

Documentation Center of Cambodia

An Interview with AN Sopheap (អ័ន សុភោព), Sex: Female, Age: 58 years old and

CHHAOM Sè (ឆោម សែ), Sex: Male, husband

Position during the Khmer Rouge Regime: Soldier of Regiment 804, Division 801

Present address: Lumtong Thmei (លំទងថ្មី) Village, Lumtong (លំទង) Commune,

Anlong Veang District, Oddar Meanchey (ឧត្តរមានជ័យ) Province

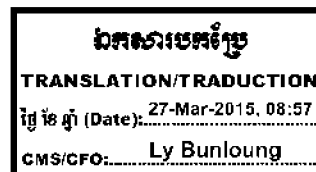
Date: 25 June 2012

Interviewed by DY Khamboly (ឌី ខាំបូលី)

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216 pages in Khmer

02:59:30

Boly: May I know your name?

Pheap: My name is AN Sopheap.

Boly: How old are you?

Pheap: I am 58 years old.

Boly: Where were you born?

Pheap: I was born in Prey Chheu Teal (ព្រៃឈើទាល) Village.

Boly: In which commune?

Pheap: Pra Phnum (ប្រាំភ្នំ) Commune, Angkor Chey (អង្គរជ័យ) District, Kampot (កំពត) Province.

Boly: What is your current address?

Pheap: My current address is Lumtong Thmei Village, Lumtong Commune, Anlong Veang District, Oddar Meanchey Province.

Boly: Where was your husband born? What is his name?

Pheap: My husband was born in Kiri Vong (គិរីវង់) District.

Boly: What is his name?

Pheap: His name is CHHAOM Sè.

Boly: Is he alive?

Pheap: Yes, he is.

Boly: What does he do?

Pheap: He works for the Veterans Association.

Boly: Was the Association established in Anlong Veang District only?

Pheap: No, it is a provincial association, but he is at district level.

Boly: So, he is the chairman of the Veterans Association of Anlong Veang District?

Pheap: District.

Boly: Are you a member?

Pheap: I am a member of the commune council.

Boly: Since which mandate have you been a member of the commune council?

Pheap: Since the second mandate. In the first mandate, I was the second deputy chief of the commune.

Boly: And now, in the second mandate, you are a member of the commune council?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Why do you no longer serve as the deputy chief? Is it because you retired?

Pheap: No. The fact is, previously the commune council belonged to only one political party, but now there are two candidates from two parties, as stipulated in the second and third mandates. Therefore, my name moved down the list. The candidate from the other party occupies the position of deputy commune chief.

Boly: Do you mean that, from mandate to mandate, your name keeps moving down the list or remains the same?

Pheap: Now it remains the same as in the second mandate; the other party has two deputy chiefs.

Boly: What is your highest level of education?

Pheap: I studied until Grade 7.

Boly: Grade 7 of the old or new education system?

Pheap: The old education system.

Boly: What is Grade 7 equivalent to in the new education system?

Pheap: It should be counted backwards: Grade 12, Grade 11, Grade 10, Grade 9, Grade 8, Grade 7.

Boly: So, Grade 6?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: At which school did you study?

Pheap: I studied at Wat Pra Phnum school.

Boly: So you have high education, haven't you?

Pheap: But I stopped studying in 1967 or 1968.

Boly: In what year did you stop going to school, 1967 or 1968?

Pheap: I stopped studying in 1967. It was a time when our country faced drought and food shortages; we only had grain rice this big to eat. For this reason, I went to live with my older sibling in Kampot.

Boly: Were the food shortages caused by drought or any other factors?

Pheap: They were due to drought. It was not a result of our people's farming problems. When water was insufficient, rice farming was impossible, so we had to buy milled rice from abroad. I was 12 years old at that time. I still remember. I stopped studying when I was 12 years old.

Boly: What did your parents do at that time?

Pheap: They farmed rice. I had already passed the Grade 6 exam. The school was 12 kilometres away. At that time, I was 12 years old and I had to travel on the national road with cars and motorbikes. My parents were concerned about my safety. Another reason was that, at that time, children were not as conscientious as today's children, who refuse to stop studying even if they are asked to do so. At that time, most children followed their parents; they dared not to refuse their parents' advice to stop studying, so their education ended.

Boly: Yes. These days, children want to study.

Pheap: Yes, they want to study. We are too old. I regret that for myself, so I keep pushing my children. I encourage them, explaining that they are lucky to live in this time of literary advancement and so on. I ask them to pay attention to their studies.

Boly: How many children do you have?

Pheap: I have four children.

Boly: How many girls and boys?

Pheap: Three girls and one boy.

Boly: Only boy?

Pheap: He comes in the middle in the line of his siblings. In fact, I had seven children in total, but three passed away during the war. We moved around a lot and the children caught fevers.

Boly: When did you get married?

Pheap: I got married in 1977.

Boly: So, you got married during the three-year period of the regime?

Pheap: Yes, I did. I got married in a wedding ceremony organised for twelve couples.

Boly: How were wedding ceremonies organised at that time?

Pheap: The couples did not know each other before their weddings. They just called us up.

Boly: And they agreed?

Pheap: It was hard. Some people complained about the marriages. They contended the arrangement, but when the wedding day arrived, they just called us to participate without advance notice. It was hard. We left a meeting at 5 p.m., and they called us to enter the wedding hall without any prior notice.

Boly: How did you feel at the time?

Pheap: I felt confused and upset, but I thought that there was no choice; there was no way to escape during that regime.

Boly: And when you entered the wedding hall, you met your intended husband?

Pheap: We did not know each other. They called our names and we just stood up and held each other's hands; I almost did not dare to look at his face.

Boly: And your intended husband did not know you before either?

Pheap: He may have met or seen me on few occasions.

Boly: Might he have been the one who had proposed the marriage?

Pheap: No. The upper echelon organised it.

Boly: Not him?

Pheap: No.

Boly: Which level of administration had the authority to organise such marriages?

Pheap: Division.

Boly: Division?

Pheap: Yes. At that time, I worked in a military unit.

Boly: How about the Sector Secretary? Did they have authority to organise arranged marriages?

Pheap: Yes. They belonged to the grassroots. The district level also had that authority.

Boly: The district had such authority?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: But their authority existed within their district jurisdiction; right?

Pheap: Right.

Boly: And the Sector also had authority in their jurisdiction?

Pheap: Yes, they did.

Boly: And the Sector had authority in their jurisdiction?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: The division had the authority in their division?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: How about the commune? Did they have authority to arrange marriages in the communes?

Pheap: Because I lived in the military unit, far away from the bases, it was impossible [for me to know]. At that time, the military units were separated [from the masses].

Boly: I want to know about the duration of the wedding ceremony. According to your estimation, how many hours did it take?

Pheap: Not long. It lasted about an hour. At a meeting, they told us the date of our marriage, and they just called us on that appointed date for wedding. Then we stood up, showed respect to each other, and declared our commitment. That's all. Then there was a party. Some wedding ceremonies did not have receptions/meals.

Boly: To sum up: first, they called you to a meeting hall?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Upon arrival, what were the seating arrangements?

Pheap: The brides sat in one row and the bridegrooms in another row.

Boly: Two rows, like this?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Then?

Pheap: Two rows. For instance, the women sat in two or three rows and the men sat in two or three rows. There were as many as twelve to fifteen couples. A wedding ceremony organised for two or three couples was very rare.

Boly: So, they sat in that style?

Pheap: Yes. It was similar to the way we sit in a meeting room, with a space in the middle reserved for the presiding officer(s), who were supposed to enter.

Boly: How many presiding officers were there?

Pheap: Sometimes there were two, sometimes one, such as the presence the chairman of the division.

Boly: Who was the presiding officer at your wedding ceremony?

Pheap: SAU Saroeun (ស្ទូ សារ៉ឺន).

Boly: *Ta 05*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: He organised the marriage for you?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was he the only presiding officer, or there were other people?

Pheap: He was the only one presiding officer. He had already approved the marriage within the division framework, but the couples did not know about that.

Boly: When the couples came in, and sat on either side, was the presiding officer not yet present?

Pheap: No.

Boly: And the presiding officer, *Ta 05*, entered later?

Pheap: Yes. For my wedding, he had arrived first. After leaving the training session, he rode a motorbike and tooted the horn at me. I did not know about my wedding in advance. Upon arrival, I took bath and changed my clothes. They then gave us a set of [new] clothes for that meeting.

Boly: When *Ta 05* arrived, what did he say?

Pheap: He called us and told us to hold each other's hands. He made a circuitous speech, "Comrade Pheap, now you have agreed to get married, it is going to rain cats and dogs." In the past, I had refused many marriage proposals made through him. He just made several arguments about my marriages and looked at me, but I ignored it.

Boly: What arguments did he made?

Pheap: He said some women were very particular regarding their future husbands and always refused marriage proposals, criticising the men who made the proposals. He continued, saying, "For those woman, when we look at their profile, we can see only her teeth." He just said that. He also said that fussy women like that would be dealt with. On the wedding day, he said, "Now that Pheap has agreed to get married, it is going to rain cats and dogs." The reason he said this was that, before my marriage, he had tried to arrange a marriage for me [to a man] at a garage (workplace) who was about to leave to transport ammunitions to the battlefield. By that time, the Vietnamese troops were already approaching the border of Rattanak Kiri (រតនៈគិរី). He said that the bike repairer would cry very hard since he had wanted to marry me and now I had married another man. In fact, I did not know about that proposal. He told me only after my wedding. He advised me to agree to live with my husband, about 48 kilometres away, but I refused. He asked why I did not want to go with my husband. I said I that should have been consulted before my marriage. I said that I was disappointed because *Angkar* had not told me about this marriage in advance. I blamed him quite a lot.

Boly: Did he reply?

Pheap: He said that I had refused when he had asked me previously and he did not expect me to agree this time. I said that there was no need to talk about it; it was too late. I asked him not to send me anywhere. I said that, if he had arranged an inappropriate spouse for me, like before, for instance, the one(s) who had been linked to the traitors, I would dig a grave and shoot them into the pit. I said that to him.

Boly: You meant you would shoot him yourself?

Pheap: Yes. I talked with him. He said there was no problem and asked me to live with him.

Boly: What was his position at the wedding?

Pheap: He had already been discharged from the army. He was responsible for supervising the “opposing elements.” But, in fact, they were not strong opponents; some of them were just lazy, while some others had been influenced by their native villages. They went and grasped their biographies from their parents, for instance, to see if their parents had had any conflicts with the cooperative, or if their older siblings had a military background, or if their parents had a teaching background. They would classify them accordingly.

Boly: Let me go back a little bit. Earlier we discussed your life in 1977. When did you first leave home?

Pheap: I left home in 1971.

Boly: Did you leave voluntarily or under coercion?

Pheap: There was no coercion. In 1970, I was 16 years old. In the village, I was selected to be a women’s leader from when I was young. Although I was the youngest among all the women, they regarded me as a clever. For this reason, they promoted me to supervise the women in the village with my older sister. She has died. When the district level asked me to attend trainings, the district women’s association called me to conduct multiple training courses. After the training, they had me supervise three villages. Later they had me work permanently at the village women’s association.

Boly: During which regime were you in that association?

Pheap: It was soon after the coup.

Boly: Soon after the coup, Kampot Province was under the control of the Khmer Rouge; right?

Pheap: The resistance movement existed in those areas, so it was hard to know clearly. It was hard to know with whom the Khmer Rouge worked. They were undercover. It was called the revolutionary resistance movement.

Boly: The revolutionary party?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And you became chairwoman of the village women's association in 1971?

Pheap: From 1971.

Boly: And later they had you supervise three villages?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What were the three villages?

Pheap: They were: Prey Chheu Teal (ព្រៃឈើទាល), Prey Skor (ព្រៃស្ករ), and Pong Teuk (ពងទឹក) in Pra Phnum Commune. The three villages were adjacent to each other.

Boly: And later you were promoted?

Pheap: Later I was removed and became deputy chairwoman of the commune women's association.

Boly: In Pra Phnum Commune?

Pheap: No. I went back to work in Angkor Chey Commune.

Boly: What were the duties of the women's association?

Pheap: It held meetings with women and was involved in networking. The association educated the women to help, rescue, and understand each other's difficulties.

Boly: Before you became chairwoman of the women's association, did you undergo certain training?

Pheap: Yes, I did. The district women's association asked us to undergo training. She has died already. Her name was Bau (ឃុំ). She was the supervisor.

Boly: The chairperson of the district women's association?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Bau?

Pheap: Yes. Bau had previously administered Angkor Chey District.

Boly: So, she was from the Southwest?

Pheap: Southwest.

Boly: Of which sector was Angkor Chey a part?

Pheap: Angkor Chey was located in Kampot. I did not know the sector's designated number.

Boly: Angkor Chey in Sector 13?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And you were in Angkor Chey District?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What was its designated number?

Pheap: I cannot recall because it was long time ago. I left my hometown for so long.

Boly: As far as I know, Angkor Chey District was known as District 106.

Pheap: Yes. I can recall that.

Boly: You recall it?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: There were six communes, and the district town was located in Tani (តានី). Do you recall the names of the six communes or some of them?

Pheap: I only knew Phnum Kong (ភ្នំកុង) Commune, Moroung (មរោង) Commune, Kralanh (ក្រឡាញ់) Commune, and Pra Phnum Commune.

Boly: Do you forget the others?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What about Tani?

Pheap: Tani, Phnum Kong.

Boly: A Democratic Kampuchea document I read indicated that there were six communes, and the district town was located in Angkor Chey?

Pheap: I am not sure about the district town. We went to work at the edge of the districts and communes. For Pra Phnum and Samlanh Communes, we could work throughout their jurisdiction. For Angkor Chey Communes, we could work only from the railway to the north. The southern part was occupied by soldiers. For Phnum Kong, we also worked in half of that area. Oh, there was another commune on that side of Damnak Cheung Kou (ដំណាក់ជើងគោ). It was called ... commune; it was to the east of the river. So, in total there were six.

Boly: Who was the secretary of Angkor Chey District at the beginning, in 1971 or 1972?

Pheap: Before 1970, *Ta Nĭn* (នីន) was the district governor, and his deputy was *Om Pāl* (ប៉ាល់).

Boly: You mean Angkor Chey District?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: The first [chief] was *Ta Nĭn*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What was *Ta Nĭn*'s full name?

Pheap: Something Nĭn. I forget because it was long time ago. He lived to the south of my house. We have forgotten one another. In other words, I left [home] when I was young.

Boly: Right, it was more than thirty years ago.

Pheap: Can you imagine? I was 16-17 years old then, and now I am 58 years old. I should have forgotten everything. When I left, the local people did not know me yet.

Boly: So, from the beginning, in 1970, *Ta Nĭn* was the District Secretary?

Pheap: He was not the Secretary. He was the First District Governor.

Boly: The district governor of the revolution side?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Who was *Ta Nĭn*'s deputy?

Pheap: Perhaps Păl. I forget so much; there are too many [things] to remember.

Boly: No, please say what you can remember.

Pheap: I am not sure.

Boly: In the revolutionary structure, was that part administered by three people?

Pheap: Three people, but I could not remember all of them since I was young and did not pay proper attention.

Boly: *Ta Nĭn*, *Ta Păl*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Ta Päl* was not...?

Pheap: Perhaps *Ta Päl* worked in “107” or Treang (ត្រែង) District with *Pou Kiet*

(កៀត). I forget everything. There are too many [things] to remember.

Boly: Many?

Pheap: Yes, it was too many years ago, in other words.

Boly: *Ta Päl* wasn't in “107”.

Pheap: So, *Päl* maybe [administered] “106”. *Ta Kiet* [administered] “107”. I also knew *Ta Kiet*.

Boly: *Kiet*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: “107” was initially under *Ta Věang* (វ៉ែង). Have you ever heard of him? He was the governor of Treang District.

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: And later *Ta Mok*'s third son-in-law, *Soeun*, became the district secretary.

Pheap: *Ta Mok*'s son-in-law?

Boly: Yes, his son-in-law.

Pheap: Whose husband was he?

Boly: I did not know. I only know that it was *Soeun*.

Pheap: You must be kidding. How many children did *Ta Mok* have?

Boly: He had four children. All were daughters.

Pheap: Khom (ខ្ញុំ) was *Ta Mut*'s wife. And this elder was *Ta Rèn*'s (រ៉ែន) wife. That woman was *Saran*'s (សារ៉ាន) wife.

Boly: Now let me count them. The first one is Khom, who is married to *Ta Mut*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: MEAS Mut. The second one?

Pheap: Krou is *Ta Rèn*'s wife.

Boly: What is her surname?

Pheap: I have forgotten.

Boly: The third one, Heanh (ហ៊ែង)?

Pheap: Heanh is perhaps *Boran*'s (បូរ៉ាណ) wife. I forget.

Boly: *Boran*, who became Southwest Zone Secretary after *Ta Mok*, moved to control the Northwest Zone?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: The fourth one?

Pheap: I forget the fourth one's name because I left [my hometown] so long ago.

Boly: *Ta Mok* had one daughter with mental problems. What is her name?

Pheap: Yes. Khom often suffered health problems.

Boly: No. Khom died long time ago.

Pheap: [She] suffered from mental illness.

Boly: She suffered since the 1970s?

Pheap: Yes. Khom suffered from this problem for a long time.

Boly: I have heard that there is another one in Anlong Veang?

Pheap: No.

Boly: The one who has mental problems. It is often hard to try to find things, but when we do not want to do so, it may become more obvious.

Pheap: Who else?

Boly: This is Khom, five people altogether. Another one is Chrech (ច្រើន).

Pheap: Chrech is the youngest daughter.

Boly: Really?

Pheap: Yes. She is married to *A Kei* (កី). My counting ended at four.

Boly: Who is Chrech married to?

Pheap: She is *Ta Kei*'s wife.

Boly: What is Kei's surname?

Pheap: I do not know. He is from an ethnic minority group.

Boly: Really?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Ethnic Kroeng (ក្រើង), Tumpuon (ទំពួន) or Phnong (ភ្នង)?

Pheap: I am not sure about his ethnicity. He lived with me when we were children.

Boly: What was his position?

Pheap: When we grew up, I did not live with him. I was far away from him, so I am unsure of his status. Generally speaking, *Ta* [Mok] and I were separated for a

long time, since the “victory” over Phnom Penh, when he accompanied me to Chaom Chau (ច្រាំងច្រាំង). We have been separated since then. We just met in Anlong Veang but, even in Anlong Veang, we still lived far away from each other. I lived in Tumnob Dach (ទំនប់ដាច់), while he lived in Anlong Veang, so I was unsure of the current status of my subordinates.

Boly: Was Khom is the eldest child?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Krou is the second?

Pheap: I am not sure whether it was Krou or Khom. I guess that Khom is the eldest child.

Boly: How about Heanh? Is she the third child?

Pheap: The third one.

Boly: Another one is named Hau (ហ្វូ).

Pheap: Oh, Hau. I forgot.

Boly: Hau is the fourth child?

Pheap: I am not sure since they were all of similar size, and I rarely asked about their backgrounds.

Boly: Another one is Nim (នីម).

Pheap: I have never heard of Nim.

Boly: Only Khom, Krou, Heanh, Hau, Chrech?

Pheap: Yes. I have never heard of Nim.

Boly: Now let's go back. Soeun was not among *Ta Mok's* sons-in-law.

Pheap: I do not know which one is Hau's husband.

Boly: Could it be Soeun?

Pheap: I am not sure.

Boly: Soeun became the secretary of Treang, also known as District 107?

Pheap: Such arrangements were made after I had already left. Since I was in the army, I did not know much about situation at grassroots level. I joined the army in June 1972, so I did not know the backgrounds of those at the rear.

Boly: I only asked if you knew or remembered it.

Pheap: Okay.

Boly: The [leadership] of Angkor Chey from 1970 was comprised of *Ta Nin* and *Ta Päl*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: You are not sure about *Ta Päl*, but you are sure about *Ta Nin*?

Pheap: Exactly.

Boly: Do you remember from which period to which period he held that position?

Pheap: Nin was in charge for about two years only, that is, from 1970 to 1971. I do not know the reason for his disappearance. I heard that he was arrested for his involvement with the Vietnamese. After his arrest, Bau, female, became the leader of the district.

Boly: Bau alias Chăn (ចាន់)?

Pheap: I forget her surname.

Boly: Did you ever hear of *Ta Yân* (យ៉ាន)?

Pheap: Maybe *Ta Yân* was the successor of *Bau*, after *Bau* left the army. Let me tell you this: when *Tani* was defeated in 1972, she led many Thieu Ky (ផ្ទៃក្រី) women and created an office in the vicinity of *Ta Am* (តាអាំ). It was called Office 150. She was in charge of the women. In June 1972, the women's army was created, which was organised into certain sections, namely the messenger section, the medical section, the military section, and the administrative section.

Boly: You mean Office 150?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: It was divided into?

Pheap: Divided into four [sections].

Boly: Military?

Pheap: Messenger, medical sections.

Boly: Medical, messenger sections, and?

Pheap: And the office 'women'.

Boly: And the women who worked in the office?

Pheap: Some worked in the office.

Boly: Was it a Women's Office?

Pheap: Yes. The Sector Women's Office was there.

Boly: So, *Bau* was chairperson of the Sector Women's Office?

Pheap: She was the chairperson of Office 150 for half a year at most.

Boly: 1970 something?

Pheap: In June 1972, we began separating our forces. She came to lead the army's company, which was the first military unit. She was the political commissar.

Boly: You mean that she was the Military Secretary?

Pheap: Yes, she was chairperson.

Boly: Chairperson of the women's army?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What was that unit called?

Pheap: It was called a "company".

Boly: What was its numerical designation?

Pheap: 21. It was first created in Takeo Province. It was a women's unit.

Boly: Only a women's unit?

Pheap: Yes. It was created in 1972. And it was expanded at the end of 1972.

Boly: So, it was first created in 1972 with a women's unit, a company?

Pheap: Yes. One month of military training was compulsory for them.

Boly: Was it a Sector military unit?

Pheap: Yes. The training took place at the Provincial Youth Office known as Office 160.

Boly: The Provincial Youth?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Sector Youth?

Pheap: Sector.

Boly: So, "150" was the Sector Women's Office?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And “160” was the Sector Youth Office?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Did you refer to the Sector 13 Youth Office?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: When was it established?

Pheap: I do not know. I had left to attend military training at that office.

Boly: Male and female [youth] were trained there together?

Pheap: Yes, they were trained at that office.

Boly: Who was the chairperson of Office 106?

Pheap: Choeun (ចេន), who has already passed away.

Boly: Choeun?

Pheap: Yes. I forget the full name. Choeun was a fellow villager.

Boly: Was Choeun a native of Angkor Chey too?

Pheap: Yes, Choeun lived in Prey Chheu Teal. Choeun already passed away.

Boly: When did Choeun die?

Pheap: I do not know. I did not ask about that. I visited home and asked for her/him, then I realised that she/he had already died. Choeun also served in the army, but I did not know when Choeun died. After Choeun left the office, Choeun led the people in the commune and district, Angkor Chey District. Later Choeun died during military service.

Boly: Choeun died during military service?

Pheap: Yes. We had left, so we did not know about the changes in the bases; we just concentrated on our battlefield work, not on happenings at the rear.

Boly: Let me summarise what you have said. We considered Angkor Chey District first. The first leaders were *Ta Nĭn* and *Ta Päl*. They assumed positions from 1970 to 1972 or 1971, according to your estimation; right?

Pheap: 1971. In 1972 Päl was arrested and detained at Office 204. That office was used to keep the 'elements with tendencies.'

Boly: Office 204?

Pheap: Yes. He was affiliated with Nĭn.

Boly: You mean that Nĭn and Päl were arrested at the same time?

Pheap: Nĭn was arrested in early 1971. Päl, his successor, assumed his position in 1972, and later was arrested and kept at a re-education office, known as Office 204.

Boly: Where was Office 204 located?

Pheap: It was located to the west of Trapeang Andaeuk (ត្រពាំងអណ្តើក), on the way to Ta Am, and it was adjacent to Office 150 too. They were around 200 to 300 metres from each other.

Boly: In which village or commune?

Pheap: Srangae (ស្រងៃ) Commune, west of Boeng Saray (បឹងសារាយ), which borders with Kampong Speu (កំពង់ស្ពឺ).

Boly: On the border of Kampong Speu and Takeo?

Pheap: On either side of the stream, on the road leading to Takeo.

Boly: In which commune was Office 160 located?

Pheap: I do not know in which commune Office 160 was located because I travelled to and from that office at night, so it was hard for me to know. Also, in that regime they kept secrets and not many places were known. We entered and exited the training centre at dawn, and we travelled to the battlefield only at night.

Boly: Who was the chairman of Office 204?

Pheap: I do not know as I had never entered that place.

Boly: You did not know the chairman of the office?

Pheap: No.

Boly: We have discussed many stories and events in relation to Angkor Chey District. Thank you for these. What happened after the *Ta Nĭn* and *Ta Phal*'s time? Let's talk about the period 1970-1971?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Ta Nĭn*, who was on the sector committee, was arrested before *Ta Päl*; right?

Pheap: *Ta Nĭn* was arrested first, and *Ta Päl* replaced him. Actually, *Ta Päl* was also transferred to Treang District for a period of time before his arrest. *Ta Kiet* was arrested too.

Boly: Did *Ta Päl* administer Treang District for a while?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: He served as secretary?

Pheap: I do not know what position he had then. After *Ta Nĭn* left, the work was transferred to Bau, and the chairperson was...I did not know him/her actually.

Boly: You mean Bau, who was the chairperson of the women's army unit?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Yeay Bau* was famous because she was brave; right?

Pheap: Yes. When she left the army, she became the governor of Kiri Vong District for a while.

Boly: So, initially she administered Angkor Chey District?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: From which year to which year, to your knowledge?

Pheap: From 1971 to mid-1972, when she left the army with my group.

Boly: And in mid-[1972], as you just said, she moved to administer Kiri Vong District for a while?

Pheap: Kiri Vong. By that time she had already left the army. In 1972 she came to [Kiri Vong] for few months, for less than half a year. *Ta Saom* (តែសាម) of this sector said *Bang Bau* was too old to engage in the battlefield, so she was tasked with leading the grassroots; then she was discharged.

Boly: Transferred to Kiri Vong?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: How long did she serve in the army?

Pheap: Just for a short time. Let's say less than a year; only three to four months. She just led military training courses and once went down to oversee the battles at Kampong Chrey (កំពង់ជ្រៃ) and Angk Ta Saom (អង្គតាតែសាម); two times in total. Then she was discharged. Even if she served in the army, she never engaged in the battlefield; she just organised the troops.

Boly: Of which division was she part?

Pheap: Battalion T-3 (តី-៣) of the sector.

Boly: T-3?

Pheap: Yes. And the chairperson of the battalion was Meng (ម៉េង), who has died.

Boly: Did Sector 13 have battalion(s)?

Pheap: Let me see. When I was there, there were...I have almost forgotten...T-3, T-4, T-6, only four seemingly, T-3, T-4, T-5, T-6, in series like this.

Boly: By that time, there were no divisions yet?

Pheap: No. There were just battalions.

Boly: Was it because there were not enough forces yet?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: We started with battalions first?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: T-3, T-4, T-5, T-6, and so on?

Pheap: Yes. In each battalion there were three companies, not more than that, as we only had small number of army soldiers. We recruited and expanded forces derived from the sector as well as the district(s).

Boly: We are only talking about Sector 13?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Not the whole Southwest Zone?

Pheap: No, no.

Boly: As a whole, there were a great number of zone troops?

Pheap: Yes. The Zone military unit had more than a hundred men.

Boly: Was it division size?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Let me go back to talk about Angkor Chey for a while so that we can remember it correctly. So, after *Ta Nĭn* and *Ta Pāl* came *Yeay Bau*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Who was the next chairperson/secretary of Angkor Chey District? *Ta Yân*, maybe?

Pheap: Yes, *Ta Yân* and *Bang Bau*, but I do not know who was the actual chairperson. They worked together.

Boly: They came to administer?

Pheap: They administered after *Ta Nĭn*'s time.

Boly: After *Ta Nĭn* was discharged?

Pheap: Yes. I lived with the women, so I did not know about it, unlike today, when people can think. I am saying that, at that time, we did not care who our leaders were; we just followed them, without considering who the chairperson was, or whatever. Today we know clearly who the boss is and who the deputies are.

Boly: So, after *Ta Nĭn* and *Ta Pāl*, *Ta Yân* and *Yeay Bau* took charge?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Yeay Bau* came to administer Kiri Vong District from 1972 until when?

Pheap: I do not know because I was at the battlefield. I only heard from my friends who went to visit home. When they returned to the battlefield, they told [us] that they had met *Mè Bau*, who was now working in the district of Kiri Vong. I do not know when she left as we have been apart from when she left the army up until she died.

Boly: Who was secretary after *Ta Yân*?

Pheap: I do not know because I joined the army in 1972.

Boly: Oh, you joined [the army] in 1972?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: You joined the T-...?

Pheap: T-8.

Boly: Up to T-8?

Pheap: T-8 was created later, in early 1973. It was a women's battalion.

Boly: So, there were: T-3, T-4, T-5, T-6, and T-8?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: There was no T-7?

Pheap: Yes, there was.

Boly: Really?

Pheap: T-7 was for the men east of Takeo. They were stationed there.

Boly: But they were stationed within Sector 13 too?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: So, in total there were battalions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6?

Pheap: Six battalions.

Boly: Among the six battalions, T-8 was women's-only battalion?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: No men?

Pheap: All were women.

Boly: Who was the chairperson of T-8?

Pheap: Previously it was Ri (រី). I forget her surname. *Bang* Bau was the predecessor of Ri. Ri and Phâl shared the supervisory responsibilities in the company. Later, when the battalion was organized, Ri became the chairperson.

Boly: So, Ri was the battalion chairperson from the beginning?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: In the previous company, she was *Yeay* Bau's deputy?

Pheap: Yes. But later, in 1973, she was removed because she was affiliated with a tendency. Phâl replaced her. Later Khim (ក្រីម) took that position.

Boly: Khim was promoted to chairperson of T-8?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: How about Phâl?

Pheap: Phâl was at the company level, while *Bang* Khim was at battalion level.

Boly: Not Khim's deputy?

Pheap: No.

Boly: Khim was the successor of Ri?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was Ri arrested or discharged?

Pheap: She was discharged and transferred to work in a cooperative in the rear.

Boly: She lived as an ordinary person?

Pheap: Yes, and she was placed at an unknown office after she was discharged.

Boly: Khim then became the chairperson?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Did Khim remain as chairperson for the rest of the time?

Pheap: No. *Bang* Khim was there until the end of 1973 and was transferred to the zone's Division 2, stationed at Tuol Kei-Chaom Chau (ត្បូងកី-ចោមចៅ).

Boly: At the end of 1973, Khim was transferred and held what position?

Pheap: *Bang* Khim came to serve as...

Boly: Deputy chairperson of division?

Pheap: I am not sure if Khim served at regiment or battalion level. She/he was promoted to the zone level.

Boly: It has been said that he/she worked at Division 2.

Pheap: Yes. Division 2 of the zone. In 1973, the division was established. *Bang* Soeun was the chairperson of the division in Takeo.

Boly: Soeun?

Pheap: He was called "Soeun Rotkraoh (សៀង រថក្រោះ)". Then he was promoted with *Bang* Khim to the zone [‘s Division] 2.

Boly: When Khim was promoted to Division 2, who was in charge of the battalion?

Pheap: Kha (ខា).

Boly: Kha was the chairperson of T-8?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Who was the successor of Kha, or was Kha the last chairperson?

Pheap: *Bang* Kha was separated during the 'victory' in 1975-1976. She was married to a man in the tank unit, so she went to live with her husband in Phnom Penh.

Boly: So, she served as chairperson of T-8 until the fall of the [LON Nol] regime in 1975?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: In summary, initially Ri was chairperson of T-8, and later Ri became *Yeay* Bau's deputy in the women's company.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And Ri was discharged in 1973 and transferred to live in a cooperative as an ordinary person. Then Khim became the chairperson, and by the end of 1973, Khim came to work in Division 2, in a battalion or which unit?

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: In the Southwest Zone, Kha was promoted to be chairperson of T-8 until the fall of Phnom Penh in 1975. This is the history of T-8.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Now let's talk again about Angkor Chey for a short while to refresh the memory. Initially, Angkor Chey was] *Ta Nĭn* and *Ta Päl*, followed by *Ta Yân* and *Yeay* Bau successively?

Pheap: *Ta Yân* and *Yeay* Bau. For the rest of the period, I did not know because I was no longer connected.

Boly: Thirdly, after *Yeay* Bau moved to control Kiri Vong, I think perhaps *Nhôm*, who is *Yeay* Chaem's husband, became...is it possible?

Pheap: Maybe *Ta Nhôm* came next.

Boly: *Ta Nhôm*, *Yeay* Chaem's husband, was in charge from 1973 to 1977.

Pheap: Perhaps it was so.

Boly: But, at that time, you were not around?

Pheap: No, I was not there. After the victory, *Yeay* Chaem was on the committee of Sector 13 and *Ta* Nhôm could possibly be...

Boly: Following 1977, *Yeay* Răn (រ៉ាន់) was the military secretary.

Pheap: Which Răn?

Boly: The Răn in...?

Pheap: In Trapeang Tav (ត្រពាំងតាវ), Slaeng Poar (ស្លែងព្រំព័ណ).

Boly: What is Răn's surname?

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: Was Răn the secretary after *Ta* Nhôm?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And finally, Doek (ឌឹក) was the last secretary of Angkor Chey?

Pheap: I do not know, because I never went there, except in 2001. I left in 1971, and I visited in 2001.

Boly: So, *Yeay* Chaem had been on the committee of Sector 13 as well?

Pheap: Well, to my knowledge, Saom previously was on the committee. In 1971-1972, I met Saom, who was on the committee. He lived in Prey Ta Dok (ព្រៃតាដុក). His house was located in Prey Ta Dok.

Boly: In Prey Ta Dok?

Pheap: Yes. I [once] went to his house.

Boly: What was Saom's full name?

Pheap: I did not know his surname. I only knew him as *Ta* Saom.

Boly: Where is his birthplace?

Pheap: I do not know. I only know that his house was in the vicinity of Prey Ta Dok, and now I do not know in which village it is located.

Boly: *Ta* Dok?

Pheap: Yes. It was previously located in Nhaeng Nhang (ញ៉ែងញ៉ង់), but now I do not know in which commune it is located.

Boly: The same name?

Pheap: I do not know. Now we may not be able to locate it because everything has changed a lot.

Boly: What district?

Pheap: Tram Kak District?

Boly: Saom was the first Secretary, since 1970.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: But from 1970 up to when, can you remember?

Pheap: I do not know. But I know that, in 1972-1973, I still heard his name as being on the committee. But, from 1974-1975, I do not know what happened, because in 1975 I had already left for Phnom Penh.

Boly: Maybe as of 1973, because in that year MEAS Mut was Deputy Secretary. *Ta* Mut was *Ta* Saoms' deputy.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Later he was transferred to be in charge of Division 3 of the Zone?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And in 1975, he moved to be in charge of the Navy in Kampong Som?

Pheap: *Ta Mut*.

Boly: But after Saom, the wife of Mut...

Pheap: Khom.

Boly: Khom was promoted to Sector Secretary.

Pheap: I do not know much about it because I had already left and never visited my hometown.

Boly: Khom was promoted in 1976, but during the three-year period between 1973 and 1976, I do not know who Sector 13 Secretary was.

Pheap: Neither do I. If I had met with Răn, Chaem, I would have known about that.

Boly: I have already met *Yeay Chaem*.

Pheap: How about Răn?

Boly: No, I have not met *Yeay Răn* yet. I do not know, maybe she is concerned about the tribunal. For this reason, she may not want to meet us. But my team has nothing to do with the court. As I told you earlier, they may be concerned about the tribunal. As I told you, we only work on the historical part with the district. And, as you may be aware, if [our work] affects the people, *Pou Phana* (ព្រះបាទ) would not allow us to do it.

Pheap: Yes, definitely, because it will be digging too deep about *Bang Chaem*. She was not involved to the point that...[At one time] when people were brought to meet her, they cried and hugged her and, because of this, the organisation was disappointed. The court issue is another thing.

Boly: My team is not connected with that. We focus on writing history book(s) only. I am glad that you understand. Twenty years later there will be no information on that. It will vanish into thin air.

Pheap: Yes, because the memories will be lost. Now I forget everything. It has been so many years already, from 1971 until now 2012.

Boly: It has been 32 years and it is not certain that people will remember.

Pheap: It is a matter of memory, and, since we are busy, we do not pay attention to the past.

Boly: Even in the Angkor era, they conducted research. Now, if we do not start recording it, it will be lost. That is the reason why we are trying to record it. Khom was Deputy Secretary of the Sector, not the Sector 13 Secretary. After Saom, I did not know who was the secretary.

Pheap: In 1975, it was Chaem.

Boly: In 1975?

Pheap: Yes, because, after the victory, I saw Chaem's photos taken at the provincial hall, published in the magazine. Chaem was of Sector 13 Committee after the victory over Phnom Penh.

Boly: So, Saom from 1970 to 1975?

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: And, after 1975, *Yeay* Chaem was in control?

Pheap: After 1975, I saw *Yeay* Chaem.

Boly: Are you sure?

Pheap: I lived in Rattanak Kiri. In the magazine, I saw her photos taken under a coconut tree in Takeo City.

Boly: What did they write underneath the photo?

Pheap: They wrote: IM Chaem, Sector 13 Committee. They also showed photos of the agricultural production site called *Ta Chay* (តាចាយ)'s workplace. Bean and sesame was grown at Phnum Damrei Romiel (ដំរីរមាស) mountain.

Boly: *Ta Chay*?

Pheap: *Ta Chay* perhaps also worked with *Yeay Chaem*, but he was good at the kitchen work, economy, and agricultural production.

Boly: Given your statement, the missing period was completed: *Ta Saom* [was on the committee] from 1970 to 1975.

Pheap: Yes, 1975.

Boly: That's my guess. I do not know whether it was in 1973 or 1975.

Pheap: Maybe in 1973 as the period was full by the inclusion of this.

Boly: Full?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: He may have been arrested after 1975?

Pheap: Yes, maybe there was a change in 1975.

Boly: Let me check his confession first. If the relevant information exists, we will know exactly when he was arrested.

Pheap: Okay.

Boly: Then it came to *Yeay Chaem*, from 1975 to 1978. At the end of 1977, she worked in Preah Netr Preah (ព្រះនេត្រព្រះ).

Pheap: Yes, this side.

Boly: Northwest Zone's Sector 5?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: After she left, *Ta Tith* (ទីតិ្យ) assumed that post.

Pheap: Maybe so.

Boly: Because I know clearly that YIM Tith (យីម ទិត) became Sector 13 Secretary in 1978.

Pheap: Chaem may have held that position for only two years.

Boly: 1975, 1976, 1977.

Pheap: Yes, maybe she arrived here in 1977.

Boly: She arrived here in 1977?

Pheap: In 1977-1978 she came to Preah Netr Preah.

Boly: So, *Ta* Tith replaced her previous position?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: But that was not even in mid-1977, perhaps it was the end of 1977.

Pheap: I am not sure since we were separated. Chaem and I only met at Anlong Veang. We were separated from Răn, and just met after the networking of the district women's association in Anlong Veang, where Răn was the president. He also went to do the association's work in my area in Trapeang Prasat (ត្រពាំងប្រាសាទ), and that was how we were connected.

Boly: So, you are the president of the women's association of Trapeang Prasat?

Pheap: Yes, I am, with Comrade Mut.

Boly: Mut is the president?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What about you?

Pheap: I am a member.

Boly: From which year to which year?

Pheap: Perhaps from 1990 or 1994.

Boly: Now returning to talking about Angkor Chey: I think that *Ta Yân*'s successors were *Yeay Bau* and *Yeay Chaem*'s husband *Ta Nhen* respectively.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Ta Nhen* is *Yeay Chaem*'s husband?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: The fourth was *Yeay Răn*?

Pheap: Right. *Bang Răn* served later.

Boly: The fifth [leader] was Dith (ធីត).

Pheap: I do not know where he came from.

Boly: You did not know him before?

Pheap: No.

Boly: It may be true that you had not known him because it was already 1978, and you were not there.

Pheap: Exactly.

Boly: So, there were changes.

Pheap: One of my cousin had been with [him] from the beginning to the end.

Boly: He had been living in Tram Kak?

Pheap: Yes. He lived in Prey Chheu Teal.

Boly: Do you know anything about Kiri Vong District and its committee?

Pheap: I do not really know because it was so long since we had met.

Boly: To my knowledge, *Ta* Tith was on the committee of Kiri Vong District before he came to administer Sector 13 in 1978. He is the brother-in-law of *Ta* Mok.

His wife is UNG Kēn (ឃីង កែន).

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: Did you know *Yeay* Kēn?

Pheap: No.

Boly: *Yeay* Kēn was *Ta* Mok's younger sister. She has already died. She was also a former chairwoman of Kiri Vong Hospital. You do not know anyone else?

Pheap: No.

Boly: Did *Yeay* Bau administer for a while?

Pheap: Yes, but I did not know for how many years.

Boly: Did you know [the leadership] in Kaoh Andaet (កោះអណ្តែត)?

Pheap: No.

Boly: What about those in Tram Kak under *Ta* Mâng (ម៉ង់)?

Pheap: No, because I rarely engaged with them. I was only at the district and rarely...

When I came to work, I went up to *Bang* Bau's place, not to meet... Training courses were conducted there too.

Boly: None of *Ta* Mok's sons-in-law were named Soeun. There was *Ta* Mut, *Ta*

Rèn, Boran, *Ta* Ke (កើ), but not Soeun?

Pheap: One of *Ta* Mok's sons-in-law was named Ve (វី), but I did not know his wife's name.

Boly: Yes, Vĩn (វីន).

Pheap: Vĩn.

Boly: Vĩn was the Secretary of Division 603?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: The one who *Ta* Mok killed in relation to selling women to Thailand?

Pheap: It was related to selling women in Thailand.

Boly: Yes, correct. Another one was Vĩn.

Pheap: Vĩn sold the women at gate 1003.

Boly: What was his wife's name?

