



International Foundation for Election Systems

1101 15th STREET, N.W. • THIRD FLOOR • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 828-8507 • FAX (202) 452-0804

File
Copy

Ms. Catharin Dalpino
Deputy Assistant Secretary For Democracy
U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Democracy Human Rights and Labor
Washington, D.C. 20520

September 20, 1996

Dear Catharin:

Enclosed is the *Report to the Royal Government of Cambodia on Planning for Local and National Assembly Elections*. Perhaps I can explain the background to this report, assuming that you do not know this already. USAID/Cambodia requested that we not distribute this report until the Cambodian government had released it. We clarified the issue with the COTR, Sue Nelson. She did indeed ask that we pass on the request that this report not be released to the public until the Royal Government of Cambodia had done so. It can be circulated, however, within the State Department and USAID.

If I may, I would like to direct your attention to page 6, section 21 of the report. The last sentence of this paragraph contains the key to the realization of elections in Cambodia. It states that until a decision is made on the choice of system, everything from legislating election law to election planning and constituency mapping are blocked, thus no elections.

As we received reports from our consultant in Cambodia, Theo Noel, it became clear that the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) was taking the lead in developing the election system. The Group of International Experts began their work on August 21, and within the Ministry of Interior the overwhelming majority of their work was with the CPP half. It was not until the report had been submitted to the Co-Ministers of the Interior that FUNCINPEC began to show interest in the process, starting with First Prime Minister Ranariddh. FUNCINPEC has been increasing its participation in the process. However, as far as we know, no decision has been made on the election system and will probably not be made until after the issues concerning the recent Khmer Rouge and FUNCINPEC defections are settled.

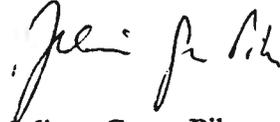
BOARD OF DIRECTORS			DIRECTORS EMERITI		
Charles T. Mahatt Chairman	Patricia Hittler Secretary	Barbara Boggus Dame Eugenia Charles (Dominica)	Peter G. Kelly Maureen A. Kindell Jean Pierre Kingsley (Canada)	William R. Sweeney, Jr. Leon J. Weil Randal C. Teague Counsel	James M. Cannon Richard M. Scammon
David R. Jones Vice Chairman	Joseph Napolitano Treasurer	Judy G. Fernald Victor Kamber	Peter McPherson	Richard W. Soudriette President	

Page 2

On a quite separate matter, I want to thank you for recommending to us your former colleague, [REDACTED]. He is doing an excellent job as Program Assistant for Asia. I was sure that if you recommended him he would be a fine choice. I was right.

I hope that you and your little son are doing well. Perhaps we can get together soon.

Sincerely,



Juliana Geran Pilon
Director of Programs,
Europe and Asia

**PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
ELECTIONS**

**REPORT TO THE ROYAL
GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA**

AUGUST 1996

His Excellency Mr Sar Khéng
the Deputy Prime Minister
and Co-Minister of the Interior

His Excellency Mr You Hockry
the Co-Minister of the Interior

Excellencies

We have the honour to convey to you the attached Report which outlines our findings, views and recommendations concerning the legislation and planning for the forthcoming local and National Assembly elections in the Kingdom of Cambodia.

We respectfully suggest that this Report be reviewed in relation to any proposed or draft legislation related to the election, given the significant implications of the electoral laws on the future conduct and costs of the elections.

Accept, Excellencies, the assurances of our highest consideration.



Ronald A. Gould
Assistant Chief Electoral
Officer
Elections Canada

Michael Maley
Director, Research and
International Services
Australian Electoral
Commission



Théo Noël
Technical Adviser
International Foundation for
Election Systems

30 August 1996

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Background and terms of reference	2
Outline of approach adopted	3
Outstanding critical policy issues	4
Electoral system	5
Development of a project plan, and election dates	6
Establishment of an electoral administration	8
Development of electoral laws	11
Determination of constituency boundaries, cartography, and allocation of seats to constituencies	14
Development of computer systems	17
Voter education, and training of electoral staff	20
Registration of political parties and candidates, party liaison, and training for agents, candidates and cadres	20
Registration of voters	21
Planning for and conduct of the polling	22
Management of the election campaign	24
Security arrangements	25
Determination of election results	25
Dispute resolution	25
Election budget	26
Electoral support (human, material, financial)	26
Summary of major recommendations and findings	28
Appendices	

PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS - REPORT TO THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA

Introduction

This Report on planning for local and National Assembly elections in Cambodia has been prepared for the Royal Government of Cambodia by a three-member team consisting of Mr Ronald A. Gould (Assistant Chief Electoral Officer, Elections Canada); Mr Michael Maley (Director, Research and International Services, Australian Electoral Commission); and Mr Théo Noël (Technical Adviser, International Foundation for Election Systems). Funding for the work of the team was provided by the Canadian International Development Agency, Elections Canada, the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

2. The Report consists of the following parts.
 - Background and terms of reference
 - Outline of approach adopted
 - Outstanding critical policy issues
 - Electoral system
 - Development of a project plan, and election dates
 - Establishment of an electoral administration
 - Development of electoral laws
 - Determination of constituency boundaries, cartography, and allocation of seats to constituencies
 - Development of computer systems
 - Voter education, and training of electoral staff
 - Registration of political parties and candidates, party liaison, and training for agents, candidates and cadres
 - Registration of voters
 - Planning for and conduct of the polling
 - Management of the election campaign

- Security arrangements
- Determination of election results
- Dispute resolution
- Election budget
- Electoral support (human, material, financial)
- Summary of major recommendations and findings

Background and terms of reference

3. From 21 to 29 October 1995, a Seminar and follow-up Workshop on “Electoral Systems and Administration”, (hereinafter “the October 1995 Seminar”) organised by the Cambodian Ministry of Interior (MOI) and the Khmer Institute of Democracy (KID) with the support of the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation and The Asia Foundation, was held in Phnom Penh. Among those serving on the panel of experts for the Seminar and Workshop were Messrs Gould and Maley, and M. Jean Fuerxer, Secretary-General of the French National Commission on Campaign Accounts and Political Finances. At the conclusion of the Seminar and Workshop, the expert panel provided to the Co-Ministers of the Interior, their Excellencies Sar Khéng and You Hockry, a Proposed Plan for Further Action. Part 2 of that Plan identified 15 tasks which will have to be performed to ensure the effective conduct of Cambodia’s forthcoming local and national elections. All of these are covered by the topics listed in paragraph 2 above.

4. With financial support from the French Government, M. Fuerxer was able to remain in Cambodia for several months following the Seminar and Workshop. During that period, he worked extensively with officials of the MOI, and produced a Report dated 14 March 1996 (hereinafter “the Fuerxer Report”) which addressed in detail many aspects of and options for the administration of the forthcoming elections in Cambodia. M. Fuerxer returned to Cambodia in July 1996 to carry out further work with the MOI.

5. In early July 1996, the Cambodian Co-Ministers of the Interior requested the Governments of Canada, Australia and the United States to provide experts to serve on a three-to-four week mission to Cambodia to work with the Bureau of Elections established within the MOI. The Chef de Cabinet of Co-Minister Sar Khéng, Mr Ok Serei Sopheap, subsequently identified the following tasks as those which the team of experts would be asked to initiate:

“Help to prepare the setting up of the Electoral Commission for 1998

Comprehensive plan with : (1) tasks breakdown; (2) timetable; (3) review the costs

Assist to review the laws

Train MOI Officials (central and provincial) about the process

Assist in the setting up of the boundary of the constituencies

Assist in the planning of the registration of voters

Assist in the planning of the voters' education".

6. At the time when these tasks were identified, it was understood that it would be unlikely that the team would be able to conclude them all within the period of its initial mission, but it was nevertheless hoped that significant progress could be made in relation to a number of them.

Outline of approach adopted

7. In undertaking its mission the team has based its analysis and recommendations on the fundamental fact that the forthcoming local and National Assembly elections will be totally under the jurisdiction of Cambodian authorities who will organise and manage every aspect of the process. It is also the team's understanding that the Royal Government of Cambodia:

- wishes that the elections be designed and carried out keeping in mind the political realities and special circumstances which exist in the country; and
- expects that the election process and associated procedures will accord with eleven principles, compatible with internationally accepted norms of electoral administration, which were set out by HE Sar Khéng, Co-Minister of the Interior, in his speech at the closing ceremony of the October 1995 Seminar, a copy of which is set out at Appendix A.

8. The team has approached its work with a basic view of the ongoing role of the international community in relation to the forthcoming Cambodian elections as that of a partnership - supporting the election process through the provision of technical advice and guidance as well as material assistance, especially where local resources are not experienced or available.

9. In conducting its analysis the team members have been provided with invaluable guidance and assistance by those persons and groups (listed at Appendix B) with whom they met during their stay. In addition, the team has found the Fuerxer Report to be a thoughtful and comprehensive foundation for its considerations, and, while noting that some variations to its proposals have already been identified by the MOI as likely to be necessary in the light of changed circumstances and cost constraints, overall believes it to be an invaluable guide and working tool for those responsible for organising and managing the forthcoming elections. For that reason, the team has not attempted to revisit every issue dealt with in the Fuerxer Report, but has rather sought to supplement it, by identifying alternative approaches to certain problems which might be required in the light of changed circumstances, and also by adding its support to many of the points emphasised by M. Fuerxer.

10. At the start of the team's mission it was evident that some progress had been made since the October 1995 Seminar in the preparation of local election legislation and in arriving at essential policy decisions to enable election planning and organisation to get underway. However the progress achieved has been significantly less than that contemplated last October by the Royal Government. In the Proposed Plan for Further Action presented at the conclusion of the October 1995 Seminar it was recommended that a local election law should be in place by March 1996; that an electoral administration for the conduct of the local elections should be in place by May-June 1996; and that voter registration should commence in October 1996.

11. The team believes that it is important to recognise the reality that a significant amount of time may be required to make key policy decisions underpinning the election process (such as the choice of electoral system), embody them in electoral legislation, constitute responsible election bodies, etc. As these official decisions may continue to require more time than expected, the team has developed its proposed timetable and recommendations based on the need to provide the maximum time possible.

12. The team recognises that Cambodia has limited financial resources for conducting elections, while at the same time the international community is increasingly subject to financial constraints and cutbacks by their respective governments. With this in mind, the team has attempted to examine the proposed budget in the Fuerxer Report with the view to focussing on the costs which are essential, unavoidable, and directly related to the conduct of the election. The team recommends reduction or elimination of activities (and associated costs) which might be considered highly desirable but which are not essential (or which, in some cases, are not directly related to the election process). In other situations the team suggests alternative materials or approaches to reduce costs, while at the same time maintaining the integrity of the election.

13. In carrying out its mandate the team has sought to emphasise the need for sustainability and development. It is of the view that the election system and process which is put in place should be one which Cambodia can afford to support and maintain in future years. Furthermore, whenever possible electoral practices and systems used in the forthcoming elections should constitute the foundation for broader and more sophisticated systems (such as a continuously maintained list of electors) for future elections.

Outstanding critical policy issues

14. Part I of the Proposed Plan for Further Action produced at the conclusion of the October 1995 Seminar identified a range of critical questions of electoral policy. It pointed out that their resolution should be seen as a matter of top priority, because (i) the answers to them would determine the exact operational procedures which would be required for the conduct of the forthcoming elections; and (ii) detailed election planning and costing could not commence until they had been resolved.

15. The team notes that while some of the questions identified in October 1995 have been answered definitively, a number of critical policy issues are still outstanding. In particular:

- discussions are still underway on the electoral system to be used for both the local and National Assembly elections;
- mechanisms for defining constituency and polling division boundaries have not yet been identified;
- laws to govern the local and National Assembly elections have not yet been enacted (and, in the case of the National Assembly elections, have not yet been drafted);
- the structure, membership and responsibilities of the Election Commission(s) responsible for the administration of the election process are still to be fully identified; and
- a timetable identifying election dates which are plausible in the light of the various constraints is yet to be defined.

16. On 21 August 1996, the team met with His Excellency Sar Khéng, Co-Minister of the Interior, and took the opportunity to emphasise again the critical importance of the early resolution of these issues. On 22 August 1996, the team provided to the Ministers' Offices a short note summarising its concerns on the first four of these issues, a copy of which is at Appendix C. The issue of the electoral system is further discussed at paragraphs 18 to 23 below; boundaries are discussed at paragraphs 58 to 66; the legal framework for the elections is discussed at paragraphs 50 to 57; the issue of the Election Commission(s) is discussed at paragraphs 32 to 49; and election date options are discussed, in the broader context of the need for an overall project plan, at paragraphs 24 to 31.

