



# Electoral Reform in Cambodia

## Workshop Report

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*Phnom Penh, Cambodia*

### Workshop Organizers

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Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL)  
Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Elections in  
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## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that has supported democratic institutions and practices in every region of the world for more than two decades. Since its founding in 1983, NDI and its local partners have worked to establish and strengthen political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

Democracy depends on legislatures that represent citizens and oversee the executive, independent judiciaries that safeguard the rule of law, political parties that are open and accountable, and elections in which voters freely choose their representatives in government. Acting as a catalyst for democratic development, NDI bolsters the institutions and processes that allow democracy to flourish.

***Build Political and Civic Organizations:*** NDI helps build the stable, broad-based and well-organized institutions that form the foundation of a strong civic culture. Democracy depends on these mediating institutions—the voice of an informed citizenry, which link citizens to their government and to one another by providing avenues for participation in public policy.

***Safeguard Elections:*** NDI promotes open and democratic elections. Political parties and governments have asked NDI to study electoral codes and to recommend improvements. The Institute also provides technical assistance for political parties and civic groups to conduct voter education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. NDI is a world leader in election monitoring, having organized international delegations to monitor elections in dozens of countries, helping to ensure that polling results reflect the will of the people.

***Promote Openness and Accountability:*** NDI responds to requests from leaders of government, parliament, political parties and civic groups seeking advice on matters from legislative procedures to constituent service. NDI works to build legislatures and local governments that are professional, accountable, open and responsive to their citizens.

International cooperation is key to promoting democracy effectively and efficiently. It also conveys a deeper message to new and emerging democracies that while autocracies are inherently isolated and fearful of the outside world, democracies can count on international allies and an active support system. Headquartered in Washington D.C., with field offices in every region of the world, NDI complements the skills of its staff by enlisting volunteer experts from around the world, many of whom are veterans of democratic struggles in their own countries and share valuable perspectives on democratic development.

### **NDI in Cambodia**

Since 1992, NDI has aided democratic activists in Cambodia through work with civic groups and political parties, the adoption of political party codes of conduct, the development of women's caucus and youth wings in parties, and electoral support initiatives. The Institute's current programs in Cambodia seek to enhance the capacity of citizens and political parties to participate more effectively in the political process. NDI works with local civil society groups to organize constituency dialogues that bring together citizens and parliamentarians to discuss local issues of concern. NDI also collaborates with a technical working group to draw together the recommendations of previous and ongoing electoral reform programs, and engage the National Assembly, the National Election Commission, political parties, civil society and the media on practical approaches to adopting such reforms.

**Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL):** Comfrel's origins are found in the "Task Force," which came together to provide an independent domestic monitoring team for the May 1993 UNTAC elections. In early 1993 Cambodia's foremost human rights organizations, including ADHOC (Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association), LICADHO (Ligue Cambodgienne pour la Promotion et la Défense des Droits de l'Homme) and Human Rights Vigilance, pooled their efforts in a determination to ensure the success of the UNTAC sponsored democratic election. This coalition, the Task Force on Cambodian Elections, worked in close collaboration with the relevant international organizations throughout Cambodia in order to monitor the electoral process, before, during and after polling day. The Task Force managed to provide civic and voter education to over one million voters, and selected, trained and deployed 2,000 Cambodian election observers. In December 1995, the Presidents of ADHOC, LICADHO and VIGILANCE once again joined forces in order to create a strong permanent Cambodian NGO able to provide an independent, non-partisan influence in the enhancement of Cambodian democracy. They thus formed the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia - COMFREL. Today there are ten member NGOs active on the Board of Comfrel: ADHOC, Cambodian Centre for Protection of Children's Rights (CCPCR), Cambodian Defenders Project (CDP), Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre (CWCC), Human Rights Vigilance, Khmer Kampuchea Krom Human Rights Association (KKKHRA), Khmer Youth Association (KYA), Legal Aid of Cambodia (LAC) and Women's Media Centre of Cambodia (WMC).

Comfrel fielded about 15,000 observers nation-wide, covering more than 95% of all polling stations and vote counting centers in the National Assembly election 1998 and 2003, and 2002 Commune Elections. Comfrel is currently engaged in lobbying for improvements to the legal framework for the political and electoral reforms and preparations for future civic education and monitoring of parliamentary performance and fulfillment of political platforms, including network capacity building. It also conducting public forums and is carrying out assessments on the commune council performance, namely focusing the issues of the local governance and participatory democracy.

**Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (NICFEC)** is a neutral and impartial grassroots network of advocates and volunteers supported by a coalition of seven non governmental organizations (NGOs) that work on election education, monitoring and advocacy. These include LICADHO, the Cambodian Association for Development (CAD), the Architecture Students Association (ASA), the Khmer literature Students Association (KLSA), the Organization of Community Development Economic (OCDE), the League of Professors for Development (LPD), and the Fine Art Association (FAA). In between elections and during election processes, NICFEC raises important issues on decentralization and good governance to educate local people. NICFEC originally conducted drama education performances at the request of UNTAC during the 1993 election period. NICFEC is also one of the members of the Cambodian Committee for Women (CAMBOW), Promote Women in Politics (CPWP), Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC), and Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL).

NICFEC has a coalition of non-governmental organizations that work on related fields and there are eight directors on the board, one executive director, three International Advisors, seven executive committee members, 24 general staffpersons, with 24 provincial coordinators and 193 district coordinators. NICFEC has also had 7000 voluntary networks throughout the country to carry out the work.

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## **Summary**

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL), and the Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (NICFEC) organized a workshop on Cambodian Electoral Reform in Phnom Penh from August 11 to 12, 2009.

This workshop represented the culmination of a broader electoral reform initiative, which involved in-depth consultations with approximately 150 representatives from a diverse cross-section of society on the quality of the election process in Cambodia. Through these consultations, NDI and its partners found that people identified the same problems in the election process and reform recommendations were largely uniform. Suggestions for changes were made in the following key areas: voter registration and the voters list; the National Election Committee's (NEC) composition, delegation of authority, and regulations; and the complaint resolution and adjudication process. Other commonly cited areas for improvement were media coverage of elections, the overall election system (e.g. introduction of majority-plurality seats, new seat allocation formula), and the regulation of political finance. The purpose of this workshop was to review and build upon the key findings from these consultations, with the goal to achieve some consensus on main reform needs and strategies for implementation.

The workshop aimed to ensure complete participant ownership and management, and the majority of discussions were led by the participants themselves. COMFREL, NICFEC, and NDI played only a consultative and facilitative role, providing a forum for dialogue. Two international resource persons were invited to share lessons learned and best practices on election reform from their countries.

## **Program Background and Rationale**

Cambodian elections have improved over successive elections and are generally well-administered and free of violence. Shortcomings, however, remain in the country's election process. Citizens still face obstacles to freely exercise their vote due, but not limited, to problems with: the voters list, the registration process, and use of form 1018; limited training and/or lack of neutrality of some election and government officials; lack of exposure to political options due to uneven media coverage; and inadequate and/or unclear complaint resolution procedures.

In partnership with COMFREL and NICFEC, NDI embarked on an electoral reform initiative to conduct a comprehensive review of the election process in Cambodia and identify needed changes to correct any existing impediments to access, eligibility, and transparency. The program did not delve into specific technical changes, although extremely important, but rather attempted to capture the most significant broad areas in need of reform based on the input of many. Uniquely, this project consolidated the voices of close to 150 representatives from a cross-section of society, rather than simply representing the analyses and recommendations of the three organizations. The timing for this effort was advantageous: the 2008 election experience was still fresh in people's minds; and any efforts to implement the project's recommended reforms could feasibly be accomplished before the next elections.

To gather the input from a wide range of stakeholders, NDI and its partners formed an “Expert Committee on Electoral Reform” to hold in-depth consultations and interviews both in Phnom Penh and the provinces. Committee members included: Kek Pung from the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO); Thun Saray from the Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (Adhoc); Yong Kim Eng from the People’s Center for Development and Peace (PDP); Hang Puthea from NICFEC; Koul Panha from COMFREL; Sok Sam Oeun from the Cambodian Defenders Project (CDP); and Laura Thornton from NDI. The team met with political party representatives, government officials, lawyers, journalists, NGOs, election officials, local authorities, labor representatives, business leaders, academics, and international experts with the aim to review the election process in general and identify areas for improvement.

