

### **អ**ល្អតំនុំ៩ា្រទះខឹសារបញ្ញត្ថុខតុលាការ**អ**ន្តុ៩ា

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

## หอริรุ่รโละยายารูอ

Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

# ព្រះពលាណាច ត្រុងទុទ្ធ ជា លិត សាសលា ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ

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

<u>TRANSCRIPT OF TRIAL PROCEEDINGS</u> <u>PUBLIC</u> Case File N° 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC

#### 16 November 2018 Pronouncement of Judgment in Case 002/02

**ឯភាសារដើម** ORIGINAL/ORIGINAL ថ្ងៃ ឆ ឆ្នាំ (Date): 21-Nov-2018, 10:52 CMS/CFO: Sann Rada

Before the Judges:	NIL Nonn, Président YA Sokhan YOU Ottara Claudia FENZ Jean-Marc LAVERGNE	For Court Manageme	Seng Bunkheang SONG Chorvoin ent Section: SOUR Sotheavy
	THOU Mony Martin KAROPKIN	The Accused:	NUON Chea KHIEU Samphan
Trial Chamber Greffi	ers/Legal Officers: SE Kolvuthy Sivhoang Chea Celine Rivat LIM Suy Hong Milan Jovancevic Elinor Gladys Fry	Lawyers for the Accu	ised: Victor KOPPE SON Arun Anta GUISSE KONG Sam Onn
For the Office of the	Co-Prosecutors: Nicholas KOUMJIAN CHEA Leang SREA Rattanak William Smith Vincent DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL Travis FARR PICH Sambath Ruth Mary Hackler Helen Worsnop Coman Kenny	Lawyers for the Civil	Parties: Marie GUIRAUD PICH Ang CHET Vanly LOR Chunthy SIN Soworn VEN Pov HONG Kimsuon TY Srinna KIM Mengkhy SAM Sokong

## List of Speakers:

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language
The President (NIL Nonn)	Khmer
The GREFFIER	Khmer

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- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Court opens at 0929H)
- 3 (Judges enter the courtroom)
- 4 Mr. President:
- 5 Please be seated.
- 6 (Short pause)
- 7 [09:30:21]
- 8 Mr. President:

9 Today, Friday 16 November 2018, the Extraordinary Chambers in the 10 Court -- the Trial Chambers of the Extraordinary Chambers in the 11 Courts of Cambodia continues its public proceedings to pronounce 12 the Judgment in Case 002/02 which is the second trial of Case 002 13 dated 19 September 2007, ECCC/TC with the Accused, Nuon Chea,

born on 7 July 1926 and Khieu Samphan, born on 27 July 1931.

15 Greffier, Ms. Se Kolvuthy, could you please report the attendance

- 16 to the parties that are invited by the Chambers to the
- 17 proceeding?
- 18 The Greffier:

19 Mr. President, for today's proceeding, all parties to this case 20 are present. Thank you.

- 21 [09:31:36]
- 22 Mr. President:
- 23 Thank you, Ms. Se Kolvuthy.

Before the Chamber makes the pronouncement on the Judgment, theChamber decided on the request by Nuon Chea. The Chamber receives

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1 a waiver from Nuon Chea dated 16 November 2018. It states that 2 due to his health, that he's had the lower back pain and he 3 cannot sit or concentrate for long, he wishes to vet his presence in the courtroom on the morning of 16 November 2018. 4 Having seen the medical report of Nuon Chea made by the doctor on 5 duty for the Accused at the ECCC dated 16 November 2018, which б 7 notes the health condition of Nuon Chea today, that he has a lower back pain, he feel dizzy and cannot sit for long, and he 8 9 has irregular heart beat and pain in the abdomen and confirmed 10 that Nuon Chea can participate in the proceeding for a short 11 period of time.

12 [09:32:59]

13 Based on the recommendations and pursuant to Rule 81(5) of the 14 ECCC, the Chamber decides to allow Nuon Chea to participate -- to 15 participate in the proceeding for a short period of time and 16 subsequently, he can follow the proceedings on the pronouncement of the Judgment in Case 002/02 remotely, from a room downstairs 17 18 via audiovisual means, for the period of the pronouncement of the 19 Judgment this morning. And since Nuon Chea cannot sit for long in 20 this courtroom, please inform the Chamber so the Chamber will 21 allow you to follow the proceedings remotely from the room 22 downstairs. So, please indicate that to the Chamber if you wish 23 to do so. And security guard, please coordinate the movement of 24 Nuon Chea in that case.

25 And the AV Unit personnel are instructed to link the proceedings

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- 1 to the room downstairs so that Nuon Chea can follow the
- 2 proceedings during the pronouncement of the Judgment this
- 3 morning.
- 4 [09:34:35]
- 5 And as for Mr. Khieu Samphan, the Chamber allows him to sit next 6 to his counsel until such time he is instructed to -- to bring to 7 the dock by the security guard.
- 8 The Chamber also allows the Accused to leave the courtroom and 9 use the bathroom if there is a need to do so without seeking 10 permission from the Chamber.
- The Chamber would like to inform the parties and the general 11 public that at this moment, the Chamber pronounces only a summary 12 of the Trial Chamber's Judgment. The only authoritative account 13 of the findings is contained in the full written Judgment which 14 will be made available in Khmer, English, and French in due 15 course. In this summary of the Judgment, the Trial Chamber uses 16 17 the ECCC as the abbreviation for the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. 18
- 19 [09:36:02]
- 20 The Chamber now pronounces the summary of the Judgment in Case 21 002/02 as follows:

22 Introduction and Brief Case History

As a preliminary matter, the Chamber notes that the part -- the Parties raised among others issues regarding notice of the charges and scope of the trial in Case 002/02. The Chamber

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- 1 addresses these submissions in detail in the full written version 2 of the Judgment. 3 Case 002 concerns the responsibility of Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan for crimes committed in Democratic Kampuchea between 17 4 April 1975 and 6 January 1979. 5 Following the issuance of the Closing Order by the б 7 Co-Investigating Judges on 15 September 2010, concluding almost 8 three years of judicial investigations, Nuon Chea and Khieu 9 Samphan were brought to trial. 10 [09:37:29]This case originally included two other Accused, Ieng Thirith and 11 12 Ieng Sary. In 2011, the proceedings against Ieng Thirith were stayed and the 13 charges against her severed from the case after she was found 14 15 unfit to stand trial due to a progressive dementing disease. She 16 died in 2015. Her husband, Ieng Sary, died two years earlier in 17 2013. Their death extinguished all criminal and civil actions 18 against them before the ECCC. 19 The initial hearing in Case 002 was held from 27 to 30 June 2011. 20 In September 2011, the Chamber severed the proceedings in Case 002 into a series of small trials because of the size and 21 22 complexity of the Closing Order and the age and health of the 23 Accused. 24 The Chamber limited the scope of the first trial in Case 002 --
- 25 referred to since as "Case 002/01" --, to crimes against humanity

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alleged to have been committed first, during the evacuation of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975 -- referred to as a -- as "movement of population, Phase 1"; second, during movements of population in other regions of Cambodia from September 1975 until December 1977 -- referred to as "movement of population, Phase 2", and finally, regarding alleged executions of former Khmer Republic officials at Tuol Po Chrey.

8 [09:40:13]

9 The Chamber limited the scope of the second trial in Case 002--10 referred to since as "Case 002/02", to crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the Geneva Convention of 1949, and genocide 11 12 alleged to have been committed at a number of cooperatives, worksites, security centres, and execution sites including S-21 13 14 security centre and Choeung Ek, in relation to the targeting of specific groups namely, the Cham, the Vietnamese, Buddhists, and 15 16 former Khmer Republic officials, the regulation of marriage, and within the context of the armed conflict with Vietnam. On 27 17 February 2017, the Chamber terminated the proceedings concerning 18 19 all facts set out in the Closing Order not included in Case 002/01 or Case 002/02. 20

21 [09:41:33]

22 On 17 October 2014, the Chamber opened the substantive hearings 23 in Case 002/02. Over the course of 24 month of evidentiary 24 hearings, the Chamber heard the testimony of 185 individuals 25 including 114 fact witnesses, 63 civil parties, and 8 experts.

