



ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា

ជាតិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ

Kingdom of Cambodia

Nation Religion King

អង្គជំនុំជម្រះវិសាមញ្ញក្នុងតុលាការកម្ពុជា

Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia

ការិយាល័យសហចៅក្រមស៊ើបអង្កេត

Office of the Co-Investigating Judges

Bureau des Co-juges d'instruction

សំណុំរឿងព្រហ្មទណ្ឌ

Criminal Case File /Dossier pénal

លេខ/No: 002/14-08-2006

Investigation

លេខ/No: 002/19-09-2007-ECCC-OCIJ

<b>ឯកសារទទួល</b>	
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កំណត់ហេតុនៃការស្តាប់ចម្លើយសាក្សី

Written Record of Interview of Witness

<b>ឯកសារទទួលបានដូចម្តង</b>	
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On the seventh of May, the year two thousand and nine, at 9.05

We, **YOU Bunleng** (យូ ប៊ុនឡេង) and **Marcel LEMONDE**, Co-Investigating Judges of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (the "ECCC"),

With Mr. Som Ratana (សំរាតានា) and Mr. LY Chantola (លី ច័ន្ទគុណ) as Greffiers;

**Noting** the Law on the Establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, dated 27 October 2004 (the "ECCC Law");

**Noting** Rules 24, 28 and 60 of the ECCC Internal Rules;

**With** OUCH Channora (អ៊ូច ចាន់ណូរ៉ា) and BELL Sakhpeakdey (បែល សក្កីភក្តី), sworn interpreters of the Extraordinary Chambers;

**Noting** the ongoing judicial investigation against **NUON Chea ឆ្លុន ជា** and other **Charged Persons** in relation to charges of **Crimes Against Humanity** and **Grave Breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949**, offences defined and punishable under Articles 5, 6, 29 (new) and 39 (new) of the ECCC Law;

**Recorded** the statements of the witness who provided the following information regarding his personal identity:

Last name: **SUONG ស្នង**

First name: **Sikoeun ស៊ីគឿន**

Alias: Kung គង់ or Thorn ធន.

Born on 15 December 1936 in Chrôy Âmpil ជ្រោយអំពិល Village, Châmbâk ចំបក់ Subdistrict, Prék Prasâb ព្រែកប្រសប់ District, Kratie ក្រចេះ Province.

Nationality: Cambodian

Occupation: At home

Father's name: SUONG Kāk ស្នង កាក់ (deceased)

Mother's name: NOU Rên នូ រ៉េន (deceased)

Present residence at Kbal Spean ក្បាលស្ពាន Village, Malai ម៉ាឡៃ Subdistrict, Malai ម៉ាឡៃ District, Banteay Mean Chey បន្ទាយមានជ័យ Province.

Wife's name: TAING Huy Êng តាំង ហ៊ុយអេង (living)

Children: 5 (one of whom died in 1979)

Previous criminal Record: None

The witness declared that he can read, write and understand the Khmer language and the French language  
Therefore, the original of this Written Record is written in the Khmer language.

The witness told us that he is not related to either the Charged Persons or to any of the Civil Parties.

The witness took an oath, in accordance with Rule 24 of the ECCC Internal Rules.

We advised the witness that an audio or video recording was being made of this Interview.

**Questions-Answers:**

**Q: In your manuscript “Itinéraire d’un intellectuel Khmer rouge” you write, at p. 137 “In this year 1978, the atmosphere in B-1 had lost its serenity, and an underlying tension reigned there. IENG Sary អៀង សារី himself seemed to be in prey of an imperceptible torment.” Could you clarify the meaning of this?**

**A:** It was the year we broke off diplomatic relations with Vietnam. The situation was tense, especially within the Foreign Ministry, where we had started to hear about the disappearance of KOY Thuon កុយ ថួន , HU Nim ហ៊ូ នីម, TOCH Phoeun តូច ភៀន, etc. There was also those who disappeared from the Office within the Ministry. There was, for example, Mrs SEU/SOEU Vasy សៀ វ៉ាស៊ី, born CHEAM Sam At ជាម សំអាត(responsible for the “diplomatic store”, provisioning the diplomats). Everybody was worried. I remember that Mrs SO Sè ស៊ូ សែ who was from the East Zone, was terrified. IENG Sary អៀង សារី himself, who

had to chair a re-education meeting, the normal duration of which was from one to two weeks, left after only three days.

