

5. 内務省及び選挙監視 NGO・国際長期選挙監視団による報告書（大使館より配布）

別添 3

内務省及び選挙監視 NGO・国際長期選挙監視団による報告書

1. 内務省報告書（政治的活動家の殺害及び殺害未遂事件）
2. ロイプレヒト人権担当国連事務総長特別代表報告書
3. N I C F E C (Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Election in Cambodia : 選挙監視 NGO) による報告書
4. A N F R E L (Asian Network for Free Election : 国際選挙監視 NGO) 声明
5. N D I (National Democratic Institute) 声明
6. 米国支援長期監視団報告書
7. アジア・ファンデーション民主主義調査報告書
8. H u m a n   R i g h t s   W a t c h 声明

**List of murder cases  
from June 26 to July 01, 2003**

No	Place of incident			Date of incident	Kind of offense	Victim/ Political party				Results of investigation
	Village	Commune	District			Name	Sex	Age	Composition	
<b>I- Svay Rieng: 1 case</b>										
1	Thom	Thnout	Kampong Ror	30-06-03	Murder	Long Man	F	30	CPP	Offenders arrested
<b>II- Kratie: 2 cases</b>										
2	Chroy Sneng Krabei	Kampong Kor	Prey Prasap	26-06-03	Murder	Ly Touch	M	23	CPP	offender is his wife arrested to court
3	Rovieng	Sre Ches	Sambo	30-06-03	Murder (gun down)	Rin Mao	M	42	CPP	Being investigated
<b>III- Kampong Thom: 1 case</b>										
4	Kraya North	Kraya	Prasat Paleang	28-06-03	Muder	Pring Nuon	M	50	Funcinpec	Being investigated
<b>IV- Takeo: 1 case</b>										
5	Plov Lork	Trapeang Kranhuong	Tramkok	28-06-03	Muder (gun down)	Prum Sam Ath Prum Sam Ang	M  M	37  35	CPP	1 offender arrested 5 in pursue
<b>V- Kampong Cham: 1 case</b>										
6	East of Bet Thnou	O'Mlou	Stung Trang	27-06-03	Murder	Pheap	F	43	CPP	Being investigated
<b>VI- Siem Reap: 1 case</b>										
7	Father-in-law chops down his son-in-law (2 <sup>nd</sup> week of July)									offender arrested

VII- Kamong Speu: 1 case		
8	Son beats his father by stick (2 <sup>nd</sup> week of July)	offender arrested

**Note:**

- Murder case: 8 cases
- CPP : 6 cases (6 killed)
- SRP : 1 case (1 killed)
- Funcinpec : 1 case (2 killed)

**List of offenses, incidents related to allegations of threat,  
intimidation and political murder during the 3<sup>rd</sup> mandate  
national election, July 27, 2003, first semester of 2003  
From January 01 to June 30, 2003**

**1- Murder case: 29 cases**

No	Place of Incident			Date of Incident	Kind of Offense	Victim/Political Party				Results of investigation
	Village	Commune	District			Name	Sex	Age	Composition	
Kompong Thom province: 2 cases										
1	Boeung Trav- Veal Krom	Chong Daung	Baray	29-01-03- 24:20	Murder (Tie and gun down)	1-Mak Soy 2- Say Than	M M	51 39	Fun member CPP member	Individual revenge Being investigated
2	Kraya North	Kraya	Prasat Paleang	28-06-03 20:30	Murder (gun down while sleeping)	Pring Norn	M	50	Funcinpec member	Being investigated
Kampong Cham: 11 cases										
3	Samrong	Kroch	Prey Chhor	14-01-03 02:30	Murder Gun down - burn house and rice storage	Sok Chan	F	39	Funcinpec member	5 offenders arrested by court warrant
4	No-6	Prek Tanong	Koh Sotin	26-02-03 24:00	Murder (chop down)	Leng Sambo called Nong	M	22	SRP activist	Dispute in a dancing 2 people are pursued
5	Bet Tnou	O'Mlou	Stung Trang	16-03-03 10:00	Murder (found corpse)	Chan Hean	M	16	CPP member	Being investigated
6	Sre Kandal	Kampoan	Memouth	20-03-03 21:00	Murder	Sun La	M	42	CPP member	offender Seang Choy arrested
7	Angkor Ban 3	Angkor Ban	Kang Meas	25-03-03 14:00	Murder	Sok Chanthol	M	38	wife of offender (husband Fun member)	Offender Ly Pho escapes
8	- Boeung Kang - Romdeng East	-Preah Theat -Pong Ror	O'Reang Ov & Koh Sotin	30-03-03 18:05	Murder	Hay Srean	M	55	CPP observer	Being investigated
9	Sandek	Sampong Chey	Choeung Prey	13-04-03 01:00	Murder (gun down)	Tuon Veasna	M	31	CPP member	individual revenge 2 offenders identified
10	Prek Chang Kran	Lve	Koh Sotin	16-04-03 22:30	Murder Beat by stict	Im Lim died in hospital	M	38	Chief of SRP in Prek Ta Ke commune	offender Pros called Mao escapes
11	Tuol Tunsorng	Ampil Tapork	O'Reang Ov	03-06-03 24:00	Murder (chop 4 axes)	Pol Vin	M	23	SRP member	offender Sok San arrested
12	Slab Kdorng	Chup	Tbaung Khum	21-06-03 07:00	Murder found corpse	Chhay Ly called Ek Sopheak	M	30	CPP member	suspects identified request arrest warrant
13	Bet Thnou	O'Mlou	Stung Trang	27-06-03 12:00	Murder found corpse	Pheap	F	43	CPP member	Being investigated

**Svay Rieng: 3 cases**

14	Veal Tnout	Tras	Romeas Hek	19-03-03 01:30	Murder	Chen Chhon	M	41	CPP member	suspect identified 1- Min My 2- Chhan Chhon
15	Popoul	Svay Chek	Romduol	06-06-03 23:00	Murder (gun down 5 bullets)	Sam Saran	M	46	CPP member	Being investigated
16	Thom	Thnout	Kampong Ror	30-06-03 22:30	Murder stab by knife	Hem Kunthea called Long Man	F	31	CPP member	Being investigated

**Kampong Speu: 1 case**

17	Tuol Pring	Pich Mony	Kong Pise	25-03-03 02:40	Murder	In Koch	M	54	CPP member	Being investigated
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**Battambang: 1 case**

18	Ampil	Mean Chey	Samlot	11-01-03 12:00	Murder found corpse	Loy Koeun	M	39	SRP activist	Victim not SRP Being investigated
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**Phnom Penh: 1 case**

19	In front of Doeum0Mien restaurant	Tonle Basac	Chamcar mon	18-02-03 12:45	Robbery gun down	Om Radsady	M		Advisor to Funcinpec President	2 offenders arrested 1- Mom Sophan 2- Ros Siphon
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**Siem Reap: 1 case**

20		Knang Phnom	Svay Leu	10-02-03 10:30	Motorbike Robbery beat by stick	Lach Thorm	M	63	CPP	offender Tak Sambo 23, arrested
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**Kampot: 1 case**

21	Prey Leu	BanTeay Meas West	Banteay Meas	19-02-03 21:45	Murder gun down a home	Kim Khunly calle Bo	M	32	CPP	Victim is CPP not Funcinpec- Being investigated
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**Pursat: 3 cases**

22	Anlong Hap	Koh Chum	Sampov Meas	27-02-03 16:00	Murder stab husband	Seth Phoeun	M	33	Funcinpec member	Family dispute offender Thea Ran arrested
23	Prahal	Talo	Bakan	12-06-03 22:00	Murder (throw a grenade in the house)	Cheng Saroeun Roeun Theara Chun Sem- wounded	M F F	41 08 33	CPP activist  daughter wife	individual revenge  Being investigated
24	No 4	Kampong Luong	Krakor	21-06-03 21:50	Murder fire 3 bullets to the victim	Em Phalla Nheb Peov (seriously wounded)	M M		CPP member	offender Khim Heng called To escapes

Kandal: 1 case											
25	Tuol Ampil	Ponhea Leu	Ponhea Leu	10-05-03 19:00	Murder (domestic violence)	Em Sothearith Beat by his wife	M	30	CPP member	Wife Mao Rom arrested to court	
Prey Veng: 1 case											
26	Tnal Keng	Pean Rong	Mesang	25-06-03 20:30	Murder (gun down)	- Te Dom - Nong Nuon	M F	67	CPP member victim's wife	Being investigated	
Kratie: 2 cases											
27	Chroy Sneng Krabei	Kampong Kor	Prek Prasap	26-06-03 06:20	Murder stab husband	Ly Touch	M	23	CPP member	Touch Rin (wife) arrested	
28	Rovieng	Sre Ches	Sambo	30-06-03 19:00	Murder (gun down)	Rin Mao	M	42	CPP member	Sorcery revenge Being investigated	
Takeo: 1 case											
29	Plov Lork	Trapeang Kranhuong	Tram Kok	28-06-03	Murder (gun down)	Prum Sam Ath Prum Sam An	M M	37 35	CPP member	Being investigated	
Phnom Penh, June 30, 2003											
1- Murder 29 cases (robbery 4 cases) - CPP 19 cases - Funcinpec 6 cases - SRP 5 cases * 01 case in Baray district 2 victims killed (1 Funcinpec, 1 CPP) - cracked down 8 cases (13 offenders arrested) - identify& request arrest warrant 7 cases (10 suspects) - Being investigated 14 cases											

<b>2- Mureder attempt: 24 cases</b>										
<b>Kampong Thom: 1 case</b>										
1	Chivapheap	Andaung Poe	Baray	30-01-03 01:20	Murder attempt	Suon San (seriously injured)	M	38	CPP member	1 suspect arrested to court on Jan 31-03
<b>Kampong Cham: 9 cases</b>										
2	Tuol Bakoam	Chrey Vion	Prey Chhor	14-02-03 22:30	Murder attempt (fire in a wedding)	Pou Tong (seriously wounded)	M	52	SRP activist	offender Ngeth Saran arrested on Feb 27-03 individual revenge
3	Sralaung	Chak	O'Reang Ov	01-03-03 20:00	Murder attempt	Thol Thea not wounded	M	29	CPP member	Being investigated
4	Chup Krao	Chup	Tbaung Khum	17-03-03 00:10	Murder attempt	Moeung Moeun (seriously wounded)	M	24	CPP member	Being investigated
5	Kanleng Run	Reay Pay	Kang Meas	25-03-03 19:00	Murder attempt	Chan Sim (seriously wounded)	M	42	Funcinpec member	offender Hol Heang escapes
6	Kork Sralao	Chong Cheay	Dambe	02-05-03 19:00	Murder attempt ( fire 2 bullets)	Yem Maneth (wounded)	M	36	CPP member	wife injured daughter killed being investigated
7	Knor	Neang Toeut	Dambe	03-05-03 02:45	Murder attempt (fire 1 bullet)	Uong Mao (wounded)	M	28	CPP activist	offender Chem Chak 19 arrested on May 04-03
8	Svay Leu	Savy Sach Phnom	Srey Santhor	05-05-03 21:10	Murder attempt ( throw 2 grenades )	Heng Rithy (wounded)	M	37	CPP activist	a 9 year son injured identify 2 suspects
9	O'Popel	Kchao	Kang Meas	16-05-03 20:10	Murder attempt ( fire to the victims)	Ty Aun (seriously wounded) Horn Han (seriously wounded)	M M	57 27	CPP member	Being investigated
10	Daung Te	Tuol Preah Kleang	Stung Trang	06-06-03 14:30	Murder attempt (chop by a knife)	Heang Sao (seriously wounded)	F	34	CPP member	offender Lay Long 18 arrested immediately
<b>Svay Rieng: 1 case</b>										
11	Prey Stieng	Svay Ta Yean	Kampong Ror	08-03-03 14:30	Murder attempt	Heang Sao (seriously wounded)	M		SRP activist	drunk, fall down in a hole
<b>Ratanakiri: 1 case</b>										
12	Kalong	Lbeang I	Lumphat	21-03-03 23:00	Murder attempt	Pev Huy (seriously wounded)	M	40	Funcinpec 2 <sup>nd</sup> deputy commune chief	offender Phay Kalin arrested

Prey Veng: 4 cases										
13	Angkal	Theay	Baphnom	11-04-03 24:00	Murder attempt	Kong San (wounded on left hand)	M	49	CPP activist	Being investigated
14	Kraing Chambak	Pean Reang	Prey Veng	20-05-03 08:00	Murder attempt (fire 3 bullets at 5 victims)	Var Van (not wounded) Yos Yi (killed)	M M	57 46	CPP member CPP member	Being investigated
15	Svay Andaung	Chiphoch	Mesang	29-06-03 20:30	Murder attempt ( throw grenade under the victim house)	Khoy Khuon (not wounded) Chap Sal (wounded) Khuon Sokhai (wounded) Khuon Sokha (wounded)	M M M F	36 17 15 12	CPP member nephew son daughter	Being investigated
16	Svay Teap	Ampil Krau	Sithor Kandal	30-06-03 02:40	Murder attempt (throw grenade into the house)	Yong Socung (not wounded)	M	64	CPP member	Being investigated
Phnom Penh: 1 case										
17		Tuol Sangke	Russey Keo	06-04-03 22:00	Murder attempt	Kim Seiha (not wounded)	M	22	son of Kim Huor member of SRP commune council	offender Pin Kim Srun escapes
Battambang: 1 case										
18	- Bansay Treng -Spean	Bansay Treng	Thmar Korl	26-02-03 22:00	Murder attempt ( arrest & torture)	Nhi Kakda	M		SRP activist	offender team led Ros Chovoan, Thmar Korl student 2 suspects indentified
Kampot: 2 cases										
19	Ta Kvay	Svay Tong South	Kampong Trach	21-02-03 20:20	Murder attempt (throw grenade into the victim house)	Chan Noeung (seriously wounded)	M	53	SRP activist	offender Peang Nim 48 SRP member arrested and send to court
20	Kandanh	Banteay Meas West	Banteay Meas	24-02-03 20:30	Murder attempt (fire 4 bullets to the victim)	Kim Nun (not wounded)	F	50	Godmother of the late Kim Khunly called Bo CPP	Being investigated
Pursat: 3 cases										
21	Kamreng	Savy Sar	Krakor	13-02-03 13:45	Murder attempt (fire by AK rifle)	Sun Sien (seriously wounded)	M	36	Funcinpec activist	revenge by jealous offender Prieng Thoeung escapes
22	Andaung	Snam Preah	Bakan	15-06-03	Murder attempt	Veth Sarim	M	61	CPP member	Being investigated



	Sambo			00:20	(fire to the victim)	(slightly wounded)				
23	Kla Krapeu	Anlong Tnout	Krakor	24-06-03 03:10	Murder attempt (fire 4 bullets to the victim house)	Nou Sovannara	M		SRP member	Being investigated
<b>Banteay Mean Chey: 1 case</b>										
24	Sila Khmer	O'Bei Choan	O'Chrov	07-06-03 13:30	Murder attempt (hold a knife to chop the victim)	Keat Kin (not wounded)	M	45	SRP member 2 <sup>nd</sup> deputy chief of O'Bei Choan commune	offender Som Sampornng . 40 arrested

Phnom Penh, June 30, 2003

#### Murder attempt: 24 cases

- CPP 14 cases
- Funcinpec 3 cases
- SRP 7 cases
- cracked down 7 cases (7 offenders arrested)
- identify and request arrest warrant 5 cases (7 suspects)
- Being investigated 12 cases (1 case is an allegation)



Special Representative of the Secretary-General  
for Human Rights in Cambodia

តំណាងពិសេសរបស់លោកអគ្គលេខាធិការទទួលបន្ទុកសិទ្ធិមនុស្សប្រចាំកម្ពុជា



## The 2003 National Assembly Elections

This is the first of two reports that will be issued by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for human rights in Cambodia on the 2003 National Assembly elections. A second report will be published after the electoral process is complete.

These elections must be viewed through a historical perspective, as a test of whether Cambodia is progressing towards becoming a pluralist democracy based on the rule of law and respect for human rights.

This first report addresses several concerns in connection with the forthcoming elections, many of which the Special Representative has previously raised in his reports on the Commune Council elections in February 2002 and, more recently, to the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights. These include murders of political party activists and the need for lawful investigations and prosecutions of those responsible; the involvement of local authorities, police, military and other state actors in the intimidation of party activists and voters; the failure to uphold the neutrality of state institutions; and the need for equitable access to the media by political parties. The Special Representative has also raised these concerns directly in meetings with senior ministers of the Royal Government of Cambodia, the National Election Committee, leaders of political parties, and others who have a stake in Cambodia's elections.

The purpose of this report is to provide the Government, the NEC and the public with information on issues affecting the right of Cambodians to vote in genuine elections that guarantee the free expression of their will. While progress has been made in improving the environment in which the 2003 elections are being held, there remain significant obstacles to establishing a level playing field for all political parties, a transparent electoral process and a political climate that is free from violence and intimidation. The Special Representative calls on all participants in these elections to help overcome these obstacles in order to move Cambodia a step closer to becoming a genuine multi-party democracy.

## The 2003 National Assembly elections: a pre-election report

The forthcoming National Assembly elections – the fourth elections held since the 1991 Paris Agreements – represent an important step in the efforts of Cambodia and its people to establish a multi-party democracy, as provided for in the nation's Constitution<sup>1</sup>. Both the current Special Representative and his predecessor have reported high levels of violence and intimidation as accompanying earlier elections in Cambodia. Yet, the 2002 commune elections marked significant progress when compared to the national elections held in 1998 and 1993, with a decrease in the overall level of violence and the results being accepted without serious conflict. It is hoped that this positive trend will continue.

### Electoral reforms and security issues

The Special Representative noted in his report to the 57<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly that the National Election Committee “appears to have played a positive role in assuring generally good technical standards during the 1998 and 2002 polls, but it needs to strengthen its position as a credible, transparent and independent institution”<sup>2</sup>. While he notes that the current NEC is a more professional institution than its predecessor, he sees the selection process for NEC members, which continues to restrict nominations to those made by the Ministry of Interior, as representing a missed opportunity to build greater confidence in the integrity of this institution.

The Special Representative welcomes the consultative process that the NEC has followed in drafting the Regulations and Procedures for the Conduct of the Election. He notes several cases where comments from political parties and civil society organisations have been reflected in the adopted Regulations. The Cambodia office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights also raised concerns about several draft Regulations, in particular articles that carried the potential for restrictions of the rights to freedom of expression, assembly and participation in public affairs. The Office provided suggestions for amendments to these Regulations, some of which the NEC subsequently adopted.

The Special Representative also welcomes initiatives that the NEC has taken in co-operation with the Ministry of Interior to improve security during this election period. These include a seminar organised by the Ministry on 4 June to train 700 high-ranking police, gendarmerie, and army personnel on election planning, and the joint NEC-MoI directive issued on May 27 to Provincial Governors and Provincial Election Commissions to meet regularly with political party representatives, NGOs, and local law enforcement officials to discuss election-related issues. This directive, however, also raises concerns in requiring that local authorities be provided with advance notification of private political meetings and the erection of party signs on private property. No justification has been provided for this unwarranted level of surveillance.

In his final report on the 2002 commune elections, the Special Representative noted the failure of the NEC to exercise its powers of sanction in any case of electoral irregularity

<sup>1</sup> Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, 1993.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations General Assembly, *Situation of human rights in Cambodia*, Report of 27 September 2002, A/57/230.

or other breaches of the electoral law, including voter intimidation and coercion. There are still no cases, relating either to the 2002 elections or the current pre-election period, where these penalties have been imposed. Reports have been received of "reconciliation meetings" held by Provincial Election Commissions in a number of cases. Such meetings are not, however, an adequate substitute for the processes provided in law, and complainants are often not satisfied with their outcomes.

### Investigation and prosecution of election-related murders and suspicious deaths

The Special Representative notes progress in the willingness of law enforcement officials to investigate 17 murders and suspicious deaths documented by the Cambodia office prior to the 2002 commune elections, all of persons connected to the electoral process. He is aware of convictions in 10 of these cases, but remains concerned about serious flaws in the judicial process of some of the prosecutions, and recommends that these cases be reviewed. The Special Representative also urges the police, prosecution and courts to show continued commitment to solve the remaining cases from the 2002 elections and those that have occurred since. The problem of impunity continues to adversely affect the ability of Cambodians to engage in political and public life without fear, and whatever the true motivation for these killings, their damaging impact on the general political climate should not be underestimated.

In the period since the end of the commune elections on 3 February 2002 until the beginning of the election campaign period on 26 June 2003, the Cambodia office has recorded a further 12 cases where known activists from the three major political parties have been killed. One case involved a double murder of both an activist and his daughter, bringing the total number of deaths to 13.

The Special Representative remains concerned by the continuing tendency of Cambodian law enforcement and government officials to publicly declare such cases as being non-political before investigations have been concluded. He is, however, encouraged by the more considered approach displayed by the Deputy Chief of National Police in a recent meeting with him, and hopes that it will be reflected in public statements made by the authorities in the future.

The Special Representative notes in particular the investigation into the murder of Om Radsady, a senior advisor to the FUNCINPEC Party. Within hours of the incident, the Ministry of Interior publicly stated that theft was the motive behind the attack, thereby pre-judging the outcome of its own investigation. The reluctance on the part of investigating authorities to probe political motives in this killing has damaged the credibility of the investigation and the Ministry's commitment to neutrality.

### Restrictions on freedoms of expression and assembly

Political party activists have a constitutionally protected right to openly and directly criticise the government and its policies, as do all Cambodian citizens. The Special Representative wishes to emphasise that there is no law that prohibits political campaigning or information sharing programmes undertaken by political parties outside the official election period. Dissemination of information by any person, political party, or organisation at any time, regardless of campaign timetables, is not only a constitutional right, but also a prerequisite for a well-informed electorate.

The Special Representative is concerned at the perception among many state actors and institutions that criticism of the Government may amount to criminal incitement, and that political party information cannot be disseminated outside the official election campaign period.

During the voter registration period in January-February 2003, ten cases of brief but illegal arrest and/or detention of opposition activists by local authorities were brought to the attention of the NEC by the Cambodia office. Investigation reports provided by the Ministry of Interior and NEC demonstrated no lawful grounds for the arrests, which took place while the activists were disseminating party information critical of the Government and conducting other legitimate political activities. To date, however, no action appears to have been taken against those responsible.

The Special Representative is also troubled by the restrictions that have been placed upon freedom of assembly in the wake of the rioting in Phnom Penh on 29 January 2003. The violence and destruction that took place during those events were deplorable. However, they do not constitute a valid justification for the subsequent refusal by authorities to authorise a range of planned demonstrations, parades, marches and meetings in both Phnom Penh and provincial Cambodia. A number of gatherings ~~were not authorised on public order or national security grounds~~, the details of which were not provided by the authorities. They include ~~a demonstration planned by the~~ Student Movement for Democracy on March 20, an NGO voter education drama project planned for several northern provinces in April, a planned march by representatives of women's organisations and victims of domestic violence to the National Assembly on May 26 and a parade to celebrate World Environment Day on June 5.

~~In the cases where demonstrations have taken place without authorisation~~, the Special Representative is concerned at the excessive use of force by the authorities. ~~Sam-~~ Rainsy Party members who marched to the National Assembly on May 21 were forcibly dispersed by riot police, with some minor injuries resulting. More serious still was the response to a demonstration at a garment factory on June 13, which resulted in the deaths of one factory worker and one police officer, and at least 20 other injuries.

The limits set on freedom of assembly and the violent dispersal of unauthorised demonstrations are of particular concern in a pre-election period. The Special Representative recognises the tensions between ensuring the rights to freedom of expression and assembly and preserving public order, but believes that the restriction of these rights constitutes a serious threat to the credibility of not only the elections, but also the wider democratic process in Cambodia. The Special Representative calls upon the Government to guarantee these constitutionally protected rights, especially the right to "non-violent demonstration", and asks that any restrictions of these rights be limited to those that are necessary in a democratic society and are proportional and narrowly tailored to meet the desired objective, in this case preserving public order.

## Voter intimidation and coercion

The Government recently released a statement<sup>3</sup> indicating that the security forces and authorities at all levels must act with independence and neutrality in their duties, "in order to ensure a political atmosphere of peace, security and safety" and guarantee the human rights of citizens. The Special Representative finds it regrettable that this statement is not always respected. Monitoring teams from the Cambodia office, which have visited each of Cambodia's provinces and municipalities since the start of May 2003, have reported numerous cases of harassment, threats, and intimidation by local officials directed primarily against the political opposition. This reflects the patterns observed by similar teams during the 2002 commune elections, as well as ongoing reports documented by the Cambodia office's Protection and Policy Development Team.

Reports of voter intimidation have been received from all areas of the country, with particular concentrations in the provinces of Kampong Cham, Siem Reap, Kampot, Svay Rieng, Takeo, Oddar Meanchey, Banteay Meanchey and Kampong Thom. The most common reports involve confiscation of voter registration cards or other ID documents by local officials, assembling voters to thumbprint support for one party, ~~and allegiance-swearing ceremonies typically requiring the consumption of "oath water"~~.

Intimidation has also taken the form of physical threats, shots fired in the air, and party signboard removal and destruction. In some cases, local officials have delivered menacing threats in public without fear of sanction. Supporters and activists of political opposition parties have been warned by local officials, including members of the police and military, that their political activities must stop, and that their continued political ~~activism will result in physical harm to themselves and to their families.~~ Surveillance and targeting of opposition supporters has intensified in concert with the increased campaigning and voter education efforts of the political parties, and often in co-operation between commune-level police and local civilian officials.

Other methods that have been employed include warnings of a resumption of war, loss of residency rights and confiscation of property, all reported against individuals who are identified as passively or actively supporting opposition parties. In some areas, voter coercion has focussed on economic threats to communities, with clusters of 10 to 50 families required to assemble, and being informed by village chiefs that the community will lose the roads, bridges, agricultural inputs and development projects if opposition parties are successful in the elections. Infrastructure projects are identified as funded by the party rather than by the state or international donors, misleading the electorate to believe that such benefits derive from party loyalty.

Far greater efforts need to be made to investigate cases of voter intimidation and coercion and punish those who are responsible for these illegal practices – whether through the courts or the sanctions available to the NEC. At present, violations of the electoral law and infringements of constitutionally protected rights appear to be condoned as they are carried out across the country without apparent fear of sanction.

<sup>3</sup> Statement of the Royal Government of Cambodia, No 41, signed by the Prime Minister, 23 June 2003.

The Special Representative also notes as a particular concern the central role of village chiefs in many reports of intimidation and coercion. Cambodian law requires that the Commune Councils elected in 2002 recruit village chiefs based on instructions issued by the Ministry of Interior<sup>4</sup>. To date, no such instructions have been issued, and the chiefs remain unelected and unaccountable political appointees, many of whom have held office since the fall of the Khmer Rouge. Further, there are no restrictions upon village chiefs and other village officials being accredited as political party agents, as they are not officially recognised as civil servants. Party agents are allowed to observe polling activities inside polling stations. Because every effort must be made to minimise the threat of intimidation on polling day, the Government should consider banning village chiefs from polling stations at all times other than to cast their own votes.

