

អត្ថ៩ំនុំ៩ម្រះចិសាទញ្ញតូខតុលាភារកន្ទុវា

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

หอริร์สุรโละยายารูล

Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

ព្រះពថាណាចត្រកម្ពុ ថា ថាតិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ

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



ORIGINAL/ORIGINAL ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date): 13-Jun-2017, 10:59 CMS/CFO: Sann Rada

<u>TRANSCRIPT OF TRIAL PROCEEDINGS</u> <u>PUBLIC</u> Case File Nº 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC

> 28 April 2015 Trial Day 275

Before the Judges: NIL Nonn, Presiding YA Sokhan Claudia FENZ Jean-Marc LAVERGNE YOU Ottara Martin KAROPKIN (Reserve) THOU Mony (Reserve) The Accused:

NUON Chea KHIEU Samphan

Lawyers for the Accused: Victor KOPPE KONG Sam Onn Arthur VERCKEN

Trial Chamber Greffiers/Legal Officers: Roger PHILLIPS CHEA Sivhoang

For the Office of the Co-Prosecutors: SENG Bunkheang Dale LYSAK

For Court Management Section: UCH Arun SOUR Sotheavy Lawyers for the Civil Parties: Marie GUIRAUD SIN Soworn VEN Pov HONG Kimsuon

List of Speakers:

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language
JUDGE FENZ	English
MS. GUIRAUD	French
MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN	Khmer
MR. KONG SAM ONN	Khmer
MR. KOPPE	English
JUDGE LAVERGNE	French
MR. LYSAK	English
THE PRESIDENT (NIL NONN Presiding)	Khmer
MR. VERCKEN	French

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- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Court opens at 0901H)
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Please be seated. The Court is now in session.
- 5 Today the Chamber will hear the key document presentation by the
- 6 defence teams in relation to Tram Kak Cooperative and Krang Ta
- 7 Chan Security Centre.
- 8 Ms. Chea Sivhoang, please report the attendance of the Parties
- 9 and individuals to today's proceedings.
- 10 THE GREFFIER:
- 11 Mr. President, for today's proceedings, all Parties to this case 12 are present, except Mr. Son Arun, National Co-Counsel for Mr.
- 13 Nuon Chea is absent for health reasons.
- Mr. Nuon Chea is present in the holding cell downstairs. He has waived his rights to be present in the courtroom. The waiver has been delivered to the greffier. Thank you.
- 17 [09.03.01]
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:

19 Thank you. The Chamber now decides on the request by. Nuon Chea. 20 The Chamber has received a waiver from Nuon Chea, dated 28 April 21 2015, which states that due to his health -- that is, headache, 22 back pain and he cannot sit or concentrate for long and in order 23 to effectively participate in future hearings, he requests to 24 waive his right to participate in and be present at the 28 April 25 2015 hearing. He advises that his counsel advised him about the

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1 consequence of this waiver that in no way it can be construed as 2 a waiver of his right to be tried fairly or to challenge evidence 3 presented or admitted to this Court at any time during this trial. Having seen the medical report of Nuon Chea by the duty 4 doctor for the Accused at ECCC, dated 28 April 2015, who notes 5 that Nuon Chea has a chronic back pain and feels dizziness when б 7 he sits for long and recommends that the Chamber shall grant him 8 his request so that he can follow the proceedings remotely from 9 the holding cell downstairs. 10 [09.04.23]Based on the above information and pursuant to Rule 81.5 of the 11 12 ECCC Internal Rules, the Chamber grants Nuon Chea his request to 13 follow today's proceedings remotely from the holding cell downstairs via an audio-visual means. 14 15 The AV Unit personnel are instructed to link the proceedings to 16 the room downstairs so that he can follow the proceedings. That 17 applies for the whole day. And the Chamber would like to hand the floor to the defence team 18 19 for Nuon Chea for the key document presentation in relation to 20 Tram Kak Cooperative and Krang Ta Chan Security Centre. 21 Counsel, you have the floor. 22 MR. KOPPE: 23 Thank you, Mr. President. Good morning, Your Honours. Good 24 morning, counsel.

25 Mr. President, my presentation today is divided into three parts:

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2	second deals with living and working conditions in Tram Kak,
3	while the third part relates to the treatment of targeted groups.
4	[09.05.51]
5	This morning I will present a total of 30 documents, which is a
6	little less than the list that we initially circulated as we have
7	removed some documents.
8	Let me first turn to the document that relates to Krang Ta Chan.
9	There are 138 documents on the case file listed in an OCP annex
10	called "The Tram Kak District Records". These documents are
11	allegedly contemporaneous documents relating to activities within
12	Tram Kak district during the DK period.
13	By now it is clear that these documents are by far the
14	Prosecution's core evidence for this trial segment. However, only
15	three of these 138 documents have a located original and even
16	these originals are not on our case file. The other documents are
17	simply copies and the whereabouts of the originals are unknown
18	and this makes it impossible, for example, to verify Pech Chim's
19	recent claim that all executions would have been annotated on
20	documents in red ink. Nor can we examine the nature of several
21	documents with a single E3 number, but which appear to have been
22	compilations of various separate documents, including
23	correspondence back and forth. In a court of law, this is highly
24	problematic, especially in the light of the possibility which
25	I will discuss later that certain documents may have been

the first concerns documents relating to Krang Ta Chan, the

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- forgeries, intended to craft a very particular narrative of
 alleged events at Krang Ta Chan.
- 3 [09.07.56]

4 It is with these concerns in mind that we will soon be filing an
5 official request for investigation into a selection of the
6 so-called Tram Kak district records.

7 Now, Mr. President, the first document I wish to present is a document which provides information about the provenance of these 8 so-called Tram Kak district. This document is E3/188; it is a 9 10 written record of interview of Youk Chhang, Director of Documentation Centre of Cambodia, and it is dated 2 April 2009. 11 12 The relevant ERN numbers: in English, 00342450 until 5; Khmer, 00334755 until 61; and French, 00485435 until 40. 13 In this document, Youk Chhang provides further information and identifies 14 15 important sources regarding the provenance of the Tram Kak 16 district records and their chain of custody.

17 [09.09.24]

He notes that the documents were found at different times and are 18 19 from different sources. He explains that the original documents 20 related to Krang Ta Chan were lost but that it is unclear how 21 they were lost, when and also where this loss occurred. However, 22 he does explain that Mr. Sou Phirin, the current Secretary of 23 State in the Council of Ministers, whom we have requested to call 24 as an additional witness in this trial segment, allegedly 25 received the documents from the district front and gave them to

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none other than Ben Kiernan. According to Youk Chhang, Kiernan
 said he returned the documents and that they are in Tuol Sleng,
 which they, in fact, are not. Sou Phirin, on the other hand,
 according to Youk Chhang says, Kiernan did not return the
 originals.

6 [09.10.34]

7 Youk Chhang also provides information concerning the so-called Tram Kak district record sources. For instances he states in his 8 9 statement that Prime Minister Hun Sen is a source for documents 10 numbered as D documents in the DC-Cam numbering system. 11 Youk Chhang also says that other sources are from Takeo province 12 and that some documents were taken from the office of the district front but it is unclear where the district front 13 14 received the documents from. He also says that the district front 15 supposedly collected the documents from the village and commune 16 levels but it did not take the original documents from Krang Ta 17 Chan itself.

18 MR. PRESIDENT:

19 The International Deputy Co-Prosecutor, you have the floor.

- 20 [09.11.50]
- 21 MR. LYSAK:

Thank you, Mr. President. I'd request that counsel when he's making these references, as I did, point to the specific ERNs. He is characterising the evidence rather than pointing to it. One of the things he just said is exactly the opposite of what is said

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2 any reliability in this process, he needs to be citing where he's 3 getting this from so that he's not characterising them or mischaracterising the evidence. 4 MR. KOPPE: 5 I can do that, Mr. President. I just thought it would get rather б 7 tedious if I number every reference, but if you require so, I 8 will do it. Would you like me to get back to all the references 9 or shall I just go on from now? 10 [09.12.46]MR. PRESIDENT: 11 12 Counsel, please make sure that you refer to the proper documents 13 and the related ERN numbers so that concerned Parties can follow 14 your presentation. Thank you. 15 MR. KOPPE: 16 I will do so, Mr. President. 17 Let me start and if that is alright with you with the second part 18 of this document where Youk Chhang provides information 19 concerning the so-called Tram Kak district record sources. 20 [09.13.42]21 First, I just said that already but I will repeat it. Prime 22 Minister Hun Sen, so he says, is a source for documents numbered 23 as D documents in the DC-Cam numbering system -- that is, 24 English, 00342452; Khmer, 003347457 (sic); and French, 00485437. 25 He also says that other sources are from Takeo province -- that

in the interview that he is relying on. In order for there to be

> is, English, 00342455; Khmer, 003347460 (sic); and French, 1 2 00485437. He also states that some documents were taken from the 3 office of the district front but it is unclear where the district front received the documents from: English, 00342454; Khmer, 4 003347459 (sic); and French, 00485439. The district front 5 supposedly collected the documents from the village and commune б 7 levels, so he says, but it did not take the original documents 8 from Krang Ta Chan itself. 9 And finally, a relevant excerpt from Youk Chhang statement: "In 10 addition, when searching through S-21 again, some documents were found under a wooden cabinet." English, ERN 00342543; Khmer, 11 003347458 (sic); and French, 00485438; and a number of relevant 12 13 documents meanwhile were found later but given numbers in the relevant DC-Cam sequence -- that is, English, 00342452; Khmer, 14 003347457 (sic); and French, 00485437. 15 16 That concludes the first document I'm presenting to you this 17 morning, Mr. President. 18 [09.16.09]19 Now if we even set aside concerns about the heavy reliance on the Tram Kak district records and consider them for their content, 20 21 not all of these documents paint the universally brutal picture 22 of the regime that the Prosecution would have you believe. 23 I will now present a number of documents some of which the 24 Prosecution has already presented. They present an alternative 25 view of at least of some of the events relating to Krang Ta Chan.

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We have divided these documents into five categories. The first category are documents illustrating that multiple attempts were made to re-educate people. So these documents indicate that multiple attempts were made to re-educate people into changing their behaviour at the commune level before matters were escalated, if that happened at all. I would like to present four illustrative examples.

8 [09.17.26]

9 Mr. President, the first document shows that Lon Nol officials 10 and soldiers were among those who might be re-educated multiple 11 times. Document E3/4092, also presented yesterday by the 12 Prosecution yesterday, is a document entitled "Notebook of KTC 13 Interrogator" and contains confessions of 107 persons, including women, men, youth and Lon Nol soldiers. The English ERNs are 14 00834826 until 28; Khmer, 00271162 till 4; and French, 00721306. 15 16 This document lists several incidents of people being re-educated 17 on multiple occasions at the commune level. It also illustrates 18 how sending people to re-education centre did not mean certain 19 death but implies that people could in fact return from the 20 education centres to the communes. Specifically this document --21 E3/4092 --describes at least two people who were re-educated and 22 who were former Lon Nol soldiers: 1). That is English, 00834827; Khmer, 00271162 till 63; and 23

24 00721306, in French; relates to a warrant officer called Pok25 Bunly. Pok Bunly was in Angk Ta Saom commune, committed thefts

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- very often -- I quote: "which is why", again, I quote: "the cooperative representative arrested and sent him to the re-education camp many times".
- 4 [09.19.51]

5 Kung Vet, a Lon Nol Corporal who was also living in Angk Ta Saom 6 commune was apparently "a major thief", who, "stole potatoes, 7 five times; coconut, three times; and corn, twice; and who the 8 co-operative representative educated on several occasions but who 9 resisted stubbornly". That is English, ERN 00834828; Khmer, 10 00271164; and French, 00721307 till 08.

The next document, Mr. President, shows that also New People 11 12 might be re-educated more than once -- E3/4101 -- that is a 13 report from Krang Ta Chan to the district office, dated 7 March 1977, and signed by An, on English, ERN 00322124; Khmer, 14 00271034; and French, 00854216. We can see that this report 15 16 describes Kim Vanny, a New Person, assigned to a youth assembly 17 unit in Srae Ronoung commune who apparently, "really stole very 18 often, such as coconuts, cassava roots and climbing up the palm 19 trees at night to steal the palm juice of the cooperative for 20 drinking it, et cetera", and it says the chief of the unit has educated him several times but he still continued to commit the 21 22 thefts. Yet another document, Mr. President, shows how at least 23 five people, including Lon Nol officials and soldiers, New People 24 and frequent thieves faced multiple rounds of re-education to 25 correct their behaviour.