In addition to the consultations, supporting activities for the program included an election document review and consolidation and the formation of an electoral reform library. NDI gathered the reports and recommendations from both local and international organizations over the past decade and consolidated the recommendations into a common document. The document demonstrates the extensive monitoring and examination of Cambodian elections over the years and the consistencies and similarities in the reforms suggested by diverse organizations. NDI’s library includes all election reports and analyses on Cambodia as well as hundreds of documents on elections in other countries, international standards and best practices, and monitoring and training tools. NDI distributed a bibliography of these documents to interested parties.

This workshop presented the results of the reform recommendations gathered during the consultations in order to discuss in more detail and build consensus on needed changes. The workshop was also designed to be inclusive, and a range of stakeholders and political players participated. An aim of the event was to keep the conversation on electoral reform alive and on the agenda well after the initial issuance of election findings and suggestions.

The workshop had the following objectives:

1. Serve as an inclusive forum to review the current election system and discuss areas in need of improvement;
2. Build consensus on a few key reform areas; and
3. Develop strategies and tactics for advocating reform implementation (both short term and long term) in the current environment.

## **Workshop Proceedings**

### *Opening Remarks, Welcoming Remarks, and Keynote Address*

Dr. Hang Puthea, Executive Director of the Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (NICFEC), and Mr. Koul Panha, Executive Director of the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL), delivered opening remarks. Dr. Hang explained that the objectives of the workshop were to develop a list of priority recommendations for electoral reform and discuss next steps for implementation. He hoped that there would be an open and understanding discussion environment and pointed out that a diverse array of stakeholders were present. Dr. Hang also thanked the international experts for coming to Cambodia to share their experiences.

Mr. Koul first thanked everyone for their participation and expressed his pleasure at seeing the participation of representatives from different sectors and political affiliations. He emphasized that elections should be inclusive and meet international standards for integrity. In Cambodia, he said, electoral reform would require amendments to the legal framework, changes in the structure and regulations of the National Election Committee (NEC), and a political atmosphere that was free from fear. Mr. Koul explained that since UNTAC there had been a series of improvements, but that flaws remained in the process, particularly in voter registration, complaints resolution, and the structure and neutrality of the NEC. He said that the goal of the workshop was to identify approaches and strategies for working together.

Mr. Ted Allegra, Deputy Chief of Mission of the United States Embassy, then made welcoming remarks. He stated that credible and fair elections were critical to the development and security of a country. All countries, he added, must continue to evaluate election processes to determine where they were strong and where they needed improvements. Discussion on electoral reform was not a sign of weakness, he emphasized, but one of strength. The U.S., he added, constantly revised its election procedures.

Mr. Allegra described the steady progress that had been made in Cambodian elections since UNTAC. He stated that the 2008 elections were the “freest” yet held. Comparatively, in 1998, there had been violence, politicians in exile, and struggles over the count and formula, leading to several months of political deadlock. Now elections were more efficient, witnessed less violence, and led to no crises of constitutional proportions.

Mr. Allegra added that there was still much work to do as voters continued to face obstacles. It was important, he argued, to determine where the system was weak and strong in order to identify needed changes. He highlighted voter registration, the role and status of the NEC, and the complaints resolution process as areas for examination. Finally, he thanked the expert team and tasked participants with determining a path forward. He said that the discussions would be influential and wished participants luck.

The keynote address was delivered by H.E. Mr. Sak Seta, Secretary of State of the Ministry of Interior (MoI). Mr. Sak first expressed his thanks to participants and speakers. He reported that the comments and suggestions from the workshop would be reviewed and discussed by key leaders. He added that there was a political commitment to improvement in Cambodia’s elections.

Since the Paris Peace Accords in 1991, he explained, Cambodia had a series of elections at the national and local levels. Each time, he stated, they have been freer, fairer, and smoother. He reported that in 1993 during UNTAC the country faced armed conflicts but the strong commitment of the Cambodian people was demonstrated. He added that the country learned from one election to the next, gradually developing and improving. He pointed out that changes had also been made -- the local election laws were revised, amendments had been made to LEMNA in 1998 and 2003, and improvements in voter registration, ballot counting procedures, seat formula, and complaints resolutions had been implemented. Mr. Sak emphasized that the international community praised the elections, and the NEC had worked openly with civic groups and cooperated with international organizations.