### Political party access to media

The Law on the Election of the National Assembly gives the NEC the responsibility to ensure equal access to State media for political parties during the campaign period. The Special Representative received assurances from the NEC that fair and equal access to the media would be observed during the campaign, thereby fulfilling an important criterion of democratic elections, a level playing field for political party information campaigns to reach the public. This issue is of particular concern in Cambodia, where opposition access to both state and private broadcast media is usually extremely limited. A national survey of Cambodian voters indicates that most voters are still unaware of the political choices available to them, with 91 per cent saying they would welcome radio or television broadcasts that illuminate policies, platforms and personalities of the different parties.<sup>5</sup>

The Special Representative welcomes the NEC policy to ensure free equal access programs for all parties on state-run stations - TVK, National Radio AM, and National Radio FM96 - during the campaign period. He also views as encouraging the election news programming on TVK, although he remains concerned that the time-sharing formula allotted to TVK and the two radio stations privileges the three main political parties.<sup>6</sup> He is also concerned at the refusal by privately-owned television stations to accept election programming, and urges the NEC to monitor the content of broadcasts during the campaign period to ensure that the regulations on equal access are not breached.

Equitable media access is an internationally recognised pre-requisite to fair and informed elections. The Special Representative encourages the NEC to ensure that state television and radio provide more equitable access for political parties to address the electorate. The Special Representative further urges the government to address the wider problem of opposition access to broadcast media outside the election campaign period.

<sup>4</sup> Law on Administration of Communes, 2001, Art. 30

<sup>5</sup> The Asia Foundation, *Democracy in Cambodia—2003: A Survey of the Cambodian Electorate*, Draft-16 May 2003: 7, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Under this formula the CPP will be allotted 44 per cent of broadcast time, Funcinpec will have 29 per cent and the Sam Rainsy Party will have 19 per cent of the air time.

## Recommendations

It is too early to judge whether the trend towards an improvement in the political climate observed between the national elections in 1998 and the 2002 commune elections will continue. The Special Representative certainly hopes that this will be the case. However, based on the findings of this report, greater efforts by the Government and NEC are needed to ensure that Cambodia's people will be able to express their political convictions and opinions freely and without fear of retribution in the upcoming elections.

The Special Representative recommends that:

- The police and courts ensure that swift and thorough investigations and prosecutions are undertaken in all cases relating to the murder of political party activists and others connected to the election process.
- The National Election Committee, Provincial Election Commissions and Commune Election Commissions respond promptly to complaints of violence, intimidation, and harassment during the campaign period.
- The National Election Committee use its full powers to impose fines and other sanctions on local authorities that have used their state positions to act on behalf of political parties.
- The National Election Committee use its authority to actively investigate and sanction individuals responsible and associated with voter intimidation, coercion or any other breach of law that interferes in the electoral process.
- Law enforcement officials respond promptly to reports of election-related violence and actively investigate complaints from representatives of all political parties.
- The Government consider banning village chiefs from working as party agents, so as to ensure that they will not be permitted to enter polling stations other than to cast their own votes.
- The Government ensure that any restrictions on freedom of assembly are limited to those that are necessary in a democratic society, and that are proportional and narrowly tailored to meet the relevant objectives, such as maintaining public order.
- The Government and law enforcement officials ensure that all demonstrations are policed in a responsible and professional manner and, only if absolutely necessary, disperse these gatherings without the use of excessive force.
- The National Election Committee ensure that state-run television and radio provide equitable access to political parties in order to address the electorate, and that private broadcast media do not breach the election regulations.





## និកហ្វិច

គណៈកម្មាធិការអព្យាក្រឹត និងយុត្តិធម៌ ដើម្បីការបោះឆ្នោតដោយសេរី និងត្រឹមត្រូវនៅកម្ពុជា  
Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Election in Cambodia  
Non-Government Organization

### NICFEC Election Observer's Report for the National Assembly Elections 2003

Report Period June 24 – 29 2003

NICFEC has a network of long term and short term observers to gather data on irregularities related to the election process before during and after the National Assembly Elections 2003.

On a weekly basis, NICFEC analyze data sent from their observer network and forward the findings and any recommendations to the National Election Committee for examination and legal action.

NICFEC has 142 long term national observers (LTOs), working in 71 districts in 7 seven provinces (Kampong Cham, Kampong Thom, Siem Reap, Banteay Meanchey, Battambang, Koh Kong and Svay Rieng). The Long term observers observe for two months between June 11<sup>th</sup> and August 11<sup>th</sup>.

NICFEC also has 6000 short term national observers (STOs), working in 24 provinces / municipalities in Cambodia who will work on Election Day and Counting Day.

During this reporting period June 24 – 29 2003, the most prominent observations were:

- Voter education activities mostly only taking place in Svay Rieng and Kampong Cham, with a few occasions reported in Battambang. NICFEC and COMFREL were the main education providing organizations.
- Most cases of gift giving are being observed in Kampong Cham the most populated province in Cambodia, with a few cases being reported in Kompong Thom and Siem Reap. All were reported before the start of the election campaign period: Funcinpec 6, CPP 7, SRP 3.
- Two murders were reported, one in Kompong Thom of a Funcinpec activist and one in Kampong Cham with no political connection.
- The highest number of cases of intimidation was observed in Battambang. All three were reported in Moug Risey district, two in the same commune.

#### Voter Education:

According to NICFEC observers, voter education organizations have been active in Svay Rieng and Kampong Cham. In Svay Rieng observers have noted voter education activities taking place in all seven districts by both NICFEC and COMFREL, but no occasions of political campaigning were observed in Svay Rieng.

In Kampong Cham voter education activities were observed in nine out of the 16 districts in Kampong Cham, carried out by NICFEC and on one occasion Ankor Niree in Dambea district and the CEC in Kroach Chmar district.

In Battambang the voter education activities observed were carried out by NICFEC (three), the CEC (once) in Moug Risey district

**Gift Giving:**

Ten cases of gift giving have been reported in Kampong Cham before the start of the election campaign period, the highest number of cases by far out of all the provinces. All the three main parties were involved CPP 5, Funcinpec 4 and SRP 3. No complaints were filed against any of these parties.

**Killings:**

Following the shooting of a Funcinpec party official on June 28 in Krawya Village, Krawya Commune, Prasath Balang district Kompong Thom.

**Intimidation:**

Three instances of intimidation have been reported in Battambang in the same district Moug Risey district. Two were reported in Rusey Krang commune. No complaints were filed against any of these cases. The intimidation reports are as follows:

NICFEC long term observer being told by CPP official they needed to give three days notice to observe any kind of election related event. (Moug Risey district, Rusey Krang Commune, 26 June)

Sam Rainsy party activist was told they needed to give three days notice to the CPP local authority before they carry out any campaign activities. (Rusey Krang Commune, Moug Risey district)

Local people were told by CPP party activist anyone belonging to SRP could not attend CPP meetings. (27 June, Moug Risey district, Prey Touch Commune)

**Political Campaigning**

In Kampong Cham political campaigning started on June 26 with CPP and Funcinpec campaigning in Kampong Cham provincial town attended by more than 10,000 people.

Funcinpec, CPP and Sam Rainsy have also been reported to have carried out public march campaigning in Batheay and Prey Chur district on June 26<sup>th</sup>.

NICFEC will endeavor to record numbers of political rallies organized and numbers of people in attendance over the coming weeks.

**NICFEC recommendations:**

1. To assist the general public in being able to understand the election process, NICFEC will urge the NEC to instruct the CEC/PEC's in all communes/provinces to become more active in the dissemination of voter education information to the general public.
2. NICFEC will issue a joint statement with Comfrel and ADHOC calling for this murder to be fully investigated;
3. NICFEC requests the NEC to inform CECs in this district to inform local officials no notice is required to observe or carry out campaign events.

The next reporting period will be June 30 -- July 6<sup>th</sup>.

Thank you for your support to NICFEC

For more information contact: Mr Sam Robin (012 822 273), Hang Puthea PHD (012 959 666)

# Table of Irregularities

From June 24-29, 2003

No	Irregularities	Kampong Thom	Siem Reap	Banteay Meanchey	Battambang	Koh Kong	Svay Rieng	Kampong Cham	Total
1	Killing	1						1	2
2	Physical violence	1		1		1			3
3	Intimidation	2	1	1	3				7
4	Signboard interference	1						2	3
5	Confiscation of voter cards					1			1
6	Defamation of Political Party			1					1
7	Vote buying			1					1
8	Gift giving	3	3					10	16
9	Using state property for campaigning		1					1	2
10	Campaign before fixed period							1	1
11	Verbal abuse of other parties	2							2
12	Political party discrimination					2			2
13	Voter education	3	1		4		14	9	31
Total									72



## **Asian Network for Free Elections**

*– A special project of Forum-Asia –*

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### **Third Statement**

### **ANFREL Observers have Great Concern on Problems Created by Chief of the Villages and the Commune Council Members that might Ruin the Cambodia Election Transparency**

Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) is seriously concerned about several acts taken by some **village chiefs** and **commune chiefs**, who are favoring particular parties and discriminating others in the pre-election campaign period for the upcoming National Election. ANFREL thinks such actions are a violation of the election law, undermine the basic human rights and give an adversary effect on the implementation of a free and fair election. ANFREL requests the National Election Commission (NEC) and the Provincial Election Commission (PECs) in all provinces to take swift action on this issue.

ANFREL has deployed its international observers to all strategic provinces and they have been observing the political and electoral environment in each province as well as the level of preparedness of election related institutions ahead of the election campaign period, which starts on June 26<sup>th</sup> 2003.

Observers received many complaints about several commune chiefs and village chiefs threatening particular parties and their supporters. It is reported from Kandal province that chiefs of communes in S'Ang District have threatened people not to attend an opposition party's meeting and recorded the names of people who attended. In Kratie District, Kratie Province, and activist told the observer that he had been threatened by the chief of his village not to work for his party.

Threatening by village chiefs also takes the form of discrimination against supporters of opposition parties. In Bantaey Meanchey, a village chief denied opposition party supporters the access to a well, their daily main water resource, and told them to go to another one, which is far away from their house. In Treng district of Takeo, commune chief asked village chief to take away the water pump of opposition party's member and prevent his family to use water just because they do not support the same party to the chiefs.

Disputes over party signboards are reported from almost all provinces observed where chiefs of communes did not allow several parties to put up their signboards or threatened people who had put signboards in their private land.

Observers also had received reports that some chiefs of communes and villages have collected or are collecting identification cards from people. The observer from Siem Reap was told that the leaders of 6 villages in Cikraeng District had collected voter card

in ceremonies in pagodas, where people were asked to pledge to vote for a party. Villagers in Kamchey district of Prey Veng were called by village chief to receive gifts and take an oath to not to vote for the opposition party. The observer for Takeo met villagers in Doung District who complained that the chief of a village went from house to house collecting villagers' registration card and other official identification cards. Similar cases were reported from Kratie and Kampong Chhnang. Collecting identification cards is a well-known technique intended to force people to support particular parties. ANFREL thinks it has an intimidating effect on people and therefore should be stopped immediately.

ANFREL takes notice that the joint directive from NEC and Ministry of Interior, released on May 27, clearly stresses that village chiefs shall not 1) use their position to influence election, 2) confiscate IDs or voter cards 3) ask people which party they intend to vote 4) prevent people from participating political activities and/or 5) intimidate voters. ANFREL welcomes this reaffirmation and requests NEC and PECs to follow up this directive with their quick and strong action, including punishing those who violate the election law and directives, to ensure the neutrality of commune and village chiefs.

*For further information, please contact Ms. Somsri Hananuntasuk, hand phone number in Cambodia 012 763125, hand phone in Thailand 01 8105306*

*June 17, 2003*



## **Asian Network for Free Elections**

*- A special project of Forum-Asia -*

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### **ANFREL PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN OBSERVATION REPORT** **Cambodia National Assembly Election Observation Mission 2003**

#### **1. Introduction**

Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), the biggest election monitoring network in the Asia region, started on May 23 its long-term election observation mission for Cambodia National Assembly Election, which is due to be held on July 27. The purpose of the mission at the stage of the pre-election campaign period is to assess the general electoral and political atmosphere in Cambodian provinces, including election law violations and irregularities, the level of preparedness of election-related institutions, as well as to find out issues to be considered and addressed during the election campaign.

Ten international long-term observers (LTOs) from eight different nationalities are deployed in eleven provinces that include Phnom Penh, Battambang, Banteay Meanchey, Kampong Cham, Kampong Chhnang, Kandal, Kratie, Pailin, Prey Veng, Siem Reap, and Takeo.

ANFREL observers met various people in their provinces of responsibility, ranging from provincial governors, Provincial Election Commission (PEC) officials, political party officials and activists, local election monitoring NGOs, human rights NGOs, to ordinary people. The observers produce reports on weekly basis on the province they are assigned.

The LTOs are cooperating closely with domestic observation organizations, especially with Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL), human rights groups, and the long-term international observers from The Asia Foundation (TAF) and are expected to work closely with EU and other international observers as they are deployed during the pre-election period. ANFREL will deploy about 50 short-term observers (STOs) during the election week and LTOs will give logistical support as well as information on the electoral and political environment at both provincial and national level for a comprehensive observation.

#### **2. General Political Atmosphere**

Observers noticed the preparation for the election is going on in all the provinces observed. Although more than 20 political parties will run for the coming election, the observers saw only a limited number of political parties' doing election-related activities at this stage. Cambodian People's Party (CPP), Funcinpec, (FUNCINPEC) and Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) are active nation-wide, and they are touring countryside, having meetings with their supporters, and sometimes meetings with the general public, while other parties remain low-profile, only setting-up their signboard and recruiting their party agents.

Looking at security, ANFREL observers noticed a significant decrease of violence compared with past elections. The overall situation in provinces before the campaign period is generally clam and no serious election-related violence with a few exceptions, like the murder case of a SRP activist in Kampong Cham in early June.

In more general terms, observers found that people are now more familiar with election, have more confidence in it, and are more open to talk about it, even though people still remember

what happened in the past and are uncertain if similar things could happen again.

Meanwhile, major sources of incidents or troubles reported are disagreement between parties and local authorities as to means and contents of political campaigns or dispute party signboards. Some of these troubles are associated with local authorities' actions, which are regarded as intimidations by political parties, especially opposition parties.

### **3. Election law/regulation violation or irregularities**

#### **a) Early campaign**

The official starting date of the election campaign is June 26. However, major political parties, namely CPP, FUNCINPEC and SRP, started their campaigns well ahead of this date. Large advertisement signboards are put in premises of party main offices, urging people to "vote for our party." Observers received from other local NGOs or villagers that political parties are touring around country side, pledging people to bring a better living standard to people, and to build new infrastructure or communal facilities, asking people to vote for the party, and criticizing other parties.

SRP national leaders actively made many visits to several provinces including Battambang, Banteay Meanchey, Siem Reap, Pailin, Kandal, while CPP parliamentarians met CPP activists/supporters in several provinces like Kampong Chhnang, Prey Veng. On 10<sup>th</sup> June, a candidate of SRP in Kratie province was campaigning at a temple in Thma Kreae commune, Kratie District. The observer saw around 300 people there. The candidate addressed the people using loudspeakers and he answered people's questions.

Each political party maintains that they are not doing election campaigns because they are only meeting its party activists or because they held meetings only in private houses. However, in Mongkul Borei district, Banteay Meanchey, Province an ANFREL observer saw nobody checking people for the party membership cards in one of these meetings. In another incident, the observer saw a whole village population attending a party meeting on one day and another party meeting on second day. Another SRP party official in Kampong Chhnang told an ANFREL observer that they didn't deny anyone who wanted to join their meetings.

Those early campaigns caused disputes between local authorities and political parties, especially opposition parties, and sometimes, like reported from the SRP in Kandal, were involving police.

#### **b) Vote-buying, gift-giving, and pledging**

In many of the above-mentioned quasi-election campaigns, parties are giving gifts and money to people who attended. Vote-buying and gift-giving are very common practice in Cambodian elections and ANFREL has noticed that they are even taken as "tradition" by the general public. ANFREL believes these practices are essentially meant to lure, convince, and sometime coerce people to support parties they don't necessarily want to support. These practices are not in line with international standards of free and fair elections.

In early June, a CPP parliamentarian from Kampong Chhnang visited several communes in at least two districts of the province to have meetings with its supporters where the party gave scarf and 1,000 Riel to each family attended. Chiefs of villages or so called "leaders of 50 families" visited people from door to door one day before the meetings, asking them if they would go to the meeting or if they support CPP, and gave paper strips to those who replied that they would join the meeting. The party gave gifts to people who presented the paper strips in the meetings. FUNCINPEC is apparently using similar methods. The party provided rice, purified water, medicine, and notebooks to FUNCINPEC supporters in Ek Phnom District,

Battambang, in mid-June. In Kratie District, Kratie, FUNCINPEC party officials distributed parcels of Krama, a traditional Cambodian clothes. SRP is also giving out a pack of medicine with the party logo on it and/or packed instant noodle to people who attended its several meetings in Siem Riep, Kampong Chhnang, Prey Veng and other provinces.

#### **c) Collection of Cards**

Several cases of Village Leaders collecting identification cards and voter cards were reported. A farmer in Chol Kiri District, Kampong Chhnang, told an observer that his mother had given her identification card to "people from CPP." A NGO activist from Baribour District in the same province claimed that CPP had collected identification cards in two communes. In Snoul District, Kratie Province, voter cards were collected not by village chiefs but by groups of people working for a CPP leader and were returned after the serial numbers of the cards and the names of the card holders were recorded.

It is claimed by an opposition party official that card collection had happened in ceremonies at pagodas in 6 villages in Kralanh district, Siem Reap. During the ceremonies people who attended were asked to drink water and pledge to vote for CPP, he said. One village chief told the observer for Siem Reap that he had collected the cards for statistical purposes. Villagers at Doung district of Takeo Province told an observer that the chief of their village had visited people house-to-house collecting identification cards from around 50 villagers. An English newspaper reported on June 20 that a commune official in Prey Veng had collected 280 voting cards from people to enroll villagers with FUNCINPEC.

Collecting identification cards is a well-known technique intended to force people to support particular parties. ANFREL thinks this practice has an intimidating effect on people because it can lead people to think that their secrecy of voting might be compromised although it is not the case if all the procedures in polling and counting stations are strictly followed. ANFREL believes these practices should be stopped immediately.

#### **d) Threatening, intimidation and discrimination**

Threatening and intimidation was a very effective tool for the last two elections, and such tactics are used again for this election. In many villages, opposition parties' supporters are outnumbered by CPP supporters. Thus, they are being intimidated by those who support the ruling party and are backed up by the local authorities. ANFREL pays much attention to this problem since it could turn into violence easily during the campaign period, especially in those communes where opposition parties are active.

An observer was informed that a village leader at Kralanh district, Siem Reap province, asked people to pledge by drinking magic water. After the pledging, people were given a gift by the village chief. Intimidation was used towards the villagers to vote for CPP, if not they will have problems in the future. Similar activities have been reported from several villages in Kralanh district.

It is reported that CPP had asked village chiefs in Takeo to tell people not to cooperate with SRP. If they do, village chiefs will not register for their marriage, or their farm will be confiscated. In the same province, a village chief in Leaybo commune in Pormkor district of Takeo told villagers that those who did not support CPP would not be given gifts and will not be treated well. In Siem Reap, a village chief threatened villagers not to socialize with SRP members or they might have trouble in the future.

Village officials at Sheing Commune threatened villagers who had a photo of Prince Ranariddh in their houses. The village officials said that they would not get any kind of gifts from the



government and when problems arise, these people would not get help from the commune leader. In Ou Beichan and Somrong commune the village officials used the same tactics to threaten SRP's members and/or supporters.

A village chief of Tboung Khmum district, Roca Pop Ram commune in Kampong Cham did not inform members of the FUNCINPEC party of the registration time. During the registration period one young man could not register because the commune council said he was not 18 according to the Khmer calendar, but he is 20 according to the international calendar. However, his registration was accepted later on.

Meanwhile, a SRP activist in Ponhea Kraek District, Tra Pealong Plong Commune in Kampong Cham received a death threat by the police. Another threat took place at Kanhcham commune, Pea Reang District in Prey Veng. One SRP member got an anonymous note that said if he continues his relation with the party he would disappear like his pig.

Observers found that dispute over natural resources, for instance water and land resources, are closely connected to this election. In some case it takes a form of discrimination based on political reason while the other cases are utilized by political parties and turned into political issues.

In Malai Commune, Mongkol Borei District Banteay Meanchey Province, people complained to ~~an observer that people were having disputes with local authorities over land, that the~~ commune chiefs had influence over the allocation of land to people and that they misused the power for their political motivation. In the same commune it was reported that supporters of opposition parties had been told not to use a well nearby their houses on the basis that the well belongs to CPP supporters but to use another one in far away place.

At Srangae Commune, Treng district, Takeo province, a SRP member has been prevented from using water resources. The CCP village chief and commune chief have confiscated a water pump of one villager, just because his family is not CPP member. The Commune chief said that the SRP supporters must pay money while the CPP supporters don't need to pay ~~because one CPP member has paid for them. Questioned by the ANFREL observer, they~~ could not show any evidence for the payment from CPP.

Another land dispute between people and local authorities was reported from Chol Kiri District, Kampong Chhnang Province. Seemingly this case has been disputed for almost a decade but became a major political issue last year when opposition parties went into the district and use this issue as part of its campaign.

#### **4. Neutrality of government officials**

##### **a. Provincial governors**

The Governor in one district of Siem Reap province organized a ceremony of paddy seeds giving to a village. In a speech, he mentioning about the ruling party bringing prosperity. The people must thank them.

The provincial governor of Kratie was addressing the public on the road in Tamar commune, Preap Prasap district, using loudspeakers. The ANFREL observer learned that he was talking about the future development in the area and that he used phrases such as "if CPP wins", "if you vote for CPP" in his speech. There were nearly 100 people gathered at the place and they were treated with Cambodian traditional noodles.

The district leader in Poipet of Banteay Meanchey reported to the observer that he has not been getting help from the provincial governor's office for the preparation of the coming

election. He reported that the police and military do not support him to maintain peace in the district

Government officials in Pailin are widely recognized as hardcore pro-CPP affiliates among local NGOs and SRP supporters. A strong sense of alert was perceived particularly towards the ex-Pailin governor, who is running as a CPP candidate for the election.

Observers learned that many villagers who face problems do not file official complaints to local authorities and the authorities will also not investigate the cases even they know the problem. ANFREL has been informed by observers that many cases are raised personally to the observers and official complaints were filed to the COMFREL offices in many provinces. Problems related to village leaders, commune chiefs and police chiefs have been reported to observers in Ou Chrov district of Banteay Meanchey as well as Koah Andaet district and Treng district of Takeo.

#### **b. Village and commune chiefs**

ANFREL is very much concerned about the village and commune chief's activities throughout the provinces. Village and commune chiefs are expected to be impartial and respected laypersons for all villagers. ANFREL has many reports of village and commune chiefs controlling, influencing or even threatening people. Such activities are, i.e. listing down people who attend political party meetings, going into people's houses and threatening people who are involved in certain party activities, collecting voter cards of villagers or tearing photos from such cards, or cooperating with CPP activists to exclude people who support other parties from receiving gifts (while gift-giving is considered to be a problem itself, as mentioned before). In many cases, village chiefs have in fact become political agents and use their status to not only influence people but also intimidate and harass the potential opposition voter.

A village chief in Chang Krang commune in Kratie threatened an active FUNCINPEC member and his wife not to work or vote for FUNCINPEC, otherwise their voter cards may be confiscated. In Bos Leav commune in Kratie one village chief told people they would be removed from the villagers list if they join FUNCINPEC, and those who would like to be with CPP must come and tell him.

In many cases, illiteracy and the very limited knowledge of people about the election process and related regulations, is being abused by village and commune chiefs. On the other hand it needs to be considered that even village and commune chiefs themselves are in some cases not aware about their wrongdoing. In Kaoh Thum district in Kandal, a commune chief denied permission for putting up a SRP sign since no permission from the district level was available, while neither the applicant nor the commune chief were aware about the fact that no permission is needed for putting up a party sign in the compound of the activists own house. ANFREL suggests that more voter education, particularly taking into account the limitations of illiterate people, need to be conducted before the elections in July.

Another problem, as it has been reported from Anlong Samnar Commune in Siem Reap province and several districts in Takeo and Kandal, Commune Council members who are members of SRP are facing problems to carry out their duties since other members or CPP Village Chiefs avoid them and do not cooperate.

ANFREL learned that many cases of irregularities villagers and local organizations reported to the village chiefs and/or the chairman of the Commune Councils were delayed or suspended. Several stories have been distorted by claiming the case to be some personal conflict, thus denying any political relevance of the incident. There is much more impunity related to election-related incidents embedded in the remote areas than we expected.

### c. Police

During the pre-election campaign period, police in the provinces has been overall conducting their duties according to the law and without major abusive or violating incidents. However, several demonstrations in Phnom Penh were violently dispersed by police, denying the demonstrator's democratic rights. These incidents also need to be blamed to government officials, exaggerating "security threats" and abusing such allegations to limit or deny peaceful demonstrations that may criticize government policies.

There are, however, also some cases in the provinces where police were reportedly involved in misconduct.

In Prey Yutaka Commune, Kaoh Andaet District of Takeo Province, A police chief hit and punched a member of SRP for no reason. The police chief reportedly said to him "if you fight back, I will shoot and kill you. All of you (SRP members) are traitors of the country." An ANFREL observer visited the village and the police station and met the commune chief. Although the police chief was not present, everybody the observer met knew this story. They, however, did not investigate the case. They told the observer that the victim hadn't filed his complaint to them in writing, so it was not their role to do investigation.

In Chol Kiri district in Kampong Chhnang, police reportedly banned a SRP meeting and a visit by representatives of the Cambodian Center for Human Rights. From the same area it is also reported that police was collecting the names of people who joined a protest in Phnom Penh in May.

According to a complaint filed to the Kratie PEC, in Kou Loab commune, a policeman threatened a SRP activist who was preparing to raise SRP flags in their party office.

### d. PEC / CEC

In some provinces the recruitment process of the PEC and the CECs was apparently conducted in a well and transparent manner. However, there are reports from other provinces of little or no transparency and missing fairness. One of the major findings in a survey from COMFREL about the fairness of the PEC recruitment process is that in most cases the same people like in 1998/2002 are being recruited to the PECs and CECs, and the majority of these people are CPP members. This situation is also due to NEC regulations that state previous election-related experience as a selection-criteria. While ANFREL appreciates the fact that experienced people are needed to ensure the quality and effectiveness of the work of both the PEC and the CEC, we believe that a fair number of "newcomers" with respect to the current political spectrum of parties would be no threat to the performance of the election bodies and would indeed increase the credibility of the PECs and CECs and reduce allegations by many people that PEC and CEC are biased. Unfortunately, in many cases the "experience criteria" is being used as an excuse to recruit pre-defined candidates and exclude others.