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1 [09.22.20]

2 I refer you to -- that's the next document, E3/2424, that is a 3 compilation of reports between sub districts office, district and Krang Ta Chan, which appears to date from 1978. The English ERNs 4 are 00322217, ending in 20, 22 and 25; Khmer, ERN 00270755, and 5 ERNs ending in 59, 62, 63 and 75 (sic); and the French, ERN б 7 00612215 and ERNs ending in 21 and 23 till 24. Now this document is report E3/2424 describes the re-education history of several 8 9 people. And for instance, on 18 August 1978 report from Cheng of 10 Angk Ta Saom commune to, "To Respected Comrade Elder Brother 11 Police of District 105" describes Kong Viet, a former military 12 police of unknown rank who "was such a great stealer". He "had 13 been educated so far by the group, unit, and by the collective 14 meetings for the past three years period". And after this apparently failed, he was, "individually educated by a hot 15 16 measure" -- that is, English, ERN 0032220 (sic); Khmer, 00270755; and French, 00612219. In the same documents we can see an 8th 17 18 July letter from Bin and Yat, from an unknown location to the, "Beloved Base Party" and concerned, Ny, a surgical doctor from 19 20 Phnom Penh, who, reportedly, "committed cheap deeds of thefts several times so far" and who officials had, "educated several 21 22 times" but nevertheless, "still abuses the Party guidelines". That is 0032222 (sic); Khmer, 00270759; and French, 00612219. 23 24 [09.25.12]

25 In this E3/2424, there's another document, the date author and

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1 recipient unknown which details two pieces information about two 2 further people living in Angk Ta Saom. First, somebody called Pok 3 Bunly, a 27 year-old New Person of Vietnamese heritage, who "had a lot of disputes, including stealing for which he was educated 4 very often until he was brought for education in the commune 5 militia office once already". However, the report complained, б 7 "though he had been educated he still repeated the same activities" -- English, 00322225; Khmer, 00270763; and French 8 9 00612223 and 00612224. Om Changtha was "serving in the enemy's 10 forces when living in the enemy's area" and "has stolen and incited to fight the Revolution". 11

12 [09.26.36]

It's noted in this document, "Our Party has decided to bring into 13 the commune militia office for education once already, but", and 14 15 I quote: "during the education this youth fled from the office twice, later the Party decided to bring him back to the youth 16 17 office." End of quote and a new quote: "though he has been 18 educated very often, every day he continues to steal - English, 19 00322225; Khmer, 002702762 (sic); and French, 00612223. 20 And finally, Mr. President, in this document, E3/2424, the document from Chhoeun at Tram Kak, dated 27 July 1978, addressed 21 22 to, "Lovely Comrade Elder Brother District Police", which 23 describes Suon Phy, a 25 year-old from District 109 in Takeo "who 24 was good at stealing things which belonged to the collective", 25 and who officials, "tried to educate in whatever manner" --

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1 English, 003222217; Khmer, 00270775; and French, 00612215.

2 [09.28.13]

3 The next document, Mr. President, Your Honours is E3/2048, this is a document also presented yesterday by the Prosecution. It is 4 5 a report to An by an unknown author, dated 4th March, year unknown, and it mentions the sub-district militia bringing in б 7 those who held officer ranks and who have been re-educated before -- English, ERN 00276566 (sic); Khmer, 0079094 (sic); and French, 8 9 00061163 (sic). This report, E3/2048, mentions Keo Net and Chroeng, who both held officer ranks. Keo Net "incited Chroeng to 10 11 run off, and he has stolen the belongings of the people constantly, never fearful". And the report author then complained 12 13 that, "the base re-educated them to the utmost of its capabilities". End of quote. 14

The fourth and final document, Mr. President, also is yet, we 15 16 believe, another example of multiple attempts to re-educate 17 people who mostly appeared to be frequently stealing from or 18 damaging communal supplies. It is document E3/2107; also presented yesterday by the Prosecution. It's a Krang Ta Chan 19 20 notebook - English, ERN 00290205, 22, 45-46 and 56; Khmer 00068050, 60, 74, 80 and 81; and French, 00655726, 39, 60-61, 68 21 22 and 69. In this document, E3/2107, we can read that Chou Sovann, 23 a former monk living in various locations including Kus 24 sub-district stole, and I quote: "palm sugar water, coconuts and 25 yams frequently, to the point that Angkar has re-educated and

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1 built him time after time" - English, 00290205; Khmer, 00680050
2 (sic); and French, 00655726.

3 [09.31.16]

We can also read about a man called Kang Soeun who, "killed 4 cooperative cows with a hatchet" and yet, "Angkar re-educated him 5 each time". The same person allegedly did not clean rice and б 7 also, "two or three times killed chicken and ate them"-- English, ERN 00290222; Khmer, 00068060; and French, 00655739. It also 8 9 relates to a man named Krauch Pa, a district militiaman who 10 allegedly raped a girl. He "fought with our army very frequently 11 at Tik Saom and committed a violation about eating" for which the 12 unit chairman "re-educated him often". After this he had yet another unspecified conflict after which the chairman 13 "re-educated him until 9 before releasing him". That is English, 14 15 0029245 (sic) until 6 (phonetic); Khmer, 00068074; and French, 16 000655760 until 61.

17 Chea Sophal, who joined the military in 1973, was a member of the 18 Kus sub-district youth unit and was described as, "the thief of 19 thieves". The report detailed how, "the unit representative has 20 re-educated him over and over but it has not worked" -- 00290256 21 in English; Khmer, 00068080; and French, 00655768.

22 [09.33.24]

Finally, Mr. President, Ngauv Kea from Cheang Tong sub-district was described as having stolen manioc -- I'm not sure what that is -- sugar dumplings, rice and having conflict with the cook and

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throwing things at the cook's roof. It says, "while Angkar has frequently re-educated him about his behaviour" the report complained that, "he kept on stealing like this" - 00290256; in Khmer, 00068081; and French, 00655769.

5 Mr. President, I'll now move on to another category of documents 6 offering some insight into Krang Ta Chan, these documents are 7 those which showed officials behaving cautiously with respect to 8 the treatment of troubling people by sending detailed reports of 9 behaviour and requesting instructions to be issued by those 10 senior to them.

11 [09.34.45]

12 I would like to start with the document also presented yesterday by the Prosecution -- E3/2453. This document is a compilation of 13 reports within Tram Kak district, including four particularly 14 relevant reports: English, ERN 00388577, 80, 84 and 86; Khmer, 15 00270773, 77, 82 and 84; and French, 00611769, 71, 74 and 75. 16 17 The first report is dated 13 October 1977 and written by Khun 18 from Srae Ronoung to the Party. It details the "action of Han, a 19 widow in Srae Ronoung sub-district who is a "major thief". Khun 20 requests the Party's decision about the above report -- that is, English, ERN 00388580; Khmer, 00270777; and French, 00611771. 21 22 Another report from Angk Ta Saom to the Tram Kak district details 23 information on two persons and requests to know, "whatever Angkar decides" - English, 00388577; Khmer, 00270773; and French, 24

25 00611769.

[09.36.43]

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A third report within this document E3/2453 is from Mheang Nhang commune to the district party and this report with, "May the Party be informed, and request that whate decision the Party makes be sent for information"-Englis 00388584; Khmer, 00270782; and French, 00611774. And finally, Mr. President, the fourth report also from Nheang Nhang commune, that concerns four people named Lu Yun and Bang, who want to, "smash the Revolution". This also ends with, "May the Party be informed about the fou them, and please provide us information on whatever the decides" - English, ERN 00388586; Khmer, 00270784; and F 00611775. (09.38.11) The next document we use that again that is the ea mentioned, E3/2048. Also this document appears to be a compilation of documents, two of which, we believe, are particularly relevant here: English, ERN 002765562 (sic) ending in 64; Khmer, 00079087 ending in 91; and French, ending in 61. In this document E3/2048 the first i dated 3 April 1977, from Phan of Popel commune and it re "Angkar pass judgement" regarding certain New People, in "whether to have them send them in or what" that is, 00276562; Khmer, 00079087 till 88; and French 006116658	
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22 "Angkar pass judgement" regarding certain New People, in 23 "whether to have them send them in or what" that is, 24 00276562; Khmer, 00079087 till 88; and French 006116658	61. In this document $E3/2048$ the first is a note
 23 "whether to have them send them in or what" that is, 24 00276562; Khmer, 00079087 till 88; and French 006116658 	pril 1977, from Phan of Popel commune and it requests,
24 00276562; Khmer, 00079087 till 88; and French 006116658	ass judgement" regarding certain New People, including
	to have them send them in or what" that is, English,
	Khmer, 00079087 till 88; and French 006116658 (sic).
25 Another document, Mr. President, in the same compilation	ocument, Mr. President, in the same compilation is a

16

1	note from Ta Phem sub-district cooperative secretary Khit to
2	Angkar and it details six soldiers, all first or second
3	lieutenants, who "who have personally carried out activities
4	every single day" and it concludes this report, "whatever
5	Angkar's decision request opinion and instructions"-English, ERN
б	00276564; Khmer, 000790091 (sic); and French 00611661.
7	[09.40.14]
8	I would like to move on to the next document that is, E3/4105;
9	this report is apparently from Tram Kak commune militia and it is
10	addressed to Angkar of the district and dated 19 April 1977 -
11	English, ERN 0032135 (sic) ; Khmer, 00270993; and French,
12	00856212. This report requests further instructions from District
13	105, Angkar, after arrest of a member of the commune and says as
14	follows: "We beg to ask the Angkar of the district that where
15	should this person be sent to or how to solve it, please give
16	opinion on it."
17	I now move on to yet another category within these documents, Mr.
18	President, that's the use of so-called hot methods in
19	interrogation; also contrasting with Prosecution's picture of
20	events at Krang Ta Chan are a number of documents which
21	apparently indicate that hot methods of interrogation were not
22	always used and indeed sometimes appear to be used only very
23	rarely. The first is a document which has been mentioned at
24	length by the Prosecution yesterday E3/4095. It's an
25	interrogator's notebook with the - I will come back to that very

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17

1	interesting heading called "5th confession and contemptible
2	traitors: Pol Pot and Ieng Sary" - English, ERN 00747287 ending
3	79; Khmer, 00271124; and French, 0072125 (sic) ending 61.

4 [09.42.34]

Mr. President, this notebook is a lengthy document containing 5 information regarding the interrogation of approximately of 105 б 7 different prisoners at Krang Ta Chan, including a large number of Lon Nol soldiers as the Prosecution detailed yesterday. However, 8 9 throughout all these citations, hot methods are only mentioned as 10 being used on two of these people. Concerning the person Yang Kay, the report indicates that, "this person was interrogated 11 with some of 'hot methods' to dig up his network because he 12 refused to confess" -- that is, English, ERN 00747287; Khmer, 13 00271124; and French, 00721252. 14

15 Concerning the person Thach Uk, the report says that he was 16 "beaten during the integration", presumably a typo intending to 17 say 'interrogation', "but he did not confess." I have the English, ERN 00747279; Khmer, ERN 00271118; and French, 00721261. 18 The second document, Mr. President, we believe demonstrates the 19 20 same phenomenon. It is E3/4092. As mentioned earlier, this Krang 21 Ta Chan interrogator's notebook contains confessions of 107 22 persons, including women, men, youth and Lon Nol soldiers, the English, ERN 00834795 ending 05, 16 and 22; Khmer, 002271135 23 (sic) ending 46, 55 and 59; and French, 00721276 ending 87, 96 24 25 and 302.

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18

1 [09.45.22]

2 Mr. President, like with the document discussed before, of the 3 107 persons detailed in this document, there seems to be only four occasions on which the persons were subjected to "intense 4 interrogation". I should note the French version interrogates -5 "interrogation" in four different ways without using the word б 7 "intense", so there seems to be a difference in translation between the French and the English. But only on four occasions of 8 9 the 107 persons who were detained, apparently hot methods were 10 used.

11 [09.46.22]

12 Mr. President, we will revisit these documents most likely during our objections later this week, but for now, let me just note 13 that, considering that both notebooks specifically seem to 14 indicate where hot methods were used, suggests that they were not 15 standard practice. Otherwise, why would they be indicated at all 16 is the question. Moreover, regarding the first notebook --17 E3/4095 -- as the Prosecution mentioned yesterday, some of the 18 19 persons listed included the family of trial witness Meas Sokha, 20 and they include for instance Meas Sokha's mother, Hun Kimseng, and his sister, Meas Sarat, both of whom we have recently 21 22 requested to appear as witnesses. Now, as we know, these people 23 are still alive today, so unless the Prosecution can produce 24 evidence to the contrary, it is very possible that several people in -- many people in fact, in the notebook may have survived. 25

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19

- 1 This goes to a broader issue, of course, which is how often
- 2 executions at Krang Ta Chan occurred at all.
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 The International Deputy Co-Prosecutor, you have the floor.
- 5 MR. LYSAK:

6 Thank you, Mr. President. I just want to make one objection here. 7 Obviously, counsel is allowed to address and present these 8 documents, and explain their importance. Crossing into the realm 9 of making a closing argument, where we start to argue about what 10 witnesses have testified, I think is something we avoided.