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1 Close to 5,000 evidentiary documents were subjected to 2 examination and admitted, totalling over 82,000 pages over the 3 three official languages in Case 002/02 alone. In light of Cases 4 002/01 and 002/02 sharing a case file, this brought the grand 5 total of evidentiary documents to more than 10,000 totalling over б 304,000 pages. The hearing of evidence in Case 002/02 concluded 7 on 11 January 2017 after 274 hearing days. Closing arguments took 8 place in June 2017. 9 The Charges Against the Accused 10 During the period from 17 April 1975 to 6 January 1979, Nuon Chea 11 is alleged to have served as deputy secretary of the Communist 12 Party of Kampuchea, a full-rights member of the CPK Central and Standing Committee -- Committees, chairman of the People's 13 Representative Assembly and, on occasion, acting Prime Minister 14 15 of the Democratic Kampuchea Government. 16 [09:43:43]17 Khieu Samphan allegedly held various positions in the CPK and Democratic Kampuchea including president of the State Presidium. 18 19 He is also alleged to have been chairman of Political Office 870 20 and a member of the CPK Standing Committee. 21 It is charged that both accused committed several crimes against 22 humanity, grave breaches and genocide by participating in a joint 23 criminal enterprise. The JCE's common purpose, which the Accused 24 are said to have shared with other senior leaders such as CPK

25 Secretary Pol Pot, the army's General Staff Chairman Son Sen, and

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1 zone Secretary Ros Nhim, was allegedly to implement rapid 2 socialist revolution in Cambodia through a Great Leap Forward and 3 to defend the Party against enemies by whatever means necessary. 4 [09:45:02]

5 It is further charged that, in order to achieve this common 6 purpose, the Accused designed, together with the other JCE 7 participants, five policies, the implementation of which resulted 8 in and/or involved the crimes charged in Case 002/02 and which 9 the Accused intended to be committed.

10 These policies were: 1) The repeated movement of the population from towns and cities to rural areas as well as from one rural 11 12 area to another; 2) The establishment and operation of cooperatives and worksites; 3) The establishment and operation of 13 14 security centres and execution sites 4); The targeting of 15 specific groups including the Cham and Vietnamese, Buddhist, and 16 former Khmer Republic officials, including both civil servants 17 and military personnel and their families; and 5) The regulation 18 of marriage.

19 [09:46:23]

20 It is further charged that the Accused planned, ordered,

instigated, aided and abetted the aforementioned crimes against humanity, grave breaches and genocide. In the alternative, the Accused are also charged on the basis of superior responsibility. The Chamber will now enumerate the charges grouped together by policy. However, as the movement of population has only been

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1	charged in Case $002/02$ with respect to the treatment of the Cham,
2	this policy will be discussed only insofar as it concerns the
3	Cham.
4	The scope of the charges relevant to Case 002/02 include factual
5	allegations concerning the Accused responsibility for the
б	following crimes:
7	In relation to the establishment and operation of cooperatives
8	and worksites, the Accused are charged with the following crimes
9	against humanity; murder, extermination, enslavement,
10	imprisonment, torture, persecution on political grounds and other
11	inhumane acts through attacks against human dignity and other
12	inhumane acts through conduct characterized as enforced
13	disappearances.
14	[09:48:06]
15	In relation to the establishment and operation of security
16	centres and execution sites, the Accused are charged with the
17	following crimes against humanity; murder, extermination,
18	enslavement, imprisonment, torture, persecution on political
19	grounds, other inhumane acts through attacks against human
20	dignity, and other inhumane acts through conduct categorized as
21	enforced disappearances.
22	In relation to the targeting of specific groups, the Accused are
23	charged with:
24	First) In relation to the Cham, the crimes against humanity of
25	murder, extermination, imprisonment, torture, persecution on

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political and religious grounds, other inhumane acts through attacks against human dignity, other inhumane acts through conduct categorized as forced transfer, and other inhumane acts through conduct categorized as enforced disappearances and genocide by killing.

6 [09:49:21]

7 Second) In relation to the Vietnamese, the crimes against 8 humanity of murder, extermination, deportation, and persecution 9 on racial grounds; the grave breaches of the Geneva Convention of 10 1949, of wilful killing, torture, inhumane treatment, wilfully 11 causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, 12 wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or a civilian the rights of fair and regular trial, unlawful deportation of a civilian, and 13 14 unlawful confinement of a civilian, and genocide by killing. Third) In relation to Buddhists, the crimes against humanity of 15 16 murder and persecution on religious grounds.

Fourth) In relation to former Khmer Republic officials, including civil servants and military personnel and their families, the crimes against humanity of murder and persecution on political grounds.

21 [09:50:37]

In relation to the regulation of marriage, the Accused are charged with the following crimes against humanity, other inhumane acts through conduct categorized as forced marriage and rape in the context of forced marriage.

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1 The Chamber's Main Findings

The Chamber will address its factual and legal findings regarding each crime base as they relate to the policies that were the subject of the charges at issue in Case 002/02. The Chamber will then address the joint criminal enterprise before turning to its findings regarding the responsibility of Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan respectively.

8 Before turning to the crime basis, the Chamber will first address
9 the chapeau requirements or crimes against humanity and grave
10 breaches of the Geneva Convention of 1949.

11 [09.51:52]

The Chamber finds that, starting 17 April 1975 and continuing at 12 least until 6 January 1979, the temporal period at issue in Case 13 14 002/02, there was a widespread and systematic attack against the 15 civilian population of Cambodia. The attack took many forms 16 including but not limited to enslavement, forced transfer, murder, extermination, enforced disappearances, attacks against 17 18 human dignity, and political persecution. This attack victimized 19 millions of civilians throughout Cambodia and resulted in a large 20 number of refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries. The attack 21 was carried out in furtherance of and pursuant to Party policies 22 and plans to build socialism and defend the country.

23 The Chamber is satisfied that the attack was widespread in both a 24 geographic scope and number of victims.

25 [09:53:16]

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1	The Chamber also finds that the attack was systematic insofar as
2	crimes of such scope and magnitude could not have been random and
3	were carried out in furtherance of and pursuant to Party
4	policies.
5	The Chamber finds that this attack was directed against the
6	civilian population of Cambodia. The Chamber further finds that
7	the attack was carried out on political, national, ethnical,
8	racial, and religious grounds and that there is a nexus between
9	this attack and the committed acts. The Chamber also finds that
10	Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan knew of the attack and that they both
11	knew that the acts formed part of the attack.
12	The Chamber finds that an ongoing international armed conflict
13	existed between Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea from 1975
14	through 6 January 1979.
15	[09:54:32]
16	In relation to the grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions
17	charged at S-21 security centre, the Chamber finds that the
18	victims of these crimes were Vietnamese civilians or prisoners of
19	war and thus protected persons for the purposes of the Geneva
20	Conventions. Conversely, in relation to the crimes charged at Au
21	Kanseng security centre, the Chamber was unable to satisfied
22	itself beyond reasonable doubt that the Jara? concerned were
23	protected persons within the meaning of the Geneva Conventions.
24	The Chamber finds that the crimes committed against protected
25	persons at S-21 security centre were closely related to the armed

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1 conflict between Democratic Kampuchea and Vietnam.

2 The Chamber further finds that Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan were 3 aware of the existence of the armed conflict with Vietnam and 4 that they both were aware of the protected status of victims at 5 S-21 security centre.

- 6 [09:56:00]
- 7 Historical Background

8 The Chamber finds that in 1959, Tou Samouth, Pol Pot, and Nuon 9 Chea began the process of creating a new Cambodian Communist 10 Party free of the Vietnamese influence characterized by the early 11 Indochina Communist Party. The founding principles of this party 12 were Marxism-Leninism and democratic centralism.

13 The first Party congress was held from 30 September to 2 October 14 1960 during which the Party statute was adopted and the 15 leadership committee appointed. Tou Samouth was appointed 16 secretary and Nuon Chea deputy secretary of the Party. Both were also appointed to the Standing Committee along with Pol Pot as 17 18 full-rights members and Ieng Sary as a candidate member. 19 Son Sen, Sao Phim and Ta Mok also attended the congress with the 20 former two having been appointed as candidate members of the 21 Standing Committee. Vorn Vet was appointed to the Party Central 22 Committee in addition to Tou Samouth, Nuon Chea, Pol Pot, Ieng

23 Sary, and Son Sen.

24 [09:57:30]

25 At the second Party congress in February 1963, where Pol Pot was

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1	appointed Party secretary in the wake of Tou Samouth's
2	disappearance, while Nuon Chea remained the Party's deputy
3	secretary, the use of political and revolutionary violence was
4	reaffirmed. Ieng Sary and Sao Phim were elevated to full-rights
5	members of the Standing Committee while Vorn Vet, Ros Nhim, Son
6	Sen, and Ta Mok were appointed to the Central Committee.
7	The third Party congress was held in September 1971 and
8	reiterated the Party's strategic lines adopted at the first and
9	second congresses. It was the first Party congress attended by
10	Khieu Samphan, who was then appointed to the Central Committee as
11	an alternate member along with Chou Chet, Ke Pauk, and Koy Thuon.
12	[09:58:42]
13	By 1969, the economy in Cambodia was flagging and there was
14	uncertainty as to whether it would be dragged into the war in
15	Vietnam, despite Norodom Sihanouk's official policy of
16	neutrality. From 1969, devastating American bombings in Cambodia

17 served to push North Vietnamese troops further into the country 18 which heightened the crisis.

In 1970, Lon Nol, who was supported by the USA, overthrew Norodom Sihanouk. Norodom Sihanouk created the National United Front of Kampuchea - FUNK -- a political movement to fight against those who instigated his overthrow. In May of that year, Norodom Sihanouk, with the tacit support of the CPK, formed a new government in exile called the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea -- GRUNK. Khieu Samphan was deputy Prime Minister

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and the Minister of national defence of GRUNK in which roles he
 served as the link between Norodom Sihanouk and Pol Pot. The
 GRUNK administration lacked real power in Cambodia, although
 Norodom Sihanouk remained influential overseas.

