WHO KILLED CHEA VICHEA?

An investigation into the assassination of a Cambodian labour leader

Teacher’s Notes
Who Killed Chea Vichea?

This booklet contains teaching notes to accompany the documentary “Who Killed Chea Vichea?”

The notes have been organised into 5 chapters. Chapter 1 provides a brief background to the story, and should be taught before watching the film. The next four chapters deal with different sections of the film. The time (from start to finish) of each section is shown in the title of each chapter in minutes and seconds.

Before showing each section of the film, complete the "Before You Watch" activities. Teach the remaining parts of the chapter after watching the section of film. Show parts of the film more than once if necessary.

Encourage students to carry out further internet research on this topic if possible. A good place to start is the website of the documentary – www.whokilledcheavichea.com
ပြဿနာဖြစ်သော "သူများ၏အတွက် မိုးသောသောအခါ"

သူများနှင့်အတွက် မှန်ကန်သောသောအခါ သူများ၏အတွက် မိုးသောသောအခါ

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http://whokilledcheavichaea.com
Structure of the Teacher’s Notes
These notes contain a number of tools to help students understand the documentary and to help you guide discussions. Chapters 2-5 include all of the following:

**IMPORTANT IDEAS** – short explanations of some of the most important concepts for that section of the documentary.

**KEY WORDS** – simple definitions of some of the more difficult words used in the documentary and teaching notes.

**COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS** – activities that check students’ understanding of the story and details of the documentary.

**SPEECH BOX QUESTIONS** – activities that use direct quotes from the film to answer questions. Read these quotes out loud to the class and check students understand them, using the **Key Words** box if necessary.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS** – activities that help the teacher to lead discussions about the events and issues in the documentary.

**EXTENSION ACTIVITIES** – optional activities that support discussion about some of the issues raised in the film.
1. Introduction

**IMPORTANT IDEAS**

**workers' rights:** a group of legal rights about workers’ pay, benefits, and working conditions.

**trade unions:** groups of workers who organise to protect and increase workers’ rights.

**Key Words**

**garment (n):** clothes

**working conditions (n):** the environment in a workplace, including stress and noise levels, the amount of safety or danger, light, air, etc

**wages (n):** the amount of money that a worker gets

**standard of living (n):** the amount of wealth and possessions someone has

**contract (n):** a written agreement. Usually a legal document

**negotiate (v):** to try to solve a problem or conflict by discussing it

**benefits (n):** advantages or good things

**management (n):** the people who run the business or organisation

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1. **What do you know about Cambodia?**

Warm up by brainstorming what students know about Cambodia. Write their ideas on the board.

2. **What do you know about the Khmer Rouge?**

Read out the text box on the next page and ask what students think the effects of the Khmer Rouge years are on Cambodia today.

Possible answers: fear of authority, corruption, low development, poor education, health and other services.
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What was the Khmer Rouge?
The Khmer Rouge was a communist group that took over the capital of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, on April 17, 1975. Under the leadership of Pol Pot, they forced almost everyone out of the cities, turning the whole country into a giant labour camp. They wanted to kill anyone they thought was against them. This included professionals and almost everyone with an education. During the Khmer Rouge years, between 1.7 million and 3 million people (20-35% of the population) were killed or died from starvation or disease.

3. What do you know about the Cambodian garment industry?
Use the facts in the box to explain how important the garment industry is to Cambodia’s economy.

Follow-up activity:
Ask if there is a similar industry in the students’ country that is much more important than any other industry.

4. What do you think the working conditions are like in Cambodian factories?
Ask students what they expect the conditions to be like in Cambodian garment factories. Write their ideas on the board.

Follow-up activity: When this is finished, compare the facts in the following box to what you have written on the board. What was the same? What was different? Compare these to conditions in factories in the students’ country.

- There are over 200 garment factories in Cambodia, mostly in Phnom Penh.
- Over 270,000 people work in the garment industry in Cambodia.
- 65% of the country’s manufacturing workers are in the garment industry.
- The amount of wealth created by the garment industry increased from 1.3 percent in 1995 to 15.9 percent in 2006.
• Cambodian law says that workers must earn at least US $65 a month, though some employers pay much less than this.
• According to the Cambodian Centre for Human Rights, this wage is not enough for workers to have a good standard of living.
• Some factories force their workers to work very long hours.
• Some factories do not have equipment to protect their employees from dangerous machines and also do not provide training on how to use them.
• Some factories are dirty and the air supply can be very bad.
• Even though there are laws to protect the rights of workers, these laws only apply to long-term contracted employees. Employers often avoid these laws by using short-term contracts.