11 [09.48.23]

12 I could stand up and respond that we've had testimony from the 13 guards, who said that everyone, with a few exceptions, was killed. So, I think this is not the time for counsel to start 14 15 making conclusions. He has no basis to say that any time, every 16 time, torture was used, it would be documented. That's an 17 argument from him. He has no basis to say there are other people 18 in this book who were released. So I think we need to confine 19 ourselves here to presenting the documents, and not make 20 arguments, because obviously, if he's going to make arguments about witness testimony, I feel an obligation to respond, and I 21 22 don't think we're at that point yet.

23 (Judges deliberate)

24 [09.50.44]

25 MR. PRESIDENT:

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20

1 I'd like to hand the floor to Judge Claudia Fenz to respond to 2 the objection. Thank you. 3 JUDGE FENZ: Well, the Prosecutor has pointed to something which has obviously 4 always been a fine line in this kind of hearings. We have had the 5 same issue again and again. Obviously, drawing the line between б 7 presenting a document and commenting on it in a context is, as I 8 said, fine. 9 Counsel, we just wish to remind you this is not closing speeches, 10 very obviously. So perhaps you could concentrate on what could 11 really be seen as a presentation of documents, as opposed of an 12 evaluation at this point in time. MR. KOPPE: 13 I will do my very best, Judge Fenz, but sometimes I need to 14 15 explain in one sentence or two sentences why I'm doing this. But 16 I will try to avoid closing submissions-type arguments. 17 [09.51.49 18 Mr President, I would now like to move to documents which might 19 illustrate a different use of the word "smash". These documents, 20 included in the so-called Tram Kak district, which indicate the word "smash" or "komtech" has a variable meaning, and cannot 21 22 simply -- or cannot always simply be equated to "execution". For example, document E3/2053, this is an undated report to the 23 24 Party, written by Phoem of Trapeang Thom South cooperative, and 25 it sums up the confessions of two individuals: English, ERN

21

00276578; Khmer, 00079122; French, 00334996. The report relates 1 2 to people named Uk Phat and Sy, and identifies their network and 3 the plans they had. Specifically, it says that the two people "had a five-year plan to ensure the smashing of the 4 cooperatives". Either in five years, seven years or otherwise, 5 б and I quote again, "as necessary to wear down the cooperatives, 7 and to absolutely oppose communal eating." In addition, the report says that Uk Phat and Sy had "plans to contact the 'Yuon' 8 9 and Thailand, and use the weapons to smash the Revolution". 10 [09.53.40]E3/2453, this is -- the relevant report is dated 18 October from 11 12 Mien of Nheang Nhang to the district base area Party -- English, ERN 00388586; Khmer, 00270784; and French, 00611775. The report 13 in question identifies a network of four persons: Luo Eng-Tri, 14 15 Suos Ti, Yun Yean and Bang Nan, with the author concluding that, 16 "My analysis is that they have plans to smash our Revolution". 17 Document E3/4092 presented yesterday also by the Prosecution, and 18 mentioned earlier. This is a Krang Ta Chan interrogators' notebook, containing confessions of 107 persons - English, ERN 19 20 00834818; Khmer, 00271155 till 56; and French, 00721304. At this 21 point, I draw your attention to a note which details the actions 22 of Phan Boeun who "organized a meeting to create plots with his 23 clique of four people" in order "to smash and destroy the cooperative." That is on English, ERN 00834817 till 8; 00271155 24 in Khmer; and French, 00721304. 25

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1 [09.55.50]

2 Mr. President, the last category of documents I am presenting 3 this morning, which arguably provide insight into events at Krang Ta Chan are two documents which relate to S-21 specifically, but 4 which we suggest to be relevant to other security centres in the 5 DK. The pair of documents in this category discussed the б 7 apparently little known fact that some prisoners, or quite a substantial number actually, were released from S-21, contrary to 8 9 the popular misconception that only seven people survived S-21. I am referring to E3/7326. It is a fact sheet published by DC-Cam, 10 11 called "Pol Pot and his prisoners at secret prison S-21 -- An overview on the release of prisoners of S21" -- English, ERN 12 13 01002075 to 85. There is no Khmer translation available yet, Mr. President, and also no French translation available. Now, in this 14 15 document, DC-Cam provides details of several different categories 16 of prisoners who were actually released from S-21, such as 17 children and Khmer Rouge cadres. The fact sheet gives a long list 18 of prisoners who DC-Cam says were released from S-21 during the 19 DK period. And in addition, it indicates which persons are 20 reported to be alive, people whose status is uncertain, and people who died after 1979. Relating to this document --21 22 MR. PRESIDENT:

The Defence Counsel, please hold on. And the International DeputyCo-Prosecutor, you have the floor.

25 [09.58.03]

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1	MR. LYSAK:
2	Yes, Mr. President, I can't find any such document E3/7326
3	in the system. So, I don't know whether it has an original case
4	file number. That might be the issue. Even though we were
5	instructed to present documents relating to Tram Kak, I don't
6	want to object to that point at this stage, because I would like
7	to see what's in this document, because the reason I'd like to
8	see the document is the prisoners that were found weren't
9	released, they were transferred to Prey Sar. These people weren't
10	released from S-21. That's so I want to see the evidence that
11	he is citing.
12	[09.59.04]
13	MR. PRESIDENT:
14	Judge Jean-Marc Lavergne, you have the floor.
15	JUDGE LAVERGNE:
16	Counsel Koppe, could you please explain to us what the relevance
17	is of this document in view of the segment that we are involved
18	with today, that is to say, Tram Kak district, and possibly Krang
19	Ta Chan prison? I must confess that S-21 does not seem to be part
20	of this segment, unless I am mistaken.
21	MR. KOPPE:
22	Correct, but S-21 has been often referred to already in this
23	segment. But the relevance of this document is to show that, also
24	from S-21 a substantial number of prisoners were released,
25	undermining the views of the Prosecution, and the view laid down

24

1	in the Closing Order that nobody who entered Krang Ta Chan was
2	released. So, when we are making this comparison, I think that
3	it's also relevant for a view that we might have on the release
4	of prisoners in Kraing Ta Chan.
5	Mr. Prosecutor, the document is E307/5.2.10, and the document
6	that I'm presenting, Mr. President, Judge Lavergne, is also in
7	relation to E3/39992 (sic), which is an article from the Cambodia
8	Daily, from Thursday, 28 August 2008 - English, ERN 00548253
9	until 4; Khmer, 00814871 to 73; and French, 008366686 (sic) till
10	91. And consistent with the document that I -
11	[10.01.06]
12	JUDGE LAVERGNE:
13	<> If I understand correctly, even though we have not examined
14	facts regarding S-21, <nor have=""> we < addressed> the <issue of=""></issue></nor>
15	whether <> prisoners <could been="" have=""> released <from> S-21, <you< td=""></you<></from></could>
16	are> using an article in which reference is made to <possible< td=""></possible<>
17	releases of> S-21 prisoners, <in an="" attempt="" to=""> establish <>that</in>
18	prisoners could have <also> been released <from> Krang Ta Chan?</from></also>
19	Is that the <logic behind="" it="">? I <must admit="" i="" that=""> have a hard</must></logic>
20	time following you<>, Counsel.
21	MR. KOPPE:
22	Well, this article that I was quoting from the Cambodia Daily is
23	from August 2008. I believe it's an article before the judgement
24	of this Trial Chamber in the case of Duch, and it says basically
25	that 177 prisoners were released from S-21, which is something

25

that this Trial Chamber hasn't included in its judgement, and relates to the fact that in general people were released from security centres. Hence also from Krang Ta Chan, a substantial number of people were released. That is our position. I think by just introducing these two documents, we should be able to put our presentation into context of -- the context being prisoners were in fact released from security centres.

- 8 [10.02.39]
- 9 MR. LYSAK:

First, Mr. President, I still can't find the first document. I 10 don't know whether he's reading it too quickly, but I cannot find 11 12 the first document. The article I'm familiar with. I think it is 13 premature to get into this at this point. I can tell you that we 14 followed up. We put evidence that will -- we will obviously deal 15 with in the S-21 phase. We followed up on this. These prisoners were not released. They were sent to Prey Sar. Many of them were 16 then later sent back to S-21 and killed. But the idea that this 17 18 many prisoners were released -- but we should be dealing with 19 this at the S-21 phase, not now.

20 MR. KOPPE:

I'd be happy to repeat the words of the Prosecution when he was -- he was questioning, I think, Richard Dudman, confronting him with prisoner list. That's what the Prosecution is doing all the time. I think putting Krang Ta Chan in the context of S-21 is not something that goes out of the segment of this trial.

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- 1 [10.03.44]
- 2 JUDGE FENZ:
- 3 Counsel, you're obviously making a closing-style argument, but
- 4 having said that -- sorry, closing-speeches-style argument.

5 Having said that, you appear to say these were your two questions

6 in this context. Is that correct, or are you going to spend more

- 7 time on this?
- 8 MR. KOPPE:

9 No, that's it. Only those two -- two documents, indicating that 10 many prisoners, according to recent confirmation, by the way, in 11 the Guardian of -- by Youk Chhang are - were in fact released. 12 Having said that, Mr. President, I'm moving now to another topic, 13 and that is unreliable documents, or unreliable Krang Ta Chan 14 documents of particularly limited probative value.

15 [10.04.30]

16 Now, having highlighted several categories of documents which we 17 believe are relevant to establishing events at Krang Ta Chan, I 18 would like now to turn instead to highlight a number of documents 19 which, by contrast, are only of particularly limited probative 20 value because they are possibly at least partial forgeries. 21 First, forgeries possibly made after '79. I will first discuss a 22 pair of documents, documents relied on in the Closing Order at 23 paragraphs 514, 500 and 1385, as the basis for the Investigating 24 Judges' suggestion that at least -- at least 15,000 people were 25 executed at Krang Ta Chan. That document is E3/2107. It's a

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- notebook from Krang Ta Chan, containing 91 entries English, ERN
 00290205; Khmer, 00068049; and French, 00655725.
- 3 [10.05.57]

4 Now, at ERN 00290205, there's an annotation from the ECCC Khmer
5 to English translator, concerning a scribbled note on that page.
6 The translator says, "separate page, scribbled note, not in the
7 same handwriting as the rest of the document."

An examination of the Khmer original confirms that indeed this 8 9 handwriting appears to be quite different. The scribbled note 10 itself states that "up until now -- up until today, we have smashed 15,000 enemies." End of quote. And it's the note that the 11 12 Investigating Judges rely upon, as I said, in the Closing Order. Indeed, the scribbled text itself is written in two different 13 handwritings. The first four lines are written by one 14 15 handwriting, and the last two lines are written by a different 16 handwriting.

In addition, of all the 19 entries in the notebook, the scribbled note is clearly out of context. The rest of the notebook records individual confessions, unlike this high-level statistical remark. This comment is the only one with an addressee, and the sentence, "May the Party be informed of this," a clear indication where it was written, and the signature, making it completely out of place among the other entries in the notebook.

24 [10.07.37]

25 I note that the credibility of this scribbled note has been

28

1	discussed with several witnesses during the hearings. I will not
2	go into this argument that I have presented here, although it's
3	very brief. But I would like to conclude with the statement -
4	with our conclusion that we are absolutely convinced that this
5	document is a post-1979 forgery, designed to inflate the Krang Ta
6	Chan death toll as much as possible. Indeed, the document's cover
7	page indicates that it is entitled "Fifth Confession:
8	Contemptible Traitors, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary", which is blatantly
9	a notation added after the DK period.
10	MR. PRESIDENT:
11	The International Deputy Co-Prosecutor, you have the floor.
12	MR. LYSAK:
13	This is clearly argument, but that's not actually the reason I'm
14	standing up. He's talking about two different documents. The
15	notebook in which this 15,000 note appears and I certainly
16	agree with him. This is a different document than the notebook.
17	The fact it's in two handwritings, he's using that to say it's a
18	forgery. If he wants to make a request to the Court, fine. The
19	document that has the handwriting on the cover, "Fifth
20	Confession: Pol Pot and Ieng Sary", is a different notebook, so
21	he's misstating the documents he's presenting here. That I do
22	object to; if he wants to make some arguments to explain why he's
23	presenting these, that's fine.
24	[10.09.33]

25 MR. KOPPE:

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1 I agree that these are two different documents, but I'm making 2 the point that this other document, which says the "Ieng Sary, 3 Pol Pot traitors", is clearly a post-'79 term. This meaning that these notebooks have been in the hands of the authorities after 4 '79. So, I'm making the connection with this 15,000 scribbled 5 note to the other annotation clearly dating post-'79. So, I agree б 7 with the Prosecution. These are in fact two documents. Document E3/4145, Mr. President, this document appears to be a 8 9 compilation of different prisoner lists from Kraing Ta Chan -English, ERN 00762844 and ERN ending in 37; Khmer, 00068736; and 10 French, 00761100 and ERN ending in 093. Another page with English 11 ERN 00762844 is a messy, handwritten page, with -- containing 12 13 corrections, that lists Yuk Sen as one of the prisoners detained 14 for years, pending the Party's decision, and that Say Sen 15 confirms was a reference to him. The same page also names Krang 16 Ta Chan as M105, and is the only document in the so-called Tram 17 Kak district records collection to do so. It also lists Hun 18 Kimseng and Meas Sarat as other prisoners, but records their biography details completely incorrectly, in contrast with other 19 so-called district records. 20

21 [10.11.27]

And by contrast, the page with English ERN 00762837 in the same compilation document appears, at least from a visual and basic content perspective to be a real document, being typewritten, being written on an apparent template, and referring to prisoner

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information, the accuracy of which has been confirmed by other witnesses. So, we also hold that this is a forgery, a forged document. We will obviously come back to that at another stage in this segment.

