CAMBODIAN ELECTIONS:
LESSONS LEARNED AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS
A Post-Election Conference Report

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National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acronyms

Acknowledgements

Executive Summary 1

I. Introduction 2

II. The Conference 2

III. Observations and Recommendations 3

A. Enforcement Issues 3
B. Legal Framework 3
C. Election Administration 5
D. Voter Registration 7
E. Election Campaign 9
F. Educating Cambodian Voters 12
G. Monitoring Cambodian Elections 14
H. Election and Counting Days 16
I. Complaint Process 17
J. Media 19
K. Post-Election Political Deadlock 20
L. Other Recommendations 23

Appendices 24

Conference Agenda 25
Conference Participants 30
Conference Speakers and Moderators 34

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CPP	**Cambodian People's Party**
COMFREL	**Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia**
CEC	**Commune Election Committee**
CC	**Constitutional Council**
EMO	**Election Monitoring Organization**
FUNCINPEC	**National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia**
NDI	**National Democratic Institute for International Affairs**
NEC	**National Election Committee**
NGO	**Non-government organization**
NICFEC	**Neutral and Independent Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia**
PSC	**Polling Station Committee**
PEC	**Provincial Election Committee**
SRP	**Sam Rainsy Party**
UNDP	**United Nations Development Program**
UNTAC	**United Nations Transitional Administration in Cambodia**

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National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

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A Post-Election Conference Report

Held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia on February 11 and 12, 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The third Cambodian National Assembly elections, held on July 27, 2003, were conducted in a relatively peaceful atmosphere and were evaluated by national and international observers as "having made progress" in comparison to previous elections. No election process is perfect; there were problems in different areas from the voter registration process, to the announcement and acceptance of the results, to the formation of a new government.

NDI organized a two-day post-election conference in February 2004 to: assess these elections and identify shortcomings, best practices and lessons learned; exchange views and insights on Cambodian elections among principal stakeholders; and provide perspectives on Cambodia's electoral process and offer recommendations for future elections.

The post-election conference was split into eleven plenary sessions, an opening session, and two special sessions, over two days. Thirty-two speakers made presentations on different topics while 13 others moderated the various sessions. One hundred seventy seven persons participated in the conference, of which 38 were women. Participants included leaders of political parties, members of the national assembly and senators, the National Election Committee (NEC) officials, journalists, representatives of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society organizations and domestic election monitoring organizations (EMOs), foreign embassies and international organizations. The conference proceedings received extensive coverage in the electronic and print media.

This report captures the deliberations made by speakers and participants on the different topics critical to Cambodian elections. These include: enforcement issues, the legal framework for elections, election administration, voter registration, election campaign, educating Cambodian voters, monitoring Cambodian elections, election and counting days, complaint process, access to the media and the post election political deadlock over the formation of the new government. The deliberations are categorized in the form of observations and recommendations.

The conference successfully brought together Cambodian election stakeholders irrespective of party affiliations to review and assess past elections and to come forward with thought-provoking recommendations to remedy prevailing problems. These recommendations will serve as a starting point for researchers and others interested in embarking upon a program of electoral reform in Cambodia.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1993, Cambodia's first democratic elections were managed by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). In subsequent elections, although donor assistance continued to be important, Cambodians took more responsibility. Today, as its electoral institutions develop a greater administrative capacity, Cambodia does not need as much support from donors on the technical aspects of conducting elections. The country has also made significant advances in creating political space for dialogue on political issues. However, much remains to be done. For an election to meet international standards, freedoms of speech, association and assembly are essential. While the political environment has improved in recent years, these essential freedoms are still restricted. When these liberties are respected, elections can be a primary tool for fostering expanded political participation and for permitting political parties and civic groups to mobilize supporters and share their platforms with the public.

The third National Assembly elections, held on July 27, 2003, were conducted in a relatively peaceful atmosphere and were evaluated by national and international observers as "having made progress" in comparison to previous elections. Nevertheless, substantial problems occurred in the voter registration process, the access that opposition parties had to the media, the announcement of electoral results, and the formation of the new government. Some areas critical to the evolution of elections in Cambodia are:

- The establishment of an effective electoral framework to protect the rights of every eligible citizen to vote;
- Further improvements in election administration including registration of voters, quality of voter lists, complaint handling, and voting and counting processes;
- More effective oversight and monitoring of the electoral process;
- Further efforts to ensure equitable media access for contesting parties;
- Further civic and voter education;
- Effective measures to reduce politically motivated election violence, which declined in 2003 compared to previous elections.

II. THE CONFERENCE

Background: A more democratic Cambodia can only be achieved if the country addresses systemic problems that have led to the current, uneven, political playing field. Although the 2003 elections showed some improvements from previous elections, there remains much room for improvement.

Objective: NDI organized the two-day post-election conference on February 11 and 12, 2004, to assess the 2003 elections and identify shortcomings, best practices and lessons learned; exchange views and insights on Cambodian elections among principal stakeholders; and provide perspectives on Cambodia's electoral process and offer recommendations for future elections.

Agenda and Participants: The post election conference was split into eleven plenary sessions, an opening session, and two special sessions, over two days. Thirty-two speakers made presentations on different topics while 13 others moderated the various sessions. One hundred seventy seven persons participated in the conference, of which 38 were women. Participants included leaders of political parties, members of the national assembly and senators, the National Election Committee (NEC) officials, journalists, representatives of the non- governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society organizations and domestic election monitoring organizations (EMOs), foreign embassies and international organizations. The conference proceedings received extensive coverage in the electronic and print media.

Outcome: The post election conference produced specific recommendations for improving Cambodian electoral process, as described in this report.

III. OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conference dealt with issues critical to Cambodian elections. This report aims to capture the comments, observations and recommendations made by panel and keynote speakers as well as those made by participants, who together represented a broad spectrum of Cambodian society.

A. Enforcement Issues

Observations:

Most speakers emphasized that the enforcement of existing laws by election and government officials, security forces and the judicial officials is critical. In Cambodia, some election laws and regulations are violated with impunity and there is a lack of sufficient measures to ensure equal enforcement of existing laws and regulations. It needs to be considered whether law enforcement problems materially affect the outcome of an election.

Recommendations:

Measures must be undertaken to improve the enforcement of existing laws. Existing laws must be enforced equally, regardless of the political affiliation of the offender. Political parties and election stakeholders must respect laws and regulations.

B. Legal Framework

Observations:
For an election to run smoothly, adequate laws, regulations and procedures must exist to constitute the legal framework for an election. The election law sets the framework through which the election system is implemented, enforced and reviewed. The legal framework should ensure the election is credibly and transparently administered and that the public has confidence in the system.

Prior to the 2003 parliamentary elections, to improve the legal framework, the National Assembly amended the *Law on the Election to the Members of the National Assembly*, including: changing the composition of the National Election Committee (NEC); adopting amendments to the organization and function of the Provincial Election Commissions (PECs); amending the eligibility criteria and process of voter registration; limiting political party election expenses; and setting punishments for NEC members and officials who infringe the laws. The NEC also adopted new internal rules for its conduct. Political parties and civil society were able to participate, although not entirely to the satisfaction of the opposition, in the process of amending the election laws. Although in several instances the time allotted for consultation was inadequate to allow all interested parties to present their perspectives the drafting and passage of the internal rules, regulations and procedures relating to the election, code of conduct, etc, was adopted in a timely manner.

The role of village chiefs during past elections was identified as problematic due to their strong loyalty to the ruling Cambodia People's Party (CPP). In a country where the distinction between the state and the ruling party is already blurred, village chiefs have a strong influence as they can and do discriminate against citizens for their political beliefs.

Some private media outlets violated NEC requirements for balanced coverage during the election campaign. Due to a loophole in the media laws, only state media was covered by the equitable coverage guidelines.

