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

ជានិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាត្យត្រ

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

អតិន្នុន្សតិន្

Trial Chamber Chambre de première instance

TRANSCRIPT OF TRIAL PROCEEDINGS **PUBLIC**

Case File No 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC

16 October 2013 Trial Day 215

ឯនសារឡើន

ORIGINAL/ORIGINAL

ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date): 24-Oct-2013, 11:48 CMS/CFO: Krystal THOMPSON

Before the Judges:

NIL Nonn, President Silvia CARTWRIGHT

YA Sokhan

Jean-Marc LAVERGNE

YOU Ottara

THOU Mony (Reserve) Claudia FENZ (Reserve)

Trial Chamber Greffiers/Legal Officers:

LIM Suy Hong Roger PHILLIPS **DAV Ansan**

Simon MEISENBERG

For the Office of the Co-Prosecutors:

CHEA Leang Nicolas KOUMJIAN William SMITH SENG Bunkheang **VENG Huot** Tarik ABDULHAK

Vincent DE WILDE D'ESTMAEL

Keith RAYNOR Dale LYSAK

For Court Management Section:

UCH Arun SOUR Sotheavy The Accused:

NUON Chea KHIEU Samphan

Lawyers for the Accused:

SON Arun Victor KOPPE KONG Sam Onn Anta GUISSÉ Arthur VERCKEN

Lawyers for the Civil Parties:

PICH And

Élisabeth SIMONNEAU-FORT

SAM Sokong LOR Chunthy SIN Soworn Martine JACQUIN

Beini YE **HONG Kimsuon** Olivier BAHOUGNE Lyma NGUYEN **VEN Pov**

CHET Vanly TY Srinna

Christine MARTINEAU

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List of Speakers:

Language used unless specified otherwise in the transcript

Speaker	Language
MR. HONG KIMSUON	Khmer
MS. MARTINEAU	French
THE PRESIDENT (NIL NONN, Presiding)	Khmer
MR. NUON CHEA	Khmer
MR. PICH ANG	Khmer
MR. SAM SOKONG	Khmer
MS. SIMONNEAU-FORT	French
MS. TY SRINNA	Khmer

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- 1 PROCEEDINGS
- 2 (Court opens at 0858H)
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Please be seated.
- 5 This morning the Trial Chamber announces the hearing of the
- 6 Closing Statements in Case 002/01.
- 7 Mr. Dav Ansan is now directed to report the attendance of the
- 8 parties to the proceedings.
- 9 [08.59.56]
- 10 THE GREFFIER:
- 11 Mr. President, today's hearing, the 16 of October 2013, the
- 12 greffier notes that all the parties are present.
- 13 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 Thank you, Mr. Dav Ansan.
- 16 The Trial Chamber wishes to advise parties and the members of
- 17 public that the Trial Chamber has scheduled the Closing
- 18 Statements from the 16 to the 30th of October 2013, and the 31st
- 19 of October 2013 if necessary if that is necessary, as set out
- 20 in the Scheduling Order on the 22nd of August 2013, document
- 21 E295/4. This Scheduling Order, E295/4, sets out the procedure and
- 22 the time allocation for the Closing Statements.
- 23 [09.01.28]
- 24 I will briefly remind the parties and inform the public about the
- 25 procedure that was adopted by the Chamber, the procedure that is

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- 1 governed by Internal Rule 94 of the Extraordinary Chambers in the
- 2 Courts of Cambodia.
- 3 The parties have filed written Closing Briefs on the 26th of
- 4 September 2013. Brief on the applicable law was filed on the 17
- 5 and 18 January 2013. As the parties have had the opportunity to
- 6 present the bulk of their argument in those written briefs, the
- 7 Chamber considers that the Closing Statements should be a summary
- 8 of their submissions or rebuttal of other parties' submissions.
- 9 Please refer to document E295, paragraph 10.
- 10 The order of presentation for Closing Statements shall follow
- 11 Internal Rule 94.1, with the following time allocations: Lead
- 12 Co-Lawyers for the civil party, up to one day; Co-Prosecutor, up
- 13 to three days; Nuon Chea, two days; Khieu Samphan, two days; and
- 14 rebuttal by the Lead Co-Lawyer for the civil parties and the
- 15 Co-Prosecutor, one day. The Chamber has clarified that it
- 16 reserves its ruling on the precise amount of time to be allocated
- 17 for the respective IR 94.3 statements until after rebuttal
- 18 statements. It has, however, notified the defence teams that they
- 19 shall have, at a maximum, two hours per accused to present their
- 20 IR 94.3 statements.
- 21 [09.04.34]
- 22 Thereafter, the Chamber will adjourn the proceedings sine die,
- 23 and the Judges will enter the deliberation on the verdict,
- 24 pursuant to Rule 96 of the of the Internal Rules of the ECCC.
- 25 The Chamber will inform the parties and the public of the

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- 1 delivery of the judgement with sufficient notice.
- 2 I would like to remind the parties that in order to ensure the
- 3 efficiency of the proceedings and to make the best use of the
- 4 allocated time, everyone should be aware of the multilingual
- 5 setting and, therefore, speak slowly and clearly. Further, any
- 6 numbers referred to should be read out slowly. Names should be
- 7 spelled if uncommon or difficult. In case of an exchange between
- 8 the Judges and a party, please always wait until the end of a
- 9 translation before responding. Please be mindful of these
- 10 guidelines. And the sole purpose is to keep the proceedings
- 11 efficient.
- 12 [09.06.30]
- 13 And I would like to now I wish to advise the parties and
- 14 members of the public that the Chamber directed the security
- 15 quards to bring Mr. Nuon Chea to participate directly in today's
- 16 proceeding. Due to the report on the health condition of the
- 17 Accused submitted to the Chamber and due to the health status of
- 18 Mr. Nuon Chea this morning, Mr. Nuon Chea is able to sit directly
- 19 in this courtroom for 20 minutes.
- 20 And, Mr. Nuon Chea, please be advised that after 20 minutes
- 21 observing the proceedings this morning, you may return to the
- 22 holding cell downstairs to follow remotely from the holding cell,
- 23 with the permission from the Chamber.
- 24 Now, I would like to give the floor to the civil party lawyers to
- 25 present their closing statement and submission on final

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- 1 reparations. You may proceed.
- 2 [09.08.05]
- 3 MR. PICH ANG:
- 4 Good morning, Mr. President. Good morning, Your Honours,
- 5 venerable monks, esteemed colleagues, parties, civil parties,
- 6 victims, members of public, inside and outside of Cambodia. Civil
- 7 parties' closing statement today will be addressed by me, Pich
- 8 Ang, Lead Co-Lawyer for the civil parties, followed by lawyer
- 9 Hong Kimsuon, lawyer Sam Sokong, lawyer Ty Srinna, lawyer
- 10 Christine Martineau, and Lead Co-Lawyer Elisabeth Simonneau-Fort.
- 11 And in the afternoon, we will spend around one hour to discuss
- 12 reparation.
- 13 Your Honours, it is worth recalling that the civil party
- 14 participation in the proceedings before the Extraordinary
- 15 Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia is not without reason. Like
- 16 millions of other individuals who fell victim of a heinous regime
- 17 that history ever records, known as the Khmer Rouge regime, a
- 18 regime that was designed to impose the vision of a utopian
- 19 agricultural social order in Cambodia with record speed and
- 20 remarkable disregard of the consequences on the populace and
- 21 this is underpinned by the draconian policy intended to push the
- 22 "extremely marvellous, extremely wonderful, prodigious leap
- 23 forward".
- 24 The unforgiving application of these policies and plans came at
- 25 the price of massive death tolls and profound human suffering in

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- 1 human history.
- 2 [09.10.16]
- 3 In the rush to protect and bring to fruition the CPK's massive
- 4 work of social engineering, the entire population of Cambodia was
- 5 forced out of their homes and into the fields to serve the
- 6 Revolution.
- 7 Initiated with the forced movement the forced removal, rather,
- 8 of the cities' inhabitants and the elimination of those
- 9 individuals thought to pose the greatest threat to the
- 10 Revolution, a process of unending (inaudible) and distribution
- 11 and redistribution of the populace to new locations, became the
- 12 hall-marks of life under the CPK.
- 13 The civil parties provide detailed evidence in support of the
- 14 assertion that Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan, as leaders of this
- 15 revolution, are responsible for the crimes alleged in Case
- 16 002/01.
- 17 [09.11.18]
- 18 On the basis of the evidence and the arguments presented, the
- 19 civil parties will demonstrate that the accused Nuon Chea and
- 20 Khieu Samphan are guilty of the crimes against humanity. And in
- 21 the process of hearing in this proceeding, the it specifies the
- 22 roles and responsibility of the Accused, and it has to be based
- 23 on at least three-
- 24 On the basis of the evidence, Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan are
- 25 guilty of the crimes against humanity, extermination, murder,

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1 political persecution, and other inhumane acts, enforced

- 2 disappearance, and attacks against human dignity, as
- 3 co-perpetrators and participant in the joint criminal enterprise.
- 4 Before the Chamber, the civil party performs a role as a party,
- 5 like the prosecutor and the Accused, as well. In every stage of
- 6 the proceedings, the civil party have requested that it intends
- 7 to exercise its full rights and its eventually it has exercised
- 8 this right through its legal presentation. And the civil party
- 9 intends to summon the civil parties to testify in Court, as well
- 10 as to submit evidence, and they were also granted the opportunity
- 11 to question the witness and expert witness, as well. And this is
- 12 the process that engaged the civil parties in this important
- 13 tribunal.
- 14 [09.13.25]
- 15 In Case 002/01, it provides very clearly that, the evidence of
- 16 the civil party in the course of the proceeding is not only
- 17 relevant, but also crucial to ascertaining the truth in the case.
- 18 The written statement of the civil party, of 567, including
- 19 victim information, additional information and appendix -
- 20 submitted by the civil parties in the proceeding and were
- 21 admitted by the Chamber.
- 22 When the civil parties appear to be questioned in the course of
- 23 the hearing, they also provide lively evidence which are key to
- 24 establishing the facts of the crimes committed during the
- 25 Democratic Kampuchea, as well as the suffering sustained by the

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- 1 people.
- 2 According to the written statement, as well as the oral testimony
- 3 of the civil party, in conjunction with other evidence submitted
- 4 before the Chamber and the implementation of the policy of forced
- 5 evacuation, the civil party have also raised the issue that may
- 6 have been overlooked by the Trial Chamber but are crucial to
- 7 enlighten the Chamber of the context of the by which the crimes
- 8 were committed.
- 9 [09.15.15]
- 10 And this evidence establishes a common pattern of crimes
- 11 occurring throughout Democratic Kampuchea between 1975 and 1979
- 12 or, in other words, a non-accidental repetition of the similar
- 13 criminal conduct on a regular basis, which affirms the widespread
- 14 and systematic nature of the attacks suffered by the population.
- 15 In addition, the civil parties have given testimony on the impact
- 16 of the crime on the population and their own prejudice as the
- 17 result of these crimes, thereby attesting to the extent of crimes
- 18 committed and bringing to the trial a human dimension, which
- 19 otherwise would have been absent without the proceedings.
- 20 Now, the role of the civil parties in this trial takes on a
- 21 special significance in light of the historical context, the
- 22 objective of national reconciliation, set out in the Court's
- 23 founding instruments and the expectation of the victims and the
- 24 Cambodian population at large.
- 25 Over the past 30 years and until they filed their civil party

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- 1 application, many of the civil parties in this case had never
- 2 recounted their stories to anyone. It took an impressive degree
- 3 of courage and determination to apply as civil parties, recall
- 4 the stressing memories, and put them into words and, for a
- 5 number of civil parties, to face the strain and sometimes the
- 6 risk of testifying before the Chamber.
- 7 As Judge Lavergne put it in the context of the present
- 8 proceeding, "it is obvious-"
- 9 [09.17.15]
- 10 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 11 Please, hold on, Counsel.
- 12 Mr. Nuon Chea, you may proceed.
- 13 MR. NUON CHEA:
- 14 Your Honours, I would like to inform you that I cannot continue
- 15 sitting in the courtroom. I ask you for leave to move to the room
- 16 downstairs.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Security quards, please bring Mr. Nuon Chea to the holding cell
- 19 downstairs.
- 20 Counsel, you may proceed.
- 21 MR. PICH ANG:
- 22 As Judge Lavergne put it in the context of the present
- 23 proceedings, "it is obvious that for thousands of persons granted
- 24 civil party status, these rights take on a special significance,
- 25 bearing in mind not only the seriousness of the charges against

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- 1 the Accused, but also the civil parties' very long wait for
- 2 justice, a wait which makes these trials historic."
- 3 For these reasons alone, the civil parties expect that their
- 4 historical and decisive role will be fully acknowledged in the
- 5 judgement, and that after 30 years, their right to justice and
- 6 reparation will finally be realised.
- 7 [09.18.52]
- 8 As for the probative value, civil parties bring extensive and
- 9 highly valuable evidence for the Trial Chamber's consideration in
- 10 ascertaining the truth concerning the allegations against the
- 11 Accused.
- 12 During Case 002/01 trial, 31 civil parties provided oral
- 13 testimony before the Chamber. Additionally, the civil parties
- 14 have put a total of 574 civil party documents before the Trial
- 15 Chamber, including 484 documents submitted in the representative
- 16 sample of civil party written statements tendered in lieu of oral
- 17 testimony; 69 documents tendered in conjunction with the oral
- 18 testimony of their civil party author; 30 documents tendered
- 19 through the examination of civil parties, witnesses, or experts;
- 20 and 10 documents tendered through key documents hearings.
- 21 [09.20.16]
- 22 These civil party documents have been admitted to evidence and
- 23 come from two principal sources: the civil party application,
- 24 which includes victim information form, supplementary statements
- 25 and annexes; and written records of interview of civil parties

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- 1 taken by the Office of the Co-Investigating Judges.
- 2 The testimony and written statements of the civil parties have
- 3 been put before the Chamber and should be treated as probative
- 4 evidence subject to a case-by-case analysis of their probative
- 5 value and weight for purposes of the Chamber's consideration in
- 6 Case 002/01.
- 7 Both the Internal Rules and jurisprudence of this Court provide
- 8 guidance on the admissibility and probative weight of civil party
- 9 evidence. According to Rule 87.1, "unless provided otherwise, all
- 10 evidence is admissible."
- 11 The civil party evidence cited in the instant Closing Brief, both
- 12 oral and written, has been identified before the Court and is
- 13 thus properly put before the Chamber.
- 14 [09.22.00]
- 15 As for the probative value of in-court testimony of civil
- 16 parties, victims are declared admissible to participate as civil
- 17 parties and they become full parties to the criminal proceeding
- 18 before the ECCC, and consequently they are not required to
- 19 testify under oath. And this Court has affirmed that civil
- 20 parties may testify to their knowledge of the criminal case
- 21 without testifying under oath, and civil party testimony provided
- 22 without an oath is afforded no less probative value than that
- 23 given under oath. And the Trial Chamber has held in both this
- 24 case and in Case 001 that the probative value of the civil party
- 25 testimony and statements are evaluated using the same criteria as

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- 1 other evidence.
- 2 According to the 2nd May 2013 decision of the Trial Chamber in
- 3 this case, "the weight to be given to civil party testimony will
- 4 be assessed on a case-by-case basis in light of the credibility
- 5 of that testimony."
- 6 [09.23.11]
- 7 In consistent with this approach, the Trial Chamber, in Case
- 8 001, regularly relied upon civil party evidence as probative in
- 9 the trial judgement.
- 10 The civil party information form also carries the probative value
- 11 and weight, as well. This Court has determined that Internal Rule
- 12 87.1 permits the Trial Chamber's broad discretion to admit all
- 13 relevant and probative evidence. According to the August 15,
- 14 2013, Trial Chamber decision on the admissibility of written
- 15 statements, "civil party written statements tendered during the
- 16 examination of the same civil party's testimony, where the
- 17 Defence has the opportunity to confront the statement's author,
- 18 need only satisfy the general admissibility requirements set out
- 19 in Internal Rule 87.3 and, as a result, are prima facie relevant
- 20 and reliable."
- 21 In regard to written statements tendered into evidence in lieu of
- 22 oral testimony by the author, the Trial Chamber rejected the
- 23 notion that the Defence has an absolute right to confront all
- 24 witnesses against him or her. Instead, this Court found that
- 25 confrontation rights are somewhat limited by the Trial Chamber's

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- 1 duty to ensure the expeditiousness of proceedings and found that,
- 2 instead found instead that, subject to the Chamber's overriding
- 3 duty to ensure a fair trial, the Trial Chamber, therefore, has
- 4 the discretion to admit certain categories of statements without
- 5 summoning their authors to testify at trial.
- 6 ///[09.25.33]
- 7 In determining the probative value of written statement admitted
- 8 into evidence without witness confrontation, the Trial Chamber
- 9 relies upon the factors for probative value and weight set forth
- 10 by the ad hoc or internationalised tribunals.
- 11 [09.25.57]
- 12 Accordingly, when such statements are not excluded under Rule
- 13 87.3, the evidence may still be relied upon if certain conditions
- 14 are present. So, the factors include whether the evidence is of a
- 15 cumulative nature or relate to the relevant historical and
- 16 political and military background concerning crime based
- 17 evidence, or consist of general statistical analysis of the
- 18 ethnic composition, and concern the impact of the crimes on
- 19 victims. And they also consider the victim information form,
- 20 which include the names, date of birth out of the application -
- 21 and their occupation and address, as well as the names of their
- 22 immediate family. So both the victim information form and other
- 23 statements contained in the civil party application include
- 24 evidence of facts, and it has to be accompanied by the identity
- 25 of the civil parties themselves.

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- 1 [09.27.18]
- 2 So, these records of written records of statement as well as
- 3 victim information form submitted to the Chamber were admitted by
- 4 the Chamber, and consider put before the Chamber too. The written
- 5 record of interview provided by the civil parties taken by the
- 6 Office of the Co-Investigating Judges comply with the standard in
- 7 the investigation phase and these are information is thumbprint
- 8 by the civil parties and they are also audio recorded in its
- 9 entirety and is kept in the case file.
- 10 And, in addition, the testimony of the author assure that and
- 11 provides additional explanation to the facts in addition to his
- 12 or her oral testimony before this Court. And, in addition, it
- 13 also provides opportunity to the Judges and other parties to
- 14 confront with these civil parties.
- 15 In addition to the reliable criteria, this respond to the
- 16 requirement of indicia of reliability for the admission of the
- 17 civil parties information, the form meets several of the factors
- 18 deemed appropriate by this Court to establish probative value and
- 19 weight, and the civil party submission and the fact detail in
- 20 the victim statement are cumulative in nature and support
- 21 in-court testimony made by the civil parties, witnesses, experts,
- 22 and which are subject to the cross-examination.
- 23 [09.29.25]
- 24 It is worth mentioning that the written record also has the -
- 25 demonstrates the consequences of the civil party. Even though

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- 1 these have been raised by the civil parties themselves, these
- 2 factors indicate that the information provided by the civil
- 3 parties carry the weight and value worth considering by the
- 4 Chamber. In their closing brief, civil parties demonstrate the
- 5 high probative value of civil party written statements by
- 6 corroborating and adding important detail and nuance to the oral
- 7 testimony and documentary evidence before the Chamber. But also
- 8 by demonstrating the depths and breadths of the evidence on many
- 9 key points, including the condition brought about by the crimes
- 10 being adjudicated in Case 002/01. So, both the oral testimony of
- 11 the civil party as well as the documentary evidence provided by
- 12 the civil party are of importance which will contribute
- 13 meaningfully to ascertaining the truth before this Chamber. And
- 14 these documents were eventually accorded E3 title. So the
- 15 participation of the civil party does not only represent the
- 16 important role of civil party in the criminal proceeding, but
- 17 also necessary to ascertain the truth.
- 18 [09.31.49]
- 19 I would like to conclude my statement now and I would like to
- 20 seek leave from the Chamber to cede the floor to my esteemed
- 21 colleague, Mr. Hong Kimsuon, to continue.
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 (No interpretation)
- 24 MR. HONG KIMSUON:
- 25 Thank you. First of all, allow me to say good morning to the

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- 1 President, Your Honours, the honourable monks and all the people
- 2 in the gallery. My name is Hong Kimsuon, from the CVP, a lawyer
- 3 representing the civil parties and the Khmer Rouge Victims
- 4 Association in France.
- 5 [09.32.35]
- 6 And I would like to continue our briefing statements relating to
- 7 the official elements of the policies of the CPK. There are four
- 8 points that I will cover:
- 9 1. The general introduction to common purpose of the JCE;
- 10 2. The forced transfers;
- 11 3. Cooperatives and work sites;
- 12 4. Regulation of marriage.
- 13 The civil parties provide in the following section the factual
- 14 elements establishing the common criminal design of the joint
- 15 criminal enterprise in which the Accused participated. The civil
- 16 parties' evidence will assist the Chamber in establishing the
- 17 criminal nature of the JCE, as stated in the Closing Order, the
- 18 common purpose of the leaders of the CPK was to implement rapid,
- 19 socialist revolution in Cambodia through a great leap forward,
- 20 and to defend this revolution and the Party's line by whatever
- 21 means necessary.
- 22 [09.33.40]
- 23 As it will be demonstrated in the discussion of each policy which
- 24 follows, the common criminal plan came into existence before 17
- 25 April 1975, and continued at least until 6 January 1979. To

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- 1 achieve this common purpose, the CPK leaders, inter alia,
- 2 designed the following five policies:
- 3 1. The repeated movement of the population from towns and cities
- 4 to rural areas, as well as from one rural area to another;
- 5 2. The establishment and operation of cooperatives and work
- 6 sites;
- 7 3. The re-education of bad elements and killings of enemies, both
- 8 inside and outside the Party ranks;
- 9 4. The targeting of specific groups, in particular the Cham,
- 10 Vietnamese, Buddhist, and former officials of the Khmer Republic,
- 11 including both civil servants and former military personnel and
- 12 their families;
- 13 5. The regulation of marriage.
- 14 [09.35.02]
- 15 The civil parties recognise that the mere objective of achieving
- 16 rapid socialist revolution could have potentially been executed
- 17 in a way that involves no criminal conduct. However, as
- 18 demonstrated by the evidence presented in the Brief, the Accused
- 19 established five criminal policies, and where the peasants need
- 20 to achieve the 3 tonnes per hectare, and the claims and warns
- 21 that the wheels of history keep moving forward so other people
- 22 had to be hardworking.
- 23 The cadres further warned that, if anyone dare put their arms or
- 24 legs under those wheels of history they will be cut off. Those
- 25 cadres loudly shouted, "Angkar moves forward by leaps and

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- 1 bounds".
- 2 [09.35.52]
- 3 The Accused not only aim to have the most radical Maoist
- 4 revolution in history, they wanted to refashion Cambodia society
- 5 in order to create a new social order in which all persons will
- 6 be modelled on the ideal of the worker-peasant, and the
- 7 fundamental character of Cambodian society will be destroyed. It
- 8 was of the highest importance to the CPK leadership that through
- 9 these measures they would demonstrate that their revolution,
- 10 characterized by its radicalisation of Communist theories and its
- 11 unmatched pace would demonstrate the supremacy of the CPK
- 12 Revolution.
- 13 The CPK asserts the five policies discussed here were inherent to
- 14 the common purpose to create an agricultural society order
- 15 through revolution. And for that reason, they formed the JCE.
- 16 [09.36.57]
- 17 In line with the Trial Chamber's Severance Order, the civil
- 18 parties provide detailed evidence on the establishment and
- 19 existence of all five policies, while limiting their
- 20 demonstration on the implementation of these policies to only
- 21 what the Closing Order categorizes as forced movement of the
- 22 population, phases 1 and 2; and killings at Tuol Po Chrey.
- 23 The civil parties analysed that the demonstration of the
- 24 existence of the policy is predominantly based on civil party
- 25 written statement admitted into evidence and corroborated by oral

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- 1 testimony and other documents admitted into evidence. Therefore,
- 2 the existence of these policies is principally inferred from the
- 3 factual basis of the charged crimes. This approach is taken in
- 4 accordance with the settled jurisprudence in international
- 5 criminal law which permits that, evidence of a policy to commit
- 6 crime can be inferred from the way in which the crimes occurred.
- 7 Therefore, implementation of similar crimes or a pattern of
- 8 crimes on a widespread or systematic basis can provide evidence
- 9 of a policy to commit those crimes.
- 10 [09.38.20]
- 11 Now, I touch upon the movement of the population.
- 12 One essential component of the common criminal design of the
- 13 joint criminal enterprise carried out by the CPK in Democratic
- 14 Kampuchea was the forced transfer population from cities and
- 15 towns to rural areas, and from one rural area to another. This
- 16 policy, particularly as it concerns the first two phases of
- 17 forced transfer was guided by three main objectives, each of
- 18 which was intended to move forward the CPK's ultimate goal to
- 19 achieve a rapid socialist revolution in Cambodia.
- 20 The first key objective of the policy of forced transfer of the
- 21 population was to ensure that cooperatives and work sites were
- 22 supplied with a massive work force capable of meeting the
- 23 production and infrastructure demands dictated by the vastly
- 24 accelerated great leap forward that the CPK envisaged for the
- 25 country.

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- 1 [09.39.37]
- 2 Civil parties confirmed being told that they were being forcibly
- 3 transferred in order to help Angkar to meet its production and
- 4 infrastructure goals. One witness recalls: "We heard that people
- 5 had to be evacuated so that they can engage in the rice
- 6 production in the countryside."
- 7 And another civil party said, in exchange for cans of rice, he or
- 8 she had to clear 10 square metres of land, and her sister was
- 9 assigned to dig up and carry dirt on her shoulder that is, two
- 10 cubic metres in the morning and one and half in the afternoon.
- 11 [09.40.35]
- 12 The forced transfer of the population was also aimed at reshaping
- 13 the Cambodian population into a peasant class entirely devoid of
- 14 the status distinction. The CPK associated with city dwellers,
- 15 former civil servants, politicians, and the educated and merchant
- 16 classes.
- 17 Civil party confirm that they were told that they were the 17
- 18 April People and they had to make sure that Angkar trusted them.
- 19 They had to be tempered at the Sqnok Mountain.
- 20 The CPK tried to force these transfers based on their rule and
- 21 they said that the Revolution would move forward unhindered.
- 22 Khmer Rouge military commanders and troops were instructed to
- 23 carry out the forced transfers in order to take control of the
- 24 city, control the situation because, even if the enemy was
- 25 defeated, there were still pockets of them here and there.