5 [10.12.06]

Now, Mr. President, these documents, and I will conclude my б 7 remarks maybe before the break, these documents, if forgeries, 8 seem likely to have been made after 1979, as a means of 9 constructing the narrative of what occurred at Krang Ta Chan. 10 There are also other documents, the authorship of which has been 11 attributed to people who have testified during this trial 12 segment, but which those people denied were written by them. These are possible DK era forgeries, and looking at the clock, I 13 14 think I should pause here.

15 MR. PRESIDENT:

16 The Lead Co-Lawyer for civil parties, you have the floor.

17 MS. GUIRAUD:

18 Thank you, Mr. President. For the record, <although> my objection 19 is belated, <> it is clear that we are facing a situation in 20 which our learned friend <has been> making submissions <for 15 21 minutes already>. What he's doing is not a presentation of 22 documents, <far from it in fact.>. It is impossible for us to 23 read the ERNs <at the same time as> he <mentions them>. We have 24 gone well beyond the <scope of the task at hand>. <So,> I hope 25 that the Chamber will give us the same latitude <when we> present

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31

- 1 our <observations on Thursday. Because> it is clear that <from
- 2 the very beginning, > our learned friend <has been > pleading.
- 3 [10.13.42]
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:

That is true, since the Chamber scheduled the key document 5 presentation, and of course they have their own discretion to б 7 present whatever documents, they seem, are key documents. And we 8 set aside a day for the observations by the other Parties, and 9 that will be held on Thursday, 30 April 2015. < Each party will 10 have one session to make their objection.> If you are to object 11 to the presentation by the other party, then there is no need to 12 have another day for the presentation of your views and 13 objections to those key document presentations. Therefore, please 14 be patient. Take note, and then you can request to be on your 15 feet when the time comes for your observations. That will be the 16 right time for you to express your objections to the documents 17 that you deemed are not appropriate.

18 The time is convenient for a short break. We'll take a break now 19 and return at 10.30.

- 20 The Court is now in recess.
- 21 (Court recesses from 1015H to 1031H)
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 Please be seated.

24 The Court is now back in session, and I now give the floor to the 25 defence counsel for Mr. Nuon Chea to resume the key document

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32

- 1 presentation. You have the floor.
- 2 MR. KOPPE:

3 Thank you, Mr. President. I have four more Krang Ta Chan documents to go. First one is what we believe is a possible DK 4 era forgery, E3/2785. It's a letter signed by San -- a person 5 named San, rather, addressed to Brother An, dated 7 March, б 7 English, ERN 00322193; Khmer, 00079115; French, 00753636. The 8 letter mentions persons who were trying to escape to Vietnam; 9 however, during testimony before this tribunal, Ta San testified 10 that while he accepted that other documents were written by him, 11 "this document was not my handwriting".

12 [10.33.26]

The next document, Mr. President, is E3/2423. It's a note from 13 14 San -- person called San, to an unknown recipient of unknown 15 date, asking for further investigation or interrogation of 16 certain prisoners -- English, ERN 00322210; English -- Khmer, 0079128; and French, 00611732. The document mentions two 17 18 prisoners: Hul and Sean, and asks about their network. Also during his testimony, San -- Ta San said, "This is not my 19 20 handwriting." 21 Lastly -- finally, document E3/2452. This document appears to be 22 a compilation, including a letter written by Nouv, dated 8 23 October 1977, from Srae Ronoung -- English, ERN 00843036; Khmer, 24 00270998; French, 00872836. The letter in question mentions a new

25 person named Sen Keo, who deserted his unit for two days.

33

Witness Nut Nouv, who appeared in this trial segment, agreed that he had been a Srae Ronoung commune chief during the DK; however, he said twice in his live testimony that the letter was, "not my handwriting" and that he could not recognise the handwriting. Nouv then clarified that there was no other person who may have been called Nouv, and speculated that perhaps someone else, like a clerk, wrote this letter.

8 [10.35.28]

9 The very last Krang Ta Chan document that I would like to present 10 this morning, Mr. President, is an execution list -- an alleged 11 execution list of Lon Nol soldiers. It is purported -- a 12 purported execution list of Lon Nol soldiers and officials in Tram Kak district, and the document's details are as follows: 13 E3/4083. It's a document named "Number of Prisoners". English ERN 14 numbers are 00323943 until 78; Khmer, 00068024 until 37, and 15 French, 00778851 until 79. 16

17 As already discussed earlier, there are significant discrepancies 18 between the Khmer document and its English and French 19 translations. In the Khmer document, a notation appears in places 20 throughout the document which we understand is translated as the initials "KT". However, the English version used an "X" instead, 21 22 while the French version used the word "éliminer". But we contend 23 that it has not been proven that the annotation "KT" appearing throughout the list clearly means "komtech" -- or that "komtech" 24 25 unequivocally and only means executed.

34

1 [10.37.12]

I further note that at least one soldier's alleged execution date is recorded as 8 January 1979 -- that is, as we all know, one day after the Vietnamese invaded. That is English, ERN 00323945; Khmer, 00068025; and French, 00778863.

Finally, Mr. President, I note that the Khmer original document is not an original at all, but a very poor quality copy. Indeed, the first Khmer to English translators believed they were unable to translate the document, instead placing a document on the case file indicating that the document was illegible, and there was no translation.

12 This concludes, Mr. President, Your Honours, my first part of my 13 presentation. I move now to the second part -- that is, the 14 living and working conditions in Tram Kak -- in the Tram Kak 15 cooperatives. In this very short part, I will present a small 16 group of seven documents.

17 [10.38.28]

25

First, I would like to present a pair of documents that provide some insight into DK policies in relation to health, E3/226. These are minutes of a meeting of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, dated 10th June 1976 - English, ERN 00183365 ending 67 and 69; Khmer, 00017150, ERNs ending 52 and 55; and French, 00296159 and ERNs ending on 61 and 63. Mr. President, during this meeting several reports were made

concerning the health situation in DK, including the following --
and I quote:

1

-	
2	"We were able to distribute medicines to bases as set forth in
3	the Party's direction. Up to date, there was no medicine that was
4	decayed or destroyed by fire. The diet ration could be resolved
5	by ourselves and we made many and we made clothes for many
6	units. In May 1976, we did not go and get fishes from the
7	Ministry of Commerce. We were self-supported."
8	You can find that on English, ERN 00183365; Khmer, 00017150; and
9	French, 00296159.
10	[10.40.14]
11	The following quote is reads as follows: "We had produced
12	medicine for malaria and all kinds of medicines and serums.
13	However, we had postponed production of a number of medicines due
14	to a shortage of raw materials. The capability of producing
15	medicine was in line with what Angkar planned." English, ERN
16	00183367; Khmer, 0017152 (sic) ; and French, 00296161. Although I
17	also note that the word "Angkar" does not appear in the Khmer and
18	French version of this document. This report, Mr. President, goes
19	on to say that concerning medicine production and I quote,
20	"During the past one or two months, we had received much
21	progress, more experiences in production and quality-controlling
22	sections, and as well as for those who operated the machines"
23	English, ERN 00183367; Khmer, 00017152; and French, 00296161. And
24	in some readers' document concludes and I quote, "The health
25	issue was too much alleviated if compared to last year, but still

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there was significant shortfall of medicine, both for people and
 domestic animals diseases. After the war, many poisonous
 substances made life of people and domestic animals dangerous".
 End of quote. English, ERN 00183369; Khmer, 0017155 (sic); and
 French, 00296163.

6 [10.42.05]

7 The next document is E3/166. That's a "Revolutionary Flag", Issues 2 and 3, February-March 1976, ERNs 00517833 to 4; Khmer, 8 9 00063214 until 17; and French, 00492779 till 80. The issue of 10 this "Revolutionary Flag" reported that -- and I quote: 11 "Since modern medicine is currently not plentiful, in their 12 position as leaders, our cadres must think about making large 13 sufficient quantities of traditional medicines of every type to 14 treat and maintain the health of our people, during the 15 offensives to put up new paddy dyke systems and dig new canals 16 during this dry season and also for storage for when our people 17 have their hands tied up in the rice-farming offensive during the 18 approaching rainy season." End of quote.

19 It was also noted that -- and I quote, "The Ministry of Social 20 Affairs and Public Health must think about the entire country." 21 We can therefore see, Mr. President, Your Honours, that access to 22 medicine and hospitals was a CPK priority, and moreover there is 23 no indication of a policy to systematically deny New People 24 access to medicine and hospitals.

25 [10.43.47]

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1	The second part that I would like to discuss are CPK guidelines
2	about so-called unacceptable behaviour, goes to acceptable and
3	unacceptable behaviour of people and of cadres, specifically
4	during the Democratic Kampuchea regime. And I would like to
5	present four documents in this category. The first is a document
б	that sets out the CPK leadership's overall view of Base and New
7	People. Document E3/216, these are Standing Committee minutes of
8	24 August 1975, English, ERN 00850976; Khmer, 00008489; and
9	French, 00343377. And in this document, it is written that and
10	I quote, "We prefer to talk about the overwhelming majority of
11	Base and New People who are good."
12	CPK leadership was also very careful to give guidelines
13	throughout the DK period about bad behaviour and how this should
14	be corrected.
15	Next my next document is E3/10. It's a "Revolutionary Flag" of
16	September and October 1976, English, ERN 00450530; Khmer,
17	00063061; and French, 00491892. In this Issue, E3/10, the CPK
18	leadership stresses that and I quote, "Internal contradictions
19	must be sorted out as internal contradictions. They are our flesh
20	and blood. They are not counter-revolutionary. They do not
21	provoke and attack the Revolution. These are contradictions due
22	to misunderstanding. They must be sorted out by successive
23	education." End of quote.
24	

25 As to how to do this, the "Flag" goes on to explain that -- and I

1	quote, "One way is to educate, to do political, ideological and
2	organizational work within the general framework in order to
3	lessen or postpone the contradiction and not let them be sharp
4	all the time." End of quote.
5	In E3/746, our next document, which is a "Revolutionary Flag" of
б	July 1978, we can read the following on English, ERN 00428305;
7	Khmer, 006450 that cannot be correct. I will give you a minute
8	later. Mr. President, if that's alright, the full number -
9	French, 000611886 (sic) . The Party leadership comments that
10	and I quote: "They must be most vigilant about the stances and
11	attitudes of carrying out work in bureaucratic, Mandarin,
12	authoritarian, militaristic, liberal, single-minded (aekachet),
13	styles, the styles of taking no responsibility for anything
14	vis-à-vis the Party, the Revolution, and the people." End of
15	quote.
16	[10.47.46]
17	And then, "Revolutionary Flag" of July 1976, which is E3/4,
18	English, ERN 00268924; and I apologise, maybe the Khmer number is
19	just a smaller number. It's, I see here, Khmer, 0062918 (sic)
20	and the Khmer ERN number of the previous document is 006450
21	and the French ERN of $E3/4$ is 00349978. And this issue, Mr.
22	President, explained that and I quote: "In order to build the
23	designated Party branches in the cooperatives, it is imperative
24	to totally eradicate the leftist and rightist viewpoints,
25	'leftist' meaning not believing in the masses, underestimating

1	the maga merement account all the magaza as being the enemy.
1	the mass movement, seeing all the masses as being the enemy;
2	'rightist' meaning just continue to induct them carelessly, not
3	based on the foundation of the Party statutes". It is wrongly
4	said by me, and I apologise, Mr. President, the Khmer ERN number
5	of E3/746 is 00064500, and the Khmer ERN of E3/4, I will give you
6	in a short moment.
7	Mr. President, the final document I would like to present
8	MR. PRESIDENT:
9	Counsel Koppe, please repeat the ERN number again, thank you.
10	[10.50.05]
11	MR. KOPPE:
12	Yes, the E the Khmer ERN of E3/746 is 00064500, and the Khmer
13	ERN of E3/4 will follow shortly.
14	Mr. President, the final document I would like to present in this
15	second part of my presentation is an S-21 confession of Chou
16	Chet, the former secretary of the West Zone. As a preliminary
17	measure, I noted that during yesterday's document hearing, the
18	Prosecution's response to our appeal brief was
19	MR. PRESIDENT:
20	Counsel Koppe, please hold on, and Judge Lavergne, you have the
21	floor.
22	JUDGE LAVERGNE:
23	Yes, Counsel Koppe, what is the objective of using this document?
24	Wouldn't it be better, <at least,=""> to wait for us to examine the</at>
25	facts regarding S-21 before referring to this document?