17. While there are some important areas in which the team has been in a position to make progress, in other important areas proposals can only be put forward on the basis of assumptions which are contingent on decisions yet to be made on the matters referred to above.

Electoral system

18. At the October 1995 Seminar comprehensive presentations, debates and discussions took place concerning the relative advantages and disadvantages of majoritarian, proportional and mixed electoral systems. The team understands that at that time there was something of a political consensus in Cambodia in favour of a majoritarian system for both local and National Assembly elections.

19. The Fuerxer Report recommends a first-past-the-post (one round) majoritarian system election at the local level and a mixed proportional/first-past-the-post majoritarian/single non-transferable vote system for the National Assembly elections.

20. The team was advised that in August 1996 there was no longer a consensus concerning the use of majoritarian systems for all elections; that there was some support for the Fuerxer plan, and that a second round of voting was being mooted for the majoritarian elections for the National Assembly in constituencies where the winning candidate did not receive at least 50% +1 of the valid votes cast.

21. The team is of the view that the advantages and disadvantages of the different systems have been clearly and thoroughly explained in the past. There is no perfect or ideal system. The decision on the choice of system is a political one, and until that decision is made and finalised the election laws, election planning, political party and candidate preparations, constituency mapping etc. are all blocked - as is the election itself.

22. The team does not believe that at this point it would be appropriate for it to suggest what political decision should be taken. It would only point out that to implement a majoritarian system, additional time must be made available to determine the constituency boundaries for the National Assembly elections and possibly to clarify some or all of the boundaries for the local elections. Secondly, if runoff elections are to be held at either or both levels, the team believes that these could not be held until approximately one month following the initial election, and would result in significant additional costs. Thirdly, the team understands that consideration may be being given to the holding of a run-off election in which all candidates would be able to participate in the second round. As the team understands it, the argument usually advanced in support of a run-off election is that the holding of a second round of voting ensures that the winning candidate is one who has the support of a majority of electors (50% +1). This however requires a second round in which only the two candidates who stood highest on the poll in the first round are on the ballot. If such an approach is not to be adopted, the team sees no justification for the additional cost of holding a run-off election with more than two candidates.

23. Given the importance of this decision to the very existence of an electoral law, plan and process, the team believes that the making of a final political decision on the issue should be considered the top priority at this point.

Development of a project plan, and election dates

24. The Proposed Plan for Further Action presented in October 1995 emphasised the importance of developing a project plan for the entire election process. This should still be regarded as a matter of high priority, though at the moment, the uncertainty still surrounding critical elements of the electoral process makes the development of a comprehensive plan impossible. Since a plausible operational "timetable" for an election is in effect no more than a statement of the implications of the timing of tasks identified by a project plan, it follows that a fully elaborated timetable for the election cannot be provided at this stage.

25. One reason for developing a project plan is to provide an objective basis for the setting of deadlines for the completion of particular tasks, so as to ensure that statutory requirements will be met. Since election dates are often determined by the Constitution of a country, they tend to represent some of the most immutable of deadlines.

26. Despite the impossibility of developing a detailed project plan at this stage, the team has given some consideration to the issue of election dates, in the broader context of the need to review the costings in the Fuerxer Report. In examining election date options, several guiding considerations have to be kept in mind. The first is the constitutional provision in respect of the National Assembly elections. The second is the provisions in the various election laws which impact on the election date. The third is the need to ensure that sufficient time is provided to organise election management bodies, train election officials, and carry out voter registration, campaigning and all the other basic activities which enable an election to be held. The fourth is the physical difficulty of holding an election during the rainy season. Finally, the cost implications of different approaches should be taken into account.

27. In relation to the National Assembly elections, article 78 of the Constitution states that "the legislative term of the Assembly shall be 5 years, and terminates on the day the new Assembly convenes". Although it is not specifically spelt out in the Constitution, the implication of the above provision is that the five year period is calculated from the date on which the adoption of the Constitution transformed the Constituent Assembly elected in May 1993 into the National Assembly. This would then require the election to be held before September 1998 and probably in the April - June period in order to provide sufficient time to finalise all results and to organise the first meeting of the new Assembly. This would also facilitate the holding of the election before the onset of the rainy season (and even if it is feasible to hold an election during the rainy season - and that is highly questionable - it would undoubtedly cost less to hold one in the dry season). An April - June 1998 election date should provide sufficient time for the selection of management bodies and the carrying out of necessary election preparations - assuming that the National Assembly Election Law is approved within the next few months and contains no provisions which would negatively affect the above election date.

28. In relation to the local elections, the identification of a date is somewhat more difficult, since for the local elections, unlike the National Assembly elections, there is no over-riding law determining the latest date by which the elections must be held. This provides the options of holding the local elections before, at the same time as, or after, the National Assembly elections. There are strong and valid arguments for holding the local elections either before the National Assembly elections or at the same time as them. By holding them before the National Assembly elections the election management bodies would gain experience for the subsequent elections, the voter registration system would be in place and tested, polling places would have been identified, and most polling officials would also have been identified. In addition, the risk of confusion on the part of the voter would not arise, as the focus would be one type of election at a time, rather than two at the same time.

29. On the other hand, holding both elections at the same time (in 1998) would provide for a much longer period to organise and prepare for the election, probably requiring fewer employees. It would significantly reduce the costs to the Royal Government of Cambodia, with expenditure being spread over a two year period, and it would be much more likely to ensure compatibility in terms of administration, management and systems. The risk of "elector fatigue" (a syndrome under which electors decide that voting in the first of two successive elections is sufficient) would be avoided. The problem of voter confusion could be resolved by a comprehensive and intensive voter education program.

30. The team notes that in the Fuerxer Report it is suggested that local elections could not be carried out before December 1997 - a short four to six months prior to the latest plausible National Assembly election date. If the provisions of the Draft Law on Commune Administration and Commune Elections in the Kingdom of Cambodia (hereinafter the "draft Local Elections Law") are approved, it would appear that the local elections could not be held before April - June 1998. Article 31 of the draft Local Elections Law requires the electoral list for each commune to be finalised on 31 December of each year. Given that there is currently no electoral organisation or system in place to carry out registration of voters, it is highly unlikely that a list could be finalised by 31 December 1996. Therefore the list would only be finalised by 31 December 1997, precluding any elections based on the list being held prior to some months later in 1998.

31. Given all the considerations, including legislative, organisational, administrative, weather and costs, the team believes that there are very strong arguments favouring the holding of joint elections in the period April - June 1998.

Establishment of an electoral administration

32. In his speech to the October 1995 Seminar, HE Sar Khéng, Deputy Prime Minister and Co-Minister of the Interior, stated that:

"With or without the government's participation, an independent election commission with full authority during the election period must be established."

The team fully endorses the commitment given by HE Sar Khéng on behalf of the Royal Government, and believes that its fulfilment will contribute fundamentally to the success of the forthcoming elections.

33. The term "Independent Election Commission" usually defines a Commission which is independent of the Government. However, Election Commissions which are not independent of the Government also function effectively in a number of countries. What is a fundamental requirement of any election management body is that it be non-partisan, even-handed, open and transparent in all its activities and decisions. The reputation of the Commission in the eyes of the public for integrity and neutrality has a direct effect on public confidence in the integrity of the election system itself.

34. This reputation often has to be earned by a Commission after it is appointed, through its public actions and decisions. It is therefore suggested that the Election Commissions appointed to oversee the local elections be the same bodies which would oversee the National Assembly elections. This would avoid the problem of having to constitute new Commissions which would then have to earn the confidence of the electors again. (Such an approach would for reasons of administrative efficacy be virtually mandatory if the local and National Assembly elections are held at the same time.)

35. In the team's view, the creation of an Election Commission independent of government is probably unrealistic. It follows that the composition of a non-partisan Commission is critically important to ensure that there are political and community checks and balances within the body.

36. As the responsibilities of the Commission will be many and varied, membership of it will imply an ongoing workload, requiring that the membership be relieved of most other duties, at least in the initial stages of the election, and at key times throughout the process, including during the registration of voters, candidates and parties, and the pre- and post-voting and counting periods.

37. The team believes that the staff of the MOI should be made available to undertake election related functions. They should undertake those functions under the supervision of, subject to the direction of, and in accordance with procedures and instructions laid down by, the Election Commission. Directions, procedures and instructions should be conveyed to the MOI by the Co-Ministers for the Interior, acting as agents of the Election Commission.

38. In determining the membership of National and Provincial Election Commissions, representation from the parties in the National Assembly could go some way towards providing desirable checks and balances. The public could be represented by persons from the domestic NGO community appointed in their personal capacity rather than as NGO representatives. An official from the MOI might also be included on each of the Commissions. In the case of the National Election Commission the Head of the Bureau of Elections might be the MOI representative on the Commission.

39. The size of the Commission should be kept as small as possible, to facilitate decision-making, as well as because of cost considerations. For example, the National Election Commission might include the Co-Ministers of the Interior or their designated representatives, party representatives, one person from the NGO community, and an MOI official. At the provincial level the Commission might include two MOI representatives, party representatives, and a person from the domestic NGO community. At the level of the Commune Election Commissions (proposed at paragraph 49 below), the membership might consist of the party representatives, together with one person from the NGO community.

40. The appointment of the National Election Commission and the Provincial Election Commissions might be made by the Co-Prime-Ministers, from lists of names submitted by the parties and the NGOs. To underline the non-partisan nature of the Commissions and to emphasise their status as important institutions for the nation, it would be highly desirable that their nominations be ratified by the National Assembly - preferably by a unanimous vote. The appointment of the Commune Election Commissions would be made by the National Election Commission, based on the recommendations of the Provincial Election Commissions.

41. The law should define the number of members on each Commission required to form a quorum, and describe how Commission decisions are to be made. If majority voting is to be used, provision should be made for resolving tied votes.

42. In the case of the National Election Commission consideration might be given to designating the Co-Ministers of the Interior as Co-Chairmen. However, in doing so, clear provision would need to be made for them to designate representatives to act on their behalf, as the workload demands of the Commission would conflict with their ministerial responsibilities. To ensure efficient functioning of the Commission such a designate would have to be a person who had the full authority of the Co-Minister to speak for him in the decision-making process. In designating the Co-Ministers as Co-Chairmen, the provisions of

article 51 of the draft Local Elections Law (and the anticipated parallel provision in the National Assembly Election Law) which prohibits individuals standing as candidates from participating in “Election Organising Commissions”, must be kept in mind. Therefore, if either Co-Minister becomes a candidate, his place on the Commission should thereafter be taken by his designated representative.

43. The National Election Commission should have the final authority to deal with all election-related disputes and to certify the election results. It should also be empowered to delegate to other authorities the handling of complaints and disputes, so long as the right to appeal to the National Election Commission is preserved in all cases. The only exception to the above would be complaints and disputes of a criminal nature, which would be handled by the courts.

44. To ensure transparency of operation, and to enhance confidence in the non-partisan nature of the National Election Commission, it should be empowered to invite technical advisers, consultants and observers to any meeting, except where security, commercial confidentiality, protection of personal information or privacy considerations are involved. Key decisions and the reasons for them should be widely publicised. To further enhance its credibility and create confidence regular separate consultation meetings should be held at least monthly, and more frequently as the election date approaches, with the media, political party representatives, donors and NGOs.

45. All Commissioners should enjoy equal rights on the Commission, and have free access to any documents of relevance to the work of the Commission, including election-related documents generated by or on behalf of the Ministry of the Interior.

46. The above comments and suggestions are put forward for consideration with respect to the National and Provincial Election Commissions. At the polling station level the team foresees at this time (but subject to the determination of the voting procedures) no more than a three person Polling Station Committee, comprising a Chairperson, a Deputy, and a secretary from the local community. Representation of observers nominated by candidates and/or parties, and by NGOs, and perhaps the presence of international observers, would provide the necessary checks, balances and oversight. The National Election Commission should be empowered to determine the number of polling station officials required in excess of three. In order to benefit from previous experience and to reduce training requirements and costs, preference might be given to the selection of individuals in the communities who administered the polling stations in the previous election.

47. As the provisions of the draft Local Elections Law which describe the various roles of the “Provincial Election Organising Commissions” and the “Provincial Supervision Commissions” appear to overlap, and because the team recommends that the Ministry of the Interior at the provincial level be responsible for the provision of materials and supplies, and all related support to the Polling Station Organising Committees under the direction of the Provincial Election Organising Commission, the team believes that this latter Commission could be constituted simply as a “Provincial Election Commission”, which could assume those responsibilities assigned under the current draft Local Elections Law to both the “Provincial Election Organising Commission” and the “Provincial Election Supervision Commission”. This would mean that there would be only one Commission operating at the provincial level, leading to reduced costs, and the avoidance of overlapping responsibilities.

