratitude so that we could walk our own separate ways.
- 8 [11.43.33]
- 9 So the winner would have -- the loser -- however, 17 April,
- 10 everything was smashed into bits and pieces. Only one family
- 11 member of mine from Siem Reap survived, and mostly in Kampong
- 12 Chhnang area were gone. That was my anger with the CPK that I
- 13 really loved, so that's what I would like to say.
- 14 Q. These interventions, were they made known in your official
- 15 biography that you provided to the Communist Party? Was this
- 16 known to the Communist Party?
- 17 A. I never said about this biography to the CPK. At that time
- 18 I resolved the matter with my mother that way. I told her,
- 19 "Mother, I was trying to hold onto the branch of a tree of the
- 20 Khmer Rouge, and if I give up this branch I took hold of another
- 21 branch of Lon Nol. If I leave the Khmer Rouge branch, whether
- 22 the Khmer Rouge would trust me again." I said, "No, the Khmer
- 23 Rouge would not trust me, and Lon Nol all would not trust me as
- 24 well. Then I would just simply die, " so I could not do it. And
- 25 then my mother asked, "So were you willing to be in prison for 20

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- 1 years?" I said, "No, because my armies are in the jungle.
- 2 Probably in five years they could come and liberate me from the
- 3 prison." That's what I told my mother. So Your Honours, that's
- 4 what I said, so this is my response to Your Honours. It was not
- 5 the intervention by my family, and you could ask my mother about
- 6 that.
- 7 Q. For you, personally speaking, it was possible therefore to
- 8 hide certain elements of your family environment, let's say, from
- 9 -- to hide these -- from the Communist Party? Was it possible?
- 10 Didn't you take an oath to be sincere and devoted?
- 11 [11.46.04]
- 12 A. The fact that when I raised my hand and swear to join the
- 13 party, I did devote myself to it. I did not betray. But on this
- 14 particular matter it was personal that I already made up my mind
- 15 on it. I did not betray them in order to join the enemy. If
- 16 later on it was revealed, then they would not mind because they
- 17 knew I was sincere and I did not go and join (indistinct). I did
- 18 not give up my line. Even if it was broke out and revealed, I
- 19 would have no problem. That was my position. I spoke and
- 20 (indistinct) to my mother. I did not protest against her, she
- 21 was my mother, but that's what I said to her. So this action is
- 22 not an action betraying the party; I committed and sworn to be
- 23 devoted to the party and I did not betray the party at all.
- 24 Q. Is it as of the moment when you took an oath that you
- 25 changed your name?

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- 1 A. The revolutionary name was a name that I was to be -- to
- 2 select it from some of us studying in 1967. It was on Road 163
- 3 at the house where I stayed while I was studying. It was south
- 4 of the Toul Tum Poung market. When we joined the revolution they
- 5 asked us to choose another name which was called the
- 6 revolutionary name.
- 7 Q. Did this name have a specific meaning?
- 8 A. The name or its meaning was the name used by Cambodian
- 9 people. It doesn't have any special meaning. But for me I chose
- 10 to select that name because I like it.
- 11 When I was young my late grandfather on my mother's side, he
- 12 appreciated a sculptor's name; it was Duch. He's sculptured a
- 13 big wooden statue, and he was very skilful in his trade. So when
- 14 I heard my grandfather's appreciation that person's name, Duch,
- 15 the sculptor, I remember that name.
- 16 And, when I was at the primary school there was a book said --
- 17 the teacher ask Duch to read the book, and there was a sketch to
- 18 it. Duch stands up, and his hand straight -- his head was
- 19 straight forward; he reads clearly and accurately. So that was
- 20 the first text in that book, so I was interested in that name,
- 21 Duch. It was a good name.
- 22 [11.48.29]
- 23 And when Brother Chhay Kim Hour said you need to choose a name
- 24 and I said okay, I choose Duch because I knew Kaing Eav was a
- 25 Chinese name and when I was in the Khmer Revolution I needs to

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- 1 have a Khmer name, and that's what the meaning of Duch name is.
- 2 I respected the stature Duch and also liked the name of Duch, the
- 3 student who was in the text of that book.
- 4 Q. So, the reference is -- the reference of a student, pupil,
- 5 who is particularly disciplined, particularly obedient, who is
- 6 always ready to answer questions asked to him, who is always
- 7 ready to learn, who is always willing to do what he's told. Was
- 8 that the reference?
- 9 A. Your Honour's speech is correct. I liked the name Duch
- 10 because I wanted to be a well -disciplined boy who respected the
- 11 teachers, who wanted to do good deeds.
- 12 Q. If we go back a bit to the reasons behind your entry and to
- 13 your commitments, you told us during the investigation that you
- 14 were seeking justice. You wanted to defend people and to
- 15 liberate a people that you considered was oppressed. And you
- 16 also said that when you joined the Khmer Rouge you wanted to
- 17 liberate your people and not to commit crimes. Can you confirm
- 18 this?
- 19 [11.52.40]
- 20 A. I acknowledge that I committed myself to liberate the
- 21 nation, my own people from any oppression. I did not have any
- 22 intention to do any criminal activities on my country.
- 23 That was my devotion, my conviction or my oath to the nation and
- 24 my people.
- 25 Q. You also spoke about sacrifice. You said that you were

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- 1 willing to make sacrifices for the revolution. Back then did you
- 2 have an idea of the kind of sacrifice that you were willing to do
- 3 for the revolution?
- 4 [11.54.04]
- 5 A. Talking about sacrifice, I sacrificed in term of money to
- 6 the revolution. I joined the revolution movement and activities,
- 7 and I strived to commit myself to the revolution. I was not
- 8 afraid of being imprisoned or being far away from my parents, and
- 9 I was not afraid of dying.
- 10 I would like to inform Your Honours that my trial at the time, it
- 11 was in June 1969, in March '69 I said if I was sentenced to be
- 12 executed like Preap In, if I was convicted that way, to be
- 13 executed like Preap In, Preap In was a free Khmer who was
- 14 executed by Sihanouk. Preap In was a cadre of the free Khmer who
- 15 was executed by Sihanouk.
- 16 I thought if I was convicted, to be executed like Preap In, then
- 17 what should I do. I rest my head and shouted, "Bravo, the
- 18 Communist Party of Kampuchea"; that's what I thought and then I
- 19 kept thinking if I was convicted to be executed and not
- 20 immediately, what should I do during that period? Probably I
- 21 will be in prison for life.
- 22 Therefore, my spirit to be -- to sacrifice was always constant.
- 23 It was constant in my memory, whatever sacrifice was I would not
- 24 withdraw myself.
- 25 Q. So you were prepared to sacrifice your own life to the

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- 1 cause of the Communist Revolution? I don't know whether
- 2 sacrifice is the appropriate term, but did you consider that your
- 3 sacrifice would involve killing for the revolution?
- 4 A. I thought to join the revolution. The only thing I loved
- 5 in my life was teaching. I hoped once the revolution was won
- 6 then they would allow me to continue teaching. This is my idea,
- 7 I did not even think about going and doing what I did.
- 8 [11.59.28]
- 9 Q. In your view, did the Communist Party find something
- 10 special about you in choosing you as the Director of a security
- 11 centre? What qualities, characteristics did they find in you?
- 12 A. The qualifications -- or the quality they looked for was
- 13 sincerity to the party. In my entire life my superior knew me
- 14 very well; Son Sen, Brother Chhay Kim Huor and later Brother
- 15 Vorn; that is Vorn Vet. They all knew me very well that I was a
- 16 sincere person who dare not to hide anything. That was the
- 17 quality -- the quality the Communist Party of Kampuchea required
- 18 from each member of the parties.
- 19 And another quality which was also important was to pay attention
- 20 to whatever I was assigned to do meticulously. In my entire life
- 21 if I do something, I'll do it properly. If I don't do it, I
- 22 would not do it.
- 23 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 24 Now, it's time to adjourn for lunch. The Chamber announces the
- 25 adjournment and the Chamber will resume at 1.30 p.m. The