5 [10:00:42]

The CPK was in fact responsible for the armed struggle in б 7 Cambodia. The CPK leaders had a strict policy of secrecy and did not disclose their identities publicly. Instead, they favoured 8 9 the use of the term "Angkar," a deliberately vague and 10 obfuscatory term purporting to refer to an entity which led the 11 country and which ordinary people understood had the power to 12 control the entire nation. They also used public figures such as 13 Khieu Samphan and Norodom Sihanouk locally and internationally to present a respectable façade for their actions and policies. 14 On the morning of 17 April 1975, CPK forces entered Phnom Penh 15 16 under the banner of the Cambodian People's National Liberation 17 Armed Forces and began to direct the population to leave Phnom 18 Penh immediately marking the start of the Democratic Kampuchea 19 era.

- 20 [10:02:05]
- 21 Cooperatives and Worksites

The Chamber finds that, during the Democratic Kampuchea period, there existed a policy to establish and operate cooperatives and worksites viewed as the primary instrument for waging class struggle and intended to create a labour and production force of

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1 strictly-controlled people.

2 The following crime sites are part of Case 002/02 in this regard: 3 The Tram Kak cooperatives, the Trapeang Thma Dam worksite, the 4 1st January Dam worksite, and Kampong Chhnang airfield 5 construction site.

In relation to the Tram Kak cooperatives located in Tram Kak
district in Sector 13 of the Southwest Zone - current-day Takeo
Province --, the Chamber finds that people were deliberately
forced to work in a climate of controlled threats, fear, hunger,
and discrimination.

11 [10:03:10]

12 There were periods of acute food shortage -- shortages in the 13 district and people died as a result. Various people died from 14 malnutrition, overwork, and sickness. New People -- meaning 15 people from cities and towns as opposed to people from rural 16 areas referred to as Base or Old People -- in particular, were 17 affected. Further, people died in the district hospital, among 18 other locations, because of inadequate medical treatment,

19 malnutrition, and overwork.

The Chamber also finds that large numbers of people disappeared in Tram Kak district without there being any lawful process whereby persons could properly seek and obtain information about the fate of their relatives. This contributed to the continuous atmosphere of fear and uncertainty.

25 [10:04:24]

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- Furthermore, religious practices and cultural traditions were
   forcibly abolished in Tram Kak District.
   The Chamber also finds that people were subjected to physical and
   psychological control because they were restricted in their
- 5 movements, made to participate in criticism and self-criticism
- 6 sessions, lost existing family structures and suffered threats of
- 7 being sent for re-education, being arrested or disappeared. All
- 8 of this amounted to a tightly controlled regiment of
- 9 indoctrination, threats, restricted movement, forced labour,
- 10 fear, and violence.

In relation to the Trapeang Thma Dam worksite located in Sector 5 of the Northwest Zone - current-day Banteay Meanchey province --, the Chamber finds that workers were forced -- were forced to build a dam and two dykes, a combined structure that still exists today with the same main features.

16 [10:05:38]

Workers at the dam did not have a choice. They were required to work regardless of the weather conditions, had to perform hard work for long hours, were not allowed to have rest days, were constantly monitored by their unit chiefs to see how much work they produce, and were disciplined if they did not meet work quota.

Workers were threatened with being killed or disappeared or with having their food ration reduced if they engaged in behaviour considered to be against Angkar or if they did not carry out

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1 their assignments. Witnesses saw workers killed in front of them 2 and were threatened with being killed too if they did not work 3 hard enough. 4 The Chamber finds that the deaths at the worksite were not only 5 caused by poor working and living conditions, but also included б deliberate killings. 7 [10:07:01]In relation to the 1st January Dam worksite located in Sectors 42 8 and 43 in the Central (old North) Zone - current-day Kampong Thom 9

10 province --, the Chamber finds that working and living conditions 11 were equally harsh, food similarly scarce, and medical treatment 12 likewise inadequate. Workers here also had no choice. They were 13 compelled to work against their will and under extremely

14 difficult conditions resulting in some instances in death.

15 Further, some workers were deliberately killed.

16 The nearby Baray Choan Dek Pagoda were a -- where a large amount 17 of human remains and clothing were found on site after the 18 collapse of Democratic Kampuchea was a detention facility and a 19 killing site. A number of workers were transferred from the 1st 20 January Dam worksite to this facility and killed while others 21 simply disappeared.

The Chamber further finds that the Cham and New People were particularly discriminated against at that worksite. Over the span of its construction, the number of workers at the 1st January Dam was in the tens of thousands ranging between 20,000

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1 and 40,000 during peak construction periods.

2 [10:08:48]

3 In relation to Kampong Chhnang airfield construction Site located in Sector 31 of the West Zone - current-day Kampong Chhnang 4 province --, the Chamber finds that the workers at this site were 5 б soldiers from various divisions of the Revolutionary Army of 7 Kampuchea. The work they were carrying out was for military purposes. However, workers were held in slavery and could not 8 9 refuse to work; otherwise, they would be threatened and in some 10 cases, disappeared. They were told that those who disobeyed 11 instruction would be removed or killed.

12 The Chamber further finds that workers were exposed to unsafe 13 working conditions and were forced to work long hours without 14 sufficient food which resulted in the death of many people.

15 [10:09:56]

16 Soldiers from the East Zone or from divisions whose leaders were 17 considered traitors were subjected to particularly hard or 18 dangerous work for re-education purposes, especially the breaking 19 of rocks was highly risky and the workers involved had almost no 20 means to protect themselves. Their lives were, at the very least, 21 considered expendable.

Finally, many workers simply disappeared with no notice and were never seen again at the worksite while others were seen to be arrested after which they disappeared or were transferred to S-21.

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1 The Chamber finds that the following crimes against humanity were 2 committed in relation to the establishment and operation of 3 cooperatives and worksites; murder, enslavement, persecution on 4 political grounds, the other inhumane acts of attacks against 5 human dignity and through conducts characterized as enforced 6 disappearances.

7 [10:11:10]

8 Security Centres and Execution Sites

9 The Chamber finds that, during the Democratic Kampuchea period, 10 there existed a policy to establish and operate security centres and execution sites to identify, arrest, isolate, and smash those 11 12 considered the most serious types of enemies. The following crime sites are part of Case 002/02 in this regard; S-21 security 13 14 centre, including the execution site Choeung Ek, Kraing Ta Chan 15 security centre, Au Kanseng security centre, and Phnom Kraol 16 Security Centre.

17 Regarding S-21 security centre, which was located at the Ponhea 18 Yat High School in Phnom Penh for most of the Democratic 19 Kampuchea period, the Chamber finds that it began operations in 20 October 1975 at the latest. Its main function was to detain 21 prisoners who were Party members and revolutionary combatants 22 suspected of -- suspected of being enemies.

23 [10:12:30]

24 The Chamber finds that prisoners at S-21 were detained without 25 any procedural safeguards and that detention -- the condition

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1 were deplorable causing a number of prisoners to die. While some 2 others were temporarily put to work, almost all were interrogated 3 using different forms of mistreatment methods and then executed. The Chamber finds that prisoners were brought to interrogation 4 rooms, handcuffed and blindfolded, their legs chained during 5 questioning. Interrogation methods included beatings with sticks, б 7 rocks, electrical wire, whips, and other tools; electroshocks; 8 suffocation through covering the head with a plastic bag, 9 covering their mouth and nose with a towel and pouring cold water 10 from a kettle, and the extraction of toenails and fingernails. 11 Some prisoners died after they had their blood drawn which was taken for the treatment of wounded RAK soldiers. 12 13 The Chamber further finds that the -- at the very least, 11,742 14 prisoners were executed at or in the vicinity of S-21 and Choeung 15 Ek. At Choeung Ek, prisoners were executed, for instance, by a 16 blow to the neck with an iron bar after which their throats were 17 slits with a knife and their bodies disembowelled and buried in 18 mass graves.

19 [10:14:17]

20 The Chamber also finds that there were direct instructions 21 received from the upper echelon, including Nuon Chea and Son Sen, 22 to kill prisoners or groups of prisoners.