5. **What are workers' rights?**

*First ask students what a right is, then ask the question.*

Possible answer: A right is the ability to do or have something. Legal rights are protected by the law. See **Important Ideas** for a definition of workers' rights.

6. **What rights do workers have?**

*First, brainstorm all the rights that students think workers should have. Write their ideas on the board. Then ask students to guess if garment workers have these rights in Cambodia. Check their answers by looking at the list of some rights that Cambodian workers have in the text box.*
7. **Is it the same in your country?**

*Ask if these rights are the same in the students’ country. Ask which rights are most important. Ask if all these rights are respected. Why or why not?*

- 15 as the minimum working age
- Clean, healthy and safe working conditions
- One and a half days holiday per month
- No more than 48 hours of work per week
- Maternity leave: women who have recently given birth can take time off work (including 90 days with full pay)
- No discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity, religion, or political beliefs
- The right to join a trade union

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**Extension Activities: Trade Unions**

*Discuss the questions as a class.*

**1. What do trade unions do?**

Possible answer: Unions do many things for their members, including:
- negotiate with management about working conditions and pay.
- provide services such as financial or legal support to workers.
- organise strikes (days when all workers do not work) or demonstrations to put pressure on management.

**2. Do workers need trade unions? Why?**

Possible answer: Union members say that they are important because the people that run companies will usually only give fair wages and good working conditions if they are pressured by the workers. Also, unions are one of the few ways of communicating workers' needs and wishes. On the other hand, you could argue that good laws, properly enforced, make unions unnecessary.
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2. The Setting (00:00-10:49)

**Important Ideas**

coalition government: a government made from more than one political party. When no party gets enough votes to be the government alone, different political parties need to negotiate with each other to make an agreement about how the power will be shared. When these parties cannot agree, this is called **deadlock**.

**Key Words**

- compete (v): to try to do something better than others
- champion (n): someone who fights for or defends the rights of someone else
- critic (n): someone who points out what is bad or wrong about something
- faltering (adj): becoming less powerful or successful
- dominate (v): to control, to be the most powerful
- prominent (adj): important or well-known
- ministry (n): a high-level part of the government
- refuse (v): to say no, or not agree to do something.
- bodyguard (n): a person, or group of people, who protect someone
- commander (n): a military or police leader
- royalist (adj, n): supportive of a king or queen
- parliament (n): the place where politicians discuss and make new laws
- satisfied (adj): feeling that something is good enough
- ruling party (n): the political party that is currently in government
- opposition party (n): a political party that is competing to be in government

**Before you watch**

Discuss the question and tell the students to think about the question while they watch the film. Discuss again after watching if necessary.

1. Which of the things discussed in the last section will be important in this documentary?

Possible answers: labour rights, unions, development, poverty, etc.
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The political context

2. What are the three parties that were competing in the election?

Ask the students the question. Write the names of the three parties (Sam Rainsy Party, Funcinpec and the Cambodian People’s Party) on the board and read out the following quotes without saying the name of the party. Ask students which names go with which quotes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Sam Rainsy Party</th>
<th>Funcinpec</th>
<th>The CPP</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“[He] was champion of garment workers and the poor, an aggressive critic of the government and a defender of human rights.”</td>
<td>“Also competing was Prince Norodom Ranariddh and his faltering royalist party.”</td>
<td>“[They] had a lock on power dominating the media ... the police, the military, the election commission and all prominent ministries.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hun Sen

Ask the questions to check students’ understanding.

3. Who is Hun Sen?

Answer: Prime Minister Hun Sen is the leader of the CPP. He first became prime minister in 1985 and is still in power today. He was a Khmer Rouge commander, and has a bodyguard of over 3000 men. He called himself ‘the strong man’.