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- 1 security guards take the accused back to the waiting room and
- 2 bring him back before 1.30 this afternoon. I also would like to
- 3 inform the participants and the public, please return to your
- 4 place before 1.30.
- 5 THE GREFFIER:
- 6 All rise.
- 7 (Court recesses from 1201H to 1330H)
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 The court is now in session.
- 10 This morning, the proceedings concerning the fact of M.13 was
- 11 already underway and the accused was asked some questions. So we
- 12 can now resume our session, and to begin with I would like to ask
- 13 the official of the detention facility to bring the accused to
- 14 the dock.
- 15 The accused is allowed to sit down. Judge Lavergne, this
- 16 morning you asked questions to the accused and now the next
- 17 proceedings do you wish to ask him further questions? You still
- 18 can have the floor.
- 19 [13.38.26]
- 20 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 21 I would like to continue putting questions to the accused, but
- 22 first I think for the proper administration of justice the
- 23 parties should be provided with the list of witnesses who have
- 24 been called to appear before the Court, while recalling that
- 25 while these witnesses have not yet appeared their names should

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- 1 remain confidential.
- 2 Furthermore, in order to avoid difficulties we're using
- 3 pseudonyms. I think that we're going to distribute a list in
- 4 which one column will have the names of the witnesses and the
- 5 second column will have the pseudonyms. I recall once more that
- 6 this is a confidential document which will be given to the
- 7 defence and the accused, the Co-Prosecutors and the civil party
- 8 lawyers.
- 9 Mr. President, if this is appropriate.
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 It is appropriate. You shall now resume.
- 12 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 13 I would like to add that unfortunately we only have an English
- 14 version of this list. As soon as practicable we would have a
- 15 list in Khmer distributed.
- 16 So we can proceed. This morning the accused was asked what
- 17 attributes caused him to be choosed to head the M-13 centre, and
- 18 I believe he said that it was because he was honest towards the
- 19 party, that he was meticulous as well.
- 20 [13.41.00]
- 21 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 22 Q. Does the accused wish to add anything to his answer or does
- 23 he find that he has said everything he had to say on the subject?
- 24 A. I do not think that my answer is complete yet but for the
- 25 time being I am trying to find any qualified material to inform

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- 1 to the Court, but I can't think of it yet.
- 2 Q. So when you came out of detention did you go back to your
- 3 family or did you go directly into the jungle?
- 4 A. I would like to also confirm that because this morning I
- 5 made my response very short -- once again I would like to
- 6 emphasize that this morning I made it short in my response.
- 7 On the 3rd I came home and it was dark already when I got home.
- 8 I stayed at home for three weeks and then I came to Phnom Penh to
- 9 stay in my Monastery Number 3 as I used to do. On the day I
- 10 conducted my revolutionary activities it was -- in the daytime I
- 11 conducted the revolutionary activities but at night I stayed at
- 12 the monastery until August, when I -- by the end of August I was
- 13 allowed to the liberated zone of sector -- to S'ang Koh Thom area
- 14 to conduct or to continue my revolutionary activities in Khsach
- 15 Kandal district. S'ang Koh Thom is in Kandal province.
- 16 Q. You mentioned that you stayed in a Buddhist monastery. Did
- 17 you have any particular beliefs?
- 18 A. I already told you in 1962, but I was not quite sure, from
- 19 that year I stayed at Buddhist Monastery Number 3 at Wat Ounalom.
- 20 I stayed at -- I had stayed at this monastery from 1962 and the
- 21 head of the monastery, Mr. Prach Pol, and I respected him so
- 22 much. He was the high monk and I liked him, and when I told him
- 23 of my involvement in politics he was about to beat me. When he
- 24 learned that I was involved in politics he was about to beat me,
- 25 but when I told him the details then he trusted me. This morning

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- 1 I briefly told you the information about this Buddhist Monastery
- 2 Number 3. I had a lot to talk about it. My sentiment and
- 3 elation at the Buddhist monastery was deep because I treated my
- 4 head monk as my father.
- 5 Q. You had -- you were drawn to this monk. You were deeply
- 6 attached to him because you believed -- were you drawn to him
- 7 because you were deeply attached to Buddhism?
- 8 [13.46.39]
- 9 A. Regarding the Buddhist belief I would like to emphasise
- 10 that my grandfather on my mother's side was a well-educated
- 11 person in Buddhism, so I was influenced by him. The Buddhist
- 12 theory had been well embedded in me and I know a lot.
- 13 Q. In your view I believe there are nine or 10 commandments or
- 14 precepts in Buddhism. Are these the same as those that applied
- 15 in the Kampuchea Communist Party? If not, what was the principal
- 16 difference?
- 17 [13.48.37]
- 18 A. The 10 precepts of a Buddhist is based on the main
- 19 principle; one principle which is about killing animals. Killing
- 20 an animal is a kind of sin but the Communist theory is different
- 21 from this. According to the Communist theory the love of the
- 22 people, the true love of the people -- for the people is to give
- 23 the absolute rights to the workers class.
- 24 I would like to confirm; the true Communist theory is that the
- 25 love for -- the true love for the people is -- the true love for

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- 1 the people is to provide the absolute ability to implement the
- 2 proletarian class.
- 3 THE ACCUSED (Interpreted from French):
- 4 Your Honour, the real love of the people is to give the
- 5 proletarian to realize themselves.
- 6 THE ACCUSED (Interpreted from Khmer):
- 7 Therefore, it is different from the Buddhist theory.
- 8 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 9 Q. You said that the precepts of Buddhism were based really on
- 10 the prohibition from killing animals. Does that apply only to
- 11 animals or does that extend to human beings?
- 12 [13.51.43]
- 13 THE ACCUSED (Interpreted from French):
- 14 You can say human beings.
- 15 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 16 Q. You tell us that you stayed with your family, after which
- 17 you went into the jungle, and we would place that at around April
- 18 or May 1970, or would it be later?
- 19 A. When I left my home and returned to Phnom Penh it was on
- 20 the 25th of April 1970. I left Phnom Penh for S'ang Koh Thom in
- 21 August 1970.
- 22 Q. Whom did you meet in the jungle? Did you meet somebody
- 23 that you mentioned before, that is Chhay Kim Huor? Could you
- 24 tell us about Chhay Kim Huor?
- 25 A. I was separated actually from Chhay Kim Huor in 1967 when I

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- 1 first went to the jungle. He also went to the jungle but to a
- 2 different part, to Phnom Vor, or Vor Mountain, but I was sent by
- 3 the Party to Chamka ley district, Kampong Cham province.
- 4 After being released from the prison I already was apart from
- 5 Chhay Kim Huor, so I was parted from Chhay Kim Huor.
- 6 Q. Did you meet him later?
- 7 A. When I came back from S'ang Koh Tum to the southwest I met
- 8 Brother Chhay Kim Huor there at Amleang. At that time he was the
- 9 chairman of the office of the southwest zone.
- 10 Q. What was the name of that office and what was it used for?
- 11 A. It was called the Office 201.
- 12 Q. What happened in this office?
- 13 [13.55.43]
- 14 A. It was the administrative office at the southwest, chaired
- 15 by Ta Mok.
- 16 Q. When you say it was an administrative office, did it
- 17 include police and security duties?
- 18 A. The committee is the Zone Committee for all provinces, so
- 19 this office is the place where documents were kept. I would like
- 20 to say again, the Zone Committee can manage all matters,
- 21 including the militaries, the police and inventories and
- 22 logistics, people. As for these zone office, it was for keep --
- 23 for storing documents.
- 24 Sometimes the chairman of this office would have the authority to
- 25 order on behalf of others. Sometimes the chairman of the zone