Recommendations:

The conference recommended that laws, regulations, codes of conduct and any other instruments relevant to the elections should be reviewed. Implementation should be strengthened and monitored to increase peoples' confidence in the transparency, accountability and effectiveness of the process. Other recommendations included:

- New laws/regulations need to be formulated to ensure the non-partisanship of the NEC and the election administration at the provincial, commune and polling station levels. All officials should be neutral in the discharge of their responsibilities and be able to function without fear or favor;

- Laws/regulations need to be formulated to ensure equitable media coverage for all contending parties in both state and private media outlets;

- The law on punishments for violating election laws and regulations should be strictly enforced;

- Election laws should ban village chiefs acting as political party agents or election observers. They should not be allowed to enter polling stations except to cast their own vote;

- The laws governing national assembly and commune council elections should be harmonized to allow for the creation of a permanent voter register usable in both elections;

- The NEC should strengthen legal services, simplifying procedures so people can easily understand them;

- Improve election laws and procedures, particularly those related to the requirements for registration, checking, correcting and production of the final electoral roll;

- Civil servants and armed forces members should be banned from taking part in the election campaign;

- Amending election laws and regulations may not be enough; it may be necessary to review and amend the political party law.

C. Election Administration

The body responsible for election administration should have the broad confidence of the contesting parties and the public. In Cambodia, the NEC is entrusted with the task of administering both national and local elections. For an election to run smoothly, there must be adequate laws, regulations, and procedures, clear organizational structures, adequate human resources and a plan.

Observations:

The power of the NEC includes the power to create regulations, the power to execute its duties and the power to judge all cases. However, the NEC does not have sufficient capacity or time to undertake so many challenges, resulting in imperfections in both the development and implementation of regulations, especially in matters of dispute resolution. Some Cambodians continue to perceive the NEC as a partisan body.

Whether an election can proceed freely, fairly, transparently and regularly depends on the legal framework, institutions and finances for managing and organizing electoral process.

The NEC divided the election into four phases: voter list review and registration; registration of political parties; campaigning and voting, ballot counting and summation of election results. In all phases, the NEC focused on improving implementation, management, monitoring, capacity building, and tried to ensure that election officials complied with work procedures and addressed problems in a timely manner.

Besides strengthening its competence, the NEC improved its relationship and cooperation with relevant institutions including political parties, government and non-governmental organizations, and donors without whose help the election could not have been conducted. At the national as well as provincial/municipal levels, the NEC held regular weekly meetings to promote better understanding with the political parties, NGOs and EMOs, media and local authorities. All draft regulations were circulated among the stakeholders and their opinions sought and considered before finalization of the laws.

The NEC, from the central level to the polling station, is dominated by members or supporters of the CPP. This created mistrust among other parties taking part in the election.

The knowledge and skill level of some election officials was inadequate while others engaged in improper practices.

The cost of conducting Cambodian elections has dropped--in 1993 it was US$45.00 per voter; US$ 5.00 in 1998; US$ 3.27 in 2002 and just US$ 1.73 in 2003. Recent costs compare favorably with experiences in other countries in the region.

The allocation of seats to provinces was not consistent. An average of 50,000 to 60,000 electors are represented by a member of parliament in the larger provinces such as Kampong Cham, Kandal and Phnom Penh, but provinces such as Kampong Som with about 89,000 eligible voters is entitled to only one seat. Interestingly, small provinces like Pailin, Kep and Stung Treng with about 16,000 to 45,000 electors have one seat each. Thus, some provinces are relatively under-represented and others are over-represented in parliament.

Recommendations:

The following recommendations were advanced to improve the electoral administration:

- More effective oversight and monitoring of the electoral process, including the election administration at all levels;

- The NEC should be restructured as an independent election commission, not under the Ministry of Interior, composed of a balance of party representatives or independents appointed in their professional capacity and equipped with sufficient powers and resources to administer elections in an impartial and transparent manner;

- NEC members should be nominated by a recruitment committee comprising representatives of political parties and civil society instead of being nominated by the Ministry of Interior;

- The structure and composition of the Commune Election Committees (CECs), the PECs and the NEC must be reformed either by including representation from all political parties represented in the National Assembly or by hiring neutral professionals;

- Some Polling Station Commission (PSC) officials were not neutral. The NEC needs to hire neutral people to fill vacancies in the election administration;

- Capacity building needs to be undertaken to enhance the capacity of NEC officials at all levels so they can perform their duties in keeping with the standards and dignity of their office. Intensive training, including refresher courses on rules, regulations and procedures, the code of ethics for election officials, understanding election and counting processes, etc, should be provided to officials at all levels;

- Civil society organizations should help the NEC conduct training for officials;
- Preparations and planning must focus on ensuring that people freely use their right to vote;
- The election calendar must be realistic, clear and adhered to. Resources and materials should be available in adequate quantities and in a timely manner;
- Improve the NECs internal rules and regulations, election manuals, vote verification and vote counts mechanisms, etc;
- Study and modify polling station locations;
- Local authorities must cooperate with the NEC to fulfill their roles and responsibilities more effectively;
- Cambodian elections should be made more cost effective, although costs have decreased radically since 1993 and in every subsequent election;
- Seats should be allocated based on the size of the electorate in each province. Seat allocations must be regularly reviewed and made as consistent as possible.

D. Voter Registration

The universal right to take part in government is directly affected by the voter registration process. Election systems require criteria and mechanisms for identifying eligible and ineligible voters, and guarantees the "one person, one vote" principle by preventing multiple voting. The voters list, or "list of electors," is vital as the foundation on which the elections are held. If the list is flawed, an election based on such a list will likely be questioned.

Observations:

Voter registration for the 1993, 1998, 2002 and 2003 elections varied; electoral law set different procedures and conditions for registration that confused officials and voters.

Problems with the voter registration process and the preparation of the voter lists disenfranchised many Cambodians. Adequate voter education activities were not conducted during the voter registration period. The opposition raised allegations that people were being prevented unfairly from registering while others were not required to provide adequate identification. Some participants claimed illegal immigrants were not prevented from registering while many Cambodians were disenfranchised. In past elections, the issue of voter registration and illegal immigrants was also a significant source of tension.

Registration was reportedly hindered by some officials using delaying tactics, such as demands for various documents from registrants, making the process slow and

complicated. In some cases, complaint forms were reportedly not provided to opposition party representatives, preventing them from registering their complaints.

Voter education plays a critical role in voter registration. Issues such as the timeline for registration, location of registration centers, the process by which a potential voter establishes his eligibility (required documentation or identification), the dates of publication of the draft list, the procedures and timeline for filing objections, all need to be addressed. Voter registration is a long, complex and nationwide process and, with the backdrop of poor communication systems and infrastructure, voter education becomes critical. Voter registration typically occurs early in the electoral process and often finds political parties and civic organizations ill-prepared to monitor the process. Political parties and civic organizations should prepare to monitor the voter registration process.

A Cambodian domestic election monitoring organization, the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL), conducted the first audit of the list of electors to assess the quality of the list.

Observations:

- There was no census of eligible voters prior to the voter registration process;
- Voter registration officials did not have adequate training;
- Money was demanded from prospective voters before they were issued family books, one of the documents required for voter registration;
- In some instances, the voter list used inside the polling station was different from the one posted outside.

Recommendations:

The following recommendations to improve the voter registration process emerged from the conference:

- The existing electoral register should be nullified. New registration should be conducted on the basis of Khmer identity only. Old voter cards and other documents should be declared invalid. Any person not of Khmer origin or who became a Khmer citizen through naturalization must have their citizenship approval by a royal decree in conformity with the nationality law;
- The Royal Government should provide identity cards to all Khmer nationals;
- A census should be conducted before the next voter registration update to ensure an accurate list of electors that incorporates all eligible Cambodians;
- Requirements for voter registration must be so flexible that eligible Cambodians can register with ease and so rigid that it incapacitates foreign nationals;

- The roles and responsibilities of all connected with the annual updating of the voters list must be clearly defined;

- Strengthen collaboration among institutions and agencies in instructing and monitoring the process of updating the voters list by commune clerks;

- Recruit and effectively train personnel responsible for updating the voter register including commune clerks;

- Make the voters list available in a timely fashion for the purpose of verification and for dealing with complaints related to the list;

- Improve the voter list database at the NEC. Promote efficiency of data entry operators and make the list of voters accessible on line and available in electronic form such as CDs for political parties, election monitoring organizations and other interested parties;

- Conduct extensive education campaigns in regard to the annual updating of the voter lists, focusing on far away places and on illiterate and disadvantaged voters; involve EMOs, NGOs, media and political parties to conduct voter education;

- Local authorities must not charge excess money for issuing family books and other identification documents;

- Voters list must be accurate; free of errors in spelling of names of voter, their serial numbers, age of the voters and other information;

- The list used inside the polling station must be the same as the one posted outside;

- Domestic EMOs and political party representatives must monitor the voter registration or updating process; they need to prepare for this task. The EMOs and other research organizations must undertake an audit of the voter list to assess its quality and make recommendations for corrections.