48. With respect to the previous recommendation, the Provincial Election Commissions would assume responsibility for the second highest level of dispute resolution. In this respect the Commissions might establish small advisory committees to process challenges and complaints on their behalf. Possible international support for this process is discussed further at paragraphs 101 to 103 below.

49. The team strongly recommends that consideration be given to establishing Election Commissions at the commune level. Below the Commune Election Commission would be the Polling Station Committee which would only consist of two or three people to administer the voting and the counting. The Commune Election Commission would be responsible for identifying registration and polling locations, receiving election materials from the Provincial Election Commission and distributing these to the Polling Station Committees; and for receiving the records of the results of the count from each of the Polling Station Committees, putting them into a single package, and despatching them to the Provincial Election Commission. The composition of the Commune Election Commission would parallel that of the Provincial Election Commission.

Development of electoral laws

50. The team has reviewed the translations of the existing or draft laws which were made available to it. Unfortunately a draft of the National Assembly Election Law was not available, making it impossible to consider structures which would link it smoothly to the draft Local Elections Law and perhaps reduce costs to some degree. In general the team found the laws to be of a high quality and standard, and in most cases the team only needs to raise points requiring clarification.

51. In the case of the draft Local Elections Law the team would strongly recommend that it only be specific where there are political considerations involved. Otherwise the details related to electoral administration should be determined by the National Election Commission in order to adapt to varying circumstances and needs which arise.

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia

52. This document provides a strong foundation for the carrying out of a free, equitable and democratic election. The electoral rights of citizens are clearly prescribed in articles 34, 42 and 76. The team notes that the provisions of article 34, concerning the right to vote and to stand for office, can be restricted by the Electoral Law, but given the principle of universal suffrage, any restrictions should be minimal and of a character the legitimacy of which could be internationally recognised. Although article 76 specifies that the Electoral Law shall determine the electoral process and procedure, there is no specific reference in the Constitution to an Election Commission or indeed to any election management bodies. The composition and nature of such a body will have to be defined in the relevant electoral legislation and approved by the National Assembly.

53. Article 117 states that the Constitutional Council will examine and decide on contested cases involving the election of Assembly members. The team therefore believes it is essential to the conduct of a free and fair election that the Constitutional Council be put in place as early as possible.

The Law on Nationality

54. As citizenship is a fundamental precondition for becoming an elector, this newly enacted law should become an integral part of the voter registration process. This will assist registration officers to determine what action is required to resolve cases where there is a question of citizenship involved, and will guide individuals who wish to obtain their citizenship in order to vote.

Sub-Decree on Khmer National Identity Cards

55. The fact that this decree provides for identity cards to be provided to citizens 18 years of age and older, which will be valid for 10 years, suggests serious consideration should be given to using these cards as a basis for voter registration. This option should be explored in relation to the provisions of the draft electoral legislation.

Draft Local Elections Law

56. The comments which follow relate directly to those provisions of the law which deal with local elections, rather than those which deal with commune administration. We have based our comments on the English translation of the Law which in some cases may not accurately reflect the wording or intent of the Drafting Committee which prepared the original version in Khmer.

- Article 5 states that “the administration of the communes and commune elections are the competence of the Ministry of the Interior”. As noted at paragraphs 34 to 37 above, in the team’s view the administration of both the local and National Assembly elections should be carried out using the resources of the Ministry of the Interior, working under the direction of a National Election Commission responsible for the interpretation and the application of the electoral laws.
- Article 12 states that the definition or amendment of commune borders “shall be determined by law”, and suggests that the Ministry of the Interior is to issue instructions on the modalities. As this designation of borders and the related law is fundamental to the election, clarification of what actions are required, by whom and within what time frame, is a matter of urgency. (This issue is discussed further at paragraphs 58 to 66 below.)
- Article 29 makes reference to the five year term of communal chiefs, but does not specify when the five year term begins and ends.

- Article 31 provides that the list of electors shall be finalised on 31 December of each year. Specifying 31 December could create problems as election dates are not specified in the law. It would be preferable to require lists to be updated annually on a date to be designated by the National Election Commission.
- Article 31 also refers to an additional list of people who will reach 18 years before the election date. This list closes three months before the election date. This assumes that the election date will always be known at least three months in advance.
- Article 32 requires permanent residence in a commune for at least six months as a qualification for voting. It should be determined whether a definition of “residence” needs to be included in the legislation.
- Article 33 refers to an “electoral card”. As the form of the document may vary, the term “card” might be changed to “document”.
- Article 39 requires, in relation to published lists of candidates, that the size of the paper, the print and photographs to be of the same scale and colour [sic] for each commune. This provision needs clarification, as communes with many candidates will require either larger papers, or smaller print if the paper has to be the same size. What is more important is that all photographs and names of candidates on a particular list must be equal in size.
- Article 40 requires protests to the Provincial/Municipal Election Supervision Commission about the omission of a name from the published list of candidates to be submitted via the District Governor. This appears to be the only role given to the District Governor. The rationale for this is not evident, and unless some compelling justification for the proposed approach can be identified, the team would recommend that the District Governor not be involved in the process.
- Articles 42 and 44 refer to the national, provincial/municipal and polling station supervision and management bodies. As discussed at paragraphs 46 to 49 above, the team believes that the proposed structure should be reconsidered to enhance communication, reduce overlapping roles and reduce costs.
- Article 45 should give responsibility to the National Election Commission for overall management of, and development of policy for, designation of poll boundaries and for voter registration. It is suggested that here and throughout the legislation, reference be made to balloting materials, equipment and supplies rather than ballot papers and ballot boxes, in the event that other voting methods are considered. Alternatively a provision might be added permitting the use of other voting systems or procedures provided that they are acceptable to the National Election Commission, and enable a secret ballot to be cast.
- In relation to article 49, it is strongly recommended that over and above the designation of a Chairperson, Deputy and perhaps a Secretary, the National Election Commission designate any additional election officials required for the administration of each poll. The cost implications of having nine officials at 8000 to 10000 polls

would warrant keeping the number of polling officials to a minimum. In addition, there will be candidate representatives and possibly other observers attending at each poll to observe the conduct of the election officials.

- Article 71 should be amended to include a reference to replacement of a ballot inadvertently spoiled by a voter.
- Article 75 refers to security forces stationed at the polling station. The law should make it clear that these forces must be stationed outside the polling station.
- Article 78 should be worded so as to require a comparison to be made between the number of ballots in the ballot box and the number of voters on the list who are marked as having voted.
- The team notes that there is no provision in the law for the provision of assistance in voting to a blind or otherwise handicapped elector, or to an illiterate voter who requests help.
- The team also notes that no special provision has been made for voting by the military and the police at the polling stations, in their barracks, in or out of uniform, armed or unarmed etc.

57. In the light of the above points, the team recommends that there be a further review of the present draft Local Election Law, to ensure that it is as comprehensive and problem free as possible.

Determination of constituency boundaries, cartography, and allocation of seats to constituencies

58. In his speech to the October 1995 Seminar, HE Sar Khéng, Deputy Prime Minister and Co-Minister of the Interior, stated that:

“The establishment of electoral districts absolutely must be clearly defined, based upon the number of people eligible to vote. This principle requires a thorough population census by local officials in cooperation with national and international experts.”

The issue of boundary delimitation arises in relation to both the local and National Assembly elections, but there are some differences in the challenges to be faced in each case.

59. In relation to local elections, the team understands that the boundaries of the communes are well defined, though in discussions with different authorities the team heard different figures - 1547 and 1548 - quoted for the total number of communes. The team believes however that the Local Elections Law should contain a transitional provision which expressly defines the boundaries of communes, even if this only consists of a statement that commune boundaries shall be those in force at the time the Law comes into effect.

60. A more critical issue is that of the internal division of communes for the purposes of polling. With around 1547/8 communes nationwide, the average number of voters per commune will be around 3000. Since pursuant to article 65 of the draft Local Elections Law, it is intended that only around 500 people will vote at any polling station, an average commune will contain six polling stations. The team understands that it is intended that each voter's name will appear on the list of voters for a specific polling station, and only on that list. If that is the case, however, it will not suffice merely to develop a list of voters for a whole commune; lists will have to be developed for each polling station, meaning that 8000 to 10000 separate lists will have to be produced.

61. In Canada, this issue is dealt with by dividing constituencies geographically into what are known as "polling divisions". The boundaries of these polling divisions are determined before the registration of voters, with the aim of ensuring that there will be around 350 voters in each polling division. Since voter registration data are not available, this has done be done on the basis of informed estimates; if when the registration takes place it turns out that there are more than 400 voters in the area, the list of voters at the polling station will be split (for example alphabetically A to K, L to Z) into two lists, to keep the number on each list below 400.

62. The team believes that in the Cambodian context the only feasible approach would be to identify the 8000 to 10000 polling divisions prior to the commencement of voter registration, so that voters will be able to register and subsequently vote at the same place. This process can be very time consuming, depending upon the system used, the availability of resources, and any issues surrounding the political acceptability of proposed boundaries. At this time the team would suggest that a minimum of three months should be factored in for the definition of the 8000 to 10000 polling divisions before detailed planning and registration information can be developed.

63. In relation to the National Assembly elections, the issue of constituency delimitation does not appear to have been addressed in any detail up until now. The Fuerxer Report proposed the use of a mixed voting system, under which all but four provinces would vote as one electorate.

64. While the task of constituency delimitation for the National Assembly elections is a substantial one, the team believes that it can be simplified by the adoption of a number of basic principles.

- Since the administrative structures of the country are based around provinces, significant administrative difficulties could be avoided by requiring that no constituency should contain parts of two different provinces. If this is not done, the prospect would arise of having authorities from different provinces responsible for the conduct of voter registration, polling, counting etc. in different parts of a constituency, and this would be administratively complex and inefficient.
- Since the commune is to be a basic unit for the administration of voter registration, and is as well a basic unit for more general administrative purposes, it would make sense to require that constituencies must consist of whole communes (in other words, no commune shall be spread over two or more constituencies).

- Since the number of eligible voters in each commune will be accurately known once voter registration for the local elections has taken place, the approach of using the communes as “building blocks” for National Assembly constituencies would enable those constituencies to be defined based on the number of people eligible to vote, as required by the principle laid down by HE Sar Khéng. Unless a common building block such as the commune is used for the purposes of the local and National Assembly elections, it will not be possible to use the same voter registration data for both elections, and significant additional costs will be incurred.
- If the approach set out above were adopted, there would be one question still to be addressed, namely, how many constituencies should there be in each province. A logical way to approach the problem would be to allocate constituencies to the provinces in proportion to the number of registered voters in each province, subject to a requirement that every province have at least one representative. The allocation could be made immediately prior to the commencement of the constituency boundary delimitation process. A workable formula for allocating seats to provinces in proportion to their voter populations was set out in article 33 of the United Nations Electoral Law for Cambodia, 1992.

65. Although the adoption of the principles set out in the preceding paragraph would significantly simplify the task of determining boundaries, a mechanism would still be required for choosing which communes should go to make up which constituency. Again, a number of basic principles can be referred to.

- The public, the political parties and indeed all participants in the electoral process are more likely to accept the legitimacy of a particular set of boundaries if they have been drawn by a body which is seen to be neutral and non-partisan. Consideration should therefore be given to empowering the Electoral Commission to determine constituency boundaries.
- Confidence in the boundary drawing process is also likely to be enhanced by the adoption of transparent mechanisms, including provision for suggestions and input from the political parties and other participants in the electoral process, and requirements for the Electoral Commission to state publicly why it has chosen a particular set of boundaries.
- The criteria in accordance with which the boundaries are to be drawn should be clearly defined and reasonable ones, set out in law prior to the commencement of the boundary drawing process. These would typically include a requirement to ensure a reasonable degree of equality in the voter populations of the various constituencies within a province; a requirement to ensure that the means of communication and travel within a constituency are such as to facilitate its representation (for example, by ensuring that a constituency is not divided in two by river which cannot readily be crossed); and a requirement that constituencies should be relatively socio-economically homogeneous.

66. In recent years, the use of computerised geographical information systems has been found to facilitate significantly the task of drawing boundaries. The team recommends that the feasibility of using a geographical information system to support the boundary drawing process should be addressed as a discrete project. Depending on the political implications involved, the delimitation of National Assembly boundaries could take anything from several weeks to several months.