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- 1 could order the other zone but based on the order from the Zone
- 2 Committee.
- 3 Let me clarify. The zone chairman, the zone chairman himself --
- 4 the chairman of the zone office did not have his own personal
- 5 power but he conveys the order from the Zone Committee. That's
- 6 all.
- 7 Q. In Office 201, were people detained?
- 8 A. In Office 201, there was only an administrative office. If
- 9 they wanted to detain people, people were sent to M-13.
- 10 Q. Were you aware of the existence of security centres or
- 11 where people could be detained or interrogated? When did you
- 12 become aware of a policy -- of this particular policy of the CPK
- 13 back then?
- 14 [14:00:08]
- 15 A. Your Honour, could you please clarify your question?
- 16 Q. I wanted to know if you had received information concerning
- 17 the existence of security centres that were managed, that were
- 18 set-up to put into practice decisions from the CPK?
- 19 A. I have already informed Your Honour in the morning, while I
- 20 was at Sector 25 it was at S'Ang Koh Thom, I saw a police office
- 21 led by Comrade Teng. It was under the leadership of Comrade
- 22 Teng. And when I went to the southwest zone, I met one of my old
- 23 friends. His name was Teng Khet. He was responsible for a
- 24 police office. I cannot recall his location, or it was in
- 25 Trapeang Chou.

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- 1 So it means I saw two police offices before the establishments of
- 2 the M-13; one was at Koh Thom, S'ang Koh Thom, and the other one
- 3 was at Trepeang Chou.
- 4 Normally I heard from the circling armed struggle -- during the
- 5 1945 to 1954 there were also police offices.
- 6 Let me clarify that. From what I have -- I had heard and from
- 7 our talking within the rank of the party, therefore, for the
- 8 establishment of M-13, there was an historical background and I
- 9 witnessed and heard -- I heard about the two police offices
- 10 before the M-13 establishment.
- 11 [14:04:24]
- 12 Q. If you only heard about these police centres or did you
- 13 actually see what happened there? Because earlier on you said "I
- 14 saw in a police station that was managed by Comrade Fang". So if
- 15 you have seen, could you tell us what you saw? Could you tell us
- 16 what happened; what you saw of what happened?
- 17 A. The word was incorrect.
- 18 MR. PETIT:
- 19 The accused had the microphone opened and answered the questions
- 20 directly in French after they were asked. This does not -- this
- 21 prevents -- does not make it possible for the translation to
- 22 follow. So for the transcription to be clear, the accused should
- 23 close his microphone so that the question can be translated
- 24 properly and so that the transcript can be clear.
- 25 MR. ROUX:

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- 1 I'm sorry; I don't think that that's the problem. I think that
- 2 the accused is listening to the translation on his headset and he
- 3 speaks again in French when the translation was not correct.
- 4 This is what happens. So we do have a problem of translation, as
- 5 I said this morning. I think that he understands French and he
- 6 starts answering before the end of the translation in Khmer
- 7 maybe.
- 8 So I would just like to ask for the accused to please wait for
- 9 the end of the question to be translated, and this might allow
- 10 him to take a bit of time so that the translation can flow
- 11 normally.
- 12 [14:06:30]
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 For the questioning, to the accused, after you respond, please
- 15 switch off your microphone and then listen to the next line of
- 16 questioning of the Judge.
- 17 This morning, we noticed the request regarding the language and
- 18 whether the geographical names could be appeared in French or in
- 19 the Khmer language so that it can appear on the screen. However,
- 20 at this stage this cannot be implemented yet. We need to consult
- 21 with the relevant sections regarding the image and the visibility
- 22 in order to participate -- facilitate this proceeding, and we
- 23 will consider this matter at the end of today's hearing, and that
- 24 will be for the next day hearing and for the future hearings.
- 25 Regarding the translation, we have noticed in the past -- this is

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- 1 not just the first day. Regardless of the technicality and the
- 2 ability to translate -- because this is a translation technical
- 3 issue, and it's difficult, and we try to remind all the parties
- 4 to be accurate, to be precise in the questioning or in the
- 5 response, or in any other matters, to be slow and short enough
- 6 for the interpreters to do their job.
- 7 However, because this is the start of the proceedings and every
- 8 one of us, including the Chamber itself, is not accustomed to the
- 9 arrangement with the complication of translating into various
- 10 languages. This is our experience and we need to work through
- 11 these proceedings so that they continue.
- 12 Judge Lavergne, the floor is yours.
- 13 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 14 [14:08:17]
- 15 Q. So if I understood correctly what you just said, you said
- 16 that you knew that before M-13 there had been two police centres.
- 17 You also indicated that you had met at least one of your
- 18 comrades, called Pang or Tang -- I don't exactly know -- who was
- 19 running a police centre. You also spoke about one -- another
- 20 comrade of yours called Tang Khet. Is this information correct?
- 21 A. The historical events that I just described to Your Honour,
- 22 this event, was in -- was from 1945 to 1954. The Issarak Yiek
- 23 Minh Movement had already had police offices for executing
- 24 people. That was the history.
- 25 Second, from what I knew, I knew clearly Moeng Samnang alias Teng

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- 1 was the head of the police office in Sector 25. It was
- 2 established in December 1970. This is what I informed Your
- 3 Honours this morning.
- 4 When I was assigned to work as a policeman I was afraid, and then
- 5 I went to the superiors because the superior who manage Sector
- 6 25, Butmony, he violated the party's principle, arresting the
- 7 members, the party members, to be put in prison without seeking
- 8 permission from the Centre. That's what I knew, but, I, myself,
- 9 did not enter the office to see the handcuffs, et cetera, but I
- 10 knew about these organizations.
- 11 I fled to the southwest and met some of my old friends. Mr.
- 12 Khet, who was a teacher, he was the head of the police office,
- 13 and his office was in Trapeang Chou. It's one of the police
- 14 offices of the sector. I think it was Sector 32 of the Southwest
- 15 Zone.
- 16 So that was the event I raised regarding these two police
- 17 offices, which means there were two police offices that I knew,
- 18 clearly, before the establishment of M.13. So I described two
- 19 events. One was an historical event., and another event that I,
- 20 myself, heard personally.
- 21 Q. What was the exact mission of these police offices, and, if
- 22 interrogations took place there, how were these interrogations
- 23 conducted?
- 24 A. The interrogation at police offices, from what I knew,
- 25 would involve torture. But, myself, of instructing or