E. Election Campaign

It is during the election campaign that political parties and candidates canvass to win voters by disseminating their political platform. Parties use their own resources, media programs organized by the NEC and the Ministry of Information in collaboration with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and other publicity vehicles.

Observations:

Current laws require parties to submit regular reports to the competent ministries concerning the party's main activities and a balance sheet showing income and

expenditures. The parties are to retain these documents for seven years; they may be subject to a review based on the internal rules and regulations of the party or a decision from a court or other competent institutions.

Existing laws prohibit parties from accepting contributions from local or international NGOs, state institutions, public enterprises and foreign organizations. Under the present law, parties are required to deposit their income (contributions) for election campaigning into a single bank account and all expenses should come from the same account, which is subject to NEC inspection. The law further provides for state funding for political parties but this system has yet to be put in place.

During the 2003 elections, the following violations occurred for which no action was taken by the NEC or any other authority:

- illegal receipt of contributions;
- failure to deposit contributions into the party bank account, and consequentially, failure to disburse expenses through the same single account;
- failure on the part of some political parties to submit reports to competent authorities.

No serious effort was made to track party and candidate campaign expenses; no violations of financial limits were exposed or brought to record during the campaign period.

Gifts were widely distributed by political parties and candidates across party lines. Sometimes gifts were distributed in the name of associations or charitable organizations, like the Cambodian Red Cross, to promote party interests. Vote buying was rampant and continued throughout the campaign period. Commitments were made by candidates to voters to give them money after the elections.

Some apparently partisan local election administration officials allocated campaign venues to more than one political party in nearby locations, causing disruption of party campaign rallies.

Political activists including those from the opposition were sometimes threatened, obstructed, and harassed by local authorities during the campaign period. There were problems of voter intimidation by local officials.

Additional observations:

- State officials, facilities and other resources were used to further party interests;

- The code of conduct for parties and candidates was violated by competing parties and candidates;

- Conflicts around the issue of erecting party signboards by supporters and activists escalated during the period;

- There was more political space than in previous elections, with a number of multi party events such as candidate debate sponsored local and international NGOs engaging competing parties and candidates;

- The media provided more extensive election coverage than in the past. The NEC, with UNDP assistance and the help of other organizations organized equitable access programs as well as candidate debates, some of which were broadcast on radio and television. Opposition political parties received electronic media coverage for the first time.

Recommendations:

The following recommendations were made at the conference on the issue of election campaigning:

- The election administration must help ensure that all parties and candidates compete on a 'level playing field';

- Enforce campaign related laws and take effective measures to discipline any party or candidate who violates the code of ethics or conduct on election campaign. Campaigning parties, candidates and activists should respect the codes of conduct and adhere to the principles of peaceful campaigning;

- Concerned parties must cooperate with election committees at all levels to monitor the campaigns of all parties and take firm measures to discipline those who commit offenses;

- Erecting party sign boards on streets, at houses or in front of private establishments should be prohibited except during the election period; signs must be removed within three days to avoid arguments and controversies;

- Vote buying must be prevented through extensive educational campaigns. The bad effects of vote buying need to be highlighted, to discourage voters from selling their votes in exchange for gifts or money;

- The expenses of national and international NGOs who work to promote partisan interests using international funding need to be controlled;

- Determine and enforce campaign spending limits for parties and candidates;

- Party expenses must be subject to independent audit, with reports available for public scrutiny;

- Although not directly related to the election campaign it was suggested that elected officials should declare their assets and liabilities. Further, the *Anti Corruption Law* now pending should be quickly adopted and enforced;

- Political parties play an important role in a democracy. Government should provide funds for parties that have representation in the parliament to support their activities;

- Use of international aid, the national budget, state resources, NGO funds, civil servants, for election campaigning for partisan gains should be banned and the ban be effectively enforced;

- EMOs and other civil society organizations should monitor the campaign expenses of parties and candidates and highlight violations in public reports;

- State owned electronic media must give equitable media coverage to all contesting parties and candidates, monitored and guaranteed by the NEC;

- NGOs should be encouraged to conduct more multiparty activities (candidate debates, forums, etc.) during the campaign period to enable people to make informed choice at the polls.

F. Educating Cambodian Voters

Voter education remains an indispensable factor in helping ensure that voters make an informed choice. It imparts information on election laws, regulations and procedures; as well as the number of political parties competing in the election, their policies and platforms. The objective of voter education is to ensure people understand democracy, election laws and procedures, their rights and responsibilities in an election, and participate in an informed manner in the process.

Observations:

Speakers and participants at the conference agreed on the importance of voter education surrounding the entire electoral process. The need for civic and voter education prevails in Cambodia and will continue to do so in future elections: only informed citizens can become allies in the process of reforming and improving the country's social, economic and political systems. It was also agreed that voter education was inadequate during past elections. However, the knowledge levels of voters have increased - voters are able to vote and understand their right to vote.

Some of the obstacles and challenges to voter education were identified as:

- Voter education dealt with critical issues like vote buying and intimidation that annoy vested interests;
- On occasion, local authorities, PEC and CEC created obstacles;
- As elections were held in the rainy season, education programs are sometimes disrupted by inclement weather;
- At times, there was a lack of voter interest to attend such events;
- The NEC failed to engage effectively the state media in disseminating voter education;
- Some voter education programs during the past election were partisan.

Voter education issues in Cambodian elections include:

- election laws, regulations, procedures, election schedule, etc;
- how citizens can participate in elections;
- information regarding parties and candidates, enabling citizens to make an informed choice.

Voter education in Cambodia is conducted through the following means:

- radio and television discussions, call-in shows etc
- posters, leaflets, pictorial booklets, flyers;
- training programs and community public meetings such as those in pagodas, schools and other public places;
- dramas, movies, and other performance.

The conference identified public education as a joint responsibility of the following:

- the NEC
- national and international NGOs, EMOs etc;
- political parties
- local authorities
- the media and
- all citizens

It was recognized that voter education was inadequate during the voter registration process as the process occurs early in the election cycle, when parties and EMOs are not fully prepared to activate their volunteer networks.

Some other observations:

- NGOs collaborated in conducting voter education;

- One EMO encountered problems with its drama program when told by the local administration to discontinue their activities;

- Lesson learned – education through village chiefs using flyers yielded good results.

Recommendations:

The conference made the following recommendations on voter education:

- More effort to enhance the quantity and quality of voter education throughout the election cycle; from the voter registration or updating process, through the political party and candidate registration period, the election campaign period, the voting and counting process etc. More concerted efforts involving the NEC, NGOs, EMOs and political parties should be made to ensure more effective voter education;

- NEC – NGO/EMO cooperation for more effective, non-partisan voter education. The NEC, in collaboration with NGOs, EMOs and other civil society organizations, should undertake extensive non-partisan voter education programs to raise citizen awareness. Such education program must reach voters throughout the country;

- Even more extensive education campaigns are needed for the annual updating of the voters list. It is important to involve EMOs, NGOs and political parties in voter education around a voter registration or updating process; focusing on the timeline, location and hours of registration centers, criteria for registration; an appropriate mix of the education medium and methodology should be used;

- Voter education programs conducted by NGOs, EMOs and the NEC must be neutral;

- All parties should conduct awareness campaigns concerning voters' rights and obligations and the electoral process;

- The focus of voter education should be on educating people to make a conscious, informed political choice and to understand their civic responsibilities to register;

- An EMO made the following recommendations related to voter education:
  - increase the quantity of voter education materials
  - employ effective methods
  - rural populations should be targeted; they have less access to information
  - the design of voter education programs consider local language, geography and race

- The EMO further suggested the NEC should:
  - enhance coordination among local authorities, PEC and CEC and NGOs to conduct effective voter education;
  - advise NGOs on the focus and contents on voter education programs;
  - transmit NGO voter education programs on state TV and radio stations free of charge.

G. Monitoring Cambodian Elections

Domestic and international election monitoring has become an integral part of the election process in developing and emerging democracies like Cambodia. Cambodia's two internationally recognized domestic election monitoring organizations – the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) and the Neutral and Independent Committee for Free and Fair Election in Cambodia (NICFEC) – undertook and implemented a comprehensive program of monitoring the 2003 parliamentary elections. They observed all stages of the election process and made public reports on their findings.