Hun Sen/អេនស៊ូ
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မေးခွန်အရာများ:

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4. Why do you think he calls himself 'the strong man’?
Possible answers: He used to be a Khmer Rouge leader, so we can guess that he might have been involved in violent activities in the past. Because of his large bodyguard, we can guess that people don’t like him, but fear him. We can also guess that he can make decisions without asking anyone else and doesn’t want to give up his power.

The election
Ask the questions to check students' understanding. In questions 6-8, use the speech boxes to explain the answers.

5. What were the results of the election?
Answer: The CPP won more than half the seats in parliament but didn’t get the two-thirds (67%) needed to make a new government alone. This meant that they needed a coalition partner, but Funcinpec and Sam Rainsy united against him. They said that Hun Sen must give up power before they would negotiate a new government. Since he refused to give up power, they refused to negotiate and a new government could not be formed.

6. What is the relationship between Chea Vichea and the Sam Rainsy party?
Possible answer: They worked together closely because both Chea Vichea and the Sam Rainsy party wanted to defend the rights of workers.

7. Why was Chea Vichea planning a demonstration?
Chea Vichea: “We tell everybody clearly we will make demonstration or support demonstration of the Sam Rainsy Party if they are not satisfied with the results of the election.”
Possible answer: Because his union wanted to support Sam Rainsy if he was not satisfied with the fairness of the election.
8. Why were Chea Vichea’s plans for large demonstrations bad news for the government?

Possible answer: A big demonstration would be bad for the CPP because it would show that the Sam Rainsy party had more support (especially from the workers) than the CPP. The demonstrators might also say that the vote was unfair and this would also not be good for the CPP.

Death threats
Discuss the questions.

9. Why do you think Vichea received threats against his life?

Possible answers:
- Because someone wanted to stop him from organising demonstrations which would support the Sam Rainsy Party.
- Because he was helping workers ask for higher wages and better working conditions.
- Because his leadership was a possible threat to the CPP.

10. Why do you think the police told him that he should leave the country?

Possible answer: Because the police work for the government, and they wanted him to stop his activities, especially during the election.

Son Chhay (Member of Parliament):
“If [Vichea] wished to have a demonstration of more than 10,000 people he’s able to do that straight away and this is not a good thing that government would like to happen.”
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အပိုင်းအစိတ်အပွားများကို အနေအထား

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Extension Activities: Democracy

Students discuss the following questions. Use the possible answers to guide the discussion.

1. The CPP has won several elections. Does that mean Cambodia is a democracy?

Possible answer: Elections are an important part of democracy, so perhaps it shows that Cambodia is partly democratic. However, there are many ways that a party can win an election in unfair or illegal ways, such as threatening opponents, lying about vote counts, banning other parties, etc.

2. The ruling party in Cambodia (the CPP) has been in power for a long time. Is it a problem if a government is run by the same people for a very long time? Why or why not?

Possible answers: It can lead to problems, including:

- when government workers make mistakes or abuse their power, nobody can stop them because no one else knows what they are doing.
- the longer a party stays in power, the more control they have over other institutions that should be independent, such as the media, elections, the police and the courts.
- people get used to a particular system and stop trying to improve society.

On the other hand, if the people in power are doing a good job, perhaps it is not a problem if they stay in power for a long time.
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၄. သောင်မာကျောင်းသားများ၏ စာပေပညာရေးနှင့် စိတ်ဖြာရေးကို 
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သောင်မာဖြစ်သည်။

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မြောက်မှာ အဘယ်အခုကောင်းသည်။
3. The Suspects (10:49-35:02)

**Important Ideas**
- **Fair trial**: one in which the court respects the rights of the people being tried and follows the rules of the legal system. The judge must be impartial (unbiased), independent (not controlled or influenced by others), and competent (able to do his or her job well).
- **Political asylum**: when someone is allowed to live in another country because they are afraid they will be harmed for political reasons in their home country.

**Key Words**
- **Aid (n)**: money or other resources which are given (or sometimes lent) by one country to another.
- **Alibi (n)**: a story told by an accused person to show that they were somewhere else at the time of the crime.
- **Suspect (n)**: someone who the police think might have committed a crime.
- **Witness (n)**: a person who sees an event, usually a crime or accident.
- **Evidence (n)**: information used to decide if someone is innocent or guilty.
- **Confession (n)**: when someone legally admits that they are guilty of a crime.
- **Plain-clothes police (n)**: police officers who wear normal clothing.
- **Disown (v)**: to legally break the relationship between a family member and the rest of the family.