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- 1 interrogating at Teng's office, was documented, and remained at
- 2 the S-21 office because Nat himself wanted to control that office
- 3 and Comrade Teng.
- 4 When S-21 started up writing, he took documents, a pile of
- 5 documents, from Teng's office and asked me to keep. So that
- 6 documents was part of the S 21 documents, and the way of writing
- 7 confessions was different, but torture did involve.
- 8 As for Comrade Tang Khet, his position was unstable. Comrade
- 9 Tang Khet, he had his high status -- social class. He reported
- 10 to the upper echelon about the people he suspected. However,
- 11 there is no documentary evidence left. There was no confessions
- 12 from Tang Khet interrogations.
- 13 So to sum up with, these two police offices, used torture before
- 14 the establishment of M.13, and I believe torture was also used in
- 15 the offices since the whole era of Issarak era.
- 16 Q. I have understood correctly, you indicate that there was
- 17 documentation concerning the way that the prisoners were being
- 18 interrogated, that this documentation involved torture methods.
- 19 Is that the case? And, if yes, when did you become aware of this
- 20 documentation?
- 21 A. Police from the Issarak era left a document that my brother
- 22 Chhay Kim Hour he told me later, ask for the police office in
- 23 Sector 25 of Mr. Teng. I did not see it personally but in
- 24 principle. The name of Neou Phoun alias Sok, the military
- 25 commander of Sector 25, talks about torture method and the

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- 1 absolute spirit and determination of Mr. Teng. He told that to
- 2 me.
- 3 Let me emphasize that Neoy Phoun, alias Sok, was also a cadre
- 4 managing myself from 1965, so he did not hide anything from me,
- 5 and I was released from Sok Butchamroeun it's because of him. So
- 6 torture was inevitable at the police office of the Khmer Rouge as
- 7 well as at the police offices from the Issarak era. That was
- 8 simply -- that was a simple information known by the people and
- 9 the people in the revolutionary rank.
- 10 Q. If I've understood correctly, you indicated that you
- 11 heard about torture methods and that these torture methods were
- 12 unavoidable whether it was at the Khmer Rouge -- in the Khmer
- 13 Rouge period or whether in the Issarak period. Is that what you
- 14 are telling us? Well, in these conversations about torture, what
- 15 was told to you what was told to you specifically, precisely?
- 16 A. What I have known about torture was, in general, they said
- 17 torture was inevitable. Therefore, I heard about torture; it
- 18 means beating with the whip on the body. That is the torture
- 19 method I heard before I managed the office M-13.
- 20 [14.19.52]
- 21 Q. And outside of torture, had you heard about executions?
- 22 A. Regarding this matter, it was clear, it was clear -- I
- 23 heard it clearly about the execution, but about the release, I
- 24 heard about some releases at some locations, but there were very
- 25 few releases. Most were not released.

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- 1 Q. Most people were released, but who would decide upon their
- 2 release and who would decide upon their execution and why?
- 3 A. Before I managed office M-13, I did not consider this
- 4 matter in detail on who decided to order for the arrest or who
- 5 decided to release those people. Before we came to the details
- 6 of the matter, I would like to emphasize that at that time, we
- 7 used the word "spy". We did not use the word "CIA" or any other
- 8 agents yet; "spy" was used, "enemy" was used.
- 9 When I managed the work at M-13 office, after I begged to -- not
- 10 to take up the job because I was afraid of being killed. If the
- 11 superior betrayed, then I would be killed too. The one who
- 12 decided for the arrest was the member of the Central Committee,
- 13 so from that day onward, I avoid not to be killed. I did not
- 14 decide on any arrest. I did not dare even to write a report on
- 15 anything of any attempt to put pressure on this person or that
- 16 person. That's why the report that I wrote, I rather let the
- 17 person himself write it, and the person who had the authority for
- 18 the release was not me, nor the head of any police office. It
- 19 was -- has to be -- it had to be decided from the upper echelon.
- 20 That's what I started to implement at the office M-13.
- 21 The arrest was done by the Central Committee at various zones,
- 22 for example, Vorn Vet, Ta Mok, Chou Chet alias Si, Huot Heng
- 23 alias Pal. For example, they would make the decision.
- 24 [14.23.39]
- 25 Q. What was exactly requested from you when you -- when they

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- 1 spoke to you about M-13? Who told you about M-13 and what was
- 2 asked of you?
- 3 A. Regarding this matter, it was description of the event.
- 4 On the 20 of July, Chhay Kim Huor took me to see him. At that
- 5 night, we did not help any work than with Comrade Vorn because
- 6 there were guests -- secret guests from Phnom Penh to meet him,
- 7 and he told me that tomorrow I had to work with Comrade Hok and
- 8 that he already told Comrade Hok about that.
- 9 On the 21st, next day, Kim Huor told me, as I already told Your
- 10 Honours in the morning, that I begged him and what his
- 11 instruction was, and after that the party only had the salt and
- 12 the rice for you so you had to manage yourself for your living;
- 13 for example, building a house.
- 14 [14.25.32]
- 15 Q. What was the mission of M-13? What was the specific
- 16 mission of M-13?
- 17 A. Initially, they gave the spies -- it means those poor
- 18 Cambodian people from the -- who came from the Lon Nol area to
- 19 the liberated area. For example, Kao Kimhean as I informed Your
- 20 Honours in the morning, they were arrested there. So they were
- 21 sent to M-13 for interrogation.
- 22 So initially, they arrested the spies to beat and interrogate and
- 23 smash. That was what happened to protect the territory, the
- 24 liberated zones, the people, and to avoid enemy from capturing
- 25 the liberated zone and to prevent the enemy from bombarding the

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- 1 area. So the obligation is to protect the liberated zones, to
- 2 protect the lives of the people, and that's what was done as
- 3 duties.
- 4 Q. So the mission of M-13 was only restricted to interrogation
- 5 and execution of people who could be deemed to be spies.
- 6 A. The first task I was offered at M-13 was to do that, but
- 7 later on there were more matters. For example, first, a female
- 8 was sent from the children's unit to M-13. She was accused of
- 9 stealing an earring. I did not put her to jail because I looked
- 10 at her and see her status. She belonged to a wealthy family,
- 11 because her husband was a soldier and this was what I was warned,
- 12 and we discussed about this. Later on I asked Chhay Kim Hour to
- 13 release her, and it was successful because with intervention from
- 14 upper echelon, including Ta Mok. So this was the person in the
- 15 liberated zone, the area. Then it comes to another matter
- 16 involved people from outside the liberated area, including Mr.
- 17 Francois Bizot, who was arrested outside that zone, that area.
- 18 So the situations were more complicated. The knowledge of the
- 19 M-13 was extended according to the circumstances involved.
- 20 [14.29.43]
- 21 Q. So you are telling us that originally M-13 was created to
- 22 fight against spies, to protect the free zone, and that later
- 23 there were people coming from other zones, and were these people
- 24 considered as spies? Why were they brought to M-13?
- 25 A. The people that I already informed you was a person from

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- 1 the southwest zone; the female's name Sray Malis from Koma Meas
- 2 village, Amleang commune, Thoong district, Kampong Speu from the
- 3 southwest zone. But the other people, Mr. Francois Bizot and
- 4 some of his associates, Comrade Lay and Son some from outside.
- 5 So this matter was complicated but it was beyond my capacity. It
- 6 was one way to fight, or fought, to seek further discussion and
- 7 consultation from the upper echelon. And the matter in the
- 8 liberated zones also increased and there were other matters
- 9 happened in other fronts' areas, but I may wait until when we
- 10 discuss the matter of the year 1973 when I talk more about this.
- 11 People were also sent from Kap Srov area. Kap Srov is to the
- 12 north of Phnom Penh. We had three -- two lines of the front who
- 13 confronted one another. One was shooting another and the people
- 14 was accused and then sent to M-13 to be interrogated. Then I
- 15 realized later, after interrogation, that the people had this
- 16 shoots among themselves. That's why I reported to Vorn Vet. I
- 17 told him that they were not enemies; they were having some
- 18 differences among themselves. After that discussion with Vorn
- 19 Vet, then he allowed me to release these people, but one of them
- 20 died of malaria before he was released. So this matter also
- 21 happened in the liberated zone or area itself.
- 22 [14.32.55]
- 23 Q. M-13 was established in a free zone or a liberated zone,
- 24 but in the record of the case there is reference to a special
- 25 zone. What was this special zone and what was it formed of?

