



អង្គជំនុំជម្រះវិសាមញ្ញក្នុងតុលាការកម្ពុជា

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

## Request for Correction

Case : 002/19-09-2007-ECCC/TC

**ឯកសារដើម**

**ORIGINAL/ORIGINAL**

ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ (Date): 04-Mar-2015, 11:00

CMS/CFO: Sann Rada

To Document No(s):	ERN(s):	Request Date:	Correction Type:
E1/260.1	01065789-01065909	04/03/2015	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Change to Original <input type="checkbox"/> Change to Translation <input type="checkbox"/> Reclassification

### **Reason for changes:**

Error in Transcript

### **Details:**

The correction is made on the English version:

ERN 01065825, p. 34, L. 13  
 ERN 01065850, p. 59, L. 25  
 ERN 01065851, p. 60, L. 17  
 ERN 01065858, p. 67, L. 7  
 ERN 01065860, p. 69, L.19 and 24  
 ERN 01065861, p. 70, L. 9  
 ERN 01065863, p. 72, L. 22 and 24  
 ERN 01065873, p. 82, L. 5, 7 and 8  
 ERN 01065893, p. 102, L. 5  
 ERN 01065908, p. 117, L. 13

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Approved by Greffier (for originals):

Approved by ITU (for translations):

Signature: 

Signature: 

Signature:

1 Education, feeding, clothing, all those sorts of things, so that you ended up with situations  
2 where children would go against their parents, because that would be required of them under  
3 the rules.

4 Q. How did that differ from the situation in the -- that you observed in 1972 to 1974 in  
5 Cambodia?

6 A. The -- it was night and day. It was -- Cambodians have very strong families. Remarkably,  
7 you would see fathers, very involved with their children and in ways that you don't often see in  
8 all societies. You had distant brother cousins, a huge net for families where different familial  
9 responsibilities. The family was the basic -- the centre. And, it was interesting as I note with  
10 Madam Ieng Thirith. As soon as it was possible, she regrouped her family together. It's very  
11 deep, very deep.

12 [10.45.56]

13 Q. I want to go back a moment because I forgot a question to ask you, something about the  
14 Cham. You went on your visit in 1978 to Kampong Cham, is that correct?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And you travelled by river? Is that correct?

17 A. I believe so, yes.

18 Q. On that trip, or in any other parts of -- well, let me go back a second. You, I think, said at one  
19 point or can you tell us, approximately how many miles or kilometres did you travel in that trip?

20 A. I believe I wrote 2000. We, as I said, we spent an inordinate amount of time in cars or boats.

21 Q. In all of that travel, do you recall how many persons you saw in recognisable Cham dress,  
22 wearing head scarves or the other distinctive clothing, headdresses of Cham men?

23 A. None.

24 [10.47.37]

25 Q. I want to ask you about a passage at page 281 of your book. In English, the ERN is  
26 00237986; in French, 00638540; and in Khmer, 00232370. You wrote, before -- excuse me, you

1 MR. KOPPE:

2 I was actually going to refer to that document later on in my question but I'm very happy to do it  
3 now. I'm referring to document E307/5.2.1, ERN, there's only the English ERN I'm afraid,  
4 01001620. And it's called, 'Geng Biao's Report on the Situation of the Indochinese Peninsula'.  
5 And it was put on the case file by a request of our team.

6 [13.44.18]

7 JUDGE LAVERGNE:

8 But when was it published? Because if you want to ask a question as to why it wasn't  
9 mentioned in Ms. Becker's book, we need to know when it was published.

10 MR. KOPPE:

11 Yes, Judge Lavergne. In the opening paragraph of the report it says: "The following document  
12 was released by Taiwanese intelligent sources and was published in January 1981 by Issues  
13 and Studies in Taipei". So it is a document from 1981 referred to by Nayan Chanda in his book  
14 and also referred to by Steven Morris in his book. And to be complete, Nayan Chanda's book  
15 is, I think, in the same year written as the first edition of Madam Becker's book.

16 BY MR. KOPPE:

17 Another question, Ms. Becker, is a follow-up question from the Prosecution on the use by you  
18 of earlier scholarly work, Kiernan, Chandler, Header. I wrote down in my notes that at one  
19 point, you said in an answer that among the group you shared a lot.

20 Q. Would you be able to expand a little bit on what you mean that you shared a lot?

21 [14.46.05]

22 MS. BECKER:

23 A. Well, if someone was working on an issue and they knew someone else had documents, we  
24 would share them.

25 Q. Would you be able to say that you relied more on one scholar or the other, or is that very  
26 difficult for you to say?