40

- 1 [10.51.16]
- 2 MR. KOPPE:

3 Yes. However, the excerpt that I would like to cite relates 4 directly to very relevant people in Sector 13 and District 105. 5 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

6 Counsel Koppe, do you intend to read the content of the 7 confessions provided by Chou Chet at S-21? Are you aware of the 8 fact that the crimes of torture are part of the accusations 9 levelled against the Accused <and the acts of> torture 10 <perpetrated> at S-21?

11 MR. KOPPE:

12 I'm certainly aware, Judge Lavergne, but I think I'm tending to 13 do the same thing, the exact same thing as a matter of fact, that the Prosecution was doing yesterday, reading a small part of a 14 15 confession of a detainee. In this specific case, it is a passage 16 relevant to Tram Kak district and Sector 13, so it is our 17 position that if the Prosecution is allowed to read excerpts from 18 alleged confessions at Krang Ta Chan, we would be able to do --19 we should be able to do the same in relation to this specific 20 S-21 confession from Chou Chet when he speaks about Saom, the Sector 13 secretary, Ta Keav, Saom's deputy; Phen; and like I 21 22 said, Ta Kiev, a member of the Tram Kak district.

23 [10.52.51]

24 So, I think in essence there is no difference whatsoever between 25 what the Prosecution did, reading excerpts of his confession to

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- 1 make his point and reading -- me, by me parts of the confession
- 2 of Chou Chet, making our point.
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:

4 The International Deputy Co-Prosecutor, you can proceed.

5 MR. LYSAK:

Thank you, Mr. President. There is a world of difference between б 7 what we did and what Mr. Koppe wishes to start doing right now. First of all, we read from an interrogator's notebook. As is 8 9 clear from the references I was reading, this is different than a 10 confession signed by a prisoner. The note -- the identification 11 of the prisoners' statements by the interrogators describing why 12 they were arrested -- that is admissible evidence. What Mr. Koppe wants to do now, if I understand, is to read statements in the 13 14 body of the confession of Chou Chet, making assertions that 15 certain cadres from the Southwest Zone were part of traitorous 16 networks.

17 [10.54.23]

18 He wants to use, and let's be very clear about this, Nuon Chea, 19 in this courtroom, wants to justify killing people by the 20 confessions his people obtained by torture back in the '70s. 21 Nothing could be more barred by the Torture Convention than that. 22 That is exactly the purpose of the Torture Convention, is to 23 prevent people from relying on confessions obtained by torture to 24 prove the guilt of that person. So, to say that we're doing the 25 same thing, I could not disagree more.

42

1	MR.	KOPPE:

2 Mr. President, we made a -- can I -- we made a special appeal 3 ground on this very issue. The Torture Convention absolutely protects the use -- protects the Accused or any accused or 4 5 suspect against torture. The question whether certain elements from a confession which might possibly be torture-tainted, б 7 whether they can be used for other purposes is something now to 8 be debated by the Supreme Court Chamber. But again, I do not see 9 any difference in why it is that the Prosecution is allowed to 10 use parts of these confessions from Krang Ta Chan for their 11 purposes, and we are not allowed to use parts of these 12 confessions for our purposes.

- 13 (Judges deliberate)
- 14 [10.57.33]
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:

16 Counsel Koppe, the Chamber would like to advise you that the content of the records as a result of tortures will not be 17 18 allowed to be read. When the Chamber allows the Prosecution to 19 read that record, only the annotation part was allowed by the 20 Chamber. So, there is a difference between allowing the annotation or the content of that record as a result of torture. 21 22 Thank you. 23 MR. KOPPE:

24 So I understand that I have to move on. I cannot use part of his 25 confession, which not necessarily is the result of torture. But

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I I'll move on. Just to make sure that I will actually be in time
-- yes, I think so.

3 [10.58.52]

Mr. President, I move on to document E3/294, and this is a --4 this is a document relating to the treatment of targeted groups. 5 In this part, I will focus on three specific groups: the Khmer б 7 Krom, the Buddhists, and former Lon Nol soldiers and officials. Khmer Krom is coming up all the time in this part of the segment, 8 9 that's why we would like to say something about it as well. As we 10 said yesterday in our earlier submissions, we questioned whether 11 the Khmer Krom have a place as a targeted group within Case 12 002/02 trial. However, assuming that the Chamber's forthcoming decision determines that they do, I want to mention two documents 13 which we consider to be <relevant>. First of all, E3/294 -- that 14 15 is a Foreign Broadcast Information Service compilation for 16 October '78, which includes a 30 September 1978 report by the 17 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodia on the visit of Japanese 18 Friendship Association delegation to the Southwest region.

19 [11.00.08]

English, ERN 00170173, and there are no Khmer or French translations. E3/294 details how the delegation has travelled to Takeo where they interviewed some Khmer Krom who were described as "victims of Vietnamese persecution and suppression", and who, "have taken refuge in Kiri Vong district". The report continues that, "the friendly Japanese visitors were shocked by the tales

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1	told by the Khmer Krom compatriots about the massacres and
2	atrocities perpetrated by the Vietnamese with the aim of
3	extermination the Khmer race in a most fascist and savage
4	manner".
5	E3/2435 presented by the Prosecution yesterday that is a
6	document from the Angk Ta Saom commune chief dated 26 April 1977,
7	and addressed to the Tram Kak district office requesting
8	instructions in relation to the treatment of Khmer-Vietnamese
9	families - English, ERN 00322141; Khmer, 00271001; and French,

10 00612225.

11 The request details the situation of Khmer-Vietnamese couples who 12 request authorisation to go to Vietnam. It notes that some 13 Cambodian husbands had married "Yuon" wives and some "Yuon" wives 14 had married Cambodian husbands. And the request said that if they 15 were all "Yuon", they would send them to Angkar, but requested to 16 know: "If it was like this, what would Angkar decide then? Please 17 inform us."

18 [11.02.03]

19 The second part is relating to the treatment of Buddhists. And 20 there are two documents - or, rather, one document and one video 21 clip concerning the Buddhists that I would like to show. And I 22 would like to start with the video, which is video E3/3201R. And 23 this video depicts a visit by a delegation of top Vietnamese 24 leaders to the DK in 1975. As the video shows, the delegation is 25 taken to visit and admire the Silver Pagoda at the Royal Palace

1	and the statues of Buddha it contains. The footage also clearly
2	shows that the CPK key leaderships are in attendance, including
3	Nuon Chea and Pol Pot and the other members of the Standing
4	Committee. I would like to note that it is the footage that we're
5	interested in, not the commentary provided. But I do highlight
6	that the commentary emphasises that most Cambodians are
7	Buddhists.
8	Mr. President, I would now like to request the Chamber and the AV
9	Unit to play this video on screen. The relevant time point is
10	from minute 6.30 till 8.55, that's two and half minutes. And AV
11	Unit staff, it is the file called Clip 1.
12	[11.03.59]
13	MR. PRESIDENT:
11	
14	Yes, you may proceed. And the AV Unit, please show the video clip
14	Yes, you may proceed. And the AV Unit, please show the video clip as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence.
15	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence.
15 16	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence. [11.04.15]
15 16 17	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence. [11.04.15] (Audio-visual presentation - video)
15 16 17 18	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence. [11.04.15] (Audio-visual presentation - video) [Interpreter] "The majority of Kampuchean people are Buddhists,
15 16 17 18 19	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence. [11.04.15] (Audio-visual presentation - video) [Interpreter] "The majority of Kampuchean people are Buddhists, and they hold firm belief in the National United Front. Under the
15 16 17 18 19 20	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence. [11.04.15] (Audio-visual presentation - video) [Interpreter] "The majority of Kampuchean people are Buddhists, and they hold firm belief in the National United Front. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, Kampuchean people have engaged
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence. [11.04.15] (Audio-visual presentation - video) [Interpreter] "The majority of Kampuchean people are Buddhists, and they hold firm belief in the National United Front. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, Kampuchean people have engaged bravely and vigorously in the resistant movement which, since
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	as requested by the Nuon Chea's defence. [11.04.15] (Audio-visual presentation - video) [Interpreter] "The majority of Kampuchean people are Buddhists, and they hold firm belief in the National United Front. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, Kampuchean people have engaged bravely and vigorously in the resistant movement which, since 1970, resulted in the defeat of 100,000 American soldiers and

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storming attack, we finally fault the Khmerisation plan initiated by the American imperialist. And tens of thousands of the puppet soldiers had been smashed by our Kampuchean armed forces. We completely liberated our country on 17 April 1975, and brought peace and harmony to our motherland.

A friendly visit to Kampuchea by the delegation of Labour Party б 7 of Vietnam denotes the greatest significance. The visit coincides with the fundamental situational shift in Vietnam, Kampuchea, and 8 9 Laos. The struggle by the people in the three nations has 10 resulted in the greatest success. The revolutionary movement in 11 the three-country Indo-China has reached a new stage and brought 12 along never before seen historical symbol of hope. Under the 13 leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea led by Comrade Secretary General Saloth Sar during the last three months -- " 14 (End of audio-visual presentation) 15

16 [11.06.50]

17 MR. KOPPE:

The next document, Mr. President, I would like to present is 18 19 E3/2818; that is a book from Ian Harris called "Buddhism Under 20 Pol Pot". I would like to refer to English ERNs 00704011 ending in 033 until 5, 318 till 21, 083 until 4, 892 and 996 until 7; 21 22 for Khmer and French, Mr. President, the book is only partially 23 translated, and not these specific -- some of these specific 24 passages are, so I would highlight that when I read these 25 passages to you.

47

1 Ian Harris suggests there are other causes for poor treatment of 2 the Buddhists, such as the US bombing of pagodas and the fact 3 that monks were used as spies during the republic. Harris noted that during the civil war, one third of pagodas were destroyed by 4 American bombing -- that is, English, ERN 00704015 -- until 7; 5 Khmer, 00791318 till 21, which were specifically targeted for б 7 strategic purposes, that is, English, ERN 00704083. 8 [11.08.39]

9 And Ian Harris also writes that during the DK, there were 10 locations where people were still allowed to perform Buddhist worship during the DK - English, 00704011 -- or individuals given 11 12 such permission at English, ERN 00704033 until 5. Harris also 13 suggested -- and I quote: "Despite the very significant losses sustained by the population of which disrobed monastic formed a 14 15 part, there was no policy for the systematic liquidation of monks 16 in Democratic Kampuchea." And you can find that at English, ERN 00704083. Moreover, Harris notes that it was a fact that the 17 18 Khmer Republic used monks as spies. The spies that were caught 19 were killed because of their being a spy, which is unrelated to 20 the fact that their status as monks as well. You can find that on English, ERN 00703892 and 00703996 until 7. When monks were 21 22 executed, Harris said these words: "Not primarily because of 23 their commitment to the Buddhist religion, but was related to the 24 fact that they were considered to be enemies associated with 25 higher levels of the previous regime"-end of quote - English, ERN

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- 1 00704084.
- 2 [11.10.13]

And finally, Mr. President, in Ian Harris' book, it says that two years of research indicates that <abbots and their assistants> were rarely executed simply by virtue of their seniority. And you can find that at English, ERN 00704084.

7 I would like to end my presentation with another video, Mr. President, Your Honours. It's a video which relates to former Lon 8 9 Nol soldiers and officials and their practices during the civil 10 war. It is E3/3116R. And what I would like to show you is an excerpt of Australian journalist John Pilger's documentary, 11 12 "Cambodia: The Bloodiest Domino". And the relevant excerpt is two minutes from 22.22 to 24.11. And the documentary is explaining 13 that eating the enemy's liver is an ancient tradition of warfare 14 15 in Cambodia, and the film shows this practice done by Lon Nol 16 soldiers. And if you allow me, Mr. President, then I would like 17 to tell the AV Unit that this is the file called Clip 2.

- 18 [11.11.50]
- 19 JUDGE FENZ:
- 20 Perhaps you could explain the relevance of this video for this
- 21 part of the trial.
- 22 MR. KOPPE:
- 23 I actually have my point here after the video.
- 24 JUDGE FENZ:

25 But the relevance should be explained before we decide whether

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1 you can show it or not for us to be able to rule.