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1 Your Honours, this is an historical event concerning the Α. CPK in concurring the land -- to seize the land to control -- to 2 3 seize it from Lon Nol's regime. First there was a southwest 4 Ta Mok shooted, had an argument with intellectuals. He dismissed four intellectuals from the southeast in 24 hours. 5 6 Then Pol Pot had to come in to intervene and then later on people 7 -- the special zone was created. So this special zone was recently created before M-13 or maybe it made -- it maybe was 8 9 created simultaneously with the M-13. It's just it was a new 10 zone. There were two sectors in that special zone, Sector 15 to 11 the north of National Road Number 4, and to the north of Phnom Penh there were four districts: Ang Snoul, Kandal Stoeng, Dang 12 13 Kor and Ponhea Leu district. The Sector 15, led by a former 14 party member called Ching Orn. To the south of Phnom Penh it was 15 Sector 25, which contained four districts including S'ang, Koh 16 Thom, Leu Dek and Kean Svay. Sector 25, led by a party member, 17 former party member called Norng Suon. These two sectors combined with Phnom Penh, which was later by this man in the 18 19 photo he took with me called Norng Suon. Before it was led by 20 Pao than alis Hon, the nephew of Vorn Vet but he died, that's why 21 Sin Nava took charge. So these sectors, including Phnom Penh, 22 was combined to have another name called special zone and led by 23 Vorn Vet. So this special zone have several offices. We have 24 Office 315, which is called the zone office. Sorry, 305. So

this I feel led by Ros Cheat Tho, the intellectual, the former

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- 1 diplomat. So the special zone was a new zone created in 1971,
- 2 contained two sectors, Sector 15 and 25.
- 3 Q. So the Special Zone had two sectors; Zone 15 and Zone 25,
- 4 in addition to Phnom Penh; is that correct?
- 5 A. That is regions and not zones.
- 6 Q. The Sectors 15, Sector 25, plus the sector around Phnom
- 7 Penh?
- 8 A. No, Phnom Penh itself.
- 9 Q. Please wait because if you do not wait before you answer we
- 10 have interpretation problems.
- 11 [14:38:26]
- 12 A. The Special Zone contains Sector 15, Sector 25, and Phnom
- 13 Penh, with some secret forces who undertaken activities at these
- 14 zone.
- 15 Q. In this Special Zone were there several security centres or
- 16 was M-13 the security centre of the Special Zone?
- 17 A. Officially M-13 was the Special Zone Police Office.
- 18 However, the people who were arrested to the north -- to the
- 19 south of Phnom Penh were arrested at Sector 25 which was under
- 20 the authority of Police Office of Comrade Teng. So M-13 was in
- 21 charge of receiving people who were arrested from Sector 15 of
- 22 the Special Zone but Mit Teng's office in charge of interrogating
- 23 people who were arrested from Sector 25.
- 24 I'm very sorry; I may not make it clear myself; I may repeat.
- 25 M-13 was in charge of detaining and interrogating and smashing

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- 1 people who were arrested from Sector 15 but Comrade Teng's Police
- 2 Office was in charge of detaining and smashing people from Sector
- 3 25.
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 The Chamber would like to adjourn 20 minutes for a break and then
- 6 we will resume at 3 o'clock.
- 7 (Court recesses from 1441H to 1456H)
- 8 THE GREFFIER:
- 9 Please be seated.
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 The Court is now in session.
- 12 Just now Judge Lavergne proceeded with questions to the accused.
- 13 I would like now to give the floor to him to continue asking more
- 14 questions.
- 15 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 16 Q. So I would like to get back to M-13 and to the special
- 17 zone. Who specifically decided on the creation of the special
- 18 zone? Who within the Party decided to create this zone?
- 19 A. The decision was made; only Pol Pot who could do so. To
- 20 prove it that Pol Pot made such a decision because after knowing
- 21 that the special zone was established when Ta Mok joined the
- 22 study session, then when they came back we learned that the
- 23 special zone was established. I did not have any evidence but I
- 24 only can prove it by this event. Only Pol Pot himself who could
- 25 make such decision.

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- 1 [15.07.12]
- 2 Q. Were there zone secretaries and who was in charge of the
- 3 zone? Who were the individuals in charge of the zone? Who are
- 4 these people? What are they're specific function? Were they
- 5 members of specific committees within the party, for example?
- 6 A. The secretary of the zone -- Special Zone Committee was
- 7 Vorn Vet, followed by two members Cheng Orn and Norng Suon.
- 8 Cheng Orn was the secretary of Sector 15 and Brother Suon was the
- 9 secretary of Sector 25.
- 10 Q. Did Vorn Vet have other functions within the party?
- 11 [15:08:42]
- 12 A. Vorn Vet was the member of the Central Committee, the
- 13 full-fledged member. But I do not know for sure at that time
- 14 whether Brother One was the full tri-member already. I was not
- 15 sure whether Brother One was the member of the Central Committee.
- 16 I was not aware that Vorn Vet was already a member -- a permanent
- 17 member of the Central Committee or if he wasn't.
- 18 Q. When did you learn then that he was a member of the
- 19 Standing Committee?
- 20 A. I knew that he was a permanent member of the Standing
- 21 Committee up to 1975. I knew that Brother Vorn was a permanent
- 22 member after 1975. It means after I managed -- after I came to
- manage S-21.
- 24 Q. So today you are telling us, with a certain amount of
- 25 conviction, that up until 1975 you did not know the exact

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- 1 function of Vorn Vet within the Standing Committee of the CPK.
- 2 Is that what you are telling us?
- 3 A. This matter was not told to me as he was -- whether he was
- 4 a permanent member or not. However, practically he was already a
- 5 full right member of the Central Committee.
- 6 Q. So you are telling us that in practice you knew that he was
- 7 a member of the Central Committee but you did not know that he
- 8 was a member of the Standing Committee. Is that what you're
- 9 telling us?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Outside of Vorn Vet and of the other key people you were
- 12 speaking about there were other people who were supervising who
- 13 were supervising the M.13 centre?
- 14 A. The task, the party task is every fortnight. I went to
- 15 attend a meeting. It's a livelihood meeting. It was a self
- 16 criticism meeting with the secretaries of the branches in order
- 17 to criticize and self criticize and for the task of the police.
- 18 No one dare to come and instruct me besides Vorn Vet and for the
- 19 Southwest Zone besides Ta Mok and Chou Chet.
- 20 [15:14:08]
- 21 Q. Did Son Sen have a specific role at M.13?
- 22 A. In order to clarify the matter I would like to inform Your
- 23 Honours about the history of teacher Son Sen. In 1970 teacher
- 24 Son Sen was a secretary of the Northwest Zone -- Northeast Zone.
- 25 He was a secretary of the Northeast Zone. Later he came with Pol

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- 1 Pot and became the co-chairman of Southwest Zone with Koy Thuon.
- 2 My apology; it was the North Zone. So he moved from Northeast to
- 3 the Northwest Zone to be the co-chairman of the North Zone
- 4 together with Koy Thuon.
- 5 And in 1973 -- in late 1973 he went to the Special Zone in charge
- 6 of -- as a deputy secretary of the Special Zone. In his position
- 7 as a deputy secretary of the Special Zone he managed Sector 15
- 8 and managed the Special Secret Force in Phnom Penh.
- 9 I also would like to emphasize that it is my observation that at
- 10 that time Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, and Kieu Samphan created a special
- 11 office, secret office in Chrok Sdech Village, that special secret
- 12 office in Chrok Sdech Village in pram sub-district, Kampong
- 13 Tralach District, Kampong Chhnang Province.
- 14 So to sum up, Son Sen became the deputy secretary of that zone
- 15 from late 1973 and there were Pol Pot behind him in Chrok Sdech
- 16 Village.
- 17 Q. This special office that you tell us was located, was it in
- 18 a special zone or was it outside of this special zone?
- 19 [15.19.32]
- 20 A. It was in Peam sub-district. Peam sub-district had been a
- 21 long revolutionary based. It was the best in the Southwest Zone.
- 22 However, it was given to the Special Zone to manage since 1970.
- 23 My apology; from 1971.
- 24 Q. What was the link between M-13 and this special office and
- 25 what was the name of this special office?