1 [13.46.31]

2 A. Well for instance Nayan Chanda and I shared a lot because he was a Vietnam scholar and  
3 Vietnam reporter, and I was a Cambodia reporter. So, we shared an awful lot on the diplomatic  
4 -- Nayan wrote on the diplomatic history, and he was very much on diplomatic history. So I  
5 shared with Nayan. With Ben Kiernan, he found the documents about the murder of Malcolm  
6 Caldwell; he shared that with me. Steven Header was excellent on translating Khmer Rouge  
7 documents. David Hawk. I mentioned David; he was one of the first to put the collections of  
8 photographs together and so he would bring things to me to go over. It depended on the  
9 subject.

10 Q. Thank you. Going back to an earlier question from the Prosecution, on your contact with  
11 officials, for instance, from the State Department just prior to your trip to DK, in that context,  
12 have you spoken to an analyst of State Department, a person with the name of Douglas Pike?

13 [13.47.54]

14 A. Douglas Pike is much more a Vietnam expert and I did not talk to him before my DK trip.

15 Q. Have you used a report that he had written for US Congress in the fall of '78, for your book?

16 A. I certainly talked to the members of Congress who wrote the report. Yes, and talked to them.  
17 But not to Douglas Pike.

18 Q. But my question was whether -- do you remember whether you actually used his report to  
19 write certain chapters of your book?

20 A. Yes, I read it. It's one of the secondary -- yes, 1978 report of the Congress. Yes.

21 Q. The reason why I'm asking is because I didn't find it in reference but -- what else can you tell  
22 us about Douglas Pike other than that he was specialist on Vietnam?

23 A. I don't -- his regular biography. I do not know him well.

24 Q. Then moving on to another American journalist, Richard Dudman. You spoke about him  
25 already before. Would it be correct if I describe him, in that period '78, as a very experienced  
26 journalist?

1 page three and in the first column. And it reads as follows, Ms. Becker: "While the visit  
2 amounted to a conducted tour with strict limits on conversations with ordinary Cambodians and  
3 no opportunity to speak with any but a few top government officials, there was plenty of  
4 opportunity for observation in tours of 11 of the 19 provinces". A little further on that same  
5 page, it says and I quote: "Despite the restrictions the Cambodians placedd on our activities, we  
6 were able to gather significant information about the new Cambodia for the first time since the  
7 Communist victory of almost four years ago."

8 Q. Would you agree with that observation?

9 [14.03.38]

10 MS. BECKER:

11 A. I agree that we were heavily restricted and I know I disagree on what he considers  
12 opportunities for observations. We were as I said, we went through a lot of provinces but we  
13 were stuck in the car most of the time or in boats. And --

14 Q. On this specific topic, did you ever speak to him afterwards when he published this article?

15 A. Not only did we speak to each other, we debated each other regularly on television.

16 [14.04.29]

17 Q. Was that in 1979? I'll move on. I'll move on to a next quote; that is a page later, ERN  
18 00419208; same document. He says, "At the same time, the physical condition of life may well  
19 have improved for many peasants and former urban workers. Possibly for the vast majority of  
20 the population as the regime claimed". He goes on to write, "The new communist Cambodia  
21 became one huge work camp, but this people clearly were not being worked to death and  
22 starved to death as foreign critics often charged. [...] What I found in two weeks of touring Pol  
23 Pot's Cambodia, under strict government supervision but with good opportunity for observation,  
24 was a regimented life of hard work for most Cambodians leavened, however, by much  
25 improved housing, regular issue of clothing and an insurance of apparently adequate food. I did  
26 not find the grim picture painted by the thousands of refugees who couldn't take the new order

1 not been to Cambodia before. So we regularly had discussions as I -- all through that --  
2 "Richard, this has not improved." You had to know this is not at all. We just went to a couple of  
3 model places. What you see is, you know, Potemkin village and even that is not improved. And  
4 we did see armed guards. We were stopped. Every time we tried to do something, we were  
5 stopped and often by armed guards. So, disagreement.

6 [14.07.28]

7 Q. Then I'll move on with some more quotes. The next ~~stop~~ page, Mr. President, ERN 00419209,  
8 and I quote again: "At 11 a.m., the midday break began, and the farm workers headed for lunch  
9 at one of the huge new communal dining halls. Afterwards, many could be seen relaxing or  
10 taking naps in hammocks slung under the houses on stilts. Work resumed at 1 p.m. There  
11 could be no doubt that quitting time was 5 p.m. Wherever we were in the country, men, women  
12 and children began filing out of the paddies at that hour to bathe in an irrigation canal, wash  
13 clothes or tend household vegetable plots and then head for the dining hall once more. Officials  
14 said the harvest sometimes required night work, too, due when the moon was full. ~~but~~ But we  
15 saw no work in the fields after dark".