Mr. Sak explained that electoral reform was sensitive and required political consensus, stressing that it was important to remember the war and internal conflicts that had cost the country dearly. He described the civil registration process and the difficulties in converting from a manual to computer system. He stated that citizens had unclear birthdates, different name spellings, and incomplete family books, all making registration difficult. Migration posed other problems, he explained, because people did not inform local authorities when they moved. He added that each country's election system had to be suited to its needs and situation.

Mr. Sak closed his remarks by emphasizing the government's commitment to electoral reform. He added that the MoI and NEC cooperated and were working closely together on key reform areas. He said he welcomed the recommendations from the workshop and his office would consider them.

### *Presentation of Program Consultations Findings*

Ms. Laura Thornton, NDI's Resident Country Director for Cambodia, then presented a summary of the program consultations. She explained that the program's purpose was to review the election process in Cambodia to identify needed changes to correct any existing impediments to access, eligibility, and transparency. The goal, she stressed, was not to provide the group's analysis but rather to gather and consolidate the opinions of a wide cross-section of society, groups that do not normally have the opportunity to provide input. She explained individual reports and analyses had already been done by NDI, local groups, and international organizations, so this program aimed to represent the opinions of others. By using this approach, she hoped the program could provide more credibility to reform recommendations by illustrating the diversity of those people supporting them.

Ms. Thornton then described the formation of the expert team and the process of holding in-depth consultations and interviews in both Phnom Penh and the provinces. The team interviewed party representatives (five major parties and well as minor parties), government officials, lawyers, journalists, NGOs, election officials, local authorities, labor representatives, business leaders, academics, and international experts. The NEC commissioners and officials turned down all requests for meetings. Approximately 150 people in total were interviewed.

Ms. Thornton then reviewed the findings from the consultations. She emphasized that the opinions and recommendations did not necessarily reflect those of NDI or its partners. She also described the fear people expressed in discussing the election process, which she thought was perhaps illustrative of the problems that still remained.

Interestingly, despite the number and diversity of the people contributing to the project, the assessments and suggestions were largely uniform. Whether a commune councilor, NGO leader, or journalist, or whether from the ruling party of opposition, people were surprisingly consistent in their remarks. Often the causes for and impact of various problems cited varied considerably, but the general reform needs identified were similar. Overall, people felt that electoral exercises were becoming increasingly more peaceful. Specifically, those consulted reported that violence and egregious fraud (stealing ballot boxes, armed threats at polling stations, etc.) were rare. It was acknowledged, however, that problems remained, particularly

with regard to the overall transparency of the process. Also surprisingly, many people harkened back to UNTAC days as a better administered process.

Virtually everyone agreed, including some of those responsible for the process, that the voter registration and the voters list were the areas in most need of reform.

#### Problems

- Voter registration is unreasonably complicated and places too large a burden on the voters, particularly in a country with large mobility due to migrant and seasonal workers.
- Flaws remain in the voters list due to technical errors, problems in civil records (inconsistent name spelling, inaccurate or unknown birth dates, etc.), deletions made without adequate documentation, data entry errors, and/or intentional interference.
- The use of 1018 forms, to be used for those who lack identification, under the current process, provides opportunities for abuse and confusion.

#### Suggested solutions

- Establishment of a *real* permanent voters list, one that is open for changes year-round and that does not require annual verification.
- Urgent need to clean the data in the voters list; discontinuation of deletion list.
- Development of a defined mechanism for monitoring and securing the central database at the NEC with layered quality control.
- Establishment of a national identification card system, one with a unique serial number and bio-data technologies, which could be integrated into the NEC database.
- Form 1018 should be discontinued or carried out with a sufficient tracking system and technical safeguards.
- Enhanced transparency of and oversight by NEC: publication of more detailed electoral statistics, such as those on the issuance of 1018 forms or other similar documents, and more adequate oversight of registration tasks (carried out by local officials) through the appointment and training of sufficient staff.

People also expressed their concern about the role and functions of National Election Committee (NEC), specifically in its delegation of power, composition, and regulatory framework.