Pheap: I am not sure, maybe *Yeay* Hau or *Yeay* Heng. I am confused between the two women who were the wives of Boran and Vĩn. I only recall Vĩn. I have forgotten him. He was at the division level. I only recall him as being a son-in-law of *Ta* [Mok].

Boly: We have just talked about T-8, now T-3, T-4, T-5, T-6, T-7, and its corresponding chairpersons.

Pheap: I have forgotten everything. T-9 was under *Pou* Chhean (ព្រីន).

Boly: One more unit T-9?

Pheap: Yes. It was newly created from the forces of the district level mixed with those from old units. The companies and the battalion itself were made up of district militiamen.

Boly: T-9 was a battalion of Sector 13?

Pheap: Sector 13.

Boly: Who was the chairperson of T-9?

Pheap: Chhean.

Boly: Do you recall Chhean's deputy?

Pheap: I have forgotten everything.

Boly: No problem. What about T-8?

Pheap: T-8 at that time was under Ri.

Boly: Oh, sorry. I meant T-7, as we have already talked about T-8.

Pheap: T-7 was under who...I have forgotten. T-7 was under *Pou* Launh (ឡូញ) at that time. It's been a long time since 1972, and now I have almost forgotte.

Boly: No problem. Take it easy. It was so long ago.

Pheap: It was so long ago that we cannot remember each other.

Boly: If you can recall the deputy of T-7, please tell me. For T-6, do you recall?

Pheap: T-6 was under...I have forgotten. I only recall T-4, which was under Horn (ហ័ន).

Boly: Horn, chairperson of T-4 has already been mentioned. How about T-2 and T-3?

Pheap: T-3 was previously under Manh (ម៉ាញ). When Manh moved up to the zone...I remember now, Chhân (ឆ៉ាញ), T-3.

Boly: Meng became chairperson later. The successor was Chhân?

Pheap: Yes, Chhân left the company at that time.

Boly: Chhân was the chairperson and Meng moved to the zone.

Pheap: Manh, not Meng. Manh moved to the zone.

Boly: What position did he have at the zone?

Pheap: He moved up with Khim and Soeun, but I did not know what position he held.

Boly: He came with Khim, Soeun?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: He came to the Southwest Zone?

Pheap: Yes. Division 2 of the Southwest Zone.

Boly: And he moved up to the division?

Pheap: Yes, moved up to Division 2.

Boly: Soeung or Soeun?

Pheap: Soeun.

Boly: Soeun?

Pheap: Yes, people called him Soeun Rotkraoh (សៀន រថក្រោះ).

Boly: Soeun Rotkraoh?

Pheap: Soeun is from Prey K'aek (ព្រៃក្តែក).

Boly: Was he from Division 2?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: Oh! I am sorry. PHEA Soeun was from Division 1. You mean PÈN Soeun
(ប៉ែន សៀន)?

Pheap: Yes, that is right. People called him Soeun Rotkraoh.

Boly: Was Soeun Rotkraoh a chairperson of Division 2?

Pheap: When he was there, I do not know what he was doing. But I heard people say that he was in charge of the division.

Boly: So there were Soeun, Khim and Manh, who were in charge of the division; right?

Pheap: Yes. The chairperson of the division passed away, so they were brought to work in the division, but I do not know whether they were appointed as deputies or members. People from the regiment were brought to join the division. *Bang* Soeun made chairperson; he moved from Vietnam.

Boly: Is there any possibility that some of them are still alive?

Pheap: I heard that Khim is still alive and that he is living in his hometown. Manh is deceased, and Soeun is also deceased.

Boly: Did Soeun die?

Pheap: Yes, he did.

Boly: He was from Division 2 of Southwest Zone, because I know that Division 3 was under the supervision of *Ta* Mut, while Division 1 was under Pen Soeung. There were three divisions in Southwest Zone: Division 1, Division 2, and Division 3.

Pheap: I see.

Boly: So T-3 (តី-៣) was first under the supervision of Manh and then Chhan, was it not?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: Was T-4 (តី-៤) under Hân (ហ៊ាន)?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: There was also T-5 (តី-៥) and T-6 (តី-៦)?

Pheap: I do not know who was in charge of T-6 at that time. I have forgotten.

Boly: T-7 (ត-៧) was under Launh (ឡង). But you do not know who was in charge of T-5, do you?

Pheap: Launh and Laim (ឡាំ) were at T-7 because they were siblings.

Boly: Were both Launh and Laim in T-7?

Pheap: Yes, they were both in the regiment.

Boly: Who is the younger between Laim and Launh?

Pheap: Ta Laim was the elder.

Boly: Ta Laim was an elder brother of Ta Launh. How about T-5 and T-6? Can you recall who was there?

Pheap: I cannot recall who was in charge of T-6.

Boly: Ok, take your time; you might be able to remember later. In Sector 13, there were Office 150, Office 160, and Office 204. Can you recall any other offices?

Pheap: Yes, there was also Office 180, but I could not recall which office that was.

Boly: Was there also Office 180?

Pheap: Yes, there was, but I cannot recall what people called that office. I have forgotten.

Boly: It is fine. I would like to ask you more. You remember about Office 180, but you do not recall its name. Is there anything else you can recall about the office in Sector 13?

Pheap: I cannot recall anything more. It is hard for me to remember because, since I left that place, I never got updated information about it, like, for example, about those who are staying there.

Boly: By the way, you mentioned Soeun Rotkraoh, did not you?

Pheap: Yes, people called him Soeun Rotkraoh.

Boly: Why did people call him that?

Pheap: Because he was successful at firing at the tanks.

Boly: What is Soeun's family name?

Pheap: I do not know his family name; I just know that his name was Soeun.

Boly: Soeun Rotkraoh was in charge of the division. How long was he in charge?

Pheap: In 1973, he joined Division 2, but I do not know which section he was in.

Boly: You do not know his section?

Pheap: Yes, I do not know.

Boly: Were Division 1, 2 and 3 related to each other?

Pheap: No, they were not.

Boly: Were they separate forces?

Pheap: Yes, they were separate forces.

Boly: Do you mean that the sector also had its own forces?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: Did the zone have its own forces too?

Pheap: Yes, it did.

Boly: Does that mean that the sector was in charge of people, and it was not related to army?

Pheap: Actually, the sector was also related to the army because they were in charge of the area and managed the area. At that time, the sector also managed the army because they wanted to enlarge the number of soldiers. They would

recruit soldiers from the pool of district and commune militiamen who, upon recruitment, were sent to attend training in the regiment or battalion. They prepared soldiers in the base, and the trained soldiers were stationed at the front line. The division prepared the enlargement of the soldiers and the sector carried out the recruitment.

Boly: I would like to return back to you. Did you leave your village and join the army in 1972?

Pheap: Yes, it was June 1972.

Boly: Was it June 1972?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: Do you remember the date?

Pheap: I do not remember the date. It was perhaps on 24th; I forget. I wrote it down in my personal history, but I do not know where they kept it.

Boly: Do you still have the document?

Pheap: No, I do not. I just wrote down my personal history when I stood for the first Commune Council election. They asked me about my past work experience, so I put in a summary of what I did in 1972, 1972, 1973. It was just a summary; so I only know that it was in June.

Boly: I see. Did you join the army with *Yeay* Bau?

Pheap: Yes, I did.

Boly: After joining the women's unit, where did you go?

Pheap: That women's unit was transferred to Rattanak Kiri.

Boly: What year did you come to Rattanak Kiri?

Pheap: It was in 1976.

Boly: But where were you before coming to that place?

Pheap: In 1975, I left Takeo for Phnom Penh.

Boly: When you were in Takeo, in 1974-1975, which unit were you in?

Pheap: I was in T-6. Oh, I remember now; the chairman of T-6 was Pav (ប៉ាវ).

Boly: T-6.

Pheap: Yes, I just remembered about T-6.

Boly: Was Pav the chairman of T-6?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: As I said earlier, the more you talk, the more you will recall. Do you know who was Pav's deputy?

Pheap: No, I do not.

Boly: Was there only Pav?

Pheap: Yes, there was.

Boly: What is Pav's family name?

Pheap: I do not know his family name.

Boly: What is the birthplace of Pav?

Pheap: It was Tram Kok District, and commune...

Boly: Nhae Nhang (ញ៉ៃញ៉ង) Commune?

Pheap: No. It was possibly in Leay Bour (លាយប៊ូរ), somewhere close to *Ming Chaem's* village, which was Ran (រ៉ាន់) Village.

Boly: So you did not stay in T-8, but you stayed in T-6; right?

Pheap: Both T-8 and T-6 were stationed close to each other, at the border of South Vietnam; it was at Kiri Vong (គិរីវង្ស), Phnum Den Mountain (ភ្នំដេន). We fought at Phnum Den mountain front.

Boly: Did T-6 and T-8 protect the border at Phnum Den Mountain?

Pheap: I was at Phnum Den Mountain in 1974 and 1975.

Boly: You were at that place in 1974 and 1975, weren't you?

Pheap: Yes, I was.

Boly: Were you in charge of the regiment at that time?

Pheap: No, I was not. I was in the medical unit.

Boly: Were you a medical practitioner?

Pheap: Yes, I was.

Boly: Were you an army medical practitioner?

Pheap: Yes, I was.

Boly: When were you trained to be a medical practitioner so that you could serve in medical unit?

Pheap: Actually, I studied medical lessons only briefly. That is why I said it is a long story. When I was at the Commune Women's Association, there were three medical practitioners working there. At first I did not study anything medical. There were only two women there: *Bang San* (ហ៊ាន) and I; so there were five people in the group. When we went anywhere, the medical practitioners also went with us, day and night. When we arrived at the patient's house, we observed the way the medical practitioners did their work. It happened routinely. So I learnt how to do injections. Then I read medical books. That was how I learned at the beginning. Afterward, they sent me to have training in the hospital for a short period of time. Then I came to work as a medical

practitioner in the army. I studied only a little theory, but I had a lot of practice!

Boly: Did you always work in the army's medical section?

Pheap: Yes, I did.

Boly: From 1973, 1974, 1975?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: During 1973, 1974 and 1975, were there many heavy confrontations with the Vietnamese troops at that time?

Pheap: Yes, there were heavy confrontations in Phnum Den Mountain.

Boly: How long did they last?

Pheap: I had stayed there for two years. It was not a really big confrontation. For example, the Vietnamese came to do farming on our land, and we did not allow them to come, yet they still came. So we destroyed their equipment and we did not allow them to fish or catching fish in the ponds on our side.

If they put in their fishing net, we took it out. The Vietnamese forces and tanks also came, but we fought to stop them from coming because we had cannons stationed on the top of the mountain.

Boly: On the top of Phnum Den Mountain?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Did the Vietnamese come to take control of Cambodian territory?

Pheap: Yes, they did. They came to our village, aiming to take control, but we did not let them do so because we always had a trench line to protect us. We ran through this trench line and they could not see us because our trench line came to the height of our heads. The trench was made like our house; it was dug to the size of a bed where three to four people could sleep. The trench was

covered by mix of wood. The sides of it were walled by wooden posts and we put mud on it so that it could not be recognized easily.

Boly: Did you sleep in the trench?

Pheap: Yes, we did. Beyond the trench line where we slept, there was a line of fighting.

Boly: Were you afraid to go to the front line?

Pheap: No, it was normal for me. We did not think about death. At nights, we patrolled around; we even entered the Vietnamese houses at night.

Boly: Why did you enter their houses?

Pheap: We entered to see the real situation in their area.

Boly: Did they not arrest you when you entered their houses?

Pheap: They were all asleep. We went there around 12 midnight.

Boly: You entered their place when it was quiet, did you?

Pheap: We entered their place when it was quiet because we were militiamen. We stole their cooking pots. As for our entrance road, there was only one entrance road; if we missed it, we would be in trouble by ourselves. I lost one male youth who maybe was too scared and got lost. We suspected that he fell into the pit, because we never found him. Or he could have been injured and arrested, because when we ran, we would never turned back to help as we were afraid that we would fall into the trap, since we had built a big hole (one metre or 70 to 80 centimetres wide, one metre length) into which we threw spikes. If we fell into that hole, we would never survive.

Boly: If you fell in, you would be impaled?

Pheap: Yes, it was so chaotic, as the spikes were made of bamboos and had three blades. The following night we were sent to find people from the artillery unit, but we could not find them. We had to be really careful when entering that place and had to remember the way. If not, there would be problems.

Boly: [Have you] ever been there?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: You have been there. So, you were not afraid?

Pheap :It was normal. Throughout my whole life I have always struggled and faced difficulty. I was injured but I did not die.

Boly: When did it happen?

Pheap: In 1973, I was injured.

Boly: How?

Pheap :Artillery shell.

Boly : Being hit by shrapnel?

Pheap :It fell near my trench.

Boly: Can you describe that fight? How many days did it last? And how did you get injured with the shell?

Pheap: We were stationed at our line for many months. After the clash was over, we went and dug another trench at another new battlefield.

Boly : Oh! You just kept moving forward?

Pheap: Yes. We were always based at our lines and ready to fight. After capturing that battlefield, we kept advancing.

Boly: Did you keep advancing all the time? Did you gather together at one point? How did it happen?

Pheap: Generally speaking, each battle lasted for two or three months. It was not easy to gain victory. We were there all the time. In 1973, we stopped ambushing them and we fought on the frontline and chased them. We kept advancing.

Boly: What about your injury? How did it happen? Was it severe?

Pheap :When I got to hospital, my blood pressure was only 4. At 4:30 p.m., when arriving at the hospital, I had already passed out, because I was hit at 3 p.m and did not arrive there until 7 p.m. People from their houses might have seen me there because my trench was only 100 meters from the paddy fields. I was in this paddy field and another soldier might have been in that paddy field. The villagers said that their village had a stupa. There were trees in the village and they could hide and see me from there. We were based in a paddy field with a small bush. We dug our trench behind rice dikes. There was a sugar palm tree nearby and the shell hit that tree.

Boly: Hit the trench?

Pheap: Behind. I was behind the trench. There was a pond behind the trench.

Boly: Did you lose a lot of blood?

Pheap: Yes. Here is the scar on my neck from that injury. I could not scream. The shrapnel hit this part. When they poured in coconut juice it did not go down but returned back up my throat. There was a blood clot in my belly. When food carriers arrived, I was carried out of the trench at 7 p.m.

Boly: Why were you not carried out soon after you were hit?

Pheap: It was a paddy field.

Boly: No one dared to get in there?

Pheap: No one. My colleagues crawled to another trench, probably the blue house, and informed others. Our trenches were not far from each other. The person that crawled there cut his skin along the way, and he informed medical staff who gave me an injection. When they arrived, they did not know how to give injections. They only carried the syringes and did not know about medicine. I grabbed a bag and pulled out the medicines and gave them to him to wrap my wound.

Boly: You could still do it?

Pheap: Yes. I could do it. However, the moment I got hit, I felt dizzy and fell down.

Boly: Which part of your body was hit?

Pheap: I was hit in the neck and lost some flesh from my buttock, and also my rib and leg.

Boly: Were they broken?

Pheap: No, but I lost my big toe.

Boly: Were you feeling badly hurt?

Pheap: When I was hit, I did not feel very sore, but there was blood everywhere. My trousers were torn apart and the flesh looked so bloody and red. I took off my scarf from head and wrapped it around my waist to stop the bleeding.

Boly: You could still do that?

Pheap: Yes. Then I called people in the trench to come and get me.

Boly: Did they not come and get you until 7 p.m.?

Pheap: Yes. Food carriers arrived at each trench and they carried me away. Along the way, a person who was supposed to give me an injection did not know how to do it. I told him/her to give the injection with this or that medicine. My neck became sticky and there was blood all over me. My belly became swollen and I became hopeless. I took out serum, the big one, 20ml, and drank it. I asked him/her to take out the top part of an ampoule of serum for me. They said, "Sister, people never drink it directly. Normally we do intravenous injections for the injured." I lied to him/her, and so he/she took it out and gave it to me. He/she said that if something bad happened to me, he/she would not be responsible for it. I said, "Take the biggest ampoule for me." As I was not supposed to die at that time, he/she took the biggest one for me. It was called *Akinozom*; it is a type of medicine for curing fevers. Then he/she broke the top part of the ampoule and told me to open my mouth. After taking it, I realized that it was the wrong medicine. I thought that if there were blood in my belly, I would throw up a short moment later. After being carried about 50 meters, I did throw up; blood was coming out of my mouth. The people carrying me got

scared and cried. They were terrified that they had given me the wrong medicine.

Boly: In fact, it was blood clot?

Pheap: That is right. There was blood clot in my belly. After throwing up, I felt better.

Boly: So lucky. It was like everything was planned to happen that way.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: You told him/her to give you the wrong medicine to make you vomit?

Pheap: Yes. When we arrived at a commune hospital, based behind the frontline, my friend were away swimming. I was still awake and called for a medic named Chhñ (ឈឺន). They shouted for Chhñ, saying that I was injured. People scrambled all over the place and did not think of giving me injection. Others just cried. The people carrying me from the hammock cried because I had just visited the dining hall at 3 p.m. *Bang Manh* (ប៉ាញ) served in a battalion. Her messenger went and informed her that I had returned from the frontline before sunshine. She wondered why I had come back so early, because the flashlights and medicines had been sent to my place already. It was like something was telling me in advance of the incident. I arrived, and she went to take a shower, and returned put on her shirt and skirt. I did not realize that she was behind me. She went to see me enjoying my meal. She said, “The rice is so delicious; right?” I stood up. “Who sent you here?” she said. I explained why I was sent; I had been in the trenches for many months and it would have been fine for me to sit in the sunlight. She responded, “But I already sent you flashlights and medicines.” To be well-prepared for any incident which could occur at our place, we cut bamboo and brought a few of them to the trench in case we needed to use them with a hammock to carry patients back. Then I made a joke, saying that those bamboos and hammocks would only be enough for one place. They were inadequate; if they had them, they would come and carry me. She slapped my shoulder immediately, and said that it was really crazy to

make such joke. She said that I did not realize that I was making a joke. She and Comrade Chhi told me to be careful. *Bang Manh* needed messengers to deliver messages from the frontline, and they said they dared not do so. I said I would do it no matter when nor where. To go from one place to another, I ran from paddy fields and sought shelter under bushes, then ran to another bush, and then I continued moving. Generally speaking, I ran from one trench to another, and she advised me to stop doing that. She also informed a walkie-talkie man at the frontline not to let me deliver messages again, because our trenches had been targeted. She advised me to change the trenches. She came and gave advice about that. The following night, it happened. No one thought that I would survive, not even the sector hospital. They left me alone.

Boly: The sector hospital left you there?

Pheap: Yes. The sector hospital was situated on the west of Saray stream

(ស្ទឹងសារាយ). I said earlier that it was further west of Trapeang Andaeuk

(ត្រពាំងអណ្តើក); it was not close. I was carried from the south of Takeo

province through Cheung Chap pagoda (វត្តជើងចាប)

Boly: How many hours?

Pheap: From 7 p.m., reaching Thnal Bekkous (ផ្ទះបែកគូស) at dawn, and then they

carried me through Thnal Bekkous at dawn and reached the hospital at 4 p.m.

Boly: Oh, it was almost a full day, 24 hours?

Pheap: Yes, one day and one night. Upon our arrival at the hospital, they left me on a bed, and no one recognized me even my comrade-in-arms because I was so pale as I had lost lots of blood. They left me alone there. Then Phany (ផានី), who also worked in my unit, felt that something was wrong and out of her curiosity she checked if we had used parachute stuff. She was doubtful of that and went to check, and recognized my sleeveless shirt, the Australian's one.

Then she shouted for medical staff to bring me to their attention. Next, the medical staff reported to the chairmen of hospital. He was old.

Boly: Who was he?

Pheap: Uncle Chaem (ច័ន្ទ)

Boly: Uncle Chaem?

Pheap: Yes, chairman of the Zone Hospital, not the Sector Hospital.

Boly: Oh, head of the Zone Hospital?

Pheap: Yes, not the Sector.

Boly: What about Sector Hospital?

Pheap: I do not recall that person's name. The previous hospital was Saom (ស្រែក).

After I left, I did not know who was in charge. His name is Chaem, and I do not recall his wife's name. I was thinking about her a couple of days ago. They do not have any children. They thought faith brought them and I together, so they had to treat me, keeping me alive. He, his wife, and his deputy treated me.

Boly: Treated you?

Pheap: Yes, they did so when I was injured.

Boly: Looked after you?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Ta* Chaem and chairman of the Zone Hospital came and treated you personally?

Pheap: Yes. He and his wife treated me day and night. And his deputy's name was Khèm (ខែម).

Boly: Khèm?

Pheap: Khèm. He was only 28 years old; he was the deputy chief and he was single. After I recovered, he got married. But he left and went to work at zone main hospital. For example, here it the battlefield and here is the hospital where he worked. They were two places. He treated me with other two staff. He gave an intravenous injection and stitched my wounds directly, without using any painkillers. I passed out. He gave me an intravenous injection and covered both my arms with plasma to stop the bleeding. He treated my wounds. He ordered his subordinate to steam all the equipment and he did the rest. He, his wife, and his deputy chief did the job.

Boly: Khèm?

Pheap: Yes, all three of them stitched my wounds.

Boly: He did?

Pheap: Yes. He did, and I shouted. People heard me screaming, like “Ouch”. They stitched the wound without using any painkillers. I passed out and did not know anything. Later on, he told me about it.

Boly: He told you?

Pheap: He said that, after putting in all that effort, he hoped I would survive. He called me his daughter. Sun (ស៊ុន), his wife, said so.

Boly: Was Sun zone medical staff too?

Pheap: Yes, she was his wife and medical staff too.

Boly: Was her position a deputy?

Pheap: No, Khèm was the deputy. I do not know her position. However, I noticed that she was in charge of any letters from the hospital.

Boly: Sun?

Pheap: Yes. She treated me so well, until I recovered. I could eat and order anything I wanted.

Boly: If it was not Chaem and Sun, do you think your condition might not improve?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Because it seems like he was an expert?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Did *Ta* Chaem, Khèm, and Sun have a good medical education?

Pheap: Oh, they were quite old. I did not know whether they studied medicine in the past. He was in his 50s.

Boly: Oh, they were mature?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Where had he come from?

Pheap: I did not ask about his personal history.

Boly: You just knew that he was chairman of the Zone Hospital?

Pheap: Yes, he was about 52 or 53 years old. They were old.

Boly: Where was the Zone Hospital located?

Pheap: West of Saray Stream.

Boly: What about district?

Pheap: It was Tram Kak (ត្រាំកក់) District.

Boly: What about commune?

Pheap: Boeng Srangae (បឹងស្រងៃ) commune.

Boly: Was it an old building or was it built during the three-year regime?

Pheap: No. It was made from wood and had a thatched roof.

Boly: It was not a proper building?

Pheap: No, it was not. It was situated in a potato farm, in a quiet and safe area. It operated secretly to avoid any bombardment. Patients stayed in that hospital. However, they held self-criticism meetings among patients each month.

Boly: The patients also attended meetings?

Pheap: They held meetings and spoke of soldiers who enjoyed their freedoms and did not respect the medical staff. They did not listen to what the medical staff said. They held meetings to re-educate people.

Boly: Who presided over the meetings?

Pheap: The chairman.

Boly: *Ta Chaem*?

Pheap: Yes, the chairman.

Boly: Do you know his family name?

Pheap: No.

Boly: What about the Sector Hospital? Where was it located?

Pheap: It used to be located at Damrei Romeal (ដំរីរមាស) Mountain, but its location was moved later, and I am not sure about that.

Boly: It was moved elsewhere?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: Because it was there in 1972 or 1973?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: It was not after 1975?

Pheap: Generally speaking, from 1970, 1971, 1972, hospitals were established. It started when *Ta Nĭn* (នីន) recruited people to receive medical training. One was my elder sister, and another one was *Ta Nĭn*'s daughter.

Boly: Who received medical training?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Who was the Sector Hospital chairman?

Pheap: *Ta Saom*.

Boly: *Saom*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Male?

Pheap: Yes. His wife's name was *Kiet* (កៀត). There were others, but I cannot recall them. I was young back then. I do not remember studying there.

Boly: Can you continue to describe more of what happened after the treatment? How many months did you stay in the hospital?

Pheap: I stayed there for two months. The medical staff helped me to walk, because I could barely walk. I got hit on the head. Really, about half of my body was hit. My legs and arms were numb and my arm was wounded and had scar on it. My hand was out straight, like this, and I could not move it So was my leg. She helped me to walk, step by step. She let me carry water and take a shower in the potato farm. She let me take a bath, though the wound on my leg had not fully recovered. She observed how I would take a bath. She had two medical staff watching me, worrying that I might fall. I dared not take a bath as normal. I put a scarf into water and used it to wash myself. I dared not pour water over myself, fearing that the water would spill over my wounds. I just put my scarf into water, and put it on my thigh and washed my body. They

ordered the medical staff to wash me. After six or seven months I had not fully recovered, including my leg and buttock. I asked them if I could leave, because I missed my unit badly. I normally stayed in the frontline, so I did not feel good, staying behind the fighting zone. I asked them, but they said I could not. Prior to leaving, I helped to treat other patients for two months. I went around and treated people for two months. However, they did not put me to any heavy work. He said "Daughter! You go with other medical staff but do not travel at night." I went to treat patients, but I was not allowed to inject them. My job was to extract medicine from ampoules and give it to the medical staff.

Boly: Why?

Pheap: He did not want me to walk long distances, fearing that I would get dizzy. He did not permit me to work, walking back and forth, except that I was allowed to help to treat patients for two months. Then I stayed there and studied more.

Boly: Medical training?

Pheap: Yes, over there.

Boly: What about the condition of that hospital? Were you really busy? Were there many wounded?

Pheap: Very busy! There were so many wounded. They received patients from the sector, the zone, and Division 1 and Division 2. They all stayed there.

Boly: The first and the second?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What about Division 3?

Pheap: I did not know all of them; I know only Division 1 and Division 2, because the women slept in same warehouses. Those from the sector and the zone slept on that side, in line. Speaking of the patients' warehouses, there were five or six warehouses for men. Each one was about 20 meters. There were countless people. The wounded came in day and night. Sometimes, there were 10, and

sometimes 6 or 7. The given food was sufficient. At that time, the society did not permit the use of any money. At that time, I had not fully recovered.

Boly: But you were getting better?

Pheap: Yes. My mother paid me a visit. Saom, Sector Chairman, brought her there.

Boly: How did he know her?

Pheap: My mother knew of the incident and met him at Trapeang Andaeuk. He asked her where she was heading. She said she was going to visit her daughter in the hospital. "What is your daughter's name? Which unit?" "21! Oh, the women's unit!" "Do you know that hospital?" "I do not. I heard that she was staying in the hospital situated west of Saray." Then he took her there. My mother drove an ox-cart with vegetables and coconuts to the hospital. He brought her to the entrance. She did not want to go in. She said she would feel really bad seeing all the wounded people in there. She did not go in, but asked the medical staff to inform me to come to meet her. After seeing *Bang* Saom's letter, sent to the hospital chairman, I went out to meet her.

Boly: What was the content of the letter?

Pheap: Permission for this person to meet her mother, who is paying her a visit here. Have the medical staff take this person to meet her.

Boly: How did your mother travel to meet you? Did he drive her there?

Pheap: No, they walked through the forests. There were no roads like these days, because it was a secret place. They were afraid that Thieu-Ky would come and bring danger to our male and female soldiers. So I went to meet her. However, while I was staying in the hospital for 25 days, my elder sister died.

Boly: How?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: From disease?

Pheap: No, [she] served in the same unit; she was a soldier.

Boly: Wounded?

Pheap: She died from a landmine explosion; half of her body was hit. She was standing firing her machine gun but then stepped on a mine at the trench. They had laid mines there and it broke her shoulder.

Boly: She died in cold blood?

Pheap: Yes. That is right. She fell back into the trench and there was blood everywhere. We knew that. People in trenches; we dug trenches and put pillars and sat on them. At that moment, two people were guarding, but she stood up alone. When I was wounded, they transferred her from the frontline. She stayed behind the frontline. However, she did not feel good, seeing me and the wounded, so she returned to the frontline. They did not let her go. A week later, she died.

Boly: A person who stayed in the same trench as you informed you of this incident?

Pheap: Yes. My mother did not mention the incident, but I knew about it. The wounded patient, who served in the same company, informed me that she had died. My elder sister also died. My mother came and visited me. I went to talk with her for a while and then I asked her about my elder sister. Prior to asking her, I had already asked the patient who served in my unit. I said to my mother, "I heard that Sister Kroeng (ក្រីង) is dead." She said my sister had really died. After I asked her that question, she advised me not to think too much of it, saying that I should have my injury treated and make sure I recovered soon. Before I asked her about my sister, she had not wanted to tell me that my sister was dead. But I told her, "You did not need to hide that from me. I knew it from the first day. Did you go and bury her already?" She said that she had. First, she wanted to hide it because she did not want me to feel bad. It is normal: if we throw water at each other, either our side or their side will get wet. I did not feel bad, but I did not forget. Although my sister was gone, she still had me. After visiting me for about an hour, she left. She gave all of what she brought to the medical staff and they brought them to the hospital. Later, I asked them if I could return to the battlefield, despite that I

had not fully recovered. I asked my father, but he did not let me go. One night, I came to ask him, but he did not let me. Then I went to ask both of them. I spent the whole night thinking of how to get out. I no longer wanted to stay in the hospital. I did not feel good; I missed fighting and the trench. I thought of the difficult moments we suffered together in the trench. The following morning, I asked him the same question. This time, he told me to ask my mother. Then he left to treat patients. I lied to her that father had permitted me to leave and she issued me a letter. She was so excited and forgot about eating. I said, "One day, I will come and visit you; I will not forget." Still wounded, I did not have any full strength at all. I walked for about two or three kilometres, got exhausted, and sat down under the shade of a type of tree. He ordered his messenger to come and get me. Two young messengers, aged between 14 and 15. One of them was Thy (ធី), who was from Treang (ត្រាំង) District, 108. She regarded me as her own sister, and her brother's name was Heng (ហេង), alias Ly (លី). He said, "Uncle told us to come and get you. He did not permit you to leave the hospital. You can leave whenever you have fully recovered, because they want you to be with them." They gave me medicine to put on my wounds. I begged them not to cycle me back to the hospital. They cycled me to a messenger office, which was situated in Trapeang Andaeuk.

Boly: The Zone Messenger Office?

Pheap: The Sector Messenger Office. The messenger cycled me to Trapeang Andaeuk and then Trapeang Thom (ត្រាំងធំ).

Boly: Trapeang Thom?

Pheap: Another messenger office.

Boly: At Zone level?

Pheap: Sector.

Boly: There were two?

Pheap: There was no Zone Messenger Office, only Sector.

Boly: Really?

Pheap: Yes. The one in Trapeang Andaeuk that belonged to the Sector.

Boly: There was one in Trapeang Andaeuk?

Pheap: Trapeang Thom, Tram Kak.

Boly: Three places?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Trapeang Thom was *Ta Mok*'s district?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Sector 13?

Pheap: Yes. The messenger took me to a house there.

Boly: To your house?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Your parent's house?

Pheap: Yes, to my mother's house. And I stayed there for two nights. It was not a good time. I feared that the medical staff would come and take me back. I left at 7 and arrived at the hospital at 9 o'clock.

Boly: What do you mean?

Pheap: I was scared that they worried about me. They knew that I was at home, but it was about my recovery. During that era, if a patient who left hospital was not recovering, his unit would be blamed. She was afraid that his unit would be in trouble. If I had not recovered, and then I left the hospital, I could not do

anything well. So I left at 7 and arrived there at 9 o'clock. I was taken back my motorbike.

Boly: By whom?

Pheap: A person from the hospital. Ngauv (ឃុំ) from Division 2 went to stay in the hospital and knew my house. He knew my parents and he came to take me. I went to the unit and stayed there for about ten days. I cleaned the wounds by myself. They were painful, and I had a fever, because I did not have regular injections. I did not take any pills, because there was no medical staff and no medicine.

Boly: Because of the infected wounds?

Pheap: Yes. They carried me back to the sector hospital.

Boly: This time, the sector hospital?

Pheap: Yes, the Centre Hospital. They came from the sector and had all regiments gather together, and they called it the Centre Hospital. They received and treated patients from the central battlefields. Previously, they sent patients to the Sector Hospital. I stayed there for about a month and then I recovered. I wrote a letter to the chairman of the Zone Hospital. He wrote me back, saying that it was the consequence of my not trusting him. He asked me to receive more medical training in order to have a better understanding, and he provided many other useful, thoughtful perspectives. But I preferred to suffer hardship, rather having a good time and an easy life with them. We did not have much time.

Boly: Who was chairman of the Sector 13 Messenger Office?

Pheap: I do not know. I remember only one place in this sector. It was Rom (ឃុំ), who used to work at Office 150 with me.

Boly: Were the messengers mostly men or women?

Pheap: Women.

Boly: All?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Why not men?

Pheap: Men served at the frontline and women stayed behind and served as messengers. During the regime, we were married with handicap soldiers.

Boly: Oh! Why?

Pheap: I don't know. They arranged weddings for handicap soldiers who were injured during the fighting. They became disabled for their nation.

Boly: So it was acknowledged that they had become disabled on account of serving the nation?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Comparing to the present practice, what do you think if they treat women like that? What would the future of those women be like?

Pheap: It is just the way it was back at that time. No one dared to disobey; none did. We dared not resist; we were afraid. They forced some people to marry soldiers who had lost their eyes. So they had to walk those soldiers. Marrying people who lost their arms or legs was better. With blinded soldiers, it would be a big problem, and they had arguments all the time. If we married jealous husbands, they would even bicker about eating and food. If we cooked chicken soup, they would say their wife had put bones in the soup for them to eat. It was very problematic.

Boly: They had chicken to cook? It was not bad, was it?

Pheap: Generally speaking, living conditions were not difficult during wartime. Those serving in the frontline, like me, did not have any problems with food. We ate packaged rice, but the food was sufficient. We endured no hardship because people from the village and communes sent us food.

Boly: Did you often meet *Ta* during the regime?

Pheap: During the regime, we never met him. Well, we did sometimes, like if the whole division held military meetings. We often met *Ta* Saom, chairman of the sector and he normally presided over the meetings. He made his remarks.

Boly: What did *Ta* Saom normally talk about?

Pheap: His remarks related to reasons for joining the struggle, and informed people of the feudalists' and capitalists' oppression of the previous regime. He wanted us to stand against those things and join the struggle. He said "Together, we helped and defended our nation. They said that the US and Yuan Thieu Ky were expansionists. They helped foreigners to swallow our land." Therefore all monks voluntarily left their monkhood on account of that issue. They left their monkhood because they were motivated during the military meeting held in 1972 in Trapeang Andaeuk pagoda. Countless monks joined, it being in their dwelling place, and we held a religious ceremony at Ou Saray (អូរសារយ័ន). The female soldiers walked across the pagoda. At that time, they were adults. They were between 16 and 25 years old. They were all women and they made a great sacrifice by serving as soldiers. However, when they all came together, there was only one female battalion. Small and big artilleries were placed in front of their lines. Our unit, holding rifles, stood in one line. They took a photo of us and said that they had created a party. They invited monks to join meetings and they walked past the female soldier's line. Saom stated that the women also held their rifles and served as soldiers to protect, liberate and defend the nation. He talked about other things and also mentioned that the men were strong and brave and did not seek happiness at home. The monks also showed up. The monks noticed how brave the female soldiers were. He asserted many other ideas. Then all the monks left the monkhood. No one forcibly disrobed them. He said that, having seen the female soldiers, the monks should be ashamed.

Boly: He said that to the monks?

Pheap: Yes. The women were young and were willing to leave their family and sacrifice their body and beauty.

Boly: Was he a great speaker?

Pheap: Yes. He spoke convincingly, making the monks too ashamed to look at the women. Then they started leaving the monkhood and the pagoda. In each pagoda, no monk was forced to leave the monkhood. The truth was that they were ashamed.

Boly: *Ta Saom* was good at delivering speeches?

Pheap: Yes. He was excellent. He presided over every meeting and he was really good at it. He talked about the big and small guns, and his speech was really convincing. They let the art group perform. Women realized that they had to stand up and fight against Thieu-Ky. They performed in the big stage of a scene where they shot Thieu-Ky dead and where farmers moaned. Kunthea (កុន្ទ្រា) sang so beautifully. The sector's art performance group was terrific.

Boly: Who was the head of sector the art performance group?

Pheap: At that time, I do not know. I cannot remember. I knew a person from that district and his name was Chham (ឆាំ) but he was dead already.

Boly: What about the district's art performance group?

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: Ankor Chey (អង្គរជ័យ) District?

Pheap: CHHĪN Chheang (ឈីន ឈាង), served in art group of Angkor Chey. He came from Ankor Chey district and he sang *A yai* (អាយ៉ៃ).

Boly: CHHĪN Chheang?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *A yai* singer?

Pheap: Yes, you can ask him.

Boly: Child of CHHAM Y (ឆាំ ឃី).

Pheap: At that time, he served in CHHAM Y's musical band. Then he fell in love with another man's lady and run away with her. I have moved here since 1971.

Boly: CHHĪN Chheang? The current *A yai* singer these days?

Pheap: Yes, he escaped and came in late 1970. He came here in late 1970. He was friendly and thought critically.

Boly: What were you thinking when you joined the revolution and fight against the Vietnamese? Were you so enthusiastic and brave that you did not want to stay in the hospital and wanted to be at the frontline?

Pheap: The truth was that I had never been to any battlefield. However, I wanted to go and hold rifle with others. No one forced me and I joined the female soldier voluntarily. I put my hand up and joined female soldiers. The following morning, I went to have my name placed in the draft list. Those who wanted to serve as messenger listed down their names at another place.

Boly: You were willing to leave your home, family, and siblings. You were not afraid of going into the jungle and joining the fight?

Pheap: No, I was not.

Boly: What really motivated you? For example, did you join the struggle to liberate our nation?

Pheap: One important factor was that we were politically indoctrinated and persuaded. Another reason was the expansion of the US and Thieu Ky. They came and mistreated our people. They did so and we saw such incidents with our own eyes. It was painful for us. They raped women, even in the pagodas.

And we could not tolerate that. We stood up and joined the struggle to make sure the foreigners would not come and oppress our people. We thought that if we, at the grassroots, did not stand up and fight, they would come and oppress us more and more. They killed monks and arrested women, stripped them of their clothes, and raped them in the pagodas. They did that. They came, killed our chickens, and opened fire all over the place. I was terrified, so were countless other house owners. If we continued to be so fearful of them, we thought about what future of our society would be like. In the future, we could not enjoy any freedom, not even to do our farm work. Any time or day, they might come, and we would all run away. We feared danger and fled our houses. They ransacked our houses for gold and took everything they desired. They killed and ate our pigs; there was nothing left. They even killed and ate dogs and we did not dare to say a word. The rice jar became empty, because they ate it all. They rolled their tanks on our sugar juice trees and destroyed everything in the farm. Any house owners who had single daughters was in danger. They could not escape. We saw those incidents with our own eyes and we could not tolerate it. We did not join the struggle without any reason. We were enraged.

Boly: What about the accomplishment after 1975? What do you think of what happened after 1975 and between 1975 and 1979? Did you receive the freedom and happiness that you wanted when you joined the struggle?

Pheap: The truth about the three-year regime was: there was a difference between the living conditions of the military and the people in the villages. Speaking of the military, soldiers did not receive any oppression or were not starved. We ate collectively but the economic section was in charge of cooking. The point was that we lacked food in 1977 and 1978. We ate potatoes mixed with corns. In 1976, we always ate rice and we transported lots of rice.

Boly: What were your expectations after 1975?

Pheap: Nothing was the same as I had expected, because we did not move forward yet. We did not produce much, because we were busy fighting. In 1979, I was on the run and six months pregnant. I gave my rifle to my husband. When I

turned seven months pregnant, I fled to Rattanak Kiri. Then I gave birth to my child at Kong Binh (កុងបឹង). Speaking of that, when I was seven months pregnant, I walked from Rattanak Kiri to Kong Binh. I walked until the bottom of my feet blistered. I delivered my baby in a so-called Kong Binh mango house.

Boly: In 1979?

Pheap: Yes, 1979.

Boly: In 1979, were the Vietnamese not in control of Anlong Veang?

Pheap: No.

Boly: The Khmer Rouge was based there?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: When did the Vietnamese capture Anlong Veang?

Pheap: Actually I left there before my delivery. I did not give birth to my child there. I delivered my baby at 4 or 5 a.m. and I continued my journey at 7 a.m.

Boly: Oh, you did not stay in one place for two or three days?

Pheap: No. I went there and reached *Ta Ngok* (តាឃុំក) and then Biet Lem (បៀតឡែម).

Boly: Oh, was it near Pailin (ប៉ៃលិន), Samlout (សំឡូត)?

Pheap: In the vicinity of *Ta Ngok* mountain, Barang Thleak (បារាំងធ្លាក់) and Ou Anluok (អូរអន្លក់).

Boly: Was it Samlout?

Pheap: Yes, I went there, carrying my baby. I never received any treatment after giving birth; I never drank any boiled water. In regards to my personal history and my husband and our run to Rattanak Kiri, it was heart-breaking. My husband lived in Rattanak Kiri.

Boly: He was still there?

Pheap: Yes. I travelled with the female soldiers.

Boly: It is indeed a very sad story. I am more than willing to listen to it and will not eat anything as long as you want to continue speaking.

Pheap: I went there. My husband and I had been separated since I was seven months pregnant. My child died when turning one year old. After six months, my husband and I met.

Boly: I want to go back to what happened in 1975. After leaving the hospital, you returned to the frontline. How long were you there?

Pheap: I left and was injured in the battle south of Takeo. Then I was transferred to north of Takeo. The truth was that I went to battle situated north of Takeo twice; it was not a return. Speaking of the area north of Takeo, it was in the vicinity of Svay Prey. I was there once and then I went to the south of Takeo province. The soldiers walked back and forth and circled that area. We went and fought at throughout the eastern part. In 1974, I went to Phnum Den mountain. First, I went there with the navy and stayed with T-7. I served there with *Ta Bav* (បាវ), but I did know who the division chairman was.

Boly: *Ta Bav* came from Akphivoat (អភិវឌ្ឍន៍) Village?

Pheap: Yes, *Ta Bav* and *Yeay Nai* (យ៉ែន)

Boly: I have interviewed him too.

Pheap: So he served in the navy?

Boly: Yes, he did.