Development of computer systems

67. In the Fuerxer Report it is proposed that the voter registration process be supported by the establishment of a decentralised computer system. Each district would be equipped with a number of PCs on which data would be entered. These would be connected to provincial offices via telecommunication lines (though diskette transfer would be used if that proved not to be feasible). Each provincial office would communicate with a central installation in Phnom Penh, again using either telecommunications lines or diskettes. The overall structure would be that of a two-level star network.

68. The strengths of such an arrangement would clearly be the minimisation of the handling of paper; the efficient management of the large volumes of data involved; and the flexibility which is associated with the electronic management of information. The system would also be able to be used for the expeditious compilation of election results, and more generally the telecommunications network to be established to support the system would have the potential to support numerous applications. The Fuerxer Report also suggests that a computerised system would facilitate identification of duplicate entries in the register of voters, using techniques based on data on sex, date of birth, address, similarity of names, inversion of first and second name, etc. The team has considered the computerisation issues raised by the Fuerxer Report in some detail, and notes that they give rise to a number of matters which would have to be addressed.

- The implementation of a fully computerised system would be a complex and time consuming undertaking, the success of which would be dependent on a large number of different factors, not all of which would be under the control of the MOI. It would also be mission critical, in the sense that its failure could jeopardise the overall success of the election. Appropriate contingency plans including manual backup systems would therefore be required.
- The existence of 194 separate sites would give rise to extensive challenges in the areas of training, system administration, and provision of technical support. The need for stable power supplies would also probably require the purchase of generators and voltage regulators/uninterruptable power supply units for many of the sites. These were not included in the Fuerxer Report's costings.
- The flow of electronic data from the districts to the provinces to the central installation would be at risk of interruption at a number of points, for example as a result of power failures, telecommunications breakdowns, damage to diskettes, or loss of diskettes in transit. Such interruptions would give rise to significant challenges in ensuring that the appropriate transactions had been properly applied to databases at every level of the operation. If these challenges could not be met with complete certainty, there would

be a danger that the corresponding registers held at the provincial and national levels would get "out of synchronisation".

- The system would require a major investment of resources. In purely financial terms the proposed computer system and associated communications network represents over 29% of the estimated total election cost set out in the Fuerxer Report. However, if the system were to be sustained in the long run, a substantial investment of human as well as financial resources would also be required. A significant portion of the time of those responsible for the elections at the central, provincial and district levels would have to be spent in the implementation and maintenance of the system. These resource demands could well be on such a scale as to lead to a diversion of skills from other critical areas of the election process.
- The use of computer resources to identify possible duplicate entries on the register of voters is a matter which needs to be further studied. A difficulty of which members of the team are aware is that Cambodian names are not always recorded using the same spelling; this becomes particularly relevant when names of illiterate voters are recorded by registration officers. In the face of such a situation, reliance often has to be placed on computer software which can identify names which sound similar, as distinct from names which are spelt similarly or identically. The team discussed the feasibility of such an approach with the Chief of the Cambodian Computing Centre at the Council of Ministers, Mr Salun Sok. He pointed out that although such software exists for English characters, it does not exist for names recorded in the Khmer script. In attempting to eliminate duplicate entries on databases maintained by his Centre, Mr Salun Sok had had to maintain in the databases records of names in both Khmer and English script, and the search for duplicates had had to be done on the basis of the English rather than Khmer rendition of the names. This in turn had given rise to a problem of ensuring the consistent transliteration of names from the usual Khmer script to English script. This had been done procedurally, by instructing data entry operators to use particular English renditions of Khmer names.

69. The team has had the opportunity to discuss the proposal in the Fuerxer Report in some detail with staff of the Bureau of Elections in the Ministry of the Interior. There is no disagreement about the attractiveness of the proposal, or the benefits which it would bring for Cambodia in the long term. The staff of the Bureau of Elections however have themselves identified since March 1996 a number of the significant challenges outlined above to which the proposal would give rise. These included the need to ensure stable power supplies; the need to train trainers; and in general the need to maintain a relatively sophisticated technology at a large number of discrete sites. Arising from these concerns, the Bureau has had the opportunity recently to work again with M. Fuerxer, with the view to developing a proposal for a manual system which could serve effectively to register voters.

70. The team commends such an approach as one which it would be prudent to adopt in the present circumstances. Since as noted above it would be essential in the Cambodian context for a computerised system to be supported by an appropriate manual backup, the development of an appropriate manual system would be entirely consistent with a long-term objective of computerisation. The development of a manual system could also be expected to illuminate and assist the process of developing specifications for a computerised system.

71. The team also notes that many of the more substantial challenges arising from the scheme set out in the Fuerxer Report flow from its decentralised character. These could be minimised by a phased system development, under which a central computer system could be supplemented by provincial and district systems, with pilot projects being undertaken at each stage of the process. If such provincial and district pilot projects were undertaken with the view to implementation after rather than before the forthcoming elections, the system development life cycle could run its full course rather than having to be compressed because of immutable deadlines, and the prospect of avoiding costly system failures would be significantly enhanced.

72. If in the first instance all computerised data records were to be maintained at a single site, the central installation would have to be much larger than the 10 PCs contemplated in the Fuerxer Report. The Cambodian Computing Centre currently has approximately 50 PCs, which are used among other things to maintain the civil service database. Because they are already being used for important ongoing systems, they would not readily be able to be used for election purposes.

73. The Cambodian Computing Centre also has in its possession, but is not currently using, the computer hardware used by UNTAC in 1992-93 for the production of lists of registered voters. This is a multi-user system with over 50 X-Terminals connected on a TCP/IP Ethernet LAN, two highly configured central processing units, two high speed laser printers, two high speed hard disk units, and associated uninterruptable power supply units. Each X-Terminal is equipped with a customised Khmer keyboard which was found during the UNTAC operation to be particularly effective for the rapid entry of data. Associated with this hardware is a UNIX operating system and an INGRES database, and customised Khmer screen and high-speed printer fonts.

74. In his discussions with the team, Mr Salun Sok noted that there had been certain problems with a processor board in one of the Central Processor Units which had been unable to be repaired cheaply, and this had hampered the use of the system. A more substantial problem, however, was that he was the only person in the Centre with expertise in INGRES, which is a powerful but also somewhat daunting database system which does not lend itself to the fast development of applications to the same extent as Microsoft Access, which is being used on the Centre's PCs.

75. Taking those points into account, the team is of the view that the possibility of making further use as part of the election process of the former UNTAC system should be further explored as a matter of urgency. The equipment in question is of high quality, was originally worth over US\$1 million, is currently lying idle, and was assembled in 1992 to undertake almost precisely the task for which it might be able to be used in the current context - the development in Khmer of a database of registered voters. The team is also of the view, however, that should the rehabilitation and use of the equipment prove feasible, the development of a domestic Cambodian capacity to support and make ongoing use of the equipment should be seen as an integral part of the project.

76. In summary, the team believes that for the forthcoming elections, consideration should be given to the adoption of a scheme along the following lines.

- Registration should be undertaken at the grass-roots level using hard copy documentation.
- Copies of the relevant records should be sent to Phnom Penh for entry into a central computer system, which would be used among other things for the production of lists of voters.
- Work should if possible continue as a separate project on the development of data entry and database systems which could be used at the district and provincial levels; but these should not be used for the forthcoming elections.

77. A question which will have to be addressed is that of which body should be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the proposed central computer system. The team believes that any resolution of this question must be such as to ensure that the National Election Commission is in a position to guarantee that the critical outputs required from the system will be produced.

Voter education, and training of electoral staff

78. Until such time as the election laws are approved and procedures for voter registration, polling and other elements of the electoral process are in place, detailed plans for the content and length of training and voter education programs cannot be developed. If, for example, the local and National Assembly elections are held on the same date, as discussed at paragraphs 28 to 31 above, the voter education demands will be much more challenging than if the elections are on separate dates - in which case two different but related training programs will have to be designed.

79. In either case, the training format should follow a pyramid model, with trainers being trained who in turn train a number of others, and so on until the tens of thousands of officials required for the election have received essential instruction.

80. In the areas of training and voter education there are a large number of international specialists who have had extensive experience and who would be in a position to provide valuable technical advice and guidance, both in the area of training and education, and in the design and development of manuals, posters, booklets, videos and other related materials.

Registration of political parties and candidates, party liaison, and training for agents, candidates and cadres

81. At the time this Report was finalised the team had not had the opportunity to review the draft law governing the registration of political parties. The team is therefore only in a position to put forward a number of general guidelines and suggestions for consideration at this time

- The National Election Commission should be responsible for developing the criteria and timetable for the receipt of applications and for the registration of all political parties wishing to contest the National Assembly elections. Provincial Election Commissions could carry out the registration of candidates based on criteria developed by the National Election Commission.
- A political party/candidate consultation process should be developed, and meetings held on a regular and relatively frequent basis between parties, candidates, and the National and Provincial Election Commissions.
- The National Election Commission should early in its program of activities determine whether there will be any public financing of parties or candidates, and if so, develop the applicable formulae for allocating funds.
- The National Election Commission should also develop policies concerning access to the media (and in particular the State-controlled media) for parties and candidates, based on a formula which would provide equitable access.
- International advice and assistance might be sought with respect to the development of training programs for candidates, parties and their respective agents at the polling stations.

The issue of the development of a Code of Conduct is discussed at paragraphs 94 and 95 below.

Registration of voters

82. The mechanics of voter registration are addressed in some detail in the Fuerxer Report. The broad elements of the scheme set out therein are as follows.

- Voter registration points would be established at the grass-roots level, and persons seeking registration would have to come to the registration points to lodge their claims.
- Records would be made of all voters registered, and a voter card would be issued to each voter at the time of registration.
- Copies of the voter registration records would be entered into a computer system, which would be used for the production of lists of voters.
- In the longer run, procedures would be put in place for the updating of the data stored in the computer system to reflect changes in the population.

83. A number of qualifications to this scheme have been mentioned elsewhere in this Report. The team believes that it is important that voters be registered down to the level of the polling divisions where they will later vote, and also believes that at this stage attempts should only be made to introduce a centralised computer system. Apart from those points, however, the team believes that the scheme set out in the Fuerxer Report is a sound one, and while some modifications might need to be made to the overall scheme, or to the forms and documents proposed by M

Fuerxer, as the process develops, at present the team does not see a need to suggest any substantial changes

Planning for and conduct of the polling

84. Once the relevant electoral legislation has been enacted, the detailed organisation and planning of every aspect of the voting and counting procedures can be developed. At this time the team is only in a position to deal with several general considerations which can significantly affect the direction and costs of the voting and counting processes themselves.

Polling station location and officials

85. The polling station in each polling division should be located at a central point which is easily accessible to all voters. To minimise costs, the use of pagodas as well as public buildings such as schools should be considered, but the selection of the polling station should be made on the basis of its needing to be of an adequate size to accommodate two or more polling officials, candidates' representatives, and observers; and to facilitate the handling of queues of several hundred voters; as well on the basis of applicable security considerations. Furnishings, such as tables and chairs should be provided locally and be available in the polling stations. Alternatively, candidates' representatives and local observers could be advised to bring their own seating with them.

86. The polling station officials would normally be selected from within the local community so as to have some familiarity with the voters. Preference should be given to individuals who gained experience working as election officials at the 1993 election, as well as to teachers and perhaps monks, nuns and representatives of other religious groups. Payment to polling officials should be considered not only for working at the polls but also for the time required for training.

Voter identification

87. The voter registration system ultimately adopted will determine the voter identification procedures used at the polls. It is preferable to have a specific list of the (approximately 500) voters registered at each poll, rather than a complete list of all the voters in the commune. The issuing of voters' cards or national identity cards with photographs on them would facilitate the accurate identification of voters, but if the use of photographic identification cards is not feasible, any attempts at personation should be able to be challenged by the election officials, or the candidate or party representatives.

88. Assuming that each voter card will have its unique voter identification number, the list of voters should contain the names of all voters eligible to vote at the polling station. To facilitate finding the voter, the list should be presented in numerical order according to voter number, rather than alphabetically.

Multiple voting

89. As it is conceivable that a few individuals might come to possess more than one voter card by accident or design, as a safeguard against multiple voting and to instil confidence in the election, not only should each voter's name be marked on the list when he or she votes, but each voter should be required to have his or her finger marked with indelible ink. Each voter's fingers would be checked before he or she was given a ballot. As the election is planned for one day only, the chances of removing the ink would be minimal, especially if a visible ink used in other countries such as India, and which is already proven to be non-removable, is used. To further enhance confidence in the ink and to offset the inevitable rumours about ease of removal, additional tests should be performed for the satisfaction of the National Election Commission, and extensive voter education demonstrations and publicity programs about the security of the ink should be carried out.