16 [14.08.33]

17 A little further on that same page, "One of Cambodia's biggest achievements in these three-  
18 plus years was its housing program." and then he goes on to speak about the housing  
19 program. Then on  
20

1 the same page again, Ms. Becker, he says, and I quote; "I saw no evidence of starvation,  
2 however. My observation of hundreds of ordinary Cambodians suggested that they got  
3 adequate diet, if a plain one. [...] Disregarding such stage setting," the stage setting that you  
4 spoke about as well, "I could tell the state of nutrition by common site by playful small children,  
5 sometimes running about naked in indoor yards in the hot tropical sunshine with none of the  
6 listlessness or protruding bellies that bespeak starvation or malnutrition. I saw many pregnant  
7 and nursing women who appeared to be in good health. The site-sight seems to refute reports  
8 by some refugees that life is so austere that most women have been become barren and  
9 mothers' milk had gone dry."

10 And finally, Ms. Becker, on the next page 00419210 ERN, "U.S. specialists have acknowledged  
11 that the Cambodian claim of reviving rice production to the point of resuming exports would, if  
12 true, be a spectacular achievement.

13 Q. Again my question would be to you, if you would like to comment on these specific  
14 observations?

15 MS. BECKER:

16 A. We were never allowed after dark. We were often weren't around after 5 p.m. and we  
17 couldn't make those observations. The housing, I'm not sure what he is talking about. The  
18 houses we saw, a couple -- a few houses on stilts, the new ones, but the housing was not as  
19 good as what it was before. The hundreds we saw doesn't begin to reflect the millions and as I  
20 say, we already knew about rice exports because it was required. We saw the -- we actually  
21 saw the ships so, that does not at all diminished what I said that we did not see any proof of  
22 any of that. It was too narrow.

23 [14.11.13]

24 Q. I'll move to the next topic Ms. Becker, but it somehow still puzzles me, Richard Dudman was  
25 already covering the Cuban revolution and the assassination of John F. Kennedy, he was a  
26 very, very experienced journalist, yet there seems to be substantial differences between his

1 No, we just didn't see that.

2 [14.13.04]

3 Q. Very well, I might come back to that point. I would like to move on Ms. Becker, to the earlier  
4 mentioned Douglas Pike and the report that he wrote before Congress in October '78. With this  
5 report in hand, I'm actually moving to my next topic, that would be the position of Vietnam, the  
6 role of Vietnam, in relation to DK and in general Southeast Asia. He wrote this report at the  
7 request, as I understand, from Congress. It seems that he is reflecting the position and the  
8 views of the State Department in those days and it's a very interesting report, I have to say.  
9 One of the things that he is saying in his conclusions is the following and I would like quote that  
10 and then ask for your reaction.

11 [14.14.22]

12 Mr. President, this is Document E3/2370. I'm referring to English ERN, 00187396; and it seems  
13 there's only a French translation -- that is, French ERN 00344747. It's just a few of the  
14 conclusions that he is making before Congress in that report.

15 The first conclusion is the following and I quote -- I quote Douglas Pike:

16 "Vietnamese communist~~s~~ long have regarded a federation of Indochina as the proper ultimate  
17 political configuration for the peninsula. Of necessity this would require Cambodian and  
18 Laotian~~s~~ acquiescence, or at least find rulers in the two countries who are amenable to the  
19 idea. In creating a federation of Indochina the Vietnamese are in no hurry."

20 That's the first part of his conclusions. I'm moving a little slower because of the translation.

21 [14.15.52]

22 The second would be and I quote again:

23 "The present border war, which is actually internecine communist conflict, has been going since  
24 at least 1970. Neither side can be condemned as instigator; neither is simply a victim."

25 He goes on to say in his conclusions, and I quote again:



1 replace the reactionary regimes in Saigon, Vientiane and Phnom Penh with progressive ones,  
2 and later when all Vietnam, and also Laos and Cambodia, start on the road to socialism, to  
3 move toward the establishment of the federation of the Indochinese countries. This course of  
4 the VWP (Vietnam Worker's Party) flows from the program of the former ~~communist~~  
5 Communist Party of Indochina."

6 [14.34.16]

7 So, Ms. Becker, my question would be it seems that also the Soviets in 1973 still see  
8 Vietnamese policy in terms of creating an Indochinese federation. What would be your reaction  
9 on that?