**Q: Before this period of tension, what was the subject matter of these re-education sessions?**

**A:** First we studied the history of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, which was declared officially in September 1977; then there was the question of relations with Vietnam and, finally, we dealt with internal affairs, in particular internal enemies.

**Q: What was the political line about internal enemies?**

**A:** Absolute truthfulness toward the Party was required of militants. Internal enemies were divided into several categories: there were CIA agents, KGB agents, Vietnamese agents, and agents of the SDECE (French external documentation and counter-espionage service). The SDECE agents included CHAU Seng ហ្វៅ សែង (RGNUK Minister of special missions and former director of Sihanouk's សីហានុ កាប៊ីណេ cabinet) and VAN Piny វ៉ាន់ ពិនី វ៉ាន់ ពិនី (former deputy- RGNUC minister for foreign affairs and former cultural adviser at the Cambodian Embassy in Paris). Besides, I was afraid that my wife Laurence PICQ would be considered an agent of the SDECE.

Among the Vietnamese agents, SAO Phim សៅ ភឹម is worth mentioning in particular. According to the official version, he committed suicide in May 1978, but I have the feeling that in reality he was murdered by SON Sen សុន សែន. It is the first time I have talked about this and I remain very prudent, but I was informed by someone who participated in the fighting at the border. The suicide thesis doesn't hold water in light of subsequent events in Pailin ប៉ៃលិន, Malai ម៉ាឡៃ and Anlong Veng អង្គរវង់ in the 1990's. SAO Phim សៅ ភឹម's death occurred at the time of Ceaucescu's visit to Phnom Penh. The atmosphere was very tense. SAO Phim សៅ ភឹម was very close to POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត and had asked to meet him. If this meeting had occurred, the rest of the events would probably have been very different.

Among the KGB agents, HAK Seang Layni ហាក់ សាំងឡាយនី is worthy of mention. He was a Moscow trained engineer and founder of the pro-soviet Khmer Communist Party and was arrested, like all the Moscow trained students, except for SREY Chanthoeun ស្រី ចាន់ធៀន, who was POL Pot's ប៉ុល ពត wife, KHIEU Ponnary's ខៀវ ប៉ុណ្ណារី nephew. The head of the KGB branch in Phnom Penh was the second secretary of the Cuban Embassy, according to the Khmer Rouge leaders.

As for CIA agents, the list would be too long (one may mention KOY Thuon កុយ ចួន, who was the leader, HU Nim ហ្វឹ នីម, IN Sopheap អ៊ិន សុភោព, all the intellectuals, the members of the general association of Khmer students, all the regional leaders of the Northwest Zone, KE Kim Huot កែ គឹមហួត, KHEK Penn ខែក ប៉ែន, VAN Piny វ៉ាន់ ពិនី etc).

**Q: Concerning VAN Piny វ៉ាន់ ពីនី, in his confession obtained at S-21 ស២១ (ERN 00026082) he declared that he and his wife had taken part in executions, that this was part of their re-education. Do you remember this form of re-education? Was it a general policy?**

**A:** I was aware of these details; I remember one meeting during which VAN Piny វ៉ាន់ ពីនី boasted of having participated in the repression of counter-revolutionary elements. You should know that the head of the region was one of his high-school friends, which explains many things. Being one of the chief's friends allowed you to get ahead and save your life. The details given by VAN Piny វ៉ាន់ ពីនី seem to me totally plausible. This was usual practice, destined to prove one's attachment to the Party. We would praise the son who killed his own father accused of being a traitor.

In this context, my daughters didn't call me "daddy" anymore but "uncle". Besides, as an anecdote, in the IENG Sary អៀង សារី family, the children continue to call their parents "uncle" and "aunt" except when they are in the presence of strangers.