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- 1 A. I only heard about the news; I did not know where the
- 2 secret office was. I only heard people talked about that secret
- 3 office of Mr. Pol Pot. I never went to that location myself and
- 4 I only heard whispering about it; it was not official.
- 5 Therefore, I was very far away from that secret office of Pol
- 6 Pot. My superior who I went to contact with only was Son Sen.
- 7 Q. Where specifically was M-13 located? What is the specific
- 8 location -- its specific location of its units or of its -- of
- 9 its unit or of its units, if there were several units, depending
- 10 on the centre?
- 11 A. M-13 -- there was M-13A under my direct supervision and
- 12 M.13B where my deputy managed.
- 13 The M-13B was in Sdok Srat, In Sdok Taol sub-district. At that
- 14 time it was called Ang Snuol District, Sector 15. The M-13B was
- 15 allowed, when I permitted its creation and it remained at that
- 16 same location.
- 17 S-4, M-13, M-13A where I managed, had moved a couple of times.
- 18 It's initial place was in -- on Anlong Veng in Thmar Kok on
- 19 Amleang sub-district. That was the location where Bizot was
- 20 detained.
- 21 Later I relocated the office to a location called the Tuol
- 22 Svaymeas or Taleav for doing rice farming. However, after the
- 23 riot and the prisoners escaped I relocated it to near Trapeang
- 24 Chrap. Trapeang Chrap was the last location of M-13A. In
- 25 summary, the M-13 only had two branches or two locations. The

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- 1 first branch was M-13A which was my office which located three
- 2 times and M-13B at Sdok Srat and always remained at that
- 3 location.
- 4 Q. As of the origin, did you -- was it considered to create --
- 5 were you considering creating two units, a branch M-13A and a
- 6 branch M-13B and why two separate branches?
- 7 A. The first principle that I was asked to manage, M-13, it
- 8 was then no M-13A or M-13B. However, I noticed that some people
- 9 were released. So the people who were released would have been
- 10 taken far away from the people who were detained and smashed.
- 11 Having taken into account this matter, that's why I asked my
- 12 boss, Brother Vorn, to establish another location. Then my
- 13 deputy chairman, Comrade Sum, was asked to become the
- 14 chairperson. His first name was Ho Kim Heng.
- 15 Q. So if I've understood properly, at the start, there was
- 16 only one centre which was called M-13, a centre from which the
- 17 detainees were released, but if I understood correctly, it was a
- 18 rather special form of release because, unless I did not
- 19 understand properly, you said that they had to be brought far
- 20 from -- and then executed. Is that what I understood or is that
- 21 an error?
- 22 A. (Microphone not activated)
- 23 Q. But for earlier, when I asked you the question concerning
- 24 the existence of several -- of two centres, two distinct centres,
- 25 you told us that there was at the start only one single centre

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- 1 but certain detainees had been released, so what does this
- 2 release mean? Were they really released or were they simply
- 3 executed?
- 4 [15.30.25]
- 5 A. The people who were released was released without being
- 6 re-arrested and only this release could be done from the
- 7 permission, because I asked the chief of the zone already to have
- 8 these people released.
- 9 Q. What happened to M-13 detainees after they had been
- 10 interrogated?
- 11 A. People who were pursued that could not be released, the
- 12 interrogation normally took place by way of tortures and,
- 13 finally, they were smashed.
- 14 Q. Was execution the rule rather than the exception?
- 15 A. The smash was the main principle. Whenever the zone
- 16 decided then the Police Office had to implement the decision, so
- 17 the smash was the permanent principle and regular principle.
- 18 Q. You told us about two branches. You referred to M-13B,
- 19 which was the office in Sdok Srat. You were telling us about
- 20 M-13A, which was located in different places at different times.
- 21 Were there any other security offices under M-13? If so, in
- 22 particular, did you hear about an office called M-99?
- 23 A. M-19 was seen. I saw M-19 in the book and I did not know
- 24 what M-19 -- sorry, 99, was. Now, having studied the materials
- 25 and detail, at that time, the office was called -- after reading

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- 1 some documents I noticed that this office was one called Police
- 2 Office of Sector 32. These two units were separate and they're
- 3 not related.
- 4 [13.35.22]
- 5 Q. What further detail can you provide us concerning the way
- 6 M-13 functioned?
- 7 A. M-13's first task was to receive people who were arrested
- 8 and to be interrogated. So after interrogation those people were
- 9 smashed, so this was the task of M-13A. For M-13B, they received
- 10 only people who were sent to be re-educated for a while and then
- 11 released afterwards with decision.
- 12 Q. Can you describe the detention conditions in M-13 for us?
- 13 A. The detention condition was tough because there was no
- 14 medicine and, ultimately in 1974, people only ate -- they did not
- 15 even have rice to eat. Even the cadres, including me myself, had
- 16 no rice to eat. We ate sweet potatoes and then some poisonous
- 17 tubers, and the -- we -- the detainees were shackled day and
- 18 night, and when there were B-52 bombings, then we had to dig a
- 19 trench and then -- so that people could take refuge. So there
- 20 were three trenches in my location; one for keeping female and
- 21 others for keeping male detainees, but I could see that the
- 22 detention condition was very inhumane.
- 23 Q. I am going to read from a note which was attached to your
- 24 interview of the 3rd of October 2007. This is on Document Number
- 25 D21. This is on page 12 of the French version. You wrote a

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- 1 paragraph entitled "The Influence of Terror on Me" and you say
- 2 the following:
- 3 "In Sector 25, I hated the police work (called the Special
- 4 Branch) and I hated the killing, but I was told that this was due
- 5 to a loss of direction on the part of the party. In Office 13, I
- 6 came to hate excrement but I had to walk in it. Chi Kim An's
- 7 fighting method, that is suicide by hanging, was not good. I did
- 8 not wish or dare to fight openly as Hou Youn had done when faced
- 9 with Ta Mok and Pol Pot. I tried to resolve matters by my own
- 10 means.
- 11 This means, firstly, ensuring that I could seek and find the
- 12 truth of confessions, but I had no way of ascertaining the truth,
- 13 which terrified me when I reported the answers contained in the
- 14 confessions.
- 15 Secondly, I asked Vorn Vet to free people who had been sent by
- 16 other people. I was only able to release eight of those, of whom
- 17 I remember only six names.
- 18 Thirdly, I asked to share or split Office 13 into two. The first
- 19 would be 13K at the foot of the Pis Mountain where detainee work
- 20 details were sent to plant rice. There was an escape and all the
- 21 detainees were able to break free and escape. The second was
- 22 Office KH, which was in Sdok Srat village in Sdok Taol District,
- 23 which kept detainees for some time before they were freed.
- 24 [15.41.56]
- 25 Fourthly, as I had done so much to seek the truth, Ta Mok became