2 MR. KOPPE:

3 That's fine. Well, former Lon Nol soldiers and officials are usually portrayed as helpless victims of a brutal Khmer Rouge. 4 This video suggests otherwise. It shows that some practices often 5 willed out this example -- examples of the Khmer Rouge as б 7 uniquely depraved in humanity, and recently highlighted, by the way, by Ambassador David Scheffer in his speech at an American 8 9 university -- had in fact long been practised by the Lon Nol army and had been documented and screened in the public domain. And 10 this video, in our view, perfectly illustrates the point we have 11 12 sought to make today and throughout this trial so far, and that we need to set aside the popular narrative of what happened in 13 the DK -- what we think we know, and come to this trial with a 14 15 critical and open mind. So I think it is relevant -- this video 16 is very relevant especially also in the light of Say Sen's 17 testimony and how it is reported. I think we tried to show this 18 video earlier, and then I remember you said this is something 19 that we should not put before a witness but rather present it 20 during a document hearing. The eating -- the practice of eating 21 livers of dead corpses is apparently something that was done 22 frequently by Lon Nol soldiers and officials and I think it could 23 necessarily put this practice in context in relation to Say Sen's 24 testimony. So I think although it is footage that shows events 25 prior to 1975, I think it's very relevant. And it is on the case

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- 1 file. It's been there for a long time on the case file. I think
- 2 we should be allowed to show these two minutes to the Chamber.
- 3 (Judges deliberate)
- 4 [11.15.51]
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 I'd like to hand the floor to Judge Claudia Fenz to respond to 7 the request by the defence counsel for Nuon Chea. Judge Fenz, you 8 have the floor.
- 9 JUDGE FENZ:
- 10 The Chamber hopes that the idea is not to support an argument 11 that whatever somebody has done before he is potentially being 12 killed justifies this killing. So, for the very limited purpose 13 to put the practice of eating livers and various forms of 14 cannibalism which have been broadly discussed in this Tribunal 15 and in the press into context, we are allowing to view this video 16 or the part you want to show us.
- 17 [11.16.49]
- 18 MR. KOPPE:
- 19 Thank you, Judge Fenz. It is video Clip 2 for the AV Unit, Mr.
- 20 President.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 The AV staff, please play the second video clip as identified by
- 23 Counsel Koppe for Nuon Chea.
- 24 [11.17.16]
- 25 (Audio-visual presentation video)

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1	[Interpretation from audio-visual document] "While Sihanouk was
2	rallying the countryside, in the cities Lon Nol was rallying
3	popular support for the expulsion of the Vietnamese from their
4	sanctuaries. In the ensuing confusion, atrocities were committed
5	against the Vietnamese who had lived in Cambodia for generations.
6	While thousands of innocent Vietnamese were killed, ancient
7	traditions of warfare would dictate a more gruesome fate for
8	enemy soldiers.
9	Culturally, there were great gaps between the western perceptions
10	of what was acceptable and Cambodian ideas of what was
11	acceptable. When we had filmed all of Cambodians cutting open
12	bodies and ripping out the liver and eating them, western opinion
13	was pretty shocked by the Lon Nol forces doing that. But this is
14	what Cambodians are doing were doing by tradition. It is said
15	that it's getting the spirit, the strength of your enemy. It's a
16	ritual. Quite frequently in the early years of the war, as a mark
17	of friendship, they would ask you to come and join them in eating
18	the liver of the dead. On one occasion, I was having lunch with
19	the governor of one of the provinces, and out on the lawn in
20	front of the governor's residence, there were all these so-called
21	Viet Cong bodies, corpses laid out, all of them slashed open and
22	the liver taken out. And the truck arrived, and they started
23	tossing these dead bodies onto the truck. It was not very
24	appetising."

25 (End of audio-visual presentation)

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- 1 [11.19.09]
- 2 MR. KOPPE:
- 3 And with this video clip, Mr. President, I conclude my document
- 4 presentation.
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Thank you. And the time is also convenient for us to have a lunch
- 7 break. We take a break now and return at 1.30 this afternoon.
- 8 Security personnel, you are instructed to take Khieu Samphan to
- 9 the waiting room downstairs and have him returned to the
- 10 courtroom this afternoon before 1.30.
- 11 The Court is now in recess.
- 12 (Court recesses from 1120H to 1331H)
- 13 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 14 Please be seated.
- 15 The Court is now back in session and the Chamber hands the floor

16 to the defence team for Khieu Samphan for their key document

- 17 presentation in relation to Tram Kak Cooperative and Krang Ta
- 18 Chan Security Centre.
- 19 Counsel, you have the floor.
- 20 [13.32.29]
- 21 MR. VERCKEN:

Thank you, Mr. President. Good afternoon to all of you. I'm going to break up my presentation in several parts. First, I will begin by reading out the 12 moral commandments that the Khmer Rouge had created for themselves way before 1975, and then I will deal with

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the <issue of> cooperatives by referring to <> documents <on> their <source of power for the Khmer Rouge as well as the story behind their inception>. And I will speak, in <the> third part, about documents relative to the estimation of the death toll in <the>Takeo <>and <>Tram Kak <regions>, and then I will finish -if I have the time, and I hope I will -- by <>bringing up problems linked to the local cadres.

8 [13.33.44]

9 Now, with regard to the 12 moral commandments, which we believe 10 demonstrate <the extent of the Khmer Rouge's focus on the people> 11 -- how they were placed in the centre of all of their thoughts, 12 we are very far here from anarchy -- from destruction, and 13 <rather, > we are now clearly <within a> context where human 14 beings are respected, <in which this is being strived for, > and I 15 would like to refer to the list drawn up by Mr. François Ponchaud in his book, "Cambodia: Year Zero", which is <under reference 16 number> E243.1, ERNs <are>: French, 00862135; Khmer, 00862433 and 17 18 34; and English, 00862085 to 86.

19 I'm going to quote for us first a little comment that was made by 20 the author, François Ponchaud, who states -- or who writes the 21 following:

22 "This <unanimous decision> is based on the respect for Angkar's 23 commandments. The radio mentions the 12 revolutionary 24 commandments and refugees who have fled from the liberated zones 25 in 1973, already knew these commandments. The Khmer Rouge

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- 1 soldiers who were guarding the French embassy <> the day
- 2 following the fall of Phnom Penh would recite these commandments
- 3 every <morning>.

4 Commandment 1: <You will cherish,> serve <and> honour the 5 <working and peasant> people.

6 <Commandment 2:> You will serve the people no matter where you

7 are, <wholeheartedly> and with your entire <being>."

8 [13.35.54]

9 "Commandment 3: You will respect the people without <violating> <their> interests, without <laying a finger on their> <property 10 or fields>; and you will not <steal> -- not even one chilli --11 12 and you will not pronounce any offensive words against them. 13 Commandment 4: You will ask forgiveness from the people if you have faulted against them, if you have <betrayed> the people's 14 15 interests <> you will <restore> to the people what belongs to 16 them.

17 Commandment 5: You will follow the rules of the people, whether 18 <you are speaking, sleeping, walking,> standing or sitting, <even</p>

19 while you're enjoying entertainment or laughing>.

20 Commandment 6: You will do nothing <inappropriate> towards women.

21 Commandment 7: You will not consume food or drink that is not

22 produced <the> revolutionary way."

23 [13.36.57]

24 "Commandment 8: You will <not> gamble.

25 Commandment 9: You will not touch the people's money and you will

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	not lay your hands on the <common nation="" of="" or="" property="" th="" the="" the<=""></common>
)	ministry> and you will <never hand="" steal="" to="" use="" your=""> not even</never>
	a can of rice <nor a="" medicinal="" tablet="">.</nor>
:	Commandment 10: <you be="" humble="" will=""> towards the <working></working></you>
	people and the peasants, towards the entire population<>.
	However, in the face of the <enemy, american="" the=""> imperialists</enemy,>
,	and their <lackeys>, you will nourish your hatred with strength</lackeys>
1	and vigilance.
)	Commandment 11: You will join the people <incessant production<="" td=""></incessant>
)	efforts, and you will treasure your work>.
	Commandment 12: You will fight against all enemies and all
2	obstacles with determination and courage, ready for any
	sacrifice, even if you have to lose your life, <you do="" so="" will=""></you>
:	for the sake of the <people, the=""> workers, the peasants, for the</people,>
	Revolution, for the Angkar, without any hesitation and
	relentlessly <so>." End of quote.</so>
,	[13.38.18]
1	Now I'm going to speak about the questions relative to
)	cooperatives and in continuation of what I have just read out
)	these 12 moral commandments I'm going to focus a little bit on
	the Khmer Rouge government's idea of the <power of=""> cooperatives</power>
2	and on the objectives <in power,="" regards="" td="" this="" to="" very<="" within=""></in>
	framework> and throughout the entire duration of the regime,
:	because I'm going to <cite> from three "Revolutionary Flag"</cite>

25 issues -- one from 1975, one from 1976, and one from 1977. The

1	first is a "Revolutionary Flag" <issue> from October/November</issue>
2	1975, indexed E3/748. I'm going to quote first of all the French,
3	ERN 00499693; English, 00495810; Khmer, 00063248; and I will
4	quote this is a paragraph falling under the heading "A few
5	issues relative to <developing the=""> agricultural, economic <and< td=""></and<></developing>
6	industrial sectors of the Party>". In paragraph 5, <it reads:=""></it>
7	"medicine <and> the health of the population".</and>
8	"For the people to be in good health, for the people to be in
9	good shape, it is necessary that medicine is available to them to
10	cure their illnesses. The health institutions have to focus on
11	three issues that are ongoing. The first we have to
12	<completely> suppress malaria <within> three years in a radical</within></completely>
13	way as of 1976 to 1978. Second, it is <of importance="" utmost=""> to</of>
14	<suppress>, <through medication,="" of="" the="" use=""> malaria that exists</through></suppress>
15	now <>. And <thirdly>, we have to cure the different illnesses as</thirdly>
16	they appear, such as cholera, chicken pox, <smallpox>, et</smallpox>
17	cetera."
18	[13.40.45]
19	Now I would like to move on to another page in the same
20	"Revolutionary Flag" issue, French, ERN 00499701; Khmer, 0063258
21	(sic); English, 00495818. Under <> the title that <reads:< td=""></reads:<>
22	"Strengthen the stance for launching an attack to promote the
23	people's living standard," it is written: "Today, tomorrow and
24	in the days to come, each member of the Party must have in mind
25	clearly and on a constant basis the necessity of fulfilling the

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population's needs -- <> food needs, <naturally>, clothing needs and <> housing, <> medicine, also needs for education and leisure. This ideology and this duty represent a prestigious form of morality for all communists."

5 [13.42.02]

On the following page, French, ERN 00499702; English, 004995819 б 7 (sic); Khmer, 00063259; under the heading "<The promotion of people's living standard is relevant to all party's political 8 9 lines," it reads:> "The promotion of the people's living standard is not a separate duty but it is strictly related with all <the> 10 Party's political lines. < More specifically>, it is one of the 11 most important keys to national defence and construction, within 12 the Party's <principle of> collectivism." Now, <in a> political 13 sense: "If the people's living standards are <assured>, the 14 15 people's <strength and> health will gradually be improved. The 16 people will be happy to support the revolutionary power and the 17 Party. It simply means that <if> the people receive decent food 18 <and> clothing <they would then live happily and> <they would</pre> 19 increasingly support> the revolutionary power <> and the enemies 20 would not <> be able to destroy it. It is therefore necessary to 21 manage the people, to <take into consideration> politics, 22 <>ideology and <> the organisation, and to <ensure that> all 23 aspects of <the population's> living standards <are intact>." 24 [13.43.49]

25 Now I'm going to skip a paragraph to move on to heading 2:

1	"Economic sense: Politics cannot be separated from economics <>.
2	If the people have sufficient food and clothing, their <physical< th=""></physical<>
3	strength> will be increased and the rice production and the
4	factory activities will also prosper, <at as="" pace="" same="" th="" the="" the<=""></at>
5	aforementioned. At that moment, little will it matter whether we
б	produce rice or sew skirts>." <there all="" have="" i<="" it,="" th="" that="" was="" you=""></there>
7	had to say regarding> the first issue of "Revolutionary Flag" of
8	1975.
9	MR. PRESIDENT:
10	Defence Counsel, please hold and the International Lead Co-Lawyer
11	for civil parties, you have the floor.
12	[13.44.53]
13	MS. GUIRAUD:
-	
14	Thank you, Mr. President. This is not an objection but if I do
14	Thank you, Mr. President. This is not an objection but if I do
14 15	Thank you, Mr. President. This is not an objection but if I do not say what I want to say now, I will never be able to say it.
14 15 16	Thank you, Mr. President. This is not an objection but if I do not say what I want to say now, I will never be able to say it. It was our intention to present a certain number of documents
14 15 16 17	Thank you, Mr. President. This is not an objection but if I do not say what I want to say now, I will never be able to say it. It was our intention to present a certain number of documents regarding the policies in the cooperatives. We were informed by
14 15 16 17 18	Thank you, Mr. President. This is not an objection but if I do not say what I want to say now, I will never be able to say it. It was our intention to present a certain number of documents regarding the policies in the cooperatives. We were informed by your Senior Legal Officer that it was not recommended to present
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- 1 on the policies <during this hearing> and <that> of course, our
- 2 presentation would have been very different if we would have
- 3 taken the same latitude that the Defence is taking today.
- 4 (Judges deliberate)
- 5 [13.47.07]
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 Judge Lavergne, you have the floor.
- 8 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

9 Yes, the Chamber would like the Khieu Samphan defence to focus on 10 issues that are directly related to Tram Kak district. Now with 11 regard to the policies, in particular policies that were 12 implemented at the national level, there will be opportunities to 13 speak about this later, in particular when we work on further 14 segments of this trial. This is why we would like these kinds of 15 documents not to be presented now.