#### Problems

- There was also almost universal consensus that the process of delegating electoral responsibilities, such as voter registration, to local authorities -- commune council and village chiefs -- was problematic.
- Serious lack of capacity at the local level for those officials carrying out election tasks.
- Interference at the local level by some authorities, particularly in the voter registration process and issuance of the 1018 forms.
- Election bodies often lack neutrality, particularly at the PEC (provincial election committee), CEC (commune election committee), and PSC (polling station committee) levels.
- Lack of transparency at the NEC and limited information provided on NEC business: reports, data, and documents are classified; no newsletter or survey results provided; public has little access to meetings or discussions, etc.

- NEC regulations cumbersome, complicated, and inconsistent. The Regulations and Procedures for the Election of the Members of the National Assembly (RPEMNA) are over 700 pages long making them extremely inaccessible to local electoral officials as well as the public.

### Solutions

- More support for local officials responsible for carrying out electoral duties – training, budgets, and qualified staff.
- The election committee and its staff become responsible for voter registration. If the system of delegation is to be maintained, however, greater transparency, oversight, clearer regulations, legal determination of delegation and subsequent roles and responsibilities, and defined and harsh penalties for violations are needed.
- Reform of the composition of the NEC through the formation of a new selection committee, comprised of diverse representatives from different sectors (NGOs, professional organizations, lawyers). Selection process should be transparent and consultative.
- Constitutional status for the NEC or an independent organic law on the election committee, instead of the Committee being embodied under LEMNA.
- Improvement in the overall transparency of the Committee’s business by allowing more public access to documents and meetings.
- NEC regulations should be consolidated and simplified.

The third most commonly-cited area for reform was the complaint resolution and adjudication processes.

### Problems

- Legal provisions and regulations governing adjudication are seriously flawed: articles contradict each other, the regulations are riddled with loopholes, and oversight provisions are weak.
- Legal provisions governing penalties and sanctions are too specific, with no provisions to penalize violations of the law that are not precisely listed.
- Regulations governing post-election complaints provide two mutually exclusive avenues for pursuing complaints, each calling for radically different procedures and responses.
- Local officials charged with resolving electoral complaints have a limited understanding of legal matters and are ill-equipped to process disputes.
- The deadline for the settlement of challenges is too short.

### Solutions

- A clear statement in the law on jurisdiction of the NEC over *any* election-related dispute, with subsequent sanctions for all violations.
- Regulations specify clear NEC oversight of officials carrying out electoral duties, including the responsibility of the NEC to be pro-active in investigating irregularities.
- Legal framework amended to provide clearer mechanisms for dispute resolution.
- Continuous and thorough training of officials carrying out adjudication responsibilities.
- Establishment of a separate judicial body to resolve election complaints.

The following areas were also brought up repeatedly during the consultations: the need to explore a new election system, improvements in media neutrality, and the importance of political finance regulations.

### Problems

- Current seat allocation formula is biased toward leading party.
- Current election system places too much power in the hands of parties and limits accountability to constituents.
- Media coverage of elections is not balanced, particularly on television.
- No transparency in the financing and spending of political parties and election campaigns.

### Solutions

- Seat allocation formula should be changed to the “higher remaining votes” formula used under UNTAC.
- Introduction of a majority-plurality system, at least for a portion of National Assembly seats.
- An elected representative should not lose his or her seat if removed from the party.
- Media must provide more level playing field for parties and candidates.
- Political finance reform, particularly mandating disclosure of party funding and spending, is needed but impossible in current political climate.

Ms. Thornton explained that these reforms were very broad and would necessitate intervention by and the participation of many levels of the Cambodian government. The NEC would be needed to modify internal regulations and procedures. She added that because of the role of local authorities in many electoral tasks, particularly voter registration, and the proposals for a national identification system, the Ministry of Interior had an important role to play. Any changes to LEMNA (election law) or the composition of the NEC would require the participation of the National Assembly and possibly a constitutional amendment. Finally, she emphasized, given the decision-making process in Cambodia, electoral reform necessitated the political will and directives of the country’s leaders.

Ms. Thornton encouraged participants to also think of the roles of other sectors: civil society, media, labor, academia, etc. in electoral reform. She closed by stressing the need to encourage public awareness and involvement in order to realize any real change.