**Before you watch**
*Discuss the question. Students think about the question while they watch.*

1. **Why did the police think it was so important to arrest someone quickly?**

**Possible answer**: Many journalists and human rights groups were speaking about Vichea’s death. This made the government look bad around the world. The government gets half of its money from foreign aid, and perhaps they were afraid it would be reduced. Perhaps the government pressured the police into 'solving' the case quickly so there would be less international attention on the issue.
Born Samnang

Ask the questions to check students’ understanding.

2. What did Born Samnang say about the crime?
Answer: See quote box.

3. What was Born Samnang’s alibi?
Answer: He wasn’t in Phnom Penh but 60 km away in the town of Neak Loeung.

4. What did the witnesses say?
Answer: More than twelve witnesses said that Born Samnang was in Neak Loeung at the time Vichea was killed.

5. Why did Born Samnang sign the confession?
Answer: Because the police tortured him and threatened to do the same to his girlfriend.

6. What does this tell you about the police?
Possible answer: That they use violence and threats to get what they want.

7. What would you have done if you were in Born Samnang’s place?
Answers based on students’ opinions.

Sok Sam Oeun

Ask the questions to check students' understanding.

8. What did Sok Sam Oeun say about the crime?
Answer: See quote box.

Sok Sam Oeun:
“It’s so unjust. You torture me. I don’t know anything.”
9. **What was Sok Sam Oeun’s alibi?**

   **Answer:** He said he was in Phnom Penh on the day Vichea was killed, celebrating Chinese New Year with friends at a house.

10. **What did the witnesses say?**

   **Answer:** The other guests were too afraid to support his alibi. One said that if he could be taken to another country and get someone to help him he would “talk a lot.”

11. **Why do you think that none of the witnesses were willing to support Sok Sam Oeun’s alibi?**

   **Answer:** They were afraid of what the police would do to them.

12. **What were three things they said they were afraid of?**

   **Answers:** See quote box.

13. **Why do you think that witnesses for Born Samnang openly supported his alibi while witnesses for Sok Sam Oeun would not?**

   **Possible answer:** Because Sok Sam Oeun’s witnesses lived in the city where the police could threaten them more easily.

**The only witness of the shooting**

*Ask the questions to check students' understanding.*

14. **Why did the news seller who saw the shooting not give evidence?**

   **Answer:** See quote box.

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**Witneses:**

“In Cambodia, if you know things, you can die.”

“If I am lost, who will feed my kids?”

“They will arrest me and take me to prison.”

**Kek Galabru**

*(human rights advocate)*:

“If she comes to testify, it’s to tell the truth and the truth, maybe, is not what the police like to hear.”
15. What was she afraid of?
Answer: See quote box.

16. What did she need to do before she felt safe enough to talk about what she saw?
Answer: Get political asylum in another country (Thailand).

17. Who was the man that she heard say “This work is done”?
Answer: He was a plain-clothes policeman.

What really happened?
Ask the questions to check students’ understanding.

18. Why was Born Samnang noticed by the police?
Answer: Because he was stealing money from the company he worked for and his mother was worried that the company would take their house as payment. So she decided to legally disown him and gave all the necessary documents to the police to do this. Lieutenant Hun Song saw the documents related to this, and a few days after Vichea’s death he asked Samnang’s mother for a photo of him. This was the photo used to make the picture of Vichea’s killer.

19. Why was Sok Sam Oeun noticed by the police?
Answer: A thief called Din Doeun and Sok Sam Oeun had an argument. The next day Din Doeun told Lieutenant Hun Song that Sok Sam Oeun was paying people to commit murder. This was not true, but because Hun Song heard about it just a few days before Vichea’s death, Sok Sam Oeun was arrested.

20. Who was the one person who was responsible for both arrests?
Answer: Lieutenant Hun Song.

Va Sothy (news seller):
“If I talk about this and the killer is still alive then he will know who I am and can kill me.”
21. Why were Born Samnang and Sok Sam Oeun really arrested?