Observations:

The Cambodian election process has stimulated the growth of NGOs and civil society, providing valuable service to the democratic process in Cambodia. They help create informed voters and, with their careful scrutiny of the election process, contribute to the fairness and transparency of the process.

During the pre election phase, the EMOs focused on reviewing and critiquing the process of framing and enacting regulations and procedures, observed the voter registration process, monitored the general political environment during the entire election period, deployed systematic long term domestic observers, for the first time in Cambodia covering all 24 provinces, observed the political party and candidate registration process and monitored the campaign period. COMFREL, with NDI assistance, undertook the first audit of the electors list. The groups also conducted voter education programs focusing on important election issues and using a combination of mediums and methods.

Both COMFREL and NICFEC deployed international observers under their auspices. On election day, the EMOs deployed a large number of trained short-term observers to polling stations. The groups also deployed short-term observers to monitor the counting process and to guard ballot boxes that were stored overnight before being taken to the counting stations. During the post election period, the EMOs observed the adjudication of complaints and the ensuing political deadlock. In addition, COMFREL conducted a media monitoring program throughout the election. The EMOs regularly made public reports of their findings.

COMFREL and NICFEC coordinated their activities, reports and statements, an important requirement for NDI, as one of the groups' supporting organizations.

Recommendations:

- Election observers must be realistic, impartial, fair, and free from political influence;
- Observers should work in a commune/district other than their home commune/district to avoid pressure from local authorities;
- EMOs commonly refer to an election as "free and fair". In practical terms, this expression is sometimes so vague as to be meaningless. It is incumbent on EMOs to develop a more practical method of assessing election;
- The process of accrediting domestic observers should be further simplified by the NEC in consultation with the EMOs;
- Domestic observers should be properly trained on election laws and regulations, voting and counting process, complaints mechanism etc so as to be able to function effectively as an observer;
- The non-partisan status of all domestic non-partisan observers should be rigorously verified and maintained during the election;
- Domestic EMOs should undertake long term observation of the election process, and not just monitor election day;
- Domestic EMOs should conduct audits of voters lists in addition to monitoring the voter registration process;

- Domestic EMOs should be given free airtime on state owned electronic media to broadcast non-partisan educational programs.

H. Election and Counting Days

The voting process must be administered in compliance with the provisions of election laws and international standards. Eligible voters must be allowed to cast their vote free from influence or intimidation. Vote counting and tabulation are also critical steps in the election process where manipulation may occur. In Cambodia, the election is held in a single day and the counting of ballots is done the following day at counting stations, where ballots from a number of polling stations are brought together.

Observations:

Election day, during the rainy season, is when Cambodian farmers are busy with farming and when inclement weather often disrupts campaign activities.

Some polling stations were changed; voters complained they were not properly notified. Consequently, some voters were unable to locate their designated polling station and could not vote. In some cases the voters list outside the polling station was different from the list inside; again, some voters were disenfranchised.

Names were sometimes printed incorrectly. Spellings of names of voters on the list were sometimes different from that on voting cards, adding to the confusion.

The presence of village chiefs near polling stations on election day was a cause for concern. On voting and counting days, the presence of some village chiefs created an environment of fear. At some polling stations, pro-CPP village chiefs reportedly facilitated CPP voters while keeping opposition voters waiting.

Agents from the three main parties were seen in most polling stations on election and counting days but many appeared ill prepared to perform their jobs.

Some stated that ballot counting was not done in an open manner. The counting process was very time consuming in many instances.

Some election officials were accused of being biased toward particular parties and reportedly did not provide complaint forms to agents from other parties.

Recommendations:

The following recommendations were made to better manage election affairs on voting and counting days:

- Future elections should be rescheduled for February instead of July;

- Voter facilitation centers should be set up by NEC, or EMOs/NGOs, near polling stations to lead voters to their designated polling room to enable them to cast their vote;

- To facilitate voter registration and voting of as many people as possible, citizens should be allowed to register and vote anywhere within the province, as was done in the 1993 elections;

- All candidates should have the right to observe polling and counting at all polling and counting stations within the province the candidate is contesting;

- Ballot printing and distribution must be monitored by political parties and civil society;

- Ballot papers should be printed abroad;

- CEC, PSC officials, political party representatives and observers must be selected from other communes or districts than their own so as to avoid pressure from local authorities;

- Party agents should be trained on election laws and regulations, voting and counting process, methods of raising objections and filing complaints, to protect the interest of their respective parties;

- Complaint forms should be made available to all party agents to enable them to file complaints as appropriate.

I. Complaint Process

Observations:

The complaint process is designed to protect the integrity of the election system from improper administration and ineffective enforcement, which is an essential factor in guaranteeing fairness. It is the final, peaceful arbiter of disputes. The complaint process in Cambodia was strengthened ahead of the 2003 elections to make it more responsive and functional. However, popular expectations were not met, and many stakeholders remain dissatisfied with the process.

Some participants felt that the lack of an effective review of the complaint mechanism and the failure to punish violators of election laws have reinforced the culture of impunity, which remains a serious obstacle to establishing a strong democracy in Cambodia.

According to the NEC, most complaints made by political parties were not in accordance with the procedures; some were just reports and information that the authorities could not use to come to any conclusion. Some complaints were not properly handled by the CEC's because the time set out by law to investigate was limited and the CEC's capacity was limited. In some instances, the process was not seen as fair as election officials handling

complaints at the CEC and PEC levels were partisan. Some officials reportedly delayed the processing of complaints until the time for filing was over.

When complaints were submitted to the CECs, they allegedly demanded large numbers of witnesses to verify the complaints, and at times compelled complainants to withdraw complaints or reach compromise.

However, unlike previous elections, the NEC imposed fines of 5,000,000 riels in Kampong Cham, Battambang and Kampot provinces, and stripped some officials who violated election laws/regulations of their right to vote for five years as well as barred them from applying to be election officials at all levels for five years. These were the first enforcement actions taken against by the NEC against election authorities.

The Constitutional Council (CC): In addition to its responsibility to ensure implementation of the constitution and interpretation of laws, it is also responsible for examining election related conflicts. Among the nine members of the CC, only three, appointed by the King, are seen as neutral while the other six are all members of one political party; lending credence to allegations that the body's decisions are biased.

- The election administration failed to establish a credible process to resolve election complaints including charges of political intimidation, political party's sign board vandalism, vote buying and other procedural irregularities;

- The procedure for making complaints was overly complex; this deterred people from lodging complaints. Numerous forms needed to be filled out, there was a short time to submit them and there was a need to provide evidence to support complaints;

- The Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) submitted a total of 1,442 complaints to the PECs. According to the party, only two were resolved.

Recommendations:

The following recommendations emerged with regard to the complaint process:

- Establish an independent institution to solve disputes and complaints;

- Examine and improve the complaints investigation process, making it more responsive to the needs of stakeholders;

- *Form 1202*, for filing complaints, should be made simple and easy to complete;

- The Constitutional Council (CC) composition must be amended to ensure that independent people enjoying public trust and confidence are inducted;

- On polling day mobile teams should be set up in each district to receive complaints from voters. This team should be clearly identifiable to voters;

- The manual on election complaints should be consistent and widely disseminated to electoral officials and other relevant stakeholders;

- Complaint forms must be available to all parties so they can record complaints properly;

- Election officials dealing with complaints should be properly trained and strictly non-partisan.

J. Media

The media plays an essential role in a democratic election. The media provides access to political contestants to communicate their message to the electors, presents news about political parties, leaders and events, and provides information about electoral processes. Most voters gain essential information about politics and elections through the media.

Observations:

International election standards require the media provide accurate and balanced coverage of election related events. While all media should offer fair and responsible coverage, it is incumbent on state owned media to observe high standards as part of their legal and moral obligation to serve the interest of the general public, as opposed to private or partisan interests. The use of public media to promote a specific party or candidate is a misuse of governmental resources.

Legislation should provide parties and candidates with the opportunity to promote and publicize their message freely and without distortion; it should also provide protection to journalists and editors to operate free from threats or illegitimate constraints.