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- 1 [09.41.45]
- 2 The CPK also used forced transfers as a means to protect the
- 3 gains made by the Revolution by drawing up the people from the
- 4 enemy, or ensuring that residents did not remain in these
- 5 locations, and the civil party said that they had to move
- 6 because, "we were not supposed to mingle with enemies".
- 7 Regarding the characteristic elements of the forced transfer was
- 8 implemented by the CPK, and it was defined by a number of common
- 9 elements. These elements can be seen in the forced transfers that
- 10 were committed against the population throughout Cambodia
- 11 beginning before 1975, and continuing into 1977.
- 12 As presented in the Closing Order, forced transfers were carried
- 13 out by the CPK in three distinct phases, two of which are the
- 14 subject of the current trial and the present discussion that
- 15 is, phases 1 and 2.
- 16 Forced transfers were always initiated and enforced by CPK
- 17 forces, including soldiers, militiamen and local leaders.
- 18 Transferees were justly given little or no advance notice that
- 19 they were being moved and were rushed to leave the area. One
- 20 civil party remembers: "We pleaded, we asked the soldiers to
- 21 allow us some more time, but then the soldier told us that we had
- 22 to leave in the day because if he came and then we still stay at
- 23 the same place, we would be in big trouble."
- 24 [09.43.41]
- 25 Another civil party notes: "While we were walking we could hear

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- 1 announcements through loudspeakers pushing us to walk quickly and
- 2 to move quickly."
- 3 The quick pace of forced transfers allowed little time for
- 4 transferees to prepare, in some cases just 15 minutes. Another
- 5 civil party notes: "They told us it was not necessary for us to
- 6 bring those utensils, and that it would be just heavy stuff for
- 7 us to bring, and that we did not actually bring anything, except
- 8 the money."
- 9 The populations moved were not given a choice whether they would
- 10 be transferred; compliance with orders for forced transfer was
- 11 expected and if victims were not convinced by explanations and
- 12 inducements, then CPK forces systematically resorted to
- 13 increasingly coercive and violent measures to ensure the
- 14 compliance of the transferees.
- 15 One civil party reports that: "When my father refused to leave,
- 16 we received a severe threat. The Khmer Rouge soldier told us
- 17 that, if you decide not to leave, you will be shot death."
- 18 [09.45.02]
- 19 Notably, the policy of forced transfers of populations began well
- 20 before the fall of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975, with the forced
- 21 transfers of residents from villages, towns, and cities
- 22 controlled by the Khmer Rouge to alternate rural locations.
- 23 As early as 1972, civil parties and witnesses described forced
- 24 transfers taking place throughout the country, including in
- 25 Kampong Cham City, Udong City, Kampong Chhnang, Kampong Speu,

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- 1 Mondulkiri, Svay Rieng, and Kandal provinces.
- 2 Once the CPK gained full control of the Cambodian territory with
- 3 the fall of Phnom Penh and other provincial capitals to their
- 4 troops, they uniformly applied a policy of forced evacuations
- 5 from urban areas to rural cooperatives. This policy was
- 6 implemented beginning on or around 17 April 1975 in Phnom Penh
- 7 and in the days and weeks before and after in other cities and
- 8 towns.
- 9 One transferee from Phnom Penh states: "Three days after the
- 10 Khmer Rouge entered, we were herded and asked to leave."
- 11 [09.46.43]
- 12 Phase 1 forced transfers were not limited to Phnom Penh, but also
- 13 occurred in other cities and towns throughout Cambodia, including
- 14 Kampong Som City, Battambang, Kampong Speu, Pursat, Kandal,
- 15 Kampot, Siem Reap, and Takeo province.
- 16 A civil party who was evacuated during that time said that: "On
- 17 April 1975, at 7 a.m., black-clad Khmer Rouge soldiers told
- 18 people to leave Kampong Som City without taking many belongings
- 19 with them because Angkar would feed all of them there."
- 20 Following closely on the forced evacuations of Phnom Penh and
- 21 other urban centres throughout Cambodia, the CPK embarked upon a
- 22 continuing program of forced transfers from the central or old
- 23 North zones, the Southwest, West, and East zones to the North and
- 24 Northwest zones. Many of these forced transfers took place
- 25 beginning in later 1975 and continuing at least until some time

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- 1 in 1977.
- 2 As described by one civil party: "In early 1976, during rice
- 3 harvest, my family and others were evacuated by the Khmer Rouge
- 4 to a new worksite in Battambang. The Khmer Rouge were saying
- 5 there were many rice fields in Battambang but there were not
- 6 enough people to do the harvest."
- 7 [09.48.30]
- 8 Other of these forced transfers began in the months of June, July
- 9 and August of 1975. In fact, a defining feature of the CPK's
- 10 policy of forced transfer was the pattern of repeated forced
- 11 transfer of populations, though forced transfers which
- 12 characterize under this policy can be generalized.
- 13 One civil party remembers: "I stayed in that village for a short
- 14 period of time. Then my family, as well as other families, were
- 15 ordered to leave. Angkar sent us further from one native
- 16 village."
- 17 The evidence demonstrates a clear pattern of forced transfers
- 18 being carried out en masse, especially before and including the
- 19 forced transfers occurring in April 1975. Forced transfers
- 20 involved the complete emptying of villages, towns, and cities.
- 21 One civil party recalls that: "There were so many people during
- 22 the evacuation of Phnom Penh and that people died along the
- 23 street. Sometimes, there were a kind of stampede where people
- 24 died."
- 25 [09.49.57]

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- 1 CPK forces implementing forced transfers provided very little or
- 2 no assistance to the transferees, and the transfers were carried
- 3 out under inhumane conditions. Earlier forced transfers were
- 4 absent, even transportation for the transferees, who often had to
- 5 journey long distances by foot.
- 6 One civil party remembers: "There was no transportation; we were
- 7 on foot all the time, and there was no assistance offered by the
- 8 Khmer Rouge soldiers. There was usually no food, water, shelter,
- 9 or medical attention provided or available."
- 10 Another civil party reports that: "My family and other 17 April
- 11 People were horrified. There was no money, no food, no water
- 12 along the road."
- 13 In later forced transfers, transportation, and perhaps even some
- 14 food, might be provided, but other measures were not taken to
- 15 ensure the wellbeing of transferees, and the assistance provided
- 16 was inadequate or even inhumane in its own right.
- 17 A civil party testifies that: "On board the train, nothing was
- 18 given to us; no food or clothes. Although other transferees died,
- 19 the train did not stop for them to be removed."
- 20 [09.51.48]
- 21 Targeting and prosecution of specific groups was also common
- 22 place during the forced transfers. New People were a primary
- 23 target of the CPK's policy on forced transfers. Other groups were
- 24 also targeted for persecution during the forced transfers,
- 25 including the affiliates of the Khmer Republic, the Khmer Krom,

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- 1 and Buddhist monks and nuns.
- 2 The CPK policy as described in part 3 that is, "The Factual
- 3 Evidence of Crimes" existed and was applied prior to 17 April
- 4 1975 and continued on until at least 6 January 1979. The policy
- 5 affected a wide range of civilians, including both men and women,
- 6 from affiliates of the Khmer Republic, Khmer Krom, Monks, as well
- 7 as many vulnerable populations within these groups, such as the
- 8 elderly, new-borns, infants and children, hospital patients, the
- 9 ill or wounded, pregnant women, and new mothers during the first
- 10 phase of the forced transfer from Phnom Penh to 15 of the
- 11 Cambodia's 23 other provinces and special administrative zones.
- 12 Concerning phase 2, civil party evidence establishes that they
- 13 were there were forced transfers from 17 of Cambodia's 24
- 14 provinces and special administrative zones to 14 provinces.
- 15 [09.53.35]
- 16 As indicated above, there is also evidence of phase 1 forced
- 17 transfers which were initiated from cities and towns other than
- 18 Phnom Penh and phase 2 forced transfers between locations not
- 19 specified in the Closing Order. The forced transfers of the
- 20 population were carried out on orders of the CPK without regard
- 21 to the wishes, safety or wellbeing of the victims.
- 22 As described in part 3 of this brief, the forced transfers
- 23 resulted in family separation, disappearance, death, illness,
- 24 starvation, exposure, physical and psychological injury, arrests,
- 25 and disappearances, killings, beatings, and mistreatment, and

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- 1 sexual violence, amongst others.
- 2 In addition to the suffering and harm experienced by victims in
- 3 the course of the forced transfers, the consequence of the forced
- 4 transfers on the health of the victims, the massive scale of the
- 5 redistribution of the population and the lack of planning and
- 6 coordination by the CPK resulted in our population famine,
- 7 disease, and death at destination points.
- 8 As noted by one witness, "it is not easy when people had to be
- 9 displaced, because people had to move from one area to another,
- 10 to the area that they never got used to living in. They got sick,
- 11 and some families just perished entirely. For example, in my
- 12 cooperative, the whole family just died."
- 13 [09.55.20]
- 14 On policy as a State practice, as demonstrated in part 3 of this
- 15 brief, senior leaders of the CPK who were well aware and
- 16 participated in the policy on forced transfers. Nuon Chea admits
- 17 that "all city dwellers were evacuated, and it is obvious". In
- 18 interviews, Khieu Samphan and Ieng Sary confirmed having
- 19 discussed plans for mass evacuation of Phnom Penh with Pol Pot.
- 20 Additional details on the participation, planning, and awareness
- 21 will be made later in the brief.
- 22 Now, on the cooperatives and worksites.
- 23 From the early seventies, the Khmer Rouge set up cooperatives in
- 24 the liberated zones based on the model of other Communist
- 25 regimes. These cooperatives were created to implement the policy

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- 1 of the Party and defend the Socialist Revolution.
- 2 The cooperative policy was determined by three principal
- 3 objectives, the first being to build a nation based on
- 4 collectivism, thus eliminating the private sphere and destroying
- 5 the social structure. The second objective was to provide food
- 6 for internal consumption and export, implementing an intensive
- 7 agricultural policy, and the third one, to defend the nation,
- 8 furthering the policy of detecting, re-educating, and smashing
- 9 the enemy.
- 10 [09.57.06]
- 11 The principal characteristics of the cooperative policy were the
- 12 application of the collective principle to labour and
- 13 organization, the use of cooperatives and worksites to implement
- 14 that principle, the eradication of former feudal and capitalist
- 15 production relationship, and lastly to reform people's
- 16 mentalities and the destruction of family ties.
- 17 The CPK leaders intended to reach their unrealistic agriculture
- 18 production objectives through the system of cooperatives and
- 19 worksites in view of building the nation and achieving the
- 20 revolution. During the forced evacuation of the cities on 17
- 21 April 1975, the soldiers announced that the New People must join
- 22 the cooperatives and leave all their possessions behind. From
- 23 that date, the Party's objective was to establish high-level
- 24 cooperatives throughout the country and to achieve 3 tonnes of
- 25 rice per hectare, and it was also to attack the internal enemy so

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- 1 that they could identify the New People. The New People were
- 2 considered to be enemies and, therefore, permanently suspected.
- 3 As a civil party recalls, "The evacuated people were regarded as
- 4 the 17 April People, who were tracked and monitored at all
- 5 times."
- 6 [09.58.48]
- 7 Following the CPK ideology and in order to control the people
- 8 more effectively, the Party divided the population into two
- 9 categories: the New People and the Base People. The cooperatives
- 10 also serve the CPK's objective to re-educate the intellectuals,
- 11 the bourgeoisie, and the feudal and the capitalist classes.
- 12 The first characteristic of the cooperatives was to increase
- 13 agricultural production, especially rice, rubber, and salt.
- 14 A civil party recalls: "They set a target for us: we had to
- 15 produce at least 3 tonnes of rice per hectare of land."
- 16 Also a countrywide irrigation network was to be built by
- 17 constructing new channels, dykes, and dams. A policy of forced
- 18 and extremely harsh labour was implemented that increased
- 19 continually over the next months.
- 20 [09.59.48]
- 21 Collectivization was to be fully achieved by 1976, private
- 22 property eradicated, and the Party would control the
- 23 cooperatives. The cooperative, its composition was high labour
- 24 with collective means of production, collective tools to increase
- 25 production, collective eating and living, and collective work.

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- 1 The forced evacuees from the cities ended up in cooperatives. As
- 2 a civil party states; "two or three weeks after the 17 April, we
- 3 were placed in a cooperative. During the first months at the
- 4 cooperative, people were still allowed to live with their
- 5 families and take their meals together, but food was rationed,
- 6 and people were obliged to give up all their private
- 7 possessions."
- 8 A dehumanization process began. The CPK imposed a number of
- 9 measures such as abolishing private property, collectivizing the
- 10 means of production, challenging the traditional way of life, and
- 11 forbidding freedom of movement, and measures that continually
- 12 called into question the peasant way of life. The success of the
- 13 revolution depended on the pace of the success of the
- 14 agricultural policy, and consequently the strengthening of the
- 15 cooperatives and creation of labour camps had to be carried out
- 16 as quickly as possible.
- 17 [10.01.30]
- 18 Therefore, at the end of 1975 and early 1976, the survivors of
- 19 the first evacuation were once again transferred to other
- 20 locations and cooperatives, mainly in the Northeast, to
- 21 high-level cooperatives.
- 22 The second component of the cooperative policy consisted in
- 23 eradicating further production relationship. All feudal and
- 24 capitalistic relationships were to be eliminated as rapidly as
- 25 possible and by all necessary means.

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- 1 Civil parties state that segregation existed between the New
- 2 People and the Base People. The Cambodian population had been
- 3 classified by Angkar into three categories: the fully-fledged
- 4 members, the candidates, and the dispossessed, which included the
- 5 New People deported from the cities. One mention this
- 6 discriminatory treatment and said that New People were identified
- 7 as being imperialists and capitalists, in other words people who
- 8 had profited from the rewards of peasant labour. The CPK
- 9 leadership wanted the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants
- 10 to control the cooperatives to attack and smash the State power
- 11 of other classes who stole from other cooperatives, and give it
- 12 back to the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants down
- 13 below.
- 14 [10.03.06]
- 15 The third component of this policy concerns social control and
- 16 reforming mentalities. It was organized by the CPK leaders and
- 17 implemented by local cadres who inculcated the Party's policy to
- 18 the new arrivals at the cooperatives during the meetings. They
- 19 said, "We are the masters in our home; so are you. In Democratic
- 20 Kampuchea, we do not need external aid. Now, it is Angkar who
- 21 meets your needs. Today, Comrades, you are going to work a little
- 22 bit harder because Angkar says you must."
- 23 Therefore, the cooperatives were an instrument to exercise a firm
- 24 social control and reform the mentalities of the capitalists, the
- 25 bourgeoisie, and the feudal classes, to dismantle traditional

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- 1 family ties, and safeguard the nation's security. That was
- 2 tantamount to an open-air prison in which an individual was
- 3 observed. The Angkar even used children to spy on and control
- 4 their own parents.
- 5 The CPK-imposed self-criticism sessions and biography writing
- 6 also enabled this control over the people. This form of social
- 7 control enabled the leadership to reach different classes of the
- 8 population, took divisions within families, and re-educate the
- 9 New People.
- 10 And in order to sanction the control over the New People, the
- 11 Khmer Rouge leaders decided to destroy traditional family bonds.
- 12 [10.04.52]
- 13 At their arrival in the cooperatives, the families were separated
- 14 and allocated different work units under the authority of a cadre
- 15 depending on their sex, age, and workforce. Youth people were
- 16 sent to mobile brigades, and family members were split-up. Very
- 17 young children were also obliged to work. They were separated
- 18 from their parents and placed in children's camps.
- 19 A civil party remembers: "I was separated from my mother, and I
- 20 was put in another group, and I was sent to join a children unit
- 21 and assigned to cut down two bundles of tree leaves."
- 22 The practice of writing biographies as a means of control, the
- 23 Party was able to identify all class enemies.
- 24 A civil party reports that she was controlled and monitored by
- 25 the militiamen, and people had been continually arrested. Enemies

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- 1 were arrested under the pretext of being sent for re-education.
- 2 The CPK leaders used the deprivation of food as a means of
- 3 repression or as a way of putting pressure on people. Rationing
- 4 for the New People was especially harsh, and they suffered even
- 5 more from food deprivation. A civil party stated that in 1975
- 6 they were the only category suffering from this.
- 7 [10.06.42]
- 8 The sick people were not allowed to rest or regain their strength
- 9 and were often deprived of food as punishment for being sick.
- 10 Furthermore, the working conditions were exacerbated by a very
- 11 heavy schedule. They were obliged to work between 15 to 19 hours
- 12 per day, and several civil parties also stated they were obliged
- 13 to work immediately after childbirth.
- 14 As the civil parties recall the working conditions that they
- 15 were planned and controlled by Angkar they stated that it was
- 16 impossible to complain for they would have been accused of
- 17 betraying Angkar.
- 18 After 17 April 1975, cooperatives and worksites were established
- 19 practically all over Cambodia and all the Cambodian people were
- 20 put to work for the Revolution.
- 21 The Office of the Co-Investigating Judges was seized with six
- 22 worksites. However, civil party evidence clearly demonstrates
- 23 that worksites were established all over the country.
- 24 [10.07.54]
- 25 As on the impact, the leaders used all necessary means to

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- 1 implement the cooperatives and worksites policy, whose ultimate
- 2 objective was to achieve and defend the Socialist Revolution.
- 3 The deprivation of food, the fatigue, and the lack of the
- 4 treatment were a harsh condition, and the policy was applied day
- 5 and night, without the respect of the age or the gender.
- 6 A civil party remembers: "We were reduced not to human beings,
- 7 but to monkeys."
- 8 Almost every civil party recall family members who died from
- 9 shortage of food and/or care, exhaustion, or were executed for
- 10 being traitors to Angkar.
- 11 As on the policy as State practice, the cooperative and worksite
- 12 policy was designed by Angkar. Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan were
- 13 not only informed about this policy, but designed and overviewed
- 14 this policy. As they regularly visited the cooperatives and
- 15 worksites.
- 16 Khieu Samphan travelled many times with Preah Norodom Sihanouk
- 17 through the provinces. As witnesses testified, he especially
- 18 visited a cooperative in 1976 and participated in an event at
- 19 Kaoh Thum cooperative. Khieu Samphan himself has declared that he
- 20 saw with his own eyes the Trapeang Thma water reservoir.
- 21 [10.09.41]
- 22 A witness who travelled with Nuon Chea when he visited the
- 23 provinces and rural areas stated that he inspected the rice
- 24 fields and met with many cooperative heads. Wherever he visited,
- 25 he would meet with the head of cooperatives. The same witness

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- 1 also accompanied Nuon Chea to the 1st January Dam in Kampong Thom
- 2 province, where he saw many people building dams and many of them
- 3 carry earth, and states that whenever Nuon Chea observed
- 4 difficulties raised by a construction project, he held a meeting
- 5 with the people in charge, and indeed, Nuon Chea went to visit
- 6 many other construction sites.
- 7 On the regulation of marriage, there were five objectives.
- 8 The first policy was to regulate marriage by forcing people to
- 9 wed each other against their will, and this was in conjunction
- 10 with other four policies that is: to implement a rapid
- 11 socialist revolution. First and foremost, the policy on forced
- 12 marriage was aimed at increasing the population.
- 13 A civil party said during the forced marriage was to make
- 14 children for Angkar.
- 15 Another civil party said that: "Upon knowing that, I refused, but
- 16 I was still forced to wed and I could not oppose Angkar because
- 17 Angkar was like our parents."
- 18 [10.11.30]
- 19 The second objective was in line with the general ideology of a
- 20 socialist revolution.
- 21 A civil party states: "The Khmer Rouge set a policy that
- 22 cross-marriage was not allowed between the Base and the New
- 23 People."
- 24 As for the Buddhist monks, a civil party who, as a monk, was
- 25 first defrocked and later on forced to marry-

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- 1 Another civil party corroborates this experience: "I know that
- 2 because in Svay Rieng there was a case of a monk, previously an
- 3 abbot, who was defrocked and forced to marry an old woman."
- 4 No monk provided any blessing because the monks had been
- 5 defrocked by the Khmer Rouge. This shows that the elimination of
- 6 Buddhist practices and beliefs also extended to wedding, where
- 7 traditionally religious ceremonies formed one of the core
- 8 elements.
- 9 On the targeting of the Cham, forced marriage between Cham and
- 10 Khmer was used as means to destroy their culture and religion. A
- 11 ten-couple marriage was organized, and that was to destroy their
- 12 culture and religion.
- 13 [10.13.00]
- 14 A civil party recalls that: "As a Cham, I suffered considerably,
- 15 as I had to force myself to marry a Khmer man, but I did not
- 16 reject the arrangement because I was afraid the Khmer Rouge might
- 17 kill me."
- 18 The policy on forced marriage served as an extension to the
- 19 policy on targeting former Lon Nol officials and their families.
- 20 Marriages were forced upon their female relatives, such as
- 21 daughters, and this is experienced by one civil party: "I was
- 22 called lazy and reminded that my parents worked for Lon Nol, so I
- 23 had to accept the marriage. If not, I would have been killed."
- 24 The core element of this policy was applied nationwide and among
- 25 the entire population within the temporal jurisdiction of the

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- 1 Court. This was the disregard for the individual's consent and
- 2 the ability to marry a person of their choosing. Even though
- 3 voluntary marriage with permission from the authority was
- 4 possible and did occur, the vast number were not, and punishment
- 5 would be implemented on those who rejected, as one described: "I
- 6 was asked by a Khmer Rouge soldier to marry him, but I refused
- 7 his request. After that, they arrested me and imprisoned me in
- 8 Koh Khyang prison. As a result of the circumstances, I was afraid
- 9 of being beaten and mistreated; I agreed to marry."
- 10 [10.14.55]
- 11 Some were also expressly threatened with punishment should they
- 12 oppose the marriage.
- 13 In order to achieve the above mentioned goal to increase the
- 14 population, the consummation of the marriage through sexual
- 15 intercourse had to be ensured following the wedding procedure.
- 16 This means ranged from the surveillance: "In the night,
- 17 militiamen came to our homes to spy on us, and in the next
- 18 morning he reported to the youth chief, Sau Van. In fact, I had
- 19 not agreed to sleep with my husband. After the report, the unit
- 20 chief called me for instructions and warned me I would be
- 21 executed if I did not sleep with my husband."
- 22 On the physical violence: "My hands were tied up, and I was
- 23 eventually raped."
- 24 Male and female both fell under this obligation.
- 25 As one put: "The next day after the wedding night, we were sent

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- back to work at our old worksite."
- 2 [10.16.05]
- 3 The goals of increasing the population and efficiently pairing
- 4 people of the same background were typically the only
- 5 consideration. In most cases, collective weddings with two or
- 6 more than a hundred couples were held. Religious and other
- 7 traditional ceremonies were abolished.
- 8 Evidence from civil parties confirms the existence of the policy
- 9 that the aforementioned characteristic elements were already
- 10 applied before 17 April 1975 and continued until 6 January 1979.
- 11 Forced marriages as discussed above were held in all zones. The
- 12 policy affected both males and females. Victims of this policy,
- 13 as well as spouses selected for them, came from all walks of
- 14 life, including ethnic minority groups such as Khmer Islam, Cham,
- 15 Jarai, Tumpoun, and various other groups.
- 16 With marriage being an essential aspect of social and private
- 17 life, the policy on forced marriage contributed to the
- 18 collectivization of all aspects of society.
- 19 In addition, collective care for children born as a result of
- 20 such marriages were put in place. As one civil party describes:
- 21 "During the daytime, when I was working at the rice fields, I
- 22 left my daughter for the old women to look after. They fed their
- 23 children gruel, and I breastfed my children during the mid-day
- 24 rest break and during the evening."
- 25 [10.17.58]

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- 1 Evidence from the civil parties and other sources also
- 2 demonstrates that like the other four policies, the forced
- 3 marriage policy was designed to be implemented by whatever means
- 4 necessary, regardless of the human toll exacted. As a direct
- 5 result, and in accordance with the objective to increase the
- 6 population, many women became pregnant. The forced pregnancy is
- 7 the consequence of the forced marriage. However, some of these
- 8 women lost their babies either during birth or during infancy,
- 9 due to lack of medical care. As one civil party remembers, "my
- 10 baby later died after he had become sick, without any medicine to
- 11 treat him. He had seen the sunlight for only two months. After he
- 12 died, Angkar took his body away."
- 13 Another civil party recalls that: "Eventually, my child died when
- 14 he was nine months, due to complete absence of breast milk."
- 15 The circumstances of coercion enforced, which formed a
- 16 characteristic element of the policy, has had a lasting impact on
- 17 the victims. The fear instilled by this policy was already
- 18 present during the wedding procedure, as one civil party
- 19 describes: "I was then asked to make a declaration. I was very
- 20 afraid. I was trembling with fear, thinking that I was going to
- 21 be beaten. During that night, I was very scared because we had
- 22 never known each other before. On the other hand, I was so
- 23 worried that these militiamen would know about it if I made any
- 24 attempt to refuse to live with my husband. People were prohibited
- 25 from choosing the one they loved."

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- 1 [10.19.50]
- 2 Another some civil parties suffered from the separation of
- 3 their fiancés. A civil party states: "I have felt pain about this
- 4 forceful marriage, as I was not allowed to marry a girl I loved."
- 5 During this period, some victims had difficulty in living with
- 6 their partners. A woman states: "I suffered from trauma because I
- 7 lived in the suffering with a husband who did not understand my
- 8 feeling, and I was physically and sexually abused."
- 9 Another woman (sic) also stated a similar account: "But he
- 10 maintained the marriage, due to his pity on his wife, and not
- 11 because of his personal love toward his wife."
- 12 During the long period, some victims had difficulty in living
- 13 with their partners. This policy affected both men and women.
- 14 They suffered trauma.
- 15 My apology; I already read out that part.
- 16 As stated in the above paragraph, another civil party and
- 17 through other sources claims the CPK leaders who used their
- 18 aliases established the forced marriage policy, and it is evident
- 19 that it can be concluded that the forced marriage was the result
- 20 of the State implementation.
- 21 [10.21.56]
- 22 The forced marriages that occurred during the DK period were
- 23 arranged by the Khmer Rouge soldiers, as a civil party states:
- 24 "At 9 a.m., when the marriage was to be organized, Angkar called
- 25 us to make a statement and declaration. More than 10 of the Khmer

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- 1 Rouge soldiers, and including Chab (phonetic), and Van
- 2 (phonetic), and Ann (phonetic), the village chief, and some
- 3 representatives whose name I could not recall, asked us to make
- 4 our declaration. Amongst those soldiers, there were members of
- 5 the sector committee, chief of the female unit, or members of the
- 6 committees of the commerce, or the commune committee, or the
- 7 unit's chiefs, or members of the sections, group chiefs, or the
- 8 cooperative chiefs, or the youth groups. It was decided by the
- 9 upper level, and the newly married couples were chosen by the
- 10 Khmer Rouge authority, disregard the consent of the people."
- 11 Forced marriage policy was a State implementation where the
- 12 couples were forced to commit themselves to Angkar during the
- 13 marriage, that each couple had to make their resolution to work
- 14 hard for Angkar, to be loyal to Angkar, and not to betray Angkar.
- 15 [10.23.30]
- 16 Mr. President and Your Honours, the CPK leaders and the senior
- 17 leaders were amongst the head representatives in the during one
- 18 of the marriage organization who read out the regulation. And in
- 19 the above paragraph, it stated that the forced marriage policy,
- 20 as with other policies which were established by the CPK
- 21 leadership, could conclude that those those individuals are
- 22 all the same, as they push for the implementation of the five
- 23 policies regarding the JCE.
- 24 I am grateful, Your Honour, and I'd like to cede the floor to my
- 25 colleague.