Among S-21 detainees were prominent Party members such as Ros
Nhim and Vorn Vet as well as former Khmer Republic officials and
Vietnamese soldiers and civilians. S-21 prisoner lists also

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1	indicate that many children were detained and executed at S-21
2	and Choeung Ek throughout the Democratic Kampuchea period.
3	Kraing Ta Chan security centre located in Tram Kak District, west
4	of Takeo Town, was established in 1973 and remained operational
5	throughout the Democratic Kampuchea period.
б	[10:15:17]
7	The Chamber finds that prisoners at that security centre were
8	detained without any procedural safeguards and under dire
9	conditions, forced to sit shackled and chained together in rows
10	on the floor of detention buildings. Some prisoners, the majority
11	of which were New People, were executed immediately after their
12	arrival at Kraing Ta Chan without facing interrogation. Large
13	numbers of others who were interrogated within a few weeks of
14	their arrival.
15	The Chamber finds that interrogations at Kraing Ta Chan regularly
16	involved beatings, whippings, and suffocation to extreme degrees;
17	treatment which caused death the death of some prisoners.
18	Prisoners also disappeared.
19	The Chamber further finds that there existed a mandatory regime
20	of work for a small number of prisoners.
21	[10:16:25]
22	MR. KOPPE:
23	Oh, yes, Mr. President, sorry to interrupt. Mr. Nuon Chea would
24	like to go downstairs to the holding cell.
25	MR. PRESIDENT:

22

- 1 Please, your request is granted. And the security guards, please
- 2 accompany Nuon Chea to the room downstairs so that he could
- 3 follow the proceeding remotely as instructed earlier.
- 4 I may now continue.
- 5 (The Accused exits the courtroom)
- 6 [10.16:58]
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:

8 The Chamber furthers finds that there existed a mandatory regime

9 of work for a small number of prisoners permitting their

10 exploitation for the benefit of the Party until, in the vast

11 majority of cases, they too were executed.

12 [10:17:15]

13 Au Kanseng security centre located in Sector 102 of the Northeast 14 Zone, currently Ratanakiri Province, was established between late 15 1976 and early 1977 and remained operational with -- throughout 16 the Democratic Kampuchea period.

17 The Chamber finds that Au Kanseng served as an auxiliary to S-21 18 detaining and reforming less serious offenders around the 19 Northeast Zone while high-ranking CPK and Division 801 cadres 20 from the zone were sent to, detained, and frequently executed at 21 S-21.

From mid 1977, civilians who did not hold senior positions including workers from cooperatives and rubber plantation unions across the Northeast Zone were also detained at Au Kanseng. The Chamber finds that detention regime varied between serious

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offenders, light offenders, and women and children. People who were considered dangerous were continuously chained or shackled in a separate detention building. Less serious offenders as well as women and children were not shackled, chained or otherwise restrained.

6 [10:18:51]

7 The Chamber also finds that prisoners were interrogated through 8 beatings, whippings, and electrocutions through telephone cables 9 or similar means. The Chamber was not satisfied beyond reasonable 10 doubt that all detainees considered unreformed were killed 11 without exception, but execution did take place. In addition, some died as a result of detention conditions. 12 The Chamber further finds that at least 100 ethnic Jara? 13 14 comprising men, small children, and approximately five women were detained at Au Kanseng in mid-1977. About one week after their 15 16 internment at the security centre, the Jara? were marched out of 17 the detention compound under pretense and executed.

18 [10:20:00]

19 The Chamber is satisfied that an order to execute the Jara? was 20 channelled through Son Sen and army Division 801 commander Sao 21 Saroeun with the involvement of the CPK Standing Committee to 22 personnel at security centre for implementation. However, the 23 Chamber was unable to satisfy itself beyond reasonable doubt that 24 Jara?, likely combatants of the former South Vietnamese regime 25 and (sic) perceived as such, were protected persons within the

24

1 meaning of the Geneva Conventions.

Phnom Kraol security centre located in Sector 105 - current-day Mondulkiri province -- consisted of offices K-17 and K-11; Phnom Kraol Prison and the burial site Trapeang Pring. The Chamber finds that judicial or residual safeguards were absent at the time of prisoners' arrest and throughout their subsequent detention at Phnom Kraol during which they were forced to work.

9 The Chamber further finds that one prisoner died as a result of 10 detention conditions and that one prisoner was deliberately killed. However, the Chamber was unable to establish whether the 11 12 Trapeang Pring burial site served to bury these detainees. Further, while the Chamber is satisfied that Trapeang Pring did 13 in fact serve as a burial site during the Democratic Kampuchea 14 15 period, the Chamber is unable to conclude that Trapeang Pring 16 served as an execution site.

17 The Chamber finds that the following crimes against humanity were 18 committed in relation to the establishment and operation of 19 security centres and execution sites: murder, extermination, 20 enslavement, imprisonment, torture, persecution on political 21 grounds, and the other inhumane acts through attacks against 22 human dignity and conduct characterized as enforced 23 disappearances.

24 [10:22:41]

25 The Chamber will address its finding regarding grave breaches of

25

- 1 the Geneva Conventions committed at S-21 security centre where it 2 addresses the treatment of the Vietnamese.
- 3 Targeting of Specific Groups

4 The Chamber finds that, during the Democratic Kampuchea period, 5 there existed a policy to target the following groups, in order 6 to establish an atheistic and homogenous society without class 7 divisions by abolishing all ethnic, national, religious, racial, 8 class, and cultural differences: Cham, Vietnamese, Buddhist, and 9 former Khmer Republic officials -- including civil servants and 10 military personnel -- and their families.

11 Cham

Regarding Cham, the Chamber finds that, after the September 1975 Koh Phal and October 1975 Svay Khleang rebellions, the East Zone Cham population, mainly the one living along the Mekong River, was dispersed into the Central (old North) Zone. Cham were removed by the CPK armed forces without their consent and under threat of being considered enemies if they did not comply. [10:24:31]

Even though this disperse -- dispersion was part of a broader movement of people from the East Zone to the Central (old North) Zone aimed at distributing the population throughout Cambodia, the Chamber finds that the Cham in the East Zone were specifically targeted because of the rebellions that occurred as a reaction to earlier restrictions imposed on Cham religious and cultural traditions.

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1	The Chamber further finds that the Cham were not only moved from
2	their original locations to new ones in order to satisfy needs of
3	the local labour force, but they were dispersed and scattered
4	among Khmer villages for their communities to be broken up and
5	fully assimilated into the Cambodian population. The Cham were
б	thus targeted not as individuals, but based on their membership
7	of the group.
8	[10:25:41]
9	In addition, the Chamber finds that Cham people suffered
10	discrimination as they, for instance, at the 1st January Dam

11 worksite were forced to eat pork and were prevented from

12 worshipping and speaking their native tongue.

13 The Chamber also finds that the CPK imposed restriction on Cham religious and cultural practices in Kroch Chhmar district and in 14 various locations within the Central (old North) Zone and in a --15 and in other various location in Cambodia throughout the 16 Democratic Kampuchea period. Such restrictions including --17 18 included prohibition on daily -- on daily prayers, forcing Cham 19 to eat pork and wear the same dress and haircuts of the Khmer 20 people, forcing them to only speak the Khmer language as well as burning Korans and dismantling mosques or using them for purposes 21 22 other than prayer. Those who resisted were arrested and/or 23 killed.

Furthermore, the Cham (sic) finds that a large number of people including the majority of Cham from Kang Meas district -

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- current-day Kampong Cham province --, in Sector 41 of the Central
   (old North) Zone were arrested and brought to Wat Au Trakuon in
   1977 where they were executed.
- 4 [10:07:25]

5 It further finds that in 1976 -- '78, a great number of Cham 6 people from Kroch Chhmar district -- also current-day Kampong 7 Cham province -- were arrested and taken to Trea Village security 8 centre located in the same district where their membership of the 9 Cham group was verified. Those who were deemed to be Cham were 10 executed while non-Cham were spared.

11 The Chamber also finds that orders targeting the Cham in the 12 Central (old North) Zone and specifically in Sector 20 -- 41 came 13 from the upper echelon. It some -- It similarly finds that orders 14 targeting the Cham in the East Zone and specifically in Kroch 15 Chhmar district came from the upper echelon.

16 [10:28:26]

While the Chamber was unable to establish a definite number of 17 18 victims, it is satisfied that a great number of Cham civilians 19 were taken to both Wat Au Trakuon security centre and Trea 20 Village security centre and were thus killed on a massive scale. 21 The Chamber is satisfied that perpetrators at Wat Au Trakuon and 22 Trea village security centres demonstrated a genocidal mental 23 state toward the Cham found to have been killed in those 24 locations.