**Q: You wrote in you manuscript, on p. 139: "*B-1 was surely the only real Ministry in the Democratic Kampuchea government, the chief of which, IENG Sary អៀង សារី, also directed the External Relations Commission of the CPK Central Committee, which worked parallel to and separately from the Ministry, with its own workforce.*" Can you develop this?**

**A:** The Foreign Ministry was the only one to be structured like a classic Ministry, which wasn't the case for the others; some of the Ministries only existed on paper. There was only a Minister, who had no office. To give some examples, that was the case for VAN Rit វ៉ាន់ រិត ("chairman of the foreign trade committee", who had the rank of Minister but didn't have a ministry); PHUONG ភួង, chairman of the rubber tree plantations committee; THIOUNN Thioeun ថ្លួន ធួន, "Health Minister", but just a doctor in reality, who came under the control of the Ministry of Social Affairs. Concerning the latter Ministry, I don't know how it worked in practice.

The external relations commission was responsible for Party-to-Party relations and thus played a very important role in relations with communist countries: China, Vietnam, North Korea, Laos, etc. For example, in November 1978, a Chinese delegation directed by WANG Dongxing (deputy-president of the Party and former head of Mao Zedong's body guards) came to Phnom Penh. On that occasion, there were three kinds of meeting: secret sessions (Party to Party, without cadre from the Foreign Ministry), semi-open sessions (with the participation of several cadre and POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត, for example) and open sessions devoted to official receptions (with the participation of the relevant cadre from the Ministry). It was the same for a visit by the Vietnamese delegation in 1976. Personally, I only took part in open sessions. Besides, even though I was in charge of protocol, I no longer had any contact with the Embassies of the countries in question: I didn't even know who they were.

**Q: You write, on p. 143 of the manuscript: "*As we couldn't bear the interminable criticism any more, one day, IN Sopheap អ៊ិន សុភាព and I asked IENG Sary អៀង សារី if we could***

*go live in the countryside. We hoped the latter would appreciate our goodwill, but we were terribly disappointed when we heard him answer: ‘You will be liquidated as soon as you arrive’.” Can you clarify the nature of the criticism in question and the reasons for which you would have been murdered?*

**A:** The criticism applied to many things. Essentially, I was reproached for marrying a foreign woman and getting a Western education. The only people who abstained from criticizing me on these matters were THIOUNN Prasith ជួន ព្រាសិទ្ធិ and KEAT Chhon គាត ឈន់ who were in the same situation. Beyond that, I was reproached for my way of speaking, eating and behaving in a different way from peasants.

I add that I was very friendly with IN Sopheap’s អ៊ុន សុភាព brothers, and that I saw him as my little brother. So, tired of suffering this criticism, we asked to go and live in the countryside: in Democratic Kampuchea, to become a poor peasant was the ultimate ambition of every member of the Party. We were really disappointed when IENG Sary អៀង សារី told us we would be liquidated as soon as we arrived. I thought that I was probably not politically and ideologically strong enough to go and live in the countryside.

I came back to this question with IENG Sary អៀង សារី in 2007. He had asked me to come to his home to tell me that he was going to be arrested. He wanted me to give him some details on certain events that had happened at the Foreign Ministry, particularly on what Laurence PICQ had written about him. We spoke and I took the opportunity to ask him the reasons why he had told us that we would be killed if we went to the countryside. He quoted the example of CHAU Seng ចៅ សេង (former RGNUC Minister of special missions, who was at Boeng Trabek បឹងត្របែក before being sent to a cooperative in the countryside and then liquidated). CHAU Seng ចៅ សេង came from South Vietnam like IENG Sary អៀង សារី and was thus quite close to him. He had the reputation of daring to say when he disagreed. IENG Sary អៀង សារី explained, in 2007, that he had wanted to avoid the same fate as CHAU Seng for IN Sopheap and myself.

**Q:** Therefore, it appears from these explanations that IENG Sary អៀង សារី was perfectly aware of what was occurring in the country?