In Pailin, a daughter of the ex-Khmer Rouge leader Ieng Sary heads the PEC while other CPP affiliates dominate the commission. In Kandal, all PEC members are the same like in the previous one, except one, and all are affiliated with the CPP. Some parties expressed their discomfort over the PECs composition and the examples given are being reflected in many provinces.

Also, as it has been reported from Kandal, Kampong Chhnang and other provinces, announcements for the CEC recruitment were either not made, or not transparent for the people, or made on a very short notice (one day announcement - the next day deadline for applications and interviews) which made it impossible for some people to apply.

In Kantout Commune, Kratie, a CEC applicant who was the vice-chairman for the CEC in the 1998 election and the chairman in the 2002 commune election, was disqualified without clear reason. PEC members came to the Commune Council and distributed the application forms to the applicants who were at the CC at that time and collected the filled forms soon afterwards. PEC members were treated with food and beer by some of the applicants and the meeting was turned into a party. Some of the applicant knew that they have been selected even before the official announcement of the selection results.

#### **e. Public investment**

One of the problems ANFREL wants to highlight is a connection between development issues and the ruling parties' re-election that is being drawn by CPP officials. ANFREL observed in many provinces that CPP party activists and other CPP affiliated people are eager to suggest to people that any improvement of their life situation (infrastructure, schools, hospitals, etc.) comes only with the CPP. Moreover, often people are suggested that a certain infrastructure or improvement of public facilities has been made possible by Hun Sen personally or the CPP, while in fact government budget or even donor money is used for finance.

Also, ANFREL has observed that inauguration ceremonies with the general public are often connected with CPP party meetings on the same day to use the opportunity to link the event with some CPP activities, where the general public takes part as well.

In Khsach Kandal district in Kandal, the inauguration of a renovated building in a hospital and a new school library was celebrated with school students and the general public. Before people walked to the school and to the hospital for the ceremonies, they all met at the CPP office for some party meeting. When people were asked by the ANFREL observer of who financed the improvements, Hun Sen, some other high ranking CPP member, and the CPP as party were mentioned.

In other cases, people are prevented from using certain facilities if they don't support the ruling party. In Malai commune, Banteay Meanchey, some supporters of SRP were told to take water supply from the well near to the SRP candidate's house, and not from the well, which is near their house because this well belongs to the CPP supporters.

In even more serious cases, CPP party activists, village or commune leaders and government officials are actively threatening people through warning them that if people don't vote for CPP, they will not have schools or new roads, may even lose land, etc.

Villagers in Kampong Svay commune, Banteay Meanchey, said that approximately 80 hectares of normal land and 40 hectares of agricultural land were taken away from them by the government and that some officials want to use the land issue to intimidate the villagers in the upcoming election. Officials affiliated with the CPP threatened people that if someone does not support the CPP, they will not get any kind of security over the ownership of their land in the future.

ANFREL is very concerned that such activities, in many cases targeted misinformation, are undermining the free expression of the will of the people and fair competition between parties. In fact they are supposed to influence people to vote for the ruling party.

#### **5. Women**

According to the statistics of Cambodia, the number of women is higher than the number of men. There are some changes in the role women have in the society. Women can speak more freely and take active participation in discussions, but women's representation in the governmental institutions in Cambodia is still very limited.

Women and men membership in the party should be equal. However, party activists are mostly men. All parties listed women as candidates to the National Assembly. However, in reality women's chance to be elected a member of the National Assembly is very low due to the position in the list of candidates. Women candidates are placed in the middle or at the end of the list of candidates.

Unfortunately, political parties do not specifically target women during election campaign. Illiteracy is higher among women than among men. This situation is another disadvantage for women when they try to participate in the election process and understand election related matters.

## **6. Voter education**

ANFREL very much appreciates different actors' activities for voter education. In particular local NGOs, but also political parties, have been conducting voter education in the form of distributing material, organizing meetings to educate the public, performing educational drama or showing films. ANFREL expects the PECs and CECs to take a stronger role in voter education during the election-campaign period.

However, ANFREL observers state that many people, in particular on a village level, but also party activists and even authorities do not know much about the election related regulations and laws. Therefore, many activities that authorities and political parties have been doing, are not only intentionally, but also unintentionally violating the law. Many of these actions are to be considered serious and may undermine long-term political development.

ANFREL so far found that not many people know about the regulations allowing people to use different cards and documents for the elections on July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2003. Those documents are:

- ↳ Voter card 1993
- ↳ Voter card 1998, 2003
- ↳ ~~Substitute Certificate of voter card~~
- ↳ ID card of Cambodian Citizenship
- ↳ ID card of Civil Servant
- ↳ Personal ID Certificate
- ↳ Family Certificate
- ↳ Passport of Kingdom of Cambodia
- ↳ Certification letter of Identity and Age with photograph
- ↳ Family book with photograph
- ↳ Chaya Kanak Mohanika (Monk Identification Card)
- ↳ Sithibath Kanak Thamayutinika (Monk ID card)
- ↳ ID card of National Police
- ↳ ID card of Armed Force

## **7. The right for certain groups to vote**

### **a. Monks**

Buddhist monks and activities in pagodas are very important in the Cambodian society. Observers noticed that political activities were organized at pagodas, mainly by the ruling party. Such activities include religious ceremonies in the presence of monks, i.e. swearing to vote for a certain party, collecting thumbprints for the same purpose, collecting voter ID cards, gift-giving, as well as casting votes. Temples will be a place to set up polling stations in the provinces.

Considering monks participating in the elections, the discussion with the chief incumbent in Kratie temple in Kratie commune, revealed that the Buddhist monks in his temple did not go to register this time, because they received information from high ranking Buddhist monks in Phnom Penh that voting is ethically wrong for Buddhist monks. The chief incumbent in the temple further said that even though they did vote in previous elections, they would not go to vote this time because it is considered being biased, which is against the rules in the religion. However, the discussions with the other monks in Kohtrong commune of Kratie and Duan Kaev of Takeo found that they have not received such regulations from Phnom Penh and over there monks have their individual freedom to do what they like. Nevertheless, some young monks who were qualified as eligible voters stated that they did not register because they were not interested.

**b. Voters who cannot access polling stations**

ANFREL is looking forward to seeing that the right to vote will be respected for all eligible voters and nobody will be ignored. According to the Election Law, detainees have a right to vote. Also, people who need to stay in hospitals should have the opportunity to participate in elections. We are hoping that some mobile teams will be collecting votes from such groups of people and are happy to see some provincial officials trying to take care about this matter. In Sisophon in Banteay Meanchey, the prison head warden confirmed that the PEC would come to the prison to get the detainees' votes casts (in fact in this prison detainees are placed together with prisoners). In Kompong Cham, the PEC confirmed that mobile polling stations would be deployed to the detention centre and hospitals.

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June 24<sup>th</sup>, 2003



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PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT DELEGATION TO CAMBODIA  
*Phnom Penh, February 4, 2003*

## PRESS RELEASE

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This statement is offered by an international pre-election delegation to Cambodia, organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). The delegation visited Cambodia from January 28 through February 4, 2003. The purposes of this visit were to express the support of the international community for a democratic election process in Cambodia and to assess the political environment, and the political and legal framework for the upcoming July 2003 National Assembly elections.

The five member delegation was led by The Honorable Dick Thornburgh, former U.S. Attorney General under Presidents Reagan and Bush, former Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and former Under Secretary General of the United Nations; and The Honorable Sam Gejdenson, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives and ranking Democratic member of the International Relations Committee. The delegation included Andrew Ellis, Senior Advisor to NDI in Indonesia and former Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of the Liberal Party in the United Kingdom; Munira Khan, founding member and current Vice Chairman of the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA) in Bangladesh; and Peter Manikas, NDI's regional director for Asia programs and NDI's former resident representative in Cambodia.

NDI Senior Program Manager and former Cambodia Resident Representative, Eric Kessler, served as the delegation's technical advisor. The delegation was assisted by: Laura Paler, NDI Senior Program Assistant; and members of NDI's office in Cambodia, including Mark Wallem, Muth Channtha, Dominic Cardy, Tarikul Ghani, Jeff Kovick, Poeng Sam Ourn and Preap Kol.

The delegation conducted its activities according to international standards for nonpartisan international election observation and Cambodian law. NDI does not seek to interfere in Cambodia's election process, nor, at this juncture, to make a final assessment about the overall process. NDI recognizes that, ultimately, it will be the people of Cambodia who will determine the credibility of their elections.

NDI is a nongovernmental organization that seeks to strengthen and promote the development of democracy worldwide. The Institute has organized impartial pre-election, election-day and post-election observations in more than 50 countries in Asia and around the globe. NDI has worked in Cambodia for more than a decade and has conducted election-related programming for the 1993, 1998 and 2002 elections.

## SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS

*Cambodians are approaching their third national elections since the signing of the Paris Peace Accords in 1991. This is the second national election in which Cambodians themselves have been responsible for the conduct of the elections. Unfortunately, many of the problems that emerged in previous elections, including in the commune council elections in 2002, remain today. These include a climate of impunity for politically inspired intimidation and violence, the perception that election officials are biased and unequal access to the news media for all political parties.*

*There have been some improvements since the last election. The newly constituted National Election Committee is better organized than in the past and is operating in a more transparent and participatory manner, but much more needs to be done if the public is to have confidence in the election process.*

*Violence and intimidation, in particular, have undermined public confidence in the election process and has created a climate of anxiety and fear among political and civil society activists, as well as many ordinary citizens. The government's failure to prosecute perpetrators of violence since the commune elections has only increased the perception that those who engage in these crimes are immune from the legal process.*

~~*The National Election Committee (NEC) still suffers from the perception that it is biased. The decision to include members who were aligned with the two parties in the ruling coalition, the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and FUNCINPEC, but excluded the opposition Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), has understandably contributed to that perception. Additionally, the NEC is not viewed as independent because its members were nominated by the co-Ministers of Interior with no public consultation. The new NEC will have to take strong and proactive measures to ensure citizens that it will administer the elections in a fair and impartial manner. Business as usual, even when the NEC conducts itself in an efficient and professional manner, will not be sufficient to dispel the perception of bias. The NEC, in particular, should address complaints about the elections process in a fair and timely manner and should also try to anticipate problems and deal with them in a transparent and participatory way.*~~

*That Cambodia has not yet developed a strong legal culture and adequate legal institutions make it difficult to assure citizens that their rights will be protected in the election process and that violations of election laws will be vigorously and effectively pursued. The prosecution of those who engage in politically motivated violence and intimidation should be a top priority of the government. Such prosecutions would help deter future violence and help rebuild confidence in the nation's political system.*

*The problem of media bias has also re-emerged in the upcoming elections. Much of the electronic media is controlled directly or indirectly by the CPP. It is critical that alternative voices be heard in the coming elections so that Cambodian citizens can make an informed choice among the competing parties. The delegation therefore strongly urges the government to expand the number of licenses granted to local broadcasters to allow independent sources of information to reach prospective voters throughout the country. All local broadcasters should be permitted to present their programs free of politically motivated government interference. The government should also permit local radio stations to rebroadcast the news coverage provided by Radio Free Asia (RFA) and the Voice of America (VOA).*

*The upcoming elections, like the previous ones since 1993, are occurring in the context of the CPP's dominance of the political system. For 23 years, the CPP (or its predecessor, the*



*KPRP) has controlled the nation's civil bureaucracy and military, law enforcement and the courts, as well as the administrative machinery for elections. This legacy of the one-party state between 1979 and 1991, and continued CPP dominance, has made it difficult to distinguish between the CPP and the government.*

*Unfortunately, Cambodia's democratic development has not reached the point where the nation's laws and institutions ensure that political parties can compete in elections on a fair basis. Therefore, the delegation believes that the CPP-dominated government's monopoly on power carries with it an added responsibility to level the playing field for all contesting parties. Extraordinary efforts will be needed to increase public confidence in the elections and promote an open and democratic election process.*

*Only when Cambodians believe that the elections process is fair to all of the contesting parties will the public have full confidence that the promises of their 1993 Constitution, which pledges to restore Cambodia to a "multi-party liberal democratic regime guaranteeing human rights and the rule of law..." are being fulfilled.*

## RECOMMENDATIONS

While there are serious shortcomings in Cambodia's elections process, there is still time to make improvements that can help to build confidence in the upcoming elections. Below is a list of recommendations that can be implemented in the time remaining.

### *Addressing Violence and Intimidation*

- It is critical that those who engage in violence and intimidation be apprehended, prosecuted and convicted in a timely manner. More than anything else, this will help to build public confidence in the election process and deter future violence.
- The political parties should develop a code of conduct or joint agreement that addresses violence and intimidation during the pre-election. Such agreements can be important confidence-building measures because the contesting parties freely enter into them.
- Law enforcement authorities must develop a plan for protecting candidates as well as political party and civil society activists who are engaged in the election process. Routine meetings at the provincial level among these groups and provincial officials could help to prevent future violence from occurring.

### *Enforcing the Laws Regarding Election-related Offenses*

- Any person who misuses state resources, in violation of the law, to support or oppose any candidate or party should be prosecuted and punished.
- The Election Law should be amended to clearly state that paying a person not to register or not to vote is a violation of the law.

### *Enhancing Confidence in the NEC and Improving the Regulatory Framework*

- To enhance confidence in the NEC, it should anticipate problems and take proactive measures to address them in a fair and unbiased manner before they become acute.

- The NEC should take strong administrative action against any violations of the election law and regulations. This includes sanctions against any election officials who do not fully perform their duties.
- The NEC should formalize the process of meeting with representatives of political parties and election monitoring groups by establishing, within the election administration, political party liaison committees at the national and local levels. These committees should meet regularly with the above-mentioned groups to share information, anticipate future problems and address concerns.
- The NEC should clearly define how particular complaints should be handled: by conciliation, administrative hearings or by the criminal judicial process. Draft NEC regulations state that a “petty” offense should be handled by conciliation, but the NEC has not yet finalized what constitutes a “petty” violation.
- The NEC should exercise its power to inspect the campaign finance records of political parties. Political parties should be further required to file statements on their campaign donations and expenditures with the NEC, and these records should be available for public inspection.

#### *Maximizing Voter Registration*

- The NEC should take every opportunity to instruct commune election officials and registrars on the registration process to encourage the registration of all eligible voters. This includes providing clear descriptions of all documents that may be required for registration.
- The Ministry of Interior should ensure that a clear and efficient method is in place for ~~issuing documents proving nationality to citizens who do not possess such papers~~. This procedure should be widely publicized and commune officials should be trained in its implementation.
- The NEC should make use of the full time period allowed in the regulations and election calendar. The period of registration could be extended to the maximum allowed by law without affecting the remainder of election process. An extension of voter registration should be matched with a deliberate effort to register disadvantaged groups of potential voters, including the poor, homeless and migrant citizens such as students or factory workers.
- Throughout the registration process and upon its completion, the NEC should publicly evaluate the performance of registration officials in each commune, and sanctions should be transparently imposed when registration officials violate the election law or fall short in implementing the regulations.
- The NEC needs to address concerns about developing an accurate voter list and take steps to correct the previous voter registration list.

#### *Enhancing Voter Education*

- Efforts must be made to prevent government officials from interfering with civil society efforts to educate voters on the electoral process. These organizations are conducting

these activities at the request of the NEC, and every effort should be made to facilitate their voter education programs.

- It is the ultimate legal responsibility of the NEC to ensure that the electorate is fully informed about the upcoming election. Proactive planning and using more effective means of reaching all voters, many of whom can not read, will be required to accomplish this task.

#### *Ensuring Access to the Media*

- Radio and television broadcasts, which represent the primary news source for most Cambodians, must be allowed to carry alternative voices. The number of broadcasting licenses should be expanded to independent sources of information to reach Cambodian citizens.
- The Ministry of Information must ensure that all media outlets operate free from politically motivated government censorship. Further efforts must be made to reverse the trend of self-censorship among journalists. Directives should be issued to guarantee media outlets of their rights under the Law on Press Regulations.
- The NEC should ensure that candidate debates among competing parties, which are currently planned, receive broad coverage by the state-controlled media.
- The government should license local radio stations to rebroadcast the widely popular news coverage provided by Radio Free Asia and Voice of America.

NDI will continue to observe the processes surrounding Cambodia's July 2003 National Assembly elections in the spirit of international cooperation and in accordance with international standards for election observation and Cambodian law. A future NDI delegation will assess the progress made in adopting and implementing the recommendations identified above. Once again, the delegation offers its gratitude to everyone with whom it met. Had they not taken time to share their views and offer information, the delegation would not have been able to complete its work.



STATEMENT OF THE NDI PRE-ELECTION  
DELEGATION TO CAMBODIA'S 2003  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS  
*Phnom Penh, June 5, 2003*

This statement is offered by an international pre-election delegation organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). The delegation visited Cambodia from May 29 through June 5, 2003. This is the second NDI pre-election delegation in advance of July 27 elections. The first delegation's statement, dated February 4, 2003, can be found on NDI's website at "[www.ndi.org](http://www.ndi.org)". The Institute will continue to monitor the election process through the post-election period and will issue additional statements and reports when appropriate.

The purposes of this delegation were to express the international community's interest in and support for the development of a democratic election process in Cambodia and to provide an impartial and accurate report on the character of the process to date. The delegation conducted its activities according to international standards for nonpartisan international election observation, comparative electoral practice and Cambodian law. NDI does not seek to interfere in Cambodia's election process. The Institute recognizes that, ultimately, it will be the people of Cambodia who will determine the credibility of their elections.

#### SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS

*This delegation is deeply troubled by critical flaws in the environment surrounding Cambodia's upcoming July 27 elections. The delegation noted a number of improvements in electoral preparations and reduced political killings compared to elections held in 1998 and 2002. Nonetheless, it is crucial that Cambodian authorities exert extraordinary efforts to create effective opportunities for voters to gain the information they need to make informed political choices, to ensure that voters are free to exercise their choice without intimidation or undue influence and to guarantee political competitors effective opportunities to reach voters with messages seeking their support. Extraordinary efforts are also needed to ensure that the will of the voters is honestly counted, tabulated, reported and respected. Such efforts will encourage participation in the election process by political contestants and voters alike.*

*There are just 52 days until the July 27 elections. Unless these and related issues are urgently and effectively addressed through and beyond the July 27 polls, the elections and the broader political process of which they are a part are likely to have little democratic meaning.*

*The delegation is compelled to draw attention to heavy-handed behavior by the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and its state authorities toward the two main political parties that are opposing it in the upcoming elections, FUNCINPEC and the*

NDI's first pre-election delegation in advance of the July 27 polls, like this one, found that many of the problems that affected previous elections in Cambodia remain in the present electoral context. These problems include: the climate of impunity for politically inspired intimidation and violence; the biased composition of electoral bodies; and unfair access by the political parties to the broadcast media. That delegation, like this one, noted that the dominance of the CPP (and its predecessor party) in state institutions over 24 years has made it difficult to distinguish between the ruling party and state authorities. This raises special obligations for the ruling party and governmental authorities to take effective, immediate steps in the electoral context and beyond to develop a democratic, pluralist political process as well as to create conditions for fair political competition in elections.

The February 4 statement included 21 recommendations for improving electoral and political processes, many focusing on the legal framework and reinforcing the rule of law in the electoral context. These recommendations were aimed at encouraging the National Election Committee (NEC), which operates under the purview of the Ministry of Interior, and the Government of Cambodia to address areas such as violence and intimidation, improving the regulatory framework, maximizing voter registration, enhancing voter education and ensuring fair access to the media.

The present delegation notes that the NEC and other important actors have paid attention to the February 4 recommendations and have acted on a number of them. For example: the NEC extended voter registration in some parts of the country; established regular meetings between election officials, political parties and concerned civic organizations at the national and local level; and gave its support to a participatory, party-negotiated code of conduct. However, the majority of the February 4 have not been substantially addressed.

**Factors Undermining an Informed Choice and the Ability of Parties to Communicate Messages Appealing for Support.** In order to freely choose representatives to govern, voters must gain sufficient accurate information about those competing for elected office. As a corollary, political competitors must be able to effectively reach voters with messages seeking their support. These requirements for democratic elections are undermined in Cambodia by a number of factors.

Television and radio are the most influential sources of political information for voters beyond personal contact with village chiefs, who are the most important source of political information for many Cambodians and who are predominantly affiliated with the ruling party. The high percentage of the population that can neither read nor write, and the relatively small circulation of publications, restricts the impact of the print media. Studies of TV and radio have documented an overwhelming imbalance of coverage of the ruling party compared with the other two parliamentary parties, FUNCINPEC and the SRP.

These factors also must be considered in light of widespread credible reports of voters being called upon to take culturally powerful oaths of allegiance to the ruling party, the alleged collecting of thumbprints, collection of voter cards to prevent voting and the offering of gifts in exchange for votes (vote buying). Together, these factors make it difficult for the electorate to have confidence that voters may freely express their political will in choosing who should have the authority to govern.

For example, a recent opinion survey by The Asia Foundation, conducted between February 20 and March 14, showed that 47 percent of the Cambodian electorate is unconvinced that the upcoming elections will be "free and fair." Thirty percent reported that they heard of threats of political violence, and 26 percent thought that vote-buying is possible in their area, with one person in six admitting that they would feel obligated or at least be affected by accepting "gifts" from a political party. The practice of giving gifts in order to buy votes is widely perceived as a significant problem in Cambodia. If one in six persons (almost 17 percent) of voters in an area would be affected by accepting gifts, which are difficult to refuse in light of Cambodia's poverty and cultural traditions, the integrity of the election results could be compromised.

These problems undermine a fundamental requirement for democratic elections and require concerted corrective measures if the upcoming elections are to be credible.

**Other Factors Hindering Fair Political Competition.** Among the other factors that are hindering fair political competition are restrictions on freedom of assembly. A ban was recently instituted in Phnom Penh against all demonstrations. This included the denial of permission for a coalition to demonstrate against domestic violence against women. In addition, in a widely reported February 25 speech following the anti-Thai riots, the Director General of the National Police proclaimed that any protests over the results of the upcoming national elections "will be clamped down upon."

While every government has a legitimate interest in maintaining security and public safety, the ban on demonstrations is overly broad as applied to political gatherings and demonstrations relating to the elections. The delegation also received credible reports of attempts to prevent SRP and FUNCINPEC gatherings. The delegation noted with concern the May 27 directive of the Minister of Interior, which requires parties to inform local authorities before holding private meetings or putting party signs on private land. While notifying local authorities outside the official campaign period, and notifying election authorities during the campaign, may be proper, in the present environment this directive reinforces a sense of apprehension over the exercise of the assembly rights needed for democratic elections.

A June 3 directive issued jointly by the NEC and the Interior Ministry states that parties must apply for permission three days in advance to hold gatherings in public places during the official campaign period. Given problems encountered in exercising freedom of assembly, the delegation is concerned that arbitrary or unreasonable restrictions will be applied in a manner that hinders political gatherings.

Village chiefs, commune officials, and other local political actors, both elected and appointed, have continued to serve as local extensions of the CPP. This has led to an injection of political bias into this level of the administration, which is of special concern given the opportunities opened by the creation of a newly elected and decentralized level of government in 2002. In the run-up to the July 27 elections, these officials will play a critical role in administering the process and a central role in providing information to voters about that process. Questions around their impartiality inevitably raise concerns about the integrity of the elections.

**Political Parties.** Cambodia's political parties are enhancing their grassroots organization. In the case of the SRP and FUNCINPEC, this has resulted in increased organizational capacity compared to past elections. All parties are accusing each other of violating the 30-day campaign rule; this illustrates the shortcomings of artificially restricting political expression. The CPP is using state resources, including vehicles, helicopters, state personnel and government offices to promote its electoral interests. Such resources are not available to other parties.

All three major parties routinely pay citizens to participate in party rallies or other activities and distribute "gifts" in the form of money, rice or vitamins, although CPP practices this on a larger scale. Such attempts at buying loyalty contribute to the popular perception of political parties as dispensers of patronage, needlessly increase the cost of political activism and tend to discourage all but the wealthy from seeking political office. In many respects, Cambodian parties therefore fail to use available opportunities to maximize political participation. This is compounded by weaknesses in the parties' internal organizational structures.

Candidates running for the three major parties are overwhelmingly male; with all three major parties relegating most of their few female candidates to low list positions or to provinces where the party in question is not considered to be competitive. FUNCINPEC is fielding a total of 15 eligible women candidates, with 11 reserve candidates; the SRP is fielding 13, with 13 in reserve and the CPP is fielding a total of 12, with 24 in reserve. The SRP has three women in the number one position on provincial lists, while both the CPP and FUNCINPEC have only two.

Party nomination procedures also raise serious questions, in particular the practice of one party which planned a bidding system to determine candidate placement on party lists. Such practices negate possibilities for developing grassroots party leadership and promoting the leadership, including candidacies, of women. By failing to take advantage of the political strength that comes from heightened levels of political involvement, the parties are contributing to the increasing levels of popular disconnection from politics reported by NDI's March 2003 focus group report and The Asia Foundation's recent public opinion survey.

**Voter Education.** The NEC has been credited for the reforms it introduced to the voting system, making it easier for people to vote in the July 27 elections. Due in part to

## RECOMMENDATIONS

NDI's experience worldwide has found that confidence in an electoral system and a perception of fairness are as important as the letter of the law. Therefore, when serious doubts are raised about the fairness of an electoral system, additional safeguards – including an added measure of transparency – must be introduced even if the law meets an otherwise acceptable standard. This is particularly true of Cambodia, given the dominant power of the CPP and a history of flawed elections. The delegation has noted the commitment of many governmental, political and civic leaders to developing a democratic election process. In recognition of this, and, in the spirit of international cooperation, the delegation respectfully offers the following recommendations.

1) **Paid Political Advertisements.** The delegation urges the Cambodia Television Association to reverse its decision to refuse paid political advertisements during the upcoming election period. Given Cambodia's electoral context, provision of paid political advertisements on the private broadcast media, at normal commercial rates and on a non-discriminatory basis, is a crucial means to create more meaningful political competition.

2) **Fair News Coverage.** Public and private broadcast media should commit to accurate, fair and extensive news coverage of the election campaign. Receiving unbiased news coverage of political parties and electoral issues is central to the voters' ability to make informed political choices.

3) **Media Access.** The delegation urges state controlled broadcast media to provide, in good faith, political party access, as well as fair and equitable news coverage. In addition, the delegation urges the NEC to adjust the regulatory framework to provide greater media access and coverage for the major political parties, which have demonstrated a significant level of voter support in past elections.

4) **Respect for the Rights of Journalists.** The delegation urges the Government of Cambodia, the NEC and the political parties to allow and encourage the fullest expression of opinion through the media and not to threaten, induce, or otherwise attempt to influence the impartial operation of journalists or media outlets.

5) **Respect for Voters' Rights.** The Prime Minister, the Chairman of the NEC and the presidents of the main political parties should issue public pronouncements denouncing the taking of oaths, collecting of thumbprints, the collection of voter cards and other means of unduly influencing or intimidating voters. They should make clear that all such acts are illegal and that it is wrong to honor such oaths. The delegation urges the police, prosecutors and local government authorities to pursue vigorously these electoral violations, to prosecute the perpetrators and to publicize the prosecutions in order to demonstrate to citizens that these practices will not be tolerated.