25 The Cham (sic) further finds that, in 1978, Cham people from

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1	Kroch Chhmar district were arrested and taken to Trea Village
2	security centre where they were arbitrarily detained, were denied
3	due process rights and where some were interrogated and beaten.
4	The Chamber thus finds that the crime of genocide and the crimes
5	against humanity of murder, extermination, imprisonment, torture,
6	persecution on political and religious grounds, and other
7	inhumane acts through conduct characterized as forced transfer
8	were committed with respected with respect to the Cham.
9	[10:29:55]
10	Vietnamese
11	Regarding the Vietnamese, the Chamber finds that, from 1975 until
12	the end of 1976, there was a national-wide policy to expel people
13	of Vietnamese ethnicity living in Cambodia. This policy was
14	implemented following agreements with the Vietnamese authorities.
15	Khmer Rouge cadres organized and monitored the transportation of
16	Vietnamese people to the border with Vietnam including by boats
17	and by trucks. Khmer spouses of mixed families had to stay in
18	Cambodia.
19	The Chamber also finds that the CPK upper echelon ordered the
20	identification of Vietnamese as a result of which from April
21	1975, lists and biographies was prepared by the lower echelons
22	and then communicated back to the upper echelon for further
23	action.
24	[10.21.00]

24 [10:31:02]

25 From 1975, the CPK considered the Vietnamese ethnicity to be

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1	matrilineal lineal and as a result, targeted in mixed families
2	of Vietnamese mothers and their children while sparing Khmer
3	fathers as well as targeted Vietnamese fathers while sparing
4	Khmer mothers and children.
5	The Chamber finds that Vietnamese leaving Prey Veng, Svay Rieng
б	and Tram Kok districts in 1975 and 1976 were forced to do so by a
7	coercive environment.
8	The Chamber further finds that specific instances of killings of
9	Vietnamese civilians were established, for instance, in Svay
10	Rieng in 1978; on Democratic Kampuchea waters after April or May
11	1977 and on 19 March 1978; in Kampong Chhnang province in 1977;
12	at worksite Siem Reap province in late 1978; and in Kratie in
13	September 1978.
14	[10:32:22]
15	These deliberate killings occurred on a massive scale were
16	systematically organized and directed against the Vietnamese. In
17	each case, Vietnamese were targeted not as individuals, but based
18	on their membership of the group and their perceived ethnicity.
19	This happened under the umbrella of the CPK's policy to
20	specifically target the Vietnamese, including civilians as a
21	group. Until late 1976, the Vietnamese were targeted for
22	expulsion, from April 1977, for destruction as such.
23	Regarding the treatment of Vietnamese detained at S-21 security
24	centre, the Chambers find that hundreds of Vietnamese civilians
25	and soldiers were killed after having been interrogated using

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coercive methods and having been subjected to the dire conditions at S-21. Those killed were either Vietnamese civilians or prisoners of war, and thus protected persons for the purposes of the Genova Conventions. [10.33.51]

Confessions extracted from Vietnamese prisoners were published in б 7 various Democratic Kampuchea publications aimed at showing the Vietnamese "aggression" against Democratic Kampuchea. 8 9 The Chamber further finds that the Vietnamese prisoners who 10 entered S-21 were not provided any procedural safequards or 11 rights that would have allowed them to defend themselves 12 following their arrest, were deprived of any semblance of a fair 13 trial and were forced to confess that they were spies before being killed. All Vietnamese soldiers and civilians who entered 14 S-21 were labelled as spies and considered enemies. The fate of 15 16 these prisoners "were" a foregone conclusion, as they were all 17 ultimately subject to execution.

18 [10.35.01]

The Chamber thus finds that the crime of genocide and the crimes against humanity of murder, extermination, deportation and persecution on racial grounds were committed regarding the Vietnamese. In addition, recalling the existence of the ongoing international armed conflict between Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea from May 1975 and the protected status of the victims, the Chamber finds that several grave breaches of the Geneva

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Conventions were also perpetrated against this group at S-21
 security centre, including wilful killing, torture, inhumane
 treatment, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to
 body or health, wilful deprivation of the rights of a fair and
 regular trial, and unlawful confinement.

6 Buddhists

7 Regarding the treatment of Buddhists which charges were limited 8 to the Tram Kak cooperatives, the Chamber finds that Buddhism was 9 banned. Buddhist symbols were destroyed and pagodas were no 10 longer allowed to be used for religious purposes.

11 [10.36.33]

12 The Chamber further finds that over 100 monks were deliberately 13 gathered at Angk Roka pagoda and forced to defrock. Monks were 14 also forcibly disrobed at other pagodas, and this reflects the 15 general pattern across Tram Kak district.

16 While the evidence does not allow the Chamber to make a precise 17 finding as to the total number of monks defrocked in Tram Kak district, the Chamber finds that there is reliable evidence which 18 19 demonstrates that hundreds of monks were disrobed across various 20 communes. The discriminatory intention behind the process is 21 confirmed by references to monks as "worms" or "leeches" and 22 announcements dismissing Buddhism as a mere superstition and to 23 the Buddha as only concrete.

24 The Chamber thus finds that the crime against humanity of 25 persecution on religious grounds was committed with respect to

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- 1 Buddhists.
- 2 [10.37.57]
- 3 Former Khmer Republic officials

Regarding former Khmer Republic officials which charges were
limited to the Tram Kak cooperatives, 1st January Dam worksite,
S-21 security centre and Kraing Ta Chan security centre, the
Chamber finds that, at all four crime sites, this group was
persecuted.
For example, the Chamber finds that, in Tram Kak district, in the

period immediately after 17 April 1975, members of the former Khmer Republic military and police were screened at Champa pagoda and, having identified themselves, many were taken away and disappeared. The same process took place at other locations in Tram Kak district.

Whereas there was a clear plan to purge and kill former Khmer 15 16 Republic soldiers and officials in Tram Kak district in the aftermath of 17 April 1975, on at least one occasion thereafter, 17 instructions were disseminated not to harm former officials 18 19 between the ranks of second lieutenant and colonel. The Chamber 20 finds that, in later periods, however, former Khmer Republic 21 soldiers and officials were again targeted for arrest and killed. 22 [10.39.32]

A large number of former military families were smashed in Popel commune in May 1977, and an organized killing operation was under way in Tram Kak district from April 1977, with large numbers of

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1 persons taken to Kraing Ta Chan security centre.

2 The Chamber is satisfied these persons were targeted on the basis 3 of their real or perceived former roles in the previous regime. The Chamber finds that the crime against humanity of persecution 4 on political grounds was committed at the Tram Kak cooperatives 5 between 20 April 1975 and late May 1975, and from early 1977 б 7 through 6 January 1979 at 1st January Dam, S-21 security centre 8 and Kraing Ta Chan security centre. 9 Further, the Chamber finds that the crime against humanity of

10 murder was committed with respect to former Khmer Republic 11 officials at S-21 security centre and Kraing Ta Chan security 12 centre.

13 [10.40.58]

14 Regulation of marriage

The Chamber finds that there existed a nation-wide policy to regulate family building and marriage which was implemented by Party cadres at all administrative and military levels. The CPK designed this policy replacing the role of parents in the selection of a suitable spouse, forcing couples to marry and forcing the production of children for the purpose of increasing the country's population within 10 to 15 years.

The Chamber finds that arranged marriage in Cambodian culture is different from forced marriage during the Democratic Kampuchea period as charged in the Closing Order.

25 Arranged marriage in Cambodian culture pre-Democratic Kampuchea

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1	was based on the mutual trust between children and parents who
2	chose their children's spouses, an element absent wherein the
3	Party derogated the role of the parents in arranging marriages.
4	The evidence put before the Chamber clearly demonstrates a
5	practice during the Democratic Kampuchea regime that was far from
б	reflective of traditional Khmer wedding tradition.
7	[10.42.44]
8	Families of future spouses were not involved at all in the
9	negotiation, communities were not included, tradition was absent
10	from wedding ceremonies, and individuals agreed to get married
11	for fear of being punished by the Party.
12	The Chamber finds that Democratic Kampuchea authorities arranged
13	marriages throughout Democratic Kampuchea period and in numerous

14 geographical locations throughout Cambodia. Individuals were

15 married in a widespread climate of fear and a consent purportedly

16 given either before or during wedding ceremonies did not amount,

17 in most cases, to genuine consent.

18 The Chamber finds that, after wedding ceremonies, arrangements 19 were usually made by the local authorities for newly-wedded 20 couples to sleep in an assigned location monitored by militia men 21 specifically to have a -- to have sexual intercourse.

22 [10.44.01]

Both men and women felt forced to have sexual intercourse with their new spouse, and thus did so against their will. Couples who were found to have not had sexual intercourse were re-educated or

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1 threatened with being punished or killed.

2 The Chamber finds that the crime against humanity of other

3 inhumane acts through conduct characterized as forced marriage

4 and rape in the context of forced marriage was committed.

5 Joint criminal enterprise

The Chamber finds that, by 17 April 1975 and continuing until at б 7 least 6 January 1979, several senior CPK leaders shared the common purpose of rapidly implementing socialist revolution in 8 9 Cambodia through a "great leap forward" designed to build the 10 country, defend it from enemies and radically transform the 11 population into an atheistic and homogenous Khmer society of 12 worker-peasants. The common purpose was implemented across Democratic Kampuchea by the Party's entire administrative network 13 of zone, sector, district and local level secretaries and CPK 14 15 cadres through the execution of at least five policies.

16 [10.45.49]

17 These policies designed and implemented to achieve the common 18 purpose were:

(1) The repeated movement of the population from towns and cities
to rural areas as well as from one rural area to another;
(2) The establishment and operation of cooperatives and
worksites;

(3) The establishment and operation of security centres and
execution sites to identify, arrest, isolate and smash those
considered belonging to the most serious enemy categories and to

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- 1 re-educate bad elements;
- 2 (4) The targeting of specific groups, including the Cham and
- 3 Vietnamese, Buddhists and former Khmer Republic officials,
- 4 including both civil servants and military personnel and their
- 5 families, and
- 6 (5) The regulation of marriage.
- 7 [10.47.03]

8 The Chamber finds that these policies were intrinsically linked 9 to the common purpose and involved the commission of crimes. The 10 Chamber therefore finds that the common purpose was itself 11 criminal in character.