Unlike previous elections, during the 2003 electoral campaign, political parties, donor community and civil society all saw the critical importance of the media in terms of disseminating information. Donors have evinced interest in supporting media related projects aimed at strengthening the media and expanding its role. Civil society has also paid enhanced attention to promoting equity coverage and generally improving access to media for all contesting parties.

The creation of community media centers in various provinces and municipalities, the broadcasting of equity programs on national television (TVK), the establishment of an NEC Media Center, the broadcasting of multi party candidate debates, and media monitoring by the NEC and EMOs are indications that stakeholders recognize the important role of the media in free and fair elections.

- More open and equal access was given to contesting parties in the state media during the campaign period. Programs such as a daily equity news program, candidate debates, public forums, round-table discussions on party platforms afforded parties with media access not seen in earlier elections;

- During the 2003 elections public debates were broadcast for the first time;

- Paucity of funds is a major obstacle to the growth and expansion of media;

- During the election campaign, some outlets violated electoral laws and regulations. Media laws and regulations restrict state but not private;

The media will play a crucial role in coming elections. Coverage is expected to be broader and to have greater demographic penetration. Stakeholders will make increased use of media for information dissemination.

Recommendations:

- Local and international media must strive to disseminate information in a responsible way;

- The NEC must have the right to use all channels, both government and private, during election campaign by ensuring two to three hours daily news coverage on all stations;

- The reach of the media needs to be expanded to rural and remote areas;

- State media must be independent of the ruling party;

- The professional standards of the media need to be raised; the behavior of journalists and media outlets must be constantly monitored.

Media experts and election stakeholders need to examine Cambodian media, both private and public, and develop a reform agenda that should address the following issues:

- What should be done to maximize the independence of the media?
- What should be done to allow journalists access to information?
- What should be done to improve the level of professionalism of the media and compliance with the code of ethics for journalists?
- What should be done to improve access to media by all contesting political parties and candidates?
- What should be done to help integrate Cambodian journalists with those from the region and around the world?

K. Post-Election Political Deadlock

At the post election national conference, a session was dedicated to "Post-election developments;" panelists analyzed the prevailing stalemate and offered recommendations to prevent future recurrences. Panelists represented political parties and civil society.

The deadlock emanated from the constitutional stipulation, introduced after the 1993 elections conducted by UNTAC, which requires a two-thirds majority to constitute a government. The incorporating of this requirement was based on the spirit of national reconciliation, the cessation of hostility, the strengthening of national unity and the preservation of national sovereignty; a government of national reconciliation that would guarantee stability and avoid political polarization. Although FUNCINPEC won a majority in the 2003 elections, the constitutional provision paved the way for a coalition government to be formed between FUNCINPEC and CPP, despite the fact that the CPP was not mandated by voters to be a part of the government.

Prolonged political deadlock followed the 2003 elections, just as it ensued after the 1998 elections. This deadlock was created by the failure of the parties, essential institutions in a democracy, to reach agreement over the vital question of forming a government. This outcome builds from the precedent where losing parties gain political advantage due to their refusal to recognize publicly accepted election results. With no one party to date winning two thirds by itself, and with the likelihood of such an outcome remote under a system of proportional representation, coalition government is inevitable.

Observations:

The panelists made the following observations on the post-election deadlock:

- Political parties blamed each other for the deadlock and highlighted their own efforts to establish a government while criticizing and blaming their opponents;

- Cambodian political parties have demonstrated a lack of willingness to respect election results after successive parliamentary elections in 1993, 1998 and 2003;

- A key lesson for political parties in Cambodia is that they must respect national political institutions and outcome of legitimate elections. Political parties must respect the constitution and the choice of people reflected through elections;

- Heat and hatred generated during the election campaign due to the use of abusive and unethical language among political contenders creates an environment of hostility during the election and thereafter renders politicians incapable of reaching a political understanding to form a government;

- Political parties demonstrated their inability to reach a compromise to uphold the national interests over party or individual interests;

- Deep distrust exists among political parties and leaders;

- Unlike previous deadlocks the one that followed the 2003 parliamentary elections has continued for a very long time, nearly a year after July 27, 2003 election, but it has been a generally peaceful period;

Recommendations:

The following recommendations emerged on the issue of the post-election deadlock:

- The two thirds majority requirement should be retained as the formula promotes national reconciliation;

- Another suggestion was that the two thirds majority is the cause of the political deadlock; the constitution should be amended so that 50 percent plus one of the seats in the National Assembly would be required to form a government;

- The constitution needs to be amended to clearly state what will happen if the national assembly does not meet within 60 days of an election; whether a new assembly can come into being after 60 days (as happened after the 2003 election); do election results remain valid even though the assembly is unable to meet or the new assembly members fail to form a government, or should there be fresh elections?

- The constitution states the King shall be the symbol of national unity (article 8); the King shall have the highest role as arbitrator to ensure the regular functioning of the public powers (article 9). However, the King shall reign but not govern (article 7). The obligations of the King are significant but he does not have any powers. The King has acted as an arbitrator in solving post election deadlocks and produced positive results, but he did not have authority to make judgments.

  The King should be given some power to fulfill his constitutional obligation as the guarantor of national progress and the functioning of public powers;

- Lack of mutual trust and confidence among political parties can be addressed by:

  - Parties must follow established rules and regulations and code of ethics related to elections and must accept the legitimate outcome of elections;
  - Political parties must place national reconciliation high on their agenda;
  - Establish a "package vote" to simultaneously elect the leadership of the National Assembly and give a vote of confidence to the new government. Such a vote would protect the interest of all parties concerned.
  - Another view contradicts this, stating a "package vote" would be a distortion of the constitutional stipulation that the National Assembly must adopt rules of procedures, followed by the election of the Speaker and Deputy Speakers, who in turn nominate a Prime Minister for the King to appoint. The Prime Minister then nominates his cabinet, which is then approved through a vote of confidence in the Assembly.

These are the findings of the conference on the issue of the post election deadlock that has prevented the completion of the election process with the formation and installation of the new government. The election process that began over a year ago finally came to an end after the installation of the new government in Cambodia in July 2004, through the adoption of the “package vote” suggested above.

L. Other Recommendations

Some recommendations emerged from the conference that cannot be categorized under the aforementioned captions but are related to improving elections in Cambodia. They are:

- Public officials, judicial officials and the armed forces must be independent from party influence;

- Nominated village chiefs must be replaced by elected village chiefs, in accordance with laws already in place;

- Special efforts need to be made to ensure the participation of women, youth and other disadvantaged groups. Training should be provided to women and youth in political parties to promote their participation in the political process not only as candidates for elections but also as campaign activists and election monitors;

- Election results reflect the choice of the electors and this choice must be respected by all political parties and candidates. Accepting election results is the first positive and courageous step towards improving future elections;

- The number of parliamentary seats should be increased in proportion to the actual number of eligible voters as indicated in the census.

The conference brought together Cambodian election stakeholders irrespective of party affiliations to review and assess past elections, problems encountered during those elections and to come forward with thought provoking recommendations to remedy the problems that have prevailed in the past. These recommendations will serve as a starting point for researchers and others interested in embarking upon a program of electoral reform in Cambodia.

APPENDICES

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)
Agenda for Post – Election Conference on
Cambodian Elections: Lessons Learned and Futures Directions
HOTEL LE ROYAL
FEBRUARY 11 – 12, 2004
PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

BACKGROUND: A more democratic electoral process in Cambodia can only be achieved if the country addresses fundamental, systemic problems that have led to uneven political playing field. Although the 2003 parliamentary elections in Cambodia were better than any previous elections yet there is room for improvement.

OBJECTIVE: NDI is organizing the two day post election conference in order to assess the 2003 elections to identify shortcomings, best practices and lessons learned; exchange views and insights on Cambodian elections among principal stakeholders; provide broader perspective and views on Cambodian electoral process and offer recommendations for future elections.

EXPECTED OUTCOME: The post election conference produces specific recommendations for improving Cambodia's electoral process.