Pheap: Our unit trained with the navy for less than a month, but it was too difficult.
We could not survive such training. Then we went to the border.

Boly: Did *Ta Bav* serve in the division or battalion?

Pheap: Oh! I think T-7 was a battalion.

Boly: *Ta Bav* served in T-7?

Pheap: Yes.

Se: *Ta Bav* and *Ta Pheap* (ភីង) are dead.

Boly: Was *Ta Pheap* a chairman of the division?

Pheap: No, there were only in the regiment.

Boly: No, what about after 1979?

Pheap: There was division.

Boly: Division 919?

Pheap: 912.

Boly: *Ta Bav* served in 980?

Pheap: It was 980. Nai (ណៃ) served in the same division but he was in charge of
artillery.

Boly: Was *Ta Bav*'s wife there?

Pheap: Nai was in charge of the walkie-talkies.

Boly: *Ta Bav*'s wife?

Pheap: Yes, she served in my previous unit. Her house was next to mine. She was in charge of the walkie-talkies. When we were there, they needed walkie-talkies. The artillery unit needed walkie-talkies.

Boly: So Nai was *Ta Bav*'s wife? And she was in charge of the walkie-talkies?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: He was not married?

Pheap: Not yet.

Boly: They were friends?

Pheap: Yes, they were comrade-in-arms. They might have had victory; I did not ask her about that. Then I went and was stationed in Phnum Den mountain for two years.

Boly: In 1973?

Pheap: In 1974-1975.

Boly: On the mountain?

Pheap: I was based in front of the mountain, near a pond at the foot of the mountain.

Boly: And continued fighting?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: How many T?

Pheap: Two: T-6 and T-8

Boly: Only two?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: T-6 and T-8?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Then where did they go?

Pheap: The provincial town. Surrounding the provincial town.

Boly: They were based there?

Pheap: Yes. It was not easy to capture the provincial town. There were some enemies in Angk Ta Saom (អង្គការសាម). It was only when Phnom Penh fell that they showed and confessed and dropped their weapons. If not, they would not do so.

Boly: So T-6 and T-8 were based at the border?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: T-3, T-4, T-5, T-7. These four were based here?

Pheap: T-7 was stationed near the border; it was a navy base.

Boly: T-7 was a navy unit based at the border?

Pheap: Yes, navy.

Boly: What about those of *Ta* Bav and *Ta* Pheap?

Pheap: No, Pheap was not in T-7.

Boly: Was Pheap in 912?

Pheap: I do not know which unit Pheap came from, because we were separated. At that time, he served in T-3.

Boly: Pheap?

Pheap: Yes. In T-3, but he was later on transferred to the west.

Boly: Where?

Pheap: Because soldiers were transferred to zone level. It was originally T-3. He had served in Battalion 16.

Boly: He served in Battalion 16?

Pheap: Yes, with Chhân (ឆ័ន). Then they went to the battalion.

Boly: Chhân went to serve in the battalion after Manh?

Pheap: Yes. They served in Battalion 16.

Boly: Do you recall anything of T-5?

Se: I worked in the zone.

Boly: You worked in the zone, and you did not recall anything like your wife did.

Se: I was in the unit which was created after the liberation of Phnom Penh.

Boly: After the liberation, they combined the soldiers and created the division?

Pheap: They selected only one battalion of female soldiers. At the zone level, they had only one battalion of female soldiers. Roecun (រ៉េន) disagreed and brought them from Takeo. They were put to work in the garment section of Yeay Vîn's unit. Young soldiers like me were taken to the city. When they arrived, people laughed at them.

Boly: Who laughed at them?

Pheap: The soldiers who served in the division laughed and made fun of those coming from Takeo. Their trousers were bigger than their sizes. The Khmer Rouge recruited young girls, some of those were at the age of 15, from Phnum Den mountain. They had served in the transportation unit. They were called the insurgent girls. They carried the wounded from the battlefields to the villages, and they were young. They did not behave well. Mature people were separated from their unit. They were taken to the second division. We went to Koh Kong and Kampot. The squad chiefs were taken to serve in the company. Then some were selected and put to work at a salt farm. Later on, more people were drafted.

Boly: Young female soldiers?

Pheap: Yes, pretty young.

Boly: What about *Yeay* Roeun (ឃីន) who served in the garment section? Where was her place?

Pheap: *Yeay* Vĩn served in the garment section of Chak Angre (ចាក់អង្រែ), Phnom Penh.

Boly: Was it called an office or a factory?

Pheap: I do not know what it was called, except a garment place.

Boly: She was the chairman?

Pheap: *Yeay* Vĩn was *Ta* San's wife and a regiment chairwoman.

Boly: Where was he based?

Pheap: *Ta* San was *Ta* Roeun's in-law. *Ta* San 06.

Boly: Is it possible to say that *Yeay* Vĩn was chairwoman of Chak Angre garment factory?

Pheap: No. T-1 was separate. We were near L k S ng hospital (ពេទ្យលោកសង្ឃ).

Boly: What was T-1?

S : T-1 was a textile factory.

Pheap: It was not; it was a garment place.

Boly: *Yeay* Vĩn produced clothes?

Pheap: Yes, one regiment had to make clothes.

Boly: *Yeay* Vĩn was *Ta* 06's wife?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: She was *Ta 06*'s wife and served as head of the garment factory?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Where was the factory located?

Pheap: At that time, they said it was located at Chak Angre. I am not sure because I have never been there nor known anyone there. We worked in different units. At that time, I recall that it was situated at Chak Angre.

Boly: And *Yeay Vın* was also a regiment chief?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Of the regiment in charge of making clothes?

Pheap: She was a military commander.

Boly: The military?

Pheap: Yes, she was. She, *Yeay Răn* (រ៉ាន់) and KEA Sung (គា ស៊ីង)

Boly: What about name of that regiment?

Pheap: I do not remember. It was part of the Zone; I do not know.

Boly: Of which division?

Se: Division 811.

Pheap: 811.

Boly: What about zone? Southwest Zone?

Pheap: No, central. It was the special division and operated under the supervision of the central zone.

Boly: Oh, she was a big fish?

Pheap: Yes, the special division was based in the city.

Boly: Those special ones included 11, 12, 13, and 14?

Pheap: Yes, 14.

Se: They just combined 11 and 14!

Boly: Why did they combine them?

Pheap: They needed more forces. 14 had more forces.

Boly: Did not 14 belong to *Ta* 05?

Pheap: Yes, it did. Then it became 801.

Boly: What about 11?

Pheap: 11 was 605.

Boly: 11 then became 605?

Pheap: Yes, 605, and *Ta* Nat's (ណាត) division, 703.

Boly: Yes, *Ta* Nat was 12 and 703?

Se: Yes, there were only these three.

Boly: What about 13?

Se: 13 did not exist. There was no Division 13.

Boly: No?

Se: Yes, there was not. Division 13 was too close of a name to one division in LON Nol regime and Sirik Matak (ស៊ីរិកម៉ាក). Therefore, they did not use that number.

Boly: I do not understand and I want to verify with you. They did not create Division 13 because the number of the division coincided with the division number created by Sirik Matak; right?

Se: That is right; it was an old division.

Boly: A former division of Sirik Matak?

Se: That is right.

Pheap: They did not use that number.

Boly: They did not use that number?

Pheap: Yes. Just only 12, 11, and 14.

Boly: There were only 11, 12, and 14?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was there no 13?

Pheap: No.

Boly: Now I understand the reason why Division 13 did not exist; it was because the number coincided with that of Sirik Matak.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: They did not use that number because, if they were fighting each other, that numbering might lead to confusion?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: So there were only 11, 12, and 14?

Pheap: 14.

Boly: Who was the commander of Division 11?

Sè: *Ta Piech* (ព្រះបាទ).

Boly: *Ta* Piech?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: Who was *Ta* Piech?

Sè: *Ta* Piech was...

Boly: Was he related to SON Sen (សុន សែន)?

Sè: No.

Boly: Regarding this, I heard that Saroeun (សារ៉េន) was the commander of the Divison 11 because Saroeun was a nephew of SON Sen.

Sè: There were *Ta* Piech and *Ta* Saom (ស៊ាម), two of them.

Boly: *Ta* Piech and *Ta* Saom?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: Was *Ta* Saom in Region 13?

Sè: Yes! *Ta* Saom was previously a professor.

Boly: Of which specialization was *Ta* Saom professor?

Pheap: Which *Ta* Saom? I don't know.

Boly: Were there many *Ta* Saom's?

Pheap: Yes! Saom.

Boly: But, were they good speakers?

Pheap: Yes! It was this *Ta* Saom who was removed. This *Ta* Saom was also in charge of the army military but I did not know where he was or which region he was from. He actually created that zone.

Boly: So Division 11 was under *Ta Saom* and *Ta Piech*?

Sè: *Ta Piech* was in the military.

Boly: *Ta Piech* in the military and *Ta Saom* in politics?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: 14 and 05, 06.

Boly: And 12 was under *Ta Nat* (ណាត)?

Pheap: *Ta Nat*.

Boly: *Ta Nat* was also a nephew of SON Sen. Who was *Ta Nat*'s deputy?

Pheap: (Does not answer).

Boly: Previously, 14 was under CHENG Ân, wasn't it?

Sè: CHENG Ân was at zone level. He was not in charge of soldiers.

Boly: He was not in charge of soldiers?

Pheap: 14 was under SAU Saroeun.

Boly: SAU Saroeun?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Who was his deputy? *Ta 06*?

Pheap: *Ta San 06*. His was something San.

Boly: YÈM San. Was his family name YÈM?

Sè: I do not know his family name. Yes, he was in the military and *Ta Saroeun* was in politics. [YÈM San] was assigned as military.

Boly: Yes! Sub-division.

Pheap: During that whole military congress, the two men dressed well.

Boly: He was really handsome. I saw a picture of him and his child at Tumnob Dach
(ទំនប់ដាច់).

Pheap: Yes, they were very attractive; they looked tall. During the victory in 1975 a
military congress was conducted and POL Pot came.

Boly: After 1975, what happened to Division 11? What division number was it
changed to, as *Pou* has just said?

Sè: Half of Division 11 joined with Division 14.

Boly: Oh, half of it joined with 14. It did not become a new division?

Sè: No. They just disappeared and I did not know where they went. I did not
remember as I went to the border. They eliminated Division 11 and made it
Division 502, a tank division.

Boly: 502?

Sè: Yes!

Sè: 502 was an aircraft division. The tank division was with *Ta Pheap* (ភាព). Who
was the commander of 11?

Boly: And 801 was Division 14?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: So *Ming*, did the fighting at Phnum Den (ភ្នំដេន) continue until 1975?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Until the liberation in 1975?

Pheap: Yes! Phnom Penh was liberated. Having announced that Phnom Penh was liberated that night, they came to take us at 9 p.m.

Boly: Why did they take you?

Pheap: They took us to Phnom Penh.

Boly: How many truckloads [of people] were taken to Phnom Penh at that time?

Pheap: Quite a lot. There were women from a battalion. I did not count the number of trucks as I got into the front one. I was at the end of the line so I got into the truck before the others. The truck met me when I was on my patrol that night. When I was patrolling, I saw lights from many trucks so I became curious. We tried to find palm trees in which to hide ourselves. When the trucks arrived, we stopped and inquired as to whether they were people from our side. A woman who used to work as a military spy with me, a commune woman, named Chhoeun (ឆ្មោន), drove one of the trucks. She said to me, “Hey! Let’s go to Phnom Penh.” “Why should we go there?” [I asked]. “It’s our victory in Phnom Penh. They told us to come and take the comrades.” [So I asked,] “Are you speaking the truth or are you just lying to me?” “I’m not lying. Get into the truck.” Then I got into the truck and went to my place.

Boly: You did not have time to prepare your things, did you?

Pheap: No. I just grabbed anything at my reach and followed other people. I brought plates and pots as I thought we would not have them in Phnom Penh.

Boly: Was *Ta* in Phnom Penh?

Pheap: No. *Ta* also came from there. He accompanied us. He led the caravan and dropped us at Chaom Chau (ច្រាមចៅ).

Boly: At Chaom Chau?

Pheap: Yes. Then trucks from the division came to pick us up.

Boly: Did *Ta* Mok (ម៉ុក) accompany you?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: And did he curse you?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: He said [you were silly to think that] Phnom Penh would not have pots for cooking?

Pheap: Yes! [I asked him,] “But why did not you tell me in advance, *Ta*?” [He said,] “Do I have to tell you? Don’t you see the complete victory?”

Boly: The victory was on 17 April. What date did they come to take you to Phnom Penh?

Pheap: 18th. One night after [the victory].

Boly: Only one day?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Who came from Phnom Penh to pick you up at Chaom Chau?

Pheap: *Bang* SAU Saroeun’s division. He told the trucks to go there.

Boly: Was Division 14 a special division?

Pheap: Yes! And they took us right to the stadium.

Boly: Why did not the trucks go directly to the stadium? Why did you need to change trucks?

Pheap: No. They changed our truck because it was crowded.

Boly: Were you then transferred to a smaller truck?

Pheap: We slept at Chaom Chau for one night before another truck picked us up.

Sè: Roads at that time were narrow.

Pheap: They were blocked at many places.

Sè: They were blocked off into different parts.

Pheap: The bridges had been destroyed too; we could not pass through the water.

Boly: Going to Chaom Chau from Takeo (តាកែវ), did you travel along national road
3 or 2?

Sè: It was across the water in Preaek Tnaot (ព្រែកត្នោត).

Boly: Oh! Was it Ta Khmao (តាខ្មៅ) bridge?

Sè: No. It was national road 3.

Pheap: Preaek Tnaot stream had no bridge to cross.

Boly: How could you cross it?

Pheap: We walked. We walked to the end of the broken road and trucks were waiting
for us there.

Boly: Then they took you from there to Olympic (អូឡាំពិច) stadium; right?

Pheap: Yes, to our current stadium.

Boly: Was it the old stadium or new stadium?

Pheap: The old stadium.

Boly: The one near Chrouy Changva (ជ្រោយចង្វារ) bridge?

Pheap: Yes!

Sè: They took us to Olympic.

Pheap: Oh! Right, they took us to Olympic.

Boly: Were you together?

Pheap: No.

Sè: No! I was at the Special Zone.

Boly: Oh! Were you staying there?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: Did anyone go to pick you up at that time too?

Sè: No.

Boly: Which division were you in?

Sè: 801.

Boly: 14; right?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: In which year did they change the name to 801?

Sè: In 1975.

Pheap: 75 or 76. Not very long before we left, they changed the division.

Boly: Actually, at the beginning, the secretary of Division 801 was not *Ta* 05. It was another person named KÈV Saroeun (កែវ សារ៉េន); right?

Pheap: No. KÈV Saroeun was a member.

Sè: *Bang* SAU Saroeun was the commander.

Boly: SAU Saroeun was the commander from the beginning, wasn't he?

Sè: Yes!

Pheap: KÈV Saroeun was a member. Before being in this division, [he had been in] Division 81.

Boly: Was he the commander of Division 81?

Sè: Yes!

Pheap: KÈV Saroeun came after *Pou* San (ស៊ាន) had gone. Then they took KÈV Saroeun to *Ta* Sung (ស៊ីង), *Ta* Thma Bang (ថ្មបាំង).

Boly: What do you want to say?

Pheap: Well, *Bang* SAU Saroeun and *Bang* San were transferred from Phnom Penh to Rattanak Kiri (រតនគិរី). Later on *Bang* San changed to Mondulkiri (មណ្ឌលគិរី), and some forces went to Mondulkiri. Then we recruited more forces for the division. After *Bang* San left, they took *Ta* Sun from that regiment.

Boly: In which regiment was *Ta* Sun?

Pheap: 82.

Boly: Oh! Not that Chor (ជ័រ)?

Pheap: No. Sun was from Thma Bang District.

Boly: Therefore, Sun and *Ta* KÈV Saroeun were changed to division level?

Pheap: Yes, they became Division. But *Ta* KÈV Saroeun came after *Ta* Sun.

Boly: Therefore, after *Ta* San went to Mondulkiri, Sun became *Ta* Saroeun's deputy, *Ta* 05?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Sun became deputy commander of the division while KÈV Saroeun was only a member; right?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: KÈV Saroeun was from Regiment 81; right?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Wasn't the secretary of Regiment 81 a person named Mǎo (ម៉ៅ)?

Pheap: Mǎo was later on. Mǎo came from Battalion 11.

Boly: Oh! It was only after KÈV Saroeun was arrested that *Ta* Mǎo took the position?

Pheap: After KÈV Saroeun left, *Bang* Mǎo [took the position]. No, KÈV Saroeun was arrested when he was already at the division.

Boly: Mǎo was the secretary.

Pheap: In 82. When *Ta* Sun came up here, *Bang* Thi (ធី) moved up to the regiment.

Boly: When Sun was promoted, who replaced him?

Pheap: Thi.

Boly: Not *Ta* Lèm (ឡែម)?

Pheap: *Ta* Lèm came later on. He was after *Ta* Thi.

Boly: *Ta* Thi became the secretary.

Pheap: It changed from time to time. Thi was moved to both 81 and 83. Then, after that, *Ta* Lèt (ឡែត) came. It changed.

Boly: So, Thi was moved to 81?

Pheap: Yes! After a while *Ta* Lèt was promoted as we were busy moving around.

Boly: UONG Ri (អ៊ូង រី) was *Ta Lèt*'s wife; right?

Pheap: I forget because it was very long time ago.

Paulo: *Ta Lèt* became the secretary. I would like to ask you a little more. *Ming*, you know this very well. *Pou* was in 405. 801 was based in Veun Sai (វើនសៃ) town to protect two provinces: Rattanak Kiri and Stung Treng (ស្ទឹងត្រែង). Is that right?

Sè: It is right.

Boly: And the division is divided into three regiments, including Regiment 81 which based in Ou Ya Dav (អូយ៉ាដាវ) District in Rattanak Kiri Province.

Sè: Bar Keo (បារកើវ) District.

Boly: It was in Bar Keo District, was it?

Sè: Yes! Ou Ya Dav was established later. [Before] it was Bar Keo and Andoung Meas (អណ្ណឺងមាស).

Boly: Previously there was no Ou Ya Dav?

Sè: No.

Boly: Thus, from 1975 to 1979, there was no Ou Ya Dav?

Pheap: It was Bar Keo District.

Boly: Yes! So Regiment 81 was based in Bar Keo District, Rattanak Kiri Province and KÈV Saroeun as the secretary of that regiment. Is that right, *Pou*?

Sè: That's right.

Boly: Măo became the secretary after KÈV Saroeun became a member of the division. Roughly, in which year was that? Do you know?

Pheap: 1976.

Sè: Măo.

Boly: Then Sokh (សុខ) became another secretary, did not he?

Pheap: Sokh came first. He came from 82. It's confusing.

Boly: Was he Sokh or Sot (សុត)?

Pheap: Sot.

Boly: Oh! Was that another Sot, not Sot from 82?

Pheap: No. They changed back and forth from one regiment to another frequently.

Boly: So Sot became the secretary before Măo?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Sot became the secretary first and then Măo came afterwards?

Pheap: He came afterwards.

Sè: The military establishment did not have a secretary, only a commander.

Boly: Măo died around 1985 in Koh Kong (កោះកុង).

Pheap: Died?

Boly: Because he was sick.

Pheap: I did not know that. His child[ren] are selling things here. I do not know why we have never heard any news.

Boly: Where are his children selling things?

Pheap: Here in Anlong Veang (អង្គរវែង), but I do not know exactly where. I heard that they are Mǎo's children. Hey! I think he is not dead yet because last year I heard that *Ta* Mǎo and Chhoeun (ឈឿន) came to visit their children.

Boly: Are you saying that Chhoeun was *Ta* Mǎo's wife?

Pheap: Yes! She was with me.

Boly: Did she work as a tailor with you?

Pheap: No. We were in the army together.

Boly: You were in the military together?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: When you came to Phnom Penh, were you in the military or in the tailoring section?

Pheap: I was in the military.

Boly: You were still in the military?

Pheap: I remained in the military until 1979.

Boly: Were you in Division 14, 801?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: Now, it is certain that Regiment 81 was based in Bar Keo, Rattanak Kiri, wasn't it?

Sè: Both in Andoung Meas, Andoung Meas Khang Cheung, Se San river.

Boly: Andoung Meas Khang Cheung, Se San river, Rattanak Kiri Province and KÈV Saroeun was its secretary; right?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: Sot was the secretary after KÈV Saroeun became a division member. Mǎo was the third secretary after Sot; right?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: I heard from people that Mǎo died due to sickness in 1985 in Koh Kong Province. Now let's move to talk about Regiment 82. Sorry, I mean 81. How many battalions was it divided into?

Sè: It was divided into 3 battalions.

Pheap: 11, 12, 13.

Boly: 11, 12, 13. What was the name of the chief of each battalion, do you remember?

Pheap: Battalion 11.

Sè: I don't know because it was at the division office. [She] remembered everything. *Ming* was at the division office.

Boly: *Pou*, were you at the division office?

Sè: *Ming* was there.

Boly: *Ming*, what did you do at the division office?

Pheap: Soldiers in that battalion were under his direct command.

Boly: That division of female soldiers?

Sè: The female battalion. It was attached to the division office. He put our base right next to the division office.

Boly: What was the number of the regiment that your [battalion] was in?

Pheap: No, we only had the female soldier battalion.

Boly: Was it a special battalion?

Pheap: Yes! It was special. It was directly under the division. It was not in any specific regiment. It was directly under the division.

Boly: That means that you do not know the names of the chiefs of battalions 11, 12, 13; right?

Pheap: No. They changed frequently.

Paulo: So, let's go straight to [regiment] 82. Regiment 82 was based in Siem Pang (សៀមប៉ាង) District with Sun, who was from Thma Bang District, as its secretary; [is that correct]?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Then Thi became... Well, not as secretary because they stopped using secretaries. Then Sun was promoted to deputy chief of Division 80. And when Thi, as I heard, was moved to [regiment] 81, then *Ta Lèt* was placed that position; right?

Pheap: Yes! *Ta Lèt*.

Boly: *Ta Lèt* became the secretary. *Ta Lèt* was *Ming UONG Ri*'s husband. *Ming UONG Ri* was the chief of a mobile group in Region 104 in Stung Treng; right?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Is that correct? *Pou*, which regiment were you in?

Pheap: 81.

Boly: *Pou* was in regiment 81. So do you know about the [chiefs of] those battalions?

Pheap: [Chief of] Battalion 11, at that time, was Yen (យ៉ែន), Mǎo.

Sè: It was changed from one person to another. I then went to the Ministry of Education.

Pheap: *Bang* Mǎo was promoted, so Battalion 11 was under *Bang* Vanna (វ៉ាន់ណា).

Boly: What was the previous position of the person named Mǎo, who went to the regiment?

Pheap: Before, he was the chief of Battalion 11. When Mǎo had gone, Vanna took over that position. After Vanna, Yen took over; there were 3 people. I know [Battalion] 11 very well.

Boly: *Do* you know it well?

Pheap: My relative(s) worked in his office and Vanna's house was near to ours.

Boly: Where did Vanna go? Why did Yen replace him?

Pheap: They moved Vanna to the education office at the back. Then Yen came to strengthen the work.

Boly: Why they moved him? Did he make any mistakes?

Pheap: Management of the place. Just like I said, they did this to those whom they suspected. Then *Bang* Yen took the position. I don't know what happened. I forget. We have not seen each other for a long time.

Boly: *Pou*, do you know about [Battalion] 12 and 13 given that you were in [Regiment] 81? What was your position in [Regiment] 81?

Sè: In [Regiment] 81, I was the company deputy chief.

Boly: You were the company deputy chief?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: Was it Company 81?

Sè: 11.

Boly: Hey! 11 was a battalion, wasn't it?

Sè: It was a battalion.

Pheap: Battalion 11 and the company was also number 11. There were companies numbered 11, 12, 13.

Boly: I see. Number 11?

Pheap: Yes!

Sè: Company 11, Regiment 11, Battalion 111.

Boly: Was it Battalion 111 or 11?

Phep: Who called it 111? They only called it 11 and 12.

Boly: But actually it was supposed to be 111, 112, 113; right?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: And Mǎo was the chief of Battalion 11, wasn't he?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: And when Mǎo went to Regiment 81, Vanna became the secretary; right?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Then, when Vanna was moved to the education section as he was suspected, Yen took the position of secretary; right?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: And 111 was divided into 3 companies, correct?

Pheap: Three; 11, 12, 13. And Battalion 112 was divided into companies 21, 22, 23.

Boly: And *you* were in 11, weren't you?

Pheap: 11.

Boly: You were the deputy chief of 11. Who was the chief of 11?

Sè: The chief of 11, at that time, was Hok (ហុក).

Boly: Yen was also in 111, wasn't he?

Pheap: Yes, when they were in Rattanak Kiri. When they came to Rattanak Kiri, they were separated.

Boly: But who was chief first, Yen or Hok?

Pheap: Hok.

Boly: Was Hok the chief?

Pheap: Yes!

Sè: Hok was the chief in politics and Yen was the chief in military.

Boly: *Pou*, what is your name?

Sè: Sè.

Pheap: CHHAOM Sè.

Boly: CHHAOM Sè, deputy chief of politics?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: And who was the deputy chief of the military?

Sè: Deputy chief of the military, I forget. It was more than 30 years ago.

Boly: And what about 112? Do you know who was the chief?

Pheap: Well, *Ta Èm* (តាអែម), at the company.

Sè: Hey! At the company, before that it was Khorn (ក្រូន).

Pheap: *Ta Khorn* [, whose wife was] *Voeun* (វ៉ែន). His wife is currently living in
Trapeang Prasat (ត្រពាំងប្រាសាទ).

Boly: What was his family name?

Sè: I don't remember his family name.

Pheap: *Khorn* was from *Tram Kak* (ត្រាំកក់), or something.

Boly: Oh! So *Khorn* was the chief of Company 112, wasn't he?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: And then, who was it?

Pheap: *Ta Èm*.

Boly: *Ta Èm* was his deputy, wasn't he?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: What about 112? How many companies was it divided into?

Pheap: Also three companies.

Boly: What were the names of those companies?

Pheap: 21, 22, 23.

Boly: Now we are still talking about Regiment 81, but we will move onto Battalion
112. [You said] there were three companies in it. What companies were they,
Ming?

Pheap: 21, 22, 23.

Boly: Do you still remember the chiefs' names?

Pheap: No, I don't remember names of the chief of those companies.

Boly: And what about Battalion 113? Were there also 3 companies?

Pheap: Yes! 31, 32, 33.

Boly: Is that all?

Pheap: However, my battalion was not the one I have just mentioned. It was 804.

Under the division there were two additional battalions: 803, 804, 806. Well, three more battalions.

Boly: There were three other independent battalions; right?

Pheap: Yes! There was the canon battalion, the carrier battalion and the female battalion. There were three.

Boly: These battalions were not connected to 81, 82, 83?

Pheap: No, they were not connected. They were under the [division] office.

Boly: They were independent?

Pheap: Yes! They were independent under the office of Division 805.

Boly: Now, I'll ask you one by one. Which one came first?

Pheap: 803.

Boly: What type was it?

Pheap: Battalion.

Boly: Could we call it an independent battalion because it was independent from the regiment?

Sé: Under the office.

Boly: Under the division office?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Was it under the office of Division 801?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: What was the number of the battalion?

Pheap: 803.

Boly: What type of troop was it?

Pheap: Cannon. This was a company.

Boly: This one was not under any regiment, was it?

Pheap: No. Another one was 802; it was another special group.

Boly: Was it also a battalion?

Pheap: Yes! Another special battalion.

Boly: Battalion 802.

Sé: 802, 803, 804, 805, 806.

Pheap: Supporting battalions.

Boly: Were they also under Division 801?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Were they special battalions?

Pheap: Yes! They were special [battalions] in the division.

Boly: "Special". What did you mean?

Pheap: They were mobile groups that provided intervention.

Sé: They went wherever the division commander commanded them to go.

Boly: And then battalion 803?

Pheap: Let's talk about 802 first, just in numerical order.

Boly: We have just talked about 802, haven't we?

Pheap: 802, 803, 804.

Sé: 803 was a cannon group.

Boly: 804?

Pheap: 804 was a female battalion.

Boly: Battalion 804 was under Division 801?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Was it a female battalion?

Pheap: It was a female battalion.

Boly: It was a special battalion with women members?

Pheap: It was a female battalion.

Boly: What was its role? Was it also a mobile battalion?

Sé: It just followed commands. It was a military unit.

Boly: Was it at regional level?

Pheap: Yes! It provided protection for the division guarding and patrolling.

Boly: Then 805?

Pheap: 805 was the physician battalion.

Boly: Physicians responsible for the hospital?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: The hospitals both at the front line and back line. Then?

Sé: 806.

Boly: 806?

Pheap: The carrier battalion. It was Nat's (ណាត) group in the economy section.

Boly: What was Battalion 806 under Division 801 responsible for?

Pheap: Economy.

Boly: Did they transport food for others?

Pheap: Food, ammunition and everything were the responsibility of this truck group.
They provided fish, made fermented fish, and so on.

Boly: Did they transport food and ammunition?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Therefore, there were 802, 803, 804, 805, 806?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Where there any others?

Pheap: That was all.

Boly: Where there [80]7-[80]8?

Pheap: No.

Boly: Now, may I ask you more? Let's talk about regiment 82, which was based in
Siem Pang District.

Sé: I did not know it very well.

Boly: You do not know that part very well?

Sé: Right!

Pheap: Are you talking about Siem Pang?

Sé: Siem Pang. We do not know about it either. We only know about 801.

Pheap: We only passed by that place. We never worked there directly.

Boly: It was in Stung Treng Province. Now, may I go back a little bit?

Pheap: They were in Ou Nonoung (អូននោង), in Siem Pang District.

Sé: Was that in Siem Pang District?

Boly: Yes! In Siem Pang.

Sé: Siem Pang, Siem Bouk (សៀមបូក).

Boly: Earlier, as *you* said, Regiment 82 had Sun who was from Thma Bang District as its secretary; right?

Pheap: Yes! That was at the beginning.

Boly: And then Thi became a secretary after Sun was promoted to deputy chief of the division. When Thi was moved to 81, *Ta Lèt* became the secretary of Regiment 82. Is that correct, *Ming*?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Regiment 82 was divided into 3 battalions: 21, 22, 23?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Is that correct, *Ming*?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: [Battalion] 21 was divided into 3 companies: 11, 12, 13?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: What about [Battalion] 22? Were there also three companies in it?

Pheap: Three companies: 21, 22, 23.

Boly: 221?

Sé: Correct.

Boly: Oh! So it was not just plain 21, was it?

Sé: Right.

Boly: There were 3 digits; right?

Sé: (inaudible).

Boly: 221, 222, and 223. Is that correct *Pou*?

Sé: Yes! There is a number in front.

Boly: Therefore, there were three companies in Battalion 221 including 11, 12, 13. Is that correct *Pou*?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: And in Battalion 222 there were [companies] 21, 22, 13, right *Pou*?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: Were there also three companies in Battalion 223?

Pheap: Who was the first chief of Regiment 83?

Boly: 83, how many were there?

Sé: *Ta Sun* was chief of 83.

Pheap: It changed frequently. Thi at that time was also in 83, but then he was moved to 82, and after that to 81. It was confusing.

Boly: Confusing?

Pheap: Yes! It changed frequently.

Sé: Oh! Originally *Ta Prâ* (𑜏𑜢) was [the chief of] 83.

Boly: Regiment 83?

Sé: Originally it was *Ta Prâ*.

Boly: What about *Ta Maun* (ម៉ូន)?

Sé: Later *Ta Prâ* went to 920.

Boly: Was Regiment 83 based in Kantuy Neak (កន្ទុយនោក), *Ta Veang* (តាវែង)
District, Rattanak Kiri Province?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: And Maut (ម៉ូត) was its secretary, wasn't he?

Pheap: Maut was [secretary] later on. After they moved *Ta Prâ* to Mondulkiri, Maut took that position.

Boly: So there was *Ta Prâ*?

Pheap: *Ta Prâ* was the first person.

Sé: *Ta Prâ* was a Khmer person from Pheah Vihear (ព្រះវិហារ), from Chey Saen
(ជ័យសែន).

Boly: Oh! Was he from Chey Saen?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: And after *Prâ* was moved 920?

Pheap: *Pou Maut*. He was transferred far us so I did not know very much. Thi was also transferred to 83. It seemed that *Ta Leu* (ទ្រី) was moved from 83. *Ta Leu* was *Yeay Sieng's* (សៀង) husband.

Boly: *Ta* Leu was also in 83?

Sé: *Ta* Leu was also an indigenous person.

Pheap: *Ta* Leu came to work as a division member during the time of *Ta* San, *Ta* Saroeun.

Boly: Was he a member of Division 920?

Pheap: No, 801. After coming out of Phnom Penh, there was *Ta* Leu and after that *Ta* San.

Boly: Really?

Pheap: Yes! There were three people, including Sieng's (សៀង) husband. It was like that. People moved back and forth, and it was confusing.

Boly: Was SAU Saroeun a secretary, and was YÈM San a deputy secretary?

Pheap: [Yes.] And then *Ta* Leu. I'm not sure if *Ta* Leu had a wife.

Boly: Was *Ta* Leu a division member?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: So, that was at the beginning?

Pheap: Yes! *Ta* Leu was only in charge until 1975. And then after *Ta* Leu was moved out and *Ta* San went to Mondulkiri, KÈV Saroeun and then *Ta* Sun came to this position.

Boly: Oh! Are you saying that *Ta* San was moved to Mondulkiri?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Then after that *Ta* Sun came; and then another one. What was his name?

Pheap: KÈV Saroeun. *Bang* Chum was moved out. *Bang* Chum was not in 12, was he?

Sé: Chum was in 13. Chum is in Trapeang Prasat.

Pheap: Battalion 111.

Boly: Who was in Battalion 111?

Pheap: Chum. The Chum who is currently a provincial deputy governor.

Boly: CHEAT Chum (ជាតិ ជុំ)?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Oh! Was he also in 801?

Pheap: Yes, 801.

Boly: What regiment was he in?

Pheap: 81.

Boly: What was his position?

Pheap: It seemed that Chum was promoted. However, maybe he was at the company.
In the battalion, he was with Măo.

Boly: Was he?

Pheap: Yes! In the battalion, he was with *Bang* Măo.

Sé: He was with Măo in 13.

Boly: 13. What was his name?

Sé: Well, it was *Ta* Horn (ហ៊ុន) in 11.

Pheap: Oh! I don't know who it was. They changed back and forth, and I'm confused.

There were two people named Horn and two named Noeun (នៃន). I do not

know which one was which. There were so many of them. And both people named Noeun were at the company level. They were Noeun 12 and Noeun 11.

Boly: Which company?

Sé: Company 11.

Pheap: I forget. There were so many of them and they changed frequently.

Boly: Yes! What about CHUM Cheat? Which battalion was he in? Do you remember?

Sé: 113.

Boly: 113?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: He was the deputy of 13. And wasn't there anyone as its chief?

Sé: Before, KÈV Saroeun was a leader.

Boly: But KÈV Saroeun was at the regiment, wasn't he?

Sé: Yes, he was in the regiment. But before that he was in the battalion.

Boly: What was the number of that battalion?

Sé: Our 113.

Boly: 113?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: Was he a chief or a deputy chief?

Sé: Chief.

Boly: I think we should stop here, otherwise it will become too much and too confusing.

Pheap: We cannot think about it. We did not record the history. Based on our memories, we give some correct and some incorrect answers, because there were many changes of leadership. For example, Thi was in regiments 113, 112 and 111. They moved him from one place to another. Sot was also in two places. They changed frequently; that was why.

Boly: *Pou, Ming*, may I disturb you more tomorrow? It is ok [to continue] either in the morning or the afternoon? Can you give me some [more] of your time?

Pheap: Morning time will be ok.

Boly: So, at around 8.30 a.m. or 9 a.m.? I will come to see you at your house. You will not be going out anywhere, will you?

Pheap: I will. I will need to do some work at the commune office to provide civil registration for some children. However, it is ok if you want to make an appointment.

Boly: I will need to disturb you a bit more, because I really want to see you. It is also the same for you, if you have time?

Sé: It is fine. I will have work to do but it is just work around the house.

02:42:37

Boly: Now we will continue our story from yesterday. I'm interviewing Ân Sopheap (អ័ន សុំហៃ), a member of the commune council in Torng (ទ័រង) Commune.

Yesterday we talked about Division 801 and described that in Division 801 there were independent battalions: 802, 3, 4, 5, 6. So now *Ming*, can you remember who was the chief of battalion 802?

Pheap: There were also changes in 802. First of all, it was Launh (ឡង).

Boly: *Pou* Launh?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Wasn't *Pou Launh*...

Pheap: For 802, you can ask *Bang Phanna* (ផាន់ណា), because it was his former unit.

Boly: Wasn't *Pou Launh* in battalion T-7 (ត-៧) at that time?

Pheap: No. That was a different division.

Sé: *Ta Laoch* (តោច).

Boly: Oh! *Ta Laoch*, not *Launh*?

Pheap: *Launh* and then *Laoch*.

Boly: Is this a different *Launh Lam* (ឡូង ឡាំ)?

Pheap: This is different. He was at regional level. That one was at zone level.

Sé: *Ta Laoch*.

Boly: *Ta Laoch*?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: Division 802?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Before, was *YIM Phanna* (យីម ផាន់ណា) in 801?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: What did he do in 802?

Pheap: Just normal things. At that time I was not good at investigating people's background.

Boly: Maybe he was just a subordinate at that time, not yet a chief. *Pou*, who came after *Ta Laoch*?

Sé: Chhân (ឆ័ន).

Boly: *Ta Chhân* was also in 802? Did *Ta Chhân* hold a position at that time?

Sé: There were two or three people with the name Chhân. However, I do not remember their family names.

Boly: After Chhân, was there anyone else?

Sé: *Ta Choeun* (ត្នែន) was already in charge of 805. *Ta Choeun* was also a deputy.

Boly: Oh, who was it? *Ta Choeun*?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: Was *Ta Choeun* in 805?

Pheap: Earlier he was also in 802. He came to 805 in 1977. Previously, he was in 802 with *Ta Chhân*, *Ta Laoch*.

Boly: Was he also a chief in 108?

Sé: Yes! He was a chief; he was not in a lower position.

Pheap: There were these three people but I don't know who the members were.

Boly: That's ok. As long as we have their names, we can find them in the future. Obtaining their names is the first step that could lead us to even clearer information. What about in 803?

Pheap: *Ta Kèm* (កែម).

Sé: *Ta Han* (ហន).

Pheap: At the beginning, *Ta Han* was the chief. *Ta Kém* was the deputy chief. But I don't know who the members were.

Boly: Who were the members, *Pou*? Do you know?

Sé: *Ta Thân* (ថ័ន) was in the battalion and regiment at that time.

Boly: Was that *Thân*, *Pou*? I'll note this down first, *Thân* in 803. What about in 804?

Pheap: In 804 it was *Bang Ri* (រី).

Boly: *Ri* or *Rum* (រ៉ុម)?

Sé: *Rân* (រ៉ាន).

Pheap: *Ri*, *Ta Khēng* (ខេង) and, later on, *Bang Roeun* (រ៉េន). *Ri* and *Roeun* were siblings.

Boly: Were *Ri* and *Roeun* siblings?

Pheap: They were cousins.

Boly: Was *Ri* the chief?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Where did *Ri* go when *Roeun* took that position?

Pheap: *Ri* got married and moved away, because in early 1977 she got a husband there. I forgot; before that there was *Bang Vorn* (វ៉ុន). After *Sokha* (សុខា), there was *Bang Vorn*.

Boly: *Kha* was the first person?

Pheap: *Bang Kha*, who was in Phnom Penh, and whom I said married her husband, who was in the tank section. She did not come to Rattanak Kiri with us. That was why, when we arrived here, *Bang Vorn* was in charge.

Boly: In charge of 804?

Pheap: Yes!

Sé: After Vorn, there was that tall person.

Pheap: *Bang Soeung*; but that was later on.

Boly: What was Ri's rank?

Pheap: *Bang Ri* was the deputy to *Bong Vorn*. *Roeun* was a member. But later on they changed it. *Bang Vorn* went away with *Bang Sam Un* (សំឡែង), so *Bang Ri* became the chief.

Boly: Was *Bang Sam Un* her husband?

Pheap: Yes! *Bang Sam Un* was her husband. *Bang Sam Un* transferred from 11 to 81.

Boly: Then Ri became the chief?

Pheap: Yes! And when Ri went away with *Bang Khēng*, *Bang Roeun* became the chief and later on *Bang Soeun* took that position.

Boly: Ri went away with Khēng?

Pheap: Yes! Khēng was her husband. So then the position was taken by *Bang Roeung*. Oh! 803 was not under *Thân*. It was under *Bang Roeun's* husband. What was his name? He was thin.

Boly: Was it 803, *Ming*?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: But this one is 804, isn't it?

Pheap: 804. But Thân was not a member of the regiment. Thân was at the company.

Bang Tēng (ហៃង) was in the aircraft section. The person moved to Kampong

Chhnang (កំពង់ឆ្នាំង) airport was *Ta Tēng*.

Boly: *Ta Tēng*?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: What was *Ta Tēng* in charge of?

Pheap: *Ta Tēng* was in the regiment with *Bang Kèv* and *Bang Han* but there was no Thân. Thân was in the company.

Boly: Are you saying that Tēng was a member with *Ta Han* and *Ta Kèv*?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Were they there all along, Han and Kèv? Were there any changes?

Pheap: No! Later on *Bang Tēng* was moved to Kampong Chhnang airport, so *Bang Roeun* came in, and then she moved away with her husband. Later, *Bang Soeun* came. This was in 804.

Boly: Did Roeun move away with her husband?

Pheap: That's right.

Boly: Was Tēng Roeun's husband?

Pheap: Yes! They all left.

Boly: Both of them were chiefs?

Pheap: Yes! They were wives of chiefs and they were in charge.

Boly: Why did they move Tēng to Kampong Chhnang?

Pheap: They said that at that time they had established a new airport in Kampong Chhnang.

Boly: Oh! So did he go to there to be in charge of it?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Did he go to manage it?