12 The Chamber further finds that the common purpose was shared by a plurality of persons, including senior leadership consisting of 13 14 Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Khieu Samphan, Ieng Sary, Ieng Thirith, Son 15 Sen, and Vorn Vet until his arrest in late 1978, as well as zone 16 secretaries, including Ta Mok, Ke Pauk, Koy Thuon until his house arrest in mid-1976, Chou Chet until his arrest in March 1978, 17 18 Ruos Nhim until his arrest in May or June 1978, and Sao Phim 19 until his suicide in June 1978.

Senior CPK leaders personally oversaw the implementation of the various policies and used direct perpetrators to commit the crimes involved in the furtherance of the common purpose.
The Chamber finds that these crimes are properly imputed to the

24 members of the joint criminal enterprise.

25 [10.48.40]

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1 The Accuseds' Individual Criminal Responsibility 2 The Chamber now turns to its findings regarding the 3 responsibility of Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan, respectively. 4 Nuon Chea's responsibility The Chamber finds that, as one of those who played a leading role 5 б in laying the foundations for Democratic Kampuchea, Nuon Chea 7 participated in Party congresses and Central and Standing Committee meetings from the dawn of the revolution. 8 9 Nuon Chea was appointed Deputy Secretary of the Party in 10 September 1960 and retained this position throughout the 11 Democratic Kampuchea period. He was also a full rights member of 12 both the CPK Central and Standing Committees as well as Chairman 13 of the Standing Committee of the People's Representative 14 Assembly. 15 [10.49.54]Nuon Chea participated in all key meetings and was involved in 16 17 all major decisions of the Party during the Democratic Kampuchea 18 period. Throughout the Democratic Kampuchea era, Nuon Chea 19 remained a key figure within the CPK as Pol Pot's loyal 20 right-hand man. 21 Moreover, Nuon Chea was appointed to replace Pol Pot as interim 22 Prime Minister when Pol Pot officially took a leave of absence 23 from September 1976 until September 1977. 24 Due to his seniority within the leadership of the CPK, Nuon Chea

enjoyed oversight of all Party activities exceeding beyond the

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1 roles and responsibilities formally entrusted to him during the 2 Democratic Kampuchea period. 3 The Chamber finds that, within the Standing Committee, Nuon Chea with Pol Pot exercised the utmost decision-making power of the 4 Party. As Deputy Secretary of the Party, his control extended not 5 only to political decisions, but also to the government and the б 7 administrative of Democratic Kampuchea as well as to military 8 matters. 9 [10.51.26]10 The Chamber is therefore satisfied that Nuon Chea not only shared support for the common purpose, but played a key role in 11 12 formulating and controlling its content. 13 Nuon Chea's support for the common purpose that he had devised did not waiver during the Democratic Kampuchea era. He continued 14 15 to implement and disseminate the common purpose, maintaining a 16 tight grip on the CPK's carefully-crafted narrative through 17 propaganda and training activities. 18 Nuon Chea had primary responsibility for propaganda-related 19 matters as well as for the education of peasants, cadres and other Party members, focusing in particular on the main 20 21 principles and economic policies of the Party. In this capacity, 22 Nuon Chea held speeches and chaired study sessions for cadres 23 from different regions both in Phnom Penh and in other parts of 24 the country, including at cooperatives and worksites. 25 [10.52.56]

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1	Nuon Chea was one of the principal authors of the educational
2	magazine, The Revolutionary Flag, the Party's propaganda vessel
3	that regularly rehashed speeches given by Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, and
4	Khieu Samphan.
5	Nuon Chea participated in Standing Committee meetings during
б	which tactics of what to disclose and what to keep secret,
7	secrecy being the counterpart of effective propaganda were
8	discussed.
9	Nuon Chea's formal responsibility for propaganda and
10	education-related matters also extended to the discipline of
11	cadres and other internal security matters as well as the enemy
12	situation more generally, where he advocated that enemies be
13	uncovered and eliminated.
14	The Chamber is thus satisfied that, through his role in the
15	propaganda campaign and the tactics as well as the training of
16	cadres both before and after April 1975, Nuon Chea played a key
17	role in implementing and disseminating the common purpose.
18	Further, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea's contributions to the
19	commission of crimes exceeded policy development, implementation
20	and dissemination of the common purpose through propaganda and
21	education.
22	[10.55.05]
23	Nuon Chea executed the common purpose by directly and actively
24	engaging in the purges of CPK cadres. He not only helped
25	orchestrate and execute the Northwest Zone, Central or North Zone

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40 and its zone purges, he was personally involved in the oversight of S-21 security centre and purges of prominent Party members such as Northwest Zone secretary Ros Nhim. Regarding S-21 security centre, contemporaneous documents, notably detainees' confessions, show that, since the early stage of S-21's operations, Nuon Chea knew and was involved in the arrest, detention, torture and killings of cadres targeted for purges. The Chamber further finds that Nuon Chea acted as Duch's direct supervisor from 15 August 1977 following the departure of Son Sen to the East Zone battlefield until the fall of the Democratic Kampuchea regime in early January 1979. [10.56.28]In this capacity, Nuon Chea regularly met with Duch and gave him instructions, including directions regarding particular prominent prisoners. Nuon Chea received and read S-21 confessions and, as he saw fit, ordered changes thereto. Further, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea was among those who decided who was arrested and sent to S-21. Nuon Chea ordered executions both in large groups such as those arriving at S-21 as a result of the 1978 wave of East Zone purges and those detained at S-21 directly prior to its amendment, and of specific individuals. Given the rapid entry of Vietnamese forces into Phnom Penh and

the hasty abandonment of S-21 in January 1979, nothing was done

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- with respect to the internal S-21 documents detailing the
   security centre's operations which remained on the premises. Nuon
   Chea subsequently scolded Duch for not having destroyed these
   documents.
- 5 [10.58.06]

In sum, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea participated in the б 7 common purpose of the joint criminal enterprise. Nuon Chea helped 8 design, implement and disseminate the common purpose by publicly 9 explaining, endorsing and advocating for the CPK's criminal 10 policies. He did so through his leadership role as Pol Pot's right hand, as Deputy Secretary of the CPK, as full rights member 11 12 of the Central and Standing Committees and through his active 13 involvement in propaganda and education.

In addition, through his direct, extensive involvement in the purges and the operation of S-21 security centre, Nuon Chea executed the common purpose using intermediaries such as Duch, and direct perpetrators such as S-21 staff as the JCE's tools.
Accordingly, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea made a significant contribution to the commission of crimes within the scope of Case 002/02.

21 [10.59.37]

The Chamber will have a short break for the changes of the recording disk. Please, let the Chamber knows once the disk has been replaced.

25 (Short pause)

42

## 1 THE PRESIDENT:

2 We will now resume.

3 Further, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea, for the reasons detailed in the Judgment, shared the intent, including where 4 requested the discriminatory and specific intent of the other JCE 5 б members to commit the crimes encompassed by the common purpose, 7 bar one exception. The Chamber was unable to identify or infer 8 genocidal intent on the part of Nuon Chea regarding the Cham, nor 9 was the Chamber able to find beyond reasonable doubt that Nuon 10 Chea knew that genocide was committed against the Cham. However, 11 the Chamber is satisfied that Nuon Chea, at the very least, had 12 reason to know that genocide had been or was about to be 13 committed against the Cham.

14 [11.01.32]

15 The Chamber does find that Nuon Chea committed, through a joint 16 criminal enterprise:

17 (a) the crimes against humanity of murder, extermination,

deportation, enslavement, imprisonment, torture, persecution on political, religious and racial grounds, and other inhumane acts through attacks against human dignity, conduct characterized as enforced disappearances, forced transfer, forced marriage and rape in the context of forced marriage;

(b) the crimes of genocide by killing members of the Vietnameseethnic, national, and racial group, and

25 (c) grave breaches -- (c) grave breaches of the Geneva

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1	Conventions of wilful killing, torture, inhumane treatment,
2	wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or
3	health, the wilful deprivation of the rights of a fair and
4	regular trial, and an unlawful confinement against persons
5	protected under the Geneva Conventions at S-21 security centre.
6	[11.03.12]

7 Accordingly, the Chamber enters a conviction for the commission 8 of crimes through a joint criminal enterprise insofar Nuon Chea 9 shared the direct, discriminatory and specific intent of other 10 JCE members.

11 Additionally, with respect to the deaths at cooperatives,

12 worksites and security centres as a result of dolus eventualis 13 which is not encompassed by the common purpose, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea aided and abetted the crime against humanity of 14 murder committed with dolus eventualis at the Tram Kak 15 16 cooperatives, the 1st January Dam worksite, Trapeang Thma Dam 17 worksite, Kampong Chhnang airfield construction site, S-21 18 security centre, Kraing Ta Chan security centre, and Phnom Kraol 19 security centre.