**A:** I think he didn’t know everything about everything, but in this precise case he was perfectly aware.

**Q:** You speak at great length about the relations between POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត and IENG Sary អៀង សារី in your manuscript. p. 149; *“Indeed, IENG Sary អៀង សារី, who was in charge of Democratic Kampuchea’s external affairs, was considered by many to be the ‘historical leader’ of the Khmers Rouges, the supreme leader of which, POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត, only came to communism afterwards; whereas his deputy, NUON Chea ឆួន ជា, belonged more to the old guard of the Indochinese Communist Party. Indeed, he was one of the founders, with RATH Samoeun រត្ន សមៀន and KENG Vannsak កេង វ៉ាន់សាក់ of the Khmer students’ Marxist group in Paris in early 1951. In addition to his position as number*

*4 within the regime, after POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត, NUON Chea ឆ្លុន ជា and SAO Phim សោ ភឹម (the Party leader in the Eastern region), he also, at least in the beginning, had status behind the scenes as the supreme leader’s brother in law. Numerous Khmer rouge cadre had the secret hope to see the POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត – IENG Sary អៀង សារី tandem rise to the level of the famous Mao Zedong – Zhou En-Lai duo. They ignored the deep disagreement opposing the two men, going back to the beginning of the underground combat. MEI Mann ម៉ី ម៉ាន់, a revolutionary veteran and common friend of both of them, first revealed the existence of the rivalry opposing the two brothers in law. In 2000 he confided in me in Pailin ប៉ៃលិន that at the time IENG Sary អៀង សារី came back from France in early 1957, POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត told him that ‘IENG Sary អៀង សារី couldn’t suffer someone being above him’.”*

**And on p. 163: “Under Democratic Kampuchea, he [IENG Sary អៀង សារី] expected to be arrested by Khmer Rouge security every time he came back from a trip abroad. POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត had considered having the Sary សារី couple assassinated more than once.” Can you explain exactly what you meant?**

**A:** POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត and IENG Sary អៀង សារី had very different personalities and evolved in very different ways. Indeed, fundamentally, POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត wasn’t a “revolutionary”. He had been educated in the Royal Palace. During his stay in Paris he enjoyed having fun. Thereafter, he didn’t accept any contradiction. For him, a man’s life was less valuable than a “drop of water in the ocean”. On the contrary, IENG Sary អៀង សារី saved many people; he always asked us to tell him the truth, even if it was unpleasant. He had come to communism very early. In summary, I don’t especially want to defend IENG Sary អៀង សារី, but I know him very well and I can say that without the Pailin ប៉ៃលិន and Malai ម៉ាឡៃ revolts in the 1990’s, there would still be war.

**Q: How can you assert that POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត considered having the IENG Sary អៀង សារី couple assassinated?**

**A:** It’s IENG Sary អៀង សារី who told me. I don’t remember exactly when, but it was before June 1994, when he left Malai ម៉ាឡៃ to go back to his house in Thailand. A few days after his departure, on 28 June 1994, a Khmer Rouge command declaration was made public officializing the separation of the Northern front (POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត, TA Mok តាម៉ុក) and the Southern front (NUON Chea ឆ្លុន ជា, SON Sen សុន សែន), and thus the expulsion of IENG Sary អៀង សារី from the direction of Democratic Kampuchea. IENG Sary អៀង សារី had already told me previously about the assassination projects.

**Suspension of the interview at 11h55**

**The interview started again at 2.05 pm**

**Q: A witness, CHHOUK Rin ឈុក រិន (ERN 00268893), stated that POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត, NUON Chea ឆ្លូន ជា and IENG Sary អៀង សារី were members of the Committee that wrote the principles in Revolutionary Flags No. 7. Do you have any comment on this statement? Who contributed to the 'Revolutionary flags' and 'Revolutionary youth' magazines? Where were these magazines published and by whom? How were they distributed?**

**A:** I don't know about that. These magazines were read in meetings but I never personally had a copy in my hands. I have to say that the simple fact of associating IENG Sary អៀង សារី with POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត and NUON Chea ឆ្លូន ជា in this kind of activity seems to reveal a misunderstanding of the workings of the Democratic Kampuchea direction. Writing this kind of text was not part of IENG Sary អៀង សារី's work. Besides, I can't see how CHHOUK Rin ឈុក រិន could have known about this kind of things: he was only a simple, low-ranking, regional commander.