DAY – ONE:
Wednesday, February 11, 2004

07:30-0800 Registration of participants

08:00-08:05 National Anthem

08:05-09:05 **Opening Session**

1. Welcome Remarks by Mark Wallem
   NDI Senior Resident Director (5 mins)
2. Opening Remarks on the Conference by Ghani (5 mins)
3. Speech on "Democracy and Elections in Cambodia" by H.E. Charles Ray, US Ambassador to Cambodia (15 mins)
4. Keynote address by H.E. Im Sousdy, Chairperson NEC (15 mins)
5. Keynote Address by HRH Prince Norodom Ranariddh, President of the National Assembly (20 mins) – to be represented by HRH Prince Sirivudh

09:05-09:20 Coffee Break

09:20-10:20 Session I: **"Political Parties - Experiences, Issues and Lessons Learned during 2003 parliamentary election"**

[In this session representatives of each of the three main political parties will share their experiences, raise issues and discuss lessons learned by the political parties through participating in the2003 electoral process]

Moderator: Mr. Ok Sereisopheak, Independent Consultant
Panel Speakers:
1. H.E.Ms Pum Sichan, CPP senator and Vice-Chairwoman of Finance and Banking Commission of the Senate (10 mins)
2. H.E.Mr. Nhek Bunchhay, Funcinpec Deputy Secretary-General and Second Deputy President of the Senate – 10 mins
3. H.E.Mr. Meng Rita, Senator from SRP – 10 mins

Open discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

10:20-11:00 Session II: **Presentation on "Political parties in the post election period"**
[In this session the international expert on political party will discuss role of political parties in the post election period by sharing experience of successful political parties in other parts of the world]

Moderator: Tarikul Ghani, Technical Adviser, NDI
Presentation by Dominic Cardy, Program Manager, NDI
Open Discussion, Questions and Answers (30 min)

11:00-12:00 Session III: **"Reviewing the Legal Framework and Enforcement of the election laws during 2003 election – what else needs to be done?"**
[This session will review the legal framework put in place before the 2003 parliamentary election under which the elections were held and also focus on the enforcement of election laws. Finally, the session will discuss what other measures needs to be undertaken (e.g. empowering the National Election Committee) to improve the legal framework and election law enforcement]

Moderator: Dr. TIP Janvibol, Advocate and Solicitor and Former Member, NEC
Panel Speakers:
1. H.E. Mr. Nge Chhay Leang, Member NEC (10 mins)
2. H.E.Mr. Monh Saphan, Chairman of Legal Commission of the National Assembly (10 mins)
3. Mr. Sok Samoeurn, Executive Director of CDP (10 mins)

Open discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

12:00-13.:30 Lunch Break

13:30-15:00 Session IV**: "Regulating Election Campaign Expenses"**

[This session will deal with issue of campaign finances focusing on the need for transparency and accountability of political party financing of election

campaign and have those accessible for public scrutiny with penal provisions for non-compliance and violations]

Moderator: Dr. Hean Sokhom, President, Center for Advanced Studies (CAS)
Panel Speakers:
1. H.E.Mr. Ay Khorn, MP CPP (10 minutes)
2. H.E.Mr. Kong Vibol, Member of Parliament from Funcinpec and Secretary of State of the Ministry of Finance (10 minutes)
3. H.E.Mr. Yim Sovann, Member of Parliament from SRP (10 minutes)
4. Mr. Ny Chakrya, Head of Monitoring Unit, ADHOC (10 minutes)
   Open discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

15:00-15:15 Coffee break

15:15 – 16:30 Sessions V: Presentation on **"Educating Cambodian Voters"**
[One measure of an election's legitimacy is the degree to which the electorate is adequately informed about election issues. This session will look at what works and does not work in the context of educating Cambodian voters.]

Moderator: Ms. Kek Galabru, President, NICFEC Board
Panel Speakers:
1. Dr. Hang Puthea, Executive Director, NICFEC
2. Mr. Mom Soth, Head of Training and Public Information Department, National Election Committee (NEC)
3. Ms. Son Ket Sereyleak, Education Program Coordinator, COMFREL

Open discussion, questions and answers

16:30-17:00 Special session I: **"Future Cambodian Elections: Challenges and Prospects"**
Moderator: Dominic Cardy, NDI Program Manager
Panel Speaker: H.E. Sam Rainsy, President of the Sam Rainsy Party

17:00 Close for the day.

DAY - TWO:
Thursday, February 12, 2004

07:30 – 08:00 Registration

08:00 - 08:15 Review agenda – Ghani

08:15 - 09:30 Session VI: **Monitoring the Cambodian Elections**
[This session will discuss the challenges facing election monitoring in Cambodia and EMO responses to those challenges. EMO and NGO representatives will share their experiences and lessons learned including

reviewing new programs undertaken during the process of observing the 2003 elections]

Moderator: Tarikul Ghani, Technical Advisor, NDI
Panel Speakers:
1. Mr. Jackson Cox, IRI Resident Director (10 mins)
2. Hang Puthea, Executive Director, NICFEC (10 mins)
3. Kim Chhorn, Program Coordinator, COMFREL (10 mins)

Open Discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

09:30 – 09:45 Coffee break

09:45 – 11:00 Session VII: **"Reviewing the complaint process during 2003 elections"**
[The complaints process was strengthened ahead of the 2003 elections to make it more responsive and functional but seem to have failed to fulfill the expectations of many election stakeholders – this session will review how the process worked, assess shortcomings and suggest remedies]

Moderator: Mr. Keo Phalla, Head of Legal Department of NEC
Panel Speakers:
1. H.E.Mr. Son Soubert, Member, Constitutional Council (10 mins)
2. Mr. Yeng Virak, Executive Director, Community Legal Education Center (CLEC) (10 mins)

Open Discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

11:00 – 12:00 Session VIII **"Role of and Access to Domestic Media"**
[This session will discuss the role of and access to domestic media, both private and government owned, in the context of 2003 elections focusing on the pre-campaign and the official campaign period. The session may also discuss international experience and international standards and offer recommendations to improve the situation further]

Moderator: Mr. Sek Barisoth, Advisor to the Media Forum (Association of Cambodian Environmental Journalists)
Panel Speakers:
1. Mr. Leng Sochea, Head of Public Information Department, NEC (10 mins)
2. Mr. Pen Samithy, Head of Cambodian Club for Journalists (10 mins)

Open discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

12:00 - 13:45 Lunch break

13:45 - 15:00 Session IX: **Post Elections Developments**
[This session will look into post election developments including the political impasse that followed the 2003 election, which heightened political discord rather than easing it. Speakers will look into possible ways (including possible amendments to the Cambodian constitution) of averting

future post election deadlocks that inordinately delays the formation of the government in line with the outcome of the election]

Moderator: Mark Wallem, Senior Resident Director, NDI
Panel Speakers:
1. H.E.Ms. Nin Saphon, MP CPP (10 mins)
2. H.E.Mr. Kassie Noeu, Official Spokesperson of Funcinpec (10 mins)
3. H.E.Mr. Ou Bun Long, Senator from SRP (10 mins)
4. Dr. Lao Mong Hay (10 mins)

Open discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

15:00-15:15 Coffee break

15:15-16:30 Plenary Session X: **"Recommendations for improving the overall electoral process in Cambodia"**
[This session will identify the specific recommendations to improve the electoral process and to develop a reform agenda for enhancing the quality of future elections]

Moderator: Tarikul Ghani, NDI Technical Adviser
Panel Speakers:
1. H.R.H Prince Sirivudh, Second Deputy President of Alliance of Democrats (10 mins)
2. H.E.Mr. Pen Panha, MP CPP (10 mins)
3. Koul Panha, Executive Director, Comfrel (10 mins)
4. Mr. Tourt Luch, Deputy Secretary-General of NEC (10 mins)

Open discussion, Questions and Answers (30 minutes)

16:30 - 17:15 Closing Session:

Keynote addresses on **"Future Cambodian Elections – Challenges and Prospects"**

Moderator: Mark Wallem, Senior Resident Director -

1. HE.Mr. Prum Sokha, Secretary of State of the Interior Ministry

Vote of thanks: Mark/ Ghani – 5 mins

List of Participants
Post-Election Conference on Cambodia Elections
February 11, 2004, Le Royal Hotel, Phnom Penh