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Thank you.
- 3 The time is appropriate for an adjournment. We will take a
- 4 20-minute adjournment and return at a quarter to 11.00.
- 5 The Court is now in recess.
- 6 (Court recesses from 1024H to 1046H)
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Please be seated. The Court is now back in session.
- 9 The floor will again be given to the Lead Co Lawyers for civil
- 10 parties to continue their Closing Statement.
- 11 You may now proceed.
- 12 MR. SAM SOKONG:
- 13 Good morning, Mr. President, Your Honours, and good morning
- 14 everyone in and around the courtroom.
- 15 My name is Sam Sokong, a civil party lawyer from the Legal Aid of
- 16 Cambodia, and I'd like to continue presenting our Closing
- 17 Statements after my colleague, Hong Kimsuon just concluded his
- 18 part. And my presentation will relate to the security centres,
- 19 execution sites, and the re education of bad elements and killing
- 20 of enemies and the targeting of the groups.
- 21 [10.47.38]
- 22 On the security centres, one of the five policies designed by the
- 23 CPK was to establish security centres and execution sites. First
- 24 and foremost, the objective of this policy was to ensure that the
- 25 principles of the Revolution was strictly respected to prevent

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- 1 any opposition in order to ensure continuity of a new ideology,
- 2 which followed the Soviet model.
- 3 As a result of this Revolution, a new society emerged based on
- 4 collectivism, where all social classes were abolished; in
- 5 particular, the oppressive and exploitative classes so that the
- 6 society had an equal status based on workers and peasants.
- 7 The set policy designed by the CPK established security centres
- 8 and execution sites. Two of the main objectives of this policy,
- 9 in conjunction with the other four main policies, were to
- 10 implement a socialist revolution in leaps and bounds. First was
- 11 to eliminate all the oppressive classes so that an equal society
- 12 was to be created based on the peasants and workers. Two, to re
- 13 educate the bad elements and the killing of enemies in order to
- 14 strengthen the revolutionary stance to search out for enemy,
- 15 assessed, analysed, monitored, oppress, arrest and smashed.
- 16 [10.49.22]
- 17 The instructions by the Party regarding the treatment toward the
- 18 targeted enemies started from the outset of the regime. The Party
- 19 had to use the revolutionary violence and gather people to use
- 20 such violence to respond to any reaction or to the oppressive
- 21 class or to oppose the any colonialism or imperialists. The
- 22 Standing Committee also confirms that it was necessary to
- 23 definitely defend the territory and the gains of the Revolution
- 24 at all cost.
- 25 When they established such a policy, the CPK leaders determined

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- 1 clearly the implementation of site policy through a process. For
- 2 example, first to identify bad elements, enemies; and two,
- 3 specific treatments to be took towards those bad elements or the
- 4 enemies.
- 5 Although there were bad elements were used during the
- 6 Democratic Kampuchea, they ensured it was to identify them
- 7 clearly and to search out for enemies. Any activities to oppose
- 8 the State was to be prevented and eliminated. A civil party
- 9 testifies that the Party had a view that anyone who interfered in
- 10 the Party's affairs or opposed the Party will be considered an
- 11 enemy. The essential component of such policy was to refashion or
- 12 to re educate bad elements and to eliminate enemies from within
- 13 and outside the Party.
- 14 [10.51.08]
- 15 As stated in Article 10 of the Constitution of the DK, re
- 16 education meant the detention at the security centres of the bad
- 17 elements. A civil party recalls that the interrogation, the
- 18 detention, torture and the killing of any person who was
- 19 considered as an enemy was the result of this policy.
- 20 On the issue of the violations of the code of conduct of the DK
- 21 for suspecting of being an enemy, anyone who violated the code of
- 22 conduct will be considered a bad element or an enemy. The DK code
- 23 of conduct clearly states that any close relationship between an
- 24 unmarried man and a woman will be considered immoral, and for
- 25 that they will be considered enemies.

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- 1 Another point on the issue of the suspicion of the internal
- 2 enemies that issue was ripe and existed throughout the regime
- 3 and within the Revolutionary Movement. Pol Pot did not trust
- 4 their people, during the Khmer Rouge regime, especially the
- 5 cadres or heads of various offices.
- 6 Regarding the 30 March 1976 decision, in order to smash the
- 7 enemies inside and outside the Revolution, was a long and
- 8 extensive purification process within the Party's rank. In the
- 9 instruction, the DK, took an action in the new and old North Zone
- 10 in early 1976 against Koy Thuon and from mid 1976 in the East
- 11 Zone.
- 12 [10.53.02]
- 13 The policy had an effect on the people. As stated by a civil
- 14 party, they suffered a long-term mortality as a result as
- 15 direct result of this policy on the bad elements and the killing
- 16 of enemies. Many of them faced nightmare and they have constant
- 17 mental suffering after witnessing the torture and the killing,
- 18 including those of their relatives.
- 19 On the issue of the participation in the policy by the accused:
- 20 From April 1975 through various meetings minutes, which indicates
- 21 that the instruction on the policy and on its implementation was
- 22 directly related to all level of authority; namely, Pol Pot
- 23 representing the Democratic Kampuchea, and the Office 870, the
- 24 Central Committee, the Standing Committee, the Ministry of
- 25 Commerce, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, our

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- 1 sources confirmed that at all levels they had to report about the
- 2 implementation of such policy within its own jurisdiction to the
- 3 higher level, for instance, to the sector, the ministry or the
- 4 zone.
- 5 [10.54.32]
- 6 As testified by a civil party, the instruction was given by the
- 7 Party and the order to smash or to re educate came from Angkar.
- 8 At the lower level, they would be issued instructions to the
- 9 zone, district, or the cooperative. Amongst the senior leaders,
- 10 Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea, directly and sorrowfully involved in
- 11 the establishment and the dissemination of such policies. Khieu
- 12 Samphan, in his capacity as the acting head of state, induced and
- 13 appealed for the action against the enemy of the Revolution.
- 14 In various meeting minutes and in a speech quoted in various
- 15 "Revolutionary Magazine Flags" (sic), he instructed that the
- 16 actions had to be carried out at all levels. As a member of the
- 17 Central Committee from March 1976, he participated in various
- 18 decision-making meetings and in which in one of the meetings the
- 19 instruction on the smashing of the enemy had to be decided first.
- 20 [10.55.45]
- 21 In his capacity as the President of the Assembly of Democratic
- 22 Kampuchea and the Deputy Secretary of the Party, Nuon Chea had
- 23 the authority to make decisions in relation to the policy, as
- 24 confirmed by various meetings minutes, on the issue of re
- 25 education of bad elements and the killing of enemies.

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- 1 The second policy on the treatment toward the targeted group, and
- 2 in this instance on the former Khmer Republic officials, the co
- 3 accused confirmed that as a system or policy to maintain the
- 4 Socialist Revolution the speaker had to eliminate the targeted
- 5 groups and those affiliated with the former Khmer Republic by any
- 6 means necessary. The planning toward the targeted group or the
- 7 Khmer Republic officials, including soldiers, civil servants and
- 8 their families, became clearer in 1975 with the mass killing at
- 9 the outset of Democratic Kampuchea regime and continued at least
- 10 until 6 January 1979.
- 11 [10.57.07]
- 12 Senior military officials and political leaders of the CPK gave
- 13 instructions to their subordinates to begin the systematic policy
- 14 to determine those affiliated with the Khmer Republic after they
- 15 took control of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975 and during the forced
- 16 evacuations of the residents of Phnom Penh.
- 17 Existence of such policy was confirmed by civil parties and
- 18 former soldiers and cadres of the CPK as follows:
- 19 [10.57.48]
- 20 Policy on the determination of bad elements and the killings of
- 21 the enemies had co relationship with the implementation of
- 22 eliminating those affiliated with the Khmer Republic. CPK
- 23 pinpointed those affiliated with the imperialists or had the
- 24 imperialist tendency who were considered bad elements or enemies
- 25 of the Revolution and the State. They were considered bad

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- 1 elements because and they were sent for re education, they were
- 2 imprisoned or smashed. The killing site at Tuol Po Chrey, which
- 3 was one of the more than 200 security centres, and the countless
- 4 killing sites throughout the regions within the DK, and at and
- 5 they only were of the leaderships of the DK, they targeted
- 6 clearly the CPK policies, the former officials of the Khmer
- 7 Republic.
- 8 [10.58.58]
- 9 The objective of this policy was to determine the target group of
- 10 the former Khmer Republic, including soldiers, civil servants,
- 11 intellectuals, and members in order to create a collective
- 12 society and to eliminate the distinctions in classes, race,
- 13 religion, and culture.
- 14 CPK thought of forming a special group and that special group had
- 15 to be eliminated, including the soldiers, the police and the
- 16 monks. Based on the revolutionary planning of the CPK, all levels
- 17 of leadership all levels of the social classes had to be
- 18 dissolved and only two classes would emerge that is, the
- 19 peasant and the workers classes.
- 20 The second objective was to purge or to completely eliminate the
- 21 enemy and the special group within the people. Testimonies from
- 22 the civil party confirm that those who affiliated with the former
- 23 Khmer Republic were considered enemies by the Khmer Rouge and
- 24 arrested. The civil party also continued that the Khmer Rouge
- 25 soldiers arrested and tied the former Khmer Rouge soldiers before

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- 1 they were shot dead. The said objective of this policy was to
- 2 purge the former Khmer Republic officials in order to ensure that
- 3 the CPK would not have any opposition for the formation of the
- 4 old regime.
- 5 [11.00.39]
- 6 Based on the decision in February 1975, the CPK made a public
- 7 announcement of their plans to eliminate to execute the former
- 8 senior officials of the Khmer Republic. As orally testified by
- 9 the former Khmer Rouge soldiers, people were evacuated from Phnom
- 10 Penh as it would ease them to purge the enemy those enemies who
- 11 were the Lon Nol soldiers so that people who left the regime had
- 12 to be purged as well.
- 13 As ordered by the senior leaders of the CPK, the lower soldiers
- 14 had to implement the policy to identify and to execute the Lon
- 15 Nol soldiers or members by all means, and that was carried out
- 16 systematically throughout the country. The statement by the
- 17 former CPK was that if they find Lon Nol soldiers they would kill
- 18 them immediately. This such a broad implementation of the policy
- 19 indicated that there was an effort to determine clearly by the
- 20 CPK to trick the civilians to identify themselves voluntarily,
- 21 whether they affiliated with the former Khmer Republic.
- 22 [11.02.09]
- 23 During the hearings, former Khmer CPK solider testified that the
- 24 soldiers were ordered to trick those affiliated with the Khmer
- 25 Republic in order to identify them and they were promised that

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- 1 all former Khmer Republic officials had to report to the CPK
- 2 soldiers so that they would be later reintegrated into the new
- 3 society.
- 4 Regarding the effect of the policy, the policy had a severe
- 5 impact on the victims. They suffered physical, psychological and
- 6 economic suffering and that still continues to this day. Some
- 7 civil parties feared for their lives during the forced evacuation
- 8 of Phnom Penh when they realized that the CPK had instituted a
- 9 policy of targeting and eliminating all people affiliated with
- 10 the Khmer Republic regime.
- 11 [11.03.30]
- 12 In relation to the execution site at Tuol Po Chrey, 20 victims
- 13 have been recognized as civil parties. These civil parties lost
- 14 their family members, including fathers, brothers, and husbands
- 15 who were former Lon Nol soldiers who were sent to be executed at
- 16 Tuol Po Chrey. Civil parties describe the long-term suffering and
- 17 the loss as a result of this CPK policy on the targeting of the
- 18 former soldiers of the Khmer Republic regime.
- 19 And on the issue of the treatment toward the Khmer Krom people,
- 20 the CPK targeted the Khmer Krom people for forced evacuation.
- 21 They were persecuted and eliminated in order to implement and to
- 22 defend the Socialist Revolution of the CPK. The CPK indicated
- 23 that this group was the opposition group, and in their
- 24 conversation they said they were the remnant of the old society
- 25 that needs to be cleansed.

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- 1 [11.04.48]
- 2 Khmer Krom people were considered enemies for two reasons: First,
- 3 the CPK considered them as the former Lon Nol soldiers or
- 4 affiliated with the Khmer Republic regime. They were arrested by
- 5 CPK, interrogated and killed. Those were the former Lon Nol
- 6 soldiers, senior officials, and the Khmer Krom.
- 7 Two, the CPK believed that the Khmer Krom, who came from the
- 8 Mekong Delta, was part of the political group race or, of the
- 9 Vietnamese origin. CPK did not want to have any association or
- 10 any of such political group. For that reason, they painted the
- 11 Khmer Krom as spies or they were the Khmer bodies with the
- 12 Vietnamese heads. They stated that the Khmer Krom were agents of
- 13 Vietnam or agents of the CIA.
- 14 [11.06.08]
- 15 On the implementation of the policy of the CPK toward the Khmer
- 16 Krom targeted group, is the following: The forced transfer in the
- 17 phases 1 and 2, evidence indicates that during the forced
- 18 transfer of phases 1 and 2, Khmer Krom was targeted based on
- 19 their identification and other related matters and the CPK
- 20 considered them as enemies. Khmer Krom were considered a separate
- 21 group as a result of the difficulty in their speaking, in their
- 22 names and in their personal biography, and for that reason they
- 23 were executed.
- 24 The forced evacuation of the Khmer Krom from the East and from
- 25 Vietnam:

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- 1 When the CPK had an intensified fighting with Vietnam from 1977,
- 2 they evacuated the during the third phase of the Khmer Krom
- 3 people and the Khmer Krom people were continued to be killed,
- 4 persecuted as part of their policy to eliminate anyone who was
- 5 involved with Vietnam. From late 1977 to 1978, CPK relocated
- 6 Khmer Krom by force from the East, in particular from Prey Veng
- 7 and Svay Rieng province along the Vietnamese border, to Pursat
- 8 and Battambang provinces.
- 9 [11.07.49]
- 10 CPK prohibited religious practice. They destroyed or transformed
- 11 pagodas into a personal place for consumption and forced the
- 12 Khmer Rouge monks to disrobe. Khmer Krahom, the Khmer Rouge,
- 13 forced the monks to relocate themselves to the
- 14 Vietnamese/Khmer/Cambodian Border in Kiri Vong District together
- 15 with 400 other monks from 32 pagodas, and they were later forced
- 16 to disrobe.
- 17 On the issue of the participation of the accused in this policy,
- 18 on the 1st of April 1977, the CPK issued a specific order that
- 19 is, with instruction from Office 870, to the Khmer Rouge cadres
- 20 to arrest the Vietnamese and all the Khmer Krom who spoke
- 21 Vietnamese or who were born in Vietnam. And in late 1977, the CPK
- 22 appealed for a political study where they invited and targeted
- 23 the Khmer Krom people in Olympic Stadium in Phnom Penh and they
- 24 were told that they would keep anyone who agreed to follow
- 25 Angkar.

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- 1 [11.09.16]
- 2 During the meeting, Khieu Samphan, who was a minute taker in a
- 3 secret meeting in mid-1977 where Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, and Son Sen,
- 4 ordered for the purification and the execution of the secretary
- 5 of the East Zone, So Phim, and many of the military leaders with
- 6 CPK as far as the political cadres in the East Zone.
- 7 On the issue of the killing of the Vietnamese people, which was
- 8 based on the theory of the matrilineal descent, the policy of
- 9 Democratic Kampuchea was to eliminate the Vietnamese people based
- 10 on the theory of matrilineal descent. This policy showed that
- 11 they only want to have a homogenous race within the CPK and
- 12 eliminating CPK enemies. In Prey Veng province, a mixed marriage
- 13 policy was in place to eliminate Vietnamese spouses in mixed
- 14 marriages. One civil party, whose family was affected by the
- 15 policy stated: "I observed that if a wife if the husband was a
- 16 Vietnamese, the husband would be killed, but not the children."
- 17 [11.10.39]
- 18 This policy was implemented throughout Prey Veng province.
- 19 Another civil party testifies that the Khmer Rouge policy was, if
- 20 the Khmer spouse did not kill his or her partner, then the couple
- 21 would be killed by the Khmer Rouge. Another Khmer civil party
- 22 said his Vietnamese wife and six children, and the father-in-law
- 23 and mother-in-law were all killed because they were Vietnamese.
- 24 Vietnamese women were the target of sexual rape, as evidenced by
- 25 the civil party who stated that Vietnamese virgin women was

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- 1 sexually raped by the Khmer Rouge. The impact of such policy on
- 2 the Vietnamese was highlighted by a Vietnamese civil party that
- 3 "they suffered a lot under the Khmer Rouge regime".
- 4 [11.11.55]
- 5 The harm, as a result of the forced transfer for the Vietnamese
- 6 people civil parties faced inhumane conditions, and they were
- 7 deprived of their personal property by the Khmer Rouge. And, also
- 8 as a result of the genocide policy that is, the killing of
- 9 those people, based on the matrilineal descent had a great
- 10 mental suffering and effect, and that continued to haunt them.
- 11 Another civil party who was forced to marry in the 25 to 30
- 12 couples testified that they were sorrowed when they saw that the
- 13 Vietnamese people was forced to marry the Khmer people, as they
- 14 had no right to choose the one of their choice. The couples who
- 15 were married they did not want to get married, but they had no
- 16 choice as they were forced to.
- 17 [11.13.05]
- 18 Vietnamese civil parties in Case 002, as a result of the forced
- 19 transfer to Vietnam they lost their personal identity, and
- 20 their identity cards indicating that they were the Khmer
- 21 citizens. And that was the direct result of this policy.
- 22 On the treatments toward the religion and other ethnic
- 23 minorities; the objective and the specific measures on targeting
- 24 the people were established and put into practice during
- 25 Democratic Kampuchea. On religion and races of other ethnic

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- 1 minorities of the Cham, of the Buddhist, of the Christians, and
- 2 of the other minority religious followers were not allowed to
- 3 practice, because of their instruction that the society based
- 4 on no religion and had no social classes. Religion was considered
- 5 reactionary, which would destroy Democratic Kampuchea. And for
- 6 that reason, Cambodian people were prohibited to practice any
- 7 religion. And, in addition, the DK leadership stated that all
- 8 religions were reactionary. This policy was in addition to other
- 9 policies for the implementation of the socialist revolution, in
- 10 leaps and bounds, to build a one society without religion,
- 11 without class distinction, by eliminating all the ethnic -
- 12 ethnicity, race, religion, and classes and other specific
- 13 cultural groups.
- 14 [11.14.57]
- 15 In addition, related to the Cham people, measures at various
- 16 classes and were implemented for the Cham community.
- 17 From the 1970, there were various confrontations regarding the
- 18 practice of religions, and they were prohibited. When Phnom Penh
- 19 was liberated in 1975, this policy had already been implemented
- 20 nation-wide. As indicated by a civil party, they made an
- 21 announcement that there would be no more culture, and people
- 22 would not be allowed to abandon the palm tree in order to
- 23 practice and respect the Buddhist religion. Many Cham civil
- 24 parties state that, under the Khmer Rouge regime, there was
- 25 strict prohibition for the practice of their religion. Those Cham

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- 1 civil parties state that the Islamic pray and the practice of
- 2 respecting other religions were eliminated.
- 3 [11.16.12]
- 4 Other ethnic minorities were prohibited from practicing their
- 5 religion. A Jarai civil party stated, after 17 April 1975, the
- 6 Khmer Rouge prohibited people from believing from praying to
- 7 their ancestors' souls. From that day onwards, Jarai ethnic
- 8 minority did not pray did not dare pray to their ancestors'
- 9 souls.
- 10 Another Tumpoun civil party recalls that the religion and culture
- 11 was prohibited, and they were now prohibited to give food
- offering to the dead or to kill the buffalo to do so.
- 13 On the policy towards these targeted groups; it was implemented
- 14 by the Party through the order from the commune or the village
- 15 chief, and the order was relayed, and monks were asked to leave
- 16 from the pagoda and to disrobe. A civil party recalls that,
- 17 "after disrobing, my younger brother was asked to be a soldier,
- 18 and he disappeared since. They accused that monks were the
- 19 leeches or the parasites, and monks had to manufacture or play a
- 20 role in order to build a country".
- 21 [11.17.46]
- 22 As indicated, in 1973, the objective of the classification and
- 23 the transferring of the Cham people as part of the measure was
- 24 implemented by the Democratic Kampuchea against the Cham
- 25 community. A witness a civil party statement recalled the

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- 1 forced transfer from his village before the victory in Phnom Penh
- 2 on 17 April 1975.
- 3 [11.18.16]
- 4 Many Cham civil parties confirmed that Khmer Rouge strictly
- 5 implemented their instructions and prohibited the Cham from
- 6 making prayers five times per day, and any violation of such
- 7 prohibition was meant to oppose the Revolution. Some people
- 8 prayed quietly, and they were taken and killed. Other civil
- 9 parties discussed the matter that the Khmer Rouge searched in the
- 10 Chams' houses to find the Koran/Bible in order to burn them. They
- 11 recalled that they destroyed their religious practice. They went
- 12 into the house to search for the Koran and other books and
- 13 Bibles, and they would destroy them all.
- 14 Civil parties were prohibited from practicing or respecting
- 15 culture, religion, and traditional clothes of the Cham. They
- 16 spoke about the prohibition on the speaking of the Cham language
- 17 during the Khmer Rouge period.
- 18 [11.19.32]
- 19 Besides the Cham, Tumpoun civil parties also recalled that,
- 20 during the Khmer Rouge regime, they were forced to wear black
- 21 clothes. They were not allowed to wear traditional dress: "We
- 22 were not allowed to organize any funeral or traditional marriage
- 23 during the Khmer Rouge in power".
- 24 Some Jarai and Tumpoun civil parties spoke about the prohibition
- 25 of the religious practice when they made the application to

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- 1 become civil parties. As the result of the elimination of
- 2 religion and traditional culture, civil parties reported that the
- 3 systematic arrest of religious leaders that two leaders of
- 4 their tribes were caught by Angkar for a study session, and they
- 5 disappeared since.
- 6 The Khmer Rouge destroyed the sacred place the symbol of
- 7 religion by way of pagoda or most stupas, and they were turned
- 8 into other usage. Another civil party recalls that Phnum Sra
- 9 (phonetic) Pagoda became a prison to house those people who were
- 10 considered enemies. They were tortured. And Buddha statues was
- 11 considered was destroyed systematically. Another civil party
- 12 recalled that pagodas were destroyed by the Khmer Rouge and
- 13 Buddha statues were thrown into the river.
- 14 [11.21.21]
- 15 Many civil parties testified that the Cham mosques were destroyed
- 16 during the Khmer Rouge, and some of the mosques were turned into
- 17 warehouses and pigpens. As recalled by a civil party, they burned
- 18 and destroyed the mosques and turned them into a food warehouse.
- 19 Other elements of the policies towards the Cham people were was
- 20 that they were forced to eat pork. If anyone refused, they would
- 21 be considered to oppose the Khmer Rouge and they would face the
- 22 execution. A civil party stated that the Cham identity were
- 23 known, and they would be killed regardless whether they were
- 24 male, female, or children. A clear policy was established by the
- 25 DK leadership to target the Cham, because they were part of a

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- 1 specific ethnic group. The political the policy characteristics
- 2 were established because the Khmer Rouge leader wanted to
- 3 separate them, and to separate the Cham community in order to
- 4 create a collective society with no religion, which was based
- 5 solely on the Revolution.
- 6 [11.23.06]
- 7 The impact of such a campaign for the desecration and the
- 8 elimination of Cham was part of the destruction of the Cham
- 9 people. In relation to the practice of the religion in the Khmer
- 10 Rouge regime, internal documents of the Democratic Kampuchea
- 11 referred to the elimination of religion and the elimination of
- 12 the monks as 85 to 90 per cent of the monks were forced to
- 13 abandon the monkhood and to leave their pagodas, where they later
- 14 were destroyed.
- 15 Some Jarai and Tumpoun civil parties spoke about the suffering
- 16 they received, which had an impact on their mentality, as they
- 17 were prohibited from respecting the soul of the trees. Tumpoun
- 18 and Jarai people still talk about the current suffering, due to
- 19 the loss of their religious leaders under the Khmer Rouge regime.
- 20 After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, it was difficult for
- 21 ethnic minorities to study about their religious their
- 22 religions and belief. Only with assistance of the older people.
- 23 The systematic and widespread implementation of the policy to
- 24 prohibit and oppress all kinds of religions which were
- 25 established clear state clearly, in the case, that they were

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- ordered by the upper level, as indicated in the 15 telegrams
- 2 where the report about the policies toward the Cham people in
- 3 particular that they had to be relocated based on the
- 4 understanding.
- 5 [11.25.06]
- 6 The entire destruction of the Cham community in Kampong Cham
- 7 province clearly indicated that there was a clear plan put
- 8 forward by the upper echelon of the Democratic Kampuchea. The
- 9 plan was coordinated by the senior leaders of the Democratic
- 10 Kampuchea, reported to the Party's centre namely, Ke Pauk, the
- 11 secretary of the Centre Zone in 1977 and that was during the
- 12 purge of the cadres of the East Zone. And Ke Pauk became the
- 13 commander of the East Zone sector and the commander of the
- 14 military in the North Zone. As a member of the Central Committee,
- 15 Ke Pauk was in charge of Office 870 in particular Nuon Chea and
- 16 Son Sen who would report on the fighting in the battlefield.
- 17 [11.26.07]
- 18 In relation to Buddhism, the internal document of CPK indicated
- 19 that abandonment of the religion was not a choice, but it was the
- 20 instructions by Angkar that they the practice of such religion
- 21 was prohibited, based on the policy that, to dig the grass, the
- 22 roots need to be dug out as well, and the monks had to leave the
- 23 pagoda to work in the rice fields. This policy was to eliminate
- 24 the special group in society, and it was coordinated by the
- 25 speaker leadership, when religion was declared as part of the

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- 1 oppressive class and the exploitative class.
- 2 As confirmed by the accused, some strict measures were decided
- 3 for the reform of the economy. The necessity of a widespread
- 4 reform was to pick, or to seek out, those activities which were
- 5 not productive, and to encourage those who were part of the
- 6 production. The accused announced that, as a result, the struggle
- 7 had to be maintained in order to meet the objective of the
- 8 production to the maximum.
- 9 [11.27.36]
- 10 Mr. President, I conclude my part, and I'd like to cede the floor
- 11 to my colleague Ty Srinna. Thank you.
- 12 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 13 Thank you. Ty Srinna, you may proceed.
- 14 MS. TY SRINNA:
- 15 My respect to Mr. President, Your Honours, parties to the
- 16 proceeding, and members of the public. My name is Ty Srinna. I am
- 17 one of the civil party lawyers in Case 002. Following on from my
- 18 colleague, I am going to raise three points: One, the factual
- 19 elements of the forced movement phase 1; two, the suffering the
- 20 civil parties and the victims have sustained since the first wave
- 21 of evacuation on the from the 17th of April 1975, and
- 22 throughout the Democratic Kampuchea period. And, finally, I am
- 23 going to make an overall observation on certain points in
- 24 response to the written brief of the Defence counsels.
- 25 [11.29.02]