**Q: If you knew about these magazines within the context of education meetings, where did these meetings take place and who did the reading?**

**A:** The meetings took place within each unit, in B-1, the Party unit's Secretary, SO Sé ស៊ូ សែ, did the reading. IENG Sary អៀង សារី never did. You ask me if, as a member of the Permanent Committee, IENG Sary អៀង សារី made presentations to the cadre of B-1; I don't remember well, but I can say that the readings were a tool for discussion between cadre of the same level, not with IENG Sary អៀង សារី, who was a leader.

**Q: A witness, OEUN Tan អៀន តាន, has stated that he saw IENG Sary អៀង សារី, POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត, NUON Chea ឆ្លូន ជា and KHIEU Samphan ខៀវ សំផន at regular meetings with Sector and Zone Committees at K-1 in Phnom Penh. What is your comment on this?**

**A:** It is possible. If he is NUON Chea ឆ្លូន ជា's body-guard, these declarations are most likely correct. K-1 was a very controlled zone and I wasn't allowed to go inside. Therefore, I can't say who was living there and who they met. What I can confirm is that K-7 was a meeting place for base level cadre who came from the zones and regions to follow political seminars. K-1 had the same function, but vis-à-vis more important cadre.

**Q: Do you recall IENG Sary អៀង សារី travelling to the provinces? Where did he go and for what purpose? Do you remember whether he visited any Security Centers, Work Camps or Cooperatives? Did you ever accompany him? Did he ever discuss what he saw following such trips?**

**A:** He probably went to the provinces, but I never accompanied him, except at the time of President Ceausescu's visit, with whom we went to Angkor. For my own part, I only accompanied foreign delegations to the provinces. I don't know precisely on which occasions IENG Sary អៀង សារី went to the provinces; he never talked to me about this. Indeed, the only leaders who were talkative were POL Pot ប៉ុល ពត and NUON Chea ឆ្លុន ជា, because they could allow themselves to say what they wanted, the others were very discrete.

**Q:** Laurence PICQ stated in an interview (D115/5, ERN 00238510): *"As for the evacuation of towns, it was done as the liberation progressed. Each time a city was captured, its inhabitants were evacuated to the countryside in order to be cleansed and purged of their town habits. IENG Sary អៀង សារី used to explain and rationalize all this during his training seminars. Later on, he continued to rationalize the evacuation of Phnom Penh until the very end."* In your manuscript, you stated that IENG Sary អៀង សារី did not take part in the decision to evacuate Phnom Penh, and that IENG Sary អៀង សារី was marginalized in decision-making (p. 62). What is your comment on this? What did IENG Sary អៀង សារី say later about the decision to evacuate Phnom Penh?

**A:** What Laurence PICQ says on this point is correct in the sense that IENG Sary អៀង សារី could only be supportive of the decision by the Party. This doesn't mean he approved of it. In fact, his concern in his seminar was to prepare us for peaceful coexistence with non-revolutionaries, so he was far from worrying about Phnom Penh's evacuation. Indeed, Laurence PICQ is totally insincere when she talks about IENG Sary អៀង សារី, in reality she survived thanks to him; if she had worked with SON Sen សុំន សែន, she wouldn't be here to tell the tale. She was happy to join me in Beijing and even more so to come from Beijing to Phnom Penh. She was never forced. You have read out what she declared about the false dollars she was given at the time of her departure to France. That is totally false, I myself handed her the dollars, and I can certify they weren't false.

**Q:** LONG Norin ឡុង នរិន (ERN 00223553) recalls IENG Sary អៀង សារី conducting training at Boeung Trabek បឹងត្របែក. He says that he educated intellectuals in politics before they entered B-1 or other ministries. Do you recall IENG Sary អៀង សារី conducting training at Boeung Trabek បឹងត្របែក?

**A:** I cannot confirm this, I don't know. The date mentioned by LONG Norin ឡុង នរិន should be checked, because if it is after June 1977, I am sure that what he is saying is false because, from that date on he worked by my side, and could never have been to Boeung Trabek បឹងត្របែក unless IENG Sary អៀង សារី asked him to accompany him personally. That is not impossible, since LONG Norin ឡុង នរិន later became a faithful supporter of IENG Sary អៀង សារី. In any case, I have never been to Boeung Trabek បឹងត្របែក.