In the present circumstances, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea's conduct is most appropriately characterized under the mode of aiding and abetting. He provided encouragement and moral support, urging CPK cadres to implement the Party Centre's policies seriously through his instrumental role in propaganda as well as his numerous appearances at meetings and speeches, at study 01595978

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- 1 sessions throughout the country.
- 2 [11.05.02]

3 The Chamber finds that this conduct had a substantial effect on 4 the commission of crimes and that Nuon Chea was aware of that. 5 Accordingly, the Chamber enters a conviction for aiding and 6 abetting the crime against humanity of murder with dolus 7 eventualis at the above sites.

8 Finally, the Chamber finds that Nuon Chea exercised ultimate 9 decision-making power together with Pol Pot and possessed the 10 authority to discipline insubordinate members of the Party and 11 military.

The Chamber, therefore, finds that Nuon Chea is responsible as a 12 superior for all the crimes committed pursuant to the CPK's 13 criminal policies which fall within the scope of Case 002/02. 14 This includes the crime of genocide by killing members of the 15 16 Cham ethnic and religious group. However, having found that, 17 first, Nuon Chea was directly responsible for these crimes 18 through his participation in the JCE, except for the crime of 19 genocide and -- of the Cham and the crime against humanity of 20 murder committed with dolus eventualis as particularised above, 21 and second, that Nuon Chea is responsible for aiding and abetting 22 the aforementioned crimes against humanity of murder committed 23 with dolus eventualis, the Chamber enters a conviction under the 24 doctrine of superior responsibility for the crime of genocide by 25 killing members of the Cham ethnic and religious group.

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- 1 [11.07.00]
- 2 For the remainder, the Chamber considered Nuon Chea's superior
- 3 position in sentencing.
- 4 Khieu Samphan's responsibility
- 5 Khieu Samphan became a candidate member of the CPK Central
- 6 Committee in 1971 and a full-rights member in 1976. In 1970,
- 7 Khieu Samphan was named Deputy Chairman of FUNK and
- 8 commander-in-chief of the Cambodian People's National Liberation
- 9 Armed Forces.
- 10 In reality, Khieu Samphan held no direct military authority, and
- 11 it was Pol Pot who was in charge of the CPNLAF forces.
- 12 Khieu Samphan also assumed the posts of Deputy Prime Minister and
- 13 Minister of National Defence in GRUNK.
- 14 [11.08.02]
- 15 After the fall of Phnom Penh in April 1975, Khieu Samphan

16 retained his roles as Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National

17 Defence and CPNLAF commander-in-chief and, as such, continued to

18 exercise certain diplomatic functions such as meeting, visiting,

- 19 delegations from foreign countries and leading Cambodian
- 20 delegation on trips abroad.

In October 1975, the CPK Standing Committee assigned Khieu
Samphan responsibility for the front and the Royal Government
incumbents for accounting and pricing. Around October 1975, Khieu
Samphan became one of the two members of Office 870 which oversaw
the implementation of Standing Committee decision. However, the

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Chamber is not satisfied that, as has been alleged, Khieu Samphan
 ever served as the chairman of Office 870.

3 [11.09.17]

In April 1976, Khieu Samphan was appointed President of the State
Presidium, a role which was largely symbolic, and in which he had
no executed -- no executive power. As President of the State
Presidium, he continued to perform diplomatic and ceremonial
functions.
Khieu Samphan was never formally a member of the CPK Standing

10 Committee, but he regularly attended and participated in Standing 11 Committee meetings at which matters central to the common purpose 12 were discussed.

In his capacity as a member of the Central Committee, Khieu
Samphan attended the third, fourth, and fifth Party congresses
which adopted policies from the Standing Committee concerning the
overall political line in accordance with the principle of
democratic centralism.

18 Khieu Samphan was a fully-fledged member at the time the Central 19 Committee approved the delegation of the right to smash down to 20 the ranks of the CPK. As a full-rights voting member of the 21 Central Committee, Khieu Samphan contributed to the adoption of 22 the mid-1978 Central Committee memorandum calling for compassion 23 to be accorded to misled persons who had, among other things, 24 served as Yuon agents, a policy which the Chamber found had no 25 tangible impact.

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1 [11.11.14]	1	[	1	1		11		1	4	]
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2 The Chamber is satisfied that Khieu Samphan not only shared 3 support for the common purpose, but that he publicly supported it throughout the Democratic Kampuchea period. 4 Further, the Chamber finds, that in a pattern that continued 5 б throughout the Democratic Kampuchea era, Khieu Samphan publicly 7 promoted, confirmed and endorsed the common purpose. He was the chairman of a special national congress which was apparently held 8 9 in the aftermath of 17 April 1975, and participated in meetings 10 in May 1975 at the silver pagoda in Phnom Penh.

Further, Khieu Samphan personally perpetuated the Party line by leading indoctrination sessions at mass rallies and re-education seminars for, among others, returnees from abroad and Ministry of Commerce cadres which were aimed at strengthening socialist consensus, forging worker-peasant identity and engendering support for CPK policies.

17 [11.12.40]

18 At 17 April anniversaries and other events, Khieu Samphan 19 publicly lauded the CPK's successes and encouraged popular 20 support of Angkar's program for building and defending Democratic 21 Kampuchea.

The Chamber is therefore satisfied that Khieu Samphan does not only share support for the common purpose but, as a senior leader, he actively vocally and publicly promoted, confirmed and endorsed it domestically and on the international stage.

1	Moreover, through his many public speeches and statements during
2	the Democratic Kampuchea period, Khieu Samphan encouraged and
3	incited the execution of the CPK's various policies.
4	In sum, the Chamber finds that Khieu Samphan participated in the
5	common purpose. As the face of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu
б	Samphan supported and promoted the common purpose and encouraged,
7	incited and legitimized its instrumentation through criminal
8	policies. He further instructed cadres on their implementation
9	while enabling and controlling the same.
10	[11.14.22]
11	Accordingly, the Chamber finds that Khieu Samphan made a
12	significant contribution to the commission of crimes perpetrated
13	by CPK cadres within the scope of Case 002/02.
14	Further, the Chamber finds that Khieu Samphan, for the reasons
15	detailed in the Judgment, shared the intent, including where
16	requisite the discriminatory and specific intent of the other JCE
17	members to commit the crimes encompassed by the common purpose
18	bar one exception. The Chamber was unable to identify or infer
19	genocidal intent on the part of Khieu Samphan regarding the Cham.
20	The Chamber does find that Khieu Samphan committed, through a
21	joint criminal enterprise:
22	(a) the crimes against humanity of murder, extermination,
23	deportation, enslavement, imprisonment, torture, persecution on
24	political, religious and racial grounds, and other inhumane acts
25	through the attacks against human indignity characterized as

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1 enforced disappearances, forced transfer, forced marriage and 2 rape in the context of forced marriage; 3 [11.16.07](b) the crime of genocide by killing members of the Vietnamese 4 ethnic, national and racial group, and 5 (c) grave breaches of the Geneva Convention of willing -- wilful б 7 killing, torture, inhuman treatment, wilfully causing great suffering and/or serious injury to body or health, the wilful 8 9 deprivation of the rights of a fair and regular trial and 10 unlawful confinement against persons protected under the Geneva 11 Conventions at S-21 security centre. 12 Accordingly, the Chamber enters a conviction for the commission of crimes through a joint criminal enterprise for which Khieu 13 14 Samphan shared the direct discriminatory and specific intent of 15 other JCE members. Additionally, with respect to the deaths of workers and peasants 16 at cooperatives, worksites, and security centres as a result of 17 18 dolus eventualis which were not encompassed by the common 19 purpose, the Chamber finds that Khieu Samphan aided and abetted 20 the crime against humanity of murder at the Tram Kak cooperative, 21 the 1st January Dam worksite, Trapeang Thma dam worksite, Kampong 22 Chhnang airfield construction site, S-21 security centre, Kraing 23 Ta Chan security centre and Phnom Kraol security centre. 24 [11.17.55]25 In the present circumstances, the Chamber finds that Khieu

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1 Samphan's conduct is most appropriately characterized under the 2 mode of aiding and abetting. He provided encouragement and moral 3 support by his attendance at meetings and his appearances at speeches, at study sessions throughout the country, openly and 4 actively encouraging and providing moral support to CPK cadres in 5 the implementation of the Party Centre's policies. б 7 The Chamber finds that this conduct had a substantial effect on the commission of crimes and that Khieu Samphan was aware of 8 9 that. Accordingly, the Chamber enters a conviction for aiding and 10 abetting the crime against humanity of murder, murder with dolus eventualis at the above sites. 11

12 [11.19.01]

Finally, the evidence did not rise to the level of proving that Khieu Samphan actively assisted or facilitated the execution of the genocidal policy against the Cham. The Chamber is also not satisfied that Khieu Samphan was a superior in the sense of having had the ability to prevent or punish the commission of crimes.