6) **State Authorities.** Ministers, commanders of security forces and governors should ensure that the personnel and resources under their control are used only in the public



12) **Voter Education.** The NEC, political parties and election monitoring organizations should implement comprehensive voter education campaigns focusing among other areas on the importance of ballot secrecy, resisting vote buying and intimidation, as well as focusing on codes of conduct for political parties, security personnel, the police and village chiefs. The NEC should ensure that all officials involved in the election process facilitate the conduct of voter education activities and do not use regulations aimed at ensuring public order to prevent the dissemination of critical information to voters.

## CONCLUSION

While the recommendations offered by the delegation focus on specific steps that can be taken to improve the electoral process in the few days remaining before the July 27 polls, the delegation emphasizes the critical nature of flaws that are evident in Cambodia's political environment. Cambodia's governmental, political and civic leaders must make concerted efforts to address these problems through the election period and beyond. Otherwise, the results of the elections may be questioned and Cambodia's potential for democratic development jeopardized. Elections are inseparable from the country's broader political process, which includes respect for human rights and the rule of law as much as it requires development of genuine political pluralism.

Cambodia is at a crossroads. Its leaders have to decide whether they will muster the political will necessary to build an open society and a democratic process. The degree of credibility assigned to the July 27 elections by the Cambodian people will be a crucial indicator of which path is taken. NDI will continue to monitor the process and will continue to offer its assistance to those who are working to advance democracy in Cambodia.

**Summary of Observations of  
US Long Term Observation Group  
During the Pre-Campaign Period**

**May 20-June 26, 2003**

**Phnom Penh, Cambodia**

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# Summary of Observations of US Long Term Observation Group During the Pre-Campaign Period May 20-June 26, 2003

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

### Pre-Campaign Period Campaigning, Gift Giving, Pledging

Campaigning was observed in all provinces from the commencement of the observation on May 20th, even though the official campaign period did not begin until June 27. All of the major parties and all three of the major party leaders were directly and extensively involved in campaigning during the period. Both CPP and FUNCINPEC leaders used dedication ceremonies at pagodas, bridges and schools built with government or foreign funds as venues for campaigning and the distribution of presents. In some areas there were allegations that relief distributions by the government or Cambodian Red Cross have been used as a form of political patronage, or were withheld for political reasons from opposition party supporters.

Politically motivated gift giving was common, and openly practiced by all major parties. The value of most gifts is quite small, and rather than viewing this activity as pure vote buying, it is probably more accurate in most cases to see it as a ritual, a symbolic reaffirmation of the traditional feudal ties that bind patron to client. It is also often the visible symbol of membership in "the group" (see below). In several reported instances threats to deny gifts (a form of social exclusion or ostracism) seemed a more powerful motivator than the gift. Because of its symbolic and ritualistic overtones, gift giving may be a more effective motivator for voting than the size of the gift would suggest.

Pledging or swearing to support the CPP was relatively common in about a quarter of the provinces, primarily in the central region, but rare elsewhere. In Siem Reap an official admitted they engaged in the practice, but claimed that "*nobody is forced, it is their right to drink the water if they want to do so.*" Many people questioned said they had taken the pledge just to be eligible for a gift, and would still vote their conscious, but the religious overtones of the ceremony and the fact that communities participate as a group suggests this is a form of intimidation, and the pledge required for the gift is clearly prosecutable vote-buying.

### Security, Intimidation, Threats

Although most people felt that political tension was lower than prior to the 1998 and 2002 elections, politically motivated threats and intimidation continue to occur in almost all provinces. Most of the reported incidents of intimidation originate with local officials (commune officials, village chiefs, group leaders), but in former resistance or Khmer Rouge controlled provinces (those that were highly militarized most recently), the military, and to a lesser extent the police, still play a significant role in politically motivated intimidation. Almost all incidents reported involved government officials or employees (including police) affiliated with the CPP, and were directed at SRP supporters or supporters of minor parties. Many victims of threats or intimidation felt they had nowhere to complain because of the CPP domination of the election committees and village and commune governments.

One method of intimidation practiced by village officials is threatening social exclusion or ostracism. If an individual supports an opposition party or puts up an opposition sign, they may be threatened with "*exclusion*" from village life. This means they will not be eligible to receive presents from the ruling party, but at a deeper and more ominous level it means they are no longer part of the "*group*", and will not be included in village activities or receive the services, support and protection provided by group membership.

There continue to be threats related to the erection or maintenance of party signboards, although the general impression is that there is much less of a problem than in previous elections. Local officials have also threatened to deny services if an area votes for the wrong party. Other common forms of harassment or intimidation include well-known local officials or police standing near the entrance to opposition party meetings (sometimes recording the names of participants); and the playing of loud music or operation of noisy machinery to disrupt party meetings.

### **Election Environment**

Most provinces report that the current environment electoral environment is perceived as better than that in 1998 and 2002, although a few provinces are less optimistic. Reasons most commonly given for the improvement are the multi-party makeup of the new commune councils has created opportunities to build relationships and increase dialogue across parties, leading to increased tolerance and understanding; the parties have a better understanding of the election laws and regulations; and ordinary people have more access to information via TV, radio and NGOs and so know more about the process and their rights.

A legacy of the one party state, our observers noted that both ordinary citizens and government officials sometimes have difficulty differentiating between government property and CPP party property. In many areas CPP party offices are in the same compound as the commune government office, and official commune and local government meetings are often held in the CPP office. When questioned, many villagers confuse party and government, and government officials often used official government events for partisan campaigning.

Observers across the country have reported a significant increase in the number of opposition party signboards seen compared to previous elections, and suggested that this is an indication of a freer and more relaxed political environment. Political party signboards in previous elections were usually erected in front of party offices, but now signboards are commonly seen away from buildings or in empty fields, serving more like advertisements than identifiers for party offices.

### **Vietnamese Issue**

The supposed registration of illegal Vietnamese immigrants has been the subject of a number of complaints to the NEC and PEC, who have responded that as long as the people meet registration requirements, there is nothing they can do. The actual extent to which people who should be ineligible to vote have been registered has not yet been determined, but what is clear is that those on one side of this issue feel that anyone, regardless of birthplace, who is *ethnically* Vietnamese, should not be allowed to vote, while the law states that anyone who meet the requirements of citizenship, *regardless of ethnicity*, has the right to vote. We will continue to follow this contentious issue.

Allegations that Vietnamese have been illegally registered to vote have been reported from Sihanoukville, Kratie, Kampong Chhnang, Prey Veng, and Kandal provinces, primarily from SRP representatives, but occasionally from the FUNCINPEC as well. Numbers mentioned are typically small, from the tens to the low hundreds, except in Kandal where the SRP made 24 official complaints against the registration of over 100,000 people. The NEC's response to these complaints has been that as long as an individual meets the legal requirements for Cambodian citizenship, they have the right in law to be registered.

Although some ethnic Vietnamese are clearly entitled to Cambodian citizenship, others have admitted to being relatively recent immigrants who had sought Cambodian ID cards or voter registration cards prior to the 1998 election because they thought the cards would help establish citizenship and legitimize their stay in Cambodia. Meanwhile, the SRP, FUNCINPEC, and several of the smaller parties often appeal to xenophobic nationalism and racist hatred of the Vietnamese in their campaigning. They contend that the CPP is a puppet of the Vietnamese and, say that only ethnic Cambodians have the right to vote.

### **Recruitment and Composition of the PECs and CECs**

In almost all provinces the recruitment process for PECs and CECs was seen as politically biased, and in more than half of the provinces the process was seen as tainted by corruption, favoritism, and nepotism. The NEC argues that they base hiring decisions on previous experience rather than political affiliation, and that may well be true, but regardless of intent this policy has resulted in committees at every level predominantly composed of former civil servants affiliated with the CPP.

The politically homogenous makeup of both PECs and CECs has left the NEC open to charges of bias in both the recruitment process, and the administration of the election itself. In many instances party representatives have stated that there is no point in filing complaints, as the outcome is predetermined by the political makeup of the election committees. This unfortunate situation is likely to decrease the overall credibility of the election process, and contribute to political instability, particularly in the post-election period.

In some communes local people were concerned that the majority of applicants for the CEC positions came from the province or district town, where the standard of education is higher. There is currently no legal residency requirement for CEC recruitment, although it would make sense to give some priority to commune residents.

### **Party Organization**

In recent years both the SRP and the FUNCINPEC have made major efforts to develop a grassroots structure and organization comparable to that of the CPP. These efforts were driven by the realization that the CPP's success in both 1998 and 2002 was largely attributable to its ability to mobilize support at the local level. In some areas they have been successful, and the increased organizational capacity is evident. In other areas party organization is still weak.

Of the parties currently without representation in the National Assembly, the most commonly encountered and best organized (by a considerable margin in most areas) seems to be the Norodom Chakrapong Proleung Khmer Party (NCPKP). Of the other parties, Heng Dara Democratic Movement Party seems the most active.

### **Women in Politics**

Kandal province, which has high concentrations of women garment workers, seems to have the most political initiatives addressed to women. The SRP, which has close ties to many of the labor unions in Kandal, has addressed women's concerns in the area for years, but recently several other parties, including the CPP, have begun to make serious efforts to attract the female vote in Kandal. The most serious effort to appeal to women through a candidate list has been made by the NCPKP, who out of 11 primary candidates for Kandal have three women ranked number 1, 2 and 4 on the list.

### **Voter Registration**

Serious concerns about the registration process and issuance of ID cards have been expressed in about one in three provinces. There were reports from several provinces that bad film (or bad photographers) had produced unrecognizable ID card photos in many cases, and in many provinces party representatives and election committee officials were concerned that cards would not be distributed in time for the election. In some, but not all, cases there were allegation that registration problems were related to perceived party affiliation.

The NEC is aware of the problems, and has assured the parties that as long as voters have other forms of acceptable identification, the poor quality photographs or lack of voter cards will not prevent them from voting on election day. This situation is potentially destabilizing because if significant numbers of people fail to go to the polls (because they lack ID) or are turned away because of these problems, particularly if they are predominately from opposition parties, the credibility of the entire process would be severely compromised.

### **Election Complaints Process**

Although the election complaints process is still not completely functional, there have been several reports that the process is an improvement over that of previous elections. Still, there have also been several reports that party representatives were not making complaints through the official procedure because they felt it hopeless as the commune councils and election committees were dominated by the CPP. Also some representatives of the smaller parties said they felt uncomfortable complaining because all of the commune and NEC officials come from other parties.

To date, no election malefactor has ever been fined, disqualified or imprisoned through the complaints process. Currently most complaints that are resolved seem to be resolved through a conciliation process facilitated by the PECs or commune councils. In several provinces senior party PEC officials pointed to the mixed party affiliations of the commune councils as facilitating communication between parties and thus allowing a quick ability to resolve problems or disputes without needing to move to higher levels of government.

### **PROVINCIAL SUMMARIES**

#### **Banteay Meanchey**

"Gift giving is normal and everywhere and there is no sanction in the law to punish those who do," or so is the perception in Banteay Meanchey. According to the provincial governor (FUNCINPEC), gift giving happens on a large scale everywhere in the province. The SRP says that gift-giving is done by village chiefs which appears to be different from other provinces where it is usually visiting officials that distribute gifts. One domestic observer noted, "Voters are merely bought nowadays, instead of enforced (coercion) by violence." But, intimidation is also rampant. There are reports of village chiefs and police officials recording names of SRP party supporters who attend meetings. Village chiefs often have undue influence over the behaviors and activities of those they govern, and a cursory suggestion that someone might "disappear" if they continue as an activist for an opposition party is very dramatic.

There are reports of severe threats to military personnel who are supporters of opposition parties while serving as officials for the RCAF. The PEC reconciled one case, initially successfully, but there appears to be lingering problems. The victim and family have now fled after being harassed by groups of RCAF members at their house for several nights in a row. There have been several RCAF problems in Banteay Meanchey, some related to party signboards.

Residents did not explicitly note the election environment in Banteay Meanchey to be better than previous elections, which is in contrast to most other provinces that note an improvement in the overall environment. The observer has the impression that the climate is still quite intimidating, especially at the local level and in remote places and that the people will choose for peace rather than for trouble. However, the observer notes that provincial authorities are making a strong effort to improve security in general.

Many of the villagers are poor and miserable, the election process is problematic, and they hardly have faith in a situation where one party would simply replace another party in power. With the current government, they know where they are; poor but stable. Most people are not looking for trouble and they "only care about their stomachs."

The three large parties are active in the province, and three smaller parties have some signs, though not very active. There is general dissatisfaction with the CEC selection process, and claims of bias and corruption in that "only old staff has been recruited." The application process was quite short in general (1 to 1.5 days for each commune).

There is lingering discord over the registration process. In some areas, known SRP and NCPKP party members were never informed about the registration process, while CPP voters were. The PEC attempts to resolve local conflicts through mediation, rather than fines or sanctions. The PEC is knowledgeable about the technical procedures they are to follow, and seems to use common-sense to resolve sensitive issues.

### **Battambang**

Pre-campaigning was targeted at both party activists and voters with gift distribution by the three major parties, mostly by CPP. There was one gift-giving ceremony by military representatives who said, "You know where this is coming from". NCPKP has focused on membership drives and claims to have over 40,000 members, although it not established if gifts were offered as an incentive.

A human rights NGO alleged there is an unofficial CPP office that is coordinating the activities of senior public servants and assigning them to CPP campaign activities. Senior provincial officials such as the Governor (CPP) and Hun Sen attended a school building opening ceremony. A motorcade that included the Governor accompanied Sar Keng (CPP first candidate) to San Pov District. There were no reports of a similar high-level government entourage for sitting member of the National Assembly Sam Rainsy when he visited Battambang.

According to one NGO the electoral environment is better than in 1998. Although in Bavel there has been one report of harassment and assault of an SRP supporter the overall environment in Bavel seems relaxed. The Bavel District Head of FUNCINPEC said he had not been intimidated nor had the other six members present at the HQ during a meeting with the observer. He said only poor and simple rural people would be susceptible to pledging and intimidation. He added that if there was intimidation it was not from police or military, but tended to be by village chiefs.

The SRP officials in Samlot were far from relaxed and appeared frightened. The representation of SRP on Commune Councils in Samlot is only one position out of 35; the rest are CPP. The Bavel District Office Chief told the observer that the Bavel District CPP HQ was located in the Bavel Commune Office. In the Samlot District office a CPP poster was on display in the front office.

Both CPP and SRP have a women's division, with a structure at District, Commune and Village level. FUNCINPEC said they have women's activities. SRP has a youth division and they also produce the Khmer Youth newspaper of which they had thousands of copies at their HQ. FUNCINPEC also has a youth group, but CPP in Battambang do not have a separate youth division. Many of the campaign workers at the SRP Battambang HQ are young people, whereas at the other party HQs they tend to be middle aged or old. However SRP officials met by the observer in the Districts also tended to be middle aged. It would therefore seem that SRPs strongest youth appeal and support is from the urban and educated.

The PEC Chair is the former PEC Legal Officer. The former Chair was promoted to NEC and other staff are largely the same as in 2002. One NGO and the UNCOHCHR have positive assessment about PEC activities to date. The complaints process was not initially understood by Provincial FUNCINPEC or SRP, but now that the Security Committee and PEC have dealt with the topic at their two meetings it seems now to be well understood by stakeholders. A variety of complaints mostly by SRP have been registered with PEC and to human rights NGOs and the UNCOHCHR representatives. Two incidents in Samlot have been referred to the police: one involving an SRP sign and the other the assault of an SRP female supporter by a military officer who is a neighbor. The latter was not submitted to PEC.

FUNCINPEC, SRP and CPP supporters have all received poor quality photos on voter registration cards seeming to indicate that the poor photos were not due to conspiracy against any one party.



PEC received most voter education material from NEC on June 15. PEC trainers have received recent training in Phnom Penh. CEC training is yet to commence but a schedule has been drawn and PEC trainers have been assigned to communes.

### **Kampong Chhnang**

The pre-electoral climate in Kampong Chhnang is excited, but for the most part free from violence and intimidation and threats. It is noted that village chiefs hold enormous influence over the lives and attitudes of local villagers. While some village chiefs may possibly innocently encourage their village members to engage in an oath to support a particular party, it is a decision based on poor knowledge of election procedures and regulations. However, most people say that receiving gifts will not ultimately sway their vote.

People feel much less apprehension in Kampong Chhnang about having party signboards now compared to previous elections. At the grass-roots level, beyond signs and gift giving, surprising little political activity has reached voters. The CPP does not hesitate to claim their association with new roads and schools.

Parties are more likely to make complaints to EMOs and NGOs, and only later, if at all, go to the PEC. Especially on the part of the SRP, they see the entire election administrative apparatus as biased in favor of the ruling party. The SRP has no CEC members in Kampong Chhnang, because there may have been a party policy to not even bother applying since the selection process was perceived as biased, which they can then reinforce their claims that the CECs are biased.

Many voter registration card problems related to bad photos have been reported, with about 300 still waiting for their cards in Long Vek commune alone, and possibly 8,000 people who need to be located to receive their cards according to PEC. Only one complaint, which was investigated and resolved, has been made to the PEC, and that was against Vietnamese registering to vote. The ethnic Vietnamese themselves are not very keen on actually voting, but have in the past sought voter cards to help establish legal residency claims in Cambodia.

### **Kampong Cham**

The pre-campaign period in Kampong Cham saw significant activity by the three major parties, with the leaders of all three making visits to the province in various capacities. Gift giving was reported in many areas. While people in general have a calmer feeling about these elections, there is still a restrained trepidation looking towards polling day. The PEC chairman expects more violence than in previous elections, but hopes it will be controlled. The provincial Governor thinks the 2003 election will be easier than 1998 in part thanks to mixed-composition Commune Councils.

CEC selection in one district is reported by FUNCINPEC and SRP commune party chiefs to have taken place with prior agreement by the CPP and FUNCINPEC quota system. This was apparently with the plan to split the chairmanships and vice-chairmanships, and distribute the other positions in a 3:2 ratio.

Although there have been a number of killings during the pre-campaign period, UNCOHCHR concluded most were unlikely politically motivated. There were many reports of threats and intimidation through direct words and action, most often committed by CPP local officials against SRP members. But a more subtle level of intimidation seems pervasively commonplace in the villages of Kampong Cham if one is not a supporter of the CPP. Village and commune chiefs are powerful people in their communities and they use this power, as well as the ignorance of their constituents about their rights, to prevent freedom of expression and association in relation to political issues. FUNCINPEC, and in particular SRP supporters noted many difficulties faced in attending political activities, through *suggested* consequences for going to other party's activities, or by silently standing opposite other party events taking down the names of individual villages in attendance. This leads to fear of being seen, fear of losing assistance in times of trouble, fear of *feelings of exclusion*

through removal from gift-giving lists, and fear of direct violence. This results in people having to sometimes sneak out in the middle of the night or dress up so their local leaders won't see them attending other party events.

Voters who want to attend a political rally to become a better-informed voter may run the risk of being labeled by the ruling party as an opposition party supporter. There are still problems with poor or missing photographs on the voter registration forms, though the PEC chairman has issued directives to remedy this as quickly as possible. Looking forward, some people and parties express concern that storing, transporting, and counting the ballots may prove problematic. The political parties do not fully understand the complaints process, or feel the process does not work. As such, complaints are usually fielded first by local human rights NGOs.

### **Kampong Speu**

The pre-campaigning period in Kampong Speu has been relatively quiet, with but few reports of violence and intimidation. The three main parties and the NCPKP held major events in the province, but these were targeted primarily at party activists. But, "politically motivated gift-giving has regularly occurred throughout the province on occasions too numerous to count."

The lead up to the campaign period has witnessed many party placard signs being erected throughout the province, and the larger parties have started and prepared their grassroots networks that extend all the way to the village level. There have been a few politically-related threats, yet seven reported signboard incidents. Five FUNCINPEC signs were torn down, and in some cases completely destroyed. The Heng Dara Party had one incident, and the SRP has one violent incident where a party signboard was shot at by two unidentified men. The selection of CEC were generally without complaint, except for some questions in Phnom Srouch

Most local disputes and problems have been resolved through mediation. The PEC has successfully resolved at least two complaints. As in many other provinces local human rights NGOs frequently receive complaints, who then takes these directly to the NEC, which then passes the complaints back to the PEC. While most have hope for a peaceful election, some not only anticipate trouble in the post-election period, but as a senior member of one of the minor parties stated, "I hope they (the people) won't accept the results. I know they won't and we'll see people rise up in great numbers and march on Phnom Penh as in 1998."

### **Kamptot**

The major political parties were actively engaged in pre-campaigning events not only with their party activists, but also not very subtly for the public in general. People received significant threats of violence, property destruction, and other undesirable outcomes such as:

- With-holding of government services,
- With-holding of future assistance
- Refusal to intervene in personal and land disputes
- Confiscation of land
- Refusal of permission for wedding and other ceremonies.
- School teachers throughout the province being threatened by their Principals and Directors of Education that if they don't vote for the CPP, they will be transferred to schools in remote areas.
- SRP complained their supporters were threatened that their names will be removed from the local residency lists
- Muslim people have been threatened that they will be prevented from entering their Mosque for prayers

While there have been various reports of problems with voter registration cards (poor photos and/or collected by local authorities), SRP noted in Themry Commune that at one gift distribution, some local

authorities have torn out the photos from last year's registration cards because people in remote areas did not have extra copies of photos to be given in exchange for gifts.

The chairman of the PEC moves quickly to arrange meetings between disputing parties and resolve problems. Reconciliation of parties is used, with no punishments or fines imposed on any of the perpetrators. Parties generally make complaints directly to NGOs and to the PEC.

### **Kampong Thom**

The pre-campaign and electoral environment in Kampong Thom is similar to that in most other provinces. The pre-election environment is still widely considered stable and calm, but if some technical problems around voter registration cards (for an estimated 3,000 people) continue to go unresolved, or remain unresolved come election time, the potential exists for increased political and electoral tension. The three main parties actively practiced pre-campaign period campaigning. People who received gifts report that they understand that, although often unspoken, accepting a gift from this or that party implies a vote of support, but does not insure that person's loyalty.

Security is good, with some reports of burglary and banditry from Baray District, but less than previous years possibly due to the presence of the Flying Tigers military police unit. Intimidation was generally in the form of identification card or voter card confiscation by village and commune chiefs, and was normally resolved at the commune council level. There were also several reports of harassment by drunken political activists.

All parties interviewed, in spite of any complaints they may have with the registration process or intimidation issues, report that this pre-election environment is the same as, or slightly better than it was for the 2002 commune elections. This is reportedly due in large part to the multi-party commune councils improving communication and cooperation between parties. While there are 15 political parties registered with the NEC in Kampong Thom, only five or six have much of a presence in the province. These include (by decreasing party signboard numbers) CPP, SRP, FUNCINPEC, NCPPK, Hang Dara Democratic Movement Party, and Khmer Unity Party.

~~The PEC is very similar to that of 2002 and is comprised of supporters of two parties (CPP and FUNCINPEC).~~ NGOs and political parties are not satisfied with the recruitment and selection processes followed to establish local election commissions, but no complaints (formal or informal) have been made regarding the PEC composition. However, dissatisfaction is commonly voiced with the composition of the NEC. People refuse to believe that the NEC is, or even can be unbiased, since those appointed to it are staunch ruling party supporters.

One high-ranking provincial FUNCINPEC party official revealed claims that the mobile PEC team responsible for interviewing CEC applicants was bribed (unsubstantiated) to choose ruling party supporters over FUNCINPEC supporters. To date, the PEC has held only an introductory meeting with NGOs, political parties, and observers and has been part of several security trainings for police officers. They completed training on 23 June for the CECs and commune chiefs.

Technical problems encountered during registration were reported across the province and did not appear localized. However, these problems were described as "minor" by most political parties, especially when compared to problems of violent intimidation encountered during previous election periods.

PEC and other officials state that voters without photographs or voter ID cards will be allowed to vote as long as they are on the list of registered voters and have some other form of identification. Officials state that resolutions to these problems have already been reached, or are in the process of being resolved. However, unresolved photo problems continue to be reported in Baray, Prasat Balangk, Stoung, Santuk, and Sandan Districts. It is reported by one NGO that 335 individuals from five communes in Santuk District (including Pnou, Prasat, Boung Livea Communes, and two others) have yet to find satisfaction regarding their "minor" registration problems. The PEC chair estimates

the total number of individuals in the province with this problem at more than 3,000, but he says that these problems would be remedied by 10 July. It is not yet clear which parties are affected, and to what extent. So far no clear bias for or against any particular political party has been identified or quantified.

### **Kandal**

CPP campaigning was commonly joined with local development project such as road development, school or pagoda ceremonies continues with gifts giving in at least 10 out of 11 districts in the province. Local candidates from CPP use pagodas for their campaign activities. Pledging or swearing is not very common although it happened in at least two districts Laeuk Deuk and Kandal Steung. After receiving gifts people were asked to put a thumbprint beside their name. Local authorities and local leaders threaten people in all districts in Kandal that they will not receive assistance in the future if they don't vote for the ruling party.

The organizing methods of the CPP are sophisticated and spread almost evenly to all levels of society in rural areas. According to one NGO informant the CPP is using two new strategies: The first is to attract more voters on pagoda communities so they can influence religious leaders as well as their followers to vote for CPP through monks and nuns. According to him, this method is adapted from SRP on the previous commune election 2002. The second new strategy is to offer villagers picnics to famous sites or temples.

~~The number of problems related to signboards seems very low compared to the election in 1998.~~ NCPKP reported six party signboards in Mok Kompul district were pulled out by local police and one in Saang District.

Most commune council members spoken to by the observer felt that multi-party participation in the commune council has prevented disputes related to the election, particularly related to party signboards, compared to the election in 1998. Commune Council members believe that people and party activists now are better informed about election-related information through radio, TV and posters than before and this reduces friction amongst them. ~~One NGO informant said tension has been recently emerging among commune council members as they started to think about party interests during the campaign period.~~

Small parties lack funds to compete and lack supporters. Khmer Unity Party has only recruited 7 persons in Ponhea Leu district and raised 2 party signboards. While Heng Dara has party signboards in the communes, it does not seem to have many supporters. They have paid families to raise the signs. Not only do they lack funds, but also treatment from local authorities towards small parties is claimed to be slow. The small party Khmer Unity party will not do its own polling day and counting observation, but will rely on the big parties to monitor.

The CPP has very strong strategies for gaining women voters through their Women's Association at all levels. SRP tries to push women to get involved in politics and they have provided training on women in politics at all levels. CPP, NCPKP and SRP have been approaching women factory workers through labor unions and meetings. The CPP said they would use any means to attract disabled voters by promising to assist with health care and contact some NGOs to have projects in the areas in the future. Like the rest of the country CPP has the strongest campaign strategies to address local issues.

PEC has conducted only two meetings; once during the registration period and the second time on June 23. Political parties criticize PEC for being very slow to respond to problems such as problems of photos on voter cards, which creates suspicion among political parties. PEC has decided that it will assign one person to handle these problems immediately. FUNCINPEC and SRP are very concerned that registration problems were the result of political bias rather than poor administration.