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- 1 annoyed with me in respect of a cadre, Prach Son, or alias Pot,
- 2 who came from Hanoi.
- 3 Fifthly, I asked for the release of somebody in the southwest
- 4 which turned out to be very difficult. The freed person was Ham
- 5 Hin."
- 6 Do you wish to confirm what I have just read? Do you have any
- 7 comment on that?
- 8 A. I would like to confirm with one word only. The term "13A"
- 9 as read by Your Honour at this time --
- 10 THE INTERPRETER:
- 11 The accused in French.
- 12 THE ACCUSED (Interpreted from Khmer):
- 13 A. So we used the "B" to refer to the offices but I already
- 14 told the Judges about the detail of the offices.
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 The prosecutor, you take the floor.
- 17 MR PETIT:
- 18 I'm sorry, each time when the accused is speaking and he changes
- 19 -- switches to another language, there's always some loss in the
- 20 interpretation. This means that at the very least the transcript
- 21 will not be accurate. In the other court -- as in the other
- 22 courts, if a party or a witness or anyone else intends to switch
- 23 languages he should inform the interpreters, otherwise there will
- 24 necessarily be a loss in the interpreting as happened in what the
- 25 accused responded at least for the English.

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- 1 [15:44:57]
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Judge Lavergne, you can still pursue it.
- 4 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 5 Q. To ensure that there is no misunderstanding, could you
- 6 please repeat the answer that you just gave.
- 7 (Microphone not activated)
- 8 Q. I asked you whether you had any particular comments with
- 9 regard to what I had just read out, in particular your despair,
- 10 so to speak, in regard to the work that you had to do when you
- 11 were in Office 13, and you made some remarks regarding the
- 12 existence of two centres which had been mentioned beforehand.
- 13 A. I do not understand the comment by the Co-Prosecutor and I
- 14 also do not really understand the additional questioning by Your
- 15 Honour. Could you please ask again?
- 16 [15.46.23]
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 May the Co-Prosecutor please state your comment again, and after
- 19 that Judge Lavergne will make his comment.
- 20 MR. PETIT:
- 21 Yes, thank you, Your Honour.
- 22 I am saying that if someone switches languages in the middle of a
- 23 presentation while speaking, then there is necessarily a loss in
- 24 translation. So, for example, if the accused starts answering a
- 25 question in Khmer and then switches to French, there will be a

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- 1 loss. The translation cannot keep up and therefore the
- 2 transcription -- the transcript that will be made at the end of
- 3 the day will not be accurate or complete.
- 4 So I would suggest that perhaps for this particular stage the
- 5 accused sticks to one language, Khmer, if possible, and if not,
- 6 to pause and warn the translation that he is about to switch into
- 7 French before doing so; therefore there will be no loss.
- 8 [15:46:58]
- 9 I remind those who need to be, that we do not have straight
- 10 Khmer/French translation but rather, Khmer, to English and then
- 11 to French. So we have to be mindful that any deviation in
- 12 language will cause problems.
- 13 I hope I'm clear this time. Thank you.
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 The defence counsel, Mr. Roux, the floor is yours.
- 16 MR. ROUX:
- 17 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 18 It's just to clarify; the accused did not change his language, he
- 19 just tried to correct an error in the French which was read out
- 20 by Judge Lavergne. In the French version read by Judge Lavergne,
- 21 M.13K was mentioned and the accused explained that M.13K is in
- 22 fact M.13A. "K" is what corresponds to A in the Latin alphabet.
- 23 Similarly, he afterwards indicated 13KH and the accused said it
- 24 is M.13B in fact.
- 25 So unless I'm mistaken, he did not change his language, he just

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- 1 wished to correct what is indicated in the French version of the
- 2 document that was read.
- 3 [15:49:51]
- 4 For translation purposes, when 13K is mentioned, we're referring
- 5 to M.13A as in English and where M.13KH is indicated this is
- 6 M.13B. These are the two M.13 offices that we have been
- 7 discussing this afternoon.
- 8 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 9 The Co-Prosecutor, do you have any further comment? The floor is
- 10 yours.
- 11 MR. PETIT:
- 12 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 13 However, during his testimony today the accused answers
- 14 questions, in part, in French and there was always some loss. So
- 15 I repeat my comment that the accused or any other person should
- 16 remain within one language and just one translation, the
- 17 translation if he wishes to make corrections in another language.
- 18 Thank you.
- 19 (Deliberation between Judges)
- 20 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 21 The Trial Chamber took note of the observation raised by the
- 22 Co-Prosecutor. It was appropriate and it should be corrected
- 23 because, at the same time, the accused uses two languages; that
- 24 is the Khmer and the French languages.
- 25 [15:53:07]

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- 1 The Trial Chamber would instruct the accused, Mr. Kaing Guek Eav,
- 2 from this point onward, please use one of the two languages
- 3 clearly. You use the Khmer language if you intend to respond.
- 4 So clarify to the question -- other questions, in the French
- 5 questioning then you should seek permission from the Chamber, so
- 6 in order to facilitate the translation team to have enough time
- 7 for the translation.
- 8 May Judge Lavergne, please continue.
- 9 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 10 Q. Can you tell us whether what I read out fits some
- 11 despair on your part in regard to the work that you were forced
- 12 to do at the M.13 Office? Were you put off by this work? Did
- 13 you enjoy it?
- 14 A. I would like to inform Your Honours that, when you read my
- 15 statement, my earphone was interrupted. That's what happened.
- 16 However, if I were to respond to you at this time whether I
- 17 was satisfied with that job, I was not. But it was not -- it was
- 18 unavoidable and I hate to do it. I had pretext to ask Vorn Vet
- 19 to punish me or discipline me because some of the detainees fled
- 20 but he did not imprison me and he kept sending more people to be
- 21 detained, interrogated, and smashed.
- 22 [15:55:42]
- 23 So probably that was my fate to do that job. And I recite
- 24 the poem just to comfort myself. That's what I informed Your
- 25 Honours in the morning.

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- 1 To sum up, I could not have anything else to do besides doing
- 2 that job, in that place, at that time.
- 3 Q. When you say you could do nothing else, did you at all
- 4 consider doing something else? If so, what? Did you understand
- 5 my question? You said you were forced to do this work; that you
- 6 did not have a choice. So did you consider doing something else,
- 7 like absconding?
- 8 A. I did not think of any other choice other than following
- 9 their order so that I could survive. Never. So I never thought
- 10 of any other means to avoid these. I knew that the task was
- 11 criminal in nature but I had to follow the order.
- 12 Q. Did you observe that there had been any changes in the
- 13 categories of people who were arrested and taken to M-13?
- 14 Because a while ago this morning you talked about spies; so apart
- 15 from spies, were there people characterized as enemies? If so,
- 16 who were they?
- 17 [15.58.37]
- 18 A. First, the people who came from Lon Nol territory were
- 19 called the spies. I believed that only in small part that these
- 20 people were really the spies. They were poor people and could
- 21 not escape. That's why they were compelled to do that, and I
- 22 already reported -- informed Your Honours there was a -- did
- 23 shoot in the village and also in the works at Kobb Srov. That's
- 24 why I tried my best to solve the problem as it happened.
- 25 However, the most shocking event was the purge of the base.