Voting supplies and materials

90. Decisions based on political and administrative acceptability, and cost considerations, will have to be made from a number of choices with respect to voting supplies and materials to be used at the polls. For voting itself the options include the following.

- The use of metal ballot boxes with numbered seals. These are the most expensive to purchase, to transport and to store. They are reusable if collected and warehoused, but may rust over time and need repainting.
- Plastic ballot boxes with numbered seals. These are significantly less costly than metal boxes, but are equally bulky and somewhat expensive to transport and store. However they are reusable, not subject to denting like metal boxes, will not rust, and do not require repainting. Depending on the plastic used, they may not be as sturdy as metal boxes.
- Corrugated cardboard ballot boxes with numbered seals. These are by far the least expensive to purchase, transport and store, and despite their construction they have been successfully used in a wide variety of climates and situations where they have been subjected to rough handling. They are not reusable and obviously require no maintenance, and can be purchased with water resistant and fire resistant coatings.
- Voting machines. The use of voting machines would eliminate the need for ballots, ballot boxes and seals. These have been tested and proven in a number of countries in Europe, the United States and India. The Election Commission of India is willing to provide (up to 150000) machines to Cambodia if they would be acceptable politically and administratively. It is not known whether the machines would be provided free of charge or whether batteries would be supplied or would need to be purchased. Transportation costs have not been determined. If interest is expressed in exploring this option, the team recommends that the Election Commission of India be requested to provide several sample machines for testing and consideration in the very near future.

- Ballot screens. To ensure the secrecy of the vote consideration should be given to one of two types of corrugated cardboard balloting screens - which would be required whether ballot boxes or voting machines were selected. The corrugated screens are collapsible, and easily transported and warehoused. They are disposable unless otherwise determined. The two options are: (i) a tabletop model which is the least expensive but which requires the provision of one table for each ballot screen at each poll; and (ii) a free standing model which requires no table and which contains its own built-in shelf for marking the ballot, or on which to place the voting machine.

Oversight of polling

91. At the National and Provincial Election Commissions consideration should be given to the establishment of polling day Operations Centres designed to resolve complaints and other problems rapidly, and to provide clarifications and interpretations of the election law and procedures.

Media

92. Although openness and involvement of the media at all levels and all stages of the voting and counting process should be encouraged, given the fact that voting must be both secret and a private, personal matter, it is recommended that members of the media not be allowed into the polls, other than as individual voters. It follows that the taking of photographs and the conduct of interviews inside the polling stations should be prohibited. Any exceptions to these rules should require the authorisation of the National Election Commission.

Accreditation

93. The National and Provincial Election Commissions should be responsible for accrediting party/candidate representatives, and observers, and for issuing the appropriate documents based on directives issued by the National Election Commission. Access to the polling stations would require the appropriate accreditation.

Management of the election campaign

94. The Proposed Plan for Further Action produced at the conclusion of the October 1995 Seminar noted the benefits which had flowed in many different contexts from the development of a Code of Conduct for political parties and other participants in the election process. The inclusion of such Codes in electoral legislation is now a widespread practice.

95. The team believes that there could be considerable benefits in involving parties in a process of discussion which could lead to their endorsement of an appropriate Code of Conduct. The United Nations Human Rights Centre (UNHRC) has substantial expertise in relation to this issue, and would be in a position to obtain samples of relevant Codes of Conduct. The team recommends that use be made of this resource, and that the UNHRC be asked to assist the National Election Commission, by exercising its good offices to facilitate a process of discussion between participants in the process with the aim of achieving agreement on a Code of Conduct.

Security arrangements

96. The Proposed Plan for Further Action produced in October 1995 noted that the development of appropriate security arrangements for an election must involve close liaison between those responsible for providing security and those responsible for the management of the election process. In addition, such arrangements must reflect the specific detail of the particular election process. For example, the question of whether there is to be one round of polling or two has a major effect on security planning. As the development of detailed plans for voter registration, polling and counting is, for the time being, impossible because of the number of policy issues which are still to be resolved, it is not possible at the moment for the team to make any substantial comment on the issue of election security.

Determination of the election result

97. In the draft Local Elections Law, the prescribed voting hours are from 07h00 to 16h00. If these hours are adopted generally, counting will be able to be carried out at the polling station, in daylight, immediately following the vote. With a maximum of about 500 voters, unless serious contestations arise, the count should be able to be completed before dark. This would suggest that no candles, flashlights or other means of illumination will need to be provided.

98. If a voting machine is used the result of the count will be obtained virtually instantaneously. There would be no contestation over valid and invalid ballots, but there would be a requirement to confirm that the number of votes cast was equal to the numbers of voters marked on the list of voters as having voted.

99. Following completion of the count at the polls and the recording of the results by the election officials, candidates' representatives, observers, etc., the results should be delivered, preferably on the same evening, to the Commune Election Commission, which would then package them up for dispatch to the Provincial Election Commission.

100. At the provincial levels, the poll results received from the Commune Election Commissions would be consolidated into a commune result in accordance with the provisions of the local election law, and transmitted or delivered to the National Election Commission. The consolidation process should be open to observation by party/candidate representatives and other accredited observers. If the consolidated results are to be made public at the provincial level the media should also be accredited to attend the consolidation of results. If not, the media should be involved at the national level.

Dispute resolution

101. Reference was made at paragraph 43 above to the role in the area of dispute resolution which will be played by the National Election Commission and, in relation to criminal offences, by the Courts. The team believes that establishing and sustaining effective mechanisms for addressing and resolving disputes in an objective, timely and transparent way will be fundamental to the successful conduct of the forthcoming elections. This will involve not only ensuring that the relevant institutions function effectively, but also providing necessary guidance to those who might wish to raise a complaint, or dispute some aspect of the process,

in order to ensure that they have the necessary understanding of their rights, and the knowledge of how to exercise those rights effectively.

102. Following this, the team believes that the work which has already been done by the UNHRC in relation to the workings of the judicial system could be built upon. The team recommends that the UNHRC be requested by the National Election Commission to provide assistance in: (i) the development of effective procedures for the speedy handling of complaints and disputes; (ii) the training of officers with responsibilities associated with the complaint and dispute resolution process; and (iii) the publicising of the procedures and mechanisms adopted.

Election budget

103. On the basis of the approaches discussed in this Report, the team has developed a tentative budget for the electoral process, which is at Appendix D. In relation to the figures contained therein, a number of points must be strongly emphasised.

- The figures are based on estimated requirements for materials and services, which depend on many assumptions, especially in relation to decisions which might be made on critical policy issues. The figures are therefore likely to require revision as the policy environment changes.
- In general, costs of individual items are not based on quotations from suppliers, but reflect the experience of the members of the team. The figures will therefore have to be further refined as market prices become known.
- In a number of areas, especially those relating to the development and maintenance of computer systems, the figures are very much of a “ball park” character, and proper feasibility studies (of the type recommended at several points in this Report) would be required to produce reliable estimates.

104. Subject to all these qualifications, the team believes that the minimum possible total cost for the local and National Assembly elections will be US\$12.7 million.

Electoral support (human, material, financial)

105. Earlier in this Report, reference was made to the limited financial resources available through the Royal Government of Cambodia, as well as the constraints on funds and other support which might be available from donor nations and organisations. There are many unknowns still to be clarified - political decisions to be made, legislation to be finalised and approved, and systems to be defined. As a result, the nature, shape and extent of the local and National Assembly elections are not yet defined clearly enough to develop anything more than broad budget projections based on assumed contingencies, or to enable the team to suggest more than general guidelines related to electoral support. The team sees electoral support as including support of a technical advisory nature, provision of human resources, provision of election related materials and supplies, and the provision of funding, whether earmarked or not. This might take the form of direct support to the Royal Government of Cambodia,

support to non-governmental organisations, contributions to a trust fund, payments directly to a supplier for the provision of materials, or payment of salaries to election officials

106. As a basic division of responsibility for the sharing of election support the team believes that consideration should be given to the assumption by the Royal Government of Cambodia of all costs related to:

- the payment of salaries of all electoral officials (registration, voting, Interior Ministry, Commissions), though financial support might be provided for salary purposes from outside sources;
- the provision of all registration and polling sites and their basic furnishings (tables and chairs);
- security of election officials, candidates, parties and polling stations; and
- provision of existing local transportation facilities.

107. This consideration is based on the understanding that the election must be under national jurisdiction and control. Therefore, the hiring, firing, size and nature of the election workforce must be determined nationally, not internationally. For example, the determination of the number of local polling officials will have a significant impact on salary costs. Eight officials for 8000 polling stations implies payment of 64000 people. A requirement for only three officials for the same number of polling stations would mean that salary payments would have to be made to only 24000 staff. This is not a decision which should be made by the international community.

108. The principal contributions of the international community would therefore be those of:

- providing specialists to give technical advice and assistance to Cambodian electoral authorities;
- providing essential election materials, equipment and supplies; and
- providing financial assistance and support for carrying out activities such as voter education, training of election workers, domestic observers etc.

109. In order to ensure equity, it is important to develop guidelines for payment of local NGO or other election participants by the international community which will ensure that their salaries are equal to or lower than, but do not substantially exceed, those paid by the Royal Government of Cambodia to election officials of an equivalent level of responsibility.

110. In all of the above activities and especially those related to the international community, the use of the limited resources available can be maximised by cooperation and coordination among all interested parties. Regular meetings of participating donor nations with the National Election Commission or other responsible election authorities to discuss budgets, problems, technical assistance needs and progress in pursuit of defined objectives are

strongly recommended. This has been done under the chairmanship of the Resident Representative of the UNDP in other electoral situations. At the same time, recognition must be given to the fact that some donor nations will want to identify themselves with, or may be better placed to assist by undertaking, one or more very specific project activities. Duplication of effort in this respect can be avoided through a coordinating mechanism as described above.

111. Associated with the role to be played by the UNDP in the coordination of election support, the team is of the view that there are two further specific areas of activity which the UN might wish to consider. The first is the deployment of technical advisers at the provincial level. While in the immediate future the focus of requirements for election support is likely to be the central planning and management structures, as the process progresses more and more activities will have to be carried out in the provinces. The numbers of technical advisers who might be needed in the provinces would probably exceed the capacity of the currently active donor nations to provide them. The UN, through the UN Volunteer Organisation, has the capacity to deploy highly qualified individuals used to working at the grass roots level, many of whom have been involved in election-related work not only in Cambodia, but also in countries such as South Africa, Mozambique, Haiti and Bosnia-Herzegovina. A significant number of them have a familiarity with the Khmer language and culture. While any field deployment of individuals would require careful planning given the current circumstances in Cambodia, the team believes the issue is one which should be explored further.

112. The second specific area of activity is the coordination of any formal international observation program for the elections. The team believes that the UN, being the organisational embodiment of the international community, is better placed than any other body or group to spearhead an effective response to the sorts of requests for international observation of the elections which have been publicly alluded to on a number of occasions. In addition, the UN has far more experience in the successful organisation of such activities than any other international organisation active in the region.

113. Set out at Appendix E is a table identifying a number of areas of the electoral process where assistance could potentially be provided by the international community. The identification of possible assistance projects is clearly very broad, but could form the basis of a more detailed plan for coordinated international assistance.