Pheap: Yes! He went to organize the work to establish the airport. They said he would go to work as manager of that airport. However, I do not really know what he did there, because he was quite far away, in Kampong Chhnang. We could not see each other between Rattanak Kiri and Kampong Chhnang. So I did not know. After that *Bang* Soeung took that position until 1979. *Bang* Soeung was *Bang* Sot's wife.

Boly: Oh! Soeung was a woman?

Pheap: She was a woman.

Boly: Was she Sot's wife?

Pheap: Yes! Her husband's name was Sot.

Boly: What did Sot do?

Pheap: Sot was in the battalion.

Boly: Which battalion was Sot in?

Pheap: Sot was in [Battalion] 82.

Boly: Was Sot big?

Pheap: Yes! I do not know which battalion it was.

Boly: What about Soeung? Was she the last person [in charge of that position]?

Pheap: Yes! She was the last person.

Boly: Was she there until 1979, at the end of the regime?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Was Tēng a member of 803?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: But, for Sot, did not you know who he was with?

Pheap: Sot was in 82.

Boly: Was it Regiment 82?

Pheap: Yes! 802. Well, sorry, 82.

Sé: The 82 forces were at Kantuy Neak.

Boly: Wasn't 82 at Siem Pang?

Sé: At Siem Pang, Siem Bauk

Boly: What did Sot do, *Ming*? Do you remember?

Pheap: Sot was in the battalion.

Boly: What number was it?

Pheap: I don't know the number because I was not...

Boly: There were three regiments; I mean, battalions: 221, 222, 223?

Sé: 221.

Pheap: We were far from each other so it was not possible for us to know everyone. For people in Siem Pang, I knew them only during the time when we studied together and met each other. So we knew that this person was in this or that division and regiment. But, for the battalions, we don't know about them all. During the congress, when we would meet, we got to know each other.

Boly: Maybe only someone who was in battalions 221, 22, 21 could know clearly about this, because they were directly there; right?

Pheap: We were separated from each other. There could have been many people in Trapeang Prasat. However, for this area, only very few people came.

Sé: I went there to build a unit. Actually, its root was in Trapeang Prasat.

Boly: You meant 801?

Sé: Yes!

Boly: Yes! That's why I also want to go to Trapeang Prasat.

Sé: Mr. Kèv is also in Trapeang Prasat.

Boly: Is he currently there?

Pheap: Yes! His wife's name is Van (វ៉ាន់). She was also in 804.

Sé: They are living to the north of the market. I don't remember their family names. I forget all the family names.

Pheap: Kèv is now at division level.

Sé: He has retired. He was a general, responsible for eight targets, but he has retired.

Pheap: After *Bang* Han was arrested, *Bang* Kèv became the chief.

Boly: Really?

Pheap: Yes! They said *Bang* Han was involved in something, so they moved him out of Division 11.

Boly: Where was he moved to?

Pheap: I do not know. They moved and promoted people back and forth throughout the year.

Boly: I have read in the confession answers at Tuol Sleng (ទួលស្លែង) prison, S21 centre, that approximately 400 members of Division 801 were arrested and killed.

Pheap: Those people were with political tendencies.

Boly: It was also the same for 920, which was under *Ta San*. Hundreds of people, approximately 200-300 people, were arrested and killed at S21 centre in Tuol Sleng.

Pheap: Before they let them go, there was much unrest. Actually, *Bang Roeun* would not let them go easily. *Bang Roeun* was also arrested.

Boly: Really?

Pheap: Yes! KÈV Saroeun was arrested. Roeun did not go when he was invited to attend the congress. *Bang Roeun* asked KÈV Saroeun to attend. Then KÈV Saroeun was arrested. *Bang Roeun* realized the situation, so he went to Stung Treng. He went to organize another place in Stung Treng.

Boly: So KÈV Saroeun was not dead yet, before 1979; right?

Pheap: No. They arrested him and took him away. I do not know where he died because he just disappeared. I also don't know.

Boly: They arrested him and he had disappeared at that time?

Pheap: In 1978.

Sé: He must have been sent there.

Boly: KÈV Saroeun, as far as I remember, went to Tuol Sleng.

Sé: Right. His birthplace was also in Phnom Penh.

Boly: That's right. KÈV Saroeun was arrested in May 1977.

Pheap: 1977?

Boly: Yes! He was sent to S21 centre.

Sé: That's right. He was arrested at Rattanak Kiri.

Boly: Was that the same KÈV Saroeun who was a deputy secretary of *Ta SAU* Saroeun?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: *Ta Leu* was a member. Was *Ta Leu* with *Ta San*?

Pheap: *Ta Leu* was with *Ta San*. He was in that division before KÈV Saroeun, but later he transferred to Mondulkiri with *Bang San*, where they arrested him. They said that his political tendencies were not good. He was such a hard working person. But it was very hard to say about [things that happened during] that regime.

Sé: *Ta Leu* was an indigenous person.

Boly: Was *Ta Leu* an indigenous person?

Sé: Yes! He was ethnic Jarai.

Pheap: It was very difficult during that regime. Who wasn't afraid [to lose] their life? I was also suspected, but they could not manage to remove me because I had a good theoretical grounding. The higher ranking people would not hurt me as they wanted to continue to use me. No one else would make reports for our battalion. If I did not do it, *Bang Roeun* would swear at them on the telephone. The phone would ring and he would say, "Even if you are in the rice fields, you need to come. Either the chief of the regiment or the battalion. It is the end of the month. Why don't you report?"

Sé: As it is written in the books, at that time they only select peasants who were ignorant. They did this so that they would do the small things that they were told to do. There were not many intellectuals in the membership.

Pheap: In 1977, they were trying to refine their political direction. They classified people according to their political tendencies: type 1, type 2, and type 3. I was in type 3. Those in type 3 were involved in some kind of political movement. They were implying that these people's parents were against the cooperatives, or their siblings were soldiers or civil servants in the previous regime. For me, my elder sibling-in-law was/were soldier(s) and my elder sibling(s) was/were soldier(s).

Boly: Were they LON Nol's soldiers?

Pheap: Yes! They were soldiers in LON Lol's regime. However, I was not involved in anything. They had already separated my parents. My mother was in the weaving section while my father was in the handicraft section. My elder brother(s) was/were in the chicken raising section and my elder sister(s) was/were in the kitchen section. We were all separated.

Boly: Where did it happen?

Pheap: It was in Kampot (កំពត់).

Boly: Oh! Was it in Angkor Chey (អង្គរជ័យ)?

Pheap: Yes! We could not live together.

Boly: So you were unable to provide any protection for them?

Pheap: We were in Rattanak Kiri, so what rights did we have?

Boly: I thought you were near them and that as you were also a chief of [battalion] you could...

Pheap: Well, if we were near each other, we still could not do anything. They assessed us and observed us. They took our backgrounds and observed us. I want to say that, they looked at our actions in the past, and then they kept watching us to see our actions. So everything depended on our beliefs and actions. I never did anything harmful to them. If I were like other people, they would have just removed me too. Just like the women in my place. The whole company, the whole battalion, was removed. They were moved to other places, including the vegetable gardens. When I collected documents, I did not know why, but they still trust me, believing that I still had political tendencies. In the battalion, when they got documents they would give them to me to collate and record.

Boly: What type of documents?

Pheap: People's biographies. Whatever type of political tendency a person had, I would summarize, and categorize. For example, your father was a soldier; we would put those whose parents were government officials of the previous regime in a separate pile from those who were under a cooperative, and so on. That's how they were classified. So I was in charge of those documents in my work unit.

Boly: Was it in 801?

Pheap: Yes! Well, no. It was in 804.

Boly: It was only in the female battalion, not the whole 801?

Pheap: No. So I knew people's backgrounds. However, I dared not tell that to the other women because I was aware that I had the same background and some of my friends were the same. I did not know what to do, because my friends and I could have been removed. Therefore, I did not speak out. I remained silent about this. When people were in the rice field, they would quietly tell me to do the work at home. However, one day, because I was very hungry I did not organize the documents on my table. I closed the front and back doors, but I did not lock them. Then the people came back from the rice field. After they ate they went back home as usual. When they went home at noon, I had something for them to eat, such as bananas and so on. But, that time, as they came in and they did not see me. What they saw were the piles of documents. They learnt that I had ticked some names and the name lists were there. I only left the documents to go to eat. When I came back, they were crying loudly all around. I was stunned as they were very angry with me. They called me bad hearted because I did not tell them anything about this information. Actually, I did not want to do that job. They called me and reprimanded me many times because I was careless.

Boly: Who asked you to be responsible for this work, *Ming*? Was it the chief of 804?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Was that *Ta Tēng*?

Pheap: In 1977. No. 804 was under Ri.

Boly: So *Ming Ri* was the person who asked you to work with the documents; right?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: So Ri became the chief in 1977. How many categories were the documents classified into?

Pheap: Three.

Boly: Type 1?

Pheap: 1, 2, 3.

Boly: Who would be in type 1?

Pheap: Type 1 was those who were close to army families.

Boly: Did it refer to those who were the purest people?

Pheap: No.

Sé: Those who were the most closely related; including their siblings.

Boly: Most closely related?

Pheap: Right. They were people who most seriously involved in politics.

Sé: They were not yet criminals. They were those connected with internal affairs and internal conflicts within the party, and so on.

Boly: What about the second type?

Pheap: The second and third type were less serious.

Boly: Less serious?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Among these three types of people, which type would have the highest pile of documents?

Pheap: The third type.

Boly: So there were not many people in the serious list?

Pheap: Not so many. In total, there was around one platoon.

Boly: How many people made up a platoon in Battalion 804?

Pheap: In a platoon there were 32 or 33 people.

Sé: 36 people created a complete one.

Pheap: Each group contained twelve people.

Sé: Yes! Three groups.

Boly: That was quite few then. Not so many people.

Pheap: However, I felt sorry because they tried to sacrifice everything. We thought that each individual needed to take care of themselves, but finally things turned out differently and they became involved. Although [our backgrounds] indicated that we had connections to politics, it was not actually like that. Our fathers' business was one thing, our mothers' was another and also it was the same for our siblings'. We were individuals; we had separate responsibilities. However, when things turned out like that, everyone was very disappointed. And it was terrible.

Boly: In each battalion, a full membership was 36 people; right?

Pheap: Yes, 36. Each group had 12 people. It was a platoon.

Boly: What about a battalion?

Sé: In a battalion, there were over 300 people.

Pheap: Three companies [to make up a battalion].

Sé: A company is composed of 120 people.

Boly: So there would be 360 people then?

Sé: Yes, 360 people.

Boly: Was Battalion 804 a complete one, *Ming*?

Pheap: Yes, it was complete.

Boly: 360 people.

Pheap: There were three companies: 41, 42, 43.

Boly: Do you know who was the chief of each company? Who were they?

Pheap: 41 was under the supervision of Roeun (រ៉ែន). I have forgotten his surname; I

remember only his first name. After him, it was *Yeay Chhean* (យ៉ាយចេន).

Boly: Chhean?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was she the deputy chairman?

Pheap: Yes, she was. And Ly (លី) was a member.

Boly: What about 42?

Pheap: 42 was under the supervision of Yân (យ៉ាន), the chairman. The deputy

chairman was Chroeun (ច្រែន) and Hēng (ហេង) was a member.

Boly: Chroeun?

Pheap: Yes. Chroeun, *Ta Mão's* (ម៉ៅ) wife.

Boly: Who is *Ta Mão*?

Pheap: *Ta Mão* who is said to have died.

Boly: *Ta Mão* who is said to have been in charge of the regiment?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: Which regiment?

Sè: 81.

Pheap: Oh, so Chroeun was the person in charge before Yân?

Boly: Yân was the chairman of 82. Chroeun was the deputy chairman, and the member was... What was the name mentioned earlier?

Pheap: Hēng.

Boly: What about 43?

Pheap: Before, 43 was under *Bang Soeung* (សៀង). Before he was put in charge of the battalion, he was in charge of 43. And then *Comrade Van* (វ៉ាន).

Boly: Was Van the deputy chairman?

Pheap: Van, the deputy chairman.

Sè: *Ta Kèv's* (កែវ) wife.

Boly: Oh, was Van *Ta Kèv's* wife?

Sè: Yes. She lives at Trapeang Prasat (ត្រពាំងប្រាសាទ). And, there was another person...

Pheap: Hoeun (ហៀន)? It seemed like Hoeun. Yes, there was only Hoeun.

Sè: Hoeun was in 806 at that time.

Boly: So, *Ta Kèv* is still alive?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: How about other people such as Roeun, Vân (វ៉ែន), Ry (រី)?

Pheap: *Bang* Ry and Roeun have gone back to their hometown.

Boly: How about Chhean and Ly?

Pheap: But they all separated from their husbands. Chhean lives at Trapeang Prasat; *Bang* Ly has gone to the west, to Malai (ម៉ាលៃ), and then to somewhere else. I am not sure. We all got separated. Yân has gone to the west. Oh, 43 belonged to another person, not Hoeun. It belonged to *Bang* Ov (ឌី).

Boly: Ov? Father?

Pheap: Yes, Ov. She is a woman, but her name is Ov.

Sè: She was the member of the division.

Pheap: *Bang* Ov was in charge of Company 43. Hoeun was in charge of the platoon.

Boly: (Cannot hear as there was a dog barking). Is Ov still alive?

Pheap: Yes, but her husband, Van, has passed away.

Boly: Where does she live?

Pheap: Nowadays she lives in Lèm (ឡែម). I have been contacted by several friends; they call me.

Sè: The mixed army (កងទ័ពច្រុះ).

Boly: That was 801?

Pheap: Yes, there was mixed army throughout the country.

Boly: *Ming*, you knew many people in the 801. Is that because you were also in that 801?

Pheap: Yes because I spent time in that unit.

Boly: How many people were there in the first component (សមាសភាពអ្នកទី១)?

Pheap: I was not involved. I was not really involved. I have no idea how many leaders were there. Most of them were just members or group chiefs. Taking everything into account, they chose three types. They did not rely on the reports alone; they looked on everything. They examined our actual practices. Those who rejected orders were removed. They also made some exceptions. There was nothing interesting or special. And they did not take us to be imprisoned. They took us to be organised into units. They educated us and assigned us to work. For example, some people were assigned to plant crops to support the supplies unit. They did not torture us.

Boly: At that time, was *Ta 05*'s office at Siem Pang (សៀមប៉ាង)?

Pheap: Where? The education office?

Boly: No, I mean the office where *Ta 05* worked.

Pheap: Oh, it was in Veun Sai (វើនសៃ).

Boly: In Veun Sai?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: Previously, they called it 'Virak Chey (វិរៈជ័យ) District'.

Boly: So, it was not called Veun Sai?

Sè: No.

Boly: Was the division office in Virak Chey?

Pheap: Yes. When we first arrived, we stayed in Ban Lung (ប៉ានលុង). Later, we moved.

Boly: First, you lived in Ban Lung?

Pheap: In the first year, we lived in Ban Lung for almost one year. Just temporarily.

Sè: Because that place was a popular residential area.

Boly: From 1975 to 1976?

Sè: That's right.

Pheap: Not until 1976. It was at the end of 1975, when we moved to Veun Sai. We were just stationed there temporarily, and then we moved to set up our station here. We stayed there for about half a year. Some people stayed there, while some people came here to set up houses.

Boly: I see. This place is near the water.

Pheap: Yes, it is near the water.

Boly: What about *Ta San*'s (សាន) office – Office 920? Do you know about it?

Pheap: I never knew about it because it was very far away.

Boly: Where exactly is it in Stung Treng (ស្ទឹងត្រែង)?

Sè: *Ta San* did not live in Stung Treng.

Boly: Oh, I am sorry. Where was it in Mondulkiri?

Pheap: Yes, in Mondulkiri.

Sè: In Ou Chbar (អូរច្បារ), Kaoh Nheaek (កោះញ៉ែក).

Boly: We have been to 802, 802, and 804.

Pheap: The person you interviewed yesterday was actually from 920.

Boly: Who?

Pheap: BAU Phea (ប៉ូ ភា).

Boly: What does BAU Phea do?

Pheap: First deputy chief (ជំទុកទី១).

Boly: Oh, you mean the person *Bang Dara* (ងារ៉ា) interviewed yesterday?

Pheap: Yes. That person was in 920.

Boly: I hope to get more information from him then. What about 805? Who was the chief and deputy chief, and who were the members?

Pheap: When we first came from Phnom Penh, it was under LAY Sarim (ឡាយ សារីម).

Boly: That was from 1975, wasn't it?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: So, from 1975, LAY Sarim was the chief?

Pheap: Yes. And *Pou Sedth* (សិដ្ឋ) was the deputy chief.

Boly: *Prasidth* (ប្រសិដ្ឋ) was the deputy chief?

Pheap: And *Pou Pril* (ប្រិល) was the member.

Boly: *Pou Pril*?

Pheap: Yes, Pril.

Boly: And what happened next?

Pheap: Later on, they arrested these three people.

Boly: Arrested them at the same time?

Pheap: No, one after another.

Sè: According to information from Phnom Penh.

Pheap: According to information from Phnom Penh, they took them one by one.

Boly: In which year did they arrest those people?

Pheap: They were arrested late in 1976. Ah no, LAY Sarim was arrested when we were in Ban Lung. Then Pisidth (ពិសិដ្ឋ) was arrested. That's right! LAY Sarim was arrested in Ban Lung; and Pisidth and Pril were arrested in Veun Sai.

Boly: So, it was in around the end of 1975 and 1976?

Pheap: Yes, one was arrested in late 1975. Eh, end of 1975... Oh, you can put the end of 1976 for all three of them.

Boly: 1976?

Pheap: Yes. 1976, but in the beginning and at the end of that year.

Boly: Then who was promoted?

Pheap: Later on, the hospital to which those three people were removed temporarily was managed by *Comrade Thèb* (ថែប).

Boly: Was Thèb the chief?

Pheap: Yes, he was temporarily in charge.

Boly: Who was Thèb's deputy?

Pheap: I am not sure if they had already assigned someone at that time. When they moved the hospital to the other side of the river, they chose *Ta Choeun* (តឿន) from 802 to manage the place. There were too many changes.

Boly: [They chose] Choeun, the member of 802, to manage the place?

Pheap: Yes, he was the chief. He worked with Thèb.

Boly: Where did Thèb go?

Pheap: No. Thèb parted from us in 1979. I have no idea where he went.

Boly: But when Choeun came, where was Thèb?

Pheap: He was still there.

Boly: So, was Thèb the chief?

Pheap: Oh, Thèb went to Phnom Penh to get extra technical skills. He did not return. Phâl (ផល) graduated, and then Thèb went to study.

Boly: So, Thèb went to Phnom Penh at that time. Which field did he study?

Pheap: Technical skills.

Boly: Like shooting?

Pheap: No, medical skills. Office 05 (មន្ទីរ០៥) was Hospital 805 (មន្ទីរពេទ្យ៨០៥).

Boly: Yes. That is right. It was the hospital for the front line and the supporting base. So, *Ta Choeun* was the chief until the Liberation?

Pheap: Yes. And after those people were gone, there were *Ta Thèb* and *Ta San* (តាសាន). We called him *Ta Dei Huy* (ដីហ៊ុយ).

Boly: Why was he called *Ta Dei Huy*?

Pheap: When he walked, the edges of his trousers brushed the dust.

Boly: Oh I see. So he was called *Ta Dei Huy*?

Pheap: It was I who gave him this nickname, and he was angry with me for calling him that. He was very good at taking care of sick people.

Boly: Oh, was he a doctor?

Pheap: He was very active. When I was hospitalised, I always joked with him and he got angry. I said, ““*Pou Pisidh* is good at politics. *Pou Prıl* is good at examining.” *Pou Prıl* always went to check the patients. “*LAY Sarim* is good at being lazy.” *LAY Sarim* was the chief, but he was very lazy. He never went to check the patients. I sat down and joked with the doctors there. I continued, “*LAY Sarim* is good at being lazy. *Comrade Phıl* is good at smiling. *Comrade Thèb* is good at questioning, and *Pou San* is good at caressing.” They told *Pou San* what I said, “*Bang, Bang*, Pheap said you were good at caressing people.” *Pou San* came to me and said, “What did you say? You said I was good at caressing whom?” I said, “I meant you went to examine patients. You touched them to check their temperature. You touched their arms and faces quickly.” “Er, how come you said I caressed them?” said *Pou San*, laughing.

Sè: San was poor but he was knowledgeable.

Boly: What was San’s position, *Ming*?

Pheap: Doctor.

Boly: Doctor. But was he not a chief nor a deputy chief?

Pheap: No, at that time he was not. Later on, after the three were gone, San and Thèb came to be in charge.

Boly: Alright. Now, *LAY Sarim* was the chief, *Ta Prasidh* was the deputy chief, and *Prıl* was a member. Is that correct?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: After the three were arrested, Thèb became the chief?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What about Choeun?

Pheap: No, Thèb and *Pou* San were just put in charge temporarily. They were not appointed as chief or deputy chief. They only managed the place temporarily. Later they appointed *Ta* Choeun to be the chief.

Boly: Approximately which year was *Ta* Choeun appointed to be the chief?

Pheap: It was around 1977, I think. Or maybe Choeun was appointed at the end of 1976. I am not sure; I never thought about it. I just knew that there was a change.

Boly: When Thèb went to study in Phnom Penh?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Ming*, can you read the poem again please?

Pheap: I was just joking, but I still remember.

Boly: What was the first part?

Pheap: I said, "Pisidh is good at politics. *Pou* Prıl is good at inspecting. LAY Sarim is good at being lazy. *Comrade* Phâl is good at smiling. *Comrade* Thèb is good at questioning, and *Pou* San is good at caressing." So, he got disappointed.

Boly: Who is *Pou* Phâl? Was he also a doctor?

Pheap: *Pou* Phâl has passed away. He was a doctor. He was a good friend of mine.

Boly: Did he hold any position?

Pheap: Phâl worked in the technical unit. They all had a skill. When I was hospitalised, they came to visit me. And after they finished treating patients, they came to chat with me.

Boly: (Dog barking loudly)

Pheap: Thèb also asked why I said he was good at questioning. I said because whenever someone said something, he always asked the person to clarify. As for Phâl, whenever he came, he smiled at me from the distance.

Boly: And LAY Sarim was the chief. Did not he do much work? Was he lazier than others?

Pheap: He did not visit patients often. He mostly stayed at his place. He rarely visited patients. As for *Pou Pril*, he always stayed close to the doctors and helped to check the patients.

Sè: LAY Sarim used to be a monk. He is from our hometown, Kien Svay (កៀនស្វាយ).

Pheap: As for Pisidth, he is from Kampong Cham (កំពង់ចាម). I do not know which area he is from. I just know that it is in Kampong Cham.

Boly: Were *Ta Sidth* and *Pril* both from Kampong Cham?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Were they the last group? Were there any successors after them?

Pheap: No. Choeun was in charge since [their arrests].

Boly: Was he in charge of 806, transporting supplies?

Pheap: The transporter was *Ta Smien* (ស្មើន).

Boly: Who was his deputy?

Pheap: *Pou Mon* (ម៉ុន).

Boly: And who was the member?

Pheap: The member was *Ta Uoy* (អ៊ូយ) (inaudible: dog barking)

Boly: Uoy was the member?

Sè: *Ta* Kauy (អ៊ុយ).

Pheap: Yes, *Ta* Kauy, not *Ta* Uoy.

Sè: A true peasant.

Boly: Were there any changes in 806?

Pheap: Yes, there were.

Boly: Later on, who was the successor?

Pheap: There were 2 successors. One of them was the secretary of Division 11, according to the answer from (inaudible: dog barking).

Sè: LAY Sarim was from Division 11.

Pheap: Most of the people from Division 11 were arrested.

(inaudible: dog barking and chicken clucking)

Boly: So, that secretary was arrested?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Were Mon and Kuoy (អ៊ុយ) arrested?

Pheap: No, Mon was not arrested.

Boly: How about Kuoy?

Pheap: He was not arrested.

Boly: Then, after the secretary was arrested, who was promoted?

Pheap: Mon.

Boly: And who was appointed as Mon's deputy?

Pheap: *Ta* Kauy.

Boly: Were there any new members?

Pheap: The new member came for a short time, then *Ta* Chhēng (ឆែង) went to

Mondulkiri. Oh, it was *Ta* Bol (បុល).

Boly: Was Bol the new member?

Pheap: Eh... Bol was just a deputy. *Ta* Kauy was also a member.

Boly: After that, were there any changes?

Pheap: No, there were not. It was already 1979 when they moved *Ta* Bol to the military.

Boly: I see. It was later on?

Pheap: Yes, later on.

Boly: So, that was the end. It ended at 806?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What about 803? Was *Ta* Hean (ហែង) the chief, *Ta* Kèv the deputy chief, and Tēng the member?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was Tēng *Ming* Roeung's (រឿង) husband?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: After *Ta* Hean was arrested, Kèv became the chief?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Who was Kèv's deputy?

Pheap: *Ta Tēng* was the deputy.

Boly: Tēng was appointed as the deputy?

Pheap: Yes. I also did not know who they appointed as the new member, as *Pou Thân* (ថ្មី) was also arrested.

Boly: Did not you know who the member was, *Ming*?

Pheap: I did not know who was appointed. I just know that *Ta Sây* (ស័យ) was also appointed.

Sè: *Ta Sây* was (inaudible)..., but he was disabled.

Pheap: *Pou Sây* was the deputy of a regiment.

Boly: Sây was the member. Was he the last one or were there any other successors after him?

Pheap: No, he was the last one.

Boly: In which year was *Ta Hean* arrested?

Pheap: *Ta Hean* was arrested around 1977. His wife had just given birth when they arrested him.

Boly: And was his wife arrested?

Pheap: No.

Boly: Was 803 divided into three companies?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What were they?

Pheap: In 803 there was 31, 32, and 33.

Boly: Do you still remember the chief of each company?

Pheap: I do not remember everything. Before I only knew two companies.

Boly: Who was the chief of 31?

Pheap: *Ta Sây* was the chief of 31.

Boly: Sây who was the member?

Pheap: Yes, Sây who was the member. It was long ago, I do not remember.

Boly: What about 32?

Pheap: 32; Hèm (អែម).

Boly: Hèm?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Hèm was the chief of 32?

Pheap: As for 33, I do not know who the chief was. I have forgotten. It was long ago.

Boly: In 802, *Ta Launh* (ត្បូង) was the chief, *Ta Chhân* (ឆន) was the next chief, and *Ta Chhoeun* was the member. Where did *Ta Launh* go? Why was *Ta Chhân* appointed as the chief?

Pheap: *Ta Launh* was changed at that time. He was removed or maybe sent to Mondulkiri. Or was he removed completely? I am not sure; I did not notice. 801 was strictly monitored. SAU Saroeun (ស្ងួ សារឿន) wanted to demolish 801. Had it not been for the arrival of the Vietnamese, it (802) would have been completely demolished.

Boly: Why did they want to demolish it?

Pheap: I did not know the plans of the higher level. At first, he [SAUR Savoeun] said he wanted to arrest Roeun, but he could not. Roeun did not go; he went to study. Then he [SAUR Savoeun] arrested SAO Phim (ស្រី ភីម) and some other people. It was like they cared about even the smallest issues. Later he became more considerate, so he let KÈV Saroeun (កែវ សារឿន) go. Later on, he was moved to Svay Rieng (ស្វាយរៀង).

Boly: You mean SAU Saroeun?

Pheap: Yes. He said he did not want to go. If he was to go, he said he would take all his soldiers with him. He would not go alone, but with his whole unit. He did not get to go, as the 1979 event happened first. He was taken to defend Phnom Penh. He was sent directly to Phnom Penh.

Boly: 801?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: The situation in Phnom Penh was not good.

Pheap: They said they sent him to Phnom Penh. They sent *Ta Nhăn's* (ញ៉ាន់) unit here instead. They were from 14, from Kratie (ក្រចេះ). Oh, 17.

Boly: 17? From which division?

Sè: Division 117.

Boly: 117?

Sè: Yes. They were from Kratie.

Pheap: Yes. They sent those people here.

Sè: *Ta Yi* (យី) was on the committee of Kratie Sector.

Boly: Yi, Kuon (ក្នុង)?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Was 802 divided into three companies?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: What were the three companies?

Pheap: I did not know the number of each company.

Sè: 21, 22, 23.

Boly: But do you remember the name of each chief?

Pheap: I do not know.

Sè: Chiefs of the companies?

Boly: Company 21, 22, and 23.

Sè: *Ta Oeun* (អៀន), *Yeay Yē's* (យ៉) husband.

Boly: *Sâm-Oeun* (សំអៀន)?

Sè: Yes. But where were their deputy chief and member?

Pheap: *Bang Phanna* (ប៉ាន់ណា) might have already been in charge of a company, but I had no idea which company he was in charge of. *Bang Phanna* might have been in charge of 22. I only knew his face.

Boly: Were you close with him at that time?

Pheap: We were on the opposite side of the river. We rarely met.

Boly: So you were on this side of the river, and *Pou Phann* was on that side?

Pheap: Yes. On the opposite side.

Sè: *Ta Khy* (ឃី) was also in Company 21.

Boly: Khy?

Pheap: Khy, *Yeay Ly's* (លី) husband. He was also in charge of the company.

Sè: *Yeay Ly* from Company 41? Who was also a member?

Pheap: A member of Company 41.

Boly: Was she a member?

Sè: Yes. I remember now that I have thought about it.

Pheap: There were many companies. I do not know everything.

Sè: (inaudible)

Boly: How about 23?

Pheap: *Ta Lieng* (លឿង) was also in the company. Nowadays, he lives at Trapeang

Prasat (ត្រពាំងប្រាសាទ).

Boly: He was also in the company, but you did not know which company?

Sè: It could have been 22.

Boly: Was he holding any position as a chief or a member? Or was he just a subordinate?

Pheap: No. He was the chief of that company.

Boly: Which company was he the chief of?

Pheap: 22.

Boly: Not Lieng (លៀង)? Lieng was also in Company 22, wasn't he?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: What is Lieng's family name?

Pheap: ING Lieng (អ៊ីង លៀង).

Boly: Did he have a deputy?

Sè: Yes, but I do not know the person's name. I have forgotten.

Boly: How about 23?

Sè: Company 23 belonged to Chhân (ឆ័ន). He had already been promoted to
battalion.

Boly: So, before, it was under *Ta* Chhân's control?

Sè: Yes. He was promoted to Battalion 802.

Boly: After *Ta* Chhân was promoted to the battalion, did you know who came to
replace him?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: We were very far from each other. Therefore, we did not know about the
organisational management.

Boly: Were there any organisational charts at that time?

Sè: Yes, there were.

Boly: Were there lists showing the various positions, from chief to the lower levels?

Sè: Yes, there was level classification. However, the lists were not kept.

Pheap: There was a list for each battalion. We could not go to their battalion and take their list.

Boly: Only *Ta* 05 had the lists?

Sè: Yes, only the chief in charge had the lists.

Pheap: The chiefs guarding the school would open the door and asked us, “Why are you here? What are you looking for? What business do you have here?” They would ask us like that.

Boly: I see. Because each person was responsible for their own job?

Pheap: Not everyone could enter the division. I was the only person who could make a call and was allowed to enter.

Boly: Did you have a phone at that time?

Pheap: Yes, it was a desk phone shared with other people.

Boly: Did it belong to the division?

Pheap: Around the division.

Sè: We used only walkie-talkies (វ៉ៃតឺអ៊ី) because walkie-talkies could access outside.

Boly: How about at 805, *Ming*? Were there also three companies?

Pheap: I am not sure how they arranged 805. I do not know.

Boly: Don't you remember, *Ming*?

Pheap: No. The hospital was similarly organised, but I am not exactly sure about how they did it.

Boly: How about 806?

Pheap: There were also companies at 806.

Sè: At 806, there were 61, 62, and 63. But I do not know who was in charge. *Ta* Chhēng (អ៊ែង) knew about it. If he was here, we could know.

Pheap: *Om* Chhēng had already been there; he came here for a short time. I do not know which company *Bang* Voeun (ហ៊ីង) was in. I also do not know in which company *Vat* (វ៉ាត) was. As for *Yeay* Von (យ៉ៃង), I know she was in 61.

Sè: Yes, *Yeay* Von was in 61 (inaudible). *A* *Vat* was in 62. Voeun and those people who often went to Kratie. What are their names?

Pheap: There were Voeun, Pheap (ហ៊ែង) and Khân (ខែង). They were allies. But I have no idea which were the superiors and which were subordinate.

Boly: Who was in 62?

Pheap: *Vat* was in 62.

Boly: And 63?

Pheap: Voeun was in 63. We did not know clearly about this. We only knew that they were in companies, but we did not know exactly in which company. For *Yeay* Von, we knew.

Boly: You are sure *Yeay* Von was in 61?

Pheap: They called him '*Yeay Yeay*'.

Sè: He is a man, but his personality was like that of a woman.

Pheap: He acted like a woman. We called him '*Yeay Yeay*'.

Boly: Is he gay?

Sè: He spoke slowly.

Pheap: The way he organised his things in an effeminate manner. Very detailed.

Boly: Was he angry that you called him so?

Pheap: No, he was not.

Boly: Only *Pou* San was angry with you for calling him good at caressing?

Pheap: (Laughing) He was angry, but after having talked to me, he stopped being angry.

Boly: It seems that most of the people in 801 now live in Tumnob Dach (ទំនប់ដាច់) and Preah Pralay (ព្រះប្រឡាយ)?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: Yes. Except for a few of us here who have lived far away from them.

Pheap: There are also many people in Malai.

Boly: There are also people in Malai?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: There are also some in Koh Kong (កោះកុង). They were in *Ta* Ti's (ទី) division. They are from (inaudible).

Pheap: Lèm (ឡែម) asked me to visit her, but I have not visited her yet. I heard her way of living never changes. She is never untidy or dirty. Since we have known each other, she has always been well-arranged. Her personality never changes.

Boly: Office 801 was moved to Veun Sai in late 1975. Did it remain there until 1979?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Wasn't there any change?

Pheap: No.

Boly: After *Ta San* and *Ta Leu* were sent to Mondulkiri, *Ta KÈV Saroeun*, *Ta Sun* and *Ta 05* were sent to replace them.

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Were there any changes after that? *Ta KÈV Saroeun* was arrested in 1977, wasn't he?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: So who came to replace him?

Pheap: Only those two remained. I did not see anyone coming to replace *Ta KÈV Saroeun*.

Boly: You mean there remained only *Ta 05* and *Ta Sun*?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: So, no one came to replace *Ta KÈV Saroeun*?

Pheap: No. The situation was chaotic, so there were neither changes nor promotions. Forces were being sent to the battlefields. They all went to the battlefields.

Boly: At that time we were fighting against the Vietnamese along the border, weren't we?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: In which year did the war break out?

Pheap: It was late in 1976. They came in step by step; their spies came in first.

Sè: They occupied along the border and the river. They wanted to give us this side of the river, not that side. At *Ou Tres* (អូរត្រែត), there is an island. The one near *Ou Ya Dav* (អូរយ៉ាដាវ). They gave us from that area to this side of the

river. From the turn to Sēsan (សែនសាន) River to here. A two-star general came for a meeting at Ou Ya Dav.

Boly: From Vietnam?

Sè: Yes. It seems they did not respect our rights. We all know what the Vietnamese are like (inaudible). I do not want to talk about Vietnam.

Boly: At that time, how did they negotiate? Did they ask us to withdraw?

Sè: Negotiation? We used the 54 map. We were young; we did not want to negotiate. We just wanted to use the 62 [map]. When we used the 62 [map], they kept attacking along the border, up to the river. They wanted to occupy the whole upper part, the Sēsan River.

Boly: The upper part? Near the border?

Sè: Yes. But when we read the 62 [map], we used this line. From this side of the bank, the upper part was Ou Sēdthei (អូសែដថៃ).

Boly: Ou Sēdthei?

Sè: From this part, from Ou Sēdthei up, along this line, all of this is our river, not Vietnam's river.

Boly: Was there any negotiation at that time?

Sè: We negotiated for 2-3 days, then we signed an agreement. In the agreement, they drew a line in the middle of the river. They did not agree to give us the whole river. So, from Ou Tres, it belonged to us.

Boly: Who led the negotiation at that time?

Pheap: At that time, *Ta 05* was there.

Boly: But why was there still fighting after the negotiation?

Pheap: They did not agree. They tried to stir thing up in order to cause social movement. They sent their spies to learn about our internal issues.

Pheap: They sent their spies in.

Sè: Those Vietnamese came in via the Jarai (ចារ៉ាយ) people. Because Jarai people came from Champasak (ចំប៉ាសាក់) country, the Vietnamese had a good deal of political contact with the Jarai people. Therefore, when they entered, they fired a shot to signal their arrival. The fighting was quite intense. They attacked but we managed to defend the area up to the east of Phnom Penh. We occupied that area first. (Inaudible) it was more intense. We could carry out blocked attacks.

Boly: Just now you mentioned that they wanted to arrest *Ta 05*. I assigned him to move to Svay Rieng.

Pheap: At first he was assigned went to Svay Rieng and later he was sent to Phnom Penh.

Sè: They wanted to dismiss the unit.

Pheap: In fact, they wanted to completely dismiss that unit.

Boly: For what reason? *Ta 05* was a very faithful person, wasn't he?

Pheap: He was, but there were internal issues.

Sè: One body wearing one shirt, but he alone had 3 yoke.

Boly: What do you mean by 3 yokes?

Sè: By '3 yokes' I mean that each of their brains had responsibility for three duties. They wanted to separate the strongest forces which were the foundation of the nation. So, they would isolate that person. They competed with one another. And they were all in the central level. They looked for a chance to hurt one another.

Boly: Did you know which side wanted to break *Ta 05*?

Sè: We did not know clearly. But mostly they were from the central level. They mostly took people on the top level, those who came from the city.

Boly: POL Pot?

Pheap: No. No.

Sè: POL Pot (ប៉ូល ពត) actually took this side.

Pheap: POL Pot was sympathetic to his side.

Sè: To die or to survive depended on this side.

Boly: Could it be NUON Chea (នួន ផា)?

Sè: No, it was not NUON Chea.

Boly: IENG Sary (អៀង សារី)?

Sè: The strongest one was SAO Phim (សៅ ភីម).

Boly: SAO Phim?

Sè: Yes. SAO Phim, the sixth in the Central Party.

Boly: Yes. SAO Phim held an important position.

Sè: Yes, that is right! The whole East Zone and KOY Thuon (កុយ ធ្នូន) from Oddar Meanchey (ឧត្តរមានជ័យ). Ah yes, KOY Thuon from the North Zone.

Boly: These two people wanted to break *Ta 05*?

Pheap: Yes, these two and VÂN Vēt (វ៉ាន់ វ៉េត) in Phnom Penh. After VÂN Vēt, they were involved with CHEY Suon (ជ័យ សួន) at the lower river (ទន្លេក្រោម) and CHĒNG Ân (ចេង អ៊ិន) at the industry. They attacked each other continuously.

Pheap: I noticed that after the victory, POL Pot trusted *Ta San* (តាន់) because when POL Pot first arrived in Phnom Penh, a nationwide assembly was held at the stadium. It was well arranged by *Ta San*'s division. Defense forces were fully arranged to protect that stadium.

Sè: Infrastructure and the Royal Palace were controlled. That was true.

Pheap: [Division] 14 controlled the Royal Palace. Other places were also controlled by [Division] 14. POL Pot trusted *Ta San* very much because *Ta San*'s division took care of his security and safety. SAO Phim actually wanted to destroy POL Pot from the time of the victory over Phnom Penh. However, there were *Ta San* and *Ta Roen*.

Boly: Those two *Ta*?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: SAO Phim held a bigger position in the party.

Pheap: They did not get on well (inaudible) after the victory.

Boly: From 1975?

Pheap: Yes, from 1975.

Sè: I told the truth, because we struggled until the end. We did not switch sides because we wanted to have our own movement. If we were wrong or right, at least it would be our own decision. We had our own brain.

Pheap: Male units were in charge of armed forces, both inside and outside. Except for my battalion, we were both in charge of military and supplies at that event.

When POL Pot came to check on the armed force uniform, we also joined the line up as soldiers. After he went up to the stadium, we went to help with food preparation at the kitchen. We alone were in charge of that; no other unit could interfere.

Boly: It seems like 801 was very strong?

Pheap: Yes. After the food was prepared, *Bang 05* would check first before letting guests eat the food.

Boly: To check if there was any poison?

Pheap: Yes. When we transported the supplies, our forces were in charge. Checking what came in and out, as well as checking the toilets, were also our responsibility.

Boly: To sum up, 801 was in charge of that whole event?

Pheap: Yes, 801.

Boly: No other division was involved?

Pheap: Other divisions came as guests.

Boly: And the one who was in charge of the arrangement?

Pheap: 801 was in charge. Each of us almost fainted. We had to prepare food and tables for POL Pot and then we waited until he had finished the meal. *Bang 05* dared not join table with POL Pot; he came to share a table with us.

Sè: And the components who were purified (សំរិតសំរាំង).

Pheap: They were at the last table. They ate the leftover food from what POL Pot ate. There were no dishes prepared specifically for them.

Sè: At night I did not get to rest; I had to keep guard around Central Market (ផ្សារថ្មី). He always walked around at night. I only got to rest during the day.

Pheap: At night he went out. This time, he went to this place; and at that time, he went to that place.

Sè: He went to other units to chat.

Boly: When he went out, who protected him?

Sè: His bodyguards. Around him, there were 4 or 5 of them.

Pheap: His bodyguards and people from our division.

Sè: He only went around with the division, he dared not go outside. He did not trust others.

Boly: Was there any signs that someone wanted to kill him?

Sè: There had been 2 or 3 explosions already, but he was safe. Later on, his messenger was injured. Those people protected him.

Boly: When did the explosions happen? Do you remember?

Sè: Near Phnom Penh.

Boly: Were there bomb explosions or armed conflicts?

Sè: Armed conflicts?

Boly: You mean shootings?

Sè: Yes. The second and third conflicts broke out at Olympic Stadium. But bullets were not fired. The bodyguards were quite protective. That was because of *A* Phim.

Boly: How do you know?

Sè: Because he was from the East Zone.

Pheap: He was surrounded by people with good karate skills. It was not easy to get near him. Even weapons were not as quick as their arms and legs.

Sè: They were skilful ones. I saw many events taking place in Phnom Penh.

Boly: In fact, how did you know that the East Zone people were the ones causing all these events?

Pheap: We interrogated those people we had arrested and they confessed.