Nº	Title	First Name	Last Name	Job Title	Organization
Government					
1	H.E.Mr.	Prum	Sokha	Secretary of State	Ministry of Interior
2	H.E.Mr.	Kong	Vibol	Secretary of State	Ministry of Finance and Economics
3	H.E.Mr.	Leng	Loeung	Assistant to the Secretary of State	Ministry of Interior
Constitutional Council					
4	H.E.Mr.	Son	Soubert	Member	Constitutional Council
National Election Committee (NEC)					
5	H.E.Mr.	Im	Sousdey	Chairperson	NEC
6	H.E.Mr.	Nger	Chhay Leang	Vice-Chairperson	NEC
7	Mr.	Leng	Sochea	Head of Information Department	NEC
8	Mr.	Keo	Phalla	Head of Legal Department	NEC
9	Mr.	Sam	Savuth	Chief of Cabinet	NEC
10	Mr.	Tourt	Luch	Deputy Secretary-General	NEC
11	Mr.	Mom	Soth	Head of Training Department	NEC
12	Mr.	Chea	Ser	Media Officer	NEC
13	Mr.	Vann	Sarith	Media staff	NEC
Senators					
14	H.E.Mr.	Nhek	Bunchhay	Second Deputy President	Senate
15	H.E.Mr.	Meng	Rita	Senator	Senate
16	H.E.Mr.	Ou	Bunlong	Senator	Senate
17	H.E.Mr.	Thach	Setha	Senator	Senate
18	H.E.Ms.	Sam	Kanitha	Senator	Senate
19	H.E.Ms.	Mich	Somaly	Senator	Senate
20	H.E.Mr.	Sabu	Bacha	Senator	Senate
21	H.E.Mr.	Chao	Phally	Senator	Senate
22	H.E.Mr.	Khiev	San	Senator	Senate
23	H.E.Ms.	Pum	Sichan	Senator	Senate
24	H.E.Mr.	Kong	Sareach	Senator	Senate
25	Mr.	lay	Polet	Senate staff	Senate
National Assembly					
26	H.E.Ms.	Nin	Saphon	Member	National Assembly
27	H.E.Mr.	Monh	Saphan	Member	National Assembly
28	H.E.Mr.	Pen	Panha	Member	National Assembly
29	H.E.Mr.	Ay	Khorn	Member	National Assembly
30	H.E.Mr.	Yim	Sovann	Member	National Assembly
31	H.E.Mr.	Kuoy	Bunroeun	Member	National Assembly
32	H.E.Mr.	Son	Chhay	Member	National Assembly
33	H.E.Ms.	Som	Kimsour	Member	National Assembly
34	H.E.Ms.	Krouch	SamAn	Member	National Assembly
35	H.E.Mr.	Min	Sean	Member	National Assembly
36	H.E.Mr.	Hou	Sry	Member	National Assembly
37	H.E.Ms.	Khuon	Sodavy	Member	National Assembly
38	H.E.Ms.	Ky	LumAng	Member	National Assembly
Political Parties					
39	H.E.Mr.	Sam	Rainsy	President	Sam Rainsy Party
40	HRH	Norodom	Sirivudh	General Secretary	FUNCINPEC
41	H.E.Mr.	Ly	Thuch	Deputy Secretary-General	FUNCINPEC
42	H.E.Mr.	Ker	Bunkheang	Deputy chief of the cabinet	CPP

43	Mr.	Uk	Kimhan	Member of Steering Committee	CPP
44	Ms.	Noun	Neardey		CPP
45	Mr.	Thoung	Chhin	Deputy head of Communication Department	CPP
46	Mr.	Uk	Phourik	President	Khmer Democratic Party (KDP)
47	Mr.	Teang	Sathik	President	The Rice Party (RP)
48	Mr.	Noeu	Kassie	Official Spokesperson	FUNCINPEC
49	Mr.	Keong	Mao	Member of Steering Committee	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
50	Mr.	Y	Muy Ly	Member of Steering Committee	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
51	Ms.	Kettya	Voleak	Deputy Secretary General	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
52	Mr.	La	Davuth	Member of Steering Committee	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
53	Mr.	Sam	Tin Houn	Member of Steering Committee	The Rice Party
54	Ms	Ping	Say	Member of Steering Committee	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
55	Mr.	Seng	Bol	Member of Steering Committee	FUNCINPEC
56	Mr.	Thing	Chhun	Member of Cabinet	CPP
57	Mr.	Taing	Kuy Hong	Adviser to the Secretary General	FUNCINPEC
58	Mr.	Hing	Yoeurn	Member of Steering Committee	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
59	Mr.	Hor	Meng Heang	Secretary	Khmer Democratic Party (KDP)
60	Mr.	Meas	Onn	Adviser	Khmer Democratic Party (KDP)
61	Mr.	Ty	John	Adviser to the Secretary General	FUNCINPEC
62	Mr.	Taing	Kimseng	Member of Steering Committee	FUNCINPEC
63	Ms.	Khim	Chamroeurn	Member of Steering Committee	FUNCINPEC
64	Mr.	Meng	Rithy	Deputy Secretary General	SCP
65	Mr.	Rem	Bora	Deputy Secretary General	Khmer Democratic Party (KDP)
66	Mr.	Ung	Bun Ang	Official Spokesperson	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
Lawyers					
67	Dr.	Tip	Janvibol	Advocate & Solicitor	Tip &Partner
68	Dr.	Sok	Mathoeurng	Lawyer	
69	Mr.	Nouth	Tito	Lawyer	Bar Association
70	Mr.	Seng	Sok Khim	Lawyer	CDP
Media					
71	Mr.	Ky	Sok Lim	Reporter	Cambodge Sor
72	Ms.	Hour	Chanthou	Reporter	FM 102
73	Mr.	Sok	Serey	Report	Radio Free Asia (RFA)
74	Mr.	Ty	Uoy Hong	Reporter	Kos Santepheap News
75	Ms.	Way	Vuthey	Reporter	Kampuchea Thmey News
76	Mr.	Un	Rithy	Reporter	Media Center
77	Mr.	Sok	Hang	Journalist	Sin Chua Daily
78	Mr.	Vin	Chhay	Reporter	Radio FM96
79	Mr.	Tith	Sothea	News Correspondent	Voice of America (VOA)
80	Mr.	Ek	Madra	Reporter	Reuters
81	Mr.	San	Samon	Reporter	Sin Chua Daily
82	Mr.	Chrek	Rann	Reporter	TV9
83	Mr.	Vong	Sokheng	Reporter	Phnom Penh Post
84	Mr.	Nou	Samphors	Reporter	CTN TV
85	Mr.	Luke	Reynolds	Reporter	Cambodia Daily
86	Mr.	Born	Pisith	Reporter	Democrat News
87	Mr.	Meth	Sophal	Reporter	TVK
88	Ms.	So	Kadeth	Reporter	CMFF
89	Ms.	Sok	Mary	News writer	Phnom Penh Post
90	Ms.	Mam	Sinan	News Editor	Phnom Penh Press News
91	Mr.	Sas	Sarin	Reporter	CCC