Summary of major recommendations and findings

114. The major recommendations and findings set out earlier in this Report are as follows.

- Activities (and associated costs) which might be considered highly desirable but which are not essential to (or which, in some cases, are not directly related to) the election process should be reduced or eliminated. (Paragraph 12)
- The election system and process which is put in place should be one which Cambodia can afford to support and maintain in future years. Furthermore, whenever possible electoral practices and systems used in the forthcoming elections should constitute the foundation for broader and more sophisticated systems (such as a continuously maintained list of electors) for future elections. (Paragraph 13)

- While some of the critical policy questions identified in October 1995 have been answered definitively, a number are still outstanding. All need to be addressed as a matter of urgency, and the choice of the electoral system in particular should be given top priority (Paragraphs 15 and 23)
- The team sees no justification for the additional cost of holding a run-off election with more than two candidates. (Paragraph 22)
- An April - June 1998 election date should provide sufficient time for the selection of management bodies and the carrying out of necessary election preparations - assuming that the National Assembly Election Law is approved within the next few months and contains no provisions which would negatively affect the above election date. (Paragraph 27)
- There are very strong arguments favouring the holding of joint elections in the period April - June 1998. (Paragraph 31)
- The creation of an Election Commission independent of government is probably unrealistic. It follows that the composition of a non-partisan Commission is critically important to ensure that there are political and community checks and balances within the body. Representation from the parties in the National Assembly could go some way towards providing desirable checks and balances. The public could be represented by persons from the domestic NGO community appointed in their personal capacity rather than as NGO representatives. (Paragraphs 35 and 38)
- The staff of the Ministry of the Interior should be made available to undertake election related functions. They should undertake those functions under the supervision of, subject to the direction of, and in accordance with procedures and instructions laid down by, the Election Commission. Directions, procedures and instructions should be conveyed to the Ministry by the Co-Ministers for the Interior, acting as agents of the Election Commission. (Paragraph 37)
- The appointment of the National Election Commission and the Provincial Election Commissions might be made by the Co-Prime-Ministers, from lists of names submitted by the parties and the NGOs. To underline the non-partisan nature of the Commissions and to emphasise their status as important institutions for the nation, it would be highly desirable that their nominations be ratified by the National Assembly - preferably by a unanimous vote. (Paragraph 40)
- In the case of the National Election Commission consideration might be given to designating the Co-Ministers of the Interior as Co-Chairmen. However, in doing so, clear provision would need to be made for them to designate representatives to act on their behalf, as the workload demands of the Commission would conflict with their ministerial responsibilities. (Paragraph 42)
- The National Election Commission should have the final authority to deal with all election-related disputes and to certify the election results. The only exception to the

above would be complaints and disputes of a criminal nature, which would be handled by the courts. (Paragraph 43)

- To ensure transparency of operation, and to enhance confidence in the non-partisan nature of the National Election Commission, it should be empowered to invite technical advisers, consultants and observers to any meeting, except where security, commercial confidentiality, protection of personal information or privacy considerations are involved. Key decisions and the reasons for them should be widely publicised. To further enhance its credibility and create confidence regular separate consultation meetings should be held at least monthly, and more frequently as the election date approaches, with the media, political party representatives, donors and NGOs. (Paragraph 44)
- All Commissioners should enjoy equal rights on the Commission, and have free access to any documents of relevance to the work of the Commission, including election-related documents generated by or on behalf of the Ministry of the Interior. (Paragraph 45)
- In order to benefit from previous experience and to reduce training requirements and costs, preference might be given to the selection of individuals in the communities who administered the polling stations in the previous election. (Paragraph 46)
- There should be only one Commission operating at the provincial level, leading to reduced costs, and the avoidance of overlapping responsibilities. (Paragraph 47)
- Consideration should be given to establishing Election Commissions at the commune level. Below the Commune Election Commission would be the Polling Station Committee which would only consist of two or three people to administer the voting and the counting. (Paragraph 49)
- The draft Local Elections Law should only be specific where there are political considerations involved. Otherwise the details related to electoral administration should be determined by the National Election Commission in order to adapt to varying circumstances and needs which arise. (Paragraph 51)
- It is essential to the conduct of a free and fair election that the Constitutional Council be put in place as early as possible. (Paragraph 53)
- Serious consideration should be given to using Khmer National Identity Cards as a basis for voter registration. (Paragraph 55)
- There should be a further review of the present draft Local Election Law, to ensure that it is as comprehensive and problem free as possible. (Paragraph 57)
- The Local Elections Law should contain a transitional provision which expressly defines the boundaries of communes. (Paragraph 59)

- The 8000 to 10000 polling divisions should be identified prior to the commencement of voter registration, so that voters will be able to register and subsequently vote at the same place. (Paragraph 62)
- Since the administrative structures of the country are based around provinces, significant administrative difficulties could be avoided by requiring that no constituency should contain parts of two different provinces. (Paragraph 64)
- Since the commune is to be a basic unit for the administration of voter registration, and is as well a basic unit for more general administrative purposes, it would make sense to require that constituencies must consist of whole communes (in other words, no commune shall be spread over two or more constituencies). (Paragraph 64)
- Since the number of eligible voters in each commune will be accurately known once voter registration for the local elections has taken place, the approach of using the communes as “building blocks” for National Assembly constituencies would enable those constituencies to be defined based on the number of people eligible to vote. (Paragraph 64)
- Constituencies could be allocated to the provinces in proportion to the number of registered voters in each province, subject to a requirement that every province have at least one representative. (Paragraph 64)
- Consideration should be given to empowering the Electoral Commission to determine constituency boundaries. (Paragraph 65)
- Confidence in the boundary drawing process is also likely to be enhanced by the adoption of transparent mechanisms, including provision for suggestions and input from the political parties and other participants in the electoral process, and requirements for the Electoral Commission to state publicly why it has chosen a particular set of boundaries. (Paragraph 65)
- The criteria in accordance with which the boundaries are to be drawn should be clearly defined and reasonable ones, set out in law prior to the commencement of the boundary drawing process. (Paragraph 65)
- The feasibility of using a geographical information system to support the boundary drawing process should be addressed as a discrete project. (Paragraph 66)
- For the forthcoming elections:
 - voter registration should be undertaken at the grass-roots level using hard copy documentation;
 - copies of the relevant records should be sent to Phnom Penh for entry into a central computer system, which would be used among other things for the production of lists of voters; and

- work should if possible continue as a separate project on the development of data entry and database systems which could be used at the district and provincial levels, but these should not be used for the forthcoming elections. (Paragraph 76)
- The possibility of making further use as part of the election process of the former UNTAC computer system should be further explored as a matter of urgency. (Paragraph 75)
- The question of which body should be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the proposed central computer system will have to be addressed. (Paragraph 77)
- Election related training should follow a pyramid model, with trainers being trained who in turn train a number of others, and so on until the tens of thousands of officials required for the election have received essential instruction. (Paragraph 79)
- The National Election Commission should be responsible for developing the criteria and timetable for the receipt of applications and for the registration of all political parties wishing to contest the National Assembly elections. (Paragraph 81)
- A political party/candidate consultation process should be developed, and meetings held on a regular and relatively frequent basis between parties, candidates, and the National and Provincial Election Commissions. (Paragraph 81)
- The National Election Commission should early in its program of activities determine whether there will be any public financing of parties or candidates, and if so, develop the applicable formulae for allocating funds. (Paragraph 81)
- The National Election Commission should also develop policies concerning access to the media (and in particular the State-controlled media) for parties and candidates, based on a formula which would provide equitable access. (Paragraph 81)
- International advice and assistance might be sought with respect to the development of training programs for candidates, parties and their respective agents at the polling stations. (Paragraph 81)
- The polling station in each polling division should be located at a central point which is easily accessible to all voters. To minimise costs, the use of pagodas as well as public buildings such as schools should be considered. Furnishings, such as tables and chairs should be provided locally. (Paragraph 85)
- Assuming that each voter card will have its unique voter identification number, the list of voters should contain the names of all voters eligible to vote at the polling station. To facilitate finding the voter, the list should be presented in numerical order according to voter number, rather than alphabetically. (Paragraph 88)

- As a safeguard against multiple voting and to instil confidence in the election, not only should each voter's name be marked on the list when he or she votes, but each voter should be required to have his or her finger marked with indelible ink. (Paragraph 89)
- For voting itself the options include the use of metal ballot boxes with numbered seals, plastic ballot boxes with numbered seals, corrugated cardboard ballot boxes with numbered seals, or voting machines. If interest is expressed in exploring the voting machine option, the Election Commission of India should be requested to provide samples for testing and consideration. (Paragraph 90)
- At the National and Provincial Election Commissions consideration should be given to the establishment of polling day Operations Centres designed to resolve complaints and other problems rapidly, and to provide clarifications and interpretations of the election law and procedures. (Paragraph 91)
- Members of the media should not be allowed into the polls, other than as individual voters. Any exceptions to these rules should require the authorisation of the National Election Commission. (Paragraph 92)
- The National and Provincial Election Commissions should be responsible for accrediting party/candidate representatives, and observers (Paragraph 93)
- The UNHRC should be asked to assist the National Election Commission, by exercising its good offices to facilitate a process of discussion between participants in the election process with the aim of achieving agreement on a Code of Conduct. (Paragraph 95)
- The results consolidation process should be open to observation by party/candidate representatives and other accredited observers. (Paragraph 100)
- The UNHRC should be requested by the National Election Commission to provide assistance in: (i) the development of effective procedures for the speedy handling of complaints and disputes; (ii) the training of officers with responsibilities associated with the complaint and dispute resolution process; and (iii) the publicising of the procedures and mechanisms adopted. (Paragraph 102)
- Subject to appropriate qualifications and assumptions, the estimated minimum possible total cost for the local and National Assembly elections will be US\$12.7 million. (Paragraph 104)
- The Royal Government of Cambodia could assume all costs related to:
 - the payment of salaries of all electoral officials (registration, voting, Interior Ministry, Commissions), though financial support might be provided for salary purposes from outside sources;
 - the provision of all registration and polling sites and their basic furnishings (tables and chairs);

- security of election officials, candidates, parties and polling stations, and
- provision of existing local transportation facilities. (Paragraph 106)
- The principal contributions of the international community would be those of:
 - providing specialists to give technical advice and assistance to Cambodian electoral authorities;
 - providing essential election materials, equipment and supplies; and
 - providing financial assistance and support for carrying out activities such as voter education, training of election workers, domestic observers etc. (Paragraph 108)
- Guidelines for payment of local NGO or other election participants by the international community should be developed to ensure that their salaries are equal to or lower than, but do not substantially exceed, those paid by the Royal Government of Cambodia to election officials of an equivalent level of responsibility. (Paragraph 109)
- Regular meetings of participating donor nations with the National Election Commission or other responsible election authorities to discuss budgets, problems, technical assistance needs and progress in pursuit of defined objectives are strongly recommended. (Paragraph 110)
- The UN might wish to consider the deployment of technical advisers at the provincial level. While any field deployment of individuals would require careful planning given the current circumstances in Cambodia, the team believes the issue is one which should be explored further. (Paragraph 111)
- The UN might also coordinate any formal international observation program for the elections. (Paragraph 112)

APPENDIX A

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HE. SAR KHENG ACTING CO-PRIME MINISTER, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, AND CO-MINISTER OF INTERIOR IN THE CLOSING CEREMONY OF THE SEMINAR ON "ELECTION SYSTEMS AND PREPARATIONS". OCTOBER 25, 1995

Your Highness, Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I have just heard the elaborate report of Dr. Lao Mong Hay regarding the combined result of the seminar of the past three days. On behalf of Samdech Krom Preah, the first Prime-Minister, and Samdech Hun Sen, second Prime minister, under the royal guidance of his Majesty Preah Bath Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK VARMAN, King of Cambodia, and on my own behalf, I express appreciation to all the physical and moral efforts of the organizing committee, all consultants, and all participants. I'd like to take this auspicious occasion to present my sincere thanks and deepest gratitude to the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation and the Asia Foundation, whose full support made this conference a reality. Because of this support, and the efforts of each of you, this seminar has brought about excellent results.

I clearly believe that Excellencies, ladies, gentlemen, and all participants have enthusiastically acquired these essential knowledge and experiences, and have made comparisons of the election systems and administration between France, the United States of America, Australia, Canada, Thailand, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Germany, and the elections that were held throughout the history of Cambodia.

All the countries I have just cited are all democratic whose successive leaders, together with their people, have sharpened their political will by bringing together reform efforts through repeated enhancements, which aim at establishing an election system and administration that is free and fair. Some countries do not hesitate making election system reforms in order to respond to developments in political and social conditions or the growth of their population. Others have maintained their election system, which shows their effectiveness in sustaining economic and political stability, in accordance with the traditions and their people's recognition. Therefore, we clearly see that democracy cannot be achieved without elections.

After listening to the discussion and open exchange of experiences during the past three days, can we say what election system Cambodia should adopt for the upcoming 1997 and 1998 elections? Shall we adopt a majoritarian system or proportional representation system or a mixed system that is based on the number of people in each constituency? And, should there be only one round, or two rounds of the elections? It is true that we cannot give answers to these questions yet, because it was not the objective of this seminar. On the other hand, we need to further discuss the issue thoroughly. But, based on the report I have received, this seminar has paved the way for us to see that in order to have a system and administration of elections that is free and fair, we have to at least comply with the essential following principles:

- 1-The election must be according to its mandate and held at a designated date.
- 2-Full freedom of political party establishment .
- 3-With or without the government's participation, an independent election commission with full authority during the election period must be established.
- 4-Ensured security for political parties and candidates
- 5-The state must facilitate a program of voter education and training to people of all walks of life, especially women and youth throughout the country, with a priority on rural areas in order to promote the people's understanding of their duty as voters.
- 6-The establishment of electoral districts absolutely must be clearly defined, based upon the number of people eligible to vote . This principle requires a thorough population census by local officials in cooperation with national and international experts.
- 7-The state must provide financial support to political parties and the election campaign of candidates based upon the number of votes they received and on the basis of post-election reimbursement. If the state is unable to do so, there shall be an independent organization to openly supervise the financial income and expenditure of all political parties.
- 8-During the election campaign, there must be equal access to the media, both written and broadcast forms.
- 9-The establishment of an effective mechanism to ensure secret ballots, and to safeguard the ballot boxes and the counting of vote.
- 10-The establishment of offices to resolve election disputes during and after the election.
- 11-During the election preparation, all armed forces must be put under special assignment, so as to ensure order and security during the election. The election laws must include firm punishment to all acts of violence during the election period.