Possible answer: The police needed two people to accuse of killing Chea Vichea (one they can say was the shooter, one the motorbike driver). Both had recently come to the attention of Hun Song but neither one had been arrested for those things. Also, they were normal, working people who didn’t have important friends.

Extension Activities: The Courts

Students discuss the following questions. Use the possible answers to guide the discussion.

1. What problems did the suspects in the documentary face in court?

Answer: The judge did not listen to the witnesses who supported their alibi.

2. Was this a fair trial? Why/why not?

Possible answer: No. The court did not listen to all the evidence and the confession was probably made under torture; and the judge may have been influenced by.

3. What does it tell you about the court system in Cambodia at this time?

Possible answer: That the courts were more interested in achieving the government’s and police’s political goals than in finding and punishing the people who were really guilty.
ကိုက်စားနိုင်သောစာမျက်နှာအားဖော်ပြချက် အခြေခံ။

ယခုနောက်ဆုံးဖြစ်သောစာအရေအတွက်များကို မျှတစ်မှ မျှတစ်ထိန်းချုပ်ရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

1. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

2. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

3. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

4. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

5. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

6. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

7. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

8. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

9. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

10. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

11. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

12. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

13. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

14. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

15. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

16. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

17. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

18. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

19. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

20. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

21. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

22. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

23. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

24. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

25. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

26. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

27. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

28. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

29. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

30. စာအရေအတွက်များကို ဖန်တီးရန် နှစ်ပါးကို အသုံးပြုပါ။
4. The Law (35:02-46:31)

**Important Ideas**
- **the law**: all the laws in a country.
- **police intimidation**: when the police use their power to make people so afraid that they do whatever the police tell them to do.

**Key Words**
- **testify (v)**: to say what you saw or heard (give evidence) in court
- **lieutenant (n)**: a kind of higher-level police officer
- **baton (n)**: a heavy stick used to beat people
- **prevent (v)**: to stop something from happening
- **enforce (v)**: to make sure that something happens
- **examine (v)**: to look at something very carefully
- **release (v)**: to set free
- **threaten (v)**: to warn someone that they will be hurt if they don’t do what you say
- **disappear (v)**: to go away without explanation
- **investigation (n)**: looking at all the evidence to work out the truth about a situation
- **institution (n)**: an organisation or other structure that is an important part of the country, such as the media or the police
- **police investigation (n)**: the work done to find out who committed a crime
- **incompetent (adj)**: not having the ability to do something well
- **consider (v)**: to think about something

**Before you watch**
*Discuss the question and tell the students to think about the question while they watch the film. Discuss again after watching if necessary.*

**Why do we need police?**
**Possible answer**: To prevent conflict, enforce laws, and keep people safe.
၃၄ မုဒို (ကြယ်-သီဟာ)

စိရိယန္ဒေဝါ အရေးပါသော အချို့ / အချင်းချင်း

ပေါ်တွင် ပါဝင်သည့် အချို့ အရေးပါသော အချို့ကို ဖော်ပြပါ။

လောင်စာများကို ခေါ်တွင်းပါအောက်ပါ သုံးစွဲပြီး မျှဝေသော အချို့ကို ဖော်ပြပါ။

အရြယ်အစားဖော်ပြသည်။

စိုးရိမ်စွာ သိသော အချို့ကို ဖော်ပြပါ။

မိခင်ပြောပြပေးရေး - ပြုစုချက်ပြောပြပေးရေး မိခင်ပြောပြပေးရေး မိခင်ပြောပြပေးရေး မိခင်ပြောပြပေးရေး
**Who has the guns?**
*Read out the following quote and discuss the question.*

1. **What do you think the speaker means in the quote?**

   **Possible answer:** He is saying that ordinary people do not have the ability to kill people easily and that if someone is killed for political reasons, it is likely that the police or military are responsible.

   **Ngun Soa (former Deputy Chief, Phnom Penh Police):**
   "In Cambodia, when you want to kill someone, you look for people who have guns. You and I don’t have the guns. So who has the guns in Cambodia? The police, the military people, etc."