Sè: The one who was arrested was a skilled shooter. He could shoot any target he wanted. However, he did not succeed in killing POL Pot when he stood up to make a declaration on the existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Pheap: Even when delivering medicine was done by our medical forces. As for doctors, we did not use the cooperative doctors. We used our unit's doctor. We chose two female doctors, *A Peou* (ឃី) and I, from our unit. When we came back, we could hardly find our seats. There were so many people in the stadium. When we went to join the crowd and came back, we almost could not find our seats. The way he wore his hat was also different from ours. He wore it to the side of his head.

Boly: Across the head?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Why did he wear it that way?

Pheap: I have no idea.

Boly: *Ta* POL Pot?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: No, his brain was like that of a computer.

Pheap: He did not want the hat to cover his eyes. If he wore it that way, it did not block his view.

Sè: He was very fast. He looked strong and energetic.

Boly: Oh, he was strong at that time.

Pheap: He even came to shake my hand.

Sè: He was 180 cm.

Pheap: Our female unit was at the front, along the entrance. When he came, he walked along and shook hands with all of us. Then he went up. We were still young. He called us '*Kaun Kaun [Children]*'.

Boly: *Ming*, did you shake hands with him?

Pheap: Yes. I was on the front line. At that time, the military was in very good order. The smaller, the shorter, and the taller were arranged accordingly.

Boly: At that time, they called it the Anniversary of the Revolutionary Force in which *Ta* POL Pot became the president.

Sè: The anniversary.

Boly: In 1975?

Pheap: Yes, in 1975, but I do not remember the month.

Sè: I have forgotten.

Boly: Approximately which month was it?

Sè: What else do you want to know? You have already got a lot of information. This whole of 801's work relates to many stories because it was a force for the whole country. You can learn a lot from 801.

Pheap: Even when he came to live with the Khmer Rouge, he also trusted my unit.

Boly: You mean 801?

Pheap: Yes. He went there at night; no one knew about it. He lived here, at Tumnob Dach. No one knew. He arrived at 8 p.m. Our group was called to prepare a place for him to stay. The house owner, *Ta* 05, was not there. His wife was also not there.

Sè: He went to watch us doing rice farming. We called *Pou Pou* to guard him. In the morning, he asked us to take him for a tour around the rice field. When he

arrived at the field, he said that the rice was growing well. He said he was very happy and that he would like to ask Saroeun to build a house for him. He said he was very happy living there. Well, at that time, Tumnob Dach was pretty good, unlike Anlong Veang (អង្គជំរែង). At Tumnob Dach, houses were built for the people.

Sè: I helped with construction in many places.

Pheap: One family received one cow. Rice was never in short supply. At our place, *Ta* managed very well. We exchanged rice; he bought without any conditions. *Ta* POL Pot liked *Ta* Roeun very much. *Ta* Mok (ម៉ុក) liked those who worked hard on agricultural production. *Ta* Saroeun helped those who worked hard. He gave big vehicles to help transport rice from the field to our houses. He sent vehicles right to our field. *Comrade* Pheap harvested rice and did not have anything to carry the harvest home. He sent two vehicles to carry the harvest. Next morning, he used his power tiller to thresh the harvest [for *Comrade* Pheap].

Boly: *Ta* Saroeun helped?

Pheap: Yes, he helped.

Boly: When there was an assembly at the Olympic Stadium, was it held at the old or the new stadium?

Sè: It was at the new stadium.

Boly: The new one which is near to Olympic Market?

Sè: Yes, the one close to the gate of Wat Preah Puth (ព្រះពុទ្ធ) pagoda.

Boly: Not the old one which is near Chrouy Changva (ជ្រោយចង្វារ) bridge?

Sè: No, that is the old stadium.

Boly: At that time, how long after Phnom Penh was occupied was that the assembly held?

Sè: Three months.

Boly: Three months.

Sè: Yes. There already was safety and stability.

Boly: At that time, who were the presidents at the meeting?

Pheap: Oh, there were many people.

Boly: But was *Ta* POL Pot one of them?

Pheap: Yes, he was the chairman and there were others accompanying him. I did not know them.

Sè: Eh, who was the organising committee?

Boly: Did *Ta* NUON Chea attend the meeting?

Sè: They all attended.

Boly: Including *Ta* Mok?

Sè: Yes, 21 of them. It was not small.

Boly: Oh, you mean all the central members were there?

Sè: Yes. Even CHĂN Si (ចាន់ ស៊ី) came.

Boly: Oh, CHĂN Si also came?

Sè: Yes, he did. CHĂN Si was at the Northwest Zone. CHĂN Si, VÂN Vět, and CHĒNG ÂN were all the central members. In the East Zone, there was SAO Phim. In the West Zone, there were KOY Thuon and ROS Nhim. And, in the Northeast Zone, there was Ya (យ៉ា).

Boly: NAI Sarān (ណៃ សារ៉ាន់)?

Sè: NAI Sarān?

Boly: NAI Sarān alias Ya.

Sè: That is right, Ya! *Ta* Ya was also (inaudible). *Ta* Mok also came from the Southwest Zone. VÂN Vēt and er.. CHEY Suon.

Boly: They called him *Ta* Chey?

Sè: Yes, that was *Ta* Chey. I was hospitalised there when I was injured.

Boly: Was CHUON Choeun (ជួន ជឿន) there?

Sè: Yes, he was. And...

Boly: Was KHIEU Samphan (ខៀវ សំផន) there?

Sè: Yes. He came as a state representative.

Boly: Was IENG Thirith (ឿង ធីរិទ្ធ), IENG Sary's wife, there?

Sè: No, she was not a central member yet at that time.

Boly: Not yet?

Sè: No, not yet a central member.

Boly: SON Sen (សុន សែន)?

Sè: SON Sen came (inaudible) 21 people. KÂNG Chab (កងចាប) worked in the court. Previously he was in charge of the court.

Boly: What about KÈ Pork (កែ ពក)?

Sè: KÈ Pork also came. They all were central members. There were in total 21 of them as I counted.

Boly: Which divisions attended the assembly at Olympic Stadium?

Sè: All the divisions in the country attended. Commanders of every zone and division attended.

Boly: Division Commanders?

Sè: Yes. In the division, all the division members and commanders attended the assembly.

Boly: In short, the whole country?

Sè: Yes, the whole country.

Boly: Including the Central Division and Zone Divisions?

Sè: Twenty one divisions.

Boly: All of them?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: There were 21 divisions?

Sè: Yes, 21 divisions were fully qualified.

Boly: Divisions which were considered qualified?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: In the whole country, there were 21?

Sè: From the North, the East, the Southwest, and the West. All came to attend.

Pheap: From the whole country. But Division 14 was the host.

Sè: We were the host and we had the right to send from the company level to attend the assembly.

Pheap: The youth also went there as security. Every unit in the division was there.

Boly: Among the 21 divisions, Division 14 was the host who organised the whole event?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: Division 14, Division 11, Division 13. Ah no, Division 12. These three divisions were in the central division.

Boly: They were divisions of the Special Zone?

Sè: That is right. The Special Zone.

Boly: They were in charge of maintaining security for the whole event?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And how long did the event last?

Pheap: Only one day.

Boly: One day. From what time to what time?

Sè: There was also a military parade at night.

Pheap: The entertainment was at 8 p.m. But he only attended in the morning. After lunch, he left. He did not stay to enjoy the entertainment.

Boly: If we did not include the entertainment, just the assembly?

Pheap: It was only one morning.

Boly: Just one morning?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: In that whole morning, how many people came up to make remarks?

Sè: Every division.

Boly: Every division?

Sè: Yes. They all made remarks.

Boly: Did *Ta* 05 make remarks?

Sè: He did. From the East Zone, there was SAU Mean (ស្ងួ ម៉ាន), alias CHĂN Chăkkrei (ច័ន្ទ ចក្រី).

Boly: CHĂN Chăkkrei made remarks?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: CHĂN Chăkkrei's real name is SAU Mean?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: How about from the Southwest? Who made remarks?

Sè: *Ta* Ei (អឺ) and *Ta* Bīt (ប៊ីត).

Boly: SÂM Bīt (សំ ប៊ីត)?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: SÂM Bīt who was the commander of the Southwest Zone?

Sè: Yes, the Southwest Zone. I have almost forgotten it all. They declared every division. They all stood up to represent their division.

Boly: What about the Northeast Zone? Who make remarks?

Sè: From the Northeast Zone, it was *Ta* Thín (ធីន). He was also a commander. He has passed away.

Boly: And from the North Zone, who?

Sè: From the North Zone, it was Sâm-Oeun (សំអឿន).

Boly: KOY Thuon?

Sè: No, Sâm-Oeun was in the [Central] Zone.

Boly: Zone?

Sè: He was already on the central committee.

Boly: The central committee?

Sè: Yes. Sâm-Oeun.

Boly: Sâm-Oeun from the North Zone?

Sè: Yes. He was rather tall, like *Ta* 05.

Boly: The North Zone, the Southwest Zone, the East Zone, and Chăkkrei from the Northwest?

Sè: From the Northwest, I have no idea. I did not know much about the people from the Northwest.

Boly: But from the Special Zone, it was *Ta* 05?

Sè: *Ta* 05, *Ta* Nat (ណាត) from Division 12, *Ta* Saom (ស្រាម) from Division 11.

Ta Saom also made remarks at that time.

Boly: *Ta* Saom from Division 11?

Sè: Yes, with *Ta* Piech (ផ្កាថ្ម).

Boly: So from Division 11, there were *Ta* Piech and *Ta* Saom?

Sè: Yes. *Ta* Saom took a pen from me at that time. He said, “Hey, city girl, can I have your pen?” He took the pen and touched it to his shirt (inaudible). It was a platinum French pen.

Boly: Oh, so *Ta* Nat, *Ta* 05, *Ta* Piech and *Ta* Saom also made remarks?

Sè: Yes. *Ta Lay* (ឡាយ) was *Ta Nat*'s deputy.

Boly: *Ta Lay* was *Ta Nat*'s deputy?

Sè: Yes. *Ta Nat*'s deputy.

Boly: What Lay, *Pou*?

Sè: I have forgotten the surname. It was too long ago. I cannot remember.

Boly: *Ta Lay* was *Ta Nat*'s deputy. And who were *Ta Nat*'s three members?

Sè: *Ta Pín* (ពិន).

Boly: Oh, so *Ta Pín* was the member?

Sè: That is right. I just remembered.

Boly: Later on, when *Ta Nat* went to...?

Sè: To be the ambassador.

Boly: Ambassador to which country?

Sè: Maybe to Korea. I am not quite sure.

Boly: I think it was *Ta SIM Sun* (ស៊ីម ស៊ុន) who became the ambassador to Korea?

Sè: It seemed that he was sent to replace *Ta Nat*. *Ta Nat* came back. He said he did not want to be the ambassador. He only liked to be in the military.

Boly: Later on, *Ta Nat* was appointed to be on the commission committee with SON Sen, wasn't he?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: And *Ta Pín* went to replace him?

Sè: He became the deputy.

Boly: *Ta Lay* did not become the chief of any division, did he?

Sè: I did not know where *Ta Lay* went to at that time. *Ta Lay* was actually involved in the tendency (និទ្ទាភាវ) from the North.

Boly: Oh, he was related to the Vietnamese?

Sè: As far as I know regarding his biography, yes.

Pheap: In fact, some did not even realise that they were related to the Vietnamese. Just by having friendly chats with the Vietnamese a person would be considered as related to them.

Boly: Now we had people from the East Zone, the Southwest Zone, the Northeast Zone, and the North Zone. Who were from the Northwest Zone?

Sè: I did not know anyone from the Northwest Zone.

Boly: Only ROS Nhim went there?

Sè: Yes. There were also people from the West Zone. Forces from the Northwest did not get to enter the city. They seemed to be far behind others. Only the West Zone forces could come.

Boly: *Ta CHOU Chet* (ជូ ជេត)?

Sè: That's right.

Boly: Who was the representative of the military?

Sè: I have no idea. I have forgotten. They actually announced it, but it was too long ago.

Boly: Who was the first to make remarks?

Pheap: I do not know. I was helping the supply unit.

Boly: Oh, you were helping with food preparation?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Were you there, *Pou*?

Sè: Yes, I was there. But I cannot recall the person. At that time the Prime Minister announced it. Perhaps the East Zone was the first one to be announced.

Boly: The East Zone was first?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: So, *Ming*, after shaking hands with *Ta* POL Pot, you went to help with food preparation?

Pheap: Yes. After he passed our unit, we left the line up. We took off our weapon and changed into civil clothes. Then we started preparing food.

Boly: Where did you prepare the food?

Pheap: Next to the assembly area.

Sè: South of Wat Preah Puth pagoda.

Pheap: Food was stored in a hall next to the stadium. We stored frozen food and canned food. We were at 803's place. They were in charge of food storage.

Boly: What is 803?

Pheap: It was a battalion. They were skilful in food preparation.

Boly: The Canon Unit 803?

Pheap: Yes. They controlled all the meat. When we needed something, they would bring us the stuff. We only took care of the preparation. They already had all the meat ready.

Boly: How many dishes were there, do you remember?

Pheap: There were lots of dishes. There was both rice and bread. There were maybe 2 or 3 dishes. Eh, maybe 4 or 5 dishes.

Boly: How many times did they eat? Was there lunch or just breakfast?

Pheap: There was no breakfast, only lunch.

Boly: So, in the morning, they ate separately?

Pheap: Yes. Before going to attend the assembly, they had breakfast by themselves.

Boly: They had breakfast at their own places? When they arrived there, they just became the guests?

Pheap: Yes, we only served lunch.

Sè: There was no private property. Everything was gathered as collective property.

Pheap: There were so many people. Two storeys of the stadium, and food was served to them.

Sè: HOU Nim (ហ៊ុន នីម), from the Ministry of Information, also attended.

Boly: That's right. HOU Nim was not yet dead at that time.

Pheap: Not yet.

Sè: Not yet. And TIV OI (ទីវ អ៊ុយ) was also there. I went to stay at their station for about 6 or 7 months.

Boly: Station?

Sè: Protecting at that station.

Boly: At that stadium?

Sè: No, at that station, at HOU Nim's workplace.

Boly: HOU Nim's radio station?

Sè: Yes. Because the security around there was not good at night.

Boly: Let's go back to the food preparation. Was the food served on tables or on the ground?

Pheap: On tables.

Boly: For everyone or only for the leaders?

Pheap: For everyone.

Boly: For everyone, including the soldiers?

Pheap: Yes. Tables for everyone.

Boly: Do you remember what dishes were served?

Pheap: I have forgotten.

Boly: Fried or boiled chicken?

Pheap: There were many dishes. I have forgotten. There was also fruit.

Boly: But you do not remember the names of the dishes?

Pheap: No, I do not. It was too long ago. I just remember that there were many dishes. There was both rice and bread with paté.

Sè: If we were stationed only at one place, we could remember. But we were moved around in the country.

Boly: How about beverages?

Pheap: There were cold drinks. There was also ice, because at that time there was a freezer to keep the paté meat. It was full of ice. The orange juice was all frozen because it was kept in the freezer for too long. The person in charge did not check it.

Boly: Was there coca cola?

Pheap: Orange juice left in shops [before the victory] was collected to serve in the event. Some people had bread with paté; some had bread with butter. At that time, there was plenty of food in Phnom Penh. It was enough to prove why they called us ‘monkey kings in the city’.

Boly: What do you mean?

Pheap: Monkey kings refers to those of us who came from the forest and had never known the city. When we arrived in the city, we collected all the food and stored it. We never saw that food.

Boly: In which area did you stay at that time?

Pheap: I stayed to the west of the stadium.

Boly: Oh, did you stay near the stadium?

Pheap: Yes, I stayed near the entrance of the stadium.

Boly: Did you live in a flat, or where did you live?

Pheap: I lived inside one of many flats there.

Boly: Did you have water to use at that time?

Pheap: Yes, I did.

Boly: Was there running water?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was there running water?

Pheap: Yes. We also used fans.

Boly: Was there electricity?

Pheap: Yes, there was. Pumps were stationed inside the stadium. Water was pumped into a big pump, but I do not know whether it has been removed now. We pumped water out of the swimming pool and pumped clean water into the

pool. We cleaned all the areas around the stadium and cleaned the rooms and offices east of the stadium. We cleaned the areas surrounding the swimming pool and sprayed soap to clean the rooms and the whole stadium. We cleaned the swimming pool regularly. We pumped water out, and after we completely cleaned the pool, we pumped water in. Vehicles were driven into the stadium.

Boly: Could you visit the royal palace or walk around [in the city]?

Pheap: Yes, I could.

Boly: Was it closed?

Pheap: It was not closed because our unit was there.

Boly: What was the royal palace like? What about the treasures inside the palace?

Pheap: It seemed that all the treasures remained there; however, now they do not seem real.

Sè: The royal sword had disappeared.

Boly: It is not known where the real royal sword is?

Sè: The real royal sword disappeared during the LON Nol regime. The royal sword had spiritual power; it was a bronze sword.

Pheap: We had given the sword to LON Nol already; how could it be found again?

Boly: Yes.

Pheap: With the royal sword, they had power. Everything was up to them. They made the announcement before the coup.

Sè: LON Nol received the sword at that time.

Boly: After that, you came to the northeastern area; is it right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: We have already discussed the events in the northeastern area. Now, I would like to ask you about the time when *Ta* 05 was assigned to resist the advancement of the Vietnamese forces into Phnom Penh. What happened there?

Pheap: In fact, they did not say that we resisted [the Vietnamese forces], but we defended the centre.

Boly: Did 'the centre' refer to the place where *Ta* POL Pot was staying?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Do you remember where it was?

Pheap: I did not know where he was in Phnom Penh because I left Phnom Penh in late 1975; in December, in the 12th lunar month.

Boly: However, it was difficult to say [where he was staying] because *Ta* POL Pot kept moving; is that right?

Pheap: He did not stay at one location permanently.

Boly: He did not remain in one place.

Pheap: He did not remain in one place. After the division left, he frequently went overseas; he rarely stayed inside the country.

Boly: Did *Ta* 05 come?

Pheap: He did not come. He prepared to move to Stung Treng because at that time he...

Sè: *Ta* Vâng (វ៉ាំង) from the zone replaced *Ta* Ya (យ៉ា).

Boly: Yes. *Ta* Vâng.

Sè: *Ta* Vâng was in Stung Treng.

Boly: Yes. *Ta* Vâng was in Stung Treng.

Sè: 05 was assigned to go to the East, but he did not agree to go; thus, he was appointed to take charge of the zone.

Boly: Was it after *Ta Vâng* was transferred?

Sè: Yes. The situation in Stung Treng was not good.

Pheap: Then he was transferred to the zone. However, in 1979, he was assigned to defend the centre because *Ta Nhãn's* (ញ៉ាន់) Division 417 was transferred to be stationed [in Stung Treng] instead.

Sè: They wanted to dissolve....

Pheap: In fact, they wanted to dissolve [his division]. He [*Ta 05*] convened a general meeting in the division in which he encouraged all the combatants to be vigilant. He [*Ta 05*] said that they told all the soldiers in the whole division to travel by boats. He [*Ta 05*] added that they did not permit us to travel overland. However, he did not agree with this; he said that he would rather travel overland, no matter how much petrol was consumed. His trucks transported us overland. He said that, if we escaped by boats, and they shot at us, those who did not know how to swim would die. He declared that we would be taken to be killed, not to live in Phnom Penh. That was what he told us.

Boly: However, *Ta POL Pot* was in Phnom Penh, so how could he [POL Pot] allow them [the soldiers] to be killed?

Pheap: *Ta* was not there; the situation was not good.

Sè: He knew that the situation was not good, and he withdrew the strong forces that he trusted. He did not stay there; he handed over his power to others.

Boly: Who did he hand over his power to?

Sè: He handed over his power to CHÈNG Ân (ចេង អន), VÂN Vêt (វ៉ែន វ៉ែត), and their associates.

Pheap: *Ta* was in China. He went to Switzerland. *Ta* was not here.

Sè: He frequently travelled to Switzerland because *Ta* was also on the Red Cross committee.

Boly: Had the Red Cross been established by that time?

Sè: Yes. He was a member of the Red Cross, so he also played a role there.

Boly: [Do you mean] at international level?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Did *Ta* 05 agree to come to Phnom Penh?

Sè: He already knew about the situation.

Boly: Did he continue to stay in Stung Treng?

Sè: He assigned *Ta* Thy (ធី) to attend meetings on his behalf.

Boly: *Ta* Thy?

Sè: *Ta* Thy travelled back and forth frequently.

Pheap: Thy, in charge of the division.

Boly: Was it a regiment?

Pheap: At the beginning, it was a regiment.

Sè: However, later he was transferred here. It seemed that he was the chief of staff of the division.

Pheap: After KÈV Saeun (កែវ សារ៉េន) was transferred away, only he remained there; thus, he frequently assigned Thy, his assistant, to work on his behalf.

Boly: What was Thy's position? Was he the chairman of a regiment?

Pheap: He was the chairman of a regiment.

Boly: What was the name of the regiment? Was it Regiment 82?

Sè: He was in charge of both Regiments 82 and 81.

Pheap: Oh, it was difficult for me to say because I heard that he was in charge of 83, 82, and 81. He assigned Thy to take charge of those regiments.

Boly: Did he appoint Thy as his assistant?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Did he frequently assign Thy to attend meetings in Phnom Penh?

Pheap: Yes. He stopped going to attend meetings after KÈV Saroeun was arrested. He did not go by himself; he just assigned *Bâng* Thy to attend those meetings. If he went, he would be arrested. He said that he pitied the soldiers.

Boly: Was Thy arrested?

Pheap: No, he was not.

Sè: Of course. He was a soldier without power, and his name was not involved because he was of a low rank. They were not interested in him.

Pheap: He was not afraid of being arrested nor afraid of anyone.

Boly: Do you mean *Ta* 05?

Pheap: Yes. He was not afraid of anyone. He was always blunt.

Sè: Chäkrei (ច្រក្រី), who was a skilful military strategist, could not be compared with SAU Saroeun. Regarding fighting, he was the best.

Boly: Was Chäkrei famous in the past?

Sè: Yes, Chäkrei was vicious.

Boly: It was said that he was very skilful. He was not defeated on any battlefield.

Sè: However, when he engaged at Dei Edth (ដីឥដ្ឋ) battlefield, he suffered the most. He even sent his wounded troops to the special zone to be taken care of. I also stayed at hospital there.

Boly: He also asked for help from *Ta* 05.

Sè: We were stationed in S'ang (ស្រែង) and Kaoh Thum (កោះធំ). Our medical staff were also skilful. The wounded soldiers were sent here.

Boly: In 1979, we were defeated by the Vietnamese; is that correct?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: At that time, where did *Ta* go?

Sè: He fled to the jungles. He sang a song to say goodbye to the barracks and the house. He told the soldiers to flee into jungles.

Boly: How did he sing?

Sè: He was a songwriter; that was his talent. Immediately after he wrote the song, the soldiers dispersed.

Boly: Do you remember [the lyrics of] his song?

Sè: No, I can remember only a few words.

Boly: Can you tell us those few words?

Sè: I do not remember them. In the past, I remembered a lot, but now I have forgotten. It seemed that he described the journey across the fields and forests. He used to be a Bassac opera (Lakhaon Bassac) (ល្ខោនបាសាក់) performer, and he performed in many places.

Boly: Do you mean *Ta* 05?

Sè: What was the name of the first radio station? He also wrote songs for that station.

Pheap: When he stayed in a village, the people requested him to sing songs for them.

Sè: He sang songs for people when he was in the battalion.

Boly: He did it when he was in the battalion?

Sè: Yes. I always stayed with him.

Boly: Was he always the chairman of the division?

Sè: No, at first there was no division; only battalions were created.

Boly: Yes, at the beginning.

Pheap: [That was] his background in the military.

Boly: Did you know the name of the battalion where he was in at the beginning?

Sè: I was in Battalion 6, and the battalion was changed to Battalion 160 under the Southwest Zone military.

Boly: Do you mean that *Ta 05* originally came from the Southwest Zone?

Pheap: He was from the Southwest. He was born in Kampot Province.

Boly: However, the early battalions in the Southwest were Battalions 3 and 4; is that right?

Sè: No, prior to the national revolution, there were Battalions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9.

Boly: That was what you told me yesterday; is that right?

Sè: The *Tâ* (តំ) units were sector units.

Boly: Oh, were they battalions of the zone?

Sè: Yes. They were the zone units when *Ta Mok* (ម៉ុក) was the secretary of the zone.

Boly: Was it your battalion?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Did the Southwest battalions exist from 1970?

Sè: Yes. By 1970 or 1971, the army had been established. I can say it was in 1971 because we withdrew the army.

Boly: The first army.

Sè: Yes.

Boly: How many battalions were there?

Sè: One battalion.

Boly: How many battalions were there?

Sè: Two. Then the name was expanded; for example, Battalion 1 was changed to Battalion 110.

Boly: How about the division?

Sè: Yes. Battalion 2 was changed to Battalion 120. They were all battalions; they were not yet transformed into a division. They had offices.

Boly: Please describe those battalions. What was the next battalion?

Sè: I did not know about Battalion 3; I knew only about Battalion 5.

Boly: Was there no Battalion 4?

Sè: There was no Battalion 4 either.

Boly: There was no Battalion 4; there was only Battalion 5.

Sè: Yes, it was changed to Battalion 150.

Boly: What were other battalions?

Sè: Battalion 5. Battalion 6 was changed to Battalion 160, and Battalion 7 was changed to Battalion 9.

Boly: Was there Battalion 8?

Sè: There was no Battalion 8.

Pheap: Battalion 4 was changed to Battalion 140.

Sè: Oh, there was one more Battalion 140. That unit was under *Ta Nat* (ព្រំព័ទ្ធ). I have just remembered that 140 and 160 were next to each other.

Boly: What battalion did Battalion 1 become?

Sè: Battalion 110. At first it was changed to 101, and later it was changed to 110. There were many stages.

Boly: Was it changed to 101 at the beginning?

Sè: Yes, 101.

Boly: Later it became 110; is that right?

Sè: Yes, it was 110.

Boly: Was 101 still a battalion?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: What about the second battalion?

Sè: 102 was changed to 120.

Boly: What about the third battalion?

Sè: That battalion did not exist. There was only the fourth battalion.

Boly: Was it the fourth battalion?

Sè: 104 was changed to 140.

Boly: What about the fifth battalion?

Sè: Battalion 5 was changed to 150.

Boly: What about the sixth?

Sè: It was 160, which was under SAU Saroeun. 140 was under *Ta Nat*.

Boly: What about 120?

Sè: 120 was under *Ta Soeung* (សៀង).

Boly: What about 110?

Sè: 110 was under *Ta Soeung* and then *Ta Sràs* (ស្រស់).

Boly: Who was in charge of 110?

Sè: *Ta Sràs*.

Boly: What about 150?

Sè: 150 could have been under SÂM Bit (សំប៊ីត).

Boly: Was he SÂM Bit?

Sè: Yes. There were a few changes before *Ta Bit* took charge of 150.

Boly: What about Battalion 7 or 170?

Sè: I do not remember the chief of 170. I do not remember the chief of 190 either. I did not know who the last chief was.

Boly: Did Battalion 9 become 190?

Sè: Yes. The Southwest Zone consisted of only those battalions.

Boly: Who was in charge of 190?

Sè: There were many changes of chief for 190 because there were internal issues. But, if you go further, you can find out about their background, because *Ta* Hoeun (ហៀន) at Trapeang Prasat (ត្រពាំងប្រាសាទ) knows about this.

Boly: Was his name *Ta* Hoeun?

Sè: Yes, he was in that division. 502 of the Southwest Zone was under *Ta* Hoeun.

Boly: Did those battalions later become divisions?

Sè: Yes, they became divisions.

Boly: What were the names of those divisions which were transformed from those battalions? Can you recall?

Sè: Division 1 consisted of three regiments, but I cannot remember all of it.

Boly: Did those battalions later become regiments?

Sè: Yes, they did.

Boly: What were the numbers of those regiments?

Sè: I cannot remember it all because their numbers had three digits.

Boly: Did this one have nine battalions?

Sè: Yes. It was established in 1971-1972.

Boly: Were three battalions merged into one regiment?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Who joined those regiments?

Sè: Half of 160 came to the special zone, and the other half went away.

Boly: 160?

Sè: Yes, 160, 140 and 150. There were three divisions.

Boly: Did the Southwest Zone have three divisions?

Sè: Yes, there were three divisions.

Boly: Were there Divisions 1, 2, and 3?

Sè: Divisions 1, 2, and 3. The three divisions covered the western area as far as the sea.

Boly: Were the three divisions later merged into Division 164?

Sè: Yes. It is right.

Boly: I would like to know which of those battalions became Division 1 or Division 2?

Sè: I cannot tell you for certain. *Ta Bit* was also in charge of a division.

Boly: Which division was SÂM Bit in charge of?

Pheap: Division 1.

Boly: Was Division 1 under *Ta Soeung*?

Pheap: *Ta Soeung* was in charge of Division 2.

Boly: According to what you said yesterday, *Soeung* and *Soeun* were in Division 2; is that right?

Pheap: Yes. *Soeun* was in Division 2 with *Ta Soeung*.

Boly: Was one of them PÈN Soeung (ប៉ែន សៀង)?

Sè: PHEA Soeung (ភា សៀង) was the old chief of Division 1.

Boly: Yes. PÈN Soeung was in charge of Division 1.

Sè: What was the name of the person with a family name 'Phea' at Phnum Voa
(ភ្នំល្អី) mountain?

Boly: Was he SÂM Bit or CHHOUK Rĭn (ឈូករិន)?

Sè: I do not remember who was in charge at Phnum Voa because I did not have connections with that movement for long. I cannot say who he was. If you want to know more, you should go to Trapeang Prasat to ask Hoeun, who also stayed near Takeo. He might have known about this because he also had a high-ranking position, and it seemed that he was also from Division 2.

Boly: You do not remember which battalion was transformed into which division; is that right?

Sè: I do not remember because I left to join the special zone.

Boly: You only knew that those battalions were later reorganized to establish Divisions 1, 2, 3. Is that right?

Sè: Yes. There were three divisions.

Boly: When the Vietnamese launched attacks on the country, where did *Ta 05* flee?

Pheap: He was in the jungle in Rattanak Kiri. He led his resistance movement. He was still in charge of his troops, and he launched attacks from Ou Ya Dav
(អូយ៉ាដាវ) downwards.

Boly: When did he flee to the top of the mountain?

Pheap: He came to the mountain in 1980.

Sè: He came after me.

Boly: Did you come before him?

Sè: Yes, I came to look for the networks of the previous government.

Pheap: He came in 1980.

Boly: How about you?

Pheap: I left Rattanak Kiri in December 1978.

Boly: Where did you go?

Pheap: I left that place to give birth at Kong Binh (កុងបឹងបឹង).

Sè: She fled while she was pregnant.

Pheap: I left Veun Sai (វើនសៃ) to stay at Siem Pang (សៀមប៉ាង). Then I travelled from Siem Pang to stay at Chhaeb (ឆែប) near Stung Treng. Next I travelled through Rovieng (រវៀង) to Kantuot (កន្ទុត).

Boly: Why did you not give birth at Rattanak Kiri or Stung Treng? Why did you come here?

Pheap: The situation was not good; I did not trust anyone. Because of that situation, people were not afraid [of us]. One of my friends went back after she arrived in Kantuot, and she was arrested and detained on Koh Kantuy Kou (កោះកន្ទុយគោ) for a long time. Now she is married and living there.

Boly: Was she detained on Koh Kantuy Kou?

Pheap: Yes. They guaranteed to help release her. Her husband was a soldier in Stung Treng, and now he is in the army musical band in Stung Treng.

Boly: Earlier, you have mentioned Division 117; is that correct?

Pheap: Yes, it was *Ta Nhăn*'s unit.

Boly: Was it a unit?

Pheap: The members of that unit came from other provinces, such as Kandal, Kratie, and Kampong Cham.

Boly: Was it 117?

Pheap: Yes. It was from Kratie, and it was changed to 801.

Boly: Division 117 was changed to 801; is that correct?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was that division newly established?

Pheap: It was newly established. It was established later.

Boly: Was it established in 1977 in order to prepare to fight against Vietnam?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Was that division stationed in Snuol (ស្នួល) District, Kratie Province?

Pheap: Yes. The division was brought here. In fact, that division was stationed in many provinces because *Ta Nhãn* came from Kampot. *Ta Nhãn* knew my group because we fought in 1972 in Kampong Chrey (កំពង់ឡែង), Takeo, altogether.

Sè: Some sector units were integrated into the division.

Pheap: Sector units were also transferred to the zone.

Sè: However, those soldiers were inexperienced, and they were reluctant to join.

Boly: Did you hear of Rom (រ៉ុម) and Leang (លាង), who were on the division committee?

Pheap: Was it Division 17?

Boly: Yes, Division 117. Did you hear of those names? *Ta Nhãn* took charge later.

Sè: *Ta Nhãn* took charge later.

Boly: After Rom and Leang were arrested, *Ta Nhãn* was promoted. Is that right?

Pheap: I did not know them; I knew only *Ta Nhãn*. I do not remember those who came with *Ta Nhãn*. I met them when they and I fled, and we met one another along a road beyond Kouk Romiet (គោករមៀត). We also fought against Khmer Serei (ខ្មែរសេរី) altogether. There were many soldiers in that division. My group went to Barang Thleak (បារាំងធ្លាក់), Ou Lhong (អូរលុង), and Ou Anluok (អូរអន្លក់). I went with the division. The division led us because it had more troops. They cleared the road for us and we went after them.

Boly: I do not understand the change to 801.

Pheap: I mean that when 801 was transferred to defend the centre, that division was stationed in Rattanak Kiri instead

Boly: Was it because *Ta 05* did not agree?

Pheap: It was perhaps their psychological strategies. That was their arrangement. They told the division to prepare the forces to go. However, we did not leave because he waited to see whether they really would come to replace his division. However, he convened a meeting to tell us about the situation, about the change, the background to the dissolution of the division, and the reasons for his arrest. Thus, they could not arrest him, and he remained in charge of the soldiers. In addition, they accused him and the division of having political tendencies. However, in fact, the division was stationed there to fight against the Vietnamese from 1976.

Boly: Was it *Ta Nhan's* division?

Pheap: No, it was 801.

Boly: Later, when *Ta Nhãn* came to Anlong Veang (អង្គរវែង), which division was he in charge of?

Pheap: I was at Tumnob Dach (ទំនប់ដាច់), and *Ta Nhãn* was at Anlong Veang, so I did not know about that.

Boly: The division consisted of three regiments, such as Regiment 15 whose secretary was Pheap. Do you know about this?

Pheap: I do not.

Sè: I do not.

Boly: You did not know about that area; is it correct?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: In fact, *Ta Nhãn* came later. Those who came earlier had moved to the Northwest, near Laem (ឡែម), Phnum Ta Ngok (ភ្នំតាងុក), Barang Thleak with me, near Klâng Yai (ក្លងយ៉ៃ). I have forgotten the names of the locations. They had gone over there. *Ta Nhãn* came later. They came in waves. For example, a brigade or a regiment came at a time, and he came later to 1001.

Boly: Did he come to 1001?

Pheap: Yes. *Ta Nhãn* also came to be stationed at Mum Bei (ម៉ុំបឺ). I do not remember the number of his forces. *Ta* swore at us a lot when he first came.

Boly: Why?

Pheap: He was a womanizer. When hospital staff and my group went to collect rice, *Ta* would ask where these women had come from. We said we were from *Pou Nhãn*'s office. Then he said, "Oh, they are *A Nhan*'s prostitutes. You are

young. How much do you gain when you exchange your body for one night with *A Nhăn*?" He asked bluntly.

Boly: Did he [*Ta*] know about that?

Pheap: Yes, he did.

Boly: How did he know? Were there informants?

Pheap: There must have been informants from the inside. He knew what each chief did. He kept collecting all the information. However, it was hard to change those people.

Boly: Did *Ta 05* come to Tonle Lpov (ទន្លេល្បី) in 1980?

Pheap: In 1980.

Sè: I had already joined another unit.

Boly: Which unit did you join?

Sè: I joined 612.

Pheap: I came in 1980.

Boly: Did you join 612?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Was 612 under *Ta Hoeun*?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: SOKH Hoeun (សុខ ហៀន) was his full name.

Sè: His full name was perhaps SOKH Hoeun.

Pheap: At that time it was *Ta Chhean* (ឈាន).

Sè: *Ta Chhean* came first and *Ta Hoeun* came later. After *Ta Hoeun*, it was *Ta Nhăn*. They were next to each other when they worked in Kratie.

Boly: Was Division 612 established in 1981?

Sè: Yes

Boly: Which division did it come from?

Sè: Its components came from different divisions. Three battalions of Division 801 also joined this division.

Boly: Three battalions?

Sè: There were perhaps three battalions. Let me think. *Ta Tith* (ទិត) was in charge of one battalion; late *Iv* (អ៊ីវ) and *Yin* (យិន) were in charge of one battalion, and I was in charge of one battalion. I was in charge of Battalion 14, the special unit.

Boly: Which division was 14 under?

Sè: It was under 81. After they fled, because of the situation at that time, they established four battalions.

Boly: That is why I say that three battalions were taken from 801; is that correct?

Sè: Four, not three, battalions, including my battalion, were taken from 801.

Boly: Were soldiers from any other divisions integrated into 801 besides the four battalions from 801?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Where were those soldiers from that were merged to establish Division 612?

Sè: Let me think. When *Ta Chhean* came here, he did not have forces, and *Ta Hoeun* did not have forces either. Each of them came with only one group.

Boly: Was *Ta Chhean* the first chief of the division?

Sè: Yes. However, when I came here, when I left 81, 11 and 14 were established.

Boly: What was the number of your unit?

Sè: 14. I joined 14.

Boly: Were you the chief of 14?

Sè: Yes. I was the commander, and Comrade Mon (ម៉ុង) was the commissioner of
14.

Boly: Was Battalion 14 under Division 801?

Sè: 81.

Boly: Was it Regiment 81?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: When that unit left 81, you and Mon were the chairmen; is that right?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Were you the deputy chairman?

Sè: Yes. Yin ... (inaudible).

Boly: Where did Yin come from?

Sè: 81.

Boly: At that time it was the same as 801; is that right?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: At that time, did it join 612?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Next, who else came?

Sè: 22, which was under *A Im* (អ៊ឹម) and *Ta Kib* (គីប).

Boly: Was it also one battalion?

Sè: Yes, it was a battalion.

Boly: What regiment was Battalion 22 under?

Sè: 82.

Boly: Who was in charge?

Sè: Im.

Boly: Was Im the chairman?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Who was his deputy?

Sè: *Ta Tib* (តីប).

Boly: Did he join 612?

Sè: Yes, he joined 612.

Boly: Which other units joined 612?

Sè: I have forgotten. After the integration, there were three regiments, Regiments 61, 62, and 63.

Boly: Now, I would like to ask about the division first. At first, *Ta Nhăn* and *Ta Chhean* were the chairmen of the division. Is that correct?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Who was his deputy?

Sè: *Ta* Hoeun.

Boly: What is Sokh Hoeun's family name?

Sè: I do not know.

Boly: Was *Ta* Hoeun a deputy or a member?

Sè: I only saw two people.

Boly: Later, did those two people take charge of Division 612 from 1981 to 1998, or were there any changes?

Sè: There was change.

Pheap: Chhean was removed.

Boly: Where was he transferred?

Sè: He was transferred to Koh Kong.

Boly: When was he transferred?

Sè: It was probably in 1983.

Boly: He was transferred from the division. What position was he transferred to hold?

Sè: He was transferred to take charge of a division again.

Boly: Did he take charge of a division?

Sè: Yes. He was in charge of Division 1, which was *Ta* Bit's unit.

Pheap: It was not in 1983; *Ta* Chhean was withdrew 81, when I was pregnant with Phâl (ផ្កា).

Boly: Was it 81?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: At that time, who was promoted?

Pheap: *Ta* Hoeun was promoted as the chairman.

Boly: You mean that *Ta* Hoeun became the chairman in 1981.

Sè: I have forgotten all the information. I am not sure whether or not *Ta* San (សាន) was also in charge of the division.

Pheap: *Ta* San was in charge of a regiment.

Boly: Who was *Ta* Hoeun's deputy?

Pheap: I did not know.

Boly: Was there person named Sà (សាន់)?

Pheap: His name was Sà and Săn (សាន់); he had two names.

Boly: Was it so?

Pheap: Yes. He had two names.

Boly: Sà, alias Sam (សាម); how do you spell the names?

Sè: S-Ă-N.

Boly: Săn?

Pheap: Sà.

Sè: This is Săn.

Boly: Was Sà *Ta* Hoeun's deputy?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: *Ta Moeun* (ម៉ែន) was a member.

Boly: Who was a member?

Sè: *Ta Moeun* was a member.

Boly: Was his name *Moeun*?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Did you hear of SAU Nhean (ស៊ូ ញ៉ាន), alias *Ta Nhean* (ញ៉ាន)?

Sè: Nhean was in charge only later.

Boly: Was *Moeun* a member?

Pheap: *Ta Nhean* came from 11.

Sè: His rank was lower than mine at that time.

Boly: Later, were there any changes? How long was *Ta Hoeun* in charge?

Sè: I did not know how long he was in charge because I left that place.

Boly: You left?

Sè: Yes. I joined 912.

Boly: Did you join 912?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: *Ta Hoeun* was in charge of his division throughout that period.

Boly: Was he in charge until 1998?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: He was in charge until the integration.

Boly: Was *Ta* Hoeun in charge?

Pheap: *Ta* Hoeun and Sà were in charge until the integration.

Sè: There were three people. *Ta* Moeun was also working closely with them.

Pheap: Oh, Sà was transferred to take charge of the base.

Sè: I did not know who was transferred. However, Sà left, and only *Ta* Moeun and *Ta* Hoeun remained there.

Boly: The division consisted of three regiments, Regiments 61, 62, and 63; is that correct?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Who was the chairman of 61?

Sè: First *A* Rĭn (រិន) was in charge of 61, and later *Ta* Chout (ជូត) was in charge.

Boly: Did you hear of *Ta* Nha (ញ៉ា)?

Sè: No, I did not.

Boly: Did you hear of NHÈM Nha (ញ៉ែម ញ៉ា)?