## **Kep**

Pre-campaign activities, including gift giving, were very common, especially by the CPP. There were common reports of pledging, swearing, and placing thumbprints to receive gifts. There were various reports of politically motivated signboard vandalism, and also threats and intimidation against political activists from local leaders reported in Kep. The Mayor of Kep said that most victims of intimidation are reluctant to make written complaints for fear of reprisals.

It was reported that "Opposition parties go down to the village level and organize indoor meetings of 20 to 30 people at a time. In this process, they face obstruction from local authorities who are alerted through their own information network and stand by the roadside to take down the names of people who attend."

There is concern by many local people that the counting process will not be transparent enough, and there will be opportunity for problems such as the stuffing of boxes during transport and counting. The PEC has responded to two complaints. The first was resolved, but the second showed that local people are quite hesitant to complain against powerful officials.

## **Koh Kong**

There are concerns from varied sources including political parties, government officials, human rights groups, and private business owners that the general security situation has become more tense leading up to elections. This is evident in two problems with SRP activists, one of whom was imprisoned on 26 June, and general intimidation caused by province-wide collection of voter registration cards. In addition, security problems related to a conflict between an NGO and a large community of villagers who are financially dependent on the protected forest has escalated into violence and also involves a grassroots FUNCINPEC activist.

Similar to other provinces there is evidence of threats of social exclusion and lack of access to services to suspected or known supporters of opposition parties. The collection of voter cards is causing widespread intimidation (particularly in Sre Ambel and Mondul Seima Districts) where village and group chiefs have collected voter cards for 1-2 days, and then given the cards back to voters with a paper attached which has their name and voter number. In some cases, when cards are returned, people are told their name and registration number is being kept in a computer and they are told: "If you vote for another party, I will know." SRP believes that some names are being removed from registration lists in this process. If so, the problem will likely only be discovered on election day because it is believed that many people did not check their names on the list and then they will have no recourse.

Although the PEC and CEC consist of CPP supporters there is not a consensus that it is necessarily biased. FUNCINPEC complained that the PEC was selected from relatives of the PEC chief. The PEC chief agreed that this was true, but said that their selection was based on ability also. PEC appears to be responding to problems and reportedly the PEC meetings are useful and informative with all participants raising valid concerns and keeping others informed of problems and issues.

There is the impression that the PEC is strongly biased and only makes decisions in favor of the ruling CPP. There are NEC voter education posters evident throughout the province.

## **Kratie**

There was widespread campaigning, before the official period, by the three main parties mainly directed towards voters rather than towards party activists. Prince Ranariddh visited the party provincial headquarters and both Hun Sen and Sar Kheng visited to expound the virtues of the CPP. Though there are reports of pledging and thumb printing, these do not appear to have been widespread practices in the run up to the official campaign period.

The election environment has improved since the 1998 election in terms of security. Several sources said that there has been less hardcore violence or threats from the local authorities, although some caution is needed in the more isolated areas. It appears that there is an increase in more subtle threats and intimidation on a personal level.

There have been 19 alleged threats and incidents from the beginning of the voter registration period until June 25. An anonymous letter was sent two times to a SRP female activist saying that if she continued working for the party, she would be killed. This was passed to SRP Kratie, to ADHOC, to PEC, and to the police commissioner in Kratie. The local police have given her daytime protection and she continues to work for the SRP. NGOs have informed the PEC of the other incidents, but the PEC has done very little or nothing, the reason normally given was that the complaint was received too late. Four of these incidents involved police/military, some who were off-duty at the time and have been punished by work suspension.

It appears that the use of the complaints process has obstacles because people at village level are afraid to describe incidents against them for fear of reprisals. Party agents do not trust that the election authorities will resolve a problem, and do not use the official procedures, even if they are understood. The level of voter sophistication seems higher due to improved communication networks and experience from previous elections.

It appears that FUNCINPEC in Kratie is a little de-motivated and not too organized. Their power base has been eroded, but with two princesses among the three primary candidates, and regular visits from Prince Ranariddh, this could change as traditional loyalties towards the royal family/party are tapped during the campaign period. In contrast to FUNCINPEC's apparent decline in the province, SRP representatives are very active and people working in the central provincial office are enthusiastic and hopeful, if a little fearful whether justified or not is unclear.

There has been some speculation of bias in PEC decision-making, though there has not been universal condemnation and no evidence has been provided. It seems as if the PEC is at least trying to appear to act in an impartial manner. One NGO informant claimed widespread corruption in CEC recruitment with money paid to secure a position. During the registration there are claims that 1,123 potential voters were not successfully registered and the PEC has not yet resolved the problem.

### **Mondolkiri**

Mondolkiri is Cambodia's forgotten province – there is very little international NGO presence, the roads (apart from the main one to the provincial capital and a handful of tertiary roads) cannot really be described as roads, there is only one TV channel broadcasting from Vietnam, poor electricity supply, no airplanes, and few tourists. Despite this, there has been some effort to attract voters by campaigning before the official period, targeted at activists and voters, by both CPP and FUNCINPEC. In Pu Tang village, Oreang District, the villagers described a high level CPP delegation that came to their village bearing gifts. There was an unconfirmed report that the opening of a Cambodia Red Cross road was used as an occasion to pass on political messages by CPP. Similar to the rest of the country there are not many incidents of pledging, thumb-printing, etc.

Most people agree that general security in the province has greatly improved since 1998, though some caution is needed in the more isolated areas, especially the gold mining area in Keo Seima District. From the commencement of the voter registration period there are credible complaints of eight incidents that seem to be politically motivated. Village leaders were implicated in around half of the incidents and, of the eight, seven were directed at the SRP and one towards the CPP, half of the incidences from Koh Neak district. Few, if any, of the incidents have been resolved to any degree of satisfaction. Police and military have been involved in two of the incidents. The SRP representatives feel particularly uneasy about their personal security and feel uneasy about their right to express their views.

Pnong ethnic minority villagers (only 20% of the population of Mondolkiri is Khmer) appear surprisingly canny about the election and do not feel obliged to vote for a party just because gifts have been received. They realize the ballot is secret and don't, in general, believe rumors to the contrary. They regard Khmers warily and are not blinded by their comparative sophistication. The Pnong see the election as an opportunity to improve their livelihoods.

Sources say that FUNCINPEC is quite well organized, although the CPP party holds all the cards in the province and their activities are well orchestrated. The SRP receives virtually no support from Phnom Penh and don't seem prepared. They say they will conduct the campaign "silently", secretly going to villages unannounced to promote the party.

Around 40% of the PEC staff worked in the 1998 election, but has greater composition from the 2002 commune election (50%+). Around 60% of CEC members worked in the 1998 election – it is claimed all have CPP or FUNCINPEC allegiance, mainly CPP, and therefore considered bias towards that party.

No SRP supporters bothered to apply for CEC positions as they felt they had no chance of success. There have also been claims (by three separate sources) of corruption; that money had to be paid to secure a job. Unlike most other provinces Mondolkiri has regular weekly PEC meetings and have been doing so for some time.

The SRP are particularly worried about the new counting process and would like more observers to oversee the process especially in the more remote areas.

### **Oddar Meanchey**

Gift giving and pre-campaigning was targeted at voters and there was pledging and thumb-printing for CPP membership. There are signboards only for the three main parties. SRP, especially in Osmach, sounds optimistic about their increase in support, whereas the FUNCINPEC seems demoralized. There are a few SRP signboards visible in Anlong Veng and a few FUNCINPEC and SRP signboards in Trapeang Prasath. In the rest of the province, especially out of district towns, FUNCINPEC signboards seem to have disappeared.

Particularly problematic areas in Oddar Meanchey are Anlong Veng and especially in Trapeang Prasath district, which until late 1998 were occupied by the Khmer Rouge and where at least two district chiefs are former Khmer Rouge commanders. Officials from the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces are frequently involved in threatening villagers, in close cooperation with local authorities in these two districts, but their presence is also strong in other districts. Violence includes tearing down opposition party signboards and threats to confiscate houses and land. It is not clear how much control the provincial police actually have over the military. In Osmach Commune the FUNCINPEC governor appears not to have much influence any longer, whereas the border police, Thai casino owners, and Phnom Penh high-ranking officials seem to yield more of the power.

The level of trust of election officials by parties and domestic election observers is low. Opposition parties expect there will be biased decisions from PEC or as has already happened complaints are dismissed as "not serious" or "personal", especially when military are involved. The climate of suspicion and intimidation appear higher than the rest of the country with accusations by one CPP district chief that "all election observers" are biased and PEC saying that SRP and FUNCINPEC bring personal conflicts into politics.

The people of Oddar Meanchey seem very vulnerable to intimidation and threats, and not aware of the election and their civic rights. NGOs have not yet begun voter education. A general complaint from the former Khmer Rouge areas and other areas is that village and commune chiefs gather villagers to educate them (to vote for CPP) and tell them "they know for whom they vote because of computers". One commune chief prevented COMFREL from distributing voter education leaflets to villagers.

## **Pailin**

Generally there is a greater level of fear and apprehension in Pailin compared to neighboring Battambang, with the exception of Samlot. Pailin and Samlot are both former Khmer Rouge areas and this will only be their second national election or five years of democracy rather than the 10 years the rest of the country has experienced. With such short exposure to democratic principles and a long experience of complete and ruthless dictatorship there is greater apprehension and nervousness in former Khmer Rouge zones.

There is signage for the three main parties as well as at least two signs for NCPKP. The three major parties have recruited and trained party agents province-wide. Pre-campaigning was targeted at both party activists and voters by the three major parties. Reports say that the governor uses a vehicle with government license plates when campaigning and that before the visit of Hun Sen three of his body guards visited an SRP representative and asked for the removal of an SRP signboard before the visit.

The opposition parties tend to view the authorities as partisan and rather than considering them the defenders of their security they consider them to be their prime security risk. An SRP youth activist was reported killed and robbed of his motorbike by at least one soldier on May 10 and the case is currently under investigation. It is believed that the accused was taken for questioning on June 17 after a testimony from his border commander naming him as the murderer.

~~The Chair of the PEC has changed since the 2002 elections; it is now Ms Ieng Sophy the daughter of former Khmer Rouge leader Ieng Sary and the sister of the CPP Deputy Governor Ieng Vuth. The PEC has held three meetings to date to which all stakeholders were invited. The Security Committee has also met and the military reported that they have completed their election training and that plans have already been agreed between the police, military and military police. They expect to deploy around 1,500 personnel on polling day for the 43 polling stations.~~

~~FUNCINPEC strongly believes that the PEC makes politically biased decisions and therefore wonder about the value of submitting complaints. SRP also felt that PEC was not impartial, but were less concerned as they stated they had contacts within the PEC who kept them regularly informed.~~

There seems to be general wariness and lack of interest by some government and election officials to meet with US-funded LTO. The PEC electronically recorded the meeting with the observer. A senior military figure's mood became noticeably negative when the LTO said that the observation mission is US-funded.

Until June 10 no complaints had been filed at the PEC. On June 11 FUNCINPEC said that nothing was worthy of a complaint. After that FUNCINPEC made two complaints to ADHOC regarding signs. An SRP representative said she sent a complaint to PEC and other organizations regarding the release of a murder suspect. ADHOC has investigated most complaints and have found the facts often to be incorrect, and with the exception of one murder, to have little substance. As complaints need to be investigated the submission of inaccurate or insignificant complaints detracts from credibility and the time available to follow up serious complaints.

## **Preah Vihear**

Pre-campaigning was actively practiced by the three main parties. The CPP's ability to mobilize gift-giving resources far outweighed those of the other parties. Security is generally good, but with common burglary and banditry reported in some districts. Reports of non-violent intimidation were common across the province during the pre-campaign period. Intimidation was generally in the form of verbal threats by village and commune chiefs, and forced oaths of support. Village chiefs are said to have been threatening villagers, and "instructing" them to vote for only the ruling party.



Although 9 parties are registered in the province, only the three largest have wide representation. The CPP is the best organized and prepared, though FUNCINPEC and SRP have extended their networks to the grassroots level. The PEC has a similar composition to previous election, and NGOs and political parties are not satisfied with the recruitment and selection process for CECs. Only one complaint has been submitted to the PEC, which was resolved. Parties generally expressed a desire not to complain about problems they view as small, but if they do complain they would normally go straight to the NEC. Overall understanding of the electoral complaints process is low.

There were provincial-wide problems with voter ID cards, particularly with bad photos. A limited number of voter education events have occurred in the province (COMFREL, ADHOC, NIFEC dramas).

### **Prey Veng**

Similar to the rest of the nation, voters across Prey Veng were the recipients of gifts and were participants in campaign-like activities by each of the main parties. During June the parties intensified their campaign activities, seemingly dropping the non-campaign pretense in the process. Though provincial level officials were reluctant to speak of gift-giving activities, commune and village level party officers and ordinary people spoke openly about it. At the other end of the gift-giving spectrum, Hun Sen and other CPP patrons used the occasion of Hun Sen's dedication visits to donate significant public works projects, equipment and money to the local community.

~~Similar to reports from observers in almost the entire country the perceptions of provincial level party~~ and electoral officials and human rights organizations in Prey Veng are that reports of intimidation and threats are fewer and that the level of fear is less than in the 1998 and 2002 elections. Like most of the other provinces threats of violence from police or military were rare, whereas it appears that village chiefs and less often commune level officials seem to be at the center of many of the reports of irregularities. The threat to withhold government or village services was by far the most common form of intimidation.

~~Human rights organizations have been receiving regular reports of card collection, thumb-printing, gift-giving, and low-level intimidation and threats from around Prey Veng. However, until the week of June 25 the PEC itself had not received any formal complaints. (The complaint was filed by CPP against FUNCINPEC.) This reflects a similar situation to nearly all other provinces where parties choose to report complaints to their party or to NGOs rather than to the PEC.~~

Both FUNCINPEC and CPP party officials and candidates make specific reference to particular local issues far more than SRP or NCPKP who tend to focus on their national platforms. SRP supporters and officials tend to speak of large issues such as corruption, judicial impunity and human rights, but rarely related it to specific local problems. All of Hun Sen's local speeches contain examples of local references, such as promising schools in Kampong Trabaek District or flood control at the Neak Loeung market.

PEC officials report that the experience they gained in the previous two elections has lent an air of routine to their job and made things run much more smoothly and that they are very satisfied with the timely and complete delivery of materials and instructions from the NEC, stating that this represents a big change from both 1998 and 2002. Commune level party officials have noted that it is much easier to get permission from local authorities to raise signboards and there are fewer complaints about problems with local authorities.

The CEC selection process has been a sore point for the opposition parties in Prey Veng as well as the rest of the country. Opposition parties noted that the experience requirement as listed in NEC criteria excluded them from contention, and ensured "the old people" would get the jobs. After the selection of the CECs was finalized, opposition people expressed disappointment and frustration with the selection process and the results. A FUNCINPEC provincial party official said that in light of what with the CECs, the same will likely occur when the PEC organizes polling station staff, and even

when new PEC staff is chosen and further, that "it's the same as the NEC, all controlled by the ruling party."

According to human rights organizations, SRP, FUNCINPEC and NCPKP, several complaints were filed with commune councils and the NEC regarding the registration of ineligible Vietnamese, and of underage voters. The registration of ineligible Vietnamese has been a significant and contentious issue in Prey Veng, though not as significant as the selection of the CECs. Depending on the election results it could be a point of post-election debate in Prey Veng.

According to the PEC Chairman, the PEC just received its voter education material from the NEC recently and a voter education plan is in place for July involving voter educational posters and banners, and roving loud speaker cars that will systematically cover the entire province. Human rights and EMO are actively doing voter education, radio broadcasts and posterings. NGOs with fewer resources and who depend on volunteer activists are finding it more difficult to motivate personnel to do village-level education.

### **Pursat**

All three main parties were involved in gift giving in the pre-campaign period, the size of gifts being proportional to the resources of the party. Many accusations were made, mostly by the SRP, that government resources such as cars and working hours were used during these meetings. A large CPP rally for teachers and high school students from Bakan District took place during school hours and ~~was therefore disruptive to the students' education and the teachers' work.~~ Although events such as road and school openings should be neutral and open to everyone, it was reported that in one school in Kravanh District all the teachers were invited to a road-opening ceremony except known SRP activists.

The commonest form of intimidation has been the threat of withholding of assistance if villagers attended a meeting of the SRP. In one case they were told they would be expelled from the village, and teachers were told that if they attended a FUNCINPEC meeting they would be sent to work in a remote school. There are a few cases of shooting deaths or non-fatal shootings that SRP and human rights groups believe to be politically motivated, but are either not yet investigated by authorities or have been declared as "personal disputes".

The CPP is very well organized for the election campaign and is drawing on its army of government workers at all levels and all government departments, plus the security forces. Already in government offices there is a noticeable absenteeism of staff due to their taking on election campaign tasks. The election was also reported to be having an effect on levels of illegal logging and fishing, as commune authorities and security officials are busy with pre-campaign activities and are unwilling to risk losing votes or being accused of victimization if they arrest anyone. Different than some other provinces FUNCINPEC is also well organized and has some government resources to call upon, e.g. a Deputy Provincial Governor, a District Governor and many commune council members. The SRP has little government representation and therefore resources, except for a few commune council representatives.

PEC officials are overwhelmingly CPP, including at least one high-ranking party official (a District Party Chairman). The neutrality of the PEC Chairman is dubious because he was formerly the Provincial Director of Information, which controls the state media; furthermore his wife is a CPP National Assembly candidate for Pursat (no. 6 on the list). The PEC has been efficient in organizing weekly meetings, in which political parties, local authorities, NGOs, police and the military participate, often including the governor or deputy governor. While the meetings are a good opportunity for the different groups to meet, it sometimes seems that preserving a cordial atmosphere is more important than addressing the real problems. It seems as though the Chairman is very hands-off just facilitating dialogue between officials rather than enforcing rules.

The PEC is well versed in the election law regarding complaints and they trained the CECs on the complaints procedure on 20-21 June. No complaints have been forwarded by the PEC to the NEC.

Unlike other provinces the PEC has not investigated any complaints itself, but contacts the local police to do an investigation. PEC says it doesn't have the human resources to do its own investigations, because its staff is 'too busy'. The neutrality of police, especially around election time, has been questioned by the political parties and NGOs such as COMFREL, so their investigations and verdicts are not trusted, although it is doubtful whether a PEC investigation would be considered any more trustworthy. The observer heard frequent complaints from (non-CEC) teachers that PEC officials appointed their relatives to CECs. One CEC, in Banteay Dei, appears to contain three or four PEC family members. There were also a few allegations that CEC candidates paid a half-month's salary to the PEC as a bribe.

### **Ratanakiri**

Gift giving by CPP and FUNCINPEC was observed in May, but seemed to intensify in June throughout the province. While not overtly linking CPP with Red Cross gifts Bun Rany the PM's wife, who is the President of the Cambodian Red Cross, was mentioned during Red Cross gift disbursements. Insecticide-impregnated mosquito nets were also used by CPP for its political benefits by at least one village chief who said the nets were for CPP villagers. The NGO staff later corrected this impression after FUNCINPEC complained.

In general, there have not been major incidents of intimidation, threats, violence or security problems reported in the province. However, CPP commune and village chiefs went around to villages to collect names of SRP members and warn them they would not get any assistance if they vote for SRP. ~~One chief also said if SRP wins, there would be war and the "yuon" would enter Cambodia to fight SRP.~~

Many people expect the election will be peaceful like those in the past. The FUNCINPEC Lomphat District chief said that this time people feel freer to vote, but he still speculated that the CPP would use as many activists as possible to "work" in each village in the night before election. Generally, ethnic minority villagers will follow their village leaders/elders to vote for CPP, which is the main concern of the other parties. In at least two districts SRP members gave up the idea of having signboards in the village due to intimidation. ~~In other areas of the province, however, there are CPP and other parties' signboards.~~

Only FUNCINPEC seems to have a clear approach to involve women in the election. In Lomphat District FUNCINPEC has 10 female activists.

The PEC chief of Ratanakiri has been the same person since the 1993 election, and many members present are the same as before: all CPP except for one FUNCINPEC-affiliated member. The PEC chief was accused by FUNCINPEC and SRP and in some cases by the public of too much cronyism—recruiting many of his relatives to work in the PEC office. CEC members selected from communes other than their home is typical in Ratanakiri.

The lack of voter card photos was a serious concern as reported in many districts (Lomphat, O'Yadao, Bor Keo, Kon Mum, and Taveng), due to many reasons such as poor skill of the commune clerk in taking pictures, poor quality of film, no batteries, and so on. In Kon Mum District, the figure given by the district governor was 1,109 voters who did not have photo on their voter cards. This was contrary with what PEC chief told the meeting on 13 June when he estimated between 100-200 voters who do not have photos on their voter cards. He did not give a clear solution, but said people should try to solve the problem by themselves by getting other photo (maybe cutting it out from a wedding photo!) and placing it on the card and have it stamped by the commune chief to validate it.

PEC had not received any voter education materials by mid-June. Many people, especially ethnic minority villagers were not sure if their ballot casting is secret as they thought that someone may know for whom they vote.

## **Siem Reap**

Like the rest of the country gift giving is very commonplace in Siem Reap. However, in Siem Reap it appears to have resulted in both FUNCINPEC and SRP representatives notably discouraged by the fact that neither of them can come close to giving as many gifts to as many people as CPP. The practice of having those who pledge their support to CPP drink the sacred water is extremely effective because villagers seem very earnest and committed to living by the promise they made before receiving the gifts. It is common practice to offer generous gifts to opposition party activists such as \$1,000 or a new motorcycle; or for offers of cash payments to remove an opposition party sign from one's home.

Intimidation has been reported by just about everyone from political party activists and supporters, to commune and village level officials (who are not CPP members) to most commonly, villagers. There are many reports by individuals who simply "don't want trouble" or don't want to be alienated from their communities or who worry that the village or commune chief will "disown" them if they don't vote for CPP. People in Siem Reap do not seem particularly fearful that there will be violence on election day. Several individuals, however, have expressed that should the ruling party not win the majority of seats, a war might ensue. Some villagers and market vendors expressed that it might not be worth the risk of voting for another party because it is not worth the risk of returning to war.

The Siem Reap PEC is the same in composition as it was in 2002 with the exception of one deputy who is new. It appears that the CEC composition is very much the same as last year and this is attributed by many to being the result of political bias or limited skills of those who applied. Of two CEC interviewed neither of the chairmen are actually from the commune where he will be presiding.

There are informal comments from both the SRP and FUNCINPEC that the PEC makes politically biased decisions but LICADHO reported that they felt that the decision made on the first complaint filed (intimidation in Svey Leu) was a fair decision.

PEC has distributed to CECs posters for display at the commune and village levels. CECs reported no other forms of voter education and stated that they are just beginning to make a strategy for voter education within their communities. Generally speaking, voters in Siem Reap report being better informed than in the last elections and are confident, for example, that they will have no difficulty completing their ballots correctly.

NGO voter education has happened with some regularity but not always with effectiveness. After hearing from one NGO that their volunteers distributed thousands of flyers, for example, when asked if they had read the flyers, villagers reported that they remember having gotten them but not what they said. Many of them either could not read what was written or did not understand it. CCHR has been doing democracy and elections-related education but participants have been either SRP or FUNCINPEC activists with a seemingly higher degree of knowledge than ordinary voters.

## **Sihanoukville/Kampong Som**

As in the rest of the country gift giving was common in Sihanoukville. Villagers and opposition party officials complain that Cambodian Red Cross aid, which should be targeted at the poor, is being distributed to CPP supporters who are not always the poorest in the village. In addition, in one commune, private businessmen on recommendation of village chiefs offered jobs and land to CPP supporters. Sources from FUNCINPEC and SRP said the CPP activists – organized in cells each responsible for three voters (versus ten in the last election) – would be responsible for buying at least 40,000 votes at 5,000-10,000 riel.

It appears that the authorities, down to the Commune level, have been well briefed about the importance of this election being perceived as "free" and "just" and being given a stamp of approval by the international community. Their rhetoric is largely law-abiding, but their actions are more often

partisan and intimidating and sometimes clearly threatening. The alleged perpetrators are most often village chiefs. Most often, threats are targeted at service, land and livelihood issues. For example:

*"If the CPP wins the election [SRP supporters] will be forced to leave the village. If you still want to live here, you should vote for the CPP."* – alleged threat by Village Chief

*"You always make a lot of complaints. You should be shot to death,"* – Village chief to the sister of a woman he had beaten after she filed a land dispute complaint in March.

Unlike most other provinces there are few people who think the environment is better than in previous elections. Like the rest of the country few people are worried about election day violence; however villagers and authorities have voiced concern that problems may occur after the election. Villagers fear that depending on who wins the election, they will suffer retribution for their perceived political backing, and will be left undefended by their own party.

There are concerns that people without registration cards, a subcategory being those without photos, will not be able to vote. In many areas it is perceived as being a problem associated with opposition registrants. In some of those cases, allegations of partisan intimidation are associated with "administrative" problems. It remains to be seen to what degree the problem will be simply that people decide not to bother voting to avoid further hassles and intimidation in the process of resolving their voter registration card problems.

FUNCINPEC and SRP are concerned about where the votes will be counted and whether there are enough observers to monitor all counting stations. On the other hand some villagers appear concerned that the counting process in the last election was too localized and left little to the imagination about who voted for what party.

There is little evidence throughout the province that there has been any voter education. Lack of information and education has caused confusion and sometimes obstruction to the electoral process. One SRP activist noted that some people do not understand well about elections and are simply ~~waiting for gifts to decide for whom to vote.~~ In addition, it appears that commune officials in some cases do not understand the process and laws of elections.

### **Stung Treng**

Gift giving events (scarfs, MSG) were reported throughout the province carried out by FUNCINPEC and especially CPP. The CPP's gift giving ceremonies were mostly restricted to those who had party identification, as so-called CPP activists or CPP members. The gift giving activities of FUNCINPEC were reported to be more flexible in terms of beneficiaries. Not only FUNCINPEC members received the gifts. Usually there were not strong words against any other parties, although in the ceremony in O'Svay commune, senior provincial FUNCINPEC members who presided over the event did strongly criticize the SRP. No gift giving activities of SRP had been reported or observed. However, SRP was accused by the other two main parties of distributing the party leaflets before the campaign period. The SRP denied this claiming the leaflets were given to the party's "activists" only. There has not been destructive incidents for party signboards in Stung Treng and more signboards have sprung up throughout the province.

SRP accused CPP members of intimidating its members by telling them that SRP patients may not be treated by health staff (in Srae Koh commune of Se San district), and asking why SRP students are going to the Hun Sen School. The second case was reported by FUNCINPEC that one FUNCINPEC family in Sam Ang commune of Thala Boriwat district was threatened by CPP activists to thumbprint to support CPP. The most recent case is the brief detention of the FUNCINPEC deputy governor of Siem Bok district by police for allegedly preparing demonstration during Mr Hun Sen visit to Stung Treng on 23 June. The Stung Treng FUNCINPEC governor made intervention that led to the release of that deputy district governor who was then moved to work at governor's house in Stung Treng for security reason.