### *International Lessons Learned on Electoral Reform*

Dr. Ramlan Surbakti, former member of the Legal Drafters Team on the Law on Political Parties, Law on General elections, Law on the Composition and Function of Legislative Bodies, and Law on Local Government in Indonesia, presented first. He described how election reform was a long and frustrating process that “required stamina.” Often, he explained, the reform process did not progress positively. For example, he said, the 2004 elections in Indonesia were better than 2009.

Dr. Surbakti described the reform process in Indonesia. After Suharto resigned in 1998, seven political scientists were called upon to draft the law on elections and political parties. The efforts were limited as the Constitution had not yet been amended, and the parliament was still dominated by the military. Only 50% of the draft reforms were accepted.

After the implementation of the new Constitution, the electoral reform legislation process was initiated again. The main players in the electoral reform movement were academics, NGOs, women's groups, religious organizations, media, the constitutional court, auxiliary state institutions (election commission, commission on human rights), and international organizations (NDI, IFES, IRI, International IDEA, UNDP, etc.).

These reformers built consensus through open discussions held by civil society organizations (CSOs), and a team of CSOs launched a "National Consultation" to visit the provinces and solicit the input of local government authorities, parties, and NGOs. The team also disseminated ideas and practices on electoral reform to political parties in the House and to the government. The Ministry of Home Affairs established a team of legal drafters, including Dr. Surbakti, to formulate the new law and present it to the Council of Ministers and the House. The team of CSOs was vigilant in providing information to and applying pressure on members of the various special committees tasked with reviewing the draft election law. Moreover, the entire process took place under the intense scrutiny of an interested and critical media.

The new law allowed for anyone to bring a case to the Constitutional Court for judicial review if there were questions regarding the law's compatibility with the Constitution, and to the Supreme Court for cases concerning the conduct and duties of the Election Commission (KPU). There was no registration of voters, Dr. Surbakti explained. Rather, anyone could vote with a proper identification card.

Dr. Surbakti explained that the new Election Commission (KPU) established from this process was different from its predecessor, the Electoral Management Body (EMB), in many ways. First, he said, the KPU was permanent and independent. Second, it had the power to regulate the elections, manage elections, and enforce the election law. In other words, he stated, it not only had the authority to implement the election law but also to change the law and "regulate the unregulated." The recruitment of commissioners was based on candidates' expertise, and in 2003 a team from universities conducted the recruitment process. The team selected 45 candidates, from which 22 were selected by the Minister of Home Affairs. The President could add candidates, and Commission II of the House then picked 11 of these candidates to be officially appointed by the President. Dr. Surbakti stated that the current KPU was comprised of mostly academics and lawyers.

Dr. Surbakti provided some thresholds for democratic electoral processes. Certainty and consistency in the regulation of elections were essential. He said, "The procedures must be predictable and the results unpredictable." Electoral law must guarantee electoral integrity, and there must be consistent enforcement of regulations on administration, criminal proceedings, codes of conduct, and resolution of electoral disputes. Finally, he stressed, a capable and nonpartisan electoral management body was essential.

Dr. Surbakti concluded his remarks by explaining that the electoral reform process in Indonesia was not yet finished. He also advised participants that it was essential to understand the "wall" one faced as reformers when pushing for changes, and that it was always easier to convince the public than the government.

Dr. Gothom Arya, former commissioner of the Election Commission of Thailand (ECT), explained that he would discuss three main points: electoral system reform, electoral

processes reform, and reform strategies. With regard to electoral systems, he described how majority-plurality was the original system used worldwide, before proportional systems were introduced. Mixed systems, he said, were relatively new. Within Asia, he pointed out that Malaysia and Singapore had proportional systems and both were stable and had one-party control. The Philippines and Thailand, he explained, had predominately majority-plurality systems<sup>1</sup>, while East Asia preferred mixed systems. Proportional systems, he argued, failed to encourage strong accountability from representatives. If the constituencies were small, however, proportional systems tended to be more accountable. Proportional systems usually required parties to form coalitions. Majority-plurality systems, he said, produced representatives more accountable to constituents and made it easier to form a government. Before endorsing a radical systems reform, Dr. Arya cautioned participants to think carefully and consider smaller steps, such as the introduction of a mixed system.