Pheap: I have never heard this name.

Boly: Did you hear of KHUN Mēng (ក្សុន ម៉េង)?

Sè: No.

Boly: This name was written on paper, but the information about him at that time was not clear.

Pheap: Regarding 61, I knew only *Bang* Yin, who was there at the beginning.

Boly: Who was in charge of 61?

Pheap: I did not know who was in charge of 61.

Sè: All the information has been lost. At that time, I was in 63.

Boly: Who was in charge of 63?

Sè: Comrade Mon was promoted to be the chairman of 63.

Boly: Who was his deputy?

Sè: His deputy was *Ta Kung* (គង់).

Pheap: *Ta Kung*, SAING Kung (សាំង គង់).

Boly: Was his name SAING Kung?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: Later, which division did *Ta Kung* become the secretary of?

Sè: Division 912.

Boly: Who was the third member?

Sè: There were only two members.

Boly: Was there *Ta Mean* (ម៉ាន)?

Sè: Oh, I have just recalled *Ta Mean*. He was also in charge of a regiment.

Boly: Was *Ta Mean* a member of the division?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: How about you?

Pheap: *Ta Im* was in charge of 62; is that correct?

Sè: *A Im* was in charge of 62, but later who was in charge?

Pheap: It seemed that *Ta Yin* was appointed to take charge of 61.

Sè: No, *A Yin* was in charge of 63.

Boly: I would like to ask you more about 63. Did *Ta Mon*, *Ta Kung*, and *Ta Mean* remain in charge of 63 until 1998, or were there any changes?

Sè: There were changes.

Pheap: *Ta Mon* was transferred.

Sè: *Mon* was transferred to the west.

Pheap: He was not transferred to the west, but he was transferred to the intervention unit.

Sè: Oh, he was transferred to Intervention Unit 980. Some of my forces were also transferred to join that unit.

Boly: When was *Ta Mon* transferred?

Pheap: He was transferred in 1982.

Boly: Was it Intervention Unit 980?

Pheap: He was transferred in 1982. He was transferred after he was at 1002.

Sè: I was wounded.

Boly: Was he in Intervention Unit 980?

Sè: Yes. (inaudible)

Pheap: Yes. *Phâl* was born in 1981, so he was transferred in 1981.

Boly: Was it in 1981?

Pheap: Let me think again in case I have forgotten.

Boly: You almost reached the key location, Anlong Veang.

Pheap: Let me think. It must have been in 1981 because he came to the intervention unit when I was in the bamboo forests. I was pregnant with Phâl because I gave birth to Phâl in 1981.

Boly: Were you pregnant with your first child?

Pheap: Yes. My child was born.

Sè: That was the second child.

Pheap: My second child was born in March 1981.

Boly: It was in March. Do you mean that at that time you had not given birth yet?

Pheap: I had not given birth yet.

Boly: Thus, *Ta Mon* was probably transferred in early 1981; is that correct?

Sè: She was almost due to give birth. I was wounded and my wife took care of me.

Pheap: (inaudible) It might have happened in late 1980 or early 1981, in January or February 1981.

Boly: 980 was established in September 1980.

Pheap: It must have been in 1980, because when I visited *Pou Uoch* (អូក) at 1002, they started establishing the intervention unit.

Sè: It was in late 1980.

Boly: Do you mean that *Ta Mon* was transferred into Intervention Unit 980 in late 1980?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: After he was transferred, did he become Unit 980's commander?

Sè: Yes, he did.

Boly: Was MEAS Mut the first commander of Unit 980?

Sè: *Ta Mut* was a division commander; he was in charge of Unit 980.

Boly: Yes! Unit 980.

Sè: By the time *Ta Mon* left, the division had not yet been established.

Pheap: He was in a regiment.

Sè: *Ta Mon* was a regiment commander; he was in charge of Regiment 92.

Boly: MEAS Mut?

Sè: I am talking about *Ta Mon*.

Boly: I want to ask whether MEAS Mut was commander of Unit 980.

Pheap: *Ta Mut* was the division commander.

Boly: *Ta Mut* was the commander. Was *Ta Then* (ធីន) the deputy?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: Was *Ta Bav* (បាវ) a member?

Sè: No, he was not. *Ta Bav* was promoted after *Ta Pim* (ពឹម).

Boly: YIM Pim (យឹម ពឹម)?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: Was YIM Pim promoted later, at the same time as YIM Phanna and DOM Chhunni (ជុំ ឈុននី)?

Pheap: *Ta Pim* was in charge later; only when we arrived in Anlong Veang was this arrangement made.

Boly: Was *Ta Mon* transferred to Unit 980?

Sè: Yes, he was. Maybe, he was not in a division.

Pheap: He was in a regiment, in an intervention unit.

Boly: Did he come to Regiment 92?

Sè: Yes, he did.

Boly: Was he stationed in Samlout (សំឡូត)?

Sè: No, he was not.

Pheap: He was stationed there only later.

Sè: He was stationed at Kulen (គូលែន) mountain in front of Banteay Srei
(បន្ទាយស្រី).

Boly: Returning to Division 612, let's be clear: When *Ta Mon* was removed, who replaced him?

Sè: Only *Ta Kung* replaced *Ta Mon*.

Pheap: There were *Ta Kung* and *Ta Mean*.

Boly: Was SĀN Kung (សាន់ គង់) promoted to be Regiment 62's commander?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: Was *Ta Mean* the deputy?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: Were they in charge throughout? Or were there changes?

Sè: I left with *Ta Kung* to join Division 912.

Boly: When did you leave with *Ta Kung*?

Sè: I left to join another unit in 1982.

Boly: Did *Ta Kung* leave from Regiment 63?

Sè: Actually, he left Regiment 81, not Regiment 82, because my child was only two months old when we travelled here to join *Ta Pheap*'s Division 912 at Thkov (ថ្មី). I can still remember that.

Boly: So, did *Ta Kung* leave in 1981?

Pheap: Yes, he did. That was after Khmer New Year.

Boly: Division 912?

Pheap: Maybe he left in May.

Boly: Maybe in May.

Pheap: After I gave birth to my baby, they celebrated Khmer New Year at 40. I can remember that. It was perhaps in May, because two months after I gave birth (I gave birth in March, and in May) I was transferred to join the division at Thkov.

Boly: When *Ta Kung* was removed, who replaced him?

Pheap: I knew nothing about *Ta Chhean*'s unit because I had left to join Division 912. I remember that I left in May, around one month after Khmer New Year.

Boly: Did you ever hear of BAING Kosâl (បាំង កុសល)?

Pheap: *Bang Kosâl*?

Boly: Yes.

Pheap: *Bang Kosâl* went to join *Ta Hoeun* (ហៀន) 's unit.

Sè: 612.

Boly: What was his position?

Pheap: He was in charge of a regiment.

Boly: Was he not *Ta* Hoeun's deputy?

Pheap: No, he was not. He was in charge of a regiment.

Boly: What was the number of the regiment? Was it Regiment 61 or 62?

Pheap: I do not know. I only know that he was in charge of a regiment. We were close to each other, but I do not know.

Boly: You do not know the number of his regiment; is it correct?

Sè: When we met with each other, he was promoted to be in the division with *Ta* Hoeun.

Pheap: In *Ta* Hoeun's unit, there were *Ta* Chhăn's unit and *Ta* Phut (ភ្នំ) 's unit and they were moved to the west.

Sè: They were in Regiment 53.

Boly: Just now, did you say that Kosâl was promoted as *Ta* Hoeun's deputy only later?

Pheap: He was not promoted, but he was transferred here. *Bang* Kosâl was in a regiment, and when the situation changed, he was transferred to Anlong Veang. Only after the integration, did he return.

Boly: He was in charge of a regiment, but you do not know the number of the regiment; is that correct?

Pheap: Yes, I do not know the number.

Boly: Do you [uncle] remember if he was the commander of Regiment 61 or 62?

Sè: I have forgotten completely.

Pheap: It is difficult for me to remember because I was transferred to join Division 912 twice; and I also was transferred to join *Ta Hoeun's* unit twice. I moved forward and backward.

Boly: Who was transferred back to join *Ta Hoeun's* unit?

Pheap: That was me.

Boly: What was your position when you were transferred to join *Ta Hoeun's* unit?

Pheap: I worked with *Ta Hoeun*.

Sè: She was in charge of a regiment.

Boly: Were you [aunt] in charge of a regiment?

Pheap: No, I was not. I was at the base.

Boly: What was the number of the regiment you [uncle] were in?

Sè: I was in Regiment 61.

Boly: Were you in that regiment for only a short time because you were transferred to Division 912?

Sè: I was in Division 912 for a long time, then I returned to Division 612 for a while.

Pheap: He moved to Division 612 in 1987.

Sè: I was in Office 5 for a while and later the administrator of Division 912 asked that I return.

Boly: Did they take you back from *Ta 05*?

Sè: Yes. When I returned, I worked in the division.

Boly: So, how long were you the commander of Regiment 61? *Ming* said that you were the commander until 1987; is that correct?

Pheap: We moved to Division 912 in 1987. Actually, we left in early 1987.

Sè: When I was in Division 912, I became the commander of a regiment. I was promoted from a battalion commander.

Boly: Now returning to Division 912, when did you move to Division 912?

Pheap: Please wait! Let me think for just a moment. It was not in 1987, but it was in late 1986. We went to join *Ta* Hoeun's unit and worked at 40 for a long time before we moved to Choam Ksant (ជាំក្សាន្ត).

Boly: Who was the first commander of Division 912?

Sè: The first commander was AOM Pheap (ឌឹម ភាព) alias *Ta* Pheap.

Boly: Was his name spelt A-O-M?

Sè: A-O-M.

Boly: AOM Pheap was the division secretary.

Sè: He moved into Division 912 in May.

Boly: Who was the deputy of Division 912?

Sè: There was only *Bang* Pheap at that time.

Boly: Did *Ta* Pheap die in 1992?

Pheap: Yes, he died from liver disease.

Boly: Did he have liver disease?

Pheap: Yes, he did.

Boly: After he died in 1992, was *Ta* Kung promoted as the division commander?

Sè: Yes, he was. He was in charge of the division.

Boly: When was Division 912 established?

Sè: Maybe in 1983.

Pheap: No, it was not in 1983. We went to join *Ta* Pheap's unit in May 1982. Oh! We met *Bang* Pheap at Choam Ksant in 1981. We do not know when this division was established because I met him even before I joined that unit. In short, we left *Ta* Hoeun to join that division in 1981.

Boly: What year was it?

Pheap: Wait! Let me think. How many months after we left,

Boly: Did you [uncle] know the year?

Sè: I have forgotten; I only know that it was around 1981.

Pheap: We left in 1981.

Boly: So, was it established in 1981?

Sè: Yes, it was.

Boly: At that time, was AOM Pheap the commander?

Pheap: Yes, he was. We met him at Choam Ksant.

Boly: Was AOM Pheap the commander from 1981 to 1992, when he died?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: After *Ta* Pheap died, was *Ta* Kung promoted to commander?

Sè: Yes, he was. There were *Ta* Kung and another person.

Boly: Was that person *Ta* Rēt (រ៉េត)?

Sè: No, it was not. At that time, Rēt was not yet in the division. I have forgotten that person; he was in charge of the political section.

Pheap: Was he *Ta* Phoan (ផាន់)?

Sè: No, he was not. He was *Ta Hēng* (ផ្អែង).

Boly: Was *Ta Hēng* or *Ta Kung* promoted first?

Pheap: *Ta Hēng* was promoted first.

Boly: Do you know *Ta Hēng*'s surname?

Sè: I do not remember his surname.

Pheap: I do not know his surname.

Boly: When was *Ta Kung* promoted to division commander?

Pheap: After *Ta Pheap* died, *Ta Kung* was promoted. I have been separated from him for a long time.

Boly: What was *Ta Hēng*'s position?

Pheap: *Ta Hēng* was *Bang Pheap*'s deputy.

Sè: He was in charge of people's affairs.

Boly: Was *Ta Hēng* *Ta Pheap*'s deputy?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Pheap: There were only the two people at that time.

Boly: Was SAING Kung promoted as the chairman after *Ta Pheap* died?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: *Ta Hēng* was *Ta Pheap*'s deputy and he was in charge of people's affairs. What was Rēt's position?

Pheap: At that time, Rēt was in a regiment.

Sè: He was in a regiment, with the same rank as mine.

Boly: Was he in a regiment?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Pheap: The division was established only later. He was in Regiment 52.

Sè: Rēt was not in Regiment 52. We were in Regiment 52 and *Ta Kung* was in Regiment 51, and he was promoted to division commander.

Boly: I heard TUY Bunrēt (តួយ ប៊ុនរ៉េត) was the division deputy commander. Is it right?

Pheap: Yes, it is.

Sè: He was promoted only later.

Boly: Was *Ta Pheap* the commander in 1981?

Sè: He was the commander in 1981, 1982 and 1983.

Boly: Was *Ta Pheap* the commander and Hēng the deputy?

Sè: Yes, they were.

Boly: After *Ta Pheap* died in 1992, *Ta Kung* was promoted to commander, but *Ta Hēng* remained the deputy; is that correct?

Sè: *Ta Kung* was in charge of the military, so he was the chairman. KEA Hēng (គី ហេង) was in charge of political affairs.

Boly: Was *Ta Hēng* in charge of political affairs?

Sè: Yes. [Inaudible]

Boly: Was *Ta Hēng* in charge of political affairs?

Sè: Yes. [Inaudible]

Boly: Was *Ta Hēng* in charge of the political affairs of *Ta Kung*'s unit?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: Was *Ta Kung* in charge of the military?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: Which one was superior?

Sè: They respected each other. In battlefields, the chairman was the one in charge of the military, and at the rear the chairman was the one in charge of political affairs. They took turns to be the chairman and the deputy.

Boly: Can I ask you more questions? We are nearly at the end.

Pheap: It was until after the integration.

Boly: I want to continue talking because if we do not follow the outline of this interview, it will be difficult for us to keep track the events. We need to go through the outline; otherwise, we cannot arrange the events in proper order.

Sè: Because there are many changes in everybody's lives, we cannot focus only on one place. In addition, the events happened a long time ago, and there were many phases, so it depends on the sources of information. However, if we do not know the source of information clearly, we should search for other sources of information.

Boly: You are right. There were many phases.

Sè: We have to keep such information.

Boly: Yes! According to what you have told me, these events meandered greatly from one stage the next. It seems like a knotted ball of string. It is difficult to untie that string.

Sè: It started in the whole country, and later it was divided into pieces.

Pheap: We were in Division 801, and then moved to 612. Then we left 612 to join 912. Next, we left 912 to join 612. Then we left 612 to join 801. Finally, we returned to 912.

Sè: We stopped moving when we returned to Division 912.

Boly: You stopped moving when both of you returned to Division 912; is that correct?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: Yes, because of the integration.

Boly: Integration?

Sè: When I was in Division 912, I was a deputy commander of that division.

Boly: Were you the deputy commander of the division?

Sè: Yes, I was. After the integration, I retired. Later, I joined the Cambodian Royal Armed Forces (ខេមរៈភូមិន្ទ).

Boly: Nowadays, are you still in the Cambodian Royal Armed Forces?

Sè: No, I am not. I have retired; I have been demobilized.

Boly: Nowadays, do you do anything?

Sè: No, I do not. But I have been elected as the chairman of the Veterans' Association (ប្រធានសមាគមអតីតយុទ្ធជន) of Anlong Veang District.

Boly: Excuse me! When did you [uncle] become disabled?

Sè: In 1972.

Boly: Did you become disabled in 1972?

Sè: Regarding this wound, I was hit by a bullet. I received this wound later at Chakrei Ting (ចក្រីទីង) factory in Kampot (កំពត) Province. Regarding the wound on my head, I was wounded in an area between Takeo (តាកែវ)

Province and Angk Ta Saom (អង្គការសាម). As a result of that wound, my skull was cracked. Regarding the wound on my feet, I was wounded by a grenade at Anlong Romiet (អន្លង់រមៀត). Later I received another wound on my eyebrow in Siem Reap (សៀមរាប) Province. I had this wound in Preah Vihear (ព្រះវិហារ) Province. An AK rifle bullet remains inside me.

Boly: There are wounds on all over your body; is that right?

Sè: Yes. When I went to Rattanak Kiri, I was not wounded.

Boly: What about your eyes?

Sè: My eyes were wounded during the two occasions I have mentioned above. My bone was broken, and my eyes were also wounded.

Boly: Was that in 1972?

Sè: First, I could use this eye, but it was not like a normal eye. Later, I got wounded again, breaking my eyebrow and affecting the retina. I continued using it. Three years later, the condition of my eye worsened.

Boly: When did you have it taken out?

Sè: I had it taken out in 1986. By that time, I had been promoted to be a regiment commander.

Boly: When you escaped to Tonle Lpov (ទន្លេស្រី) and Mum Bei (ម៉ុបប៊ី), how long did you live there?

Pheap: I lived in Tonle Lpov for only one year, and then I left to join Division 612.

Sè: I came first.

Boly: Did you come first?

Sè: Yes, I did.

Pheap: I went to be in Division 612 for a few months, and then I went to Division 912.

Boly: At that time, where was Division 612 stationed?

Pheap: Division 612 was stationed around Prasat Neak Buos (ប្រាសាទនាក់បួស) in Choam Ksant.

Sè: Division 612 was stationed from Prasat Neak Buos in Choam Ksant to Preah Vihear temple in Preah Vihear Province.

Boly: Was it the first place where Division 612 was stationed?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: I do not want to talk about this point yet because I will forget it.

Sè: This event was long. However, if we summarize it, we can understand.

Pheap: These events could be used to write a book.

Boly: Can I use your accounts to write a book?

Sè: I used a 300 page notebook to write down a lot of the events of my life. However, the book was destroyed when I was at Tumnob Dach (ទំនប់ដាច់) dam.

Boly: Did you ever write down?

Sè: Yes, I did.

Boly: 300 pages?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Do you have it with you now?

Sè: It was burned when I moved my house. But I have another notebook in which I summarized the subsequent main events.

Boly: Can you give it to me? Or cannot you give it to me because the book contains your personal matters?

Sè: I wrote briefly about my family and the resistance movement in order to keep a record of my life; I did not intend to keep it for my children. But I did not write anymore about the period from 1980 to the integration.

Boly: Can I have it photocopied?

Sè: No, I cannot give it to you.

Boly: Because it is your own personal diary?

Sè: I just want to keep record of the events related to my life.

Boly: Aunt! Did you write as well?

Pheap: No, I did not. I remember those events in my head. Regarding the events in my past, I can still see what I did in my head; I can still remember.

Boly: When you are telling about those accounts, you can see those events. Is that right?

Pheap: Yes, it is. I remember where I lived and how difficult my life was.

Boly: Besides the photos which you [aunt] allowed me to take photos, do you have other old photos from the past?

Pheap: No, I do not. I have another photo, but my elder sister took it with her. That photo was cut from another photo, so only half of my body appeared in that photo. At that time, I had a photo taken with regiment commanders and *Yeay Vân* (វ៉ែន).

Sè: What kind of photos do you want?

Boly: I want old photos because maybe they can be used for publishing a book.
Books with photos make readers want to read. If books contain no photos, but only letters, readers may not want to read them.

Sè: Maybe, I have some photos.

Boly: If you allow it, I would to take photos of those photos. For example, I want photos showing how people dressed and photos of people's livelihoods during the *Angkar* era. If you have those kind of photos, it will be great.

Pheap: I do not have photos like that. I have only my own photos and the photos of 06, *Ta Pheap*.

Boly: Oh! Do you have photos of you and *Ta Pheap*?

Sè: Yes, I do.

Boly: Can I photocopy that photo?

Sè: I have my photos which I took at Division 912 as well. I have a lot of photos, but I lost some.

Boly: I would like to turn off the recorder now. Thank you.

02:26:51

Boly: This is the third interview with *Ming Ân* Sopheap and *Pou* CHHAOM Sai (គោម សៃ).

Pheap: Sè (សៃ), [not Sai].

Boly: This morning, we talked about Division 912, of which AOM Pheap (ឌឹម ភាព) was the secretary and Hēng (ហែង) was the deputy secretary. Pheap died in 1992 from an illness.

Sè: At that time, they stopped using the 'secretary' system.

Pheap: There were only chairmen in charge of political affairs and the military.

Boly: Wasn't there the secretary level?

Sè: No, there was not. In the system with only one chairman, they used the term 'secretary'; however, in this system there were two chairmen.

Boly: Was it a 'two-chairman system'?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: What term was used for the chairman?

Sè: There were a chairman in charge of political affairs and a chairman in charge of the military.

Boly: Between both of them, which one was more powerful?

Sè: They had equal power.

Boly: So, was AOM Pheap in charge of the political affairs of Division 912?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: Was Hēng in charge of the military affairs of Division 912?

Sè: They were in charge of separate work.

Boly: Was he in charge of the military affairs of the division?

Sè: There were the first deputy commander and the second deputy commander.

Boly: Were there the first deputy commander and the second deputy commander?

Sè: Yes! However, the division did not have enough forces because they had not selected forces.

Boly: AOM Pheap died in 1992 from aliver disease. Some people said that he died from liver cancer.

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: After Pheap died, Hēng would have replaced Pheap's position, but I heard that Hēng died even before Pheap.

Pheap: Hēng died before *Bang* Pheap.

Boly: Did he die?

Pheap: Hēng died before Pheap. Hēng fell ill when we escaped to Chamkar Trab (ចំការត្រប់) plantation. Hēng died first, probably in 1988.

Boly: What illness did he have?

Pheap: He was seriously ill since 1984. In 1987 I lived here and was given land.

Boly: So, did Hēng die in 1987?

Pheap: Yes, maybe he died in 1987 or 1988, because in December 1987, I left the unit, where we were living together, to go to Choam Sla (ជាំស្លា).

Boly: Did he die from an illness?

Pheap: Yes. He was ill since 1984.

Boly: Do you know what type of illness he had?

Pheap: No, I do not. When we were at 40, our houses were close to each other's. He had been wounded and he had other illnesses.

Boly: So, after he died, was SAING Kung (សាំង គង់) promoted to be in charge of military affairs?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: He was promoted after Pheap died. Hēng died before Pheap and Pheap died in 1992.

Boly: After Hēng died, Pheap was still in charge of political affairs, and Kung was promoted to be in charge of military affairs. Do you (aunt) think that is correct?

Pheap: Maybe it was like that. In December 1988, I left the place.

Boly: You left the place. Where did you go?

Pheap: I went to live in Choam Ksant in Division 612. In 1986, before I joined Division 612, we lived close to each other. When I moved to Choam Ksant, we were far from each other so I did not know anything.

Boly: After *Ta* Pheap died, was *Ta* Kung promoted to be in charge of the political affairs of the division?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: Who was promoted to take charge of military affairs?

Sè: Maybe, Rēt.

Pheap: TUY Bunnrēt.

Boly: TUY Bunnrēt?

Sè: *Ta* Toap (ទ័ព) was promoted before TUY Bunnrēt. After *Ta* Toap died, TUY Bunnrēt was promoted.

Boly: After Kung was promoted, who was promoted as the chairman?

Pheap: TUY Bunnrēt.

Boly: *Pou* Sè, who have you just mentioned?

Sè: I mentioned Toap and Vol (វ៉ុល). They were there at the same time as *Ta* Hēng and they died on the battlefield; they did not have high-ranking positions yet.

Pheap: Toap and Vol did not work there for long. At the beginning they were appointed only as assistants.

Boly: Did they work there for a short time?

Sè: First, he was under my supervision. Because we wanted to support the battlefields in Siem Reap and he was from that place and I was from a different place. He was promoted later. But he died because he was careless.

Pheap: Immediately after he was promoted and transferred there, he died.

Boly: Why did he die?

Pheap: Because, he was hit [by shrapnel].

Sè: A shell exploded.

Pheap: He was promoted for only a short time, and then he died.

Boly: He had been promoted for only a short time; is that correct?

Pheap: Yes, for only a short time. At that time, when he came from the battlefield, he was promoted.

Sè: In fact, he was flattered because he was promoted from a battalion to be a member of the division. First, I was on the division committee as well but in order to support his hometown he was promoted to this position. I did not feel jealous of him. I only wanted to develop the country.

Boly: Was *Ta Kung* in charge of the military affairs of the division from 1992?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: Was TUY Bunnrēt in charge of the military affairs of the division from 1992?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: Were there any other changes?

Sè: 1992, 1993, 1994. We went, east in 1994.

Pheap: Yes, there was. We left in 1987 and we did not know anything. I only returned to join this division in 1996.

Boly: In 1996, did you return to join Division 912?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: Yes. I returned to work for the division.

Boly: When you returned in 1996, who was the division commander?

Pheap: *Bang Kung* was still the division commander.

Boly: Was Kung still the division commander?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Sè: He went to ask to bring us back.

Boly: Was Kung the division commander until 1998?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Sè: Until the end of the integration.

Boly: Now I am clear about the events. Was TUY Bunrēt still in charge of the military affairs of the division?

Sè: He was still in charge of the military affairs of the division, but he defected to the government, and the division was broken up.

Boly: When did he defect?

Sè: Maybe in 1997 or 1996.

Pheap: He went in 1996. He went to work inside and he lived there.

Boly: Oh! Did he defect from the division first?

Pheap: Yes, he did.

Sè: He was born there.

Boly: Where was his hometown?

Pheap: His hometown was in Siem Reap Province.

Boly: So, it was easy for him to defect from the division.

Pheap: He became rich when he went to work there. He went with the forces of the government as well.

Sè: He took his wife there first. Later, they separated.

Boly: Was it because he saw those in Pailin (ប៉ៃលិន) defect to the government?

Sè: No! This place had problems as well. Read my biography, and you will know how difficult it was.

Boly: He defected to the government. Is TUY Bunnrēt still alive?

Pheap: He died in 2011 from liver illness as well.

Boly: Did he have liver disease?

Pheap: He had a tumour in his stomach and this tumour was called Kis (គីស). First, this tumour was small but he did not have a surgery, and he also had leukaemia.

Boly: He had cancer so he could not live for long.

Pheap: He went to a Vietnamese hospital as well.

Sè: This illness was serious. His cells were destroyed. Even if he went to a Vietnamese hospital, he could not survive.

Boly: When he defected to the government, did he get any position?

Sè: Yes, he did.

Pheap: He was in charge of a division as well.

Boly: Was he in charge of a division of the government?

Pheap: Yes, he was. He was in charge of Brigade 41 of the government, and was stationed in Lumtong (ល្អំទង) Commune. After he arrived there, he became ill.

Boly: So, did he get the position?

Pheap: Yes, he did.

Sè: Because he had networks and forces.

Pheap: In fact, most of the soldiers in that brigade were born in Siem Reap Province. And because he was from Siem Reap Province, he was given back his position.

Boly: Wasn't *Ta Kung* from Siem Reap Province?

Pheap: *Ta Kung* was from Kampong Speu (កំពង់ស្ពឺ) Province.

Boly: Did he go there in 1998?

Pheap: *Ta Kung* was there until the integration.

Boly: When he defected, who replaced him?

Pheap: No one replaced him.

Sè: No one replaced him. Later, when I was invited to return, they reorganized the structure. Later Di (ឌី) was in charge.

Boly: Was Di in charge of military affairs?

Sè: Di was in charge of military affairs.

Boly: Was Di in charge of military affairs after *Kung*?

Sè: Yes, he was. The next people were me, Dân (ដន), Koe (កើ) and so on. There were 5 to 6 people.

Boly: After TUY Bunrēt defected, did Di replace him?

Pheap: Yes, he did.

Boly: Was Di promoted to be in charge of the military affairs of the division?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Pheap: His full name was SOKH Di (សុខ ឌី).

Boly: Was his full name SOKH Di?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: He became the chairman of the division; how many other persons have you just mentioned?

Pheap: RUOS Neam (រស់ នាម).

Boly: RUOS Neam?

Sè: Ta Keu (កើ). What is his full name?

Pheap: HUN Keu (ហ៊ុន កើ).

Sè: Then me and Dân. What is Dân's full name?

Pheap: SĨN Dân (ស៊ិន ដន).

Sè: Before I returned here, he was a chairman at the rear, supervising the families of all the combatants.

Boly: Aunt, were you the same?

Pheap: Yes, I was. I supervised the families of all the soldiers.

Sè: We supervised the families at the rear; we were in charge of administration. Thus my wife and I were invited to return. In fact, when this division was established, the division was composed mostly of my forces who had been transferred back.

Boly: Were you from Division 801?

Sè: Yes, I was.

Boly: Were both of you, Dân, Keu, Neam the members of the division?

Sè: Yes, we were on the division committee. However, only men were on the division committee. Women worked at the rear.

Boly: Did those people live there until the integration in 1998?

Sè: Yes, they did.

Boly: Was his name Dân, not Dâng?

Pheap: His name was Dân. He has been demoted for a few years.

Sè: He was removed from his position.

Pheap: Dân worked from the first term (អាណត្តិ) and maybe he had political tendencies.

Boly: I think the information about the members of the division committee is enough. We have information about the division from 1981 to the integration in 1998. We have complete information. The division consisted of three regiments; is that correct?

Sè: Yes!

Boly: The first regiment was Regiment 51; is that correct?

Sè: Regiment 51.

Boly: Was it called a regiment?

Sè: It must have been a regiment. Those in charge of the regiments had ranks of ‘major’ and above.

Boly: Did they have the ranks of majors and above?

Sè: Yes, they did.

Boly: What about the ranks of those in charge of divisions?

Sè: Those in charge of divisions had the ranks of generals.

Boly: Double stars (ព្រឹត្តិផ្កាយ)?

Sè: I could not get this rank. But they respected our hierarchical ranks and duties. When I went to *Chrak 5* [border gate 5], they respected me because they knew that my rank was superior; though there was no insignia, because I was on the front line.

Boly: How many regiments were there?

Sè: Where?

Boly: In Division 912.

Sè: There were three regiments.

Boly: What were the numbers of those regiments?

Sè: Division 912?

Boly: Yes! Division 912.

Pheap: There were Regiment 51, Regiment 52 and Regiment 53.

Pheap: There was Regiment 54 as well. It was *Ta Lēng* (ត្បែង)’s unit.

Sè: Regiment 54 was in charge of transportation.

Boly: Were there Regiments 55, 56 and 57?

Pheap: Later, they established new regiments, but we had left, so we do not know anymore.

Sè: Yes, there were. There was Regiment 55. It was Dân's unit.

Boly: Was Dân the chief of Regiment 55?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: Was *Ta Hēng* the chief of Regiment 57?

Sè: No, he was not.

Boly: Could a regiment chief be a member of the division?

Sè: No. But that was for that era only.

Pheap: Because they were promoted in hierarchical order.

Boly: Could they be promoted from regiment commander to division commander?

Pheap: Yes, they could.

Boly: Now, let's talk about Regiment 51 first. Who was the chief of Regiment 51?

Sè: *A*Ya (ឃ្លា) was the chief of Regiment 51. I do not know the next chief after *A* Ya.

Boly: Do you know the chiefs before *A* Ya?

Sè: The only chief before *A* Ya was *Ta* Kung.

Boly: Was *Ta* Kung the first person promoted as the division commander?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Pheap: In Regiment 51, *Ta Dân* was transferred to join a special unit, and *Ta Kung* was also transferred.

Boly: *Ta Kung* was the commander. Who was *Ta Kung*'s deputy?

Sè: The deputy was probably *Ta Rēt*.

Boly: You are not sure about *Rēt*. Was *Ta Kung* the chairman?

Sè: Regarding that regiment, *Rēt* must have been second in command.

Boly: So, was *Rēt* *Ta Kung*'s deputy?

Sè: Yes. He was *TUY Bunrēt*. In Regiment 52, there were *Ta Phoan*, me, and Comrade *Nân* (ណន), but *Nân* died. Before, it was *Nân*.

Boly: Was he the deputy chief of Regiment 52?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Who was the previous chief of Regiment 52?

Sè: Comrade *Nân*.

Boly: Was his name spelled with 'nor' (ន) and 'nor'?

Sè: 'Nâ' (ណ) and 'nor'.

Boly: Who replaced *Nân* after *Nân* died?

Sè: *Ta Phoan* replaced *Nân*. Later, I was promoted. *Ta Phoan* died as well.

Pheap: *Ta Phoan* died in 1985.

Sè: He died from an illness.

Boly: Were you promoted after *Ta Phoan* died in 1985?

- Sè: We were promoted one after another. I was promoted to take charge of a regiment in 1982 or 1983.
- Boly: So, were you promoted before *Ta* Phoan died?
- Pheap: My husband was promoted before *Ta* Phoan died. They worked with each other for one or two years.
- Sè: Yes. For two years.
- Boly: How could you be promoted if *Ta* Phoan remained the chairman?
- Sè: Because there was a chairman in charge of political affairs and a chairman in charge of military affairs. *Ta* Chhăn (ឆាន់) was the chief of Regiment 53.
- Boly: Regiment 53?
- Sè: Yes!
- Boly: Who was the chief of Regiment 54?
- Pheap: CHHAM Khut (ឆាម ក្រុត).
- Boly: Phoan died in 1985.
- Pheap: [*Illegible*]
- Sè: At that time, we were promoted to the regiment.
- Boly: When were you promoted as the chairman?
- Sè: I do not remember whether it was in 1984 or 1983. I was called back from Tonle Sab (ទន្លេសាប). At that time, I was in Regiment 51.
- Boly: At that time, were you in Regiment 51?
- Sè: Yes, I was. I was a chairman.

Boly: Were you the chairman of a battalion?

Sè: Yes, I was.

Boly: What was the number of the battalion?

Sè: Battalion 210.

Boly: How many battalions were there?

Sè: There were three battalions.

Boly: What were the three battalions?

Sè: In Regiment 51, there were Battalions 201, 202 and 210.

Boly: Why was there Battalion 203 instead of Battalion 210?

Sè: It was numbered like this.

Boly: Who was Battalion 201's chairman?

Sè: Battalion 201's chairman was *A Un* (អ៊ុន). Battalion 202's chairman was *A Thoeun* (ត្នោន).

Boly: Was Un the chairman of Battalion 201?

Pheap: Un with...

Boly: Was Thoeun the chairman of Battalion 202?

Sè: *A Ul* (អ៊ុល) was a deputy. Let me think about 201 first.

Boly: 201?

Sè: Thoeun was the chairman.

Boly: Who was the chairman of Battalion 201?

Sè: Thoeun.

Boly: Wasn't On (អ៊ុន) the chairman?

Pheap: Un, not On.

Boly: Was Thoeun the chairman?

Sè: Un was the chairman of Battalion 201.

Pheap: Un was promoted from the deputy chairman to Battalion 201's chairman.

Sè: Maybe there was another person, *A Cham* (ឃាម). *A Cham* was a member.

Boly: Was there another member?

Pheap: Cham's name was Cham.

Boly: Cham was the member.

Pheap: Thoeun was Battalion 202's chairman and UI was the deputy.

Sè: I knew only two people.

Boly: Who was in charge of Battalion 210?

Pheap: In Battalion 210, there were three people. My husband was the chairman,
Bang Chantha (ប៉ាងឆាន់) was the deputy and *Răn* (រ៉ាន់) was the member.

Boly: Were you [uncle] the chairman of Battalion 210?

Sè: Yes, I was.

Boly: Who was your deputy?

Pheap: The deputy was Chantha.

Boly: Was his surname CHĂN and his first name Tha?

Pheap: His first name was Chǎntha; I do not know his surname. Rǎn was the member. I do not know Rǎn's surname either. I still call him. He is living in Kampong Speu Province.

Boly: Were there changes later?

Sè: Yes, there were. I was promoted as the regiment chairman. There were subsequent changes.

Pheap: Because of those changes, those in that regiment were separated from one another. One was transferred to join Regiment 52, and Rǎn was promoted to work with *Ta Mon* (ត៉ាម៉ុង) and he went to the west.

Sè: He went to Leach (លាច).

Pheap: He went to the west. And Chǎntha died. I did not know who was in charge later.

Sè: Chǎntha was in Regiment 53 when he died. He was the member of Regiment 53.

Boly: For ease of understanding, we can say that there were changes from 1981 to 1993.

Sè: Commanders and cadres were changed or promoted every two or three years.

Boly: Where was Regiment 51 stationed?

Pheap: Regiment 51 was stationed in Puok (ប៊ុក) District.

Boly: Was Regiment 51 stationed only in this district or was it transferred to other districts?

Pheap: Regiment 51 was transferred to Kampong Prahok (កំពង់ប្រហុក) and Stueng Sangkae (ស្ទឹងសង្កែ).

Boly: Did Regiment 51 move to Kampong Thom (កំពង់ធំ) Province?

Sè: No, it did not. It was in the south.

Pheap: No, it was not. It was in Battambang. It was in Stueng Sangkae, south of Kampong Prahok.

Sè: But I moved up to Preaek Toal, Tonle Sab.

Boly: Was it Stueng Sangkae river?

Sè: Yes. It was at the source of Stueng Sangkae River.

Pheap: It depended on *Ta's* order. We were transferred from one place to another.

Sè: It was up to him. He ordered me to go to Mongkul Borei (មង្គលបូរី).

Boly: Oh! You moved to a lot of places. Is that correct?

Pheap: Yes! We kept moving. We were rarely free.

Boly: We were not stationed in only one place.

Sè: Our work changed, but our unit, which was part of a hierarchical network, had to move.

Boly: Can we say this battalion moved here and that battalion moved there?

Pheap: Yes, they did not stay together.

Sè: Regiment 52 went to Kralanh (ក្រឡាញ់) District.

Boly: How many battalions were there in Regiment 52? Were there three battalions as well?

Sè: There were three battalions.

Boly: What were the numbers of the three battalions?

Sè: There were Battalions 204, 205 and 206.

Boly: Do you remember the name of each battalion chief?

Sè: I was closest to 204. *A Dân* was the chief of Battalion 204. Wait, how about *A Hăk* (ហ្នែក)?

Boly: Hăk?

Sè: Yes, 204.

Boly: Were there other people?

Sè: There were *A Hăk* and *A Dân*.

Boly: Was *Dân* the deputy?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: *Dân* was Battalion 204's deputy chief. Who was Battalion 205's commander?

Sè: *Pau* (ប៉ៅ) was Battalion 205's commander.

Boly: *Pau* was the commander. Who was his deputy?

Sè: I did not know who his deputy was. I do not remember.

Boly: It is alright; you remember one person. Who was Battalion 206's commander?

Sè: Regarding 206, those in charge were promoted only later. *Nhim* (ណឹម) was Battalion 206's commander.

Pheap: *Nhim* and *Rau* (រ៉ៅ).

Boly: *Nhim* and *Rau*?

Sè: At that time, there was *A Kâb* (កាប់).

Boly: Was Nhim the commander?

Sè: *A* Kâb was promoted to be in the regiment.

Boly: What was the number of Kâb's battalion?

Sè: He was Battalion 206's commander.

Boly: Was Kâb the commander?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: What was Nhim's position?

Sè: *A* Nhim was the deputy.

Boly: Was Kâb the commander and Nhim the deputy of Battalion 206?

Sè: Yes, they were.

Boly: Later, Kân was promoted as the commander. Where did Kâb go?

Sè: Kâb.

Pheap: Kâb died.

Boly: Was Kâb ever promoted to be in charge of Regiment 52?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: When was he promoted?

Sè: Probably after I left, *Ta* Kâb was promoted.

Pheap: I left in 1986. Kâb was promoted probably in 1988, after *Ta* Toap died. *Ta* Toap was promoted to be in charge of the regiment, and then he died. *Ta* Toap was promoted from the battalion in 1986 after *Ta* Pe (P̣).

Boly: In 1986?

Pheap: No, *Ta* Toap was still in the battalion at that time.

Sè: *Ta* Toap was in the battalion.

Boly: Wasn't he promoted to be in the regiment?

Pheap: I did not know if he was promoted or not because I had left for a year. We left in 1986. We used to be together in the same unit. However, there were many divisions. When we were separated from each other, I could not know anything.

Boly: Where was Regiment 52 stationed?

Sè: Regiment 52 was stationed in Kralanh District and Srei Snam (ស្រីស្នាម) District.

Boly: Was this regiment stationed in only those two places?

Sè: Yes, it was stationed in only those two places.

Boly: What about Regiment 53?

Sè: Regarding Regiment 53, after Chhăn went to the west, who became the chairman? I do not remember who became the chairman of 53. A few previous commanders had died. I did not know who was in charge of 53 at that time.

Boly: Who were the previous chairmen who had died?

Sè: The previous commander was Chăntha, and *A* Thun (ឥស) was Regiment 54's commander and I do not remember the names of the deputies.

Boly: Don't you remember? How many regiments were there in Division 912?

Sè: There were four regiments.

Boly: Were there four regiments?

Sè: Yes, there were. The transportation unit was transformed into a unit.

Boly: What about Regiment 55?

Sè: Regiment 55.

Pheap: Regiment 55 was established later. We knew only about Transportation Regiment 54 of *Ta Lēng* (ត្រីង). I did not know about Regiment 55.

Boly: Was Regiment 54 the transportation unit?

Sè: Yes, it was.

Boly: Was Lēng the commander?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: Who was Lēng's deputy?

Pheap: At that time, *Ta Thun* was transferred, and I do not know to where he was transferred. I do not know Lēng's deputy.

Boly: There was Regiment 55; was there Regiment 56?

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: Was there Regiment 57?

Pheap: I heard about Regiment 55 as well, but I do not know who the commander was.

Sè: There was no Regiment 57.

Boly: Wasn't there Regiment 57?

Sè: No, there was not. After Dân was promoted as Battalion 204's commander, maybe he was promoted to be Regiment 55's commander.

Boly: Was Dân Regiment 55's commander?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Pheap: Only those around the division were promoted.

Boly: Were only those around the division promoted?

Pheap: Yes!

Boly: Who were around the division's office?

Pheap: Dân, Kha (ខា), A Chăntha, A Chum (ជុំ), Chhây (ឆាយ), Răn (រ៉ាន) and Hieb (ហ៊ែប) were around the division's office.

Boly: Did you ever hear of MĂO Hâm (ម៉ៅ ហ៊ាម)?

Sè: Hâm came to replace me.

Boly: Did Hâm replace you?

Sè: Yes, he did. When I was removed, he came to replace me.

Boly: In what regiment did he come to replace you?

Sè: In Regiment 52. Pheap was the deputy.