**How did the police hide the truth?**
*Read out the quote box and discuss the following questions.*

2. **Why did the police visit this woman’s house?**

   **Possible answer:** To threaten her into keeping quiet about what she saw.

3. **What does this tell you about these police officers?**

   **Possible answer:** That they use their power to prevent the truth from coming out.

   **Nguyen Thi Ngoeun (mother of Samnang’s girlfriend):**
   "Four or five policemen arrived at my house. One of them was a high-ranking official. He said, ‘if you do not do what I tell you, then I will make problems for your family and Born Samnang won’t be released’... He only threatened me because I know this stuff is true.”
4. **Who was the police officer that came to the woman’s house?**

*Use the quote box to help the students answer the question.*

Vien Thi Hong *(Samnang’s girlfriend)*:
“This is the guy who told me. He said if I say this, my family will be okay. If I don’t, my family will disappear.”

**Lieutenant Hun Song:**
The man who arrested both Born Samnang and Sok Sam Oeun.

5. **Who does he work for?**

**Answer:** Deputy Police Chief Heng Pov, who had led the Vichea investigation from the beginning.

6. **Who is the most powerful police officer in Cambodia?**

**Answer:** Four-star general Hok Lundy.

7. **Who does he work for?**

**Answer:** Only the prime minister, Hun Sen.

**THE JUDICIARY**

*Read out the quote boxes and discuss the questions with the class. Use the possible answers to guide the discussion.*

Henrik Alffram *(former UN consultant)*:
“[The judiciary] is the institution that people have the least trust in and it’s considered to be the most corrupt...it is characterised by a high level of incompetence, very poorly trained and educated judges. Many have not even finished high school, have no legal training.”
ဗုဒ္ဓကျောင်းသားများ အားလုံးသည် ဖော်ပြသည်ကို အကောင်အထည်ကို တောင်းဆိုပါသည်။

**ဗုဒ္ဓကျောင်းသားများ (အမျိုးသား အိမ်ခြင်း)**

- သူတို့က ဗုဒ္ဓကျောင်းသားများကို လေ့လာသည်။
- အားလုံးအထိ အမျိုးသား အိမ်ခြင်းကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

**ရှေးဟောင်းသားများ**

- သူတို့က ရှေးဟောင်းသားများကို လေ့လာသည်။
- အားလုံးအထိ ရှေးဟောင်းသားများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

**ဓာတ်ပေါင်းများ**

- သူတို့က ဓာတ်ပေါင်းများကို လေ့လာသည်။
- အားလုံးအထိ ဓာတ်ပေါင်းများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

**မိဘကို ပျက်စီးပါ**

- သူတို့က မိဘကို ပျက်စီးသည်။
- အားလုံးအထိ မိဘကို ပျက်စီးထားသည်။

**စာရေး**

- သူတို့က စာရေးကို လေ့လာသည်။
- အားလုံးအထိ စာရေးကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
8. What are the causes and effects of the corrupt legal system in the film?

Possible answers – causes:
• Weak and badly educated lawyers and judges.
• Courts and judges are completely controlled by the government.
• The former dictatorship (Khmer Rouge) has destroyed education, civil society and the law. Quote: “in 1982, only ten legally educated people survived in Cambodia.”

Possible answers – effects:
• No one trusts or respects the law.
• Intimidation and bullying of the people by the police and courts.
• Working for a long time in the same job means that government and legal workers have made strong relationships with each other and use these to create and hide corruption.
• No powerful people want to change the system because it would mean that they will be punished for what they have done in the past.

9. Are these causes and effects the same in your country? How are they different?

Students answers based on their own knowledge and experience.

Corruption in the courts

Ask the questions and discuss the answers.

10. Who has the most power to control the courts?

Answer: Om Yentieng, the prime minister’s adviser and also the head of the Cambodian Human Rights Committee.

11. What happens to judges who make their own decisions?

Answer: They could be killed.
12. Why is it important that the judges are independent from the government?

Possible answer: So that judges can make decisions based on evidence rather than on what the government wants the decision to be, and that the government cannot commit crimes without being punished.

Extension Activities: The Police

*Students discuss the following questions.*

1. **Who should the police work for?**

   Possible answer: The people.