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- 1 In order to save time, I am not going to touch upon the points
- 2 that I have already submitted in the written brief submitted to
- 3 your Chamber earlier. I would like to provide additional comments
- 4 to the written brief, so that the Chamber have the additional
- 5 basis to consider rendering justice to the civil party as well as
- 6 the victims of the Democratic Kampuchea regime.
- 7 One, the specific facts concerning forced movement, phase 1:
- 8 First, I would like to bring up the statements concerning the
- 9 participation of the civil parties and their relation with this
- 10 fact. As Your Honours and members of the proceedings have already
- 11 been aware of, the facts of recognized in Case 002/01 was the
- 12 forced movement phase 1, forced movement phase 2, and the
- 13 execution of people at Tuol Po Chrey. And this was severed from
- 14 the temporal jurisdiction, from the 17th of April 1975 to the 6th
- 15 of January 1979. For the facts concerning forced transfer of
- 16 movement, phase 2 and the execution of people at Tuol Po Chrey
- 17 will be addressed by my colleague after my presentation.
- 18 [11.30.58]
- 19 Your Honours, through various evidence particularly evidence
- 20 provided by the civil parties and witnesses who have come across
- 21 this regime provides very clearly that the forced transfer in
- 22 phase 1 was not confined to the evacuation of Phnom Penh City,
- 23 but it also encompassed the evacuation of other provincial towns
- 24 throughout Cambodia; namely, Kampong Som, Battambang, Kampong
- 25 Speu, Pursat, Kandal, Kampot, Svay Rieng, Kampong Cham, Takeo,

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- 1 and the subsequent transfer of people from one location to
- 2 another location, starting from the 17th of April 1975 to
- 3 sometime before September 1975.
- 4 I would like to emphasize that this severed case is of an
- 5 effective means to expedite the proceedings, as well as to
- 6 provide answers in an expeditious manner to the civil parties and
- 7 the victims throughout Cambodia, who have been waiting for
- 8 justice for a long time. The civil parties and the victims alike
- 9 insist that the Court punish the leaders of the Democratic
- 10 Kampuchea; namely, Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan.
- 11 [11.32.46]
- 12 Today's Closing Statement in Court, both co-accused have spoken
- 13 very little on what they have ordered, participated, knew, heard,
- 14 saw, and they denied their knowledge of the crimes they have
- 15 committed. Due to the trust to this Tribunal, as well as their
- 16 participation in their capacity as civil parties thus far, 32
- 17 civil parties have come to testify before your Chamber. They
- 18 described the specific location, time, and actual aspect on the
- 19 ground which the Democratic Kampuchea troops forced them and
- 20 other victims across Cambodia to leave the city and other
- 21 provincial towns across Cambodia.
- 22 [11.33.54]
- 23 In order to achieve their plan of evacuating people, the Khmer
- 24 Rouge namely the Khmer Rouge troops employed various means,
- 25 including threat of life, threat at gunpoint, search and arrest

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- 1 of soldiers and former officials of the Khmer Republic
- 2 government, Khmer Krom people, and they also classify civilians
- 3 as the New Civilian, or commonly known as the 17 April People.
- 4 And they also placed them under a form of deferential treatment
- 5 when they reach their destination.
- 6 The civil party describes very vividly the condition before,
- 7 during, and after the evacuation, and time when they reached the
- 8 destination. And the testimonies were provided very clearly by
- 9 individuals based on their age, sex, race, and group, and places
- 10 where they worked. And the evidence provided by the civil parties
- 11 amount to considerable number. And these provide direct evidence
- 12 and circumstantial evidence, which corroborate one another's, as
- 13 well as the other evidence and testimony provided by other
- 14 witnesses concerning the facts of forced transfer.
- 15 [11.35.37]
- 16 It is worth recalling that, before the 17th of April 1975, the
- 17 Khmer Republic government, commonly known as Lon Nol government,
- 18 was the subject or target of the overthrow of the Democratic
- 19 Kampuchea led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Cambodian
- 20 people under the Lon Nol regime at that time wanted to live in
- 21 peace, solidarity, freedom, and enjoy making their livelihood
- 22 according to their ability. The shortcoming some shortcomings
- 23 of the government of Khmer Republic at that time induced the
- 24 Khmer Rouge to lure the Cambodian people who have suffered from
- 25 certain social injustice to join their revolutionary forces. And

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- 1 this situation gained momentum over time.
- 2 As a result, the Khmer Rouge soldiers advanced very quickly to
- 3 eventually conquer the Lon Nol government, and it came to power
- 4 officially on the 17th of April 1975. This victory was
- 5 characterized by the control of certain important cities,
- 6 including Phnom Penh cities, and they finally were in power to
- 7 control the state authority as well as the fate of Cambodian
- 8 people. At that time, in Phnom Penh, more than 2 million people
- 9 were residing, and they started to be transferred.
- 10 [11.37.22]
- 11 When they came to power, it was not in accordance with the will
- of the people, but they came to power by force by revenge and
- 13 they killed Lon Nol soldiers and the former officials of
- 14 soldiers, as well as civil as well as civilians and the Khmer
- 15 Krom in the course of evacuation, particularly when they were
- 16 placed in the cooperative worksites and security offices across
- 17 the country.
- 18 Next, I am going to touch upon the suffering that the civil
- 19 parties and victims have sustained from the time when they were
- 20 evacuated from the 17 of April 1975 and throughout the Democratic
- 21 Kampuchea period.
- 22 I would like to inform Your Honours that there have been various
- 23 testimony by the civil parties, as well as the victims, who
- 24 stated very clearly the impacts and suffering that they have
- 25 sustained in the course of the evacuation phase 1 and other

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- 1 phases. And nobody would ever understand their condition and
- 2 situation better than they themselves. They were all traumatized.
- 3 They suffered directly from this forced transfer.
- 4 [11.39.00]
- 5 Numerous testimonies indicated the trauma that people have
- 6 sustained due to the vivid scenes of people being killed.
- 7 Civilian soldiers, monks, the elderly, women, children, and other
- 8 unidentified men and women were killed along the street. And they
- 9 encountered these scenes these horrifying scenes that they
- 10 have never seen along the way when they were being evacuated to
- 11 the destination. And other witnesses and civil parties also
- 12 testified on the location where the where they saw dead bodies.
- 13 It was not a place where the dead bodies were actually put, but
- 14 they simply saw them along the way particularly, the dead
- 15 bodies as a result of the execution and they saw them all when
- 16 they were being evacuated.
- 17 [11.40.15]
- 18 And as for other witnesses and civil parties, they also mentioned
- 19 that the evacuation from Phnom Penh and other provincial towns by
- 20 the Khmer Rouge they conducted searches and they arrested
- 21 people instantly when they were being evacuated if they ever
- 22 suspected anybody of being the soldier or official of the
- 23 previous regime. As a result, the fate of those officials or
- 24 people who were implicated being the official of Lon Nol regime
- 25 disappeared and they never returned. The condition did not

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- 1 improve but it deteriorated all the time until they reached the
- 2 destination. Lon Nol soldier and the former official of this
- 3 administration were searched and targeted and they were separated
- 4 and segregated. And from day by day they disappear and they never
- 5 return, they left behind many orphans, widows, until today. And
- 6 at the same time civil parties and victims, who have separated
- 7 from their family, husband, separated from wife and wife,
- 8 separated from husband and many orphans live without any hopes.
- 9 And some of them suffered from many diseases including chronic
- 10 disease or post-traumatic disorder as well as other social physio
- 11 psycho diseases to date.
- 12 [11.42.08]
- 13 The barbarous acts led by the leaders of the Khmer Rouge have
- 14 left with the Cambodian people a lot of suffering psychologically
- 15 and physically. And following their admission as the civil party
- 16 they have already become the hopeless people. Some of them are
- 17 very poor now and some are very hopeless. Some suffer from
- 18 psychological and social pressure. And some have fallen sick and
- 19 they are traumatized, so traumatized that they cannot do anything
- 20 for their living and I believe that Your Honours must have
- 21 already heard the testimony particularly the great suffering that
- 22 they have endured. And I believe that you will have the basis for
- 23 the consideration on the suffering that the civil parties and
- 24 victims across Cambodia have suffered. And as the physio
- 25 psychologist, Chhim Sotheara, concluded that there was prevalence

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- 1 of post-traumatic disorder which the victims as a result of the
- 2 forced evacuation during the Democratic Kampuchea period. He came
- 3 to testify before the Chamber on the 30th of June 2013.
- 4 [11.43.43]
- 5 Finally, I would like to make my final observation on the
- 6 submission by the Defence team in their written brief. I will
- 7 touch upon a number of points based on the on the basis of the
- 8 forced transfer phase 1.
- 9 One, the shortage of food and security between April 1975 and
- 10 this was used as the ground for the evacuation. I consider this
- 11 as an utterly unreasonable point. I would like to respond to the
- 12 Defence team that the issue of food shortage. The lack of
- 13 assistance as well as the security reason between April 1975 and
- 14 throughout this period and in the early days of this regime was
- 15 not the reason that is not plausible. I would like to respond to
- 16 the Defence team that if the even though the situation in Phnom
- 17 Penh prior to the 17 of April 1975 was partly insecure in certain
- 18 place as a result of the proceeding war as well as the on-going
- 19 shelling along the suburb of Phnom Penh. But the livelihood of
- 20 the people was indeed better than that during the Khmer Rouge
- 21 regime and, particularly, following the evacuation of people out
- 22 of Phnom Penh and other provincial town. The livelihood of
- 23 people, for example, when they could sell things, they could
- 24 perform their job everyday up until the 17 of April 1975.
- 25 [11.45.40]

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- 1 In addition, the condition of food for people were supplied on a
- 2 regular basis and people still had sufficient food to eat. On
- 3 this point, I would like to bring up one point from the
- 4 prosecutor on their written brief in Case 002/01. In paragraph
- 5 257 who cited the testimony of Sydney Schanberg; an American
- 6 journalist who denied the issue of food shortage in Cambodia
- 7 which was asserted by Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea, and Ieng Sary
- 8 that the evacuation of Phnom Penh was and other provincial town
- 9 was for necessity reason particularly because of the shortage of
- 10 food and Mr. Schanberg said that that was not the case. Mr.
- 11 Schanberg emphasized that, in fact, the Khmer Rouge prevented and
- 12 the transport of food into Phnom Penh and particularly they also
- 13 shell and attack by rocket on the ship transporting rice and food
- 14 stuff along Mekong River.
- 15 [11.47.09
- 16 In the introductory submission, paragraph 14, it also indicates
- 17 the result or the consequences of the evacuation of people from
- 18 Phnom Penh and the denial of international assistance from the
- 19 Khmer Rouge government. The assumption that the lack of food was
- 20 the reason for the evacuation was not plausible and if it was the
- 21 case this evacuation should not have been done in an emergent and
- 22 abrupt situation. And coercive measure would not have been
- 23 employed because after all, if people had to cultivate rice and
- 24 they would not spend less than a few months to produce any crops.
- 25 For this reason, I believe that there was only one reason that

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- 1 the Democratic Kampuchea had, at that time, was to evacuate
- 2 people out of Phnom Penh City at whatever cost.
- 3 Finally, it is observed that people some two million people who
- 4 were evacuated out of Phnom Penh regardless of their age and
- 5 their condition even though pregnant ladies or the elderly or
- 6 people who are being treated in the hospital, the surrendered
- 7 soldier, were all required to leave the city no longer than one
- 8 week period. So this was a measure that was imposed on the people
- 9 and they mobilized means and other pressure, for example, they
- 10 resort to threat (sic) them at gunpoint to leave the city. And
- 11 those who resist leaving would be even killed instantly.
- 12 [11.49.30]
- 13 If the Khmer Rouge leader had the intention to protect the people
- 14 from starvation due to the lack of food as they reiterated, I
- 15 believe that following their victory they would have done or
- 16 prepared something for the people when they were evacuated. But
- 17 actually they did not do that. On the contrary the Khmer Rouge
- 18 leader did not address the issue of lack of food when people were
- 19 evacuated to the country side. It was completely contradictory to
- 20 what they said and it was purely their pretext for evacuation.
- 21 Other testimony confirms that the issue of lack of food after the
- 22 evacuation have led to massive death of people because they lack
- 23 food, lack of access to vitamin and they suffered from diseases
- 24 and overworked. Many people died after during and after the
- 25 course of evacuation. And people were given only one can of rice

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- 1 for 4 to 10 people per meal.
- 2 [11.50.52]
- 3 The point raised by the defence counsel which I believe that is
- 4 not correct either is the issue of security. They said that
- 5 there was a looming bombardment by America. They publicized this
- 6 information; they said that this bombardment would recur
- 7 following the Khmer Rouge came to Phnom Penh. Witness who was in
- 8 the condition of evacuation were all threat to leave Phnom Penh
- 9 because they used this message, the message that America would
- 10 bombard the city. The people in their neighbourhood, their
- 11 friends, their relatives, and colleagues also received exactly
- 12 the same message. No testimony ever mention that there was indeed
- 13 bombardment by American soldiers again except the gun fire by the
- 14 Khmer Rouge troops to force people to leave the city and the
- 15 execution along the street.
- 16 [11.52.14]
- 17 Based on Military techniques, the leaders of the Khmer Rouge, as
- 18 well as the commanders of the troops, must have known very well
- 19 whether or not there was a likelihood of American bombardment. In
- 20 this case the fact that they said they had to evacuate the people
- 21 immediately following the fear of bombardment the Khmer Rouge
- 22 soldier merely mention that there might be bombardment or they
- 23 say that it is likely that America would bomb the city. This was
- 24 the language of uncertainty. But if you look at the various
- 25 testimony provided by the witnesses as well as the civil party

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- 1 was that the soldiers of Democratic Kampuchea used invented
- 2 message in order to evacuate people. And I believe that this
- 3 message would not be able to be sent to many places in the same
- 4 manner without the order from the commander in the military as
- 5 well as the decision makers at the leadership level.
- 6 Your Honours, as I mentioned earlier, the creation of a situation
- 7 of panic was one of the effective means to evacuate people out of
- 8 Phnom Penh. And this was contradictory this was different from
- 9 what the defence team for Nuon Chea that the bombardment -
- 10 looming bombardment of Phnom Penh was reasonable ground for
- 11 forced movement.
- 12 [11.54.28]
- 13 But in order to respond to this issue, let us put it in the
- 14 context: we can ask whether or not there was actually the
- 15 bombardment on the city. And was it a practical reason for
- 16 evacuation. Why did the Khmer Rouge leaders use this message to
- 17 evacuate people? Well, as a matter of fact, if you look at the
- 18 historical aspect of these bombardment by American troops in the
- 19 rural area of Cambodia, it did leave behind the handicaps,
- 20 displaced many people up until 1973 when the American Congress
- 21 voted to cease bombardment. According to the report of the
- 22 Pentagon of the United States, the bombardment in Cambodia led to
- 23 130, 000 refugees and up until 1970, 60 per cent of the refugee -
- 24 no, 60 per cent of the refugees by 1971 recognized that the
- 25 bombardment was the reason for the evacuation. And this

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- 1 bombardment left with people the trauma up until the 17th of
- 2 April 1975 and the evacuation took place. As Mr. Ben Kiernan
- 3 recorded in his book that entitled "Pol Pot Regime". He said
- 4 that the Communist Party of Kampuchea used the pretext of
- 5 American bombardment as propaganda and a pretext to implement its
- 6 radical and barbarous policy.
- 7 [11.56.41]
- 8 Now, I would like to invite the Chamber to consider on these
- 9 facts. This pretext of American bombardment, I believe that that
- 10 was a strategy to force people to leave the city in accordance
- 11 with their plan. In short, it was a very unfortunate message and
- 12 a propaganda that the Khmer Rouge employed even though they knew
- 13 for sure that the impact was far reaching. And they wanted to use
- 14 this message in order to inflict fear on the civilian as well as
- 15 the Lon Nol soldier who believe that the Lon Nol Government would
- 16 no longer be able to protect them. For this reason, the defence
- 17 teams did not tell the Court what actually happened on the ground
- 18 at that time and the reason for the evacuation was indeed flawed.
- 19 In the contrary, during this Khmer rouge period, according to Ben
- 20 Kiernan, the official of Lon Nol and the civilian up to 10,000
- 21 were killed in the course of the evacuation out of Phnom Penh.
- 22 Now, I would like to address one point raised by the defence team
- 23 for Mr. Nuon Chea who brought up one point from the testimony of
- 24 Mr. François Bizot, who said that he did not see the dead body
- 25 and then later on he said that he saw five to six dead bodies.

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- 1 [11.58.49]
- 2 That was not correct because what he said was only representation
- 3 of the place where he went to, he probably went to only a small
- 4 section of Phnom Penh City, at that time, and he based his
- 5 testimony on his own experience of his limited travel in the
- 6 city.
- 7 Now, I would like to discuss the discriminate treatment of the
- 8 New People, the Former Lon Nol soldiers and officials, and the
- 9 Khmer Krom. There was a policy of separation, segregation and
- 10 labelling of people as Old People and New People. And they
- 11 continued to target specific group of people and those people
- were the subject of the execution, mistreatment by the Khmer
- 13 Rouge troops. This treatment was indeed an infliction of fear on
- 14 the people. Of course those who have been in this situation -
- 15 particularly when they were forced to work into cooperatives -
- 16 they agreed with each other that people were separated.
- 17 [12.00.09]
- 18 And the goal was very clear; they wanted to reduce the members of
- 19 groups on different pretext, which I will describe in the
- 20 following:
- 21 One of the arguments was that they started to segregate members
- 22 of the group and members of the groups, day by day, lose its
- 23 members and they said that they would send members of the team to
- 24 work in other places. And others die of diseases or starvation;
- 25 some of the civil party testified before the Chamber that they

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only provided one can of rice for 4 to 10 people per meal. Once

- 2 they fell sick due to food shortage or vitamin, they would be
- 3 given only rabbit dung tablets and most of them die due to lack
- 4 of access to proper medicine. No witness stands up to object
- 5 these realities.
- 6 [12.02.21]
- 7 One more point that the defence team also raised that was the
- 8 degrading treatment of the New People and the Khmer Krom. They
- 9 said that the New People could not adapt themselves to new life
- 10 such as constructing houses and living in the cooperatives and
- 11 working in the rice paddy. This was the point that the civil
- 12 parties and other victims find it unacceptable because civil
- 13 party and victims who were the direct victims of this situation -
- 14 they testified in their own language; they made comparison of the
- 15 suffering that they sustained and the harsh conditions that they
- 16 were imposed at that time, was of degrading nature. Now, the
- 17 civil parties and the victims raised the issue of poor health
- 18 condition following their travel of hundreds of kilometres before
- 19 they reach the destination they had to adapt themselves to new
- 20 livelihood. They had to construct their own shelter and they were
- 21 forced to work in the rice field and this of course was the
- 22 situation that the New People was not used to unlike the Base
- 23 People who got used to working in the rice field and the place
- 24 where they resided.
- 25 [12.03.15]

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- 1 The second issue is the construction of shelter working in the
- 2 field and looking after the kids, are normally the work that was
- 3 under constant secret surveillance and the Khmer Rouge cadres
- 4 made comparisons between the performance of the work of New
- 5 People and the Base People. Even trivial mistakes, such as
- 6 breaking plough or needle, were considered to be serious mistake
- 7 that deserve punishment and, as a result, New People were
- 8 normally punished, such as degraded treatment, mistreatment and
- 9 even worse, execution.
- 10 The issue of the adaptation in accordance with the policy of the
- 11 Communist Party of Kampuchea, the people continue to disappear
- 12 from time to time without any reason.
- 13 [12.04.36]
- 14 As for the inflict of fear and with the people they encounter
- 15 many difficult and appalling situation along the street. They
- 16 were threatened at gun point to leave; they witnessed people
- 17 dying along the street. They witnessed a Lon Nol soldier being
- 18 killed along the street. So these are the situations that led to
- 19 the traumatic experience of the civil parties and the victims. I
- 20 believe that if they did not have any differential treatment or
- 21 discriminatory treatment they should not have segregated people
- 22 to live differently between New People and the Old People. And
- 23 they would not they should have also provided some levy to the
- 24 New People who did not get used to working in the rice field and
- 25 they did not get used to condition of live in the countryside at

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- 1 that time.
- 2 I would like to conclude my statement now and I would like to
- 3 cede the floor, Mr. President, to my colleague for now.
- 4 [12.06.04]
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Thank you, Counsel.
- 7 The time is now appropriate for lunch adjournment. The Chamber
- 8 will adjourn now and resume at 1.30 this afternoon.
- 9 Security guards are instructed to bring Mr. Khieu Samphan to the
- 10 holding cell downstairs and have him returned to this courtroom
- 11 this afternoon before 1.30.
- 12 The Court is now adjourned.
- 13 (Court recesses from 1206H to 1331H)
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 15 The Court is now back in session.
- 16 I will hand over the floor to the Lead Co-Lawyer for the civil
- 17 party to make their Closing Statements.
- 18 The floor is yours now.
- 19 MS. MARTINEAU:
- 20 Mr. President, Your Honours, after my Cambodian colleagues, I
- 21 have the honour to speak to you on behalf of the civil parties,
- 22 and I salute the civil parties with respect. My international
- 23 colleagues and myself represent them. One nagging question, which
- 24 is almost an obsession, keeps coming up: "Why?"
- 25 [13.33.26]

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- 1 During the proceedings before your Chamber, the civil parties
- 2 have publicly asked the Accused, in their own way, and in
- 3 different ways, the same question. Time has not erased their
- 4 wounds. But a question is still there: Why? Will we have an
- 5 answer? I am not sure. To such a complex question, there can't be
- 6 a simple answer. The civil parties assist us in discovering the
- 7 true nature of this regime. It existed in secrecy, through deceit
- 8 and organized terror.
- 9 You, Mr. Nuon Chea, you, Mr. Khieu Samphan, after accepting to
- 10 break your silence, to answer questions put to you by 15 civil
- 11 parties who came to testify on the impact of what you did on
- 12 that occasion, you used, indeed, their words, and you tried to
- 13 give your regime and yourselves a human face, and to buttress the
- 14 lines of your defence, which we already know.
- 15 [13.35.04]
- 16 In your own way, you tried to evade the questions, and we must
- 17 reckon that by the way Mr. Nuon Chea, you acknowledge having
- 18 been a leader of Democratic Kampuchea. You even admitted the
- 19 flaws of that regime. But which flaws? You admitted
- 20 responsibility, but only moral responsibility. The civil parties,
- 21 unfortunately, will not know any more than that. Mr. Nuon Chea,
- 22 you asserted that you had no executive power. As if separation of
- 23 power existed during Democratic Kampuchea.
- 24 Mr. Khieu Samphan, you were more vocal, and your answers that
- 25 bore the marks of some compassion for the civil parties you

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- 1 said, and this is in line with a well-orchestrated defence that
- 2 you put in place for a very long time. Mr. Khieu Samphan, you
- 3 pose as a victim of the regime you served for long years. And
- 4 this was what you said:
- 5 "I knew nothing about it. It was not my field. Everything was
- 6 hidden to me. I was only an intellectual. I was not useful."
- 7 Your role, during that regime, was to try to save your life. And
- 8 you did succeed, by the way. You even pose as a prosecutor, and
- 9 you dare ask that those responsible for the heinous crimes that
- 10 the civil parties were victims of be prosecuted.
- 11 [13.36.55]
- 12 Mr. Khieu Samphan, for once be realistic. The facts are there.
- 13 You are before a court. When we read through your answers to the
- 14 civil parties, we see that you were a lot more than a puppet
- 15 president. Before, during, and after the Democratic Kampuchea
- 16 regime, both of you Mr. Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan you were
- 17 in the Party. You followed Pol Pot up to his last days. You were
- 18 the two men he trusted. Mr. Nuon Chea, you were his alter ego.
- 19 You never distanced yourself you never distanced yourself from
- 20 him. Who do you think you would convince by evading your true
- 21 responsibilities? The Chamber? The civil parties? The Cambodians?
- 22 You take your desires as reality. You use your preferred weapons
- 23 secrecy, deceit to justify yourself. The civil parties will
- 24 not be fooled by the double-game behind your words, which you
- 25 claim are warm-hearted.