Boly: Your name is not in this document.

Sè: Yes?

Boly: Oh! You were promoted in 1983. Why did Hâm replace you? Where did you go?

Sè: I went to the border. Later, I went to join Division 612. We lost contact at that time.

Boly: Did MĂO Hâm replace you?

Sè: Yes, he did. There were two people with the name 'Hâm'. One 'Hâm' was in charge of a regiment, and the other 'Hâm' was in charge of a battalion, but he died. I was also separated from Hâm who was put in charge of the regiment, replacing me.

Boly: What was the family name of Hâm who was in charge of the regiment?

Sè: I do not know.

Boly: So, can I write down 'Hâm' without the surname?

Sè: Yes, you can. When you meet other persons, you can ask them.

Boly: So Regiment 55 was around the division's office, and Dân was the commander of that regiment. Was Răn the member?

Pheap: Comrade Răt.

Sè: Yes, Răt was the member.

Pheap: Răt is Truol Treas (ត្រួលត្រាស់) Village Chief nowadays.

Sè: In the past, when he was not disabled, he was with me.

Pheap: In the past, we were together in the same company.

Sè: I was separated from him when I was promoted from the battalion to the regiment.

Pheap: We left the unit. Later, they rearranged again. He was in the same company as me from 1980.

Sè: I left the unit for three or four years.

Pheap: My husband was in charge of political affairs, and Sarăt was in charge of military affairs. Rim's husband was in charge of political affairs in 1980. We came together, and I arranged a marriage for them.

Boly: Was *Ta Hēng* Regiment 57's commander?

Sè: Who was Hēng?

Boly: I do not know who *Ta Hēng* was; I only heard of Hēng.

Pheap: Maybe, he was Hēng in 32.

Boly: He was near the division's office. He died because he rode an ox cart over a mine.

Pheap: He was Hēng in 32. He was a group chief.

Sè: Hēng was also with me in the past.

Pheap: Hēng was Platoon 32's commander. In the past, he was a group chief in 1981 and 1982. He was a group chief in *Ta Dân*'s company.

Sè: They were my forces, whom I had established.

Pheap: Over a period of time, the forces of 310 gradually ran out. Later, they were separated and transferred to be in charge of this unit or that unit.

Boly: So, were you [uncle] the commander of Regiment 57?

Sè: The structure of Regiment 57 was rearranged later as well.

Pheap: You [Boly] should interview old cadres such as *Ta Răt*. He may know.

Sè: *A Thau* (ថ្ម) also worked there.

Pheap: *A Thau* and *A Phieng* (ផ្អែង) were over there. They were appointed later.

Boly: Did you ever hear of *Hi* (អ៊ី), who was the commander of Regiment 57?

Pheap: I do not know.

Boly: I heard from others that he died when his cart ran over a mine in 1990.

Sè: By 1990, I had already left that place.

Pheap: In 1990, we returned to 801. Only those who did not move knew what was happening there.

Sè: *Ta Im* (អ៊ឹម).

Pheap: *Ta Im* had also been in 52 earlier.

Sè: But he was imprisoned. When he returned, he did not have any position in the division. He was in a regiment.

Pheap: I do not know the number of the regiment where *Ta Im* was.

Sè: *Ta Im* was in 52.

Boly: You do not know who the commander of 53 was; right?

Sè: Besides Chhăn and Khut, I do not know who else was commander of 53.

Boly: Oh, Chhăn and Khut?

Sè: They were sent to Leach.

Pheap: They were sent to Leach in 1985.

Boly: What was Leach?

Sè: Leach was a battlefield to the west.

Boly: Was it in Kampong Chhnang (កំពង់ឆ្នាំង) Province?

Sè: Yes, it was.

Boly: So, was Chhăn the chairman of 53?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: And, was Khut the deputy?

Sè: *Ta Khut* held the same rank as me.

Boly: After they had been sent to Leach, were they missing forever?

Sè: They were sent to the battlefield there, with others.

Boly: Did they die or did they join the government?

Sè: No, they did not die. *Ta Chhăn* is in a division at the present time.

Boly: Was Chhăn the most senior chairperson of 53?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Boly: And was he promoted to a division later on?

Sè: Yes, he was. He was sent to a division in the west.

Boly: What was the division?

Pheap: At that time, they recruited forces from various intervention units and sent them there.

Sè: They requested forces from those units and added them to the division in order to expand [the division].

Pheap: They expanded it by adding additional forces; right?

Sè: Forces from those units were also sent to Pailin and Koh Kong (កោះកុង).
Some of them returned.

Pheap: Some of them defected to the government, some escaped to this place, and some others died. It was an extremely difficult time.

Sè: I was also ordered to go there, but I refused. I told *Ta* not to always use the same people just because they were obedient.

Pheap: So, other forces were sent out instead of us.

Sè: I told him not to always use me just because I was available to him. I could argue with *Ta Mok*.

Boly: Did you dare to refuse his orders?

Sè: Yes, I did.

Pheap: My child, who visited us this morning, also argued with *Ta Mok*. My child borrowed my rice for others to grow in Anlong Veang. He asked *Ta Mok* to return the rice to me. *Ta Mok* asked him about the rice that he was asking for. My child told him that he had taken my rice. *Ta Mok* asked him whose child was he. My child asked *Ta Mok* if *Ta Mok* knew his mother, Pheap. Then, *Ta Mok* said, in a kidding way to my child, that [my child] was a blind man's child and that was why [my child] was so terrific. My child said to *Ta Mok* that if [*Ta Mok*] did not return the rice, he would collect the rice himself. My children were young at that time, and *Ta Mok* really loved children.

Boly: Did he dare argue with *Ta Mok*?

Sè: In fact, [*Ta Mok*] was quite a simple person. He was not a dominating leader. He was not an elitist; he was pleasant.

Pheap: One day, we were kidding with him, saying that he should leave where he was sitting because he was old and he had sat there for too long, and that he should let young people talk instead.

Sè: If he wanted the children to eat something, he would just call a seller, for example an ice-cream seller, and buy ice-cream for them, and then he would sit watching them eat.

Boly: It sounds to me that *Ta Mok* was very ordinary; right?

Pheap: Yes, he was. If someone got small freshwater shrimps or fish, he/she could exchange them with *Ta Mok* for a case of canned fish because that was his favourite food.

Sè: He was the elderly village man and he was good at literature. He was one of CHUON Nat's (ជួន ណាត) students.

Pheap: He never gave up the peasant traditions.

Sè: He did not like the monarchy; that was why people branded *Ta Mok* as too proud.

Pheap: In the new villages, if he found any village to have planted wax melons (ត្រីឡាច), sponge gourds (នន្ទោង), gourds, or lemongrass, he would provide those villagers with even more seeds, canned fish, and rice.

Boly: Did he like the people who loved planting?

Pheap: Yes, he did. If he found someone who had not planted anything, he would scold them, asking them why they did not follow the others.

Sè: He did not like the people to be poor or miserable. He did not like a situation where a tree had no roots or trunk. He would buy for people the things that they were lacking.

Boly: I would like to go back a little bit to 612. Did you leave 912 and then join 612?

Sè: Yes, I did.

Boly: About 612, please listen to the following: First, there were *Ta Chhean* and *Ta Hoeun*. *Ta Chhean* was, later on, removed and sent to Koh Kong, probably in 1981, and then *Ta Hoeun* replaced *Ta Chhean*. Later on, *Ta Sà̀n* (ស័ន) and *Ta Moeun* (ម៉ែន) also came. *Ta Hoeun* managed the division.

Pheap: *Ta Chhean* did not leave in 1981. He left mid-1980. He was there for a very short time. By the time I came to the base at Phlov Dar (ផ្លូវដាវ) road near Preah Vihear, he had already left 612.

Boly: When was the division established?

Sè: It was established in 1980.

Boly: Not in 1981?

Pheap: No, it was not. In 1981, I came to *Ta Pheap's* Division 912. I left 612 in December 1980.

Boly: He probably left 612 late in 1980?

Pheap: Yes, he probably left in November that year.

Boly: Was it November (the month of Kadoek (ក្តុក)) or winter season?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: So, after *Ta Chhean* left, *Ta Hoeun* replaced him, and *Ta Sà*n was the secretary; right?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: And the three were in charge of 612 until 1998. No replacement took place before that; right?

Pheap: No, *Ta Hoeun* was always in charge of it.

Boly: The whole time?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And this division was divided into three regiments: 61, 62 and 63. Is that right?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: You do not know who the chairpersons of 61 and 62 were, but you know that *Ta Mon* was the chairperson of 63. Is that right?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: And *Ta SAING Kung* was a deputy and *Ta Mean* was a member. When was *Ta Mon* removed and sent to the intervention unit?

Pheap: He was removed in 1980.

Boly: Was he removed in 1980?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: So, *Ta Kung* was promoted to chairperson and *Ta Mon* to deputy. Is that right?

Pheap: At that time, Mean was the deputy.

Boly: Oh, *Ta Mean* was the deputy; right?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Boly: *SAIN Kung* left for 912 probably in May 1981; right?

Pheap: No, he left *Ta Hoeun* in December, or perhaps in January or February. In March I delivered my baby. In April, we celebrated the Khmer New Year in 40. He probably left in January.

Boly: What was the month when he left?

Pheap: Maybe, he left in January.

Boly: Did he leave in January 1981?

Pheap: No, but he left in January 1980.

Boly: Hey, how could he leave in January 1980 because ...?

Pheap: *Ta Chhean* had already left. My group was also moved to be with *Ta Pheap*.

Boly: When did *Ta Kung* leave?

Pheap: He left with me. I was pregnant at that time, and Phea and Mean always followed me. Shortly after *Ta Chhean* left, I left as well.

Boly: Did *Ta Chhean* leave early in 1980 or late in 1980?

Pheap: He left late in 1980.

Boly: Did he leave late in 1980?

Pheap: Yes, he probably left one or two months before us.

Boly: Did he leave before or after you?

Pheap: He left before me.

Boly: You and *Ta Kung* left at the same time; right?

Pheap: Yes, *Bang Kung*, *Bang Mean* and others were with me. We travelled together.

Boly: Did you all leave early in 1981?

Pheap: Yes, we left early in 1981.

Boly: You all left early in 1981?

Pheap: Yes, we did. Early in 1981, we went to 912.

Boly: So, *Ta Mean* remained as the chairman of 63; right?

Pheap: *Bang Kung* and *Mean* were always together in the regiment.

Sè: Everyone from 63 was incorporated into 912.

Boly: Including its chairman; right?

Sè: Yes, the whole of Regiment 63 went together.

Boly: So, there remained only two regiments in Division 612?

Sè: Yes, there remained only two of them. However, they were reorganised later.

Boly: So, Regiment 63 was transferred to Division 912 in early 1981. Is that right?

Pheap: Yes, that is right. I know because I also was sent there.

Boly: So, Division 912 was established after Division 612. Is that right?

Sè: Yes, Division 612 was established before Division 912.

Pheap: We heard that *Bang Pheap* came to the Central Zone at the time of its initial arrangement. He was sent there to be added to the division. I went to live in

Choam (ឆ្នាំ). I delivered my baby there, more than one month after my

husband was sent on a mission inside the country. I know we went there at the beginning of that year, because my baby was born in March. After our arrival, my husband left me to go on a mission for more than one month.

Boly: So, only *Ta Mon* left Regiment 63; right?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: *Ta Kung* and *Ta Mean* did not leave the regiment, but they were transferred together to Division 912; right?

Pheap: Yes, the whole regiment was transferred to be with *Ta Pheap*.

Boly: Then, Regiment 63 became part of 51?

Sè: 51.

Boly: It was incorporated in 51; right?

Pheap: Yes, it was part of 51.

Boly: But, there was no *Ta Mean* in Regiment 51. There were only *Ta Kung* and TUY Bunnēt there. Is that right?

Pheap: Yes, he was there. Mean was always there.

Sè: No, *Ta Mean* was not there. He was in another place.

Pheap: Yes, he was there.

Sè: Only our regiment was transferred there.

Pheap: *Bang Mean* was there with us in Chamkar Trab (ចំការត្រប់), Tuek Thleak

(ទឹកធ្លាក់), Tuek Chenh (ទឹកចេញ), ...

Sè: He was with Chhăn in 53.

Pheap: No, he did not go to Tuek Thleak. He was at a transportation place. He was there when A HOUV Lăo's (ហ៊ុន ឡៅ) group was there in Tuek Chenh, along a road beyond the location of 52. *Bang Mean* did not go to Tuek Thleak, a division base. *Bang Mean* was always there with Kung.

Boly: So, Mean was always with Kung; right?

Pheap: Yes, he was. However, I do not know what happened to him later, because we had already left. We did not know where else he was transferred to. Until 1983, we were still together.

Boly: Did you ever hear of VĂN Kosâl (វ៉ាន់ កុសល)?

Pheap: Currently, *Bang* Kosâl is Trapeang Prasat District's governor.

Boly: What was his position before?

Pheap: During that time, *Bang* Kosâl was in charge of a battalion.

Boly: Not in charge of a regiment?

Pheap: No, he was not. Later he was in charge of a regiment.

Sè: He was in charge of a regiment.

Pheap: Oh, he was in charge of a regiment in Choam Sla.

Sè: That is right. He was there with *Ta* Nat's (ណាត) group and others. *Ta* Nat was in charge of a battalion at that time.

Boly: What was the number of the regiment of which VĂN Kosâl was in charge?

Pheap: I do not know its number.

Sè: This group replaced 63.

Boly: Did they replace 63?

Sè: Yes, because 63 was all gone.

Boly: 63 was all sent away. So where were the new forces from?

Pheap: They sent in additional forces to supplement it.

Boly: Did they add additional forces in the three regiments?

Pheap: Yes, they did.

Boly: How about VĂN Kosâl?

Pheap: He was probably promoted to a division.

Boly: Not in a regiment?

Pheap: Yes, in a regiment.

Boly: Regiment 63, probably?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: But, later he was promoted to division level. Hoeun was there alone in 63.

Boly: Was *Ta* Hoeun alone or were *Ta* Sà and *Ta* Moeun also with him?

Pheap: *Ta* Sà was with *Bang* Kosâl in a regiment and, when he was transferred with me to that place, he was also in a regiment.

Sè: But, he lived separately from us. He was with *Ta* Phat.

Pheap: *Bang* Kosâl moved to live with us for a while.

Boly: Where did he live?

Pheap: He was there.

Boly: Was he with 612?

Pheap: Yes, he was.

Sè: But, he was not yet an integral part of the unit.

Pheap: No, he was not an integral part of the unit and, after the integration, he returned to his place.

Boly: What was his position?

Pheap: He was in a regiment.

Boly: What was the number of the regiment?

Pheap: I do not its number.

Boly: You do not know it; right?

Sè: Our career changed. Things were reorganised and structures were changed. So we did not know anything. However, I am certain that he went to Trapeang Prasat.

Pheap: *Ta Chhon* lived in a different place from *Bang Kosâl*.

Sè: *Ta Chhon* was with *Kosâl*.

Boly: Were there three battalions in Regiment 63?

Sè: Yes, there were.

Boly: How many battalions were there in 63?

Sè: In the new Regiment 63; right?

Boly: How many battalions were there in 63 when it was in 612?

Sè: There were two generations of Regiment 63. In my generation of Regiment 63, there were two battalions: Battalion 310 and Battalion 302.

Pheap: It was like the flashing light of a firefly. We were always in and out. Things always changed and we never knew about it clearly. We were at one place only briefly. We were never together, because we were always mobile and sent to various battlefields.

Boly: Were you always on the move?

Pheap: Yes, we were. From a regiment, we were sent to different places. We never knew each other well. Therefore, it was difficult for us to know each other's backphases clearly.

Boly: Now, I want to know about the numbers of the three battalions in Regiment 63.

Sè: The numbers of the battalions? Let me think, Yǐn was in ...

Pheap: In Battalion 61.

Sè: Was Yǐn in Battalion 61 at that time?

Pheap: Yes, he was 61 and Im was in Battalion 62.

Boly: Was Yǐn Battalion 61's chairman?

Sè: Yes, that is right.

Boly: Who was Yǐn's deputy?

Sè: I do not know who the deputy was because it always changed.

Boly: Who was in Battalion 62?

Sè: There were *Ta Im* and *Ta Sà*n in Battalion 62.

Boly: Was *Ta Sà*n also in 62?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Pheap: *Ta Toek* (តឹក).

Sè: *Ta Toek* was in a regiment in my generation.

Pheap: There was another person from 82, but I have forgotten his name.

Boly: Was *Ta Toek* 82's deputy?

Sè: No, he was not. *Toek* was a battalion chairperson. He has the same rank as me; we were in the same generation.

Pheap: We have forgotten each other now. Even though I still remember their names, I would not recognise them if we met in person. I no longer remember any of them now.

Sè: In Regiment 63, *A*Phâl was in the first battalion and *A* Khut was in the second battalion. Oh, no, *A* Oeun was in the second battalion, which was Battalion 302.

Boly: Was Oeun in Battalion 302?

Sè: Please wait and let me think. *A* Oeun was in Battalion 301 and *A* Khut was in Battalion 302.

Pheap: Oeun died.

Sè: Oeun died. Sâm-Oeun went to a refugee camp.

Boly: Sâm-Oeun?

Sè: Yes!

Pheap: *Ta* Mon also died.

Sè: That is right. *A* Mon and *A*Phâl were all under *A* Khut.

Boly: Was Khut Battalion 302's chairman?

Sè: Yes, he was.

Pheap: There were *Ta* Khut and *Ta* Mon.

Boly: What is Mon's full name?

Pheap: He was another Mon. This Mon was chubby. The other Mon in the regiment was thin.

Sè: He was one of *Ta* Kung's forces.

Boly: This was the chubby Mon. Who was the other person?

Sè: That was APhâl. Battalion 310, Battalion 302 and Battalion 301 were under Regiment 63.

Boly: Were you in Battalion 310?

Sè: Yes, I was.

Boly: Who was in charge of Battalion 310?

Sè: Chäntha and Răn were the chairmen. Then, there were Oeun and two others under Oeun, but I have forgotten their names.

Boly: So, all the people you mentioned above went to Division 912. Is that right?

Sè: I went to Division 912 alone.

Boly: Only you joined 912; right?

Sè: Yes, only my battalion, which was the largest, was sent to 912.

Boly: Not all of Regiment 63 was transferred to Division 912; right?

Sè: The whole Regiment 63 was transferred there, but we were sent to various places.

Pheap: Forces from Battalion 603 were sent to *Ta Chhăn*'s unit and other regiments.

Sè: That is right. Some were sent to 53 and others to various other regiments.

Pheap: From the battalion, we were sent to various regiments.

Boly: Where was Division 612 based?

Sè: There were three to four phases for Division 612.

Boly: What did you want to say? I do not understand.

Sè: We always changed battlefields.

Boly: Where was the battlefield in the 1st phase?

Sè: The battlefield was in Choam Ksant District.

Pheap: It was the original place (កន្លែងកើតដំបូង).

Boly: Was the first division established there?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: What happened in the 2nd phase?

Pheap: In the 2nd phase we left Preah Pralay (ព្រះប្រឡាយ) for 40.

Boly: What was 40?

Sè: 40 was our camp and it extended up to Ou Svay (អូរស្វាយ).

Pheap: You are referring Ou Svay as 40? I do not understand.

Boly: Was 40 called Ou Svay bcamp?

Pheap: 40 was in the upper area, next to Ou Svay.

Sè: Ou Svay was in the lower area, next to 40 at Phnum Daen (ភ្នំដេន) camp.

Pheap: It was in the upper area. If we looked down from the upper area, we would see a wide-open plain in the Cambodia territory.

Sè: Camps were given numbers. For example, Mum Bei (ម៉ុំបឺ) was numbered 1001. A place to the east of, and close to, Preah Vihear was numbered 1003. Next to this was another place, numbered 808. They were the main camps.

Boly: Were there only three camps?

Sè: Yes, there were only three.

Boly: How about 1002?

Sè: Yes, there was also 1002.

Boly: Where was camp 1002?

Sè: Camp1002 was located in Paoy Prech (ប៉ោយព្រៃច), Choam Ksant. 1001 was located in Mum Bei.

Pheap: Camp1002 was located in Choam Ksant, where the first Division 612 was established. That place was called Chamkar Damloung (ចំការដំឡូង).

Boly: Was Camp1001 located in Tonle Lpov (ទន្លេល្បៅ)?

Pheap: Yes, it was.

Boly: Camp1002 was located in Choam Ksant; right?

Pheap: A place in Choam Ksant was called Chamkar Damloung because there was potato plantation behind a warehouse.

Boly: Where was Camp1003 located?

Sè: Camp1003 extended from Preah Vihear temple up to Tonle Ta Ngen (ទន្លេតាងើន).

Boly: Trapeang Prasat?

Sè: Camp1003 was located in Trapeang Prasat, Kbal Ou Lhong (ក្បាលអូល្អុង).

Pheap: Kbal Ou Lhong was called 50.

Boly: Did it extend up to Anlong Veang?

Sè: No, not that far.

Pheap: Anlong Veang was called 808.

Boly: It extended from Preah Vihear temple up to ...?

Pheap: Preah Pralay, Kbal Ou Lhong.

Boly: Was Kbal Ou Lhong a village?

Sè: No, it was not at that time.

Pheap: It was located in Ou Chas (អូរចាស់).

Boly: Preah Pralay?

Sè: Yes, Preah Pralay Village was in Ou Lhong, close to Trapeang Prasat.

Boly: Camp It was probably located in Trapeang Prasat District Town; right?

Sè: Yes, it was in Trapeang Prasat District Town.

Boly: Was Kbal Ou Lhong a commune?

Sè: Yes, it was called Ou Lhong Commune.

Boly: But now there is no Kbal Ou Lhong Commune; right?

Pheap: No, it was called that in the past. But now we call it Preah Pralay Commune or Chub Ron (ជប់រ៉ូន), Preah Pralay. Kbal Ou Lhong is called Tuol (ទួល) and the area along the road, where 50 was, is called Chamkar Mtes (ចំការម្លេស).

Boly: What was 50 and 40?

Pheap: These were the words generally used at that time. People liked to call those areas 40 and 50 fields. These were the fields where the Sereika (ពួកសេរីកា) and Para (ពួកប៉ារ៉ា) groups were operating.

Sè: Ou Koma was the name given by us, but Ou Lhong was the original name.

Pheap: Ou Lhong was called Camp 1003.

Boly: How about 808?

Pheap: 808 was here.

Sè: 808 was located in Trapeang Tav (ត្រពាំងតាវ).

Boly: Did it extend from Trapeang Prasat to Anlong Veang?

Sè: This was where 808 was.

Pheap: Camp 808 was in the upper area of present Trapeang Tav Commune.

Sè: And this place was where *Ta Pot* (ពត៌) lived.

Boly: *Ta Pok*?

Sè: *Ta Pot*.

Pheap: POL Pot (ប៉ូល ពត៌).

Boly: POL Pot?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: But the Vietnamese occupied Anlong Veang in 1990. Is that right?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: So, when we were talking about 1001, 1002 and 1003, we were referring to the period before 1990 when we fought to gain control of Anlong Veang; right?

Pheap: Yes, that is right.

Boly: When Anlong Veang was under the government, 1001, 1002 or 1003 no longer existed; right?

Sè: Because we had all already left.

Boly: Because you had left those areas; right?

Pheap: We had already moved the lower area.

Boly: So, 1001 no longer existed at that time; right?

Sè: No, it no longer existed.

Boly: But, 1003 still existed; right?

Sè: When UNTAC arrived, all of us moved to the lower area.

Boly: So, 1003 no longer existed then?

Pheap: It no longer existed as we had all left the area in 1990.

Boly: If we look at the map, where was 808 located?

Sè: On the map, it extended from foot of the mountain to the road.

Boly: Choam Sra Ngam (ជាំស្រង៉ាម)?

Sè: Yes, it extended from Choam Sra Ngam up to Chrach Ta Tum (ច្រាច់តាតូម).

Boly: What Ta Tum?

Sè: It was our village in the past.

Boly: What commune was it in?

Pheap: Commune... I have forgotten.

Boly: Preah Pralay (ព្រះប្រឡាយ)?

Sè: Trapeang Tav (ត្រពាំងតាវ).

Boly: Trapeang Tav?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: No, Ta Tum was not in Trapeang Tav, but in Koun Kriel (កូនក្រៀល).

Boly: What district was it in?

Pheap: Samraong Tong (សំរោងទង) District.

Boly: In Oddar Meanchey (ឧត្តរមានជ័យ) Province; right?

Pheap: Yes, after the main bridge and beyond the T sign (អក្សរតេ), was Ta Tum (តា
 ទុំ).

Boly: That is clear. It was in fact all the way along the border. Was there also 800?

Sè: There was no Unit 800.

Boly: A division then?

Sè: A division under *Ta* Then (ថិន), who was from of an ethnic minority group.

Boly: Now, let us go back to 612. The first round (វគ្គទី ១) [of fighting] was a battle
 in Choam Ksant (ជាំក្សាន្ត); right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: And this place was the origin; right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: It was the origin. And the second round was a battle in 612. Where was this?

Pheap: Preah Pralay.

Boly: How about the third round?

Pheap: During the third round, we came home.

Sè: We went to the location where we live currently.

Boly: Did the third round take place in 1993?

Pheap: The third round took place before 1993.

Boly: Where did that happen?

Pheap: Well, I came there in ... In fact, we left that place in 1987.

Sè: In the second round we were still in the upstream area. We had not yet come downstream.

Boly: Right. The second round took place when you were in the upstream area.

Sè: We had not yet moved downstream. In the third round we moved downstream to Preah Pralay.

Pheap: We came to Preah Pralay which previously was called Choam Sla (ជាំស្លា), in Chamkar Mtes (ចំការម្លេស).

Boly: Did this take place in the second round?

Sè: Yes. The second round took place in the area near Phrea Vihear temple.

Boly: But you were just saying that it took place in Preah Pralay; right?

Pheap: Preah Pralay was where the third round took place. We went there in 1991.

Sè: The names of the local areas were used to locate us.

Boly: So, the third round the battle took place in Preah Pralay. Where did the second round take place?

Pheap: It took place near Preah Vihear temple to the east. We stayed there, but we had no secure camp because we worked along the border.

Boly: In Choam Sla; right?

Pheap: Yes, there were Choam Sla and Chob Ron (ជប់រ៉ុន) passages: downstream, below Choam Sla was Chob Ron.

Boly: Chob Ron?

Pheap: Yes, but the people in Thailand called it Choam Sla.

Sè: We called it Preah Pralay passage. There was a canal there called Ou Preah Pralay (អូរព្រះប្រឡាយ).

Pheap: It intersected with Ou Tuek Khiev canal (អូរទឹកខៀវ).

Boly: The third round took place in Preah Pralay village; right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: You came to organize a village in Preah Pralay; right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: How about Trapeang Prasat (ត្រពាំងប្រាសាទ)?

Pheap: That happened in 1991.

Sè: Ou Lhong (អូរហ្លុង) Village was in the area that is now called Baek Anlong (បែកអន្លង់) Commune.

Pheap: In fact, we started organizing the village in 1990, but the people came to live there in 1991.

Boly: How about Anlong Veang (អង្គជំរែជំរំ)? You fought there in December 1989 and seized it in 1990; right?

Sè: In 1991.

Boly: In 1991?

Pheap: All of us went there in 1991. In 1990, people went there just to cultivate rice and build homes as a base for their wives and children. The wives and children came there late in 1990.

Boly: Who was Sector 612 Office chairperson?

Pheap: 612?

Boly: Who was the division office chairperson?

Pheap: *Ta* Hoeun (ហ៊ុន) was the only person in charge of division 612. There was no one else.

Boly: How about the office chairman? I mean the secretary?

Pheap: Oh, there was no one in charge of the division office.

Sè: There was no one.

Boly: No one?

Pheap: In fact, there was a chairman, but we did not know him.

Boly: How about the commune chief? Someone told me he was the division office chairperson.

Pheap: The chief of Lumtong Commune?

Boly: Yes.

Sè: No, he was not. He was with me.

Pheap: After he became a disable, he was made the chairman of Division 912 with *Ta* Kung (កង់).

Sè: But before that he was in Khut's (ឃុត) unit.

Pheap: Yes, before that he was in Unit 53 (កង ៥៣).

Sè: *A* Sâm-Oeun (អាសំអឿន).

Pheap: With *Pou* Sâm-Oeun.

Boly: He was in Unit 53 with Chhăn (ឆាន់), Khut; right?

Pheap: That is right, there were Chhăn, Oeun... No, Chhăn had already left. Only Oeun stayed.

Boly: Where did Chhăn go?

Pheap: Chhăn went to Leach with *Pou* Khut.

Boly: After Chhăn and Khut had left; right?

Pheap: That is right.

Boly: Then Sâm-Oeun became the chairperson?

Pheap: Chhăn was in one unit and *Ta* Khut was in another. They were in different regiments.

Boly: But *Ta* Khut was not Chhăn's chairman; right?

Sè: Well, Chhăn was in a regiment.

Pheap: Khut was in a battalion.

Sè: But, Khut... Sâm-Oeun was with my group, Unit 63.

Boly: So, after Chhăn had left, Sâm-Oeun became the chairperson; right?

Sè: Sâm-Oeun also left, he retired and went to live in Ou Trav (អូរត្រាវ). I never saw him again.

Boly: Where was the commune chief? Was he also in 52?

Pheap: He was in 53 with Sâm-Oeun.

Boly: What position did he have?

Pheap: At that time, Sâm-Oeun was promoted to a company.

Boly: What were the battalion under 53?

Sè: 53.

Pheap: At that time, he might have been promoted to be a member of a battalion. He was wounded.

Sè: No, we had already left.

Pheap: We left the place before them, and so we did not know what happened there after that.

Boly: You left there before them and so you did not know what happened after that; right?

Pheap: Yes, they left that place at the same time, but we were travelling along different paths towards the west. I left before the others and the regiment left after me. So, not all of us left at the same time.

Sè: But we worked together along the border with the battalion. The commune chief was wounded at that time, but I did not know that because I was in the regiment.

Pheap: That happened in Trapeang (ត្រពាំង) Village on the other side of the old market. He came to work in that place and sustained the wound there.

Sè: We lived along the border during our last struggle. We were proactive and we were always first to go.

Pheap: I have forgotten the month when he was wounded.

Sè: People came first to live in 920 with *Ta San*'s (សាន) group.

Boly: *Ta San* was the chief of 920. DO you know who his deputy was?

Pheap: You will have to see Mr. CHĪN Savung (ជិន សាវង្ស), the governor of Anlong Veang District Council, if you want to know about this. He knew this.

Boly: CHĪN Savung?

Pheap: Yes, he lives here. His home is located opposite the 13 October Guest House.

Boly: Was he directly involved?

Pheap: He was with 920 and before that, he was in 801. He was transferred to 920 with *Bang San*.

Sè: Since the era of the people's revolution, I have always been with these senior people. I always respect them and call them *Bang*. For example, I still call the district governor *Bang*.

Boly: YIM Phǎnna (យីម ផាន់ណា); right?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: What position did CHĪN Savung have when he was there?

Sè: He was probably in a division in 920.

Boly: He had been with *Ta San* since they were in Mondulkiri; right?

Sè: Yes, he was with *A Chhel* (អា ឆីល) who was taken there from 801.

Pheap: *Bang* San took a lot of forces with him.

Sè: He took most of them from this unit. However, some of them were missing. I have only seen Nuon (នួន) and Noeun (នឿន) again since then.

Boly: So, to know about 920, I need to meet CHĪN Savung; right?

Sè: Yes, Khemra (ខេមរា) was also from 920.

Pheap: He was there until 1990.

Sè: He was never sent to any mobile unit, like me. Most of the time, I was sent out by *Ta*. I was always the victim receiving the new tasks.

Pheap: *Ta* was a title used for everyone and we always used this during that time.

Boly: Did you know anything about Division 616?

Sè: I was rarely with them.

Pheap: It was *Ta* Nhân's (ញ៉ន) unit. We rarely worked together. If you want to know about that, please ask *Ta* Chĭn (ជិន).

Boly: Who is Chĭn?

Pheap: Chĭn is currently in a division. He is in the military.

Boly: And his name is Chĭn; right?

Pheap: Chĭn, because he...

Boly: Where is he now?

Sè: He is with a division. I did not know much about 16. It was very far from me.

Boly: Far?

Pheap: Yes, I knew him through my chiefs, like *A Hñn* (អា ហ៊ីន) who was also with the division. *Ta Nhân* was the division chairperson.

Pheap: I knew very little about 16 because in 1003 it was with one of *Ta Ven's* (វ៉ែន) units, *Ta Mok's* son in law.

Sè: It was *A Sou's* (ស៊ូ) unit in the early days.

Boly: Did you know *Ta PICH Cheang* (ពៀង ជាង)?

Pheap: Yes, I did.

Boly: Is he deceased?

Pheap: He is deceased. His wife, *Moeun* (ម៉ឺន), is still alive.

Boly: What does his wife do nowadays?

Pheap: I do not know what *Bang Moeun* does. However, I do see her occasionally.

Boly: Where does she live? Does she live in that petrol-selling house?

Pheap: I do not know where she exactly lives now, whether in the old house or at the petrol selling site.

Sè: In her old house.

Pheap: Because big houses have been built there, it is almost impossible to locate *Moeun's* old home.

Boly: I heard that she lives in *Moha Hēng Shop* (ហ៊ាងមហាហេង); right?

Pheap: I am not sure.

Boly: We probably could find out where she lives if we went and asked someone at her shop?

Pheap: She is well-off. She is not poor. She has land where the market is located. They rented the land from *Yeay Moeun* to build the market. I do not know much she sold or leased it to the tenant.

Sè: She has more Chinese blood than Khmer.

Boly: Because she was in the Cambodian Embassy in China since 1975; right?

Pheap: *Ta* PICH Cheang was very good at hiding his background. Nobody really knew that he was a rich man. In 1999, when he came to work in the new place in the new Anlong Veaeng District Office, he built a small cottage only, in which to live alone. He would enter the cottage feet first. It was only big enough for him to fit in. He never wanted to have luxurious accommodation.

Sè: He was probably in the Cambodian Embassy in North Korea?

Boly: The Cambodian Embassy in China.

Pheap: He gave up everything. He was too humble.

Boly: He was with KÈ Pork (កែ ពក) in the North Zone. He was a member of the Zone. He was intellectual. In 1975, he was sent to the Cambodian Embassy and worked there until 1986, and then he returned to Cambodia to be in charge of Division 417 that had been under *Ta* Pork. *Ta* Pork resigned from the division, but he is still an influential man.

Sè: He is a powerful man, but he assigned *Ta* Chum (ជុំ) as chairman of the division.

Boly: Did he instead assign CHUM Cheat (ជុំ ជាតិ) as the chairman?

Sè: Yes, he did. It was Division 417.

Boly: Not PICH Cheang as the chairman?

Sè: No, and *Ta* Chum was in charge of military.

Boly: *Ta* PICH Cheang was in charge of politics then?

Sè: He was more involved with politics. He travelled in groups and was not always in the fighting unit. He was a politician.

Boly: If we wanted to meet *Yeay* Moeun, would it be very difficult to meet her?

Sè: It might be difficult to meet her.

Pheap: I do not know what to say. *Yeay* Moeun is different from *Bang* PICH Cheang. I do not know about her heart. In the past, it was fine when *Bang* PICH Cheang was still alive. We had a friendly relationship. Now, when we talk to her, she talks to us as if she had never known us before. I am afraid that she is discriminating. It seems to me that she pretends not to know us.

Boly: I am asking this because I do not want to make her unhappy from the beginning. If she was unhappy from the beginning that would be the end for us and we would not be able to do anything. I want things to go well with her from the beginning. When I meet you, you both understand the story and it is easy for us to talk to each other. Otherwise, there would be situation in which only one person talks while the other one asks or says something first. If this is the case, we will not be able to ask her any questions.

Sè: People tend not to allow others to know about their past.

Pheap: Some people hide their backgrounds. I am too lazy to hide mine. I do not know where I could hide it!

Sè: They say they do not want to suffer. However, I think whatever kind a court there is, the people, who have suffering minds or bad things in their backgrounds, will always change their names. They will absolutely change their names. Innocent people will not change their names. This comes from a psychological perspective. I have learned psychology. I base my thinking on

the materialist perspective and the interaction between cause and effect
(បដិច្ចសមុប្បាទ).

Boly: Interaction between cause and effect, and materialism?

Sè: Yes, materialism.

Boly: But this morning you said...?

Sè: Materialism, combined with the interaction between cause and effect,
consisting of five factors.

Pheap: People say everything changes.

Boly: Everything changes?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: Everything evolves. Everything involves conflict, escalating from small to big
in size, and from low to high in its volume. This is based on a philosophical
perspective. However, I have forgotten the article. I was not clear about it
when I threw away that small book. I face chaos once every four years and
twice every eight years. If you read my biography, you would see the many
sufferings and miseries I have faced.

Boly: I am not going to ask you more about those divisions.

Sè: No, because you already know a lot about them.

Boly: I know some of 990 and Division 603 under *Ta Tăn* (តាន់) who was *Ta Mok*'s
son-in-law and was taken to be killed by *Ta Mok*. Who replaced him? Did *Ta*
Nhân replace him?

Sè: This is about *Ta Nhân*'s unit, and this group was under 616.

Boly: 616, another unit?

Sè: 616 was *Ta Ven*'s unit.

Boly: Was it *Ta Ven*'s unit?

Sè: Yes, that was his force.

Boly: But *Ta Ven* was in 603; right?

Sè: 603 was a unit, but it was part of the present day 616.

Boly: Does 616 belong to the current government?

Sè: No, it existed in the past, but 603 was part of 616.

Boly: I am sorry. I do not understand this. What was 616 and 603?

Sè: It was made up of *Ta Ven*'s unit.

Boly: 616 was originated from 603; right?

Sè: Yes, but it was made up of two divisions.

Boly: 616?

Pheap: 616 was managed by *Ta Nhân*, but before that it was co-managed by *Ta Nhân* and *Ta Ven*.

Boly: Right, *Ta Nhân*?

Sè: *Ta Nhân* was under *Ta Ven*'s management.

Boly: *Ta Nhân* was under *Ta Ven*; right?

Sè: Yes, *Ta Nhân* and *Ta Sēng* (សេង) were under *Ta Ven*.

Boly: But you were saying that 616 originated from *Ta Ven*'s unit; right?

Sè: All those small units originated from *Ta Ven*'s.

Boly: They were under the management of *Ta Ven*'s unit; right?

Sè: That is right. It was the origin. Therefore, we could search for their connections; for example, 801 to 912 were all one string.

Boly: 801 to 912?

Sè: 612 to 912 all had forces from 801.

Boly: There were origins. For example, 603 was the origin and it was in charge of 616; right?

Sè: 616 had forces from 603, and 616 had many origins.

Boly: What were they?

Sè: They were regiments, battalions, etc. These origins were divided into branches.

Boly: Does it mean that some of 603 forces were transferred to 616?

Sè: Some were sent to 616 and some to many others. 603 was the origin of many units.

Boly: You were saying that 920 and 912 had the same origin; right?

Sè: 912 originated from 801. The latter had more forces and so it was expanding.

Pheap: They often said about expanding forces.

Boly: Expanding forces?

Pheap: Yes, there was no isolated division because we expanded 801 by sending its forces to 612 and 912. We meant that 801 was the origin of the intervention troops, which were divided and sent to various divisions.

Boly: They originated from...?

Pheap: Yes, they originated from 801 and similarly, 616 originated from the other one.

Boly: From 603; right?

Pheap: Yes, that was what I wanted to say.

Sè: If you want to know the story of 603, you should ask about 616 to get the answer.

Boly: I understand.

Sè: Yes.

Boly: And 912 was originated from 920; right?

Pheap: From 920.

Boly: Or from 801?

Sè: Which one?

Boly: 912?

Sè: 912 originated from an old unit in the North Zone, but it also included some forces from 801.

Boly: From 801; right?

Sè: Yes, they included me and some other soldiers.

Boly: There were some other divisions you have probably never heard of because they were far away from you; for example, 415. Did you ever hear of it?

Sè: No, I never heard of 415.

Boly: How about Division 86?

Sè: No, I never heard of it because it was in the zone far away from mine.

Boly: It was far away from you; right?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: But, you have heard of 450; right?

Sè: I have heard of 450.

Boly: Did this belong to SOKH Pheap (សុខ ភាព).

Sè: 450 originally belonged to Suong (ស្នួង)?

Boly: Not SOKH Pheap?

Sè: No, SOKH Pheap was in charge of it after *Ta* Suong.

Boly: *Ta* Suong was in charge of it before SOKH Pheap; right?

Sè: Yes, that was 450. Well, 603 combined with 310 and 450, which belonged to Mr. Sâm-Oeun and Mr. Suong respectively, and was managed by Mr. Ven.

Boly: So, 450 also belong to 603; right?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: And 310 belonged to 603 too; right?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: I don't think I have heard of 310?

Sè: It belonged to Mr. Sâm-Oeun.

Pheap: 310 was from...

Sè: The Southwest Zone.

Pheap: 310 and 912...

Sè: 310 was a division.

Boly: Did 310 exist from 1975?

Sè: Yes, it was under Mr. Sâm-Oeun and 450 was under Mr. Suong.

Boly: 450 also existed from 1975; right?

Sè: Yes, the armed forces announced it nationwide.

Boly: In 1975?

Sè: Yes, but it was added to 603.

Boly: Does that mean that 310 and 450 were added to 603; right?

Sè: Yes, that is right. They were added to 603.

Boly: These were created during the revolutionary era; right?

Pheap: Yes, but later they were combined with 603, according to the new structure.

Boly: Who was the chairman of Division 800?

Sè: *Ta* Then (ធីន), *Ta* Prâ (ប្រ) ... Only those two men ...

Boly: Not *Ta* Pheap (ភាព)? There was another person also called Pheap who was *Ta* Then's deputy; right?

Sè: I did not know who this Pheap was.

Boly: DI Then (ឪ ធីន)?

Sè: Yes, he was an ethnic.

Boly: From Rattanak Kiri; right?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: He died in a motorbike crash. Văn (វ៉ាន) is still alive.

Boly: Yes, he died in 1998 after the integration.

Sè: I went there two years ago, but I did not see him.