Experts unanimously recognize that there has not yet been an election system that is 100% effective. Hence, it is clear that the establishment of a democracy requires an appropriate duration of time. And, we must be able to enhance our election system until the time when our people possess a broader understanding and are able to take part in strengthening and protecting social stability.

At the opening session, our Excellencies, the UN Secretary General's representative and Ambassadors reassured us in their remarks of the continued supports of the international community to Cambodia as long as Cambodia is traveling down the road to democracy. On behalf of Samdech Krom Preah, the first Prime-Minister, and Samdech Hun Sen, second Prime minister, under the royal guidance of his Majesty Preah Bath Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK VARMAN, King of Cambodia, and on my own behalf, I would like to respond to your Excellencies, that, the Kingdom of Cambodia will not disappoint the international community.

Thank you.

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

By: The Cambodian Institute of Human Rights

APPENDIX B - LIST OF PERSONS AND GROUPS WITH WHOM THE TEAM MET

HE Samdech Chea Sim, President of the National Assembly, and colleagues

HE Mr Sar Khéng, Deputy Prime Minister and Co-Minister of the Interior.

Mr Ok Serei Sopheak, Chef de Cabinet to HE Mr Sar Khéng.

Mr Prum Sokha, Director General, Department General of Administration, Ministry of Interior, and staff of the Bureau of Elections, Ministry of Interior.

Members of the Committee Responsible for the Drafting of the Local Elections Law and National Assembly Elections Law.

Mr Salun Sok, Chief, Cambodian Computing Centre, Council of Ministers.

Mr May Sam Oeun, Chairman of the FUNCINPEC Executive Committee on Elections, Mr Puth Chandarith (Deputy Chairman); and Mr Sam Sok Phal, Committee Member.

Representatives of the Coalition for Free and Fair Elections (COFFEL) and the Committee for Free and Fair Elections (COMFREL).

Mr Alvaro de Soto, Assistant Secretary-General, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations.

Mr Tayeb Merchoug, Electoral Assistance Division, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations.

Mr Didier Pierre Trischos, Consultant to the Electoral Assistance Division, United Nations.

Mr Paul Matthews, Resident Representative, United Nations Development Programme, Cambodia.

Mr Benny Widjono, Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Cambodia.

Mr Keith Hargreaves, United Nations Development Programme, Cambodia.

Mr Rajagopal Balakrishnan, United Nations Human Rights Centre, Cambodia.

Mr Robert Porter, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of the United States of America.

Mr Gordon West, Mission Representative, United States Agency for International Development, Embassy of the United States of America.

Mr Ned Greely, United States Agency for International Development, Embassy of the United States of America.

Ms Sue Nelson, United States Agency for International Development, Embassy of the United States of America

Ambassador D. Gordon Longmuir, Embassy of Canada

Ambassador Anthony Kevin, Embassy of Australia

Mr John Wilson, First Secretary, Development Cooperation, Embassy of Australia

The Steering Group of Ambassadors and their representatives present at the meeting held with Mr de Soto, Cambodiana Hotel, 30 August 1996.

Mr Peter Schier, Resident Representative, Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation.

APPENDIX C - BRIEFING DOCUMENT FOR THE CO-MINISTERS OF THE INTERIOR FROM THE INTERNATIONAL ELECTION ADVISORY GROUP

This is a summary of the main points presented at the meeting with Co-Minister, His Excellency Sar Kheng on 21 August 1996.

We believe that there are several critical political decisions which should be made as soon as possible to enable the planning, costing and organization of the elections to be carried out. These are as follows.

1. The official decision concerning the voting system for the local elections and for the legislative elections. Will the system be totally majoritarian in each case? Will there be a second round run-off election in either case?

The above decisions will have a significant impact on the costs of the elections, and until the system is determined the election planning will be severely limited and the local election date probably delayed.

2. The second priority decision for consideration is the total number of seats for the legislative election and the number which will be assigned to each province - or the formula which is to be used to determine the number of seats by province.

Until this determination is made, mapping of the electoral districts cannot commence and as this forms the basis for voter and candidate registration, little progress in this area will be possible. As mapping of electoral districts and subsequent political approval can take many months, this can also have a significant impact on the election date.

3. The early finalizing and approval of the local election law, the political party law, the law on the legislative elections and any other related laws such as the nationality law, will permit the establishment of electoral planning systems and procedures which could serve both elections and assist in reducing costs.

4. In order to provide the necessary policy direction and guidance, the establishment of an Election Commission and the selection of its members should also be considered as a priority action. To ensure continuity of experience and to provide consistency in policy direction and decisions it would seem to be highly desirable that the core members of the Commission be selected for both elections. However some of the members might change from local to legislative elections depending on the specific representation required on the Commission. Furthermore the Commission should have the power to call in whatever advisers it needs whether they be from the Ministry, international or others. Finally in selecting the members and the Executive Director of the Commission it should be kept in mind that the Commission's activity will probably require a full time involvement once the electoral legislation is passed.

Given the time and operational implications of the above political decisions, it is possible that the time frame required for the initial steps of mapping the electoral districts and for voter and candidate registration by electoral districts may be a long process. These factors have the potential to affect the date of the local elections. Once detailed planning and costing can be carried out, it may be found to be worth considering the holding of both elections on the same date.

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

Registration Module: 8000+- Registration stations/Fixed/Mobile

Item	Qty	Type	Unit Price	Cost/Communal	Legislative	Combined
Manual Voters Registration (10 days)						
Option A						
Cards without photo	5,000,000	Booklet/Stub/Nbrd		500,000		500,000
No lamination		Unfalsiable paper				
Forms/Daily report	100,000	3 copies/carbon		100,000		100,000
Forms/Final report	20,000	3 copies/carbon		20,000		20,000
Plastic enveloppes	20,000	Tamper evident		40,000		40,000
Registries/Booklets	15,000	Pre-numbered/Coded		75,000		75,000
Pens indelible ink	30,000		\$1.00	30,000		30,000
Sub Total				765,000		765,000
Option B						
With photograph (2500 Registration Stations/Fixed/Mobile)						
Camera/Tripod	3,500	ID camera		350,000		350,000
Screen/Tripod	2,600			130,000		130,000
Spotlights	2,600			65,000		65,000
Films				200,000		200,000
Batteries/cameras	21,000			26,250		26,250
Laminators	3,500			262,500		262,500
Plastic pouches	6,000,000			600,000		600,000
Forms/Daily report	100,000	3 copies/carbon		100,000		100,000
Forms/Final report	20,000	3 copies/carbon		20,000		20,000
Enveloppes	20,000	Plastic/tamper evident		40,000		40,000
Generators	2600	3/5KW		1,560,000		1,560,000
Fuel	65,000 gal			162,500		162,500
Registries	15,000	Booklets/Pre-numbered		75,000		75,000
Pens	30,000	Indelible ink		30,000		30,000
Sub Total				3,651,250		3,651,250

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

Item	Qty	Type	Unit Price	Cost/Communal	Legislative	Combined
Mobile Registration Teams:						
Transportation	2,000	Motorbike/Horse	\$50	100,000		100,000
Staff (15 days)	2,500 x 5	Food/lodging included	\$75	1,875,000		1,875,000
Sub Total				1,975,000		1,975,000
Fixed Registration Teams						
Staff (10days)	8000 x 3	Hired in each location	\$40	960,000		960,000
Logisitcs						
Distribution	Collection of registries	To Prov/Communes		200,000		200,000
** If the two elections are held seperately, additional cost may apply to register/delete the new/displaced voters/deceased.						
<u>National Computerization Center</u>						
Hardware/Existing						
UNTAC Network		Parts		100,000		100,000
Software				50,000		50,000
Supplies:						
Paper/forms				250,000		250,000
Toner				50,000		50,000
Staff						
Operation		Supervisors/Operators/Technicians		600,000		600,000
Sub Total				1,050,000		1,050,000
Registration/Mapping	2000	District/Khum maps		100,000		100,000

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

Item	Qty	Type	Unit Price	Cost/Communal	Legislative	Combined
<u>Training Registration/Voters Education: (National Team, Core & Network trainers)</u>						
Training Division		Team/Material		300,000	100,000	300,000
Transportation/Logisitcs		Team/Equipment		75,000	25,000	75,000
Voters Education***		Team/Material		300,000	100,000	300,000
Sub Total				675,000	225,000	675,000

*** This estimate doesn't include the NGO's contributions, neither the technical assistance.

Polling Module: 8000+- Polling Stations or Polling Teams*

Item	Qty	Type	Price/Unit	Cost/Communal	Legislative	Combined
Ballot boxes	8000	Metal	\$31.50	292,000	292,000	584,000
Seals	8000	Padlock numbered	\$00.10	935	935	1,870
	8000	Nylon numbered	\$00.45	4,145	4,145	8,290
Shipping/sea	4	40ft containers	\$6,045	24,180	24,180	48,360
Sub total				321,260	321,260	642,520
Ballot boxes	8000	Plastic	\$12.60	116,788	116,788	233,576
Seals	32000	Nylon numbered	\$00.45	16,583	16,583	33,176
Shipping/sea	3	40ft container	\$6,045	18,135	18,135	36,270
Sub total				151,506	151,506	303,012
Ballot boxes	8000	Cardboard	\$1.12	10,335	10,335	20,670
Seals	32000	Paper numbered	\$00.32	11,678	11,678	23,356
Shipping/sea	2	40ft containers	\$6,045	12,090	12,090	24,180
Sub total				34,103	34,103	68,206

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

Item	Qty	Type	Price/Unit	Cost/Communal	Legislative	Combined
Electronic Voting machines	16000			000	000	000
Batteries	16000	Magnesium/6volts	\$03.00	48,000	48,000	48,000
Shipping			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sub Total						
* The number of polling stations may be more or less depending on the number of voters.						
Indelible Ink/jar 500 voters	16000 Jars	Visible/Silver Nitrate	\$2.79	44,640	44,640	44,640
Shipping/sea	1(With ballot boxes)					
Sub Total				44,640	44,640	44,640
Voting screens	8000	Tabletop cardboard	\$1.19	9,520	9,520	9,520
Shipping/sea	1	20ft container	\$ 4023	4,023	4,023	4,023
Sub Total Tabletop Cardboard Screens				13,543	13,543	13,543
	8000	Self-standing	\$03.43	27,440	27,440	27,440
Shipping/sea	2	40ft container	\$6045	6,045	6,045	6,045
Sub Total Self Standing Cardboard Screens				33,495	33,495	33,495
Ballots	5,000,000	1558/120 Types		450,000	500,000	\$950,000
Forms:						
Statement	24000	Polling/Counting	\$00.50	12,000	12,000	15,000
Counting	48000	Talley sheets	\$00.25	12,000	12,000	24,000
Results	24000		\$00.10	2,400	2,400	4,800
Stationery:						
Pens	40000	Voting screen/staff	\$00.20	8,000	8,000	8,000
Badges	35000	Polling officials	\$00.10	3,500	3,500	3,500
Signs	10000	Polling S. signs	\$01.50	15,000	15,000	15,000
Markers	10000	Black	\$00.50	5,000	5,000	5,000
Enveloppes	40000	Various/Printed	\$00.50	20,000	20,000	40,000
Bags	15000	Tamper/large	\$02.00	30,000	30,000	50,000
Sub total				107,900	107,900	165,300

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

Item	Qty	Type	Price/Unit	Cost/Communal	Legislative	Combined
Training Polling (including training manuals/kits)				400,000	100,000	400,000
Voters Education (including material, but not NGO's)				300,000	100,000	300,000
Sub Total				700,000	200,000	700,000
Logistics						
Warehouse	24/18 months	National level	\$5,000	60,000	60,000	90,000
	18/12 months	Provincial		No cost		
	12 months	Commune level		No cost		
Transportation	20 Prov	National/Prov	\$2,500	50,000	50,000	50,000
	150 Dist	Prov/District	\$500	75,000	75,000	75,000
	1400 com	Dist/Commune	\$100	40,000	140,000	140,000
Forms	12000	Distribution	\$1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	12000	Recovery	\$1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Staff (Whareh.)	20 x 24/18	National	\$50	18,000	24,000	18,000
	10 x 21 x 18/12	Provincial	\$40	100,800	151,200	151,200
	6 x 1540 x 1/2	Khum	\$20	184,800	184,800	184,800
Sub total				670,600	687,000	711,000
Polling Station Staff	8000 x 3 x 3days	Staff	\$10	720,000	720,000	720,000
Counting & Consolidation	1558 x 5 x 5days(Khum)	Staff	\$15	38,950	38,950	58,425
	21 x 25 x 7 days(Prov)	Staff	\$25	3,675	3,675	3,675
Sub total				762,625	762,625	782,100
Election Commissions:						
Members/Staff/24/18 months				3,000,000	500,000	3,500,000
Operations				1,000,000	175,000	1,000,000