- 16 [13.47.54]
- 17 MR. VERCKEN:

18 I would like to challenge <the Chamber's decision>. I am simply 19 defending my client. In this case, Mr. Khieu Samphan was not at 20 Krang Ta Chan prison, he was not in Takeo province, so bringing 21 up cooperatives without speaking about policies <> following my 22 objective of defending Khieu Samphan, I don't see how I can do 23 otherwise than to present to you documents that concern the idea 24 that the Khmer Rouge government had of <their people -- of> how 25 to respect their people and of how they <thought> it was

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1 necessary to meet their needs and then to bring up the questions 2 relative to the creation of these cooperatives and the issues 3 linked to this. And of course, you heard this with <my> earlier presentation. There are points that are specifically relative to 4 <quantifying> the death toll in <> this region, <but here> I 5 believe that I'm really <within the parameters of> my objectives б 7 -- that is to say, <my mission of> defending Khieu Samphan and I'm not doing anything else. So if you forbid me today, during 8 9 <these hearings -- or rather during> this hearing, which the 10 Defence is participating <in>, <by> walking backwards; <because> you know that we had a lot of trouble <during the first trial> 11 12 with these hearings that were <originally presented as> destined 13 for the press and for the people. <Today> we decided today to participate in this hearing because <they -- it was meant to be> 14 15 adversarial <> <with this day dedicated to retorts,> and this is 16 why we decided to participate in the presentation of these 17 documents <whilst> making an effort to not plead <as the civil parties and the Prosecution have. > But if you forbid me now to 18 19 <speak --> to quote from "Revolutionary Flag" issues relative to 20 the policy and to the ideas that <guided> the Khmer Rouge government's <> creation of their cooperatives, I think I <have 21 22 nothing else to do but to> just sit down, <cross my arms,> and <> 23 let the day go by because <frankly> I think at this point I might 24 as well just <> stop <altogether>.

25 [13.50.25]

Corrected transcript: Text occurring between less than (<) and greater than (>) signs has been corrected to ensure consistency among the three language versions of the transcript. The corrections are based on the audio recordings in the source language and may differ from verbatim interpretation in the relay and target languages. Page 60

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Judge Lavergne, you have the floor.
- 3 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

Counsel Vercken, the Chamber does not intend to challenge your 4 right to defend Mr. Khieu Samphan. The Chamber simply wishes to 5 draw your attention to the fact that this trial contains several б 7 segments. That one of the segments will concern indeed the role of the Accused persons as well as the policies that were 8 9 implemented in what we allege is a form of joint criminal 10 enterprise> <And when addressing these policies> this will indeed 11 involve the <policies having to do with> cooperatives. Well, 12 simply, what we want to tell you is that it was maybe <> today 13 <was> not necessarily the best moment to present documents that 14 refer, it appears, to a segment that will come along later in the 15 trial.

- 16 MR. VERCKEN:
- 17 I understand, but cooperatives does not seem to be part of a
- 18 later phase of the trial, <so-->
- 19 JUDGE LAVERGNE:
- 20 <But, listen,> Counsel Vercken, <we told you that today> we're
 21 speaking about Tram Kak today and Krang Ta Chan. We're not
- 22 speaking about cooperatives at the national level.
- 23 MR. VERCKEN:
- 24 Well, <in that case, > good afternoon to all of you and we will

25 stop right now.

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- 1 [13.51.50]
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 What about the National Co-Counsel for the defence? Do you have
- 4 any presentation to make?
- 5 MR. KONG SAM ONN:

No, Mr. President, I don't. However, I'd like to provide my б 7 observation regarding the objection and the issue which has been discussed thus far. Although we focus on Tram Kak Cooperative and 8 9 Krang Ta Chan Security Centre, they are related in general to 10 other cooperatives or security centres throughout the country. 11 For instance, Tram Kak cooperative is in principle related to 12 other cooperatives established throughout the country. Therefore, 13 it is possible just to focus on the principles applicable at the Tram Kak Cooperative and other principles apply to other 14 15 <cooperatives> throughout the country? And even the Prosecution 16 did not differentiate between the principles or the practices at 17 Tram Kak Cooperative and other cooperatives throughout the 18 country. Therefore, if we focus only on the distinction between 19 this particular cooperative and other cooperatives, it will be 20 impossible for us to make the key presentation and if that is the main focus, then the Co-Prosecutors should have done so far --21 22 should have done that so far.

- 23 (Judges deliberate)
- 24 [13.54.34]
- 25 MR. VERCKEN:

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1 Mr. President, Mr. Khieu Samphan would like to say something.

- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Please hold on as the Bench is deliberating on the issue.

4 Khieu Samphan, you are now given the floor.

5 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:

Thank you, Mr. President, and good afternoon Mr. President, Your б 7 Honours and everyone. I'd like to confirm that I did not know any 8 particular instances of what happens at Krang Ta Chan or at Tram Kak, and I would like to appeal to the Chamber to allow my 9 10 counsels to make key document presentation based on the document 11 that I have in my hand and that my counsels have -- that is, on 12 the policies of the DK, and on the contrary I have been accused 13 of part of a joint criminal enterprise although I did not know 14 anything about what happened at Krang Ta Chan or at Tram Kak 15 Cooperative.

16 [13.56.02]

17 MR. PRESIDENT:

18 The International Deputy Co-Prosecutor, you have the floor.

19 MR. LYSAK:

A couple of points: First, the suggestion by counsel that we were presenting on general policy relating to cooperatives, I'd like to know what he is referring to. I just looked through my list of documents; they were all specifically related to Tram Kak. As you heard, the civil parties were precluded from doing exactly what the Defence wishes to do now. And second, with regard to Mr.

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1	Khieu Samphan's assertions, I'd like to know whether he is
2	waiving his right to remain silent and will subject himself to
3	questioning on whether he knows anything about Tram Kak and
4	whether he knows anything about these policies. And third, I
5	would remind the Defence, they have repeatedly objected to us, to
б	questioning even on subjects within Tram Kak. They object to Angk
7	Roka as irrelevant, they object to discussion of Khmer Krom
8	within Tram Kak as irrelevant, they are constantly seeking to
9	confine the scope of this trial except when they get on their
10	feet. Now they want to talk about cooperatives nationwide.
11	[13.57.27]
12	MR. PRESIDENT:
13	Judge Claudia Fenz, you have the floor.
13 14	Judge Claudia Fenz, you have the floor. JUDGE FENZ:
14	JUDGE FENZ:
14 15	JUDGE FENZ: Let me make an attempt to de-escalate that. First of all to
14 15 16	JUDGE FENZ: Let me make an attempt to de-escalate that. First of all to clarify for, certainly the public, but perhaps also for counsel
14 15 16 17	JUDGE FENZ: Let me make an attempt to de-escalate that. First of all to clarify for, certainly the public, but perhaps also for counsel and specifically for Mr. Khieu Samphan: Is it understood that the
14 15 16 17 18	JUDGE FENZ: Let me make an attempt to de-escalate that. First of all to clarify for, certainly the public, but perhaps also for counsel and specifically for Mr. Khieu Samphan: Is it understood that the issue here is not whether you are allowed to present documents,
14 15 16 17 18 19	JUDGE FENZ: Let me make an attempt to de-escalate that. First of all to clarify for, certainly the public, but perhaps also for counsel and specifically for Mr. Khieu Samphan: Is it understood that the issue here is not whether you are allowed to present documents, but when they should be done? Is this understood? If so, because
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	JUDGE FENZ: Let me make an attempt to de-escalate that. First of all to clarify for, certainly the public, but perhaps also for counsel and specifically for Mr. Khieu Samphan: Is it understood that the issue here is not whether you are allowed to present documents, but when they should be done? Is this understood? If so, because then the issue is back where it belongs, and that's organisation.
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	JUDGE FENZ: Let me make an attempt to de-escalate that. First of all to clarify for, certainly the public, but perhaps also for counsel and specifically for Mr. Khieu Samphan: Is it understood that the issue here is not whether you are allowed to present documents, but when they should be done? Is this understood? If so, because then the issue is back where it belongs, and that's organisation. The question is: When do we hear those documents? And when it

25 appreciate if at this point in time, counsel would concentrate on

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- 1 documents related to Krang Ta Chan as opposed to policies, which 2 will be discussed later, with an opportunity to present those 3 documents. My question is: Is this understood or do we still have 4 to clarify further misunderstandings?
- 5 [13.59.05]
- 6 MR. VERCKEN:

7 The first thing is that <for some time now> <you have been> continuously <harping on to us about the fact that> <during the 8 9 status conference hearings that we don't even know if the> second 10 trial is going to reach its conclusion, <alright?> So <still,> 11 this is something that has been said very often. And we were 12 pressured and we divided this major <trial, this initial Closing Order, > into several <>cases, <sure enough> because there <was 13 the> risk that the defendants would not survive the trial. 14 15 <That's for starters. And then, > to answer the prosecutor, I 16 would say that Angk Roka and the Khmer Krom are not part of the 17 <Closing Order>, so I don't therefore understand how we can even 18 talk about this in the second case. So I <> believe here that <it 19 is rather> the Prosecution <that> is stepping out of the scope of 20 the trial more so than the Defence.

21 [14.00.01]

And now with regard to what Judge Fenz has just told us, <that's the problem- earlier> you <reminded us of this when it came to introducing something or other, in any case, this morning, Judge Fenz> you reminded us of the difficulty of these <key> document

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1 hearings <saying that, I believe, the intention was to answer an 2 objection raised on the fact-oh, I'm sorry, I forgot that I was 3 being interpreted. Yes, that's correct. So, yet again this morning, you reminded the Chamber of the difficulty of these key 4 document hearings.> For us, these hearings were completely 5 inacceptable, <> in their first version that you set up in the б 7 first case and today these hearings are possible because they are adversarial. And here, I'm quoting from documents that are 8 9 relevant -- I mean "Revolutionary Flag" -- I'm not quoting from 10 documents that are new to anyone. I'm bringing up problems that 11 concern the Khieu Samphan defence, that concern his 12 responsibility, that concern his adherence to certain principles and certain values, and <the reasons for which he--> well, maybe, 13 14 okay, you don't want me to bring up these points now, well I 15 won't do so. <My entire> presentation this morning was linked to 16 this, <all of it,> and since this is the situation, I believe 17 that I should stop now and possibly, if God gives a long life to 18 Khieu Samphan <and> to his defence team - well, me or <someone 19 else>, someday, will bring up these issues before you. 20 (Judges deliberate) [14.06.00]21 22 MR. PRESIDENT:

23 You have the floor Judge Lavergne.

24 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

25 Thank you, Mr. President. The Chamber would like to emphasise the

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1 following. The Chamber has to ensure all the Parties <are treated 2 equally>, particularly regarding the preparation <for these 3 hearings> on this point of key documents. The Chamber notes that as part of such preparations, it has been seized of an 4 application by the Lead Co-Lawyers for the civil parties, 5 <indeed> aimed at clarifying the types of documents they could б 7 present. The Chamber responded to Counsel Guiraud and that response was circulated to all Parties, including Counsel Guissé, 8 9 Counsel Vercken and the legal assistants working in their defence 10 team. So, today, I am surprised by the fact that Khieu Samphan's defence is surprised at the attitude of the Chamber, because the 11 12 <> purpose of the presentation of these documents was known before today's <hearing>. <There you have it,> so <unless> the 13 Khieu Samphan team wishes to present documents specifically 14 15 regarding Tram Kak <district> and <Krang Ta Chan, then we will be 16 forced to put an end to the defence team's> presentation. 17 [14.07.54]18 MR. VERCKEN: 19 I would <just> like to point out that as we understand it, the 20 documents <>we just started presenting -- because <my colleague 21 from> the civil party made an objection which was not <in fact an 22 objection> -- <well,> these documents are key documents for Mr.

23 Khieu Samphan's <defence.> As far as we're concerned, these

24 $\,$ documents are key documents as regards the <> assessment of the $\,$

25 criminal responsibility of our client, if at all there is any

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such criminal <liability, in view of the> subject that we are concerned with today, <falling within the scope of this hearing on> key documents. So, if indeed the Chamber is of the view that <this is not the case>, then we consider that we cannot <continue to participate> to that effect <because, in any case, we have been forbidden to do so>.