2. **Who do you think the Cambodian police really work for?**

   *Read out the examples and ask the question. Discuss students’ answers.*

   - “In 2007, a strike by female workers at the Fortune Garment Woolen Knitting Company was beaten down by armed police with electric batons and tear gas”
   - “In 2009, 1000 garment workers from the Sang Wu Factory who were on strike to get the factory owner to respect Cambodian Labour Law. The strike ended when they were attacked by armed police”
   - “In 2010, 40 workers from the Jin Chan garment factory were protesting because their salary had not been paid for three months. They were attacked by local police.”

   Possible answer: Business owners and politicians.

3. **Who do the police work for in your country?**

   *Answers based on students opinions.*
စီးပွားရေးအရေးကြီးသော အချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည့် စာရင်းကို အကောင်အထည်ဖော်ပြပါ။

မော်မာ- သူများအားဖြင့် မော်မာအကြောင်းအရာများ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည့် စာရင်းကို အကောင်အထည်ဖော်ပြပါ။

မော်မာ- အစားထိုးရေးအချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည့် စာရင်းကို အကောင်အထည်ဖော်ပြပါ။

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5. Why was Chea Vichea killed? (46:31-55:27)

**IMPORTANT IDEAS**

- **investment**: buying part of a company in exchange for a part of the profits that the company makes
- **unskilled labour**: work that can be done without training or education
- **civil society**: non-government organisations that provide services to their community

**Key Words**

- clear cut (adj): easy to understand
- stubborn (adj): not wanting to change your opinions or decisions
- exports (n): the things that a country sells to other countries
- import (n): the things that a country buys from other countries
- fire (v): to tell a worker that they have to leave their job
- violate (v): to abuse or damage something that belongs to someone else

**The Free Trade Union Of Workers Of The Kingdom Of Cambodia (FTUWKC) (n)**: the trade union that Chea Vichea was president of.

**Before you watch**

*Ask students if they have any questions or if there is anything they don’t understand.*

**Guiding question:** Who *really* killed Chea Vichea?

**WEB LINK**

To read recent news about the story and the film go to:
- [http://blog.whokilledcheavichea.com/](http://blog.whokilledcheavichea.com/)
- [http://www.facebook.com/whokilledcheavichea](http://www.facebook.com/whokilledcheavichea)
ဗားစာရေးမှ အချက်အလက် အချင်းချင်း
(စာပေ-ဖြိုး)

ဗားစာရေးမှ အချက်အလက် အချင်းချင်း/အချင်းချင်း

• http://blog.whokilledcheavichea.com/
• http://www.facebook.com/whokilledcheavichea
Was he killed as a threat?
Read out the following text and discuss the questions.

In the years after Chea Vichea was killed, two other trade union leaders were also killed in almost the same way. In May 2004 Ros Sovannarith, the FTUWKC President at the Trinunggal Komara factory, was murdered by two men on a motorbike. Hy Vuthy, the FTUWKC president at the Suntex garment factory was shot dead by two men on a motorbike on February 24, 2007. Vuthy had received telephone death threats three months before.

1. What are the similarities between the killing of these men and the death of Chea Vichea?
Answer: All three were FTUWKC union leaders, all three were killed by two men on motorbikes, and both Vuthy and Vichea received death threats before their murders.

2. What do you think is the effect of these killings on workers in these, and other, factories in Cambodia?
Possible answer: It makes other workers too afraid to try and change the working conditions in their factories.

3. Who would benefit from these killings?
Possible answer: The government and business owners.
ရိုက်ကူနှင့် ချို့ချင်းအတွက် ပြည်သူများကို အသုံးပြုရန် အကျိုးသမီးတို့ကို သင်ယူပေးနိုင်ခြင်း

ထိုအစိုးရအတွက် ဝန်ထမ်းများနှင့် ပြည်သူများကို အသုံးပြုနိုင်ခြင်း

ယူနီပို့မှ သတိပေးခြင်း

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Was he killed for political reasons?

Read out the quote boxes before discussing the questions.

Sam Rainsy:
“Maybe they want to send a message to another leader... Sometimes they don’t dare to kill the main target. They kill secondary target.”

Son Chhay (Member of Parliament):
“So this message is clear cut. Stop being stubborn. Accept Hun Sen, take what we give you and produce a new government.”

4. Who do you think was the “main target” that Sam Rainsy talks about? Why do you think they would be targeted?

Possible answer: The Sam Rainsy Party and Funcinpec politicians.