The observer got the impression that most informants in Stung Treng felt that the environment before this election is much better than the previous ones. However, some of them were still not sure how the situation would be when the polling date comes closer. All three major parties in the province agreed that there had not been serious cases of problem in Stung Treng in the past elections, and they hoped that the province would maintain this reputation. However, the FUNCINPEC and SRP still doubted that the CPP may use vote gaining tactics the night before the polling date.

The multi-party commune councils had a positive effect on improving election. Mr Chay Sarin (SRP vice chief of O'Svay commune, Thala Boriwat district) believed that the situation has been better since SRP has been present in the commune council. This was confirmed by Mr Vanny ( the SRP chief for Thala Boriwat district), although he said it was difficult in the beginning in some commune councils where SRP has its members.

FUNCINPEC seemed to have the most systematic strategies to involve women in the election through its women's movement. CPP and SRP do not seem to have a specific approach to women. The selection of polling observers of FUNCINPEC and SRP in Preah Rumkel commune of Thala Boriwat district has five male and five female observers for each party for five polling stations.

The FUNCINPEC and SRP were unhappy about the composition of Stung Treng PEC, as they said most of them are same old CPP people, and mostly are teachers or teacher-related persons. The selection of CECs was widely criticized by SRP officials in Siem Bok and Thala Boriwat district as biased, partisan, and non-transparent. In Preah Rumkel commune of Thala Boriwat district, SRP accused that the CPP district authorities had worked out the names of CEC members beforehand, and hence the selection process was just a show.

PEC in Stung Treng already met twice (12 June and 25 June), and set the date for the weekly meeting every Thursday morning. There were a few complaints filed to PEC in the period before election campaign. The first one was filed by SRP on problem in voter registration by its members in O'Mareah commune of Siem Bok district that was settled by PEC. The second and third ones were the distribution of leaflets before the campaign period of SRP and the Intabot Borei party which PEC called both parties to explain and settle the issue. No complaints had been forwarded to NEC so far.

Most officials at commune of political parties we talked to said that there are procedures for the complaint process. However, when asked how to go about that they said they could not elaborate and still waited for training/meeting with their provincial people on the days nearing to campaign or election. Some also said they need to be "refreshed" or have to go back to the book or kit given by their respective party. Some commune level party officials did not know exactly where the vote counting would take place.

### **Svay Rieng**

All three of the main political parties conducted pre-campaigning activities with FUNCINPEC and CPP parties targeting party activists or supporters, while the SRP targeted all voters. FUNCINPEC candidates met with the party's supporters in all 690 villages in the province. Hun Sen opened a school in front of a crowd that appeared composed mostly of CPP supporters, but there was no call for anyone to vote for the ruling party. Sam Rainsy held a total of six meetings attended by supporters and other people, including onlookers. Pledging, swearing or thumbprints required to receive gifts have not been reported, possibly because the CPP is so strong in Svay Rieng that there is no need for such tactics and that they only give gifts to their known supporters.

There have been various cases of signs damaged due to "wind damage" or removal due to alleged dissension within party ranks, but also reports by SRP that people were threatened if they agreed to put up signs. Generally speaking, most cases of intimidation reported involved local members and activists of the SRP. Specific threats reported include being visited at night, being followed around, being asked questions such as, "Why did you go to this political meeting?" Both FUNCINPEC and SRP reported that some villagers were discouraged to attend their meetings. In two separate districts,

there have been reports of threats being addressed at monks and elders whose pagodas had welcomed meetings with Sam Rainsy.

Similar to the 1998 election there have been 10 Flying Tigers present in the province since a robbery grenade around April 2003. An SRP activist who was the victim of a recent signboard vandalism incident said that he has seen the Tigers driving along at night in his village and thought that they would serve as a deterrent against crime. More widespread amongst the SRP local representatives is a general feeling of being isolated, of sleeping or living in fear. Similar to most provinces intimidation is generally blamed on the commune and village authorities, but with some involvement by the police mentioned in one case.

Some FUNCINPEC representatives said that the general climate was more open than in 1998, but that intimidation and threats were now conducted on an individual basis such as through bureaucratic hassles (e.g. difficult access to land titling documents and official ID certificates). In general it seems that people have benefited from their past experience in elections as well as from voters' education programs and seem to be aware that their ballot will be secret.

There is general discontent or lack of trust that PEC or CEC will make unbiased decisions given the dominance of the CPP on various bodies. Currently all PEC members come from the ruling party. FUNCINPEC said they presented high-level candidates to the PEC, but without any success. The first weekly meeting by PEC was held on 25 June. There will be four more weekly meetings during the election campaign.

The SRP has reported a number (360) of cases of people that could be prevented from voting because their registration paper does not bear any photo (photos were allegedly damaged). Concerns were raised by the SRP about illegal registration of Vietnamese but no official complaints were made. FUNCINPEC is concerned that party agents will not be able to cover the polling process, and even more so, the counting process properly. "If we cannot solve this problem, the elections will be like in 1998 because all CECs are from the CPP", said a party provincial representative.

#### **Takeo**

At the village and commune level, there were many reports of threats and intimidation against political activists. But, there were no threats reported to have been made by police or soldiers. Many people have no confidence in the secrecy of the ballot because they have been told by village officials that they have a way of knowing how people voted, with the help of hidden cameras and computers.

There is a general feeling that the election environment is better than in previous election because of a decrease in the number of serious crimes, such as shootings, grenade throwing, etc. However, they felt that threats and gift giving is more rampant compared to previous elections. There are more total, and more varied, political signboards in the province. All parties (except the ruling party) and NGO observers believe that the PEC makes politically biased decisions.

There has been several voter education events occur in Takeo. A Youth Forum with the three largest parties was organized June 21st, with over 120 students from Takeo town. NICFEC conducted a late-night drama session from 9 PM to 2 AM on May 28th. COMFREL had a film showing on June 25th. While these activities are highly beneficial, they are very localized and simply scratch the surface in filling the void of voter education.

**END**

**US-FUNDED LONG TERM INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION GROUP  
2003 CAMBODIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION**

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**SUMMARY REPORT FOR THE PERIOD  
June 26 – July 1, 2003**

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**2003 CAMBODIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION  
SUMMARY REPORT FOR THE PERIOD  
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## **1 CAMPAIGNING**

### **1.1 Start of Campaigning**

The campaign period officially began Thursday June 26. In more populous provinces the start of the campaign season was marked by large rallies by the big three parties, more limited activity from two or three of the more viable smaller parties, with all the rest more or less invisible. In less populous provinces, particularly those with only one seat, campaigning was more subdued than in the larger provinces. In some instances, parties that had seemed relatively inactive in the pre-campaign period demonstrated unexpected strength in the first few days of campaigning. Because of a concern about campaign regulations, there also appears to have been a decrease in gift giving.

In Kampong Cham the CPP, FUNCINPEC, and NCPKP all launched their campaigns on Thursday 26 July. The CPP event was very well organized and attended by (according to the CPP) 10,000 supporters from 6 districts, who arrived and left in 130 trucks. Participants were dressed in CPP hats and shirts and their vehicles were decorated with CPP banners, posters and flags. The proceedings were led by the CPP Minister for Foreign Affairs, who (according to our observer) gave a very dull speech, reading directly from notes to the participants who were seated in chairs in very orderly rows. The FUNCINPEC held their event at the same time as the CPP, but on the other side of town. During the event a helicopter was used to drop leaflets over the town. The NCPKP event, which was led by Norodom Chakrapong was, according to the party, attended by approximately 4,000 supporters from all 16 districts and involved 25 trucks.

In Svay Rieng FUNCINPEC did not have any specific activity on the 26<sup>th</sup>, but held rallies in five communes on the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>. Those rallies took an original form, as the Svay Rieng head of list candidate wanted them to be entertaining rather than too political in content. A total of 21 entertainers (singers, dancers and comedians, some of them TV stars!) were brought from Phnom Penh and performed popular sketches and songs on portable stages. Every three or four acts, one FUNCINPEC candidate would go on stage for a few minutes and encourage people to vote for the party. They had a special rhyme about voting FUNCINPEC for the children to repeat.

From Siem Reap our observer reports that CPP gets the prize for the biggest election production to date. On June 28, at least 15,000 people gathered at the stadium to hear speeches from HE Tea Banh and HE Chan Prasith. Most impressive were the seven elephants, bejeweled horses, oxcarts, dancers, musicians, and singers. On July 1, FUNCINPEC also conducted a big event at the stadium with over 10,000 in attendance. While they consider the event a great success, the FUNCINPEC party chief for Siem Reap was frustrated that they could not get any elephant owners to rent elephants for the day, noting, "*even the elephants are afraid of CPP!*"

In Takeo town the Sam Rainsy Party held a large rally on the 26<sup>th</sup> June to kick-start their campaign. The motorcade consisted of 11 trucks/cars and many motorcycles. As the SRP

rally was dispersing, a FUNCINPEC rally arrived on the scene. This motorcade consisted of 18 trucks/cars and many motorcycles. On Sunday the 29<sup>th</sup>, the CPP conducted a mass rally in Takeo province, with a meeting at the Provincial HQ of the CPP. The motorcade consisted of over 100 cars/trucks and many motorcycles. It is estimated that more than 8,000 people participated.

In Banteay Meanchey campaigning started off smoothly, without major concerns. On July 2 Prince Rannaridh gave a speech in Sisophon town that was attended by 15,000 people. In Prey Veng the first day of the campaign saw moderate sized SRP and CPP parades on the main roads in and around Prey Veng City and Neak Loeung, but the FUNCINPEC.

In Kampong Thom the CPP, FUNCINPEC, and SRP lavishly decorated their signboards for the start of the campaign. As well as the big parties, several smaller parties were also active. The Hang Dara Party (HDP) conducted a multi-day rally with four truckloads of supporters (about 200 people) while traveling from Sa Kream commune to Kampong Thom town, blasting their party platform over a loudspeaker and handing out platform fliers the whole way. The NCPKP also conducted a multi-day mobile campaign with two trucks of supporters (about 50 people) traveling in and around Kompong Svay, Stoueng Sen, and Santuk districts.

In Mondulakiri there is little sense of urgency within the parties and the amount of campaigning so far has been negligible, only meetings ("celebrations") in party offices and loudspeakers throwing out music (CPP) and VOA radio (FUNCINPEC). As Mondulakiri has only one seat, there is a feeling among many people that the result of the election in the province is already a foregone conclusion.

In Rattanakiri the CPP launched its campaign on the morning of 26 June in Ban Lung, the provincial capital, with about 500 people participating. FUNCINPEC also launched its campaign in Ban Lung on 26 June with around 600 members participating, while the SRP had a march in Ban Lung on 27 June with about 150 people participating. Later, a CPP campaign event in the little village of Phume Vong (Kreung ethnic group), in Voensai district, illustrated the difficulties involved in campaigning in a province largely inhabited by ethnic and linguistic minorities. Our observer noted that while the CPP commune representative was desperately reading out the 11 policies of the party in Khmer, only a handful of villagers could understand Khmer at all, and he was doubtful that even they would understand many of the political words used in the platform.

In Stung Treng only three of the nine parties registered to run candidates for province have turned up; in Kampong Speu, where there are 17 parties officially registered, only 6 parties have an official presence; and in Kratie only five parties of the eleven registered in the province have contacted the PEC.

With the onset of the official campaign season, FUNCINPEC has stepped up their level of activity in several provinces. In Kratie FUNCINPEC, who seemed somewhat apathetic in the pre-campaign period, is now surprisingly active, with some major early events. Prince Ranaridh welcomed his French-speaking daughter (Princess Rattana, first candidate for Kratie), at the 117-column pagoda in Sambo district on June 27, and there are many on-going events even in remote areas.

In Kandal the observer was also surprised that FUNCINPEC had become more organized and more visible during the early campaign period. FUNCINPEC rallies were more common

and larger than those of the other main parties and, contrary to the general impression that FUNCINPEC is most attractive to the older generation, seemed to include many young men and women as well. Also in Kandal our observer was interested to note that the SRP, as well as holding rallies and party meetings, conducts individual campaigning. SRP activists can be seen across the province moving around on motos, alone with but a tape player and loudspeaker broadcasting a Sam Rainsy speech. They look very confident and relaxed, suggesting they enjoy a relatively secure campaign environment.

In Kratie and Pursat several people complained that there has been a noticeable decrease in gift giving since the start of the campaign, apparently because the parties are concerned that they will be violating campaign regulations if they give gifts *during* the campaign period (as opposed to *before* the campaign period). Luckily, some legal expert in Pursat has figured out that since the campaign period ends on the 25<sup>th</sup>, then campaign restrictions on gift-giving will also end on the 25<sup>th</sup>, giving parties one day to flout the campaign rules before polling day. According to a FUNCINPEC representative, the CPP did this in the 2002 elections, giving voters 1,500 or 2,000 riel on the day before polling day.

## 1.2 Political Environment

In most provinces people feel relatively free to campaign openly and express their political preferences, but in some provinces, particularly in less populated rural areas, there were reports of attempts to restrict movement or voters expressed unease at publicly demonstrating support for a particular party.

In Stung Treng there is an atmosphere of political freedom, with no reported instances of obstruction or attempts to hinder people's expression. People in the central market felt free to listen to a speech by an SRP leader that strongly criticized the current government, and to take leaflets and read them openly without hesitation. In Battambang to date there have been no reports that citizens have been prevented from holding properly constituted political gatherings or attending political rallies during the campaign period. In Kampong Chhnang in most cases the parties have been free to conduct meetings, and campaign activities are running relatively smoothly, with interference by a few village chiefs being the only problems reported so far. In Kampong Cham, while most of the participants at a FUNCINPEC event felt free to attend, some said that it was not easy to participate, and one woman said she left home at 4:00 AM so that the village chief would not see her. Also in Kampong Cham, at a 28 June Sam Rainsy event in Oreang Ov District one man told our observer that his village chief was watching the trucks as they left and was making a list of names of participants.

In Kampong Thom political parties also report that they are free to conduct party business and campaign activities, and no reports of interference or denials of permission to gather or rally have been reported, but, in one of the most serious incidents recorded during the period, a FUNCINPEC party activist reported to our observer that a FUNCINPEC supporter was shot and killed at 8:00 pm on June 28 in Kuhm Kraya, Srok Prasat Balangk, Kampong Thom. On the 30th our observer and an investigator from a local human rights NGO visited the area and interviewed members of the commune council, the victim's wife, and commune and district security officials. Although it is impossible to be certain until a full investigation has been conducted, it seemed to both our observer and the local investigator that the killing was probably related to a personal rather than political dispute.

In Siem Reap intimidation remains an obstacle to freedom of association. For example, according to a Commune Council (CC) Deputy (FUNCINPEC), on Sunday, 29 June, the deputy governor Sout Nikom called together 70 villagers whom he learned were FUNCINPEC supporters and told them that if they received gifts from CPP and did not vote for CPP, their names would be "*taken from the list*" in their village. When asked what this meant, the CC official told us that it meant that their family books would be invalidated.

In Oddar Meanchey a FUNCINPEC official stated that the political climate in the province had improved a lot since the 2002 elections, especially since the visit of Collin Powell to Cambodia, except in the former Khmer Rouge areas Anlong Veng and Trapeang Prasath. In Trapeang Prasath FUNCINPEC supporters recently tried to put up a party signboard, with an approval letter from PEC and accompanied by a bodyguard, but it was smashed down again by a group of nine RCAF soldiers, who also beat one of the FUNCINPEC supporters. According to our observer there have now been nine reported FUNCINPEC and SRP signboard incidents in these areas in the last month. To address this issue, it was decided during the weekly provincial security meetings that the police would provide a 24-hour guard for every CPP and FUNCINPEC signboard in Anlong Veng and Trapeang Prasath districts.

### 1.3 Involvement of Village Chiefs and Other Government Officials in Campaigning

In Battambang a human rights monitor stated that most of the reported intimidation or lack of tolerance towards non-CPP party activists was perpetrated by village chiefs, and that very little was by police or the military. In Prey Veng there is some evidence that some village chiefs and commune level officials have attempted to restrict the movement of people to party events. According to a local human rights organization, on June 13 the village chief of Preah Sdach called to his office 40 people that he believed to be opposition supporters and on threat of '*omission from the village*', forced them to pledge support to the CPP and give their thumbprints. He also warned them not to attend SRP rallies. The same organization reported that on June 27, after a FUNCINPEC gift giving rally in Ba Phnom, the village chief and a commune councilor gathered some of the rally attendees together and warned them not to attend any more opposition rallies. But of the 110 attendees summoned by the village chief, only about 20 turned up to hear the warning.

In Stung Treng an SRP representative complained that the SRP was not able to get cooperation or assistance from village chiefs to help in gathering villagers for their campaign meetings, but they would do so for CPP meetings.

There were several reported incidents of campaign activity on in public buildings. In the lead up to the campaign launch an office in the Provincial Office of Education (POE) in Kampong Cham was full of CPP hats and shirts which were distributed to POE staff. During a visit to the provincial offices in Kampong Chhnang our observer noticed that most offices were nearly empty and most of the workers who were present were wearing CPP shirts and caps. Among these was the Deputy Head of the Provincial Education Dept. who was wearing a CPP shirt in the office.

In Banteay Meanchey our observer attended a CEC meeting in which the commune chief, who also attended the meeting, constantly overruled the CEC chief. When the observer asked the *CEC Chief* whether he had the impression that villagers know how to file complaints to the CEC, the *commune chief* replied firmly: "No!" and he did not seem to regret it.

In Mondulkiri the venue for PEC meetings has been changed to the governor's office (supposedly because there is not enough room in the PEC office, although that office is quite large). The two meetings so far held were chaired by the governor for reasons that are still obscure. The PEC director assured our observer that henceforth he would chair the meetings.

#### 1.4 Campaign Scheduling

In Kampong Cham FUNCINPEC in Cheung Prey District complained that they had been discriminated against when asking for campaign schedule approval. In one commune they had asked to be able to campaign for all 30 days, but had only been granted permission for 6 days. The reason given by the CEC involved was that they had submitted their schedule late. The schedule was submitted on 26 June. But FUNCINPEC claim that the CEC allocated the campaigning time without consulting the political parties about issues of clashes on their respective schedules. In the other 9 communes of the district they had been given approval for approx. 75% of what they requested, with which they were relatively happy.

From Kandal it is reported that there is common misunderstanding of Chapter 7, article 78 of the regulations, which suggests that parties should submit campaign schedules to the CEC three days before they begin campaigning. Many CEC staff, especially in Takhmao district (4 out of 6 districts) thought that if parties failed to submit their campaign schedule three days before the beginning of the *campaign period*, then it is now too late for them to legally campaign. In Svay Rieng the PEC has refused to endorse the SRP campaign schedule, which the party submitted only a day before the start of the campaign. The PEC based its decision on article 78 of the Election Law (not relevant as the SRP had no plans for meetings in private places) and on article 7.14.1 of Chapter VII (which asks parties to submit their plans three days in advance). Lon Phon, the SRP candidate in Svay Rieng and already a member of the National Assembly, said he could not accept the PEC's decision as he only recognized the Election Law which had been adopted by the Assembly, and not Chapter VII of the NEC written regulations.

Actually, according to our reading of both the law and regulations, neither requires parties to submit any campaign schedule, although there may be a directive from the MoI that addresses this issue. The election law requires owners of public facilities like theaters and stadiums to make those facilities available for campaign events on three days notice, and at the going rate, while Chapter VII of the regulations suggests that if parties submit their campaign plans, the CEC will assist them in planning a route that avoids the campaign activities of other parties, and will organize security for the event with the local police.

#### 1.5 Dissemination of Party Information

Although some information about party platforms is reaching voters through radio and television, most people seem to receive most of their information through the physical campaign, either through campaign literature and posters, or by listening to speeches at rallies or broadcast over portable loudspeakers. The following are a few quotes from the observers on access to party information in the provinces.

In Svay Rieng a lady from the KAP told us that in the village where the party has its provincial headquarters (Cheek commune in Svay Chrum district), people loved the political debates on TV and radio.

In Kampong Chhnang people I have talked to in the villages are not listening to election-related radio or television programs. Nor can these programs be seen on the televisions in restaurants in the provincial town. Campaign activities seem to be the most widespread form of party information. With the opening of the campaign CPP teams were busy out in the communes and villages tacking posters and slogans to trees. This highly organized effort consisted of teams of five, directed from the district level, each team being responsible for a section of a commune. The larger posters are very well produced and encased in plastic to protect them from the elements. I asked one CPP team if SRP or FUNCINPEC could tack their messages to a tree already decorated with CPP material. "Of course" was their good-natured reply, "trees are for everyone." Sure enough, later that day we saw two FUNCINPEC workers stapling their material above, below or to either side of the CPP items, but the early bird CPP had already gotten the best eye-level front and center locations.

In Siem Reap it seems that the broadcasting of information over loud speakers and on motorcycles is the most common form of information dissemination to date. Individuals I have spoken to don't feel that this is particularly effective because seldom do individuals have time to stop and listen consciously to what is being said for long periods of time.

### 1.6 Reasons for Choosing a Party

In Cambodia, like everywhere, abstract theory makes poor campaign meat. Ordinary voters seem to remember when parties speak to issues of personal or local concern. Visibility, whether through individual visits or party sponsored projects, is also clearly important in influencing a voter's preference<sup>1</sup>.

In Battambang our observer interviewed three teachers about what they remembered of party platforms. The SRP, FUNCINPEC, KNF, and CPP had all distributed printed materials on their party platform at rallies, and the CPP had put up many posters around town on their 11-point platform. One woman said she had the platforms from the three main parties but she could not remember all the details. She said she could remember, "*SRP will increase teachers' salary*". They said they did not listen to radio very much and the main mass media access was through TV.

In Kampong Chhnang about half of the rural people our observer spoke with had already made up their minds as to who to vote for and without prompting would often volunteer that they will vote for "*the government*." When asked why, one woman who had CPP signs on her rural roadside stand pointed to the FUNCINPEC sticker on a neighboring (empty) stand and said "*I've never seen anyone from that party and they haven't done anything for me.*" A woman in an isolated Cham community said that because of Hun Sen, she survived the Khmer Rouge, so she would vote for the party that helped her personally. It appears that in Kampong Chhnang most people are not so much looking to the future as basing their decisions on the past and present.

### 1.7 Party Platforms

The main national themes dominating the speeches and platforms of the various parties remain security, both physical and economic, and anti-Vietnamese nationalism. Foreign

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<sup>1</sup> A recent Asia Foundation survey reveals that 91% of Cambodians who had recalled a visit by their representative during the preceding five years were satisfied with that representative's performance, while only 56% of those who did not recall a visit by their representative were satisfied.

policy, after the recent visit of Colin Powell, has also crept into several speeches, and local issues of concern have been addressed in a few instances. In a very positive sign, debates and public forums for political parties are increasingly common, although sponsors still have difficulty getting them broadcast. A full report on a recent NDI sponsored debate in Kampong Cham is included in the Annex to this report.

In Kampot many banners and posters were seen displayed at party offices. Some examples are:

#### **CPP**

- A vote for the CPP means support for those who saved us from the Pol Pot regime.
- Vote for the CPP – it will not collect taxes for farmland.
- CPP by the people, for the people
- The CPP is always with you, in times of difficulty and in times of happiness
- With CPP, there are reforms and social justice
- CPP brought an end to the war and built peace and stability
- CPP promotes the role of women in society
- A vote for the CPP means the protection of Nation, Religion, King.

#### **FUNCINPEC**

- Vote for Prince Ranaridh to be Prime Minister.
- FUNCINPEC will strengthen and protect the progressive Monarchy.
- FUNCINPEC will eliminate corruption, crime and drug addiction.
- Selling your vote means selling your rights, selling your life and selling the Nation.

#### **SRP**

~~I vote for SRP because,~~

- SRP will better my standard of living, eliminate corruption and ensure justice for all.
- SRP will protect territorial integrity and National interests.
- SRP candidates are good, brave and competent.
- SRP will protect the poor and victimized.

#### **NCPKP**

- For a brighter future, vote for the NCPKP. It will decrease the price of diesel, oil, electricity and food.
- NCPKP will stop corruption and decrease taxes.
- NCPKP will reform the judicial system
- NCPKP will increase the salaries of civil servants, Police, Military, and Military Police.

In Kampong Chhnang, according to FUNCINPEC former parliamentarian and provincial candidate Sok San, the party has plans to address local issues. Among them:

- Illegal immigration (Vietnamese)
- Local land issues chief among them the land surrounding Kampong Chhnang airport, which FUNCINPEC alleges is being bought up by prominent local people to be sold later when the airport is functioning. FUNCINPEC also maintains that people who have lived on this land for many years still cannot get title to it.
- Fishing rights: commercial concessions and illegal immigrants (Vietnamese) encroaching on traditional local fishing areas.

But the NCPKP has no plans to address local issues in the province and will adhere to the national platform, broadcast by loudspeaker car. The CPP will continue to stress its local accomplishments especially roads, schools and the general stability of the region.

On June 26 in Battambang a KNF rally of around 250 people stopped outside of the Vietnamese consulate and chanted "*down with Vietnam*". Reportedly, all Vietnamese consulates in Cambodia have been closed for the duration of the campaign period. Nevertheless, when the rally stopped outside of the consulate and the crowd began chanting, armed persons emerged from the consulate. The KNF was apparently unnerved by this event, and later filed a complaint to a local human rights NGO about the armed persons. According to our observer, no other party has since seen it necessary for their mobile rallies to pass by the Vietnamese Consulate.

While Sam Rainsy made little mention of FUNCINPEC in a series of speeches in Prey Veng last month, in his most recent speech he criticized FUNCINPEC extensively for "*selling out to the CPP*" and for being generally "*useless*". More significantly he went on to state that FUNCINPEC is failing as a political force, and that "*CPP and SRP will win this election*" leaving FUNCINPEC a distant third. He concluded by saying that: "*A vote for the CPP is a vote for the yuon, and FUNCINPEC will sell your vote to CPP. So SRP is the only choice.*" His statements of US support for his party are also becoming much stronger. In his speeches last month he stated "*the US stands behind the Sam Rainsy party*". In his most recent speech he spoke for at least 20 minutes about corruption, accusing Hun Sen by name of being corrupt. He went on to say that Colin Powell "*warned the dictator Hun Sen*" that he must step down if he loses, and then commented on America's military attack on Saddam Hussein and Iraq: "*The US is against corruption. All dictators are corrupt. Saddam was a dictator and the US eliminated Saddam. The US will support the SRP if we win. Do not be afraid to vote for SRP*".

In Kampong Cham (in a pre-campaign speech) Sam Rainsy said in relation to his meeting with Colin Powell: "*Don't be afraid if Hun Sen is forced to use power [after the election] as I have just met Colin Powell and he won't let Hun Sen do anything illegally again. If Hun Sen does bad things he will be hit by the USA like Saddam Hussein. The two dictators have similar names*".

## 2 ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

### 2.1 Perceptions of Bias and Corruption in Recruitment and Operations

Although in a few provinces, like Kampong Chhnang and Kampong Thom, there is a feeling is that the PEC is reasonably neutral and concerned with bringing about a good election effort, most areas report the widespread belief that the PECs and CECs are politically homogenous, and many feel that they are politically biased in their administration of the election. There is also the widespread impression that PEC and CEC members were recruited based either on their political leanings or their family connections, rather than their qualifications.