- 7 [14.08.59]
- 8 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

9 Mr. Vercken, <I believe> you are again distorting the words of 10 the Chamber. We have never said that those documents were not key 11 documents <for Khieu Samphan's defence>. It is a matter of 12 preparation and it's a matter of time. < I would like to know 13 whether> you <have> received the message the Chamber sent to 14 Counsel Guiraud concerning the preparation of this key documents 15 hearing, if you did read it, <in fact,> why did you not react to 16 it? If you thought that the assessment was inappropriate --

- 17 [14.09.32]
- 18 MR. VERCKEN:

19 <>Let me re-read the <exact wording> of <your> message, <the</p>
20 Chamber's message, out to you> in English -- forgive me for my
21 accent: "[...] <the parties have considerable latitude> as to how
22 they wish to utilise the time allocated to them for presentations
23 on key documents. At this stage, however, the Trial Chamber would
24 be most assisted by presentations on key documents relating to
25 events in Tram Kak district; presentation of evidence relating to

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2 relevant or at least not timely." 3 So yes, indeed I read that message, Honourable Judge, but I didn't consider that that message debarred me from referring 4 generally to the documents relating to Mr. Khieu Samphan, <that 5 were-from the point of view of his> criminal responsibility, <the б 7 reasons which led him to become> involved in <a regime that gave rise -- in the regions being discussed today -- to the> creation 8 9 of -- <and because I was discussing that very topic> -- such 10 cooperatives. <So, you> consider that this email is particularly clear as regards any prohibition of the Defence to use documents 11 12 regarding policy, especially as far as Mr. Khieu Samphan in particular is concerned. We consider that it is crucial for us to 13 use these documents regarding the <defence of our client in 14 15 regards to the very> purpose of this trial and this particular 16 phase of the trial regarding cooperatives <and execution 17 centres>. So we do not agree -- <I do not agree> with the 18 Chamber's analysis regarding the consequences of that email. So 19 we believe it is improper to prevent the Khieu Samphan team to 20 present key documents it intended to present today in keeping with all the rules imposed on the Parties. 21

events which occurred elsewhere may generally not be directly

22 [14.12.06]

23 JUDGE FENZ:

It would appear that everybody but the Khieu Samphan defence has understood the email the way it was meant. I give it to you the

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1	language is polite, it doesn't order. It is a polite language.
2	Nevertheless, it has been understood by everybody, with the
3	exception of the Khieu Samphan defence. And before I ask the last
4	question, in order to avoid any confusion, again this is not of
5	an issue of if you are allowed to present documents, or certain
6	documents, but when. So this is not an issue of rights of your
7	clients being neglected. This is an issue of the Chamber
8	organising the trial in a manner which treats all the Parties
9	equally. Having said all that, the last question is, and now,
10	confronted with the understanding that pretty much everybody had
11	about this email, do you have documents relevant to Krang Ta Chan
12	to present today or not?
13	(Short pause)
14	[14.14.54]
15	JUDGE FENZ:
16	Would Counsel need a break to sort through his documents? How
17	long?
18	MR. VERCKEN:
19	Five minutes, I just need to discuss the documents with my
20	client.
21	MR. PRESIDENT:
22	The Chamber now declares a short break until now - from now until
23	2.30, to leave time for the defence counsel for Mr. Khieu Samphan
24	to discuss with their client.

25 (Court recesses from 1415H to 1430H)

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Please be seated.

The Court is now back in session and the Chamber gives the floor
to the defence team for Khieu Samphan for the key document
presentation in relation to Tram Kak Cooperative and Krang Ta
Chan Security Centre.

- 7 Counsel, you have the floor.
- 8 [14.31.18]
- 9 MR. VERCKEN:

Thank you, Mr. President. Well, in order to answer <>the <last> 10 11 question that was put to us before the break, Mr. Khieu Samphan 12 and his counsel consider that the three "Revolutionary Flag" issues I was going to quote from briefly, and the few documents 13 14 that I also planned on presenting to you -- because I believe 15 that this is the aim of this hearing, <> to present these 16 documents to the <other parties, to the> public and to the press 17 -- where these documents are directly related to his position 18 <within the scope of this trial, in regards to the>Tram Kak 19 <cooperatives> and the Krang Ta Chan Security Centre. 20 And therefore, <at this point in time, > Mr. Khieu Samphan 21 believes that if <he>-- his Defence is not allowed to quote from 22 documents that pertain to <this scope, which is that of> Defence, 23 <then> he does not wish <for> our presentation to continue. 24 <There you have it, Mr. President.> This is <the Khieu Samphan 25 defence team's> position with regard to the issue at hand.

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- 1 [14.32.49]
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 The International Lead Co-Lawyer <for civil parties>, you have
- 4 the floor.
- 5 MS. GUIRAUD:

Yes, thank you, Mr. President. Let me be clear about <our> б 7 position, and my colleague understood, we were not objecting. I stood up because I wanted this to be on the record, <as we often 8 9 do during a hearing, > so that we could use this record later. So my point here is not to object. I simply wanted to draw the 10 Chamber's attention to the fact that we considered that this 11 12 email prevented us from presenting certain documents, <hence> 13 this is the only purpose of the comments I made before the break. 14 (Judges deliberate)

15 [14.35.19]

16 JUDGE FENZ:

Counsel, from the channel to be specific: Are you saying that these documents are pertaining to Krang Ta Chan or to the scope as provide -- as foreseen in the email? Yes or no? If yes, ask your questions or present, sorry, present these documents, not ask questions. If no, tell us and it can be done at a later stage. So the first assessment is obviously for you.

24 This is a <key> document hearing regarding Tram Kak cooperatives 25 and the Krang Ta Chan Security Centre. We are the Khieu Samphan

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defence team. We are here to defend Khieu Samphan. We are not
 here for any other reason. We are here only to defend Khieu
 Samphan, and you're asking us to present <> key documents, not
 key documents just for the sake of history, but key documents for
 Khieu Samphan's defence.

6 [14.36.31]

7 In the context of the cooperatives and Krang Ta Chan and the way we understand Khieu Samphan's stance <within this trial> with 8 9 regard to the cooperatives and with regard to one of the 10 <country's> security centres <> between '75 and '79, so we're 11 selecting key documents that seem to us to pertain to Khieu 12 Samphan's position back then, or in any case to the level -- to his seniority back then, all the way down to the detail. And then 13 of course, this is the issue of all trials in which <the> accused 14 15 are very far removed from the facts that are committed on the 16 field. There were <acts> committed <here> at Krang Ta Chan and 17 <at -- in this district;> on the other hand, we have Khieu 18 Samphan who, for most of his time, was in Phnom Penh. So we have 19 to know what you want.

If you want us to participate in very <general> hearings on key documents -- we have refused to do so until now, but today we accepted because we have the possibility of replying, which did not exist beforehand. And now we're being told that the Defence's position and the key documents that the Defence selected, do not correspond to the objective of the hearing in terms of the topic

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- 1 that is being dealt with.
- 2 [14.38.04]

3 Of course we take note of this, but of course I believe that this email, which <I remind you> was only sent to us in English, which 4 of course does not necessarily make things easy for our team, 5 which is practically 100 per cent French-speaking, maybe it was б 7 very clear. <Very clear> in the fact that it gives the possibility, <as you said Judge Fenz, for> everyone to find 8 9 <their> own explanation, <their> own interpretation of this 10 email, but that's another issue. < There you have it.> 11 So yes, we considered that the documents that we were about to 12 present fall within the scope of this hearing. But this does not 13 appear to be the Chamber's position because <> in response to a non-objection, you said that you did not want me to bring up 14 issues that relate to <issues at the level of> Khieu Samphan's 15 16 position. <So,> Khieu Samphan therefore ordered me to not 17 continue with this presentation if the Chamber deems that the 18 documents we intend to present for his Defence and to explain his 19 position, do not suit the purposes of today's hearing. 20 (Judges deliberate)

21 [14.39.56]

22 JUDGE FENZ:

So this is primarily about the role of the Accused, Counsel?
Counsel, do you have your attention? If I understood you
correctly, we'll try to analyse the relevant part of what you

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1	said. His evidence is primarily about the role of the Accused for
2	which we have a specific section. Yes or no?
3	MR. VERCKEN:
4	The relevant parts of what I said <had be="" to=""> very limited,</had>
5	because <really,> what I was trying to make clear to you was that</really,>
6	what we want to do is put in perspective in a <theoretical>,</theoretical>
7	as well as, <potentially, a="" in="" practical=""> sense, issues</potentially,>
8	concerning the cooperatives and the Krang Ta Chan Security Centre
9	<which hearing="" is="" of="" subject="" the="" this="">. I said basically putting</which>
10	things in perspective more than Khieu Samphan's role because here
11	the point was to read out excerpts from "Revolutionary Flag",
12	which everybody <here> agrees, represents the <corpus of<="" td=""></corpus></here>
13	internal> doctrine of the Khmer Rouge regime.
14	So it's interesting to know <> what was the internal doctrine of
15	the Khmer Rouge's power in relation to cooperatives and in
16	relation to the population <and in="" many="" other<="" relation="" td="" to=""></and>
17	aspects.> And then maybe we could go more into detail, so we have
18	been speaking, however, about this non-objection for the past
19	hour and 15 minutes <judge fenz="">.</judge>
20	(Judges deliberate)
21	[14.43.04]
22	MR. PRESIDENT:
23	The Chamber does not have a concrete view as to the understanding
24	of what has been described by the counsel for Khieu Samphan.
25	However, the Chamber will grant you the floor to continue with

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- 1 your key document presentation this afternoon, and you may
- 2 proceed, Counsel.
- 3 JUDGE FENZ:

4 To add -- and we will decide on a case to case basis if there is 5 a problem with this document. Despite our best efforts, it was 6 impossible for us to figure out if you think that these documents 7 pertained to today's segment or not. So please, present and we'll 8 proceed on a case to case basis.

9 MR. VERCKEN:

10 I apologize, but under these conditions, I cannot work. I cannot 11 work on a case-by-case basis. I have sent my document list a week 12 ago. No one made any comments about this and nobody told me that 13 I was on the wrong path. So I'm going to present documents. It's 14 been <> an hour and 15 minutes that we're focusing on <a single> 15 non-objection. So yes, frankly speaking, I must confess that yes, 16 I -- I apologise, but, you know, the idea of speaking again <to 17 be> interrupted again <and cut short> because apparently this 18 does not meet the Chamber's needs -- I think <there's a point 19 where it becomes a bit too much. > So, either you let me speak, 20 but if you are going to -- if this is going to lead to endless debate each time on the validity <or lack thereof> of the 21 22 documents I'm presenting, I think that this is a bit <rich now>. 23 [14.45.09]

24 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

25 Counsel Vercken, we <gave> you the floor. Do you want to speak or

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> 77 not? Do you want to present these documents or not? You have now 1 2 the possibility of doing so. That's what the Chamber is <telling 3 you>. Do you want to do so? Yes or no? MR. VERCKEN: 4 I will try. And the same for -- what about the hour and 15 5 minutes that we wasted <discussing this issue>? б 7 JUDGE LAVERGNE: 8 Counsel Vercken, you had <a large amount of>time to prepare 9 yourself, so <I think that> maybe you <there was a lack of 10 preparation on your part> so I think that you're going to have to 11 <> face the consequences of <this> lack of preparation<>. 12 <MR. VERCKEN: 13 What are talking about ?> MR. PRESIDENT: 14 15 Counsel Vercken, you have been given the floor by the Chamber, 16 and the Chamber will consider if you have more presentation to 17 make. However, you are still having more time until 4 o'clock and 18 I believe the time may be sufficient for your presentation. You 19 should proceed. 20 MR. VERCKEN: 21 No, Mr. President, that will not be enough time. I am hearing now 22 that I haven't prepared myself. I sent my document list a week 23 ago to all of the Parties. An hour and 15 minutes <has been> 24 taken away from my presentation, so now <I think that --> and on 25 top of that I'm being accused of not being well prepared. Now I

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- 1 absolutely disagree with the way the Chamber is behaving
- 2 <towards> the Defence, and I think it's better maybe just to
- 3 <adjourn>.
- 4 [14.47.03]
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:

6 The Chamber is of the view that the counsel is not performing his 7 duty as a professional counsel, and you have been granted the 8 floor and we also say, if you are -- if you need more time, the 9 Chamber will consider that. However, you refused to make your key 10 document presentation in relation to Krang Ta Chan Security 11 Centre and Tram Kak Cooperative. For that reason, the Chamber 12 decides to adjourn today's proceeding.

Mr. Khieu Samphan, it seems that you are now changing your position in relation to your rights to remain silent. Please specify that.

16 [14.48.07]

17 MR. KHIEU SAMPHAN:

As I have stated, I'd like to maintain my right to remain silent. However, when I need to provide my clarification to the Chamber and I'd like the Chamber to grant me the floor, and that is the rights that I am seeking from the Chamber. And please don't mention that my counsel does not have the ability to prepare the documents. We have been interrupted on so many occasions.

24 [14.48.43]

25 MR. PRESIDENT:

1	Your counsel has been given the floor and Mr. Khieu Samphan, you
2	are instructed to sit. Please sit down. And you have the right to
3	ask your counsel to make the document presentation and of course
4	the Chamber has the discretion to manage the document, and now
5	the Chamber decides to adjourn the proceedings and we resume on
б	Thursday, 30 April 2015, commencing from 9 o'clock. This
7	information is for the Parties and the general public.
8	Security personnel, you are instructed to take Khieu Samphan and
9	Nuon Chea back to the detention facility, and have them returned
10	to participate in the proceedings on the morning of Thursday, 30
11	April 2015 before 9 o'clock.
12	The Court is now adjourned.
13	(Court adjourns at 1449H)
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