5. How did the political deadlock come to an end?

Possible answer: Prince Ranariddh stopped working with Sam Rainsy and joined Hun Sen in a new two-party coalition government. On July 15, 2004, Hun Sen was made prime minister again.

6. Who benefited politically from the death of Chea Vichea?

Answer: Hun Sen and CPP.
အထူးစိတ် မိန့်ခွန်း နိုင်ငံရေးဝင်ပွဲများတွင် အခြေခံချက်ပေးသော နိုင်ငံရေးအဖွဲ့

အသက်ဘေး နိုင်ငံတော်များသို့ လိုအပ်သော မိန့်ခွန်းအမျိုးအစား မကျန်စွာ

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Was he killed because of money?

Read out the following facts to the class and discuss the questions. Use the possible answers to guide the discussion.

- During the 1990s Cambodia opened up its economy to foreign investment.
- Many foreign investors wanted to do business in Cambodia because of all of the cheap, unskilled labour.
- Exports grew from nothing in 1994 to $1.9 billion in 2004.
- Two-thirds of garment sales are to the United States, and most of the rest to the European Union.
- The US spent 9% of its garment import money on business with Cambodia in 2002, 12% in 2003 and 14% in 2004.
- Because the government and businesses wanted to continue to attract foreign investors, they wanted to make sure that the labour stayed cheap by making sure that costs (wages, safety equipment, holiday pay, etc.) stayed low in the factories.

7. What do you think the government and business owners did to make sure that costs stayed low?

Possible answers: They threatened unionists and other workers, cheated them with short contracts, lied about the conditions in the factory, etc.

8. What problems do you think workers would face if they tried to tell people about the conditions in garment factories?

Possible answer: Cambodian workers don’t want talk about on their conditions of work because they are afraid that they will be fired. Many of the workers have no opportunity for other employment because no other garment factory will want a worker who says bad things about the conditions.
The world’s response

Read out the quote box and ask the questions.

9. The United States and European Union are the biggest trade partners with the Cambodian garment industry. How do you think this might have affected the statements made by the US and British ambassadors mentioned in the documentary?

Possible answer: The embassy might say that the situation is getting better so that they can trade with Cambodian businesses without being criticised by human rights organisations.

Sam Rainsy: The international community has other, bigger concerns.

Chea Mony (Chea Vichea’s Brother): “This is a government that’s corrupt, that murders people, violates human rights, and the U.S. embassy says that human rights have improved.

10. The British ambassador said that the way that Hun Sen got back into power was “what democracy is all about.” Do you agree?

Answers based on students’ opinions.
စီစဉ်အားဖော်ပြချက်

အားဖော်ပြချက်မှာ သိရှိလိုပါက အတိုစိတ်များဖြင့် တွေ့ရှိရန် လိုအပ်သည်။

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Extension Activity: Fighting Corruption

What are some of the challenges of trying to change a corrupt legal system like in Cambodia? What solutions can you think of?

Possible answers – challenges:
- Courts and judges are not independent from businesses and the government.
- Local media is scared and prevented from investigating corruption.
- There are not enough civil society and non-governmental organisations to criticise and watch the police, courts and government.
- Police, court and government workers are not paid enough, so they feel they need to take bribes.
- Freedom of speech and freedom of the press is not encouraged or protected.

Possible answers – solutions:
- Educate people about corruption.
- Provide more support to anti-corruption organisations.
- Increase salaries for police, court and government workers.
- Punish corrupt people, and protect people fighting corruption.
Policy and operational guidelines for the administration of the Myanmar Bank 

Policy and operational guidelines for the management of the Myanmar Bank

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WHO KILLED CHEA VICEA? is a highly charged murder mystery, a political thriller, and a documentary like no other.

In 2004, Cambodian union president Chea Vichea was assassinated in broad daylight at a newsstand in Phnom Penh. Soon after, two men were quickly arrested and sentenced to twenty years in prison. This film describes filmmaker Bradley Cox’s five-year investigation to search for the truth about how and why Vichea was killed.

This booklet has been produced to support teachers who wish to show and discuss this documentary with their students. It includes discussion topics, questions and background information on the film and several issues the film deals with.