Adjustments (If the number of polling stations was increased to 10,000, all related costs are to be upgraded by 25%)

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

Summary:	Communal	Legislative	Total Separate Elect	Total Combined
1. A- Registration Option A without photo:				
Manual Registration at polling stations sites	765,000	200,000	965,000	765,000
Registration staff	960,000	100,000	1,060,000	960,000
Logistics	200,000	20,000	220,000	200,000
Computerization	1,050,000	105,000	1,155,000	1,050,000
Mapping	100,000		100,000	100,000
Training/Voters Education	675,000	225,000	900,000	675,000
	<u>3,740,000</u>	<u>650,000*</u>	<u>4,390,000</u>	<u>3,740,000</u>
Sub Total				
* This cost will cover the additional list of voters (revision)				
B- Polling/Carbboard boxes				
Commodities (Ballot boxes/Screens/Ink/Statinery)*	654,138	704,138**	1,358,276	1,231,641
Training/Voter Education	700,000	200,000	900,000	700,000
Logistics***	670,000	687,000	1,357,000	711,000
Staff	762,625	762,625	1,525,250	782,100
	<u>2,786,763</u>	<u>2,353,763</u>	<u>5,140,526</u>	<u>3,424,741</u>
Sub Total				
* Possibility of two rounds				
** Add \$160,000 more metal ballot boxes/\$90,000 for plastic				
*** Add 20% more for metal/plastic ballot boxes (\$134,000/\$137,000/\$143,000)				
C- Election Commissions Members/Staff	3,000,000	500,000	3,500,000	3,000,000
Operation Offices/Communication/Transportation	1,000,000	175,000	1,175,000	1,000,000
	<u>4,000,000</u>	<u>675,000</u>	<u>4,675,000</u>	<u>4,000,000</u>
Sub Total				
D- Contingencies 15%	1,500,000	500,000	2,000,000	1,500,000
	<u>12,026,763</u>	<u>4,188,763</u>	<u>16,215,526</u>	<u>12,664,741</u>
Total				
N.B. Item B costs to be upgraded by 25% for 10,000 P.S.	650,000	550,000	1,200,000	1,200,000

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

	Communal	Legislative	Total Separate Elect	Total Combined
2. A- Registration Option B with photograph				
Manual Registration Mobile P.S. with photo	3,651,250	300,000	3,951,250	3,651,250
Transportation/Staff	1,975,000	50,000	2,025,000	1,975,000
Computerization	1,050,000	105,000	1,155,000	1,050,000
Mapping	100,000		100,000	100,000
Training/Voters Education/Material*	675,000	225,000	900,000	675,000
Sub Total	7,451,250	680,000	8,131,250	7,451,250
* NGO's contribution not included				
B- Polling/Cardboard ballot boxes				
Commodities (Ballot boxes/Screens/Ink/Stationery)*	654,138	704,138**	1,358,276	1,231,641
Training/Voter Education	700,000	200,000	900,000	700,000
Logistics***	670,000	687,000	1,357,000	711,000
Staff	762,625	762,625	1,525,250	782,100
Sub Total	2,786,763	2,353,763	5,140,526	3,424,741
* Possibility of two rounds				
** Add \$160,000 more metal ballot boxes/\$90,000 for plastic				
*** Add 20% more for metal/plastic ballot boxes (\$134,000/\$137,000/\$143,000)				
C- Election Commissions Members/Staff	3,000,000	500,000	3,500,000	3,000,000
Operation Offices/Communication/Transportation	1,000,000	175,000	1,175,000	1,000,000
Sub Total	4,000,000	675,000	4,675,000	4,000,000
D- Contingencies 15%	2,000,000	500,000	2,500,000	2,000,000
Total	16,238,013	4,208,763	20,446,776 *	16,875,991
N.B. Item B costs to be upgraded by 25% for 10,000 P.S.	650,000	550,000	1,200,000	1,200,000
* These estimates do not account for a second round				

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

	Communal	Legislative	Total Separate Elect	Total Combined
3. A- Registration Option A without photo:				
Manual Registration at polling stations sites	765,000	200,000	965,000	765,000
Registration staff	960,000	100,000	1,060,000	960,000
Logistics	200,000	20,000	220,000	200,000
Computerization	1,050,000	105,000	1,155,000	1,050,000
Mapping	100,000		100,000	100,000
Training/Voters Education	675,000	225,000	900,000	675,000
 Sub Total	<u>3,740,000</u>	<u>650,000*</u>	<u>4,390,000</u>	<u>3,740,000</u>
* This cost will cover the additional list of voters (revision)				
 B- Polling with Electronic Voting Machines				
Electronic Voting Machines x 30,000	No cost	No cost	No cost	No cost
Shipping 23/40ft containers	115,000		115,000	115,000
Batteries Magnesium 6volts x 40	120,000		120,000	120,000
Ink	50,000	50,000	100,000	50,000
Stationery/Forms/Envloppes	107,900	90,000	197,900	107,900
Training/Voters Education	700,000	200,000	900,000	700,000
Logistics	800,000	300,000	1,100,000	800,000
Staff	762,625	762,625	1,525,250	782,100
 Sub Total	<u>2,655,525</u>	<u>1,402,625</u>	<u>4,058,150</u>	<u>2,675,000</u>
 C- Election Commissions Members/Staff	3,000,000	500,000	3,500,000	3,000,000
Operation Offices/Communication/Transportation	1,000,000	175,000	1,175,000	1,000,000
 Sub Total	<u>4,000,000</u>	<u>675,000</u>	<u>4,675,000</u>	<u>4,000,000</u>
 D- Contingencies 15%	2,000,000	500,000	2,500,000	2,000,000
 Total	<u>12,395,525</u>	<u>3,227,625</u>	<u>15,623,150</u>	<u>13,415,000</u>

APPENDIX D - ELECTION COSTING

	Communal	Legislative	Total Separate Elect	Total Combined
4. A- Registration Option B with photograph				
Manual Registration Mobile P.S. with photo	3,651,250	300,000	3,951,250	3,651,250
Transportation/Staff	1,975,000	50,000	2,025,000	1,975,000
Computerization	1,050,000	105,000	1,155,000	1,050,000
Mapping	100,000		100,000	100,000
Training/Voters Education/Material*	675,000	225,000	900,000	675,000
Sub Total	<u>7,451,250</u>	<u>680,000</u>	<u>8,131,250</u>	<u>7,451,250</u>
* NGO's contribution not included				
B- Polling with Electronic Voting Machines				
Electronic Voting Machines x 30,000	No cost	No cost	No cost	No cost
Shipping 23/40ft containers	115,000		115,000	115,000
Batteries Magnesium 6volts x 40	120,000		120,000	120,000
Ink	50,000	50,000	100,000	50,000
Stationery/Forms/Envloppes	107,900	90,000	197,900	107,900
Training/Voters Education	700,000	200,000	900,000	700,000
Logistics	800,000	300,000	1,100,000	800,000
Staff	762,625	762,625	1,525,250	782,625
Sub Total	<u>2,655,525</u>	<u>1,402,625</u>	<u>4,058,150</u>	<u>2,675,625</u>
C- Election Commissions Members/Staff	3,000,000	500,000	3,500,000	3,000,000
Operation Offices/Communication/Transportation	1,000,000	175,000	1,175,000	1,000,000
Sub Total	<u>4,000,000</u>	<u>675,000</u>	<u>4,675,000</u>	<u>4,000,000</u>
D- Contingencies 15%	2,000,000	500,000	2,500,000	2,000,000
Total	<u>16,106,775</u>	<u>3,257,625</u>	<u>19,364,400 *</u>	<u>16,136,250*</u>

* These estimates do not account for a second round

APPENDIX E - AREAS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WHERE ASSISTANCE COULD POTENTIALLY BE PROVIDED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Task	Responsible Cambodian authorities	Possible international support project (suggested time frames are subject to significant adjustments depending on future electoral developments and decisions)
Electoral system (majoritarian, proportional, mixed, one round, two rounds)	Council of Ministers National Assembly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not envisaged at this stage. Issues have been thoroughly addressed in the October 1995 Seminar, the Fuerxer Report, other discussions and this Report. Further assistance would be in response to a request from the Cambodian authorities if issues prove to be intractable.
Development of a project plan, and election dates	National Election Commission Ministry of Interior Bureau of Elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assistance in this area can be provided by Mr Noël (IFES) during his sojourn in Phnom Penh.
Establishment of an electoral administration	Ministry of Interior Co-Prime Ministers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In relation to administrative structures and procedures , assistance in this area can be provided by Mr Noël (IFES) during his sojourn in Phnom Penh.
Development of electoral laws	Drafting Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing assistance in this area can be provided by Mr Noël during his sojourn in Phnom Penh. Assistance is also being provided by the UNHRC. Further assistance for legal consultants would be in response to a request from the Cambodian authorities.

<p>Determination of constituency boundaries, cartography, and allocation of seats to constituencies</p>	<p>National Election Commission</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A two-to-four week consultancy to examine options and provide guidelines for the development of support systems for cartographic and constituency delimitation processes, specifically geographic information systems.
<p>Development of computer systems</p>	<p>National Election Commission Ministry of Interior Cambodian Computing Centre</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A two-week initial consultancy to examine the feasibility of using the former UNTAC computer as the basis of a central computer installation for the development and maintenance of a voter's register and other possible electoral applications, and if such an approach is deemed feasible, to develop a detailed plan of action, including costings, for the rehabilitation and installation of the equipment. • A project for provision of support for the operation of the system throughout the voter registration period, and for the training of staff of the Cambodian Computing Centre to enable them to support the system after the project ends.
<p>Voter education, and training of electoral staff (Polling Station Committee staff)</p>	<p>National Election Commission Commune Election Commission Domestic NGOs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A two month technical assistance project to assist in developing voter education materials based on the procedures to be adopted at the election. • A one-month project to assist in the development of training plans, manuals and techniques at the national level.
<p>Registration of political parties and candidates, party liaison, and training for agents, candidates and cadres</p>	<p>National Election Commission</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A one-month project to assist in the development and implementation of procedures for the registration of parties and candidates.

<p>Registration of voters</p>	<p>National Election Commission</p> <p>Provincial Election Commissions</p> <p>Ministry of Interior</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A one-month project to assist in the development of voter registration related training plans, manuals and techniques. • A two-month project for the development of a comprehensive plan for, and the making of all necessary preparations for, voter registration. • Deployment of UN Volunteers at the provincial level to provide technical support to provincial electoral staff. • Provision of voter registration materials, equipment and supplies • A two-month project to assist domestic NGOs to establish a monitoring operation for the voter registration.
<p>Planning for and conduct of the polling</p>	<p>National Election Commission</p> <p>Polling Station Committees</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A two-month consultancy to develop a strategy and plans for the procurement and distribution of materials, warehousing etc. • A two-week feasibility study for the use of voting machines. • A two-month project for the development of a comprehensive plan for, and the making of all necessary preparations for, the polling. • A two-month project to assist domestic NGOs to establish a monitoring operation for the polling and counting. • Deployment of UN Volunteers at the provincial level to provide technical support to provincial electoral staff. <p>Provision of polling materials, equipment and supplies.</p>

Management of the election campaign	National Election Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing assistance from the UNHRC in the development of a Code of Conduct for participants in the election process. • Coordination by the UN of any international observation program requested by the Royal Government of Cambodia.
Security arrangements	Royal Government of Cambodia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No technical assistance foreseen.
Determination of the election result	National Election Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A two-to-four week consultancy to develop forms, manuals, procedures and spreadsheets for the counting of votes, and the recording and compilation of results.
Dispute resolution	National, Provincial and Commune Election Commissions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assistance from the UNHRC.
Election budget	National Election Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addressed in the Fuerxer Report and this Report. Ongoing assistance in this area can be provided by Mr Noël during his sojourn in Phnom Penh.
Electoral offices, sites, security and local transport	Royal Government of Cambodia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of financial or other resources, as per budget submitted, to be negotiated.