In Siem Reap the PEC is perceived as composed of, for the most part, decent individuals who are, for the most part, CPP supporters. Nevertheless, recent PEC meetings have left observers with the impression that the PEC is not impartial. In Cheung District of Kampong Cham



both the SRP and FUNCINPEC complained that the CECs are almost entirely made up of CPP members.

In Pursat teachers expressed anger at the widespread nepotism in the CEC selection. They alleged that four out of five Banteay Dei CEC officials were family members of top PEC officials. Two CEC officials are the uncle and younger sister of the PEC Finance Officer, who interviewed CEC candidates in Kandieng district. A third CEC official is the younger brother of the PEC Administrator, and the CEC Chairman is a relative of the PEC Chairman. Another PEC official had also appointed his younger brother to the CEC in neighboring Svay Luong commune. As a result of this, the teachers, who declined to say which party they belonged to, had no faith in the CEC's fairness.

On a more positive note, our observer in Kampong Chhnang noted that the average age of the CEC members is much younger than in 1998, and said he believed these young people, regardless of party affiliation, were trying their best to bring off a good election; *"One just needs to look at their offices, with hand drawn charts of campaign schedules, hand drawn maps of polling station locations and other attention to detail to see that they are serious indeed. They seem proud of their work and invite observation."*

## 2.2 Complaints Process

The complaints process remains the most obvious and serious failing of the NEC administration of this election. Although penalties for various offences are described in great detail in the election law and regulations, no one has ever (in this election or previous elections) been fined or otherwise sanctioned by the NEC for an election offence. There are several obvious reasons for the failure of this process. First, in a country where the primary judicial system barely functions, it may be unrealistic to expect an ad hoc parallel judicial structure (the complaints resolution process) to function efficiently. Second, the process for determining whether an offence should be handled in court or by the NEC is still unclear, allowing both sides to claim the other is responsible. The NEC, like the courts, lacks the political power and independence needed to sanction powerful government officials or party leaders at both the national and local levels.

In Battambang the SRP HQ Deputy Legal Advisor said they are aware that complaints should now be sent to CEC, but will not do so as they believe the CECs are biased. They also complained that PEC does not inform them when they investigate complaints at a local level. The PEC and CEC interpretation of the election laws and regulations is that complaints should be settled quickly at the lowest possible level with the primary aim being conflict resolution. To date PEC has not fined anyone and SRP have also referred some complaints of a possible criminal nature to the police.

In Koh Kong the few complaints lodged with the PEC have generally been expedited quickly; however the mediation and investigations appears to reflect the perception that PEC is CPP-dominated. The PEC informed our observer of their successful mediation in a case of alleged intimidation by a deputy district chief against an SRP activist, but when the observer visited the activist she was still fearful of her security, and reported that her husband, a soldier, had been reassigned to Kampot. A local human right monitor commented that through its conciliation efforts the *"PEC never puts the mistake on the perpetrator"*. (Although the conciliation process may solve a complaint for the PEC, such a resolution often seems less satisfactory for the plaintiff.)

In Kampong Cham a complaint was lodged by the SRP against the Kumar Village Chief. The SRP claim that on 30 June they were conducting a campaign event in Kumar village and were distributing leaflets. When the SRP convoy passed back through the village three people, who wish to remain anonymous out of fear, advised the SRP that the village chief had confiscated their leaflets and burnt them in a pile in front of his house. The CEC have conducted two investigations and talked to the neighbors of the village chief and a 12 year old boy (although they did not speak to anyone from the SRP during their investigation). The conclusion of the CEC investigations was that the leaflets were burnt by a group of children who were not influenced by any adults to do so.

In Siem Reap the FUNCINPEC seems to have decided, at least on a provincial level, not to bother with the legitimate complaints process. They report that using elections observers (preferably international) seems to be a more effective way of getting their voices heard and making public the errors of the CPP. The head of the party said that they "*prefer to do it this way*" as they "*cannot trust the PEC*" and two district level activists said the same thing. Also in Siem Reap, the SRP filed a complaint about an SRP activist being threatened by a military police officer, then refused to allow the complaint to be resolved by the usual conciliation process "*merely an admission by one guy that he did something wrong, a hand shake, and the expectation that all will be well in the village afterward.*" It remains to be seen what PEC will do with that case.

In Oddar Meanchey both FUNCINPEC and the SRP say that the PEC does not organize public hearings when complaints are filed, they only "*reconcile cases at the place of incident*". In Kandal the observer had the impression that PEC does not want to handle any complaints at all if that is possible, preferring that they be resolved through conciliation at the CEC level.

In Kratie the PEC has rejected all official complaints so far received, sometimes for trivial reasons such as an incorrect date being entered on the form. In Mondulakiri some complaints have been received by the PEC but immediately rejected because:

- i) should have been submitted to local authorities first;
- ii) received after the 3 day period;
- iii) forms incorrectly filled in or;
- iv) not enough information provided.

In Svay Rieng the SRP commune office complained to the CEC on the 29<sup>th</sup> June. On 1<sup>st</sup> July in the morning, they received the rejection answer from CEC. The CEC rejected the complaint on the basis that it had not been properly filled in, as there was no mention of the location and time of the alleged offence. In Kampong Chhnang the PEC also seems to be accepting complaints without first checking if the necessary information is in the complaint, and has not investigated or scheduled a hearing/ruling date for any of the three complaints submitted so far. (Note: The NEC should instruct PECs and CECs to review complaints on filing, and inform the plaintiff if any essential information is missing).

### 2.3 Registration Problems

Problems with registration certificates continue to be reported from across the country, and there is widespread fear that the problems will disproportionately affect opposition supporter, and were caused by political bias rather than simple incompetence.

Almost 6000 new voters in Prey Veng province still do not have registration cards with photographs. The PEC Chief stated that the NEC has directed him to re-photograph all of the people that are missing photos, but the CECs are having trouble finding the people because they are working elsewhere. The Chief noted that many of the missing people are factory workers that have gone to work in Phnom Penh. The general perception is that factory workers are very often SRP supporters, so if people are denied the right to vote because of the problem of missing photos, and a significant number of them prove to be factory workers, this could be a very serious point of post-election debate.

In all communes in Kampong Leng District, Kampong Chhnang, no photographs at all, of anyone, were taken during the registration period, and not all of the Commune Councils (who caused the problem in the first place) are being cooperative in solving the problem. The total number of voters without proper IDs or registration receipts with pictures could be over two thousand, of which only a small fraction have been located and photographed (e.g. 44 out of 606 in Kampong Hao Commune). Although many of those affected are students and garment workers and might be perceived as tending towards a particular party, so far (according to the CECs) no party has complained that this problem has been a deliberate attempt to exclude their supporters. Names are being posted in villages and parents are being asked to inform their children in Phnom Penh to return home to be photographed. The NEC set a deadline of 2 July to solve this problem but the PEC and CECs feel that they will need to work on this right up to 26 July.

In Kampong Cham there is a problem with missing photographs on registration forms and the PEC chairman has confirmed that this problem exists to varying degrees in nearly all the province's 173 communes. While the CECs have been tasked with rectifying this problem, FUNCINPEC and the SRP are concerned that their supporters will be discriminated against during the rectification of the problem. It appears that the registration forms are remaining in the custody of the commune councils and therefore CECs must work closely with commune clerks to assess the problem. Secondly, it appears that CECs must request the help of the village chiefs to contact or inform all those people who require a photograph taken and the opposition parties are concerned that at this point the village chief, or biased CEC staff will, affect the process by not informing people they know are not loyal to the CPP.

In Kampong Thom the PEC reports 3788 eligible voters still without voter ID cards due to photo problems. Both local observers and political parties have raised concerns about this issue. The PEC vowed to solve this issue by 10 July, but said that commune councils are responsible for issuing formal voter IDs, and so each person with a photo problem has been instructed to bring 2 photos to their respective commune council and complete another form 1018. The commune council will then issue them a voter ID card.

In Kampong Speu the PEC Chair announced that over 2,000 identity statements have still not been handed out but that the Commune Councils are being pressured by the CECs to get this phase completed. The SRP said they were very concerned that these people might not be able to vote. In Svay Rieng, according to PEC, there are about 1,300 people who have registered but still have no photo. In Monduliri there was a problem with the photographs (operator inexperience) during the registration period (still unresolved) and about 877 people were affected (the PEC has requested a Polaroid camera). In Kandal, in one commune they had not received about 142 new voter cards, but were told by the PEC that they will have them by *"25 July at the latest"*.

### 3 VOTER EDUCATION

In Kampong Cham our observer spent the week assessing the level of election knowledge and access to information of ordinary people, and in general found that:

- People know the election date and polling times and received this information from their village chief.
- People have registered to vote and the process was straight forward
- People believe the vote is secret
- Gift giving will not influence their vote
- Less educated people say they will not decide who to vote for until polling day or even until they are in the polling booth
- Do not discuss politics or relative merit of the political parties outside their immediate family. Less educated people say they do not discuss politics at all considering politics not their business, but the business of politicians.
- People can name the 3 main political parties
- Are very cautious not to divulge their preference for any particular party
- Sources of information about the different political parties, and the election in general, are TV, radio, village chief and campaign events
- Are concerned about election related violence, especially if the result is not accepted.

Middle class residents of Kampong Cham town have access to newspapers, television, radio, and for the computer literate and Internet savvy few, the world wide web. But the rural residents of the province have poor access to newspapers, and limited access to radio and television. This access is further decreased for the rural poor who cannot afford radios, televisions, let alone the batteries to run them. The rural poor are also excluded from the information flow by their low levels of education and high levels of illiteracy. Even if the media presented a wide range of unbiased reports and programming on the election, it would not reach many people in Kampong Cham province.

In Kampong Chhnang people seem reasonably well informed about certain practical election matters such as the date of the election and most seem to believe that their vote is secret. In Kampong Thom the distribution and display of NEC posters and banners was widespread this week. Trees along main roads, and many rural roads and paths, were covered with NEC posters and large banners telling people how to vote, and to be sure to have valid identification with them when they go to vote.

In Kampong Chhnang the local director of a national election monitoring organization had some interesting observations on comparisons between this election and previous ones, having worked for the organization since 1998. She said that this time everything is much easier to organize, as permission is not needed to conduct voter education activities. Partial credit for the positive change was given to the provincial governor's warning to local authorities that intimidation of any sort would not be tolerated.

In Kampong Thom and Preah Vihear NGO voter education efforts were in full swing as CCHR (Cambodian Center for Human Rights) stickers, banners and t-shirts were widely observed in both provinces, and NICFEC conducted voter education dramas in several districts. In Kampot, mostly COMFREL and NICFEC have been involved in voter education,

primarily at the district level. In Koh Kong CSD Voter Guides, election posters and banners are found throughout the province.

In Kampong Chhnang NICFEC held a voter education event 25 June in Khasm Village, Khsam Commune, Kampong Chhnang District. About 400 mostly elderly people attended. A film depicted a NICFEC member answering questions about election issues including gift giving. Alternate forms of identification for polling day were shown and a handout with examples of these cards was passed out at the end of the event.

#### **4 ANNEX – THE NDI-SPONSORED DEBATE IN KAMPONG CHAM**

NDI held three political party debates in Kampong Cham last week. The first two were for the minor parties and the third one was for the three major parties. At the third debate CPP was represented by Ith Praing, FUNCINPEC was represented by Yu Hockry and Sam Rainsy represented his party. The moderator was Heng Monychenda, the leader of the Cambodian NGO Buddhism for Development. Each party was allowed 1 minute each for opening remarks and then the moderator asked 4 questions which each of the parties was given 2 minutes to answer. The parties were then allowed to ask 1 question to another party and had 2 minutes to respond. The audience then asked 3 questions which were addressed to all parties and each party had 2 minutes to answer. All questions fell under 1 of 6 topics; economics, health, education, security, agriculture and social affairs.

During the debate the responses from the parties were general as opposed to province-specific. “Kampong Cham” was thrown in every now and then, but the answers themselves were not province-specific, except for one answer by the CPP where they mentioned the importance of agriculture to the province and one reference to the provincial court by FUNCINPEC. Some comments, questions and answers included:

Question: What will your party do to end domestic violence?

- FUNCINPEC said domestic violence was caused by lack of morals and that they will solve the problem by educating people about morals at schools and pagodas
- Sam Rainsy said domestic violence could be ended by ending corruption and that we must start at the top
- CPP said that domestic violence is in general caused by men and so the CPP will do everything to protect women, including educating women about the law so they can look after themselves, and increasing the respect of the law in relation to women so they can have equal rights with men

On the issue of security, lawlessness and impunity:

- Sam Rainsy said that Cambodia has law on paper but not in practice, that money is more influential and the court is corrupt. Therefore vote for SRP to end corruption.
- CPP talked around the issue
- FUNCINPEC said they will investigate violations and arrest criminals by strengthening the court system and wouldn't allow perpetrators to be released without punishment. Disappointed that the provincial court has never prosecuted any perpetrators. We must eliminate impunity.

On the issue of unemployment and jobs for school leavers:

- FUNCINPEC will encourage investment, build schools and provide vocational training, and encourage investors to build factories that will add value to Cambodia's raw agricultural products.
- SRP will end corruption to attract investment which will create jobs
- CPP will promote the economy by attracting investors, and as agriculture is a priority for Kampong Cham we must do vocational training and increase markets for our products

Question – How will you end illiteracy?

- CCP will build more schools, recruit more teachers with professional ethics who don't take money from students, and ask for foreign aid.
- SRP will end corruption first in order to end illiteracy as corruption is taking money away from the education sector and also give all teachers and public servants a pay rise to at least 400,000r.
- FUNCINPEC said that first they need enough budget to end illiteracy and that they will encourage monks to teach ordinary people at the pagodas like the King did during his regime.

Other comments:

- The SRP will bring back the money taken by corruption and use it to help the poor
- ~~FUNCINPEC will give a pay rise to all public servants~~
- FUNCINPEC will end corruption from the top by implementing the corruption law and will convince all leaders to state their financial interests and status before and after taking office
- FUNCINPEC will make the price of goods lower by stopping smuggling
- FUNCINPEC will increase irrigation in order to increase agricultural production
- SRP will remove the tax from petrol, lowering the price to 1400 riel/liter.
- SRP will end the exclusive rights of companies to produce electricity in certain areas which causes high electricity prices
- CPP countered that there were no exclusive rights on electricity production and that high electricity prices in cities was due to high fuel prices. The CPP will try to co-operate with Cambodia's neighbors so that Cambodia can have access to cheaply produced hydro-electricity.

One question from audience asked how the parties would solve the problem of teachers asking students to pay them for classes:

- SRP said the solution was to give teachers a pay rise and end corruption by changing the nation's leader
- CPP admitted the problem existed but said it was not CPP policy and that the CPP will try to solve the problem by strengthening the teachers understanding of professional ethics
- FUNCINPEC said the problem is caused by teachers not having a high enough salary and the only thing to do was to give the teachers a pay rise

Closing comments:

- CPP – We have only been bringing peace and reducing poverty and we are on the long road to a lawful state. CPP will try its best to construct the country so it is peaceful and democratic so please vote for CPP, number 17.
- SRP – The upcoming election is an historic event for Cambodia that will enable our nation to have a better standard of living. Our people have been poor for a long time and

that poverty was caused by the one leader. So please change that leader in order to protect our country. SRP will put out national interests first – number 20.

- Vote for FUNCINPEC in order that Norodom Ranariddh becomes prime minister and FUNCINPEC will solve border disputes, increase people's standard of living, provide free health care and promote human rights. FUNCINPEC will do what we promise.

One of the questions from the audience asked about the parties' strategies for solving problems related to crime and asked if the candidates would step down if their parties were not successful in solving the problem. Neither CPP nor FUNCINPEC responded to the second part of the question. Sam Rainsy however said that his party would accept responsibility for its actions and that if he did something wrong he would step down. Sam Rainsy then said that those in the ruling party had done a lot of wrong and called for them to step down voluntarily. Sam Rainsy received a warning from the moderator for this last comment.

The debate was well attended with the majority of the crowd wearing FUNCINPEC shirts.

[END]

~~Prepared by the EOSP~~

# Summary of Democracy in Cambodia—2003

A Survey of the Cambodian Electorate

May 16, 2003  
Phnom Penh



The Asia Foundation



## Summary of the Survey

### 1.1 National Issues and Governance: Positive Mood Reflects Economic Gains

- Four out of five (81%) say their country is headed in the right direction, an increase from 72% in the 2000 survey. The principal reasons for this optimism are development and economic recovery.
- Four out of five (79%) Cambodians report that people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where they live, a significant increase from the 66% found in the 2000 survey.
- Cambodians continue to say poverty is by far their biggest problem; over half (52%) cite this as a top problem facing the country. One in ten said they went hungry at least one day in the week preceding the poll.

### 1.2 The Local Mood: Also Positive Due to Development

- A large majority of Cambodians (74%) think their communes are headed in the right direction, again even more than in 2000 (67%). Those who are positive are most likely to point to development and economic recovery, followed by peace and social normalization.

~~As at the national level, poverty and water issues are, by far, the biggest local concerns.~~

### 1.3 Views of the Government and National Assembly: Positive Due to Improving Conditions

- In line with their optimism about the direction of the country, a large majority of Cambodians (76%) is satisfied with the performance of the national government. A sizeable majority of Cambodians (66%) also report that they are satisfied with the performance of their National Assembly representatives.
- Satisfaction with the government and National Assembly appears to be largely a reflection of the general rising tide of economic and infrastructure development, as Cambodians have very little knowledge about or connection to their government. After almost five years in office, only 18% could name one or more of their Assembly representatives and only about one-quarter of Cambodians recall their National Assembly representatives visiting their area since the 1998 election.
- The survey also shows that constituents reward attention from their Assembly members with those who recall a visit by their representative are overwhelmingly satisfied with their representative's performance (91% satisfied -- 43% very satisfied), while positive evaluations among those who do not recall a visit tend to be much less common (56% satisfied -- 21% very satisfied).

### 1.4 Attitudes Towards Elections: Willingness to Participate, But Ignorance of Election Functions, Assembly Roles, and Party Stances

- Almost all Cambodians (96%) know the National Assembly election is approaching, and say they plan to participate (98%). As in the previous vote, encouraging voter turnout does not need to be a central focus of voter education efforts.
- Very few Cambodians think that elections offer an opportunity to provide input into government policy and composition, or to change the direction of the country, and few have any

understanding of the role of National Assembly members in making laws, questioning Ministers, or choosing the Prime Minister.

- Consequently, almost a third of Cambodians think voting in the national election will make little or no difference, while a plurality are uncertain it will make a difference..
- The majority of Cambodians can name the parties that have representatives in the National Assembly and say they actively campaigned in their areas in the communal elections, but only 29% of voters can cite any differences between the three main parties.
- Nine-in-ten (91%) voters say they would be interested in listening to or watching radio or television broadcasts of ordinary people asking questions of candidates from all the parties. Similarly, 92% say they would be interested in listening to or watching radio or television broadcasts comparing what the different parties say about the problems facing Cambodia.

#### **1.5 Voter Education Needs: Elections Appear Cleaner, but Vote Buying and Complaint Procedures Remain Problems to Address**

- The share of the population that expects any election problems has decreased significantly since 2000 (from 58% to 46%). Still, almost half the electorate is not convinced the next election will be free and fair (42% are uncertain, 5% say it will not be).
- One-quarter (26%) of the electorate thinks vote buying is possible in their areas in the upcoming election (up slightly from 23% in 2000), one-quarter (23%) report they heard about parties offering money for votes in the commune election, and almost half (46%) say they heard of parties giving gifts (rice, MSG, t-shirts, etc.) to local voters before the commune election.
- Most people would not feel obligated to support a party giving them money or gifts, but about one in six would feel obligated or is unsure.
- If they observed election irregularities, 75% said they would be likely to report them. While most Cambodians (68%) believe they know where to complain about election irregularities and are willing to do so, most would report to local authorities, with fewer than one-third saying they would report through the electoral system (monitors, local election committees, NEC, etc).
- Most (72%) of those who voted in the commune elections report seeing independent monitors when they voted and the presence of these monitors has a strong positive effect on voter confidence in the electoral process.

#### **Recommendations:**

The survey findings suggest that a targeted part of the voter education campaign should focus on some specific groups of Cambodian voters who, in order to participate more meaningfully in the democratic process, require basic efforts to inform them of their rights and responsibilities as voters. These groups include the voters who are reluctant to voice dissent, hesitant to report election irregularities, and most susceptible to vote selling. These voters are most likely to be over 50 years old, have no formal education, live in the Eastern half of the country, and are kitchen/pot or death association members.

A more general phase of the voter education campaign should be targeted to the entire electorate and cover essential issues about which most voters are uninformed. In particular, most voters have little idea what elections can do, little sense of what their Assembly representatives do, and still don't know the proper channels to report election irregularities. A general voter program should educate

Cambodians about what roles elections can serve and why their vote matters, the functions of the National Assembly, and how to complain about irregularities and to whom.

#### **1.6 Civic Education Needs: Political Tolerance Grows, but Ethnic and Religious Tensions and Civic Organization Need Attention**

- In the current poll, more than half are able to articulate some definition of democracy, however limited, compared with just one-third three years ago.
- Although a substantial minority (41%) believes they have little or no influence over national government decisions, almost half of Cambodians (49%) feel they have at least some say.
- Most Cambodians do not belong to any type of organized civic association, although most report an interest in being a member of one or more associations. There remains immense scope for the development of civil society in Cambodia, which civic education efforts can promote by teaching people how to join or establish and run their own associations.
- Political tolerance in Cambodia has increased since 2000, with four in five Cambodians believing that all political parties, even unpopular ones, should be allowed to hold meetings in their area. Four in five voters also say they would accept a friend's decision to support an unpopular party.
- Most Cambodians accept the right of individuals who belong to ethnic minority groups to vote in elections. Large majorities support voting rights for the Chun Chiet (90%), the Khmer Kampuchea Krom (85%), Cham (78%), and ethnic Chinese (76%).
- However, support for voting rights of ethnic Lao (69%) and especially ethnic Vietnamese (57%) and ethnic Thai (54%), while still a majority, is less universal.
- Xenophobic sentiments are widespread: two in five believe that Thais try to exploit Cambodians, while almost as many feel the Vietnamese are against Cambodia. Similar proportions think that Christian missionaries and foreign funding of mosques and schools will cause problems. These attitudes are most common among those of higher socioeconomic status.

#### **Recommendations:**

The survey results suggest that the civic education drive should begin with an initial pre-electoral phase of targeted messages on the basics of democracy, to enhance participation in the electoral process. The primary target groups for these messages include voters under 25, those with no education, rural women, and those in the Northwest region. The messages for these efforts should focus on what democracy means and how elections are central to the democratic process, why democracy and politics matter to individuals, and the continued importance of political tolerance.

Additional civic education efforts for the entire population, which may continue after the election, should focus on democracy-related norms and practices. They include explaining how to join and participate in organizations, participation other than voting (e.g. contacting officials, working in groups to affect policy, etc), and emphasizing tolerance towards ethnic minorities in Cambodia and members of different religious groups.

### 1.7 Women: Support for Increased Participation in Politics

- Most Cambodians (81%) believe that women should make their own choices when voting for elected officials, a significant increase in support for women's voting autonomy, which stood at 69% in the 2000 survey.
- The vast majority of Cambodians (92%) would like to see more women as members of the National Assembly. Although one-third of the public would prefer a male representative in the National Assembly, half says that the gender of Assembly representatives makes no difference to them.
- The survey also shows that the net effect of placing women high on the ballot for National Assembly elections would be positive, as just over half (52%) of all voters would be more likely to support a candidate list that included a woman in one of the top three places, while only 12% say this would make them less likely to support the list.
- Similarly, 92% report they would be in favor – 78% strongly – of a law that would require at least one place in three on party lists had to go to a woman.
- Almost nine-in-ten (88%) say they would favor – 74% strongly -- public forums in their area for women only to talk about their problems, while just 10% oppose this idea. Men as well as women support giving Cambodian women a chance to speak out in their own public spaces.

### 1.8 Voter Education Media: TV Grows in Reach, but Radio and Oral Sources Remain Important

- Village chiefs have been and continue to be the most important source of information about elections and remain the most popular source for voter education.
- Broadcast media still play a relatively limited role in spreading information about elections, with one-quarter of the electorate getting its election information from television and one one-fifth from radio.
- Overall, 52% watch TV three or more times a week, while 38% listen to the radio three or more times a week and only 9% read a newspaper on a regular basis.
- As in the past, voter education in Cambodia will need to be accomplished through many varied mediums, since TV only reaches about half the electorate on a regular basis, and radio touches only half the remainder. In particular, older, less educated, and rural voters need to be reached through in-person education.

## Coercion, Vote-Buying Taint Cambodia's Elections Local Officials Should Cease Intimidation Campaign

(Phnom Penh, July 18, 2003) –The Cambodian government must order an end to the campaign of threats and intimidation by local officials in the run-up to national elections on July 27, Human Rights Watch said today. Human Rights Watch called on Cambodian authorities to swiftly suspend officials who are responsible for such threats and election law violations.

In a new briefing paper, Human Rights Watch found that village and commune chiefs, most of whom are members of Prime Minister Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP), are threatening opposition party supporters with violence, expulsion from their villages, and denial of access to community resources. Threats range from being rejected for village rice distributions to having land confiscated for voting for the opposition. Intimidation is directed at political party members, local activists, and voters.

"While the ruling Cambodian People's Party has used violence in previous elections, in the current campaign, it appears to have chosen a more subtle strategy to coerce villagers from voting their preference," said James Ross, senior legal advisor at Human Rights Watch. "Such coercion is more difficult, especially for international observers, to detect, document, and quantify."

Human Rights Watch said that there does appear to be a welcome decrease in the levels of overt political violence, but that this did not necessarily translate into overall greater respect for basic civil and political rights. The government's failure to prosecute those responsible for past acts of political violence has created an atmosphere where less violent forms of intimidation are nonetheless effective.

"Cambodians know that it is very risky to support the political opposition, particularly out in the provinces," Ross said. "If crimes are committed, they believe that little will be done to bring the perpetrators to justice, especially if the perpetrators are local officials."

The 21-page briefing paper, based on research conducted in six provinces, includes three in-depth case studies. For example:

- **Violence and Impunity:** In Takeo, a widow has endured political persecution from local officials ever since five members of her Funcinpec-affiliated family were murdered in 1997. The perpetrator, a commune militia man, was never arrested. Others in her village, keenly aware of the legacy of impunity, expressed their anxieties about the elections. It is not a time to engage in political debate, they said, but "a time to keep quiet. We have to live with her story every day."
- **Intimidation Tactics:** In Kompong Cham, an opposition Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) rally triggered a wave of political intimidation against participants. Local officials recorded the names of those who attended the rally, denied them access to rice distributions, and failed to investigate when a key SRP activist's water well was poisoned. "How can we know we will be safe to vote the way we want to?" the activist wondered.