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- 1 Amleang is the reference zone and it was hard to tolerate -- that
- 2 bear that situation. Whenever I recall it, it hurts me.
- 3 So these are the kind of people who were brought in, and I
- 4 already mentioned this morning that there was a conflict inside
- 5 the party when Ta Mok, who sent Sang Ha Hoeurn to M-13 and there
- 6 was no intervention. He did not dare to intervene and he
- 7 arrested a cadre from Hanoi, accusing him of shooting Comrade Yan
- 8 and compel M-13 to interrogate him. And without following the
- 9 order I would be punished, so I could not find any alternatives.
- 10 So in conclusion, I still maintain my position that I never
- 11 thought of any other alternative way other than following the
- 12 orders, because I was afraid to be killed.
- 13 Q. These spies or these enemies, were they men, were they
- 14 women, were they children?
- 15 A. The internal they shoot. Of course people who were
- 16 regarded as spies were mixed, men and women. At that time I
- 17 tried to raise three children and it contradicted to their
- 18 instruction that I would be cautious because these children would
- 19 take revenge. However, to raise children I need to do my best
- 20 and I reported about my failure to raise the children but Son Sen
- 21 did not challenge it. So I had a mistake for raising such
- 22 children, so I did not really contest my boss, and the children
- 23 were arrested in 1974 but there were more of them who were sent
- 24 in at S-21.
- 25 [16.03.18]

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- 1 Q. Three children out of how many children who arrived at
- 2 M-13, and what became of these children who arrived at M-13?
- 3 A. Your Honours, I released one of -- a teenage boy and I also
- 4 had to face the challenge by Chhay Kim Huor that these kids would
- 5 take a revenge. But later on I noticed the three children of the
- 6 person named Sung Un because the children who were sent to that
- 7 place were the people who had no -- had the fathers but without
- 8 mothers. I tried to raise them but I could not succeed. I could
- 9 not remember whether I had any further knowledge of any children
- 10 other than the three, because there was no list at M-13.
- 11 Q. Outside of these three children were other children
- 12 detained at M-13 and what happened to these children who were
- 13 detained at M-13?
- 14 A. As I already told Your Honours, other than the three
- 15 children there was no other, except the teenage boy who came in
- 16 1971. In September-October I received one teenage boy, and after
- 17 that there would never be any other children. And when it comes
- 18 to the three children, the children of Sung Un I already talked
- 19 about this before the Co Investigating Judges.
- 20 [16:05:40]
- 21 Q. So I want to be sure that I've understood properly. You're
- 22 telling us that at M-13 there were only three children who were
- 23 detained, three children that you tried to raise, and that on top
- 24 of this there was a teenager that you released. Is that true?
- 25 A. Yes, Your Honour, that's correct. So far as I remember,

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- 1 that's correct.
- 2 Q. And can you give us more details on the organization of
- 3 M-13? In particular when the people were led to M-13, were they
- 4 registered? Was there some kind of department holding a register
- 5 with names?
- 6 A. Your Honour, during the wartime there was no papers or book
- 7 except at the Office 201 that provided with paper that we could
- 8 record on. But when people were sent and we registered them, but
- 9 when they were smashed those papers were also destroyed so no
- 10 lists of detainees were kept.
- 11 Q. You told us earlier on that the prisoners were chained
- 12 together. Can you tell us how they were chained together? Were
- 13 they shackled by their feet or were they chained together by
- 14 their hands?
- 15 A. Your Honour, they were not chained, they were shackled with
- 16 a bar, an iron bar, a long iron bar with a ring to put -- to
- 17 place the legs of the detainee in those rings and chain -- and
- 18 shackled together.
- 19 Q. Were the detainees classified into different categories?
- 20 Were some of them allowed to move about during the day or were
- 21 they constantly shackled?
- 22 A. Normally, women detainees were let out to plant some
- 23 eggplants but the male detainee was shackled and never been let
- 24 out.
- 25 Q. You spoke to us earlier on about the food deprivation

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- 1 issues, the lack of rights for example, and, therefore, were
- 2 there prisoners -- did normally however did the prisoners have
- 3 enough to eat however?
- 4 A. I think the cadre's like our cell did not have something to
- 5 eat -- enough to eat let alone those detainee, they only ate even
- 6 bran or rice dust.
- 7 Q. So the diet of the cadre's and of the prisoners was not the
- 8 same?
- 9 A. The cadre's status was higher than the combatants and the
- 10 combatants who were detained had different status also because
- 11 their food was so little that they were only let alive to only be
- 12 interrogated.
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 The accused, could you please say again because there was a
- 15 translation issue that I could not hear you, last part of the
- 16 speech.
- 17 [16:11:22]
- 18 THE ACCUSED:
- 19 The judge asked me about the difference of food ratio between the
- 20 cadre's and the combatants who were detainees. I stated that
- 21 cadre and the combatants were completely different. Sorry, were
- 22 a little bit different.
- 23 INTERPRETER: Correction from the interpreter.
- 24 THE ACCUSED: But the victims who were detained there, their food
- 25 ratio was very, very different from the cadre's. By the end of

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- 1 1974, in the months of September and October, they only ate bran
- 2 or rice dust.
- 3 So we noticed that difference food ratio so we only kept these
- 4 people alive to be interrogated.
- 5 BY JUDGE LAVERGNE
- 6 Q. And were you able to notice that prisoners had died of
- 7 starvation?
- 8 A. The people who were sick and died of starvation, yes, there
- 9 were some of them. But, in general, we did not leave these
- 10 people until they faced such a situation because after
- 11 interrogation, in principle, they were taken away and smashed.
- 12 Q. Did you notice that certain members of the staff had also
- 13 died of starvation?
- 14 A. So far I remember there was no staff who died of
- 15 starvation. No, there was none.
- 16 Q. What were the hygiene -- conditions of hygiene in which the
- 17 prisoners were living, in particular how do they go about it to
- 18 release -- relieve themselves? Sorry. Did they have the
- 19 possibility of washing as well?
- 20 A. Office M-13A was located next to the lake so the detainees
- 21 were allowed to relief themselves in that lake. 13A was located
- 22 near the river but the river was dirty. The detainees somehow
- 23 were allowed to bath in that river.
- 24 I would like to confirm that the water in Trapeang Chrap area was
- 25 dirty but that we asked the detainees to bath in the river

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- 1 instead.
- 2 Q. Where did the prisoners have -- did all the prisoners have
- 3 the permission to bathe, to wash, or was this a privilege?
- 4 A. So far as I remember, the detainee took a bath every day
- 5 and they were let by comrade Meas.
- 6 Q. Were they chained together?
- 7 A. The female detainees were not tied together, but male
- 8 detainees were tied together with a string from the hammock.
- 9 Q. You told us that there was no medical care this morning;
- 10 can you confirm this?
- 11 A. It was true; I cannot -- I don't contest this.
- 12 Q. You also spoke about pits. Can you tell us if as I -- can
- 13 you tell us if these pits were dug to "to shelter the prisoners"
- 14 or were these pits dug for any other reasons?
- 15 A. The pits -- that was for sheltering the detainees, to
- 16 protect them from being dropped the bomb on. The other kind of
- 17 pit was located on the other side of the river. It was the --
- 18 that -- to bury the deceased people. And there was another kind
- 19 of pit that was covered and used as a trench.
- 20 [16.19.38]
- 21 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- Okay, I think we're going to stop for this afternoon, Mr.
- 23 President.
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 25 It is time to break for this afternoon, so the Chamber would like

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	32
1	to announce that our session is now adjourned. So tomorrow
2	session will be resumed at 9 a.m. I would like to ask the
3	security personnel to take the accused back to the detention
4	facility and bring him back before 9 a.m.
5	I would like to also inform the participants and the audience to
6	join the session tomorrow before 9 a.m.
7	(Court adjourns at 1620H)
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