92	Mr.	Nem	Sambo	Reporter	TVK
93	Mr.	Ding	Yong	Editor	Sin Chua Daily
94	Mr.	Yin	Soeurn	Reporter	CCHR
95	Mr.	Meas	Rithy	Reporter	Chinese News
96	Mr.	Ngoun	Sovann	Reporter	Business News
97	Mr.	Suos	Sambath	Reporter	AKP
98	Mr.	Chhuon	Sophal	Reporter	Nokorreach News
99	Mr.	Pen	Samithy	Editor in Chief	Koh Santepheap News
100	Mr.	Kong	Sothanarith	Journalist	RFA
National Non-Governmental Organizations (National NGOs)					
101	Mr.	Kol	Panha	Executive Director	COMFREL
102	Dr	Hang	Puthea	Executive Director	NICFEC
103	Dr	Hean	Sokhom	President	Center for Advance Study (CAS)
104	Mr.	Yeng	Virak	Executive Director	CLEC
105	Ms.	Kek	Galabru	President	LICADHO
106	Mr.	Sok	SamOeurn	President	CDP
107	Ms.	Hourt	Ratanak	Executive Director	Open Forum
108	Mr.	Heng	Kim Seng	Acting Director	KHRACO
109	Ms.	Nay	Dina	Executive Director	KID
110	Mr.	Neb	Sinthay	Executive Director	WGWR
111	Mr.	Yong	Kim Eng	President	KYA
112	Mr.	Mom	Sarin	President	KKKHRA
113	Mr.	Som	Vicheth	Executive Director	VNA-Cambodia
114	Mr.	Ok	Sereisopheak	Consultant	Independent Consultant
115	Mr.	Sek	Barisoth	Media Director	Open Forum
116	Dr.	Lao	Mong Hay	Legal Program Manager	CSD
117	Mr.	Kim	Chhorn	Program Coordinator	COMFREL
118	Ms.	Son	Ketsereyleak	Program Coordinator	COMFREL
119	Mr.	Sek	Sophorn	Legal Officer	CLEC
120	Mr.	Lay	Sovathara	Program Officer	CLEC
121	Mr.	Yorb	Meta	Program Coordinator	Star Kampuchea
122	Ms.	Prok	Vanny	Training Coordinator	ACT
123	Ms.	Chhim	Maravy	Program Coordinator	Open Forum
124	Mr.	Thach	Chhuon Yat	Monitoring Officer	KKKHRA
125	Ms.	Tiv	Sarayeth	Coordinator	WMC
126	Mr.	Kean	Ponlork	Administrative Officer	NICFEC
127	Mr.	Kit	Touch	Legal Officer	CLEC
128	Mr.	Heang	Path	Consultant	Independent Consultant
129	Mr.	Ny	Chakrya	Chief of Monitoring Unit	ADHOC
NDI's NGO partners					
130	Ms.	Yos	Thy	Executive Director	KWWA
131	Mr.	Yoeurn	Youert	Executive Director	Buddhism and Democracy
132	Mr.	Yin	Ketomarak	Executive Director	CDW
133	Mr.	Chhoeng	Sovuthy	Executive Director	Vuddhanak
134	Mr.	Pen	Sy	Provincial Coordinator	HRVC
135	Mr.	Leav	Roeurn	Executive Director	Hi-Free
136	Mr.	Savun	SamOl	Executive Director	NAS
137	Ms.	Leng	Sothea	Executive Director	CDRCT
138	Ms.	Aing	Chamroeurn	Executive Director	NAPA
139	Mr.	Men	Vandy	Program Officer	CEPA
140	Mr.	Var	Bunny	Executive Director	RADE
141	Mr.	Hour	Savuth	Provincial Coordinator	NICFEC
142	Ms.	Hak	Sopheakry	Provincial Coordinator	NICFEC

143	Mr.	Sok	Sophal	Provincial Coordinator	HRVG
Embassies					
144	H.E.Mr.	Charles	Ray	Ambassador	US Embassy
145	H.E.Ms.	Stephanie	Beck	Ambassador	Canadian Embassy
146	H.E.Mr.	Verghese	Mathews	Ambassador	Singaporean Embassy
147	Mr.	Mark	Storella	Deputy Chief of Mission	US Embassy
148	Mr.	Kim	Vanny		Japanese Embassy
149	Ms.	Khak	Chenda	Political Assistant	US Embassy
International NGOs					
150	Mr.	Jackson	Cox	Resident Director	IRI
151	Mr.	Fleur	Davies	First Secretary	AUSAID
152	Mr.	Rath	Sophoan	Project Specialist	USAID
153	Ms.	Aissata	De	Program Officer	UNDP
154	Mr.	Ira	Ruchert	Program Officer	KAF
155	Ms.	Oum	Syvan	Assistant Director	KAF
156	Mr.	Michael	Barton	Governance Adviser	CIDA
157	Ms.	Louise	Wahlstrom	Program Officer	Forum Syd
158	Mr.	Bradley	Cox	Film-maker	USAID
159	Mr.	Soun	Sophalnay	USAID	Reporter
160	Ms.	Nancy	Hopkins	Country Representative	The Asia Foundation
161	Mr.	Khut	Inserey	Program Officer	The Asia Foundation
162	Mr.	Mov	Bunleng	Project Director	CIDA
163	Mr.	Sandra	Hudd	Senior program Officer	AUSAID
NDI staff					
164	Mr.	Mark	Wallem	Senior Resident Director	NDI-Cambodia
165	Mr.	Tarikul	Ghani	Technical Adviser	NDI-Cambodia
166	Mr.	Channtha	Muth	Senior Program Manager	NDI-Cambodia
167	Mr.	Dominic	Cardy	Program Manger	NDI-Cambodia
168	Mr.	Preap	Kol	Senior Program Officer	NDI-Cambodia
169	Mr.	Lee	Sothearayuth	Program Officer	NDI-Cambodia
170	Mr.	Poeng	SamOeurn	Program Officer	NDI-Cambodia
171	Mr.	Un	Oeurn	Program Assistant	NDI-Cambodia
172	Mr.	Kit	Monorom	Field Coordinator	NDI-Cambodia
173	Mr.	Prum	Sophal	Field Coordinator	NDI-Cambodia
174	Ms.	Taing	Soklay	Field Coordinator	NDI-Cambodia
175	Ms.	Yim	Sokunmealea	Field Coordinator	NDI-Cambodia
176	Ms.	Ath	Sovannara	Administrative Assistant	NDI-Cambodia
177	Ms.	Kong	Chanthavy	Intern	NDI-Cambodia

List of Speakers and Moderators
Post-Election Conference on Cambodia Elections
February 11, 2004, Le Royal Hotel, Phnom Penh

Nº	Title	First Name	Last Name	Job Title	Organization
Opening Session					
1	Mr.	Mark	Wallem	Senior Resident Director	NDI
2	Mr.	Tarikul	Ghani	Technical Adviser	NDI
3	H.E.Mr.	Charles	Ray	Ambassador	US Embassy-Cambodia
4	H.E.Mr.	Im	Sousdey	Chairperson	National Election Committee
5	HRH	Norodom	Sirivudh	General-Secretary	FUNCINPEC
Special Session Speaker					
6	H.E.Mr.	Sam	Rainsy	President	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
Closing Session					
7	H.E.Mr.	Prum	Sokha	Secretary of State	Interior Ministry
Panel Speakers					
8	H.E.Mr.	Nhek	Bunchhay	Second deputy president	Senate
9	H.E.Mr.	Nge	Chhay Leang	Vice-president	National Election Committee (NEC)
10	H.E.Mr.	Kong	Vibol	Secretary of State	Ministry of Finance and Economics
11	H.E.Mr.	Meng	Rita	Senator	Senate
12	H.E.Mr.	Ou	Bunlong	Senator	Senate
13	H.E.Mr.	Monh	Saphan	Member of Parliament	National Assembly
14	H.E.Mr.	Yim	Sovann	Member of Parliament	National Assembly
15	H.E.Mr.	Ay	Khorn	Member of Parliament	National Assembly
16	H.E.Mr.	Son	Soubert	Member	Constitutional Council
17	H.E.Ms.	Nin	Saphon	Member of Parliament	National Assembly
18	H.E.Ms.	Pum	Sichan	Senator	Senate
19	H.E.Mr.	Pen	Panha	Member of Parliament	National Assembly
20	H.E.Mr.	Noeu	Kassie	Official Spokesperson	FUNCINPEC
21	Dr.	Lao	Mong Hay	Legal Program Manager	CSD
22	Dr.	Hang	Puthea	Executive Director	NICFEC
23	Mr.	Sok	SamOeurn	President	CDP
24	Mr.	Kol	Panha	Executive Director	COMFREL
25	Mr.	Tout	Luch	Deputy Secretary General	National Election Committee
26	Mr.	Leng	Sochea	Head of Information Department	National Election Committee
27	Mr.	Pen	Samithy	Head of Cambodian Club for Journalists	Cambodian Club for Journalists
28	Mr.	Yeng	Virak	Executive Director	CLEC
29	Mr.	Ny	Chakrya	Head of Monitoring Unit	ADHOC
30	Ms.	Son	Ketsereileak	Program Coordinator	COMFREL
31	Mr.	Kim	Chhorn	Program Coordinator	COMFREL
32	Mr.	Jackson	Cox	Resident Director	IRI
33	Mr.	Mom	Soth	Head of Training and Public Information Department	National Election Committee
34	Mr.	Dominic	Cardy	Program Manager	NDI
Moderators					
35	Dr.	Tip	Janvibol	Lawyer and former member of the National Election Committee	Tip & Partners Company
36	Dr.	Hean	Sokhom	President	Center for Advanced Studies (CAS)
37	Ms.	Kek	Galabru	President	NICFEC Board
38	Mr.	Keo	Phalla	Head of Legal Department	NEC
39	Mr.	Sek	Barisoth	Media Director	Open Forum-Cambodia
40	Mr.	Ok	Sereisopheak	Independent Consultant	Independent Consultant