Boly: Now, I have some final questions for you. The interview with you has lasted nearly two hours; since 3 p.m. until now, almost 5 p.m. The total interview time is eight hours and it is the longest one. No one else could supersede it!

Pheap: That is alright.

Sè: Because you want to know a lot of stories.

Boly: Could you please give us a more detailed description about the interaction between cause and effect (បដិវត្តន៍សមុប្បាទ)? What are the principles of the interaction between cause and effect that you mentioned in your poem?

Sè: Materialism is the cause and it is combined with the interaction between cause and effect. Materialism includes properties that exist naturally, but the interaction between cause and effect includes four factors.

Boly: First?

Sè: First, everything evolves; nothing is static.

Pheap: But this is the concluding term. It is the main concluding term to be used.

Boly: Second?

Sè: Everything changes and this is the cause.

Boly: Third?

Sè: Everything is in conflict. This is clearly related to materialism. However, I have forgotten the last one. I cannot recall it. From there we can make other syntheses.

Boly: Another one, please?

Sè: There is still another one, which I have forgotten. We have to make these into detailed syntheses: from low to high, from small to big, from good to bad and vice versa. Everything evolves and is never static, because materialism relates to things that are created naturally.

Pheap: They seriously take the first term as the most important one.

Boly: Materialism?

Pheap: Everything must evolve.

Boly: What do you mean by everything?

Pheap: There are no easy things in this world. I mean that people are born and have to die finally, by either disease or other causes.

Boly: It sounds religious; right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: It seems to be related to religion; right?

Pheap: That is right. It also relates to humanity, because some days they have good feelings and some other days they have bad ones; some days they have illness; some days they are sad and some other days they are happy. Therefore, you can see that everything is always evolving. It never stays the same. Everything changes and alters.

Boly: That is the interaction between cause and effect (បដិច្ចសមុប្បាទ); right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: I have often heard that phrase. I read documents published in 1975-1976 and I found “interaction between cause and effect” in those papers, but I did not know what it meant because it is a Pali phrase.

Pheap: What did we just talk about?

Boly: Everything always evolves. Everything always changes. Everything always is in conflict.

Pheap: They still change and there must be changes in them.

Boly: How are these things related to materialism and the interaction between cause and effect (បដិច្ចសមុប្បាទ)?

Sè: The interaction between cause and effect means making judgments based on these four factors. Therefore, every action evolves and never stays static. For conflict, it means that even people in the same family have conflicts arising on account of their means, class, and feelings.

Pheap: In fact, this also relates to the work we do in society. It means that nothing stays the same. You cannot be in power forever. There must be changes. There must be changes in society. We have to follow the principles of materialism because one must adapt to the changes. When there are changes, you have to adapt to the changed situation. The principles of materialism and the interaction between cause and effect are for us to use and consider. Value your knowledge, but do not underestimate that of others. We use these principals as the basis for our thinking.

Boly: It sounds like a dharma preaching.

Pheap: Yes, he taught us high preaching.

Sè: He taught us the world philosophies.

Pheap: Is this POL Pot's or someone else's philosophy?

Pheap: It is POL Pot's.

Boly: These are rare terms and people rarely use them.

Sè: He said that ordinary peasants would not understand the terms but we had to put them into practice first and then it would be reflected in our actions, and that the people would start to understand it. That was what he said.

Boly: Does it mean that people would understand these [ideas] through practice?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: If you just gave the lectures, the people would not understand them; right?

Sè: That is right. They would not understand them.

Boly: If we put them into practice, people would understand them later.

Sè: Yes, that was why he factored in critics and self-critics.

Boly: What do you mean?

Sè: Before we criticise someone else we need to review ourselves first to see whether we were prepared disclose our own mistakes in front of others in an honest way or not. If not, others would criticise us, so they in turn could complement us for what we were lacking.

Pheap: However, they talked about advantages and disadvantages.

Sè: Yes, they talked about the weapons and the mentality.

Boly: For critics and self-critics?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: They talked about advantages and disadvantages; right?

Pheap: Yes. Before we could mention our advantages we first had to mention our disadvantages.

Sè: They wanted to listen to our views.

Pheap: To know what we were lacking.

Sè: If we were too confident that we could do everything well and in the right way, that would lead to a situation in which we were too proud of ourselves, and this was a factor that we should consider. If we were honest, we would disclose that which we lacked in front of the community. People would know that we were the kind of people that would progress well and were honest. However, if we did not report all of it, or we hid or covered it, people would judge that we would move from good to bad people. That was how they judged the people. That was why he told us to study it repeatedly because we were all low ranking people.

Pheap: Nowadays, people talk about strengths and weaknesses, not advantages and disadvantages, as they did in the past. Advantage is what we have achieved and disadvantage is the gap that we could not achieve or do.

Sè: It is good that you have made efforts to compile such a document. We just make our judgment that POL Pot did countless good things, but his lackings were too huge as he was too much a leftist. His leftist tendencies led to dictatorship, his bias led to his failure, and the journey was not completed.

Boly: Could you please explain to me: I have received many questions on what the good things were about the Democratic Kampuchea regime. I have been asked such questions on radio, television, etc. I have met with students, teachers and the public in various forums. Many of them asked me about this, and I have been not able to answer.

Sè: You can see we were deeply involved in this movement. First, there was a spirit of honesty among men and women. Most of them lived and slept together. Regardless how close they were to each other, they never committed moral offenses. This was a prominent factor, and it was called “clean morality”. Such relationships were as robust as the gathering of relatives. They had strong spirit of solidarity, as if they were born from the same parents.

Boly: What else could you think of, *Ming*, in case *Pou* cannot find more good things about the regime?

Pheap: My answer is no different from his. The important thing was that we united, mutually saved and we helped each other. We cared about each other; we were friends in need in our units.

Sè: Another thing was comprehensive: the nationalist factor. He was stubborn himself but thought in terms of the national interests as a whole. It was not about the only factor that every one of us knew that POL Pot was an obvious murderer, but he gave top priority to the national interests. He was so deep and comprehensive in regards to national interests. I could see that this was his highest point. However, through what we have seen externally, we condemn POL Pot as a leader who killed two millions, regardless of everything else he

did. This is the fuel which burns down POL Pot's image, but it was his brands (ស្រី) [subordinates] and not POL Pot's brain that did this to the people. All of POL Pot's brands [subordinates] abused their power. They disguised themselves.

Pheap: They took his line as a means to frighten the people.

Sè: Yes, they wore the same clothes, but they had different mindsets.

Boly: So, the latter were the killers; right?

Sè: Yes, that was why I was there with him for almost the rest of my life. I am not biased. I saw the territory interest out of him. He would protect the territory from getting lost.

Boly: What were the achievements of the Democratic Kampuchea that were realised during the regime?

Sè: The period was too short for us to develop and build our economy for the better livelihood of our people.

Pheap: We were soldiers so we did not know much what was happening at the back bases. We, in the military sector, were only involved in the protection work and the cultivation of crops for our own supplies, which were not stable.

Sè: We were not at the back bases, but we knew what was good and what was bad. However, I want to stress that he was too leftist; his movement and steps were too leftist.

Boly: Was he too leftist?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: That led to the failure; right?

Sè: Yes, he was trapped so deeply in the left. The neighbouring countries did not do that as we did. We just suddenly stopped circulating our bank notes.

Boly: No money to spend and no schools to attend; right?

Sè: Yes, no money and private ownership was not allowed.

Boly: Everything was collective; right?

Sè: All was collective and that was too serious.

Boly: Serious?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: 3rd Grade was the highest level allowed in schools.

Boly: 3rd Grade was the highest level allowed?

Pheap: No 3rd, 4th and 5th grades were taught. Only one 5th grade class was taught in only one place, but it was not official.

Boly: Why did they ban schools? Did you know the reasons behind this, *Pou*?

Sè: Schools were allowed. Schools existed everywhere. They were built and teachers were recruited everywhere we moved into, but the 5th Grade was the highest level of education allowed. 5th Grade was the final class.

Sè: There were no intellectuals. Teachers from the previous regime lacked of competence.

Pheap: The teachers lacked competence.

Boly: Where were the teachers from the LON Nol regime?

Sè: They were all associated with political trends.

Pheap: Only a few of them were left.

Sè: However, not many teachers were killed. They were just dispersed to different places, but they were not involved in politics.

Pheap: Only peasants joined the resistance movement. No teachers nor educated people joined the movement. 7th Grade was the highest level of education

among the people in the movement. Therefore, we just tried our best. We had quite a few people with 5th grade education.

Sè: There were no highly educated people, except the teachers, who lacked competence.

Pheap: My assistant graduated 5th grade in POL Pot regime. He reads high level books and papers. He can do everything I ask him to and I never have any problems with him. However, he is poor at English. He now knows how to type on the computer and to print. He taught himself how to do that. He learned from people and bought a computer to learn and practice. He now can do everything on the computer.

Boly: Because he always tries his best; right?

Pheap: He has to make an efforts. He was born in 1977 and so he had a little chance to study and was always in the jungle.

Boly: Why did they ban pagodas? What were the problems with pagodas and monks?

Pheap: I never knew what was happening inside the back bases, but in the outside, having a pagoda would be difficult. [It would be difficult] for us to feed monks because there were no strategic villages.

Sè: We never stayed at the same place.

Pheap: We never stayed still. We changed our homes every month and every year. We rarely lived in one place for one whole year. If we grew bananas in a place, we would leave there after our second collection of banana crops. We always moved to a new village. Sometimes, even in the new village, if other people also came to live there, we would have to move to another new one.

Sè: As resistance members we never stayed still at the same place. Sometimes, the situation did not allow us to stay long in a place. When my wife was seriously ill in the upstream area, I was at the national road no. 6. The two places were very far from each other.

Boly: Why did they have to move people around from village to village, commune to commune, district to district, and province to province, and so on?

Pheap: Because we were mobile troops [that could be moved] anywhere. We were sent from one battle to another. He [POL Pot] did not want us to be separated far from our families.

Sè: Because it would be difficult for us to be aware of our families' well-being.

Boly: Were there any family members of the soldiers staying at the base or were whole families moved together?

Pheap: We always on the move. We never stayed at the same place for three years. That was not the case.

Boly: I am asking you because I am curious. Why did the troops need to move back and forth so many times? Why did they not stay at the same place and safeguard the area where they were based? Why did they bother moving back and forth?

Sè: The situation was never the same. The enemy also changed their locations. In some places, whenever our other troops had to withdraw because they were defeated, we were sent in. That was how we moved.

Boly: Were there any issues of the enemy hidden inside?

Sè: Yes.

Pheap: At one point in time, I was in Tonle Lpov (ទន្លេល្បៅ) and my husband was sent to work in Thkeam Romeas (ភ្នំមរមាស). I did not know how to get to him. I could not walk along the border to reach him through the night.

Sè: The two places were about 200 kilometres apart.

Pheap: I think it took two days and two nights to get there.

Sè: Previously, they wanted me to go to 808. They wanted me to reach Svay Rieng, and we had to travel there by foot. However, we did not have money to spend. Money was useless.

Boly: Why did they ban money spending during that time?

Pheap: We did use banknotes, but we could not produce them. It was not possible for us to produce them.

Sè: We did not have a stable economy. There was no finance and no progress.

Pheap: We did not have an economy and so we did not have finance. We had only one country, but we were outlawed. We could not produce banknotes because no one recognized them. That was the reason. However, during the regime they provided us with sufficient amounts of rice, salt, fat, monosodium glutamate (MSG), sugar, fish sauce, fermented fish, soya bean paste, fermented shrimp pastes, and all other food supplies. We were provided with two sets of clothes annually. We never lacked clothes, which also included underwear, small children's aprons, shirts and scarfs. We were provided with cooking pots and plates. We did not have to buy anything. We were given jams, fertilizer, flour, yeast for our own homemade bread, a bag of egg powder was given to us, and we could share 2-3 kilograms to each of the families. We were given eggs, sugar, milk, and oil, and then it would be up to us to make own egg cakes. That was the reason why I sacrificed my husband for years with POL Pot. As a wife at the base, I never faced any difficulties. I was admitted to the hospital sacrificed whenever I got sick without any payment. The medicines were readily available. If someone did not have breast milk to feed their new born, they could come to the warehouse to get it. It was easy and they just told their division [number], which then allowed the warehouse keepers to give them the milk. That was why we were happy in the resistance movement.

Boly: You were happy to be in resistance movement even though you did not have salary; right?

Pheap: Yes, we were motivated by the resistance movement.

Sè: We continued to do it even though we were wounded.

Pheap: When you got injured, you were admitted to the government hospital without any difficulty.

Sè: You got support from *Ta Chèm* (ចៃម)?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: *Ta Chèm* and *Yeay Sun* (យាយ ស៊ុន); right?

Pheap: I never faced any difficulties. Sometimes, my husband left me behind for a year, sometimes six months and some other times seven months. When the husbands were away, all their entitlements for the New Year events and festivals for the dead were given to their wives. These included sticky rice, milk, instant noodles, and other food supplies. Wives and children also had their own benefits. Because the husbands were away, their food regimes were given to their wives at the base. The husbands in their mission inside the country bought rice from the people to eat. The troops during that time had gold sheets to spend.

Sè: We did not have money, but gold to spend.

Pheap: We did not have dollars, but we had Baht to spend.

Boly: But this took place after the regime collapse in 1979; right?

Pheap: Yes, after the regime collapse in 1979.

Boly: I want to ask you a question. Between 1975 and 1979, was the removal of private ownership good or bad for the people?

Pheap: It was not good.

Sè: It was not good. We were long influenced by ideology, but the sudden transformation to collectiveness was not enough. We did not have enough to eat. Even the people, like me, leading a regiment did not have enough food.

Our patriots, who did the work directly, did not have enough food. However, I continued to help them because I was their leader.

Pheap: That was the biggest mistake made. The communal rice pot was the biggest mistake. If they allowed the people to do their own business and eat their own rice, but to work collectively, and the outcomes or benefits were pooled, there would have been no problem. However, that was not the case, people were not happy, and thus their work was not sufficient because they worked collectively. The crops were stored at the communal barn and cooked in the communal rice pot, but they still ate porridge. If they planted or transplanted rice themselves and stored their crops in their own barns, and ate their own rice, but their labour was used collectively, that should have been all right. However, because they worked collectively, did not have enough food, and their health deteriorated, they were not happy.

Sè: In 1977s, the army disseminated its measures that everyone knew. They wanted to remove the Ministry of Inspection (ក្រសួងត្រួតពិនិត្យ) from cooperatives and instead send the army to lead the cooperatives, but this was not done in time. Before they could implement the plan, the internal shuffles started. They had only one source of communication. There were no public newspapers. Reports from those individuals were very good, but in reality, the rice pots were always empty.

Pheap: I think this happened because of the village, commune and district cadres, who showed off (មុខមាត់ពេក) too much.

Boly: What do you mean by showed off?

Pheap: They wanted to show off that they led and did well, but in fact, they suppressed the people. Normally, they were to report production of three tons of rice per hectare, but they instead reported increased production of three and a half tons. Previously, they ordered production of only one ton and a half of rice per hectare, but they reported two tons or even two and a half tons of rice per hectare. Because of this, the subsequent targets were always higher. They

reported that they could do that and then they raised their next targets committing themselves to achieve three tons to three and a half tons per hectare, but in reality, the people never wanted to do all that. Only those cadres at the commune and district levels set the targets, because they simply did what they thought was best. Because they wanted to be promoted, they just reported to their province that they achieved many things. Everyone at the district, commune and village levels wanted to be promoted. Finally, those cadres, even at the village level, did not care about anything and just abused their power.

Boly: So...

Pheap: POL Pot did not kill the people directly. Those lower cadres were the real murderers, arresting and beating the people who stole potatoes, secretly cooked rice and potatoes. However, POL Pot did not order them to do so; they did this on their own.

Boly: Do you think that people committing mistakes, such as stealing potatoes, should have been sentenced to death?

Pheap: No, I did not think that way because those were the crops they grew themselves and they did not steal other people's items. Growing crops around their homes was a clever idea of the citizens, in addition to their collective work. They were so clever that they grew their crops around their homes to produce supplementary sources of food. This was a minor mistake and the people committing this should have instead have received corrective advice.

Boly: I have one example. I interviewed someone in Kaoh Nheaek (កោះញ៉ែក). Their pregnant daughter was so hungry. Feeling sorry for his wife, the husband cooked a chicken for her. He stole a chicken and boiled it for his wife to eat. They asked him if he had stolen a chicken. He told them he did not. They told him if they did not find the chicken in her belly, he would be freed. Therefore, they cut open her stomach and both mother and the baby died as a result. Do you think a person, just stealing and cooking a chicken to eat, deserved death?

Pheap: No, I do not.

Boly: They were thieves who stole a chicken. Did they deserve death?

Pheap: No, they did not. A chicken cannot be compared to the lives of both a mother and the baby foetus. They were not one but two persons, and they should not have received any conviction because of this.

Sè: However, we condemn POL Pot, the leader who lacked competence.

Pheap: Such killings were not reported by the lower levels. I believe that they completely removed the evidence. In fact, those skulls and skeletons included all the victims killed during the air bombardment. There were not just a few killed during the 300 days and 300 nights. I think the figure included all of those killed in the battles, including soldiers and people outside the government, in addition to those killed in the holes caused by the air bombardment. These remains included all these victims, I think.

Boly: At my place, research work has found that almost 200 security offices were used as prisons all over the country during the three-year regime. Nearly 20,000 mass graves were found near those security offices, all over the country. According to our interviews with the people, who saw and knew those areas, the pits were dug for the burial of the prisoners who were taken to be killed there. A researcher, who participated in the counting process, told us that they could not count all the number of the corpses. They counted only some of them as samples for their estimates. According to their estimation, there were probably one million victims killed in those graves during the three-year regime. That is a huge number of victims. *Pou* and *Ming*, what were the reasons behind the widespread massacres that took place all over the country?

Pheap: It is too difficult for me to conclude because we never faced or saw these activities personally. It is too difficult for us to make our conclusion. As I have told you, the military was very different from the situation of those at the back bases.

Boly: Yes, I believe that because I have interviewed soldiers and some of them even told me that their fathers were imprisoned at the back lines. I interviewed a messenger of one *Ta* in Chum Kiri (ជំគីរី). On his mission to deliver letters as ordered by that *Ta*, he found out that his own father had been imprisoned. He ran back to see his *Ta* for his help. Then, *Ta* ordered his father's release. Therefore, they did not know what happened outside their own places.

Pheap: No, they did not. Even the *Ta* who was based there would not know anything.

Boly: I wonder why there were so many arrests and killings.

Sè: They had the right to commit these in the secret way during POL Pot regime. Most of the incidents happened at the cooperative and district levels, but less happened at the sector levels.

Pheap: The leaders there tyrannically abused their power. They hid all of these incidents. They did not report these to the upper levels.

Sè: After the fall of Phnom Penh, my group visited our homeland. They arrested us and took our motorbikes and a few of us were missing. The district armed forces were so powerful. I felt so frustrated with resistance life at that time. I did not want to visit any of my relatives.

Pheap: Knowing that I was in Phnom Penh, my mother wanted me to visit her, but I was not allowed to visit her. I did not know the reason why they banned me from doing this.

Sè: They were mutually hostile.

Pheap: A commune chief had the right to kill anyone without a trial; right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: There were juridical proceedings. Why did they do that, *Ming*?

Pheap: No juridical proceedings, but I did not know the reason. I could not understand it, but I think it was wrong.

Sè: In general, the people who committed bad deeds were the ones who ran away when the country was in chaos or in fierce war. The good people were the ones who stayed and protected the country. The reason behind their sacrifice of lives and fearless fighting in the battles was that they were the honest people. The ones, who made their noise in Paris, Tokyo and Bangkok, always changed their stance when they came back. I observed many of them. As I said, they had one body, but they wore two to three layers of clothes. That was why among 21 of the party's central members 11 or 12 were traitorous and only nine of them remained faithful.

Boly: Among 21 people; right?

Sè: Only nine of them were faithful.

Boly: Who were among the nine people? Was POL Pot one of them?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: NUON Chea (នួន ជា)?

Sè: NUON Chea remained faithful.

Boly: IENG Sary (អៀង សារី)?

Sè: KHIEU Samphan (ខៀវ សំផន), *Ta* CHUON Choeun (ជួន ធឿន).

Boly: Only six of them?

Sè: There are six of them, now. There are three more: SON Sen (សុន សែន).

Boly: Two more?

Sè: The other two include...

Boly: *Ta* Pork (ពក)?

Sè: That is right. Who is the last one?

Boly: Is this one not IENG Thirith (អៀង ធីរិទ្ធ)?

Sè: Mrs. IENG Thirith was one of them because she was always with us. *Yeay* KHIEU Ponnary (ខៀវ ប៊ុណ្ណារី) was also one of them. She was one of the nationalists who remained faithful.

Boly: Was KHIEU Ponnary the revolutionary mother?

Sè: Yes, she was. She had been faithful since Sihanouk's regime. She worked at the Ministry of Female Comrades (ក្រសួងសហជីវនី) from the beginning. I was in Phnom Penh and so I knew her.

Boly: What do you mean by Female Comrades?

Sè: It was a ministry.

Boly: Women's affairs?

Sè: Yes, she was the minister.

Pheap: It was like our Ministry of Women's Affairs of the present day.

Boly: She was in charge of women all over the country; right?

Sè: That is right. She was the one who raised and supported *Ta* Pot's studying. She was the one who had salary even when she was single. She wanted Saloth Sar (សាឡុត ស) to concentrate on his studies. Initially, POL Pot studied technology. However, there was chaos in the Party ranks, as I have just said. SIV Heng (ស៊ីវ ហៀង) was not a rightful person. SAM Sary (សម សារី) was also in the Khmer Rouge.

Boly: Was he?

Sè: Yes, IN Tam was also in the Khmer Rouge, but his group was not loyal. They always thought about themselves and that was why we took revenge against them.

Boly: They were those who killed and then escaped abroad; right?

Sè: Yes, most of them were like that.

Boly: They changed their names to David, Michael and so on; right?

Sè: Yes, my analysis is not wrong. I observed POL Pot this way. I am not praising him, but in front of the mounting challenges that he faced, he should have surrendered to the Thai side. However, he did not. Instead, he remained in areas in Cambodia along the border. I did not know why he did that. I did not know if he had an oath to keep and thus had to do so, but he went to Paris or Switzerland because he had work to do there.

Pheap: He resigned. He asked to go to Switzerland, but *Ta Mok* did not allow him.

Boly: What year was it when he resigned?

Pheap: 1995.

Boly: 1995?

Pheap: Yes, 1995, 1996, 1997.

Sè: He was extraordinarily weak. He had a breathing condition, and was supported by the oxygen concentrator.

Boly: He started to use it from 1995; right?

Pheap: Yes, in 1995 or 1996.

Boly: What was the illness that caused him to have low breath?

Pheap: He always used the oxygen concentrator. I did not know what disease he had.

Sè: He did too much analytical thinking that exhausted his brain.

Pheap: Did he have a weak heart?

Sè: Yes.

Boly: Or did he have dilated cardiomyopathy (បេះដូងរីក)?

Pheap: He almost ran out of oxygen. He always asked them to add more oxygen and asked permission to take a rest. Then, they started to organize a new 99 and *Ta SAU Saroeun* (ស្នំ សារ៉ឺន) was in charge of it in the place of POL Pot. It was called 99.

Boly: What was 99?

Sè: It was a committee as we mentioned above.

Boly: To lead?

Sè: Yes, to lead the country affairs.

Boly: Was 99 an office?

Sè: No, it was not an office. It was a committee representing him.

Boly: Who were the members of the committee?

Sè: I did not know any of them because the situation was so chaotic.

Pheap: They included *Ta Mon* (ម៉ុន) and *Ta Roeun* (រ៉ឺន) as chairmen.

Boly: *Ta Roeun* or *Ta SAU Saroeun* was the chairman; right?

Pheap: There were several of them, but I have forgotten all of them. I participated at the announcement event because I went to study there.

Boly: What was the year when the membership was announced?

Pheap: I have forgotten. I am not sure if it happened in 1995 or 1996.

Boly: This probably took place in 1995 because in 1996 there was an event in which SON Sen was assassinated.

Pheap: That is right. It took place in 1995, right after they gained control of Preah Vihear.

Sè: SON Sen's death was all because of him. He had been in conflict with 05 since the war era. I knew the conflict.

Boly: What was the conflict?

Sè: The conflict was that he was an intellectual and 05 was a peasant. SON Sen had lower weaponry strength than 05. In addition, POL Pot paid more attention to 05. When the Vietnamese defeated them in 1979, 05 rode an elephant to *Ta* SON Sen's place to the east, but SON Sen did not allow him to enter his place. It was as if they were strangers.

Boly: In Tonle Lpov; right?

Sè: Yes, they were in conflict since they were in Rattanak Kiri.

Boly: SON Sen was in Rattanak Kiri too; right?

Sè: SON Sen was in Kratie, but we were not in the town at that time.

Pheap: 05 left Rattanak Kiri on an elephant to go to see SON Sen.

Sè: But the latter did not allow him to enter his place.

Boly: He did not allow 05 to enter?

Pheap: He did not allow 05 to see him at all.

Sè: He said that 05 unit was separate and not trusted. That was how he thought. However, this unit was the one who carried SON Sen out of Kratie.

Pheap: They carried SON Sen to our place.

Sè: He had swollen hands and legs.

Pheap: Not *Ta* Pork, but 05's unit alone went to bring SON Sen.

Sè: I also went there to bring him.

Boly: This took place in 1979 when the Vietnamese had almost arrived; right?

Sè: The Vietnamese had already arrived. We came to bring him from inside.

Boly: So, SON Sen did not run together with you to the border; right?

Pheap: No, he did not. Our force came down from the mountains to receive him.

Sè: He left Kratie.

Pheap: We sent instant noodles, canned fish and rice to them, because these people, including *Ta* Kung (ក្រុង), ate only gourds.

Sè: My group was the one who took some forces to bring *Ta* Sen up the mountain. He could not walk. 05 was the one who sent us to bring him.

Boly: So, *Ta* SON Sen and *Ta* Pork were still in Kratie after the Vietnamese gained control of Phnom Penh; right?

Pheap: Yes. It was a far place.

Sè: POL Pot preferred *Ta* 05 over SON Sen.

bk: That was why SON Sen was not happy with *Ta* 05; right?

Sè: Yes. According to SON Sen's biography, he was Khmer Krom.

Pheap: He was also very close to Yuon?

Sè: He was planning to go back to Kampuchea Krom. He led a meeting to organize forces to go there.

Pheap: Before SON Sen's death, *Ta* Chhân (ឆ័ន), his younger brother-in-law, confessed that he brought a message to *Ta* SON Sen, but was caught by 05.

After *Ta Chhân*'s arrest, we know that *Ta SON Sen* was called to manage Kampuchea Krom.

Sè: That was the Labour Party (បក្សពលករ) or something...

Pheap: It was a party of something...

Boly: [*Inaudible*] from the government or from Vietnam?

Sè: From the downstream area.

Pheap: We did not know where *Ta Chhân* took the message from, but SON Sen ordered *Ta Chhân* to go there because *Ta Chhân* was his younger brother-in-law.

Boly: And *Ta Chhân* surrendered first; right?

Pheap: Yes, he did.

Boly: *Chhân* was his younger brother-in-law; right?

Pheap: Yes, his younger brother-in-law.

Sè: *Chhân* was in 802.

Boly: *Ta Chhân* was in 802; right?

Pheap: Yes, and he was *Ta SON Sen*'s younger brother-in-law.

Boly: So, *Ta Chhân* was *Ta SON Sen*'s younger brother-in-law; right?

Pheap: Yes.

Sè: And *Chhân* was in charge of 05 from the beginning.

Boly: Because 802 was originated from 801; right?

Sè: Yes, it was his idea. Various commanders were assigned by him.

Boly: What was *Ta Chhân*'s wife's name?

Pheap: She was SON Sen's younger sister. I have forgotten her name because it was a very long time ago.

Boly: What was the content in the message which *Ta* 05 confiscated?

Pheap: He told us that the letter called SON Sen to go to Kampuchea Krom and that his associates were there. That was what he told us.

Sè: Because Khmer Krom were rebelling and attacking Yuon.

Pheap: He told us the letter was in his pocket. It was reported to *Ta* (POL Pot) but he did not believe it because he suspected that we had faked it.

Boly: Why did they kill SON Sen?

Pheap: I did not know. We heard suddenly that he died. We did not know the reason behind his death.

Boly: Who killed SON Sen?

Pheap: Nobody knew this because he was at Phnum Choam (ភ្នំជាំ) and I was at Tumnob Dach (ទំនប់ដាច់). How could I know that?

Sè: I was managing the office in the east.

Boly: Who ordered the killing?

Pheap: We did not know that.

Sè: It was a complicated matter.

Boly: The people who ordered SON Sen's killing could not have been low ranking; right?

Pheap: No.

Boly: A low ranking person would not dare to order the killing of SON Sen who was the commander of the armed forces as whole.

Pheap: We did not know who was the real killer. We only knew that he was dead.

Boly: All 11 people were killed; right?

Pheap: Yes.

Boly: All of them, including his children, wife and driver; right?

Pheap: All of them.

Boly: We heard that his daughter was raped before she was killed; right?

Pheap: That was not possible. They did not have time to rape her, because the killing took place at night. I am afraid that during the commotion her clothes could have been torn off. According to my guess, the chances of rape are impossible because the killing was done in a hurried manner and thus the killers did not have time for the rape.

Boly: I heard that they were dragged to a river bank and beaten to death, and that their bodies were burnt together.

Sè: You can go and ask 920 group. They knew the story.

Pheap: The people who were there knew this. We did not know it at all, and no one in my troops knew about it.

Boly: I had interviews with your relatives in Anlong Veang and they told me that *Ta 05* and *Ta 06* ordered the killing. POL Pot ordered *Ta 05* and *Ta 06* to arrest SON Sen; right?

Sè: No.

Boly: But, because *Ta 05* and *Ta 06* were angry SON Sen they went beyond the order by killing SON Sen. After they killed him they told POL Pot that SON Sen had died. POL Pot told them that they made a very serious mistake. After SON Sen's murder, *Ta Mok* (ម៉ុក) arrested *Ta 05* and *Ta 06*, put them in a blackbird cage, and then took them to be buried alive. They were buried in a

standing position. This is what I heard from those *Pou* and *Ming* who were near the place where the incidents took place.

Pheap: These people were around POL Pot's place.

Boly: That is what they said. What do you think, *Pou*?

Sè: This could be right. I was far away from the events.

Pheap: I do not know what to say because I was far away. We were at Tumnob Dach. You can see that it was not near.

Boly: According to what I heard, the story happened this way. POL Pot ordered *Ta Mok* and *Ta SON Sen* to persuade the people in Pailin not to defect to the government but, because they failed, POL Pot arrested and detained them for about two to three months. However, *Ta Mok* managed to exculpate himself and thus was freed. We heard that later *SON Sen* planned to defect to the government too and because of that POL Pot ordered 05 and 06 to arrest *SON Sen*. However, the two men went beyond the order by killing *SON Sen* out of vindictiveness.

Sè: I only know that *Ta SON Sen* had a plan to lead Kampuchea Krom.

Pheap: *Ta SON Sen* was in the west. POL Pot ordered *Ta Mok* to bring *Ta Sen* to live in a room in *Ta Mut*'s group..

Sè: That place was attacked and POL Pot did not have enough force to ensure the safety of that place. *Ta Mok* went there alone to bring *SON Sen*, even though he had a disability.

Pheap: *Ta Mok* was the one who went and brought *SON Sen* in.

Sè: *Ta Mok* may not have been happy with POL Pot's order in many instances. I knew the story that *Ta Mok*, even though he had a disabled leg, he made efforts to travel in order to meet with our forces and those forces supported him being there.

Boly: How did he travel? Did he escape from prison?

Sè: No, he was not in a prison, but in battles. *Ta Mok* was the commander for the whole country. SON Sen was the Minister of National Defence. These two men had different roles.

Pheap: During that time, there were commotions all over the place.

Sè: *Ta Mok* was the Commander-in-Chief (អគ្គបញ្ជាការ).

Pheap: Not SON Sen was Commander-in-Chief; right?

Sè: No, SON Sen was Minister of National Defence.

Boly: A position in a ghost ministry (ក្រសួងឃ្នងខ្យល់); right?

Sè: Yes, *Ta Mok* was the only one who went around the area. He would go anywhere where there were difficulties to solve the problem, even though he had disability.

Pheap: *Ta Mok* always went to have meetings with the armed forces. When the situation became chaotic, he escaped with SON Sen. He was not detained in any prison. He escaped from the danger as he had almost fell into somebody's trap. However, he finally escaped and met with our armed forces.

Sè: At that time, *Ta Phím* (ភីម), Mr. Dân (ណាក់ ដន), etc. planned to defect to the government. Many people wanted to defect to the government.

Pheap: They wanted to arrest and imprison *Ta Mok*.

Sè: If he was arrested and imprisoned, all those groups, from both the west and the east, would have gone there to rescue him.

Pheap: Before he left for anywhere, he called all the commanders to inform them. He said that "*Bang* (POL Pot) used only me".

Sè: He called *Ta Pot Bang*. He only respected *Ta Pot*.

Pheap: He told us that POL Pot ordered him to go to the west to calm down the people in Pailin who were in a confused situation and were planning to defect.

Ta Mut (មុត) was the ringleader of the defection.

Boly: Oh, *Ta Mut*? MEAS Mut; right?

Pheap: *Ta Mut* was his son-in-law.

Boly: And *Ta Mut* was the ringleader; right?

Pheap: No, he was not. He also came to the meetings taking place here before the integration. *Ta Mok* told us he was going to the west and that if he did not return in ten or 15 days we should go after him. No, it was less than ten days. He told us if he did not return in seven days, we should go and look for him because he might go there for only three days. If he did not come back after three days, we should go after him. So, nobody was relaxed and we always waited for his return on the 3rd day. Luckily, he came back on 4th day.

Sè: But my group never waited for his return. [*Inaudible*] He would always return on the 3rd day.

Boly: According to one of his guards called Măo (ម៉ៅ), *Ta Mok* had an amputated leg. Did you ever hear this name?

Pheap: Măo is his grandson.

Boly: Is Măo his biological grandson?

Pheap: Măo is his biological grandson.

Boly: It was not Măo, but his friends, who used to work with each other, who said in their meeting that Măo carried *Ta Mok* on his back when *Ta Mok* was travelling with SON Sen, KHIEU Samphan, and the others. Whilst on their way, IENG Sary and Y Chhean (ឃី ឈាន) ordered their subordinates to go and shoot *Ta Mok* to death. When those troops saw him, they did not shoot him at

all. What *Ta Mok* said to those soldiers to soften their minds was unknown. Not only did they not shoot him to death but instead they helped to carry him on their backs to the border. *Ta Mok* gave them money and they went back. At that time, *Ta Mok* carried a bag of money with him. At the border, Măo telephoned to inform POL Pot that *Ta Mok* had arrived at the border and asked POL Pot to send a car to receive him. Upon hearing this, POL Pot asked him how many litres of fuel he needed and told him that he should set both the car and *Ta Mon* on fire because he had failed. That made *Ta Mok* angry with POL Pot, and because of this, combine with SON Sen's assassination, *Ta Mok* arrested POL Pot right away. This was what I heard from the people.

Pheap: They had meetings. We mean that only the higher-level people knew what was happening. After his return, *Ta Mok* had a meeting at POL Pot's place. All the divisions attended the meeting. *Ta 05* did not attend this meeting because he was in Preah Vihear.

Boly: Where did the meeting take place?

Pheap: At POL Pot's home.

Sè: In Chraok (ច្រក).

Boly: In Kbal Tonsaong (ក្បាលទម្លាប់)?

Sè: Yes, the meeting took place in Kbal Tonsaong.

Pheap: We were far from them. The people who were close to him clearly knew what was happening there, because they saw the events. We only heard it from afar. We heard it through unclear sources. It is normal that one crow becomes ten crows [said of a piece of gossip, which becomes exaggerated]. It is possible that the people saw something and then they exaggerated it. It is difficult to verify. It was never confirmed. That was why the situation changed and our country plunged into war. The Khmer Rouge never had full grasp of the situation. We do not know who made the more serious mistakes. We do not know who betrayed whom.

Sè: Before the integration, I saw the deteriorating situation and that was why I wanted to defect. I saw the internal structure at the top level had almost broken apart and that we would not win the war. I was in charge of over 200 people in my unit. I wanted to defect before the election. However, I was stopped from doing this. I could see that it was no longer useful to continue fighting. As a fighter, I wanted to reconcile the nation.

Pheap: I never left this place. People ran back and forth for about two or three nights at that time. I just stayed and participated in making cakes for a wedding of a young couple at my place.

Boly: In 1998, people fled to Phu Nay (ភ្នំណាយ), Bay Tab (បាយតាប), and so on; right?

Pheap: Yes, they ran back and forth for a few nights. The young people and I just stayed and carried water to our place to make cakes for the wedding on that day. I did not leave for anywhere.

Sè: They wanted to accuse me.

Pheap: It was not that they wanted to accuse you, but they did accused you.

Sè: They asked why my unit did not leave.

Pheap: At the wedding, we even had music playing on loudspeakers.

Boly: Why did they have to flee?

Pheap: And *Ta* Mok scolded us for the noisy sound. He screamed scolding us from afar. After the wedding, people started to flee up the mountains, but I did not go with them. My wife worked there. I was still at the village to collect the wedding items. Then, Kung scolded me. Someone reported to Kung that I would not go up the mountains and that I was waiting to go with TUY Buyrēt (តួយ ប៊ុយរ៉េត) back to Lumtong. I did not know that TUY Buyrēt had arrived. They did not tell me and so I did not know anything. However, they accused me of doing something already. When I was up the mountains, they suddenly

asked me why I went there because they thought that I had already defected to the government. I really regretted hearing that. If I knew that they had such accusations against me, I would have already defected to the government because I was too fed up to be with them.

Sè: They tested me by saying that if I was not happy I should go to Romiet (រ៉ូម៉ិញ) and that I did not need to go up the mountains because climbing the mountains was very difficult.

Pheap: If *Ta Mok* had told us earlier to go to Romiet, we would have already gone there.

Sè: He allowed us to go. We had many cows. My family alone had seven to eight cows, all half-breeds.

Pheap: In fact, he pushed us to return when we were on the mountains. *Ta Mok* said that we should not run away and asked why we did not go back home. He said that we should not run away because we were all Cambodian. He said that we should let the other party come in and tell them not to shoot us, that we were citizens who knew nothing, that we should surrender peacefully, that we should not leave our homes behind, and that we should go down the mountains to our home. He pushed us to return home. However, we were too afraid to do so. It was normal, when we were already up on the mountains, we were too afraid to go down. If we did not run away, they would have sent us to Romiet and that would have been the end of us.

Boly: Where did you go at that time, *Ming*?

Pheap: I went up the mountains with others. We followed them.

Sè: By the time, we reached Spean Thma (ស្ប៉ាន់ថ្មា) the exchange of fire had already started. The sound of guns was loud.

Pheap: By the time, we reach Spean Thma and Spean Ou Chik (ស្ពានអូរជីក) the exchange of fire had already started.

Sè: Most of our children were little girls and we had seven to eight cows at that time.

Pheap: It was so miserable during the resistance movement. After the integration, various political parties asked me to join them. I told them I was fed up with all of it. I had completely surrendered. I did not want to do such things again. They always wanted to give me advice and I told them that I had learned politics before they did and that they should not teach me politics anymore. I am fed up with politics. They were born after me and so they should not teach me politics and I told them that I would not join any of them. They even asked me if I was sure that I would not do politics again. When I ran in the commune council elections, they mocked at me. I told them that I would not go anywhere, and that I would follow what the majority did and that following the losers was miserable for me. I faced difficulties whilst I was following the losers. Now, I would rather be happy following the winners. It is not a usual thing and I was fed up with all of it. You may know that I joined the resistance movement when I was 16 years old. Now, I am 58 years old. It has been enough for me. I have tasted everything.

Boly: In fact, we have many more questions to ask you in detail and it will take one more hour to finish. However, we do not want to disturb you longer.

Pheap: Do you want to ask us about what has happened after the integration?

Boly: Yes, we want to ask you questions about the integration. Now, the battery is almost gone and the time is also late. We will do our continued interview as the fourth of the series on a later date. I think I should let you both rest at this time because you are tired and have sat for a long time so far. On a later day, I will take time to visit you again.

Pheap: We would like to stress that we are clear for some events, but not for some others. I mean that we heard some events through others, but we also saw or

were involved with some other ones personally. However, we are not very clear about the ones we knew or heard through others.

Boly: That is alright because I will verify all the information you gave us against the combination of the papers and information I have received from others. After that, they have a committee to review this information. *Pou Phăna* will establish a committee to review all the books. Those senior people, who were close to *Ta Mok* and knew things well, will work together to read the books. This is what *Pou Phăna* said. Therefore, the information will pass through several stages of review so they are well verified before we print them.

Pheap: I would like to suggest that they review all of them and throw away the ones that are inaccurate or unclear, keeping only the ones that are accurate and clear. That would be a good thing and it will be easy for people, like you, to compile and keep them at the library.

Sè: I would say that for those people have already died, we should pick up not only their wrong doings, but we should also try to see their right doings.

Boly: That is why our team has made interviews not only with those high-ranking cadres, but also with the lower ranking cadres and the people, to seek their comments and insights. We do not simply believe those higher people did the right thing, because in some cases they were hostile to each other and they would just say bad things about each other.

Sè: No. For example in the first trial, there were people who pretended to sob or cry, but they were all people who heard things through others. The real actors have yet to show themselves. It is easy to blame a defeated regime, and it will be condemned for everything. That is not fair.

Pheap: We were not involved in the crimes even to the smallest extent, but we have been even more miserable than those directly involved.

Boly: *Pou*, do you want to get your compiled text printed?

Sè: Not yet.

Boly: If you want, I can help you publish it in the Searching for the Truth Magazine. We would just take your text, type it on the computer, and then get it printed in the Magazine.

Sè: I will wait to see how my own life path progresses in the future.

Boly: Yes, everyone has different way of life.

Sè: I will give reasons for what is right and what is wrong that led to the success and failure in my life. I am afraid that I will cause problems to others by doing so.

Boly: Thank you very much, *Pou* and *Ming*, for granting this interview.

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