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- 1 [13.38.17]
- 2 Everyone historians, researchers, experts did their analysis
- 3 of the history of Democratic Kampuchea. The accounts of the civil
- 4 parties is not by us. These are details: hard, precise facts, in
- 5 spite of the emotions involved. And all shows that your crimes
- 6 are crimes against humanity. The crimes, like the devil, are
- 7 everywhere. Even in the details. Especially in the details. My
- 8 learned colleagues said this morning, that the civil parties are
- 9 contributing to the work of justice, but also to the work of
- 10 remembrance. There is so much to be said.
- 11 How can we talk about what was silenced for long years? The heavy
- 12 mantle of silence was their only means of surviving so many
- 13 horrors. And yet, in the course of their testimonies, there is a
- 14 red thread that runs through them: The policy of secrecy and
- 15 deceit and organized terror which unfolded through the multiple
- 16 and similar experiences of the civil parties. It shows the
- 17 ideology that underpinned the preparation of that Revolution and
- 18 the putting in place of Democratic Kampuchea.
- 19 This Trial resituates us in a distant reality. We go back in
- 20 time, and the civil parties have helped us to do so. They have
- 21 told us how the terror was organized. We have to backtrack and go
- 22 back 30 years to understand the history of Democratic Kampuchea.
- 23 [13.40.13]
- 24 Of course, the history of Democratic Kampuchea was not written on
- 25 the 17th of April. We are all agreed on that. The entire history

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- 1 of the Cambodia forced it. There were five years of civil war,
- 2 particularly the unifying struggle to overthrow Lon Nol. But for
- 3 you, there was a lot more that had to be done than winning the
- 4 war. There was the Revolution: Constructing the nation, which
- 5 means deconstructing it and reconstructing it according to your
- 6 ideology. You dreamed of the great leap forward. During the war,
- 7 working underground was the order of the day, and you didn't want
- 8 to identify who was doing what. But, behind such secrecy, you
- 9 were already putting in place the structures that would serve as
- 10 a basis for this exceptional and grandiose revolution.
- 11 [13.41.17]
- 12 Land collectivization was done in stages. You liberated zones.
- 13 You know how the peasants are attached to traditions. You didn't
- 14 want to create any turmoil during that war period. You created
- 15 cooperatives we talked about it this morning according to
- 16 well-known models: The Soviet and Chinese, not to talk of
- 17 Stalinist and Maoist models. You used that as support for your
- 18 Revolution. But it was up to your Party the Communist Party -
- 19 which was the master of the land. They had the possibility of
- 20 convincing the peasant villagers to support the war, and to
- 21 support the radical change of society. It was fertile ground for
- 22 your propaganda, and it was a direct means of indoctrinating the
- 23 peasantry. You instilled in them your ideology.
- 24 Why did a large number of villages that you later on referred to
- 25 or characterized as Base People why did they reject what you

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- 1 called the New People? Why? The formatting of minds worked very
- 2 well. They heard for years that the enemy was, above all, the Lon
- 3 Nol troops and officials. That it was the capitalist puppets
- 4 living in the cities. And the list goes on. These preparations
- 5 also enabled the Party, even before the 17th of April 1975, to
- 6 exert social control on the people, to detect the enemy, and to
- 7 eliminate them.
- 8 [13.43.20]
- 9 The social control was only strengthened thereafter. At the time,
- 10 the Party guarded against talking about communism, but they would
- 11 talk about it later. Why? It is not a crime in itself to stage a
- 12 communist revolution; to want a better world; equality for all;
- 13 to construct and defend a nation on new basis. We can't say thing
- 14 against that. But by what means did you do so? What communism are
- 15 we talking about? You did not choose to innovate to achieve your
- 16 magnificent Revolution, styled on the Stalinist and Maoist
- 17 models. You know all the perversions of that model. It was the
- 18 Cold War. The objective reality is hidden. The statements made in
- 19 your speeches, as well as those you made in your propaganda radio
- 20 stations speak volumes. There were some ambivalent statements
- 21 that may show that the ideology was subservient, but you did not
- 22 show your true colours.
- 23 [13.44.40]
- 24 For five years, the Party had a smokescreen, the GRUNK, which
- 25 stemmed from the unholy alliance in which the various

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- 1 protagonists had something to gain. For the Prince, it was the
- 2 hope to be reinstated in his rightful place in the nation. And
- 3 for the Khmer Rouge, to gain credibility. Many Cambodians told
- 4 themselves that, if the Prince supports the Khmer Rouge, there is
- 5 hope. We'll jump on the bandwagon. Many of them, as a result of
- 6 such traps, joined the Khmer Rouge, only to realize too late the
- 7 trap into which they had fallen.
- 8 We heard some of those regrets before this Chamber. This is the
- 9 wave on which you surfed, and these are the lies through which
- 10 advanced. And you know, Mr. Khieu Samphan, you were in charge of
- 11 projecting this reassuring image abroad. The stage was set, as
- 12 early as the 17th of April 1975; deceitful secrecy and organized
- 13 terror: Hallmarks of a totalitarian regime. You wanted to
- 14 eradicate the culture of the people.
- 15 [13.46.04]
- 16 On the 17th of April, the Khmer Rouge army entered Phnom Penh. It
- 17 was victory. The leaders were not leading their troops. Where
- 18 were they? They saw soldier the people saw soldiers frowning,
- 19 indifferent. But the people somewhat rejoiced, because they
- 20 thought peace had returned. The war was over.
- 21 And it did not really matter to them who the victors were. Some
- 22 information filtered through, since the overthrow of the Prince,
- 23 not only on the fighting between the official army and the Khmer
- 24 Rouge, but also on what was happening in the rural areas. Rumours
- 25 ran rife. They suspected something. Let us play the game, even if

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- 1 it means back-cycling. That is what the city-dwellers said. We
- 2 are Cambodians; we will succeed in the end. And it gave you the
- 3 benefit of the doubt, which you would never give them. These
- 4 urban dwellers could not imagine what was going to happen to
- 5 them.
- 6 [13.47.32]
- 7 Contrary to the analysis that Mr. Nuon Chea appears to make, your
- 8 troops did not liberate a population that was imprisoned forcibly
- 9 by the Lon Nol government. People who had rallied behind your
- 10 cause, they were entering enemy territory. They had received
- 11 orders. They were programmed to execute your plan: The evacuation
- 12 of the entire population of Phnom Penh. Your regime started with
- 13 deceit on the 17th of April, and it continued to function through
- 14 lies. And after your defeat, you continue to lie, till date.
- 15 Deceit was one of the preconditions for the functioning of the
- 16 regime you established. You remained rooted in your ideology. You
- 17 thought that you were going to usher in a utopia in Cambodia. You
- 18 refused reality. You denied it. Deceit goes hand-in-hand with
- 19 secrecy. Philip Short, an expert who testified before this
- 20 Chamber and which the Defence quotes profusely in its briefs, he
- 21 says and I quote: "Deceit remains a major hallmark of your
- 22 regime. It was an instrument of power."
- 23 And, as I said earlier on, it is one of the hallmarks of
- 24 totalitarian regimes. You were the victors, and you moved forward
- 25 with your masks.

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- 1 On the day of victory, you showed what city-dwellers meant to
- 2 you. These city-dwellers were paralyzed by the call to evacuate
- 3 the town. We've heard the same reasons given by men dressed in
- 4 black and khaki who ordered the people to leave immediately their
- 5 homes.
- 6 [13.49.32]
- 7 Leaving the town for three days, because there were risks of
- 8 American bombings we talked about that. You said it was
- 9 necessary to clean up the town. When we know the double meaning
- 10 in the phraseology of the Khmer Rouge, we understand what "clean
- 11 up" could have meant. You subsequently gave another reason for
- 12 this evacuation of Phnom Penh. Famine. My learned colleague
- 13 talked about it also. You gave many sources of information, but
- 14 these were all false pretext, as Philip Short also told us. In
- 15 fact, 2 million people were on the streets in April without
- 16 water, without food, without shelter, for days on end. Was that
- 17 your way of solving the problem of famine?
- 18 [13.50.28]
- 19 It is all the more strange that you argued that Cambodia was
- 20 facing a disaster following the war and the American bombings. No
- 21 one will say that the country was flourishing; that the American
- 22 bombings did not have tragic and lasting effects on all these
- 23 zones. But when we follow your reasoning, we find that they had
- 24 nothing absolutely to eat, everywhere in Cambodia. So, what were
- 25 you going to do with 2 million people who were wandering on the

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- 1 roads and in the rural areas? You wanted to leave them to die of
- 2 hunger? "No", you say. "That was not our intention."
- 3 Fortunately, the bombings hadn't affected the entire country. The
- 4 inhabitants of Phnom Penh, especially those who didn't die on the
- 5 roads, found some food in cooperatives after drifting for days on
- 6 end. They managed to find something to survive on, but the
- 7 question no less pressing; what do they want of us? Why? Why?
- 8 Your answer today is that you were all Cambodian citizens, apart
- 9 from some traitors, soldiers, and feudalists. The rest of the
- 10 people were not the enemy. Yes, we evacuated you. It was general
- 11 and systematic, that is true, but we had no evil intentions.
- 12 Everyone was evacuated. There was no discrimination, apart from
- 13 the witch-hunting of members of the former regime, some of whom
- 14 were eliminated on the spot.
- 15 [13.52.15]
- 16 The number is a lot higher than what Mr. Khieu Samphan gave in
- 17 radio messages, and even what the Prince said. All the
- 18 inhabitants were evacuated. You call them the New People. They
- 19 were not the ones who gave themselves that name. The civil
- 20 parties did not stop saying that, when we got to the villages, or
- 21 even on the roads, they heard the Khmer Rouge and the villagers
- 22 calling them the 17 April People. The New People. That was the
- 23 official name. You built up an entity apart. You created a group
- 24 apart. You separated them from the masses, on which you base your
- 25 Marxist revolution.

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- 1 There was no working class in your country, so you logically
- 2 relied on the peasantry. You created an apartheid system in
- 3 Cambodian society. Even though the Base People did not enjoy all
- 4 the individual freedoms, they still had some rights.
- 5 [13.53.31]
- 6 By the way, they were called full-rights citizens. You are the
- 7 ones who created that category. The New People the evacuees -
- 8 were called the deposed. You said there were no political groups,
- 9 but you created that group. You don't have to be a member of a
- 10 party to be a politician, regardless of the various activities of
- 11 the citizens. You were the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea who
- 12 stuck that label on them. You were the ones who created that
- 13 group, a group that was essentially and globally an enemy. We
- 14 were always suspected we were the New People in principle. We
- 15 were considered as the enemy, the civil parties' state.
- 16 These citizens, you robbed them of their identity. Whether they
- 17 were traders, professors, or rickshaw drivers, everyone was put
- 18 in the same boat. It is true you did not make any distinction
- 19 between the New People. All the New People were discriminated
- 20 against.
- 21 That initial evacuation marked the beginning of the
- 22 dehumanization of the people. The New People became people
- 23 without rights. You even deprived those citizens of their
- 24 citizenship. They were forbidden to participate in the National
- 25 Assembly elections in 1976. The Base People enjoyed that right.

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- 1 [13.55.13]
- 2 I must say that one can smile sadly when we think about those
- 3 elections, an assembly that was created to keep up appearances.
- 4 The cadres of the Party disguised themselves as a dream team of
- 5 workers on paper to stage the Revolution. This shows the extent
- 6 to which your lies went.
- 7 Mr. Nuon Chea, this is how you were elected President of the
- 8 National Assembly. Mr. Khieu Samphan, you had just been appointed
- 9 President of Democratic Kampuchea, you are aware of that. You
- 10 know about those elections. Nothing was hidden to you.
- 11 The New People, therefore, lost their citizenship. Now, what were
- 12 your objectives, to destroy them? No, you say, to re educate
- 13 them. There were losses. That is not your problem for you. That
- 14 was a collateral effect of the evacuations. How many people were
- 15 arrested and eliminated? How many were going to be called
- 16 traitors, so called re educated persons who never reappeared? You
- 17 still used the same methods secrecy and lies.
- 18 Regarding those who disappeared, Mr. Khieu Samphan, you find that
- 19 the civil parties are not convincing on that subject.
- 20 [13.56.48]
- 21 Hundreds and hundreds of people disappeared during the first and
- 22 second evacuations. When thousands of people end up disappearing
- 23 and do not resurface more than 30 years later, in the context of
- 24 the then Democratic Kampuchea, what conclusions did you draw?
- 25 They disappeared. They are dead. These husbands, these wives,

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- 1 these brothers and sisters, these uncles, these aunts, these
- 2 cousins, these friends, these neighbours, these are known people
- 3 all disappeared.
- 4 You viewed these New People as a block and not as individuals.
- 5 Today, you acknowledge that the people suffered, but that was not
- 6 systematic and widespread, you say. You quote civil parties who
- 7 had the sincerity to say what they had experienced. They do not
- 8 lie. Yes, some of them were luckier than others. They stumbled
- 9 across more viable cooperatives or came across chiefs who were
- 10 less austere and villagers who were more welcoming. Some were
- 11 treated less severely than others.
- 12 [13.58.15]
- 13 In the pages that you quote, a lot is said about dehumanization
- 14 during the first evacuation, the loss of identity. They were
- 15 hoping to eat a bit more and they underscored the fact that these
- 16 differences showed that the situation was not completely bleak.
- 17 You tried to shield yourself from legal responsibility and blame
- 18 it all on the low level cadres. You were the leaders; you were
- 19 the Centre all the same.
- 20 The Revolution was advancing behind a mask, that of Angkar: "We
- 21 did not have any idea about what it was, but later on we
- 22 understood that it was the organization", one civil party says.
- 23 "We wondered what Angkar wanted of us", another civil party said.
- 24 You were Angkar. You looked the other way in order to protect
- 25 yourselves. You were afraid of losing your powers. You turned a

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- 1 blind eye in order to terrorize the people.
- 2 [13.59.33]
- 3 This is one what one of the civil parties, who was not a member
- 4 of the New People said. This is a civil party who had known your
- 5 comrades, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, when they came to seek refuge in
- 6 his region, Ratanakiri. He had been promoted village chief, but
- 7 he's one of those disappointed with the Revolution. He almost
- 8 ended up in S 21, and this is what he stated:
- 9 "There was nothing greater than Angkar. You could not escape
- 10 Angkar. Even if you had flown into the skies or sought refuge in
- 11 the fishponds with the fish you would not have eluded Angkar."
- 12 With this poetic flourish he conjures up the true identity of
- 13 Angkar.
- 14 In the last term, in the last quarter of 1975, Angkar announced,
- 15 through its subordinates, either diplomatically that is,
- 16 through lies, or authoritatively through violence, they announced
- 17 the evacuations towards the Northwest. That was the beginning of
- 18 the second population movement.
- 19 [14.00.49]
- 20 A number of New People accepted the transfers. It was
- 21 mouth-watering, they dreamed of rice granaries, eating to their
- 22 fill, going back to their villages. Some were more reticent and
- 23 they were strongly brutalized. Some were even executed. There
- 24 were other forced reasons they used to make the people to move.
- 25 You are going to go back to Phnom Penh, Angkar needs you. Some of

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- 1 them registered and those who had the fortune not to be
- 2 eliminated on the way realized very quickly what the lies were.
- 3 The decision of Angkar was part of a policy established by the
- 4 leaders. The objective was not humanitarian at all; the objective
- 5 was to produce more, to build the country, to increase rice
- 6 production, and to achieve the 3 tonnes per hectare. That was the
- 7 beginning of enslavement.
- 8 For several months, those transfers were organized, thousands of
- 9 people, the New People, were sent to the Northwest, the same who
- 10 had been victims of the first population movement. People who
- 11 were traumatized, famished, they found themselves on the journey
- 12 to the so called El Dorado, men, women, children, the elderly, no
- 13 distinction. Why? Why?
- 14 [14.02.24]
- 15 But the Base People remained in their homes. The civil parties
- 16 gave irrefutable evidence of the way decisions were taken at the
- 17 top, the objectives of the leaders, enslaving the evacuees who
- 18 were the New People. There weren't individuals; there was a mass
- 19 that had to be transferred. The planning of the transfers was
- 20 meticulous, everything was organized fully, well structured, and
- 21 everything was foreseen. They say that the Khmer Rouge leaders
- 22 had lists that had been approved by the leaders. "It was
- 23 impossible to amend them", one Khmer Rouge told someone who
- 24 didn't want to move, "the order is from above".
- 25 Some of them remained behind for several days waiting for the

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- 1 Khmer Rouge to rally all the 17 April People. All those who were
- 2 transferred, all those who were moved, were registered at the
- 3 point of departure and on their arrival. If the orders hadn't
- 4 come from the Centre it would have been completely impossible for
- 5 those people, those thousands of people to cross the country.
- 6 They were not the local leaders, the little chiefs, who took the
- 7 decisions, it was indeed the leaders.
- 8 [14.03.41]
- 9 The population movement was systematic and widespread. It was
- 10 discriminatory and affected only part of the population, those
- 11 who called the New People. Hundreds and hundreds of people were
- 12 heaped up in ox driven carts, sometimes in pickups, with their
- 13 small bundles in the rain, in the blistering heat, and they had
- 14 to move from one village to the other and again from another
- 15 village to another. The number of evacuees kept increasing. They
- 16 were again piled up in trucks. "You were afraid we were afraid
- 17 of being separated from our families", some civil parties said.
- 18 The trucks were packed full of people, 100 people per truck.
- 19 "They run without any care for us. The women and children died.
- 20 Later on, their bodies will be thrown on the roadside by the
- 21 Khmer Rouge and abandoned", one civil party stated. Why waste
- 22 time with the 17 April people?
- 23 Some of the trucks went across the ghost town of Phnom Penh. In
- 24 one truck a little voice is heard, "Papa, are we going back home?
- 25 Papa, why aren't there any people?" What could the father of that

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- 1 child have said, he remained silent. That child was not the only
- 2 child to ask such questions to his parents. Why?
- 3 [14.05.21]
- 4 Other 17 April People were piled up in boats that had to be taken
- 5 that had to take them to Phnom Penh. The cry of joy of one man
- 6 who caught sight of the town cost him his life. Any
- 7 manifestation, even of joy, could be tolerated by the captain of
- 8 the boat. He had received orders to steer that boat to its
- 9 destination and the only way to keep the boat stable and to keep
- 10 his cargo on board was to eliminate anyone who was to cause
- 11 trouble.
- 12 After waiting for long, they took trains to Pursat heading for
- 13 Battambang. The trucks were loaded with evacuees without any
- 14 consideration, guided by soldiers. Some had received rice cans,
- 15 no water, nothing, no toilet facilities. The doors of the wagons
- 16 was open but a plank block barred it, and it was guarded by
- 17 soldiers. "Women and children died. Their bodies were thrown on
- 18 the trucks and they were picked up by railway workers", as one of
- 19 those railway workers testified before this Court.
- 20 [14.06.43]
- 21 The evacuees kept track of the direction. The trucks headed for
- 22 Battambang but all of a sudden they turned left and they were
- 23 dropped in a place they had never imagined. None of the evacuees
- 24 arrived where they had thought they were going. They were
- 25 exhausted, they hadn't eaten anything, they were shocked by the

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- 1 violence of that evacuation, by the dead, by the dehumanization
- 2 of the New People, who now found themselves in transit camps and
- 3 were again registered. There were thousands of people who were
- 4 herded by the Khmer Rouge by civilians in black clothes and they
- 5 kept hoping for a final destination which would only be a corner,
- 6 indeed, a jungle. And one soldier to cheer up a civil party
- 7 said, "you will stay here forever".
- 8 This led people to real hell, and it reminds us of other
- 9 movements in other places and other places. This only shows
- 10 another stage in our destruction as a New People. These evacuees
- 11 met with the worst living conditions they could never have
- 12 imagined. Nothing had been put in place for them. They have to
- 13 build their huts themselves and live on meagre rice rations.
- 14 Children are separated from their parents, they are sent to
- 15 mobile units or groups of very young children. Everyone has to
- 16 work.
- 17 [14.08.41]
- 18 They work according to insane schedules, and then you have to add
- 19 the self-criticism meetings, and dysentery and malaria would
- 20 further blacken the picture; and for medicines, all they had was
- 21 rabbit pellets, that was supposed to cure everything and coconut
- 22 juice was often injected into people with fatal effect. We were
- 23 treated worse than animals.
- 24 You sirs, you never went to visit those places. You cannot claim
- 25 that you did not understand under what conditions those people

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- 1 were evacuated, those New People. It was not the little chiefs
- 2 who organized those population movements. They obeyed your
- 3 orders, they followed your plans. You turned a blind eye to all
- 4 that. They had to produce 10 tonnes of rice. You had to dig
- 5 dykes, build canals and dams.
- 6 [14.09.41]
- 7 Mr. Nuon Chea, you nevertheless went to the provinces. You
- 8 availed yourself of your trips, according to your bodyguards, to
- 9 visit cooperatives. You don't seem to have been worried by the
- 10 working conditions in those places. You could not change them;
- 11 neither could you punish those who did not follow your orders.
- 12 At the 1st January Dam, you studied the question of defects, but
- 13 under those inhumane conditions you did not do anything, you did
- 14 not do anything to help improve those conditions, the working
- 15 conditions of those robots we saw on our screens.
- 16 Mr. Khieu Samphan, you went to the Thma Dam with the prince. You
- 17 were even carried away by this great dam I quote you but you
- 18 didn't ask any questions. You knew that that dam was built by
- 19 hand and not by machines.
- 20 [14.10.59]
- 21 What happened was in line with your ideas regarding relations
- 22 between the individuals and the state. The only thing that
- 23 mattered was the interests of the nation, individuals did not
- 24 matter, did not count. The individuals were erased. Your nation
- 25 was a slave state that you had approved, that you had organized,

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- 1 as Philip Short recognizes.
- 2 All these innocent people, all these evacuees, these New People
- 3 were imprisoned in a wall-less prison, punished, tortured,
- 4 subjected to forced work. They have no control over their lives.
- 5 Why? Because they remained enemies, because they were unclean,
- 6 and you lumped them in the category of the deposed and they would
- 7 never come out of it. The regime of Democratic Kampuchea created
- 8 a singular situation, an exceptionally severe Communist system
- 9 that used exceptional measures to destroy the identity of the
- 10 people and to transmute it.
- 11 [14.12.06]
- 12 Now, why do they talk of Cambodian genocide? Ms. Thouch
- 13 Phandarasar, civil party, specified that one of her children died
- 14 during the genocide. You heard about it here. Mr. and Mrs Chhay,
- 15 civil parties, also referred in their complaint to genocide. Why
- 16 does Mr. Sydney Schanberg say spontaneously that it was a
- 17 genocide? That researchers, journalists, artists, studied this
- 18 question of the covered up genocide? The question keeps coming
- 19 up.
- 20 "When you talk of the Cambodian people," Schanberg writes,
- 21 "inventing a group and viewed as different, dangerous, toxic,
- 22 that must be destroyed. Is that not the definition of genocide?"
- 23 End of quote.
- 24 [14.13.08]
- 25 The civil parties all talk about the genocide, but we will not

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- 1 talk about it up front. This question remains a legal issue and
- 2 in this particular trial you are not charged with genocide and
- 3 the Chamber expressly limited the scope of the trial.
- 4 Dehumanization kills both the living and the dead.
- 5 The civil parties expressed the pain they felt in realizing that
- 6 their close friends and relatives were not buried. The dead were
- 7 dehumanized, before their dead and after their dead, no
- 8 traditions, no social rituals for the burial of the dead. You
- 9 have to take risks to do so, some said, bodies disappeared. Where
- 10 are they? Interred in huge mass graves on the sites on which they
- 11 were executed. Everywhere death was covered up. There are no
- 12 crimes. We are still in this duality, secrecy and deceit, which
- is a hallmark of your regime.
- 14 [14.14.21]
- 15 You had to efface the reality in order that it shouldn't exist,
- 16 but in this trial the civil parties came with their dead, their
- 17 disappeared. It is a symbolic return to life for the living and
- 18 the dead. All give evidence of the crimes committed.
- 19 Mr. President, Your Honours, during these proceedings, you have
- 20 given back the voice to the civil parties, this voice that had
- 21 been buried. This voice bears fruit and you will find that in
- 22 your deliberations. History and justice are intertwined in crimes
- 23 against humanity. You are Judges. You will not recount history.
- 24 You are going to fill a void by your judicial act, by the
- 25 delivery of your judgement.

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- 1 You will answer, even if partially, to this question: Why? How
- 2 did this happen? How was it possible for this to happen? The
- 3 civil parties are waiting for your decision with impatience, even
- 4 though they know that the delivery of a guilty a conviction
- 5 will not answer all their questions but it would at least be a
- 6 quarantee for the future of Cambodia.
- 7 I thank you.
- 8 [14.16.01]
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 Thank you.
- 11 Yes, you may proceed, the International Lead Co Lawyer.
- 12 MS. SIMONNEAU-FORT:
- 13 Thank you, Mr. President. Good afternoon to you. Good afternoon,
- 14 Your Honours. Good afternoon to my colleagues and everybody
- 15 present here.
- 16 Once again in this trial, it falls to me to bring an interlude
- 17 devoted to the civil party to a close and to make some kind of
- 18 summary and perhaps to raise some signal points which have
- 19 emerged in the discussions we have held and which have been
- 20 referred to in the submissions by various parties. And perhaps I
- 21 will try and draw some conclusions.
- 22 [14.17.00]
- 23 But I'd like to start, perhaps, by sharing a sort of secret with
- 24 you.
- 25 When I came into this room for the very first time, about three

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- 1 years ago, and sitting opposite me, I saw the four accused, more
- 2 than 35 years after the Khmer Rouge came to power, for a few
- 3 seconds I wondered if I was doing the right thing. And then,
- 4 straightaway, after that, I thought of those other people, at
- 5 least as old as them or they would have been, but they died
- 6 between 1975 and 1979, and I thought of those people who were not
- 7 elderly at the time, but who became it between '75 and '79, those
- 8 who, aged 25 or aged 30, lost their hair, their teeth, their
- 9 strength, and their health under the Khmer Rouge regime.
- 10 I thought of those who survived and who took their seats here
- 11 behind us every day, who are advancing towards old age or who are
- 12 already elderly like the accused, and I said to myself that of
- 13 course it is to them, in particular, to the victims that we owe
- 14 the greatest possible respect, the deepest compassion, and most
- 15 certainly justice.
- 16 [14.18.42]
- 17 I don't regret having had that doubt for a few seconds three
- 18 years ago almost. After all, doubt belongs to the arena of
- 19 justice, and it endows it with value, starting from an initial
- 20 doubt and reaching certainty, the conviction that comes at the
- 21 end of the process.
- 22 In a criminal trial, the accused have rights and quite rightly
- 23 so, they are the ones under the limelight and they their rights
- 24 are constantly safeguarded. Today, we are living a key moment of
- 25 international justice and it's a very important moment in this

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- 1 trial as well, because for an entire day it is the victims who
- 2 are in the limelight and it is their rights that are equally
- 3 respectable and fundamental that are being highlighted and
- 4 protected.
- 5 As I rise to speak, I think of all of the people who have come
- 6 day after day to this public gallery here during 214 days,
- 7 attentive, sometimes reduced to tears, sometimes angry, sometimes
- 8 drowning under obtuse legal debate but all of them always
- 9 expecting something that they knew to be deeply important, and I
- 10 speak for those people who came to look for a truth, an
- 11 explanation, an answer, a meaning however imperfect and
- 12 incomplete.
- 13 [14.20.38]
- 14 I speak for young Cambodians that we have seen sitting here with
- 15 us so often, many of whom made the brutal discovery in the space
- 16 of two hours, of an episode in their history of family tragedies
- 17 and of events that were more violent and inhuman than they were
- 18 able to imagine. Now, I know that these young Cambodians now have
- 19 to face up to a future with this as their past, but not as a
- 20 weight they have to bear, still less as some kind of blame they
- 21 carry, but rather as a lesson that they should not forget.
- 22 I stand especially for the civil parties, who, more than five
- 23 years ago, took the choice of playing an active part in this
- 24 trial, choosing to represent all the other victims, the
- 25 survivors, and those who died.

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- 1 I stand and speak for those civil parties that certain other
- 2 parties to this trial still refer to as witnesses. Although their
- 3 will to bring evidence and play an active role as civil parties
- 4 are very different from witnesses, it's almost as if people
- 5 didn't want to call the prosecutors, prosecutors.
- 6 [14.22.10]
- 7 And I speak now, as my colleagues before me, for the civil
- 8 parties, and let me tell them here and now how honoured I am to
- 9 defend them and how much I admire them for their courage,
- 10 loyalty, and their resolve. I know how much it must have been
- 11 tough for them to go into the minute details of what they went
- 12 through, how much that must have opened the old wounds that have
- 13 never really healed, and I know how painful and repugnant it can
- 14 be to be questioned on minute details and how difficult it must
- 15 be to have the feeling that you're not being believed when you
- 16 talk about these acts and these events.
- 17 And I speak for those who are dead, those who in a sense find new
- 18 life through the words of others, the civil parties, for a few
- 19 instants in this courtroom, and I hope that this trial will
- 20 return to the dead their full dignity.
- 21 This trial is perhaps not exactly what we wanted it to be. There
- 22 are no more than two accused. The months have gone by. Civil
- 23 parties and victims have passed away without seeing the end of
- 24 the trial. There are great many civil parties, witnesses, and
- 25 experts who were not even heard.