19 The Chamber therefore finds that Khieu Samphan is not responsible 20 for the crime of genocide by killing members of the Cham ethnic 21 and religious group neither as aider or abettor, nor as superior. 22 Civil party Reparations

A total of 3,865 civil parties were admitted in the present case and comprise the consolidated group of civil parties at trial represented by two civil party Lead Co-Lawyers. The Chamber notes

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1	that both Accused in Case 002 have been found to be indigent
2	under the ECCC Internal Rules. The civil party Lead Co-Lawyers
3	may request the Chamber to recognize specific reparations
4	measures. Such measures have been designed or identified in
5	coordination with the Victim Support Section in order to
б	appropriately acknowledge the harm suffered by civil parties as a
7	result of the commission of the crimes at issue in Case $002/02$ ,
8	and to provide benefits to the civil parties that address this
9	harm.
10	[11.21.11]
11	In Case 002/02, the civil party Lead Co-Lawyers sought the
12	judicial recognition of 14 projects out of 18 projects initially
13	proposed as appropriate reparations. The Chamber finds that, as a
14	consequence of the crimes of which the Accused have been
15	convicted, the civil parties and a very large number of
16	additional victims have suffered immeasurable harm, including
17	physical suffering, economic loss, loss of dignity, psychological
18	trauma, and grief arising from the loss of family members or
19	close relations.
20	The Chamber finds that the following projects comply with the
21	requirements of Internal Rule 23quinquies and therefore endorses
22	them.
23	[11.22.22]
24	Projects 1, 2 and 3 concern forms of education on Khmer Rouge
25	history and civil parties' experiences aimed at guaranteeing

1	non-repetition.
2	Projects 4, 5, 6 and 12 provide documentation of the experiences
3	of specific groups of civil parties, including persons affected
4	by the treatment of the Cham, the treatment of the Vietnamese and
5	the regulation of marriage with a view to prevent the recurrence
б	of crimes, targeting these groups.
7	Projects 7, 8, 9 and 10 commemorate the suffering of civil
8	parties and make their accounts accessible to the society at
9	large, thus providing measures of satisfaction.
10	Project 11 and the health care component of project 13 provide
11	mental and physical care to civil parties focusing on
12	rehabilitation.
13	The Chamber finds that the specific component of project 13
14	related to livelihood support seeks to provide benefits to the
15	civil parties in the form of individual monetary payments. As
16	these initiatives fall outside the scope of Internal Rule
17	23quinquies (1), which provides that the Chamber may only award
18	collective and moral reparations and excludes monetary payments
19	to the civil parties, the Chamber is unable to endorse them as
20	reparation measures.
21	[11.24.30]
22	Further, the Chamber is unable to endorse project 15 which seeks
23	to acknowledge the suffering experienced by indigenous minorities
24	in Ratanakiri and Mondulkiri provinces because of their
25	denigration, discrimination, and persecution. The Chamber recalls

1	that Case 002/02 does not include charges specifically related to
2	the targeting, discrimination or persecution of indigenous
3	minority living in Ratanakiri and Mondulkiri provinces.
4	While recognizing the virtue of these projects as such, the
5	Chamber finds that it does not meet the requirements of Internal
6	Rule 23quinquies (1).
7	Reparation measures must acknowledge the harm suffered as a
8	result of the commission of the crimes of which the Accused are
9	convicted. The Chamber therefore declines to endorse this
10	project.
11	[11.25.43]
12	This completes the summary of the Chamber's findings. I will now
13	read out the disposition.
14	And before I read the disposition and sentence part, security
15	guard, you are instructed to take Khieu Samphan to bring Khieu
16	Samphan to the dock.
17	(Short pause)
18	(Accused Khieu Samphan enters the courtroom)
19	THE PRESIDENT:
20	Mr. Khieu Samphan, can you stand for a brief period of time?
21	The Chamber now pronounces the disposition and sentence.
22	The Trial Chamber rejects the request made by the Khieu Samphan
23	Defence to limit the scope of the trial in Case 002/02.
24	The Trial Chamber recharacterizes the crimes the crime against
25	humanity of extermination to the crime against humanity of

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1	murder, including, with dolus eventualis, regarding death that
2	occurred due to the conditions and circumstances imposed to the
3	victims at the following crime sites: Tram Kak cooperatives, 1st
4	January Dam worksite, Trapeang Thma Dam worksite, Kampong Chhnang
5	airport (sic) construction site, S-21 security centre, Kraing Ta
6	Chan security centre and Phnom Kraol security centre.
7	[11.29.49]
8	The Trial Chamber finds the Accused Nuon Chea to be guilty of
9	having committed, within the territory of Cambodia, between 17
10	April 1975 and 6 January 1979, through his acts and omissions, as
11	summarized above and detailed in the full written version of the
12	Judgment the following crimes.
13	Pursuant to Articles 5, 29 (new) and 39 (new) of the ECCC law,
14	the crimes against humanity of murder, extermination,
15	deportation, enslavement, imprisonment, torture, persecution on
16	political, religious and racial grounds, any other inhuman acts
17	through attacks against human dignity and conduct categorized as
18	enforced disappearances, forced transfer, forced marriage, and
19	rape in the context of forced marriage.
20	[11.31.15]
21	Pursuant to Articles 6, 29 (new) and 39 (new) of the ECCC law,
22	grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, namely wilful killing,
23	torture, inhuman treatment, wilfully causing great suffering or
24	serious injury to body or health, wilfully depriving a prisoner

25 of war or civilian the rights of fair and regular trial and

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1 unlawful confinement of a civilian.

Pursuant to Articles 4, 29 (new) and 39 (new) of the ECCC law, genocide by killing members of the Vietnamese and Cham groups. The Trial Chamber finds the Accused Khieu Samphan to be guilty of having committed, within the territory of Cambodia, between 17 April 1975 and 6 January 1979, through his acts and omissions, as summarized above and detailed in the full written version of the judgment, the following crimes.

9 Pursuant to Articles 5, 29 (new) and 39 (new) of the ECCC law,

10 the crimes against humanity of murder, extermination,

11 deportation, enslavement, imprisonment, torture, persecution on 12 political, religious and racial grounds, and the other inhumane 13 acts through attacks against human dignity and conduct

14 categorized as enforced disappearances, forced transfer, forced 15 marriage and rape in the context of forced marriage.

16 [11.33.34]

Pursuant to Articles 6, 29 (new) and 39 (new) of the ECCC law, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, namely wilful killing, torture, inhuman treatment, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or civilian the rights of fair and regular trials and unlawful confinement of a civilian.

Pursuant to Articles 4, 29 (new) and 39 (new) of the ECCC law,
genocide by killing members of the Vietnamese group.

25 The Trial Chambers find the Accused Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan

1	to be not guilty of the remaining crimes within the scope of Case
2	002/02. Therefore, the Chamber acquits both the Accused of these
3	crimes.
4	[11.34.48]
5	The Chamber has considered the gravity of the crimes, including
б	their scale and brutality, as well as the number and
7	vulnerability of victims for which the Accused have been
8	convicted as well as relevant aggravating and mitigating
9	circumstances.
10	The Chamber sentences the Accused Nuon Chea to life imprisonment.
11	Taking into consideration the life sentence imposed on Nuon Chea
12	in Case 002/01, the Chamber merges the two sentences into a
13	single term of life imprisonment.
14	The Chamber sentences the Accused Khieu Samphan to life
15	imprisonment. Taking into consideration the life sentence imposed
16	on Khieu Samphan in Case 002/01, the Chamber merges the two
17	sentences into a single term of life imprisonment.
18	Declaring the consolidated group of civil parties, individually
19	listed in annex 2 to have suffered harm as a result of the
20	commission of the crimes
21	Mr. Khieu Samphan, you may be seated.
22	(Short pause)
23	[11.36.30]
24	MR. PRESIDENT:
25	To have suffered harm as a result of the commission of the crimes

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1 for which Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan have been convicted and 2 pursuant to Internal Rule 23quinquies (3) (b), the Chamber grants 3 in part the civil party Lead Co-Lawyers' request for moral and 4 collective reparations.

5 As set out in detail in Section 21 of this Judgment, the Chamber 6 endorses as projects giving appropriate effect to the award 7 sought and which may be implemented 14 (sic) projects concerning 8 remembrance of the victims and memorialization of the suffering 9 endured, therapy and psychological assistance to the victims and 10 documentation, and education.

The Chamber denies request concerning two projects, one whole and one in part, which fail to satisfy the requirements of Internal Rule 23quinquies (3) (b), Section 21.

14 [11.37.57]

15 This Judgment is publicly pronounced in the ECCC main courtroom 16 on 16 November, 2018, and subject to appeal according to the 17 Internal Rules.

18 The Chamber clarifies that, in accordance with Internal Rule 107 19 (4) and Article 8.5 of the Practice Direction on the Filing of Documents before the ECCC, the time limit for filing a notice of 20 21 appeal, if any, will commence on the first calendar day following 22 the day of service of the notification of the fully reasoned, 23 written Judgment in Khmer and one of the other official languages 24 of the ECCC as selected by each Party pursuant to Article 2.2 of 25 the Practice Direction.

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Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Trial Chamber – Trial Day 509 Case No. 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC 16 November 2018

1	Judge You Ottara appends a separate opinion on genocide to the
2	Judgment.
3	This hearing in Case 002/02 is now concluded.
4	And security guard, you are instructed to take the convicted
5	persons, Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea, back to the ECCC detention
б	facility.
7	The Court is now adjourned.
8	(Court adjourns at 1140H)
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