- "Gift" Giving: In Siem Reap, "gift" giving campaigns organized by the CPP are considerably more insidious than traditional vote buying. Voters have been assembled on the promise of getting gifts but found instead that they were forced to publicly renounce any other party loyalties and swear their allegiance to the CPP. In at least one case, villagers received what they thought were cash gifts from CPP officials but learned later they were loans to be repaid--if the CPP loses.

Human Rights Watch's recommendations to the Cambodian government in the time remaining before the July 27 polling day include:

- Make use of the national media to reinforce the message that voters can cast their ballots for whomever they choose, regardless of the receipt of gifts, the statement of an oath, or any other forced affiliation.
- Immediately arrange for the National Election Committee to hold public meetings at the village level to assure voters that they will be treated equally regardless of the outcome of the vote.
- Move quickly to begin prosecuting serious violations of the Law on the Election of the National Assembly, especially those committed by candidates and party officials.

Human Rights Watch called on all political parties to refrain from using inflammatory or racist rhetoric and to do their utmost to report accurately on violations.

Human Rights Watch encouraged international donors, particularly those concerned about human rights, and especially those that have financially supported the elections, to insist that the Cambodian government promptly investigate and prosecute all election violations.

"Election observers must be alert to all abuses--subtle forms of intimidation as well as blatant violence," said Ross. "And the international community must be ready to loudly voice their concerns, should the abuses of past elections be repeated, or new ways of depriving Cambodians their right to vote take their place."

The briefing paper can be found at:

<http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/asia/cambodia/elections.htm>

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## 各国による選挙監視団派遣状況

平成15年7月10日現在  
政務班

国名	人数	構成	期間	展開場所	備考
米国	40名	すべて大使館員	22日または23日～29日	14州	長期監視についてはAF参照 (担当: Ms. Menscher政経担当官: 012-501-275)
インド	5名	2名: 印選管職員 3名: 館員(大使含む)	23日～31日	プノンペン、シエムリアップ、 シハヌークビルの3州	(担当: Mr. Sharma(1書): 023-210-912)
英国					詳細はEUに照会願いたいとの応答
ブルネイ	3名	全て館員	24日～28日(検討中)	プノンペン、バットンバン、コンボンチャムの 3州(各1名ずつ)	(担当: Mr. Hamid(1書): 012-805-648)
豪	18名			カンダール、コンボンチャム	(担当: )
カナダ	14名	CIDA職員も更に参加	25日～29日	プノンペン、コンボンスプー、コンボンチャム バットンバン、シエムリアップの5州	選挙の評価報告書は内部限りの予定 (担当: )
NZ	6名		25日～29日	プノンペン、コンボントム	カナダとの共同計画
EU	長期37名 短期70名	館員10名含む	6月27日～ 24日～30日	全州 全州	
EC(欧州議会)	5名	欧州議会議員	26日～30日	プノンペン、コンボンチャム、バットンバン	
Asia Foundation	15名	8カ国からの多国籍	5月22日～(3ヶ月間)	15州	多国籍内訳: 豪・英・仏・尼・スリランカ タイ・蘭・米(5～6名) (担当: Meisburgerアドバイザー: 012-813-329)



គណៈកម្មាធិការជាតិ  
ស្រុះចំណាត់ការបោះឆ្នោត  
NATIONAL ELECTION COMMITTEE

Vote



List of International Observer Teams Accredited by NEC  
for Purpose of Observing in National Election on 27th July 2003

N°	Organization	Number		Others
		Totals	Female	
1	National Democratic Institute ( NDI )	17	3	
2	Embassy of Japan	9	3	
3	International Republican Institute ( IRI )	35	12	
4	Embassy of the United States of America	17	7	
5	European Commission ( EC )	9	4	
6	Embassy of Australia	4	1	
7	Embassy of India	3	0	
8	Association of School Aid in Cambodia ( ASAC )	13	4	
9	Australian Volunteers International ( AVI )	1	1	
10	Asian Network For Free Elections ( ANFREL )	28	7	
11	The Asia Foundation ( TAF )	38	12	
12	People's Forum On Cambodia , Japan Project	9	5	
13	The Japan Center For Conflich Prevention	5	1	
14	European Union ( EU )	44	14	
15	Action on Disability and Development ( ADD )	6	2	
16	Embassy of Brunei Darussalam	4	0	
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>242</b>	<b>76</b>	



## 国政選挙監視団体

### 1. COMFREL (Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia)

- (1) 責任者：コル・パニャー(Koul Panha)
- (2) 設立背景：COMFREL は 1993 年 UNTAC 選挙において、選挙監視を行なった「カンボディア選挙のための特別グループ」が基になっている人権 NGO であり、ローカル NGO の連合体である。93 年から選挙時の有権者教育、選挙のモニタリング、アドボカシー活動などを行っている。また、以下 3 に挙げるアジア地域の選挙監視ネットワークである AMFREL (Asia Network for Free Election) のメンバーである。
- (3) 支援団体：Novib, The Asia Foundation, Trocaire Fund, Forum Syd 等
- (4) 日本政府の支援：平成 13 年度草の根無償資金協力「地方選挙のための有権者教育支援計画」供与額 34,630 米ドル；平成 14 年度草の根無償資金協力「有権者教育教材支援計画」供与額 34,500 米ドル
- (5) ローカル監視員：15,000 人。全ての投票所をカバーする。
- (6) 邦人監視員：ゼロ。(AMFREL がカバーするため。)

### 2. NICFEC (Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Election in Cambodia)

- (1) 責任者：ハン・プティア (Hang Puthea)
- (2) 設立背景：NICFEC は 1997 年に発足、1998 年にカンボジア内務省に正式登録されたローカル NGO の連合体で 7 つの NGO からなっている。1998 年の総選挙、2002 年地方選挙時も、選挙監視員の派遣、政府に対するアドボカシー活動、有権者教育等を行った。
- (3) 支援団体：The Asia Foundation, Forum Syd, ICCO 等
- (4) 日本政府の支援：平成 13 年度草の根無償資金協力「地方選挙有権者教育のための選挙広告配布計画」供与額 9,094 米ドル；平成 14 年度草の根無償資金協力「有権者教育用リーフレット印刷支援計画」供与額 19,800 米ドル
- (5) ローカル監視員：6,300 人。全国 1,621 すべての地区に監視員を配置。(すべての投票所ではない。) ローカル監視員は決められた投票所に投票及び開票日の間配置される。移動して選挙監視員を監視する部隊も派遣。
- (6) 邦人監視員：主にカンボジア在住の外国人に新聞、電子メール等を通じて投票及び開票機関の短期監視員登録を呼びかけ。アジア財団と Forum Syd による訓練を得て全国で監視活動を行なう。7 月 14 日現在 150 人の登録 (33 国籍) のうち邦人は 2 人。

### 3. AMFREL

- (1) 責任者：サムスリ・ハナヌンタスク (Somsri Hananuntasuk)  
あんどう ひでゆき
- (2) 設立背景：アジア地域の選挙監視団体、人権 NGO などを中心となり 1997 年 1 月に結成された地域ネットワーク。本部はバンコク。
- (3) 支援団体：
- (4) 日本政府との関連：なし
- (5) 邦人監視員：8 カ国からの 11 人の長期監視員が 1 市 7 州にて監視活動を行っている。また 50 人の短期監視員を派遣予定。日本人はインターバンドから 10 人を派遣。邦人の派遣地はコンボンスプー、コンボンチュナン、バットンバン、パイリン。監視結果声明は全て AMFREL を通じて行なう。

### 4. インターバンド

- (1) 責任者：しみずまいこ
- (2) 設立背景：92 年から 1 年間国連ボランティアとして 93 年の選挙までカンボジアで活動した坂口直人氏によって設立された。
- (3) 支援団体：
- (4) 日本政府との関連：なし
- (5) 邦人監視員：長期監視員 4 名、短期監視員 20 名程度。監視結果の声明発表は AMFREL を通じて行なう。(日本では独自に行なう可能性あり。) プノンペンでの宿泊先はゴールディアーナホテル。連絡はグループに 1 つ携帯を用意。29 日にプノンペンでブリーフィング後 30 日に AMFREL と合同でプレスコンフェレンスを行なう。(その後自由解散) コンボンスプー州に事務所有り。スプーへは大学生中心に 12 名。チュナンに 6 名 (AMFREL のあんどう氏含む) バットンバン州もインターバンド独自の監視団を派遣。(15 日に派遣先リスト入手予定) 事務局長の坂口氏 17 日カンボジア入り。尚大使館警備書記官に監視員名簿及びパスポート番号提出済み。

### 5. カンボジア市民フォーラム：

- (1) 責任者：熊岡路矢
- (2) 設立背景：この団体はカンボジアに関する NGO、法律家、研究家、個人などが集まり 1993 年に発足したネットワーク団体である。日本国内で、「人権」、「教育」、「環境」、「女性と子ども」、「医療」など分野ごとにグループを作り情報交換や人材育成に関ってきた。現在はそれぞれの活動は個人や NGO に吸収されているが、カンボジア市民フォーラムとして定期的にニュースレターの発行、東京で開催される

ドナー会合で NGO 団体代表の受け入れや声明文の日本語訳などを行なっているほか、政策提言活動を継続している。

(3) 支援団体：

(4) 日本政府との関連：草の根・人間の安全保障無償資金協力により選挙に関する外部調査を委嘱。平成14年度も地方選挙に関連して同様の調査実績有り。

(5) 邦人監視員：日本から4名（内3名はキャンペーン期間のみ）、カンボジア国内10名（日本の NGO 職員）

#### 6. 日本紛争予防センター：Japan Center for Conflict Prevention(JCCP)

(1) 責任者：田中毅

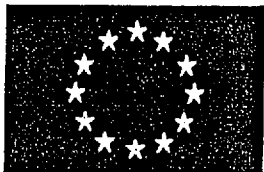
(2) 設立背景：99年、(財) 日本国際フォーラム附属日本予防外交センターとして設立。2002年より特定非営利活動法人 日本紛争予防センターに変更。

(3) 支援団体：

(4) 日本政府の支援：選挙案件に関しては直接の支援なし。平成14年度日本 NGO 支援無償の実績（学校建設）有り。

(5) ローカル監視員：団体のローカル職員

(6) 邦人監視員：NICFEC の外国人選挙監視トレーニングに参加、日本人現地職員2人、在カンボジア邦人1名、ローカル職員6名、日本からボランティア監視員6名（22日着、29日以降帰国）による選挙監視を実施予定。NICFEC の実施する外国人監視員のためのトレーニングに参加済み。コンポンチャム、カンダール、プノンペン の3グループに分かれて監視。監視期間中はローカル職員の携帯を使用して連絡。独自に監視結果を出す、どこを通じて公表するのか検討中。政府の監視団との意見交換、監視要綱（フォーマット等）の共有など可能であれば希望。



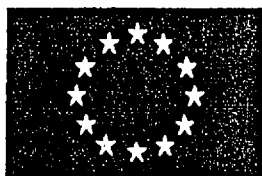
# EU EOM CAMBODIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2003

## LTO DEPLOYMENT PLAN

## CONTACT LIST

Names	Position	Mobile	SAT Phone	Email
Robert Evans MEP	Chief Observer	012 41 00 01		<a href="mailto:robert.evans@online.com.kh">robert.evans@online.com.kh</a>
Maria Macchiaverna	Deputy Chief Observer	012 41 00 02		<a href="mailto:m.macchiaverna@online.com.kh">m.macchiaverna@online.com.kh</a>
Gilles Saphy	Legal Expert	012 41 00 03		<a href="mailto:gilles.saphy@online.com.kh">gilles.saphy@online.com.kh</a>
Stefan Krause	Election Expert	012 41 00 04	none	<a href="mailto:stefan.krause@online.com.kh">stefan.krause@online.com.kh</a>
Antonio Menezes	Media Advisor	012 41 00 05	none	<a href="mailto:antonio.menezes@online.com.kh">antonio.menezes@online.com.kh</a>
Paul Guerin	LTO Coordinator	012 41 00 06	098 3642 773	<a href="mailto:paul.guerin@online.com.kh">paul.guerin@online.com.kh</a>
Alexandre Castanias	Operation Expert	012 41 00 07	098 3642 777	<a href="mailto:a.castanias@online.com.kh">a.castanias@online.com.kh</a>

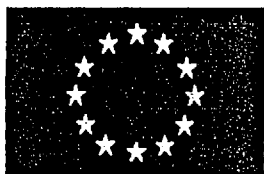
LTO Team No	Province	Observers	Mobile n.	Satellite	email	Accommodation	Car Type/ No Driver / Tel No	Interpreter Tel No
1	Phnom Penh	Michael Meixner	012-41 00 08		LTO1@ mobitel.com.kh	open	Moontero No 2813	Mr. Kaing Monika Tel: 012 960 436
		Eric des Pallières	012-4100 26					
		Sikke Bruinsma	012-41 00 27				Sao Seiha 012 904 914	Mr. Eng Veng Tel: 012 894 467
2	Pursat	Alexis Goldman	012-41 00 09	098 3642776	LTO2@ mobitel.com.kh	Phnom Pich Hotel 052 951 515 Pe Jek1, Ptek Prey Commune, Sampeu Meas	Pajero No 0258	Mr. Suy Dara Tel: 012 967 113
		Romain Kohn					Sao Chhor Pean 011 702 577	



# EU EOM CAMBODIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2003

## LTO DEPLOYMENT PLAN

LTO Team No	Province	Observers	Mobile n.	Satellite	email	Accommodation	Car Type/ No Driver / Tel No	Interprete Tel No
3	Battambang Pailin	Paolo Salvia	012-41 00 10	098 3642775	LTO3@ mobitel.com.kh	Te.o Hotel 053 952 288 St.3, Svay pao, Battambang district	Pajero No 7249  Heng Sarin 016 856 083	Mr. Ngy Kimsong Tel:012 833 095
		Rosemary Rahamim						
4	Banteay Meanchey	Rosa Mora- Acuna	012-41 00 11	098 3642779	LTO4@ mobitel.com.kh	Hotel Phnom Svay 012 971 287/656 565 Ou lom bel, Serey- saopon district	Pajero No 9219  Keat Lymeng 012 550 958	Mr. lev Chanheng Tel:012 586 832
		Peter Hazdra						
5	Siem Reap Oddar Meanchey	Catherine Pascal	012-41 00 12	098 3642774	LTO5@ mobitel.com.kh	Red Piano 012 854 150 #341, Mondul 1, Near old Market	Pajero No 2541  Khoy Kheng 012 931 314	Mr. Pheng Sokhenin Tel:012 523 003
		Patrick Vander Weyden						
6	Kompong Thom Preah Vihear	Martim Freire	012-41 00 13	098 3642739	LTO6@ mobitel.com.kh	Stung Sen hotel 062 961 228	Pajero No 1196  Om kim 012 824 955	Mr. Keo Thoeun Tel:016 884 816
		Irene Maria Eich						



# EU EOM CAMBODIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2003

## LTO DEPLOYMENT PLAN

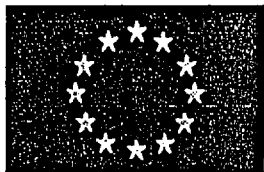
LTO Team No	Province	Observers	Mobile n.	Satellite	email	Accommodation	Car Type/ No Driver / Tel No	Interpreter Tel No
7	Kratie	Piero Valabrega	012-41 00 14	098 3642737	LTO7@mobitel.com.kh	Santipheap Hotel 072 971 537 Kratie village, Kratie commune	Pajero No 1406	Mr. Hak Sophal Tel: 012 508 732
		Svend Petersen					Heng Sarun 012 882 770	
8	Kampong Cham (East)	Alexis Michel	012-41 00 15	098 3642733	LTO8@mobitel.com.kh	Hotel Mitapheap 042 941 565 #18, St Kosamaknary rath	Pajero No 2209	Mr. Prak Dara Tel: 012 922 169
		Michaela Kufner					Ong Chandy 012 710 957	
9	Kampong Cham (West)	Carlo Pappalardo	012-41 00 16	098 3642741	LTO9@mobitel.com.kh	Hotel Mitapheap 042 941 565 #18, St Kosamaknary rath	Pajero No 0402	Mr. Nhem Rethy Tel: 012 333 033
		Lurdes de Sousa					Ket Vanna 012 966 732	
10	Svay Rieng	Maurits Jan van Heek	012-41 00 17	098 3642743	LTO10@mobitel.com.kh	Ghs.Kmean Kangvoll 044 945 585 Svay Rieng village, Svay Rieng commune	Pajero No 0580	Mr. Sok Sotha Tel: 016 948 553
		Achim Kofer					Té Som Ol 016 887 917	



# EU EOM CAMBODIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2003

## LTO DEPLOYMENT PLAN

LTO Team No	Province	Observers	Mobile n.	Satellite	email	Accommodation	Car Type/ No Driver / Tel No	Interpreter Tel No
11	Prey Veng	Mats Melin	012-41 00 18	098 3642747	LTO11@mobitel.com.kh	Mitapheap Guest House (012 952 534) #92 in front of TELA Station	Pajero No 9456 3301	Mr. Nuth Sophal Tel: 016 845 299
		Isabel Menchon					Im Narin 011 974 735	
12	Takeo	Ole Wagner Smit	012-41 00 19	098 3642740	LTO12@mobitel.com.kh	Ghs. Boeung Takeo (032 931 306), St.14, Rokaknong commune	Pajero No 5237	Ms. Ky Ravikun Tel: 012 950 807
		Rauno Anteroinen					NguonSophoand 012 981 987	
13	Kandal	Carl-Olle Blomberg	012-41 00 20	098 3642748	LTO13@mobitel.com.kh	Many places	Pajero No 5146	Mr. Ouk Ya Tel: 012 989 064
		Gina Duenas					Ong Sophal 012 953 046	
14	Kampot Kep	Luis Martinez Betanoz	012-41 00 21	098 3642730	LTO14@mobitel.com.kh	Borey Bokor Hotel 012 820 826 Kampongbuy districk, downtown	Pajero No 2696	Mr. Yin Sothy Tel: 011 971 737
		Anna Gades					Khoy Wan 012 823 537	
15	Sihanoukville Koh Kong	Manuel de Nogues Gimenez	012-41 00 22	098 3642746	LTO15@mobitel.com.kh	Seaside Hotel 034 933 641/034 933 662 Ochheuteal	Pajero No 5287	Mr. Vathana Chan Tel: 011 639 553
		Andreas Wannemacher					Som Sam An 012 784 520	



# EU EOM CAMBODIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2003

## LTO DEPLOYMENT PLAN

LTO Team No	Province	Observers	Mobile n.	Satellite	email	Accommodation	Car Type/ No Driver / Tel No	Interpreter Tel No
16	Kampong Speu	Vlasta Livi	012-41 00 23	098 3642731	LTO16@mobitel.com.kh	Ghs. Tro Chek Chet 016 874 230 Chlamon districk, downtown	Pajero No 6245	Mr. Om Sophana Tel: 012 840 136
		Jorma Virtanen					Kean Chantoun 012 845 419	
17	Kampong Chhnang	Eirini Skouzou	012-41 00 24	098 3642736	LTO17@mobitel.com.kh	Ghs. Sokha 026 988 622 Mombarang commune, downtown	Pajero No 1776	Mr. An Thy Tel: 012 610 780
		Andrew Bell					Pol Sotheara 012 480 069	
18	Mobile Team	Robert Berneheim	012-41 00 25	098 3642735	LTO18@mobitel.com.kh	open	Landcruiser No 1048	1. Mr. Sam Siphah (Ratanakiri) Tel: 012 899 518 2. Mr. Ek Sotheavuth (Stung Sreng) Tel: 012 644 583 012 941 457 3. Mr. Mom Bora (Mondulkiri) Tel: 012 603 584
		Monique Nobs-Margairaz*					Mey Sam Ath 011 898 800/ 012 445 171	

\* Switzerland is contributing 1 LTO to the EUEOM



National Assembly Election Cambodia 2003  
European Union Election Observation Mission  
Team Deployment

Province / Municipality	No. of STO Teams	No. of LTO Teams	No. of MEP Teams	Total no. of Teams
Phnom Penh	2	1	1	4
Pursat	2	1		3
Battambang	2	1	1	4
Pailin	1			1
Banteay Meanchey	2	1		3
Siem Reap	2	1		3
Oddar Meanchey	1			1
Kompong Thom	2	1		3
Preah Vihear	1			1
Kratie	2	1		3
Kompong Cham (E)	2	1		3
Kompong Cham (W)	2	1	1	4
Svay Rieng	2	1		3
Prey Veng	2	1		3
Kandal	2	1		3
Takeo	2	1		3
Kampot	1	1		2
Kep	1			1
Sihanoukville	1	1		2
Koh Kong	2			2
Kompong Speu	2	1		3
Kompong Chhnang	2	1		3
Stung Treng	1			1
Ratanakiri*	1			1
Mondulakiri*	1			1
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>61</b>

STO=Short Term Observer

LTO=Long Term Observer

MEP = Member of European Parliament



LTOs Teams Nr	LTOs Names	Provinces	Mode	Contacts Nr	Email	Accommodation	Contact Nr	Fax Nr to use for Eday	Drivers	Car type & licences plates	Contact Nr
LTO12	Ole Wagner Smit	Takeo	GSM	012 41 00 19	LTO12@mobil tel.com.kh	Ghs. Boeung Takeo St.14 Rokaknong commune	032 931 306	032 931 277 (24hrs)	Nguon Sophoand	Pajero 5237	012 981 987
	Rauno Anterolnen		SAT	098 3642740							
LTO13	Carl-Olle Blomberg	Kandal	GSM	012 41 00 20	LTO13@mobil tel.com.kh	Hotel Camodiana rooms 411 & 417			(Heng Mean Chhey)	Pajero 5146	012 953 046
	Gina Duenas		SAT	098 3642748	ltol3_cueom@yahoo.com						
LTO14	Luis Martinez Betanoz	Kampot and Kep	GSM	012 41 00 21	LTO14@mobil tel.com.kh	House No.31 on the river front, next to the little garden restaurant			Khoy Wan	Pajero 2696	012 823 537
	Anna Gades		SAT	098 3642730	annagades@hotmail.com						
LTO15	Manuel de Noguez Gimenez	Sihanoukville and Koh Kong	GSM	012 41 00 22	LTO15@mobil tel.com.kh				Som Sam An	Pajero 5287	012 784 520
	Andreas Wannemacher		SAT	098 3642746		CCS Hotel, Ekareach St.	034 93 37 20				
LTO16	Vlasta Livi	Kompong Speu	GSM	012 41 00 23	LTO16@mobil tel.com.kh				Kean Chantoun	Galloper 6245	012 845 419
	Jorma Virtanen		SAT	098 3642731	jumilinnas_jorma@yahoo.co m	Hotel Cambodiana room ??					
LTO17	Eirini Skouzou	Kompong Chhnang	GSM	012 41 00 24	LTO17@mobil tel.com.kh				Pol Sotheara	Galloper 1776	012 480 069
	Andrew Bell		SAT	098 3642736		Private house					
LTO18 Mobile	Robert Berneheim	Stung Treng, Ratanakiri and Mondulkiri	GSM	012 41 00 25	LTO18@mobil tel.com.kh				Mey Sam Ath	Landcruiser 1048	800/012 445 171
	Monique Nobs- Margalraz*		SAT	098 3642735		Hotel Cambodiana room					

**AUSTRALIAN OBSERVATION MISSION TO CAMBODIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
ELECTIONS: 24-29 JULY 2003**

TEAM	CONTACT	VEHICLE	INTERPRETER	TELEPHONE	DRIVER	TELEPHONE
<b>Team 1 - Kampong Cham</b>						
Mitaphan Hotel Ph: 855-42 941 565 Fax: 855-42 941 465						
Mr Michael Johnson MP		AusAID Landcruiser	Sarom Seila		Yos Sinith	
Leader of Delegation		DFAT Landcruiser	Hean Vuthy		Houn Russy	
Mr Luke Hartsuyker MP			Nguon Sokunthea		Tan Vannarith	
Justin Whyatt	012 810 607		Pech Vireak			
Blair Exell						
<b>Team 2 - Kandal/PP</b>						
2 DFAT Vehicles						
Senator Mark Bishop			Yem Chanrith		Em Siphon	
Senator Natasha Stott Despoja			Por Phak		Kry Sopharith	
Karen Lanyon	012 810 806					
Sandy Hudd						
<b>Team 3 - Kratie</b>						
Defence Landcruiser						
COL Don Higgins						
Penny Tynan						
<b>Team 4 - Mondulkiri</b>						
Defence Landcruiser						
WO1 Ron Dunne						
John Murray						
Pat Illidge						
<b>Team 5 - Phnom Penh</b>						
HOM Vehicle						
Ambassador Louise Hand			Ouk Sophea		Khuy Muy	
Ms Marina Delens						
<b>Team 6 - Phnom Penh</b>						
AEP Landcruiser						
Mr Paul Vercoe			Hieng Sokchea			
Mr Mike Noyes						
Mr Chris Cooper						

**US Embassy Observer Teams Deployed 7/23-7/29 for the General Elections**

	Location	Team	Contact
1	Kampong Cham	Jennifer McIntyre	012 810458
		Hour Phalla	012 771060
		Eliseo Bacolod Pol Kirisambath	012810795 012 848971
2	Phnom Penh	Susan Merrill	012810214
		Navy Bo	012 864969
		Ken Lyons	012 944358
		Nareth Lay	012 827252
		Don Coleman Chhim Tolika	012 810464 N/A
		Michael Keller Chhoun SETHA	012 803851 012-869-313
		Mark Storella	
3	Kandal	Scott Harding	012930298
		James O'Conner	N/A
		Malyka Keo	011886769
		Herminia Pangan Chrea Vanrith	012812454 012812454
4	Prey Veng	Geneve Menscher Sek Sambo	012 501275 012 848727
5	Battambang	Kate Somvongsiri Kimchhay Ly	012 905339 012 803964
6	Takeo	Mike Rousek Chea Sokha	012810465 012 811713
7	Banteay Meanchey	Pam Devolder	012501278

		John Devolder Naroat Hoy	N/A 012 810462
8	Kompong Speu	Joe Fraley Eng Po	012451867 012944336
9	Kompong Thom	Toni Ferrara	012816916
10	Kompot	Brad Bessire Sophoan Rath	012 810822 012 801694
11	Siem Reap	Susan Hase Ob Sophany	012810771 016897988
12	Svay Rieng	Lee Forsythe Sek Sokuon	012877004 012784691
13	Kompong Chhnang	Christian Fung Saroeun Aing	012 816218 011 886769
14	Pursat	Joe Dechirico Margaret Dechirico Lay You Neng	012501276 N/A 011946442
15	Kratie	Heide Bronke Prak Sokunn Mealea	012803137 012856278

**US EMBASSY OBSERVERS TO BE DEPLOYED ON SUNDAY AND MONDAY IN PHNOM PENH**

- 1) Koam Kim Seng & Sina Long
- 2) Sy Hong Say & Chhoun Setha
- 3) Kosal San & Sovanny Sar
- 4) Siev Sophal & Hem Bory
- 5) Tep Peng & Song Mong Tray & Heng Mom Sim