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- 1 [14.23.52]
- 2 So these proceedings may not make it possible to try other facts
- 3 than the first forced transfers in Tuol Po Chrey, for reasons
- 4 that all the parties present are aware of. The Chamber and the
- 5 parties know this. There is the question of the health of the
- 6 accused, and of course financial issues. These are parameters
- 7 that have been there, ever since the ECCC was set up. They're a
- 8 kind of risk that we willingly accepted to take. And, as I see
- 9 it, we were right to do so.
- 10 This Trial might leave a certain bitter taste behind it:
- 11 Resentment, pain, for some people, because it will not possibly
- 12 satisfy all of the expectations. Some people have already
- 13 expressed their disappointment. Others have lost interest. And
- 14 others, again, will do so. Because it is true that justice, like
- 15 any human enterprise, cannot meet the entire range of
- 16 expectations and desiderata.
- 17 [14.25.00]
- 18 But, despite this, this will not have been a pointless trial. It
- 19 will not have been in vain, whatever the outcome. It will have
- 20 been a meaningful and positive process. It will have been a place
- 21 for thought, for truth, for questioning, for emotion, analysis,
- 22 explanations, and proof. In other words, it will have been what
- 23 it should have been, which is a venue for the work of justice.
- 24 And today, we're coming towards the end. And this is a final
- 25 moment where the civil parties can take the floor.

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- 1 And they have two objectives. First is to have the culpability of
- 2 the accused, for the crimes that they have been discussing for
- 3 the last few months, recognized. And in this we, of course,
- 4 support the Prosecution. And then there is the question of
- 5 recognition of the injuries they have suffered as a result of
- 6 those crimes, and the recognition of the harm they have gone
- 7 through, along with the necessary reparations.
- 8 [14.26.18]
- 9 Let me try, one final time, to paint a picture of what it is that
- 10 you are going to be judging through the eyes of all of these
- 11 victims. Through what you have just heard the facts that have
- 12 been described to you by my colleagues before me I want to
- 13 stress to what extent the forced movements of the populations and
- 14 executions at Tuol Po Chrey are, in fact, emblematic of the
- 15 entire Democratic Kampuchea regime. I want to stress the extent
- 16 to which you can see, in these events, everything that will
- 17 define the entire regime. That is what we are able to see, I
- 18 would say, with the benefit of hindsight. Because,
- 19 simultaneously, I want to point out the degree to which, for the
- 20 victims, at that time those events defied the imagination and
- 21 exceeded the bounds of reason and comprehension.
- 22 The first unbelievable event was this evacuation of Phnom Penh,
- 23 which still today the inhabitants describe with pain and
- 24 disbelief. As you have heard, it wasn't the first evacuation. In
- 25 Phnom Penh, people had probably heard about what was happening in

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- 1 the zones occupied by the Khmer Rouge, as my colleague said this
- 2 morning.
- 3 [14.28.08]
- 4 They had heard about Kampong Cham and Udong and other towns. They
- 5 had been told that they had been evacuated when the Khmer Rouge
- 6 had stormed them. There was some talk of violence and executions.
- 7 But, nobody really believed it. They did not want to, and they
- 8 could not. Indeed, how can you believe that Cambodians can take
- 9 such pains to empty their own towns of their own citizens, right
- 10 down to the last citizens in that way and with those objectives?
- 11 Because when the soldiers come to their houses and turf them out,
- 12 people leave as quickly as they can under the threat and gripped
- 13 by fear and panic. In three days, the town was emptied. Only
- 14 three days was needed to force more than 2 million people to
- 15 march off to the four corners of the country.
- 16 [14.29.24]
- 17 The people from the northern part went towards the north, those
- 18 from the east towards the east, those from the south to the
- 19 south, and those from the west towards the west. More than 3
- 20 million people. Rithy Panh, who was a victim of the regime, says
- 21 in his book "The Elimination":
- 22 "I know today that speed is a decisive factor. It doesn't seem
- 23 important, retrospectively speaking, but we didn't have the time
- 24 to be fascinated, or even convinced. We were immediately moved.
- 25 Famished, separated, and terrorized, deprived of the right to

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- 1 speak, and of every other right. We were just broken. We were
- 2 submerged in hunger and fear. My entire family disappeared in six
- 3 months." End of quote.
- 4 [14.30.24]
- 5 There is no better way to state what the 17th of April really
- 6 represented. It was the first population movement, and emblematic
- 7 of the regime as a whole. It was so effective and radical, so
- 8 swift and absolute in its outcome that you would need to be
- 9 pretty dishonest to claim that the details of its implementation
- 10 are the fruit of isolated behaviour by a handful of petty chiefs.
- 11 The same words, the same orders, the same reasons quoted, and the
- 12 same threats when reason didn't work, were used everywhere, in
- 13 the same way, throughout the entire city. And the people fled.
- 14 [14.31.15]
- 15 Without any doubt whatsoever, this evacuation had been carefully
- 16 prepared and thought over, and experimented on in smaller towns.
- 17 These people who left Phnom Penh, marching with the April sun
- 18 beating down had no idea of what was happening to them. In fact,
- 19 they didn't yet know that it wasn't for three days, and that they
- 20 weren't going to be coming home anytime soon. They did not yet
- 21 know that at that precise moment, the Khmer Rouge were setting up
- 22 the glorious socialist revolution that they had been dreaming of
- 23 for so many years, and that they were going to be doing this
- 24 through every possible method available to them.
- 25 These people tramping down the roadways did not know that they

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1 were caught in a plan that had been hatched months and even years

- 2 ago. That the evacuation of the cities and the forced
- 3 displacement of their inhabitants was only the first and vital
- 4 phase of a huge criminal plan of which they were the victims.
- 5 They have not yet lost hope. They think there might be a chance
- 6 of coming back to their homes, perhaps to be able to lend their
- 7 skills to the new regime; to find a place in it, and of course to
- 8 live in peace.
- 9 [14.32.46]
- 10 They don't yet know that this criminal plan is already in place.
- 11 Everything has been thought through, even written down, and in
- 12 the zones that have been occupied for several years, everything
- 13 is already working. They don't know that, at the top, those
- 14 leaders two of whom are here now are preoccupied to make sure
- 15 that their glorious revolution comes to fruition at any price.
- 16 And they don't know that they are going to suffer a great deal
- 17 more, and for years. They don't yet know, during those three
- 18 days, that the days are going to become weeks, and the weeks are
- 19 going to become months. They discover death, killings, destroyed
- 20 pagodas, strange identity checks where they understand that they
- 21 have to tell lies. Everything that you have heard about earlier
- 22 this morning, and they don't understand it.
- 23 [14.34.02]
- 24 And when, finally, they're allowed to stop, they believe that
- 25 their torments might ease off. Some of them get small rations of

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- 1 rice. They believe they'll be able to make do by following orders
- 2 that are given to them with the same words and the same ideas in
- 3 all of the villages where they wash up. They all believe the same
- 4 things because they all hear precisely the same things from the
- 5 small local chiefs that are so adept at relaying the orders from
- 6 the top.
- 7 And then comes the second forced transfer. It was perhaps this
- 8 second forced transfer that finally makes them understand that
- 9 they are no longer anything but object and tools. Part of a vast
- 10 plan which has them in its grasp since the very first hours in
- 11 Phnom Penh. The second forced transfer shows in an extremely
- 12 symptomatic way exactly how the high command Angkar -
- 13 continues, absurdly and with incredible stubbornness, their
- 14 criminal plan.
- 15 [14.35.19]
- 16 They know that in the northwest, there were serious problems
- 17 connected with shortage of food, specifically for the New People,
- 18 and the senior leaders throughout Phnom Penh and who went to
- 19 check things in situ in August '75 people who have been given
- 20 very clear reports on the subject decide there and then to send
- 21 to the Northwest hundreds of thousands of people, principally -
- 22 the vast majority of them being people of the New People. This
- 23 was, essentially, to satisfy production targets, targets that,
- 24 common sense dictates, were totally unachievable. And that is why
- 25 the people were moved. You don't need to do a thesis on economics

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- 1 to know that these targets were unachievable, and certainly not
- 2 with your bare hands and no tools.
- 3 [14.36.20]
- 4 The aim, of course, was to wipe out any traces of opposition. Any
- 5 kind of independence or liberty. It was, basically, to wipe out
- 6 the enemy. So, what do all these men, women, elderly people and
- 7 children matter to the people who are putting their plan into
- 8 practice? And my colleague has just told you how the senior
- 9 leaders organized this second population movement with remarkable
- 10 precision. They send each other telegrams, organize meetings,
- 11 move undesirable people from one region to another, such as the
- 12 Cham. They measure tons of rice and the number of dams that they
- 13 can generate.
- 14 The Cambodians are taken in the South, the Southwest, and the
- 15 Centre, and they're sent off to the Northwest as if you are
- 16 moving cattle or agricultural machinery that were lacking here or
- 17 there. And, as we have heard, once again they were lied to. They
- 18 were told you would have more food. You're going back home to
- 19 Phnom Penh. And then they were, as she told us, "crammed into
- 20 boats, trucks, goods trains, cattle wagons". They have night to
- 21 get out or to complain. They have no water, no food, no care, and
- 22 no shelter. They drink the same stagnant water that they wash
- 23 themselves in, and, along the railway line, they die.
- 24 [14.38.07]
- 25 So, these same people who originally left Phnom Penh are now

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- 1 people who are exhausted, famished, and people who don't look at
- 2 each other as human beings, in fact. Who describe themselves as
- 3 animals, as monkeys, and who are moved again and again, with no
- 4 regard for their dignity. For their humanity or for their
- 5 freedom.
- 6 They're discarded, dumped, in the middle of nowhere. Left to
- 7 their own devices. Eating leaves, roots. Watching their children
- 8 die in the cold and in the rain. Then, and only then, they begin
- 9 to understand something of the plan that they are a part of. They
- 10 can distantly make out the ghastly purpose, even if they don't
- 11 dare to put it into words, because it is un-sayable. They do know
- 12 that they've lost all human value in the eyes of the leaders of
- 13 the regime, and that they don't count because, fundamentally,
- 14 they remain enemies. And they now know that they will be
- 15 exterminated, smashed, pulverized, if they do not bend to the
- 16 requirements of the glorious Angkar.
- 17 And then comes Tuol Po Chrey. It's a sort of lesson meted out; a
- 18 kind of event which serves as an example. And there will be other
- 19 massacres that serve as examples. Some have already taken place
- 20 during the evacuation of the cities. And they will take place
- 21 here and there throughout the entire regime.
- 22 [14.40.00]
- 23 And the 20,000 mass graves discovered throughout Cambodia give us
- 24 some measure of this. In Tuol Po Chrey, all the pieces are there
- 25 of this criminal plan, which is being pursued by the leaders:

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- 1 Deceit to bring people together, secrecy, extermination of the
- 2 enemy without any kind of qualm. Here the victims are military
- 3 and officials of the former regime. And then the bodies are piled
- 4 up, without being buried. Stacked up in a hideous human carnage.
- 5 Witnesses spoke about bulldozers that were then brought in to
- 6 hastily cover up this excessively visible evidence, and the
- 7 unbearable stink.
- 8 Nuon Chea says, in his final submission, that nobody directly saw
- 9 any killing taking place, and that therefore it didn't happen.
- 10 People have come here to describe the entire process that led up
- 11 to that extermination, just right up to the minutes before it.
- 12 [14.41.17]
- 13 And others, in a film that was tendered into the debate, the
- 14 execution itself others described the dead bodies heaped up,
- 15 attached one body to the next, which they saw the next day. And
- 16 the mass grave was discovered. But, as far as Nuon Chea is
- 17 concerned, it didn't happen.
- 18 During these three episodes, between 1975 and 1976, you can see
- 19 everything unfolding of this criminal plan and its objectives.
- 20 But, still today, there's a kind of inability to believe that
- 21 this happened, especially among the victims. And the question
- 22 comes up again and again; how? How is it possible that this
- 23 happened?
- 24 Well, the Accused do provide us with one explanation, if we look
- 25 at the speeches they were giving at the time. Several times

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- 1 during our discussion here, we have heard it said that the petty
- 2 cadres the low-ranking military chiefs killed and tortured
- 3 and starved people through their own initiatives. People in
- 4 particular belonging to the 17th of April group, the New People.
- 5 Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan both made this argument, saying that
- 6 they were completely ignorant that this was happening, or even
- 7 that it had happened at all.
- 8 [14.42.55]
- 9 Repeatedly, they told us that they did not know about this, that
- 10 they were not told about this, and this was not what they wanted
- 11 for the people of Cambodia. When, in 1979, the entire world
- 12 discovered S-21, Khieu Samphan, President of the State Presidium
- 13 of Democratic Kampuchea and subsequently prime minister and then
- 14 vice-president responsible for foreign affairs he didn't know
- 15 anything. Well, he'll have to watch the film which Rithy Panh
- 16 brought out in 2003, apparently, to understand the existence of
- 17 S-21. That, at least, is what he claims.
- 18 He says these things, flying in the face of the evidence. From
- 19 the moment the forced transfers begin, the same orders and
- 20 threats are issued everywhere. There's one evacuation, and then a
- 21 second one, both of them carefully organized according to a
- 22 pre-established plan.
- 23 [14.44.00]
- 24 The same words are heard everywhere. The same messages. The same
- 25 terms are used by the cadres everywhere, in all of the

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- 1 cooperatives, to begin with those very symbolic terms of 17th of
- 2 April and New People. And it's done to systematically empty the
- 3 towns and displace the population once again.
- 4 And it's also done to encourage former soldiers or officials or
- 5 teachers or monks to go to this or that place. And the same
- 6 tricks are used as were used in Tuol Po Chrey. And the same
- 7 objective is to be found everywhere: To exterminate this
- 8 multiform enemy, so that there can be no further obstacle to the
- 9 great and swift socialist revolution. And for that to be
- 10 possible, you need somebody at the top who is in charge, who is
- 11 quiding everything. You need propaganda, and you need decisions
- 12 that are relayed everywhere. And that group at the very top
- 13 exists, and of course the cadres always give it its name; Angkar.
- 14 Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan belong to it. Nuon Chea, countless
- 15 times, said that he and Pol Pot were one and the same. He
- 16 admitted, finally, that he was Brother Number 2. He, Nuon Chea,
- 17 was just below Pol Pot, sometimes just beside Pol Pot, and
- 18 sometimes in his place.
- 19 [14.45.53]
- 20 As for Khieu Samphan, he was there, in the meetings, on the
- 21 podiums, throughout the countryside, transmitting the glorious
- 22 ideas of the Revolution; galvanizing crowds with speeches to the
- 23 glory of a magnificent revolution, speeches that he, better than
- 24 everybody else, knew; speeches that describe magnificent
- 25 achievements which he knew had absolutely nothing to do with

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- 1 reality at all. In the Aronowitsch's film, which he saw, he said
- 2 that he followed Pol Pot like his shadow. Well, you couldn't put
- 3 it better. Together, they worked to establish all of the
- 4 conditions necessary for the success of the plan.
- 5 What were these conditions? Well, as we have heard, in the
- 6 proceedings in this courtroom, first there was fear. Fear is
- 7 always a lethal weapon. You just have to spread it everywhere.
- 8 [14.47.02]
- 9 It wasn't just the 17th of April people or the Cham or the
- 10 Vietnamese or the intellectuals who were afraid. Fear was
- 11 everywhere, both within and without the ranks of the Khmer Rouge.
- 12 A great many witnesses former Khmer Rouge almost all of the,
- 13 in fact came here to say how afraid they were. Fear caused them
- 14 to not know or pretend not to know what their neighbours were
- 15 doing. It forced them to behave in a way that to us seems like
- 16 cowardice, but which perhaps was the only way to survive. All of
- 17 them said how afraid they were of not doing what they were meant
- 18 to do, even if they didn't know precisely what was required of
- 19 them.
- 20 They all described their fear of knowing too much and of saying
- 21 too much and of hearing too much. That was the case with Ruos
- 22 Suy, Sokh Chhin, Sim Hao, who said that you had to continue to
- 23 work and pretend to see absolutely nothing. It was Chhouk Rin,
- 24 Saut Toeung, who was very close to Nuon Chea, was also afraid.
- 25 Pean Khean, who was close to Koy Thuon he was afraid. Yun Kim,

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- 1 head of a commune and a cooperative was afraid, and said; "we
- 2 were just thinking about how to survive". Rochoem Ton, Phy Phuon,
- 3 close to Pol Pot, was afraid, because he said a great many
- 4 high-ranking people disappeared.
- 5 [14.48.47]
- 6 Noem Sem was afraid quote "even if I did nothing wrong" -
- 7 unquote.
- 8 Meas Voeun, a regimental commander, was afraid, and only did what
- 9 he was told to do. The civil parties also described that fear
- 10 that was omnipresent from the very start. The entire Cambodia
- 11 people was afraid, and the glorious revolution was rooted in
- 12 fear. That fear was disseminated from the very start. From the
- 13 days they walked into Phnom Penh. That fear the leaders used it
- 14 to terrify their closest subordinates, such as Duch or Suong
- 15 Sikoeun, who told us about that here. Everyone fell into line,
- 16 thanks to that fear, and it was particular effective because
- 17 nobody knew quite what you were supposed to be afraid of and why.
- 18 It stripped everybody of any ability to say no, to resist, or
- 19 even to voice the smallest criticism.
- 20 [14.49.51]
- 21 Setting up and maintaining that atmosphere of fear was one of the
- 22 constant objectives of the leaders of the regime. Just knowing
- 23 that you could disappear or die was enough in itself, so fear was
- 24 the primary weapon they used.
- 25 Then, as well, there was thirst, but more particularly hunger.

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- 1 You can see this as soon as the town people left their homes.
- 2 Hunger was a vicious weapon that was used throughout the regime,
- 3 and it was so effective it became so obsessive that it denied
- 4 people any ability to think and to act for any purpose but that
- 5 of surviving. You just had to stay alive. When you listen to the
- 6 17th of April people's narratives, you can see that hardly were
- 7 they out of Phnom Penh hunger became a permanent preoccupation
- 8 which worsened as the months went by, and which became a physical
- 9 and psychological torture at every moment. They describe that
- 10 hunger as being an obsession, and a cause of sickness and death.
- 11 They describe how, bit by bit, the three days of supplies run
- 12 out, and how powerless they are to meet the needs of their
- 13 children. They describe the deprivations which turn into fatal
- 14 torture. They describe the inadequate food and the bad quality of
- 15 the food they were given, which is like animal fodder.
- 16 [14.51.45]
- 17 They describe how they eat roots, leaves, the most disgusting
- 18 insects just to survive. They also describe how hunger completely
- 19 debases them; the way their bodies are destroyed; total loss of
- 20 any strength; the entreaties of their dying children. And they
- 21 describe their parents dragging themselves feebly, with their
- 22 rice bowl in their hands. But this hunger, like fear, was very
- 23 carefully orchestrated from the very earliest days. From the
- 24 moment the population was moved. And perhaps, actually, from
- 25 before, when the Khmer Rouge prevent the river convoys from

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- 1 reaching Phnom Penh to feed a population that was bloated by tens
- 2 of thousands of refugees.
- 3 [14.52.41]
- 4 So, if these population movements were obviously part of a plan,
- 5 it is also perfectly obvious that no steps were taken to provide
- 6 any kind of support to the population during those movements. For
- 7 example, by distributing enough food. That, too, was part of the
- 8 plan. After that, the distribution of food would continue to be
- 9 wholly inadequate, and become part of a running blackmail. No
- 10 work, no food. That was part of the plan as well.
- 11 In his final submission, Nuon Chea scrupulously picked up on each
- 12 extract from the civil parties statements where they refer to a
- 13 ration of rice they have got or a single meal that miraculously
- 14 was sufficient, in order to claim that people had enough to eat.
- 15 Well, that argument I think the Chamber will make what it will.
- 16 During all of that time, at the very top, the leaders, who were
- 17 never hungry during the entire regime, were organizing banquets
- 18 and managing massive exports of Cambodian rice abroad. And we've
- 19 seen photos in this courtroom of the warehouses full of sacks of
- 20 rice and heard witnesses describing the same boats that were
- 21 loaded up with the same sacks of rice. We've seen documents from
- 22 the leaders and we have seen photos of some very healthy looking
- 23 senior leaders.
- 24 [14.54.25]
- 25 When the second forced transfer took place, people were already

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- 1 famished, and this was even before the end of 1975. Before they
- 2 left, they were told about an area they were going where they
- 3 would eat better, and people sometimes in this courtroom said how
- 4 comforting it was to think that perhaps they would have enough to
- 5 eat. And then they also described the cruel disillusion which
- 6 followed when they realized that actually it would be worse.
- 7 [14.55.03]
- 8 Hunger keeps people in a state of permanent weakness. It kills
- 9 thought, and it reduces you to being an animal. That's why it was
- 10 such a lethal weapon.
- 11 The next weapon was total material dependence. The people who
- 12 left Phnom Penh told us how they were told not to take anything
- 13 or at least enough things for three days only, and those who took
- 14 more things money, jewels, provisions, their cars, and clothing
- 15 told us about how they had to dump them or barter them for rice
- 16 or medicines. They told us about having their things confiscated
- 17 or seeing their property destroyed.
- 18 The people who were chased out of the cities didn't realize this
- 19 immediately, but behind them, after they left, everything was
- 20 being destroyed. It's as if this was an unbearable symbol of
- 21 imperialism for the Angkar and it was also done out of sheer
- 22 vengefulness. They didn't realize this straightaway but they had
- 23 nothing left, no home, no furniture, no memories, no identity
- 24 documents, nor even the tiniest memento that all of us tend to
- 25 bring with us. Gradually they would no longer have any clothing,

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- 1 no longer any bowls or plates, no toys, all they had was one
- 2 spoon.
- 3 [14.56.52]
- 4 Having nothing means losing your individuality, losing your
- 5 autonomy and becoming dependent. The Khmer Rouge were very well
- 6 aware of this, they who organized this material dependence from
- 7 the very first evacuations of the cities.
- 8 And as if the foregoing is not enough in itself, Democratic
- 9 Kampuchea took great pains to immediately destroy anything that
- 10 might promote free thought. Intellectuals were hounded and
- 11 exterminated, of course, but they also dealt with books, works of
- 12 art, closed down schools, and here I'm talking about real
- 13 schools, of course, not revolutionary indoctrination centres.
- 14 Turfing people out onto the road and turning them into tools to
- 15 perform work, wracked with hunger, displaced as and when
- 16 agricultural and irrigation tasks needed them is certainly a way
- 17 of putting an end to schooling.
- 18 [14.58.05]
- 19 This wish to disallow people any kind of thought also meant
- 20 eliminating the tokens of it. If you had glasses then the local
- 21 chiefs would destroy them everywhere, except, of course, the
- 22 glasses of the senior leaders themselves. Imagine just how
- 23 indoctrinated you have to be by a very powerful propaganda
- 24 machine to be able to accomplish such idiotic acts that were in
- 25 fact repeated everywhere.

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- 1 After having set up these crucial conditions to build their
- 2 regime, the Khmer Rouge then installed their methods and their
- 3 instruments. Let me mention one or two: collectivization firstly.
- 4 When people left the cities they were caught up in this
- 5 collective existence, there was no home, no family, there was
- 6 only the group and Angkar, and there again that is part of the
- 7 plan. It's a way of keeping better tabs on everybody as a way of
- 8 preventing any kind of individualism, and therefore, any kind of
- 9 freedom.
- 10 [14.59.29]
- 11 But let me dwell on another instrument used by the regime, and I
- 12 refer to the change in the language.
- 13 The language suddenly became extremely warlike. Whether you were
- 14 talking about cultivating fields, building dams, daily life,
- 15 family life, everything is expressed in terms of combat and
- 16 onslaught. In 1976, François Ponchaud was very struck by the way
- 17 the language had been changed. By listening both to testimony
- 18 from refugees who were using the words of Angkar and to the
- 19 radio, he mapped out the meaning of the new vocabulary.
- 20 It was full of aphorisms, many of which were loaded with
- 21 aggressive and warlike terminology, and these in fact were
- 22 collected by Henri Locard, and the language uses key words that
- 23 are endlessly repeated such as the term "enemy" and everything
- 24 that enemy signifies. Hundreds of official document echo this
- 25 word "enemy", enemy from within, enemy from outside. The word is

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- 1 used so much by official propaganda that it would then be
- 2 employed in all kinds of ways by the cadres at every single
- 3 level. Everybody had to root out the enemy inside himself or
- 4 herself.
- 5 [15.01.06]
- 6 In an atmosphere of enduring fear that ends up giving exactly
- 7 what we have all heard about in this courtroom, the enemy is the
- 8 Vietnamese person, of course, or CIA or KGB agent, or the person
- 9 who was part of the Lon Nol regime. But the enemy also becomes
- 10 the person who breaks the handle of his hoe and thereby
- 11 demonstrates a desire to be detrimental to the regime, or
- 12 somebody who doesn't work enough, quoting the wrong reasons such
- 13 as sickness, a recent delivery for example. The enemy is the
- 14 person who picks up a fruit and it falls on the ground and which
- 15 nobody has the right to collect, however young the person might
- 16 be or however exhausted as well.
- 17 And it's quite inconceivable that this language that was so
- 18 widely used was not the language that was wanted and imposed by
- 19 the senior leaders. The language does have a meaning. The
- 20 cooperatives become battlefields. The work on the dykes is a
- 21 military front. Rice production is a battle to be won, as is
- 22 building a dam. You have to smash, reduce to dust, exterminate,
- 23 and you have to always maintain a spirit of offensive struggle.
- 24 [15.02.45]
- 25 Now, in his submission, Nuon Chea says that this was just a

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- 1 normal way of talking, because after all they were in wartime and
- 2 they were moving towards a revolution and he says that this
- 3 concerned a system rather than individuals. In other words, he
- 4 says to us that we shouldn't take this language at face value,
- 5 but unfortunately everything would indicate that this language
- 6 should, indeed, was to be taken very precisely at face value
- 7 without any kind of subtle interpretation.
- 8 This transformation of the language and the words used and
- 9 ceaselessly repeated was part of the way that people were
- 10 regimented and which persuaded them that they were part of a vast
- 11 battlefield, which had, like any battle, to lead to victory. It
- 12 was a way of hoodwinking people about what was really going on so
- 13 that they should forget the means and only see the end. It was a
- 14 way of galvanizing the group and once again preventing people
- 15 from thinking and giving new words to what was happening.
- 16 [15.04.10]
- 17 Language also served to suppress everything that was connected
- 18 with individual and personal thought. There was no longer any I,
- 19 only we, only the group. It wasn't some kind of haphazard
- 20 creation, depending on which region you were in, it was the
- 21 language that was used in official documents, in official
- 22 discourses, starting by those written by Nuon Chea and Khieu
- 23 Samphan, which dispense orders, threats, and encouragements. And
- 24 language was heard, as all languages are, it spread clear,
- 25 precise, and effective messages, and it was put into effect in a

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- 1 very clear, precise and effective way at every level.
- 2 Propaganda was omnipresent from the highest to the lowest levels
- 3 and it was one of the most crucial vehicles. Nuon Chea told us,
- 4 in fact, that that was all he was in charge of, propaganda and
- 5 education. Well, even if that was true it would be enough in
- 6 itself, because the propaganda was the crucial basis for the
- 7 entire regime. It was the way it had to perpetuate itself.
- 8 [15.05.35]
- 9 Another one of the instruments that were used by the senior
- 10 leaders of Democratic Kampuchea were children. Children became a
- 11 tool, and a very effective one as well.
- 12 So how in fact did they do it, to turn these children into such a
- 13 potent weapon? Well, Duch described it to us in his cold,
- 14 analytical way. On the 1st of April 2008, he said I quote:
- 15 "Children were like a blank page on which you could write what
- 16 you wanted." End of quote.
- 17 He told us how he, himself, selected children one by one from
- 18 those who didn't have an education, and by using a mixture of
- 19 gentleness and severity he was able to make them obey him blindly
- 20 without thinking and with enough indoctrination for them not to
- 21 doubt anything for one instant. And these were the children who
- 22 came into Phnom Penh on the 17th of April under the leadership of
- 23 Angkar. They were uneducated, they discovered the city, and
- 24 perhaps they were afraid of what they could see people, noise,
- 25 tall buildings.