10 A. I'm not surprised at all. As I said, it was a moving target and depending on the period, it's  
11 whether or not different people and different parties saw that. Now, if you remember correctly,  
12 the Soviet Union had very poor relations with both sides of the Cambodian war. The kept their  
13 - the Soviet kept their Embassy in Phnom Penh throughout the war and the first thing that the -  
14 - one of the first things that the Khmer Rouge did was trash the Soviets who thought they would  
15 be treated as allies. So, it's a very tricky thing, but I'm not at all surprised. You'll find references  
16 to this from very different periods. But as I said, the most recent Soviet archive work, again I'll  
17 repeat, in the book "Ambers of War", traces, one, the Soviets having very little interest in  
18 Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos and not wanting to give much money. They were much interested  
19 in Europe and therefore very happy to have a Indochina federation kind of, Indochinese party  
20 and it was Ho Chi Minh who fought with them to have a separate Vietnam party.

21 Q. I'll go back to Ho Chi Minh but it seems, maybe I just don't understand it correctly, but that  
22 Douglas Pike is accurately describing Vietnamese policy in relation to what the Ambassador of  
23 the Soviet Union is saying about Vietnam's ambitions. So I don't see really any light between  
24 Douglas Pike on the one hand and the Soviet Ambassador on the other hand.

25 [14.36.27]

26 MR. PRESIDENT:

1 be killed. '[The] plan was very big and important, and if we won, things would be good again,'  
2 Savuth said. 'We were encouraged because some [...] members Phnom Penh like Vorn Vet  
3 supported this plot and we had So Phim in the Eastern Zone'."

4 This particular statement of this mid-ranking cadre from Battambang, seems to be supported by  
5 another cadre ~~sighted~~ cited by Thet Sambath in his book. And I read in the book -- that would  
6 be ERN English 00757531; in Khmer 00858339 and 40; it's page 104 in the book.

7 "Surviving Khmer Rouge Cadre said there was indeed a plot to overthrow Pol Pot, Noun Chea,  
8 and the rest of the leadership. In Thoeun of Pursat province said there was a plan in 1976 to  
9 stage a coup that would be led by the Northwest and Eastern zones. 'Everyone knew about the  
10 plot to overthrow Pol Pot's leadership'."

11 Now, he's putting this to '76, would that change your answer you've just given, in light of the  
12 testimony of these two cadres?

13 [15.35.55]

14 A. It's -- I know Sambath, I know when he did these interviews. I would take it with a grain of  
15 salt. I do not think that is proof that there was a plot, but --

16 Q. Would you be able to expand why you would take that with a grain of salt?

17 A. Two isolated interviews, I'd want to find some follow-up. It's way after the fact, there's no  
18 other supporting documents.

19 [15.36.32]

20 Q. Well he's -- I'm just quoting two, there's another -- there's a third one by the way, but I'm just  
21 quoting two from his book, I'm not sure if he doesn't have more. As a matter of fact, there is  
22 evidence in the file which -- I'm careful in my phrasing, Mr. President, seems to corroborate this  
23 evidence, indicating that the Southwest zone, the leaders of the Southwest Zone, So Phim, and  
24 the leaders of the Northwest zone were conspiring already in '75, '76. How did they do that?

25 They had a big storage of rice, weapons, etc., in order to be able to, as this cadre says,  
26 overthrow DK. Again, my reaction as to what your opinion would be, or your reaction would be,

question that you gave from the Prosecution -- that is, about the killing of Cham. That you were read a few passages from your book, you will recall them. But I would like to read to you one other passage in your book as well, it's page 253 of your book and that would be document E3/20. ERN English 00237958; Khmer 00232334; and French 00438511. It's the first paragraph of your book, page 253, and you wrote there as follows, and I quote: "One of the greatest concentrations of Cham's was in the Eastern zone. So Phim, leader of that zone, had a reputation for disciplining his cadre and preventing unnecessary bloodshed, but he showed no mercy towards the Chams. Just as the Eastern zone had complied with the Party's orders to suppress the Khmer communist returning from Vietnam during the war, so the Eastern zone complied with the ~~program-pogrom~~ against the Chams."

Is it your opinion that the killings of the Chams were mainly done by the Eastern zone troops under the leadership of So Phim? Disregard the instructions, yes or no, but the actual killing, the actual fact -- deed of killing, was that done, in your opinion, primarily, by Eastern zone troops?

[16.06.07]

A. It's just as I've written it. Yes.

MR. PRESIDENT:

Today's proceeding has now come to an end and we will resume it tomorrow. That is Wednesday, 11th February 2015, starting from 9 o'clock. Tomorrow the Chamber will continue to hear the testimony of the expert, Elizabeth Becker. This is to notify all the Parties and the general public. The Chamber is grateful to you, Madam Expert, however your testimony is not yet concluded. We would like to invite you again to return to the courtroom tomorrow, commencing from 9 o'clock in the morning. You may now return to your residence.

Court officer, in collaboration with WESU, please make the necessary arrangements of transportation for the expert to her residence and have her return to the courtroom tomorrow morning before 9 a.m. And security guard, you are instructed to take the accused, Nuon Chea