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- 1 [15.06.57]
- 2 Much has been said about the blank expressions when they moved
- 3 through the streets, past the houses, and they were perhaps
- 4 afraid, but they did have a mission that they had to fulfil,
- 5 which was to empty the city, and they didn't understand the
- 6 meaning of this. They didn't know what was at stake. They were
- 7 there just to obey because that was what they had been schooled
- 8 to do and they knew that if they didn't do that they would be
- 9 punished extremely severely. The child soldiers who evacuated
- 10 Phnom Penh are among the first victims of the regime. They were
- 11 also its instrument.
- 12 We know that the army was made up to a considerable part of
- 13 children. They were there the first day and they were used
- 14 throughout the entire regime day after day by Democratic
- 15 Kampuchea. They were indoctrinated, marshalled into mobile units
- 16 and forced to do work. Sometimes they had to stand on stools to
- 17 control machines, and they learned to disown their families and
- 18 to denounce their parents, and instead of going to school and
- 19 learning the kind of things that are called humanities, they
- 20 absorbed slogans which became the guiding rules of their lives.
- 21 [15.08.20]
- 22 Khieu Samphan was very proud of this, as expressed in his speech
- 23 of the 15th of April 1977 when he says quote:
- 24 "Our children didn't play with little boats and cars and toy
- 25 guns. Our children were happy to catch sparrows in the field and

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- 1 tend to the cattle and the oxen and to collect natural fertilizer
- 2 and help with the construction of dams and dykes and to dig
- 3 reservoirs and ditches. They adore work and production and
- 4 they're very well trained for manual work and agricultural
- 5 tasks." End of quote.
- 6 In the hearing a few weeks ago, on the 4th of June 2013, Khieu
- 7 Samphan said precisely the opposite to a civil party, that he
- 8 didn't have the slightest idea that the children were working
- 9 like adults and that he could not conceive of such a situation.
- 10 And then there were the other children, those belonging to the
- 11 17th of April families, those who watched terrified while their
- 12 parents were killed; those who begged not to be separated from
- 13 their parents; those who were beaten and humiliated; those who
- 14 stole grains of rice to survive; those who begged their parents
- 15 for a bite to eat; and those who remained alone.
- 16 [15.09.45]
- 17 These people too were a weapon. Democratic Kampuchea was
- 18 perfectly well aware that the parents would fight for the
- 19 survival of their children by working harder, by acquiescing to
- 20 the most inhumane rules, by keeping their mouths shut.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 The time is appropriate for the break, and before we take the
- 23 break we would like to remind the parties and all the support
- 24 staff who are assisting the Trial Chamber during these recorded
- 25 proceedings, that today we will continue our hearing until 5 p.m.

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- 1 We will now take a 20 minute break and return at half past three.
- 2 The Court is now in recess.
- 3 (Court recesses from 1511H to 1535H)
- 4 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 5 Please be seated. The Court is back in session.
- 6 The Lead Co-lawyer for the civil party may now resume your
- 7 Closing Statement as well as the final reparation. You may
- 8 proceed.
- 9 MS. SIMONNEAU-FORT:
- 10 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 11 When we paused I was talking about the instrumentalisation of
- 12 children in the regime of Democratic Kampuchea. Am I making all
- 13 of this up? Am I letting my imagination run away with me? Are the
- 14 civil parties exaggerating and letting their emotions transform
- 15 the real nature of events? And when all said and done, is there
- 16 any proof of all of this in particular in the statements by the
- 17 civil parties?
- 18 [15.36.46
- 19 Well, there is something incredibly striking in everything that
- 20 we have heard during our proceedings. In 1976 as in 2010 before
- 21 the Investigating Judges and in 2013 during the trial, you hear
- 22 the same words to describe the same events and to name things and
- 23 people. You hear descriptions of identical scenes throughout the
- 24 entire country from one cooperative to another. You also hear the
- 25 victims repeating the same discourse. As we have heard used by

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- 1 the Khmer Rouge whether the most senior or the small local
- 2 cadres. Whether they are in Phnom Penh or whether they are in the
- 3 provinces. In 1976, on the border, François Ponchaud was
- 4 listening to refugees tell him about the events that would later
- 5 on become a book "Cambodia Year Zero". Now this book is on the
- 6 case file and we have quoted some of its extracts in hearings.
- 7 You can find all of the crucial information on population
- 8 movements, executions, policies, in fact on the entire Revolution
- 9 conducted by the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea in 1976 and
- 10 1977.
- 11 [15.38.31]
- 12 Now if you compare the words recorded at the time and what we
- 13 have heard from other victims here over the last months you here
- 14 precisely the same things. And this is a form of proof that is
- 15 terrifyingly effective. This is more than merely testimony and
- 16 observations collated by Ponchaud while the regime is in power.
- 17 At the same time there was testimony gathered by Steven Heder,
- 18 there was that of Ong Thong Hoeung, Laurence Picq, Pin Yathay,
- 19 all of whom wrote books by the 1980's at the latest and there is
- 20 no difference between what they said at that time and what people
- 21 who came here to this courtroom, over the last few months, have
- 22 said. And the similarities of these narratives is very
- 23 frightening, but it also provides incontestable proof about the
- 24 events because everything corroborates everything else and
- 25 everything resembles everything else down to the last detail.

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- 1 [15.39.44]
- 2 There is also remarkable corroboration of the contents of
- 3 official documents through the words that witnesses and civil
- 4 parties have used in the courtroom. Or for whom we have written
- 5 testimony. When we read the orders, hand it out through
- 6 telegrams, the decisions that were taken at the meetings of the
- 7 Central Committee or the Standing Committee, or the propaganda
- 8 that was disseminated through "Revolutionary Flag". Or even the
- 9 speeches by Nuon Chea or Khieu Samphan. And then we listen to
- 10 what the people write at the very bottom of the system heard.
- 11 It's striking to see that logic where each side is an echo of the
- 12 other. Everything that is said or done at the bottom is nothing
- 13 other than the scrupulous application of what is said and decided
- 14 at the top.
- 15 [15.40.45]
- 16 Once again, the pursuit of this multifaceted enemy, the
- 17 extermination of the enemy, the sacrifice of individuals for
- 18 Angkar, the offensive for the production of 3 tons of rice per
- 19 hectare are expressed everywhere after having been written down
- 20 and stated by the leaders.
- 21 Another form of proof emerges in the spread of civil parties
- 22 through Cambodia during the regime. They are in Kandal, Takeo,
- 23 Prey Veng, Kampong Speu, Kampot, Kampong Cham, Banteay Meanchey,
- 24 Pursat, or Battambang. Wherever these people are, their testimony
- 25 is identical; it is the same. They have lived through the same

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- 1 experiences. They have been mistreated in the same way, they've
- 2 had their dignity breeched in the same way, suffered the same
- 3 wounds and injuries, and undergone the same living and moving
- 4 conditions. They heard these petty leaders giving precisely the
- 5 same speeches and what better proof can there be of a common plan
- 6 prepared at the most senior level and accompanied by policies
- 7 that were then applied throughout the country. And in hearing all
- 8 of this, how do the Accused react?
- 9 [15.42.26]
- 10 Well, I would say that their reaction is an echo of the regime
- 11 they participated in. It is marked first by silence and second by
- 12 deceit. Sometimes, as well, there is denial. Now, there has been
- 13 much said hear about the right of maintaining silence so as not
- 14 to incriminate yourself and that indeed is everybody's right. But
- 15 like any right, it can be used in a number of different ways and
- 16 it even can be abused. And other people present can also
- 17 appreciate the use that is made of it. And they are entitled to
- 18 make their comments on the way that right is used and I will make
- 19 my comments on behalf of the civil parties. Before this trial
- 20 began, Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea had stated that they were
- 21 looking forward to the trial as being an opportunity to address
- 22 themselves to their people and to shed light on a historical
- 23 period during which they were in power.
- 24 [15.43.33]
- 25 At the beginning of this trial, in this very place, Khieu Samphan

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- 1 repeated on a number of occasions that he would speak once all of
- 2 the evidence had been presented. And then when we reached the
- 3 end; firstly, one; and then, the other accused; took refuge in
- 4 silence on the grounds that they had been prevented from speaking
- 5 by their lawyers. Well, I can only say one thing about that, it's
- 6 regrettable.
- 7 The civil parties and the victims and the Cambodians and other
- 8 people as well were expecting some explanations, some reasons,
- 9 some answers to what has been haunting them for more than 35
- 10 years now. They were expecting some words from the people who
- 11 were at the very top. The people who took the decisions, made the
- 12 speeches, and forged the policies. And there is also an
- 13 entitlement to expect the leaders to give an account of
- 14 themselves. It is a right in any political regime. In a trial,
- 15 one is entitled to expect explanations. Here we are not at a
- 16 conference, as one of our colleagues from the Defence pointed out
- 17 one day. But a trial is not exclusively either the place where
- 18 you protect the right of the accused; it's also a place where
- 19 words are exchanged. And I believe that this oral aspect of
- 20 things has been defended and even requested many times by the
- 21 Accused with respect to the witnesses. The civil parties will not
- 22 have had the debates and the explanations that they had been
- 23 promised and that is very regrettable.
- 24 [15.45.38]
- 25 However, on certain moments during this trial, the Accused have

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- 1 spoken, particularly when they were called upon by the civil
- 2 parties who had come to describe what they have lived through and
- 3 wanted to have some answers to the questions that were haunting
- 4 them. And it is true that, at that particular moment and at one
- 5 or two other rare times, the Accused did stand up to speak to us
- 6 all here in this courtroom. And each one of those moments was one
- 7 of greatly heightened attention but what we heard was,
- 8 unfortunately, not up to expectations, and it was also sadly
- 9 predictable despite the details enunciated by the witnesses and
- 10 the civil parties, and despite the large amount of documentary
- 11 evidence, and despite the number of dead. Despite the number of
- 12 mass graves, despite their position and the speeches they made at
- 13 the time, the Accused continued to tell us that they didn't know
- 14 what was going on and that was not what they had intended. And
- 15 Mr. Nuon Chea went on to add, assuming that it happened at all,
- 16 and as far as he is concerned, it's not yet proven.
- 17 [15.46.59]
- 18 Well, lack of courage is unfortunately a common human failing but
- 19 denial is something else altogether. And I think that the Chamber
- 20 will judge the arguments of the accused for what they are worth.
- 21 Such is your prerogative. Let me just ask a question based on
- 22 common sense. What were they doing these senior leaders -
- 23 during their almost daily meetings? Meetings that sometimes went
- 24 on for several days and several nights. What were they talking
- 25 about with Pol Pot? What were they talking about during these

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- 1 lengthy meetings that they had with Zone, District, and Sector
- 2 leaders which lasted several days at a time? I'd like to quote
- 3 another victim of the regime in this respect Youk Cheng. One day
- 4 he wrote and I quote:
- 5 "Khieu Samphan wrote in his thesis that he joined the Revolution
- 6 because he wanted to make the country independent and developed.
- 7 Other Khmer Rouge leaders provided the same excuses. When I
- 8 compare these statements with the results of my research and my
- 9 personal experience under the regime, I can only ask myself: what
- 10 are they talking about? Indeed, what are they talking about? Or
- 11 perhaps should I say what is it that they do not want to talk
- 12 about."
- 13 [15.48.35]
- 14 Mr. President, I only have a few minutes left now and I'd like to
- 15 take this opportunity once again to put a name to these acts and
- 16 plans and decisions and policies for which these accused are
- 17 called to account. These are crimes against humanity, the most
- 18 grave crimes. Not below genocide, but at the same level of
- 19 gravity. These are crimes against humanity because there were
- 20 murders, exterminations, persecutions, and other crimes connected
- 21 with forced transfers and enforced disappearances.
- 22 In this initial trial, we have not been able to discuss the
- 23 entire Democratic Kampuchea regime. A good many civil parties who
- 24 are victims of other facts haven't heard those facts being
- 25 discussed.

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- 1 [15.49.44]
- 2 And it is possible that they will not be discussed in a future
- 3 trial. It is possible that they will thus receive no future legal
- 4 qualification. That situation is unsatisfactory and could be seen
- 5 by certain civil parties as a denial of justice even if in fact
- 6 is not one. Some may feel frustrated once the trial is done, but
- 7 I, once again, would like to say how much these debates and
- 8 discussions, this testimony and the presence of victims have all
- 9 proven to be very positive elements which have provided substance
- 10 and reality, a very sad human reality to this period of Cambodian
- 11 history.
- 12 [15.50.37]
- 13 Consider how much they assisted with the materialization of that
- 14 legal truth that so many of us are seeking. And at the close of
- 15 this trial, at this very moment, as our day draws to a close, I'd
- 16 like us to try and visualize the people trampling along the roads
- 17 of Cambodia. These men, women, children, old people, and the sick
- 18 who were leaving behind their previous lives in their entirety.
- 19 Who were leaving with almost nothing or perhaps too many things
- 20 that they would lose bit by bit in the unrelenting heat. And then
- 21 a few months later in harsh driving rain.
- 22 [15.51.26]
- 23 At this moment, I would like us to try and visualize these
- 24 people, people working walking, rather, in an atmosphere of
- 25 violence and threat; people who are frightened and absolutely

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- 1 uncertain about what the future brings. And having heard all of
- 2 their testimony, I would like everybody here to be capable of
- 3 seeing, at this moment, those who died at the roadside. The
- 4 terrified children who were looking for their parents, and the
- 5 parents that were appalled at losing their children., And it is
- 6 my hope that we can see them here before our eyes weeping for
- 7 their family and friends, suffering from hunger, persecution and
- 8 that we see their degradation as they went through it at that
- 9 time. And I hope that we can visualize them trying their level
- 10 best to adapt with barely a glimmer of hope to this absurdly
- 11 cruel regime which didn't have the slightest degree of respect
- 12 for their dignity and which had already decided that they counted
- 13 for nothing.
- 14 I'd like for us to try and see them now crammed into the trucks
- 15 and goods trains gripped with hunger and fear. That is what I
- 16 hope because that is the reality that underpins this trial. And
- 17 those two accused know it. They knew that reality from the very
- 18 first day, the 17th of April 1975, because they organized it,
- 19 they built it, they extended it across all of their countries
- 20 during 5 years, 8 months and 20 days solely to serve their
- 21 glorious revolution.
- 22 [15.53.22]
- 23 Now today, benefitting from the passing of time, those accused
- 24 have no wish to look at what lies behind. But I would like them
- 25 to see these people, to be forced to see them. Their people

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- 1 dying, one by one, of hunger, sickness or despair. Or simply from
- 2 having thought differently. And I hope justice will condemn them
- 3 for having organized all of that.
- 4 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Thank you.
- 7 Again, I grant the floor to the Lead Co-Lawyers for the civil
- 8 party to make their final statement on reparation.
- 9 [15.54.36]
- 10 MS. SIMONNEAU-FORT:
- 11 Thank you, Mr. President. I will now talk about the reparations.
- 12 We have spoken at length about reparations since the beginning of
- 13 this trial, here in this courtroom, whenever the Chamber invited
- 14 us to do so, and also outside of this courtroom, because it was
- 15 truly necessary to explain on several occasions what reparations
- 16 are generally before tribunals, and in particular, here before
- 17 the ECCC.
- 18 Before my learned colleague, Ang Pich give you some additional
- 19 details and prepare presents the projects we are in a position
- 20 to present, and which we request the Chamber to recognize as
- 21 judicial reparations, I would like to say something about the
- 22 basis of reparations, their meaning and the process that led to
- 23 today's application, and what our expectations are.
- 24 [15.55.53]
- 25 The few opportunities that have been given to the civil parties

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- during the hearings on the facts, and the few days that were
- 2 given to the civil parties in May and June 2013, left us
- 3 voiceless in the face of the personal histories that the civil
- 4 parties expressed. Their accounts went beyond our imaginations -
- 5 what we could imagine regarding the horrors they were subjected
- 6 to and the inhumane treatment they endured.
- 7 I believe that what we can particularly bear in mind a few months
- 8 later is the dignity and the moral strength which prompted those
- 9 people to come here and tell us what was unspeakable. How they
- 10 held back their anger and avoided slipping into pain and
- 11 distress, in order to be sure to tell us everything. I believe
- 12 that those victims wanted to express, in as accurate and
- 13 efficient a manner, proof of the crimes they endured and the
- 14 impact of those crimes on them and their beloved ones.
- 15 Particularly, on those who died during the regime. I believe they
- 16 wanted to do so, not only for themselves, in a personal capacity,
- 17 but because they knew that they were also speaking for all those
- 18 who suffered the same sufferings between 1975 and 1979. I believe
- 19 that those persons felt that they were entrusted with the
- 20 essential duty to bring the truth to light, so that no one may
- 21 ever say that they didn't know, and in order that the weight of
- 22 criminal responsibility, which is at the root of the legal
- 23 definition of crimes against humanity, and which underscores
- 24 their gravity it was important to underscore this dimension -
- 25 this human reality and it was the civil parties that obliged us

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- 1 to do so.
- 2 [15.58.24]
- 3 And that is how they claimed ownership and rightly so of the
- 4 trial. As such, they were not simple guests, but actors.
- 5 Reparations are the corollary of participation. We know that
- 6 reparations are recognized as the right of victims in a judicial
- 7 process. We also know that such reparations should, in principle,
- 8 amend the harm done in its entirety. We also know, unfortunately,
- 9 that it is often impossible, particularly when the harm suffered
- 10 attains such a degree of gravity and are so relentless and
- 11 inexorable and final.
- 12 I would like to present a few examples of what the civil parties
- 13 said. I will not give any names, because it is not only those who
- 14 came who endured all that, but hundreds of thousands of others.
- 15 [15.59.33]
- 16 We, first of all, have this man aged between 45 and 50. He was a
- 17 child during the Khmer Rouge regime. He described, with such
- 18 great sadness, his solitude. He explained how he lost, gradually,
- 19 his parents, his brothers and sisters, his family members and
- 20 beloved ones. He also explained to us how his life, thereafter,
- 21 was only solitude, and how that feeling persisted to date -
- 22 preventing him from forming a family and making true friends. He
- 23 explained to us how what he endured made him to feel alone. He
- 24 expressed the wish that this trial would do all it can to prevent
- 25 those events from recurring. He also expressed the wish that this

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- 1 trial would be a means for rallying people, and not dividing
- 2 them.
- 3 There's also this woman or several women who described how
- 4 they were no longer able to feed their young children, and how
- 5 all they could do was watch them die of hunger in their arms. How
- 6 they felt quilty. How they felt quilty that they could not meet
- 7 that basic demand for food. How they were desperately forced to
- 8 look at their children suffer, and that such suffering still
- 9 haunts them today.
- 10 [16.01.15]
- 11 Then we have those who described their own parents, who are not
- 12 necessarily elderly at the time, but who became elderly -
- 13 exhausted before them. And they saw them die, and they could
- 14 not believe that their lives were futile and marked by such
- 15 nightmare. They said how they were ashamed, and how they still
- 16 feel ashamed today that they were not able to give their parents
- 17 what they themselves had received from their own parents happily
- 18 before the Khmer Rouge era.
- 19 Then we have this woman who was age 10 at the time. She described
- 20 how she was forced to work, and the work was the most abject you
- 21 can imagine. She was on her feet every day in a pit of excrement,
- 22 and her food was thrown to her down in the pit. She told us how
- 23 children were treated as slaves who had to be overworked to
- 24 death, and treated mercilessly. She also expressed her feelings
- 25 of shame. But how could things have been otherwise? That woman,

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- 1 this child, perhaps Khieu Samphan spoke about them in 1977; he
- 2 could have told us how happy they were to pick up excrement.
- 3 [16.02.45]
- 4 Then we have the exiled Cambodians who did not want to return to
- 5 Cambodia. They adapted to life in a foreign country. Life there
- 6 was different from theirs here in Cambodia. They expressed why
- 7 they refused to return home. They all told us that they were no
- 8 longer human beings. They viewed themselves as animals deprived
- 9 of their dignity and humanity. And they were turned into animals
- 10 and they had to behave like animals to survive. We heard how they
- 11 felt shame for all that. And how could it have been otherwise?
- 12 Now, what reparations can be awarded to these victims? What just
- 13 reparations can be awarded to them? It does not suffice, to say,
- 14 of course, that reparations are a right. Such a right should be
- 15 effective. It is clear that we will never be able to amend the
- 16 harm caused. It is the case before this tribunal, and it is the
- 17 case in many other criminal trials. However, we must make sure
- 18 that significant reparations of real value are awarded.
- 19 [16.04.13]
- 20 In order that everyone should understand at this point in time
- 21 what our requests are and how they have been developed, I must
- 22 express the difficulties we encountered and we hope that the
- 23 Chamber will take them into consideration in its deliberations.
- 24 I say "we". In so doing, I am talking about the Lead Co-Lawyers
- 25 and the civil party lawyers, because we are all aware that,

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- 1 before the ECCC, it is up to the civil party to say whether they
- 2 want an award to be granted against the accused, or whether they
- 3 want projects that are entrusted to third parties and are also
- 4 funded by third parties should be recognized as reparations. In
- 5 the latter case, it is up to the Lead Co-Lawyers to prepare these
- 6 projects with the assistance of the Victim Support Section, which
- 7 is under a duty to lend us their support.
- 8 It is also the duty of the Lead Co-Lawyers to make sure that each
- 9 project is fully funded. The first difficulty we have encountered
- 10 has been the obligation to imperatively and exclusively choose
- 11 one form of reparations or the other, according to the Internal
- 12 Rules.
- 13 [16.05.46]
- 14 Should we request an award against the accused, or should we ask
- 15 for projects? For us the civil party lawyers ask for the
- 16 Chamber which had pointed out in the Duch trial and the Duch
- 17 judgement that it is evident that whoever is guilty should be
- 18 awarded should be forced to pay reparations. We cannot waive
- 19 this principle, because the award of reparations to redress the
- 20 harm suffered should be a logical conclusion of the trial.
- 21 However, the Chamber, in its decision against Duch, said awards
- 22 could not be made against him, because he was indigent. The
- 23 problem of the indigence of the accused is posed in the same
- 24 manner in Case 002.
- 25 [16.06.46]

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- 1 When the civil party lawyers requested the Co-Investigating
- 2 Judges in 2010 to carry out investigations into the wealth of the
- 3 accused, their request was declared inadmissible, and this was
- 4 confirmed by the Pre-Trial Chamber. When the Lead Co-Lawyers, in
- 5 2012, asked the Procedures Committee to amend the Internal Rules
- 6 in order that it may be possible to request both conviction with
- 7 an award of reparations against the convicted person and that
- 8 reparations be put in place, they did not declare that request
- 9 null and void, but they simply did not respond.
- 10 [16.07.42]
- 11 We have to develop projects in order that they be recognized as
- 12 reparations, it was up to us to develop them. And at this stage I
- 13 would like to underscore the commitment of NGOs and associations.
- 14 Their professionalism which is not part of our duties as
- 15 lawyers in spite of the duties and the burdens they bore in
- 16 funding the reparations projects their commitment was
- 17 remarkable, throughout the three years of this trial, and have
- 18 required considerable work. And it is thanks to them that the
- 19 reparations projects are being presented to this Chamber today.
- 20 But I'd also like to talk about the second difficulty we have
- 21 encountered, and to say how the preparation of the reparations
- 22 has been a burden for the civil parties. In October 2011,
- 23 referring to this problem on my feet, here I had underscored
- 24 the fears we then entertained that the reparations would become a
- 25 burden a brunt borne by the civil parties themselves.

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- 1 [16.09.07]
- 2 We underscored this problem. It is not just that the civil
- 3 parties should bear the brunt for the reparations awarded for
- 4 them. It is even less just that they should be in charge of
- 5 funding such reparations projects, whereas such reparations are
- 6 their right, quite simply. The ECCC law is what it is, and the
- 7 Chamber is confronted with this law, as we are, but it is our
- 8 duty as lawyers to stress to what extent this law is unjust to
- 9 the civil parties.
- 10 This said, since thanks to time, the efforts made, by dint of
- 11 the convictions and the commitments and contributions of
- 12 governments and associations like the TPO, DC-Cam, Youth for
- 13 Peace, Kdei Karuna, CHRAC, Cambodian Defenders Project, The
- 14 International Federation of Human Rights, Anvaya by dint of the
- 15 commitment of artists, like Mr. Séra, and thanks also to the
- 16 goodwill of the Cambodian government, which we approached for the
- 17 indispensable authorization and agreement in principle which they
- 18 granted us, and thanks lastly to the funding provided by Germany,
- 19 France, Switzerland, and the Swiss foundation, Stiftung
- 20 Kriegstrauma-Therapie, we were able to develop projects that all
- 21 meet the needs of civil parties and victims.
- 22 [16.10.55]
- 23 These reparations we are requesting meet the needs for
- 24 remembrance, for contemplations, for rehabilitation and
- 25 restoration of the dignity of the civil parties. There are

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- 1 damages for civil parties and are of some assistance to them. And
- 2 my learned colleague will present those projects.
- 3 Before concluding, I would like to recall what we are
- 4 specifically requesting of the Chamber.
- 5 We are requesting the Chamber not to omit the responsibility of
- 6 the quilty in the reparations process. In the case, of course,
- 7 of a conviction. And in this case, in this regard, in our written
- 8 briefs, we have requested such an award, as well as the funding
- 9 of the projects. We know that, in doing so, we are going beyond
- 10 the limits of the Internal Rules, but the Chamber will appreciate
- 11 and decide. We have also made an additional request for
- 12 recognition of the reparations projects that will be put in place
- 13 and funded by third parties.
- 14 [16.12.15]
- 15 We've also requested the Chamber, in our Closing Brief, to again
- 16 recall in its future judgement what it had stated in Case 001. We
- 17 thus request the Chamber to again and I quote the 26th July
- 18 2010 Duch judgement and I quote:
- 19 "To encourage the national authorities, the international
- 20 community, and other potential donors to show their solidarity
- 21 with the victims in the form of support, particularly financial
- 22 support, that will contribute to their rehabilitation and their
- 23 reintegration and the restoration of their dignity." End of
- 24 quote.
- 25 What the Chamber said in July 2010, we would wish that it will

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- 1 restate it in its future judgement. We again request the Chamber
- 2 to authorize us to provide further information in the course of
- 3 their deliberations, either on means of implementation, or on
- 4 additional funding that we may obtain, because we deem it just
- 5 that the civil parties benefit to the maximum from all that can
- 6 enable them before your final judgement to enjoy the
- 7 reparations that may be given to them.
- 8 [16.13.48]
- 9 And, lastly, as a corollary to the last request, we request the
- 10 Chamber we are asking the Chamber to rule that any
- 11 reparations will continue to be reparations, beyond the duration
- 12 of their implementation, as we indicated in our Closing Brief,
- 13 for budget constraints, in order that additional funding may be
- 14 obtained even after the delivery of the judgement.
- 15 I will close with these words, which you already know are the
- 16 expression of our conviction. Just and meaningful reparations are
- 17 an essential part of any conviction decision. It is part and
- 18 parcel of this decision, without which the decision will not
- 19 attain its objectives.
- 20 I thank you.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 Thank you.
- 23 And National Lead Co-Lawyer for the civil parties, you may
- 24 proceed.
- 25 MR. PICH ANG:

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- 1 Good afternoon, once again, Your Honours, esteemed colleagues,
- 2 parties to the proceedings and members of the public.
- 3 [16.15.16]
- 4 I would like to continue on the final statement on reparations,
- 5 particularly on the request of civil parties for the reparations
- 6 as a consequence of the hearing of Case 002/01. And I am going to
- 7 bring up the prioritized reparation projects which we have sought
- 8 recognition from the Trial Chamber.
- 9 Your Honours, the applicable law before the ECCC, as well as
- 10 other jurisprudence, presents very clearly the reason and grounds
- 11 for reparations. The acknowledgement of the harms as a
- 12 consequence of the commission of crimes, as well as the analysis
- 13 of the consequences of those crimes, require that we present them
- 14 in front of the Chamber. And this is in line with Internal Rule
- 15 23.1 quinquies.
- 16 In testifying before this Chamber, the civil parties were granted
- 17 the opportunity to present the suffering and harms sustained as a
- 18 direct result of the commission of alleged crimes. Over the
- 19 four-day period the civil parties were granted four days to
- 20 make such testimonies. Even though not all civil parties were
- 21 granted the opportunity, but considerable numbers were granted
- 22 that opportunity. And the injury, whether it be psychological,
- 23 material, or physical harms that the civil parties presented
- 24 differ from one to another. And it covers many aspects that
- 25 happened. And that represents the general harms that civil

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- 1 parties, as well as the victims, sustained during that period.
- 2 [16.18.00]
- 3 First, at the start of the regime, the civil party was
- 4 disappointed with the lie of the Khmer Rouge leaders. When the
- 5 Khmer Rouge came to Phnom Penh, and they took power, Cambodia
- 6 congratulated them and they welcomed them, as testified by Madam
- 7 Thouch Phandarasar, who came to testify before this Chamber. She
- 8 said that on the 17th of April 1975, the Khmer Rouge troops
- 9 marched to Phnom Penh City: "We were very happy. We welcomed
- 10 them. We told each other that we were now at peace." But, shortly
- 11 afterwards, the situation was completely different. People were
- 12 told to leave their home immediately.
- 13 [16.19.05]
- 14 Mr. Sotheavy said: "They pointed a gun at our head, and they
- 15 threatened us to leave the house as soon as possible. We were not
- 16 allowed to take any belongings with us. They came to us and
- 17 threatened with firing. They chased us out of our house. They
- 18 told us that we had to leave the city. They need to reorganize
- 19 the city. We begged them for the time for us to prepare our
- 20 belongings and our stuff, but we were not given that opportunity
- 21 to collect our belongings. They told us that we would return to
- 22 Phnom Penh in the next three days, and for that reason we did not
- 23 bring any belongings with us. And we were not given anything at
- 24 all along the way."
- 25 Mr. Nou Hoan said that: "A swarm of people had to walk under the

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- 1 direct sunlight, during the drying season. It was guite hot.
- 2 People who left the city were so horrified, and they left in a
- 3 hurry. They did not bring any necessary things with them. This
- 4 was a new situation for most of the people. Some of them could
- 5 not bear the difficulty, and some of them also got their legs
- 6 burned because of the long travel. And many family members
- 7 separated with their siblings."
- 8 [16.20.49]
- 9 This is one of the testimonies of what our civil parties said.
- 10 Because of this immediate evacuation, her family members were all
- 11 separated.
- 12 For other cases, people's property was confiscated. Madam Sam
- 13 Oeurn said: "They confiscated our car. They took away our car.
- 14 One of the Khmer Rouge soldiers said they could drive the car,
- 15 but once he started the car and he start driving it, it went
- 16 into hit the tree trunk."
- 17 And one of the civil parties said she had nothing with her except
- 18 one photo. That was the testimony by Madam Phandarasar. She said
- 19 she had nothing with her except one photo. Along the way, the
- 20 civil party, as well as other victims, suffered a great deal
- 21 physically and psychologically, and they had to endure travelling
- 22 a long way without any food and necessary things with them--
- 23 (Recording malfunction)
- 24 [16.22.15]
- 25 MR. PICH ANG:

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- 1 --E3/4721 said and Madam Sang Rath also mentioned that it was
- 2 quite hot during that evacuation month, and she had to move from
- 3 one step to another difficultly. It was quite difficult to move
- 4 along other way with her three kids.
- 5 And, in addition, the civil parties also experience dramatic
- 6 events in the course of that evacuation. They witnessed scattered
- 7 dead bodies. Old people were dying along the street for lack of
- 8 food and assistance. This was the testimony by civil party
- 9 E3/4664.
- 10 Seng Sivutha, another civil party, said that when she was
- 11 departing from home, she saw many dead people along the street.
- 12 And there were also people who were lying down dying: the old
- 13 people, the handicapped, those who could not walk any further.
- 14 They were on their dying day. The scene was appalling. And in
- 15 addition, she added that she even fell over on dead bodies, and
- 16 she was completely terrified. And she also witnessed the pregnant
- 17 women and the women delivering the babies were abundant and left
- 18 alone, and they had to be separated from their family members.
- 19 [16.24.24]
- 20 In the course of that evacuation, the civil parties also
- 21 encountered violence and the execution of people along the road.
- 22 Mr. Sou Sotheavy said that: "The dead bodies were of various
- 23 categories: some were the old people; some were soldiers, monks,
- 24 women and children. They were scattered everywhere along the
- 25 road."

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- 1 And he also said that, when he went past Preaek Pnov, he saw
- 2 soldiers killed, and their dead bodies were thrown away on barbed
- 3 wires. And there were other suffering sustained by other civil
- 4 parties. Madam Seng Sivutha said, in the course of her
- 5 evacuation, and when she reached the destination, she separated
- 6 from her family members. And to date she has not heard anything
- 7 from her family members.
- 8 [16.25.48]
- 9 And, in addition, Mr. Chau Ny said that, since then, Mr. Chau Sau
- 10 has disappeared to date, and I want to ask Mr. Khieu Samphan
- 11 where he died. This is one of the classic examples of the those
- 12 who lost their loved ones.
- 13 In the worksite those people who were put into the worksite or
- 14 cooperatives they were treated discriminatively. They one of
- 15 the civil parties said: "They made my father plough the field,
- 16 instead of buffalo. My father was much older, and he was he
- 17 became even older 10 years older than his age when he started
- 18 working for only 10 days over there. The scene was appalling and
- 19 miserable. I could not I do not want to recall that event."
- 20 Mr. Yos Phal said that his suffering was so great. He saw his
- 21 father, who was administered with medicine. In fact, he was
- 22 injected with a medicine, and then he was reacted with that
- 23 medicine, until he died.
- 24 [16.27.39]
- 25 One of the civil parties also said that one of her relatives was

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- 1 so hungry that she could not even hold a plate to herself.
- 2 There are a number of other civil parties who said that, because
- 3 they could not help their family to survive during that period -
- 4 have been quilty of their inability to help their relatives. A
- 5 fairly big number of civil parties whom they said they still
- 6 have many problems that they cannot address by themselves.
- 7 [16.28.29]
- 8 Madam Sang Rath said that she cannot recall the great suffering
- 9 she has endured in life. And in other cases, some civil parties
- 10 said they have lost their human quality of life. She was treated
- 11 like animal Madam Affonço said that: "We could eat anything at
- 12 that time. We could eat virtually anything, any insect that we
- 13 could eat, because we were starving."
- 14 Other civil parties also suffered great harms in the second
- 15 forced transfer. And I am not going to bring these sufferings up,
- 16 because I have already made the written submission already in
- 17 relation to their expression of suffering. Now I would like to
- 18 bring up the testimony by an expert, Dr. Chhim Sotheara, who said
- 19 that the civil parties have suffered from psychological trauma.
- 20 [16.30.10]
- 21 Some of them were identified as having stress post-traumatic
- 22 disorder. And some also have the symptoms of paranoia. These
- 23 symptoms are still prevalent with the victims and the civil
- 24 parties.
- Now, I would like to move to the reparation project.

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- 1 Your Honours, to date, the civil parties are able to raise 13
- 2 projects, which we categorize them into three groups. The first
- 3 group is on remembrance and memorialization, and two on
- 4 rehabilitation, and three the documentation and education. And
- 5 I would like to inform the Chamber that these projects have come
- 6 to this stage because we have worked very closely with our
- 7 partners in consultation with virtually all civil parties -
- 8 3,065.
- 9 The first remembrance is the Remembrance Day. Civil parties seek
- 10 the establishment of an official governmentally-recognized
- 11 Remembrance Day. It may be on any day between the 17th of April,
- 12 20th of December or 20th of May. This is the request by the
- 13 civil parties, and it will be submitted to the government before
- 14 submitting it to the Chamber, and the government has considered
- 15 the 20th of May for that.
- 16 [16.32.36]
- 17 And that Remembrance Day will honour the victims of the Khmer
- 18 Rouge, both living and deceased. And for those who are living, it
- 19 is a remembrance for their dead family members. And it is also
- 20 meant to heal the suffering and to bring honour to the victims.
- 21 And it also plays a role to remind the younger generation of
- 22 Cambodia not to commit the crimes of this nature.
- 23 For the beneficiary of this day that day will be a good
- 24 Remembrance Day for the Cambodian people, and they can also
- 25 gather to celebrate the remembrance, and they can commit

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- 1 themselves not allow such crimes to happen again in Cambodia.
- 2 And, following the permission from the government and it does
- 3 not require any expenditure, but the civil parties also request
- 4 that certain event may be celebrated on the day, but we do not
- 5 have budget for this.
- 6 [16.34.00]
- 7 The second project is the Public Memories Initiative. We wish to
- 8 establish a public memory in order to deposit the remains of
- 9 those who were killed and this is also a place where people can
- 10 come to pay respects and tribute to those who died during the
- 11 Democratic Kampuchea period and that could be a collective
- 12 memorial and a permanent structure.
- 13 To date, we have not received we have not secured funding. So
- 14 for the time being, I am not going to raise this matter before
- 15 the Chamber because we have already made our request in our
- 16 written submission. However, we request that the Chamber leave
- 17 open the opportunity for us to seek funding and we will notify
- 18 the Chamber as to whether we will be able to secure the
- 19 implementation of this project in the course of your deliberation
- 20 on judgment.
- 21 [16.35.15]
- 22 The third category is the testimonial therapy. This is no, this
- 23 is the construction of memorial for the victims of the Khmer
- 24 Rouge. This was initiated by a Cambodian French artist, Séra. She
- 25 (sic) was an artist an acclaimed artist among 100-based artist

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- 1 in 2002 to 2012. These are comprised of some sculpture which
- 2 replicated the situation of Cambodian people leaving Phnom Penh
- 3 City when they were evacuated out of the city starting from the
- 4 17 of April, which was the dawn of the tragedy in Cambodia.
- 5 And then following the control of the country by the Khmer Rouge,
- 6 a great suffering were inflicted on Cambodian people ever since.
- 7 So, they considered erecting this memorial somewhere at the
- 8 roundabout in Phnom Penh; that somewhere where people were
- 9 evacuated through when they were leaving Phnom Penh. And we want
- 10 to create this memorial site for to remember those who left the
- 11 city then and it was at the roundabout near the French Embassy.
- 12 [16.37.23]
- 13 So this project also invite other artists or architects who wants
- 14 to build something in remembrance of the victims of the Khmer
- 15 Rouge. Artist Serra will support this project with his colleagues
- 16 and he will endeavour to garner support from other sources as
- 17 well.
- 18 This project may be implemented within one year. To date, this
- 19 project has collected some 57,700 Euro; 5,000 of which is donated
- 20 by the French Government, and the other contribution by other
- 21 generous individuals account for 7,700, and we have already
- 22 provided the testimony of this availability of funding.
- 23 And the French Embassy in Phnom Penh also contacted the municipal
- 24 authority to get necessary permission to erect this memorial on
- 25 this public park and now we are waiting confirmation from the

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- 1 Municipality of Phnom Penh.
- 2 [16.38.59]
- 3 And we also have the project to build the memorial to remember
- 4 the victims of the Khmer Rouge in France. It will it is planned
- 5 to be built in Vincennes quarter in a suburb of Paris. We wanted
- 6 to build a memorial for the victims of the Khmer Rouge over there
- 7 and people can go over there to pay tribute to the victims of the
- 8 regime.
- 9 And this project is implemented by three organizations: The
- 10 Association of Victims of the Khmer Rouge, the Victims of the
- 11 Genocide Victims, and the Coalition of Human Right Organization.
- 12 This project aims to establish a memorial site where the
- 13 Cambodian people can go and pay respect to those family members
- 14 who died during the Khmer Rouge period. They can also remember
- 15 other people who died during this period.
- 16 And in addition, this was meant to be a symbolic place for the
- 17 dead who died or disappeared in Cambodia and their family members
- 18 could not find their bodies anywhere and it was thought to be a
- 19 place for them to come and stay over there and that was also a
- 20 remembrance for the younger generation as well.
- 21 [16.40.49]
- 22 It also be of benefit to the younger generations and the victims
- 23 of the Khmer Rouge. And this project will start implementing from
- 24 now and it will last for one year, and it needs to be approved by
- 25 the Municipality of Paris and we have already been granted the

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- 1 permission, but we are seeking funding to kick-start this
- 2 project. We have sought funding from some generous individuals
- 3 and from certain embassies as well.
- 4 As for the Coalition of Human Rights Organization, also plays
- 5 main role in implementing this project. The Lead Co-Lawyer for
- 6 the civil parties would like to request to the Chamber that we
- 7 will submit the Chamber with additional information when the
- 8 Chamber is deliberating on the case until we receive complete
- 9 information for your decision.
- 10 [16.42.17]
- 11 Now, the second part of this reparation project that is the
- 12 remembrance that is the rehabilitation category, and this
- 13 comprised of two projects: one is the testimonial therapy that -
- 14 and the other one is the self-help groups and these two projects
- 15 will be implemented by a partner organization, TPO. They aim to
- 16 provide the short-term trauma treatment and psychological and
- 17 mental health treatment for the victims and that will be
- 18 implemented soon. And these two projects have been supported by
- 19 the two organizations; namely, the Economic Development Ministry
- 20 of the Federal Government of Germany and they have funded
- 21 \$162,758 U.S. and this fund will be given to the Victim Support
- 22 Unit through the Office of Administration and this budget will be
- 23 disbursed to the implementing agency; namely, the TPO in this
- 24 particular instance.
- 25 And in addition, we also received funding from Stiftung

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- 1 Kriegstrauma-Therapie with the budget of 2 or \$27,454 U.S. in -
- 2 as a counterpart fund for the implementation of this project.
- 3 [16.44.24]
- 4 So I would like to inform the Chamber that this project will be
- 5 expanded and I hope that it will be recognized and realized prior
- 6 to the judgment on merit and that will be in the interest of
- 7 civil party so that civil party will benefit from this project.
- 8 In third category on documentation and education, there are
- 9 several projects; one of which is the permanent exhibition and -
- 10 rather, this project aims to collect and compile documents and
- 11 this will be done in collaboration with the Documentation Center
- 12 of Cambodia and Ministry of Fine Arts and Culture and that will
- 13 be done throughout the Kingdom of Cambodia.
- 14 Once the documentation prepared by the Documentation Center of
- 15 Cambodian, then that will contribute to promoting the education
- 16 and they also contribute to organizing the exhibition of 24
- 17 provinces and municipality in the Kingdom of Cambodia.
- 18 [16.46.09]
- 19 This project will be implemented in five provinces and we have
- 20 received funding of 50,000 80,000 Euro. This fund has been
- 21 given to the Office of Administration of the Extraordinary
- 22 Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia and the Office of
- 23 Administration will disburse it to the Documentation Center of
- 24 Cambodia.
- 25 The eighth project, that is, the mobile exhibition project. This

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- 1 mobile exhibition will compile documents and the exploring
- 2 history as well as the forced transfer of the civil parties and
- 3 victims and we aim to compile document for the public knowledge.
- 4 We will select the location as a target for the implementation of
- 5 the project.
- 6 [16.47.47]
- 7 This project will be implemented by two organizations: Kdei
- 8 Karuna organization and Youth for Peace organization. These two
- 9 organizations will receive funding from BMZ and the office of -
- 10 through the Office of Administration, the budget of 100,000 Euro.
- 11 This project will be implemented over a period of 12 months
- 12 starting from September starting from the 1st of September 2013
- 13 to the 1st of December 2014, and the Lead Co-Lawyers for the
- 14 civil party and the other civil parties want that it be
- 15 implemented for 24 months, but due to budget constraint that can
- 16 be implemented for only 12 months.
- 17 And I would like to ask the Chamber to grant us the opportunity
- 18 to inform the Chamber once we can secure additional funds so that
- 19 we can extend the period of the implementation of this project
- 20 for the benefit of the victims and civil parties.
- 21 [16.49.31]
- 22 The ninth project is the compilation of documents on forced
- 23 transfer and the execution of people at Tuol Po Chrey. The civil
- 24 party wants the recognition in one chapter of the book that is to
- 25 be incorporated into the history of Democratic Kampuchea and that

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- 1 should be a part of the course book for the student and this
- 2 particular chapter in the book will be prepared by the
- 3 Documentation Center of Cambodia and that institution will be
- 4 responsible for disseminating the book as well.
- 5 This particular chapter will be of important part for the trainer
- 6 and the teachers' quidebook will be will contain a chapter of
- 7 this as well. This chapter, entitle "Participation of Civil
- 8 Parties and the Adjudicated Facts of Case 002/01", and it
- 9 comprise of four lessons and 16 pages.
- 10 [16.50.53]
- 11 And following its compilation, the Documentation of Center of
- 12 Cambodia will train the trainers in order to teach this
- 13 particular chapter to the student. The Documentation Center of
- 14 Cambodia has committed to provide training on this particular
- 15 chapter. This chapter will demonstrate the factual elements in -
- 16 as well as the testimony of civil parties before the Chamber, and
- 17 this project will benefit the civil party in general and the
- 18 victims in particular and it is also a chapter that represents
- 19 their collective memory of the regime as well. And finally, it
- 20 also contribute to expanding knowledge for the teachers.
- 21 And this will be decided following the judgment of the Trial
- 22 Chamber and that must be in line with the judgment of the
- 23 Chamber.
- 24 In its letter, the Documentation Center of Cambodia has made it
- 25 clear that they will be responsible for securing funding to

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- 1 implement this particular project. Currently, \$40,000 U.S. of
- 2 funding is reserved by the Sleuk Rith Center, which is which
- 3 was a former project of the Documentation Center of Cambodia.
- 4 [16.52.51]
- 5 Now, following the judgment, particularly if the Accused are
- 6 found quilty, this budget will be considered as a contributory
- 7 budget or counterpart budget for the implementation of this
- 8 project.
- 9 Now, the tenth project; that is, the peace side peace
- 10 structure, that was to be established in Samraong and the purpose
- 11 of establishing this peace center peace study center is to
- 12 remember those who died during the Khmer Rouge regime.
- 13 The place where this peace study center was to be established was
- 14 that it was a community land, and it was approved by the
- 15 community that this peace centre peace studies centre building
- 16 should be built over there.
- 17 [16.54.04]
- 18 The Youth for Peace organization will be the implementer of this
- 19 project, in collaboration with the community. In that centre, it
- 20 will comprise of exhibition room, the study room, and discussion
- 21 room. And it will also display other photos as well. There will
- 22 be other training and conferences as well for the participants.
- 23 And the public forum will be also organized for some 100
- 24 participants. And it is also a place where documents will be
- 25 gathered, and people can go and study the history of the regime,

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- 1 particularly those who want to find out about the persecution of
- 2 victims in Pursat and Battambang during the period of the
- 3 Democratic Kampuchea. And they also they can also go there to
- 4 find out the facts that were adjudicated at the Khmer Rouge
- 5 Tribunal. That project is implemented by the Youth for Peace, as
- 6 well, who have carried out a few similar projects across Cambodia
- 7 before. And they have also confirmed the budget for implementing
- 8 this according to their letter so far.
- 9 [16.55.44]
- 10 These projects will be implemented over the period of two years,
- 11 starting from September 2013 to August 2015, and received funding
- 12 from the Swiss Development Agency of 119,455.60 U.S. dollars. So,
- 13 this project is in good shape now, and it deserves recognition
- 14 from the Chamber, because the funding is now available for
- 15 implementation. It can start implementing at any time.
- 16 The 11th project is the publication of the booklet on the summary
- 17 judgement of Case 002/01. And this is aimed to simplify the
- 18 version of the judgement, by incorporating the videos sorry,
- 19 the pictures and a simplified version of language, where lay
- 20 people can understand it easily. It will be implemented by the
- 21 CHRAC organization, the Human Rights Action Committee of
- 22 Cambodia. They have committed to implementing this project. And
- 23 this committee comprise of 21 organizations, and its mandate is
- 24 to defend human rights and restore the rule of law in Cambodia.
- 25 It was established in Cambodia in the early 1990s, and it has a

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- 1 specific project to implement this particular project. And this
- 2 booklet aims to bring together in a summary and concise content
- 3 of judgement of Case 002/01, so that it will attract wider
- 4 readership. And this book is also dedicated to the civil parties
- 5 who have participated in these proceedings on behalf of other
- 6 victims in Cambodia. It also recognizes the suffering and harms
- 7 that the civil parties and other victims have sustained. So this
- 8 is a dedication to the victims of Cambodia Cambodian people.
- 9 This project may be accomplished within 10 days.
- 10 As for the budget budget is funded from the GIZ of 5,000 U.S.
- 11 dollars. It covers the operation of the entire project.
- 12 [16.59.00]
- 13 Aside from the 11 projects I have mentioned, there are two
- 14 additional projects that the Lead Co-Lawyers for the civil
- 15 parties have not raised in the prioritized list of reparations
- 16 projects. But we did raise these two projects earlier on,
- 17 particularly during our preliminary indication of the reparation
- 18 that the Lead Co-Lawyers would propose at the later stage. One of
- 19 these projects is the project to publish the entire verdict of
- 20 Case 002/01, and the summary of this verdict.
- 21 The project on publication of the judgement of Case 001/02 will
- 22 be the 12th project. The civil parties have requested that the
- 23 summary of the judgement and the full judgement be published and
- 24 distributed to the civil parties, as well as those who practice
- 25 legal profession in Cambodia. And the budget of 2,500 has been

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- 1 proposed for the publication of this verdict. Of course, \$2,500
- 2 by no means is enough for the publication of this judgement for
- 3 the members of the public or lawyers in Cambodia or the civil
- 4 parties, and in addition, in Case 001, a lot of money much more
- 5 money than 2,500 was used for this publication purpose.
- 6 [17.01.07]
- 7 Following the recognition from the Chamber, this will be
- 8 implemented within a period of four months.
- 9 The third project, which is the last of the series of projects we
- 10 propose, is the release or the publication of the names of civil
- 11 parties in public media. This on the website of the ECCC it
- 12 is important that their names be published on the website of the
- 13 ECCC. This posting of their names by the civil parties will
- 14 contribute to promoting the participatory role of the civil
- 15 parties in the criminal proceedings, and this posting of their
- 16 names would include their names in Khmer, in Latin, as well as
- 17 their civil party numbers. That will make it easy for other
- 18 people to find names. The Public Affairs Section will cooperate
- 19 with us to arrange this. And this project, on the initial phase,
- 20 will be will take approximately three months. This was proposed
- 21 by the civil parties.
- 22 [17.02.36]
- 23 For these projects, the civil parties would like to request to
- 24 the Chamber to:
- 25 One, recognize the harm and suffering sustained by the civil

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- 1 party and it is the consequence of the crimes that the accused
- 2 committed.
- 3 And, two, for those who were found quilty shall be ordered to
- 4 pay for the reparation pay the reparation of the victims, and
- 5 in case the accused or the convicts were considered indigent,
- 6 then these reparations is to be awarded by the third party.
- 7 And, three, the civil party also requests the Chamber that we
- 8 agree with the Chamber that we will follow the direction of the
- 9 Chamber, pursuant to Rule 23quinquies(b); and we request that the
- 10 Chamber at least acknowledge and recognize the projects that we
- 11 have secured funding for the implementation already.
- 12 [17.04.21]
- 13 Five (sic), we also request that the Trial Chamber consider
- 14 leaving the opportunity for to secure additional funding while
- 15 the Chamber is deliberating on the judgement.
- 16 And, six (sic), the civil party should be granted the opportunity
- 17 to receive necessary information for them.
- 18 Six, on the projects that have been recognized by the Chamber -
- 19 shall be able to be implemented far beyond the judgement.
- 20 [17.05.23]
- 21 And, seven, the civil parties will endeavour to work with other
- 22 partners and the international community to secure funding to
- 23 implement the projects they have proposed. These are the proposed
- 24 projects by the civil parties, and these also represent the
- 25 reparations requested by members of the publics in general.

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- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Thank you, Lead Co-Lawyers for the civil parties.
- 3 Now the Closing Statements of the Lead Co-Lawyer for the civil
- 4 party is done within the time allocated.
- 5 The time is now also appropriate for the day adjournment. The
- 6 Chamber shall adjourn now and resume tomorrow, Thursday, the 17th
- 7 of October 2013. This serves as the notice to parties and
- 8 information for the members of the public.
- 9 And tomorrow we will grant the floor to the Co-Prosecutor to make
- 10 their final statements.
- 11 Security quards are instructed to bring the two accused to the
- 12 detention facility of the ECCC and have them returned to
- 13 participate in the proceedings tomorrow before 9 o'clock in the
- 14 morning.
- 15 Mr. Khieu Samphan is to be brought to this courtroom.
- 16 And as for Mr. Nuon Chea, he is to be brought to a holding cell
- 17 downstairs, where audio-visual equipment is there for him to
- 18 follow the proceedings remotely.
- 19 The Court is now adjourned.
- 20 (Court adjourns at 1707H)

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