With regard to election processes, Dr. Arya explained that Thailand had no voter registration. The ECT, he said, used household data to develop a voters list. The ECT then sent a letter to every household to verify the list information, allowing for changes. Thailand's ECT also uses information technology, and the voters list is accessible through the website. Moreover, Dr. Arya stated, the ECT provided a process for advanced voting. The ECT has five members. From 1997 to 2000, members included three judges, one former MOI official, and one academic/civil society representative. Currently, the ECT has four judges and one former public prosecutor, as such, Dr. Arya explained, it was not as diverse in skills and expertise. The selection process, carried out by a selection committee and the General Assembly of Judges, and approved by the Senate, requires double the number of nominees than seats.

Dr. Arya emphasized that the complaint resolution process in Thailand was based on the impartiality of the Provincial Election Commissions (PECs). Only serious cases were taken to the national level. In Thailand, media coverage was not a problem. There were numerous media outlets and no one party could control coverage. He added that Thailand also had rigorous political finance laws requiring transparency and disclosure. The goal, he said, was to develop parties "with many shareholders" and to make party branches more self-reliant.

Dr. Arya described the electoral reform process and strategies in Thailand. The Campaign for Popular Democracy (CPD), a civic group, started pushing for reform in 1980 without success. Between 1992 and 1997 there were enormous changes. The formation of Pollwatch, a local election monitoring group, exposed the problem of money politics. An independent election commission was formed following the enactment of the 1997 Constitution. He described the lessons learned from the reform process. For standards, elections must be as legitimate as possible "to allow for a change in political power." He added that there needed to be a body of knowledge, both theoretical and experimental knowledge, on elections among reformers. Reformers must mobilize public support to achieve success and use the media. Finally, political will, he said, was the biggest hurdle, and it was essential to engage the election commission, government, and parties.

Dr. Arya expressed disappointment that the NEC did not attend the workshop. He encouraged participants to adopt a cooperative tone and focus on small significant first steps.

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<sup>1</sup> Both Thailand and the Philippines have a comparatively small portion of their seats elected through party lists.

Finally, he reiterated that a democratic election system means the possibility of a peaceful change of government.

The presentations were followed by questions and answers in the plenary. One question involved the complaint resolution procedures in both countries. Dr. Surbakti explained that there were three types of disputes in Indonesia. Disputes related to the election law were taken to the Constitutional Court. Disputes involving the performance of the election commission, KPU, were taken to the Supreme Court. Criminal violations of the law fell under the domain of the police and courts as well as the KPU, while administrative violations were solely under the jurisdiction of the KPU. In Thailand, Dr. Arya explained, the ECT had a large jurisdiction. If the ECT received the case within 30 days following the election, it could issue “yellow cards” or “red cards” to candidates and parties. If a yellow card, requiring less evidence, was issued, a new election was held, but no candidates or parties were banned from participating. If a red card was issued, there was a reelection and a prohibition on the candidate or party from participating. After 30 days, he said, the ECT investigated and brought all criminal cases to the courts. Decisions regarding elections, Dr. Arya explained, were made quickly.

Another participant asked about political finance regulations in both countries. Dr. Surbakti explained that political finance in Indonesia was regulated. Parties could not receive donations from the state, other countries, or anonymous donors. There were limits on private company and citizen donations as well. The law required two reports to be filed – one during the early stages of the campaign requiring a full report of the bank account information and all funds received, and one 14 days after the election reporting on all donations and expenditures. The KPU appointed public accountants to review all accounts, and the KPU commissioners were required to be pro-active in investigating financing.

In Thailand, Dr. Arya explained, political finance regulations were year-round, not only during election campaigns. Parties are limited to 10 million Baht donations from companies, and all donations have to be reported. Receipts must be issued for all donations and signed by the party leader him/herself. Parties also receive state money. Parties are required to report on their finances annually, and these reports become part of the public domain and posted on the Internet. During election campaigns, companies can donate a maximum of 1.5 million Baht per candidate or, if to a party, per candidate on the party’s list. The party and candidate are required to open a specific bank account for the elections with an assigned accountant. Dr. Arya explained that every Baht must be accounted for.

In response to questions on media coverage, Dr. Surbakti explained that there was a nine-month campaign period in Indonesia. The Indonesian Commission on Broadcasting had to give all parties ten spots daily. Equal opportunity principles were required of all press outlets. In Thailand, Dr. Arya said, there were no separate laws governing media and no regulation of the print media. Allocation of airtime to political parties, however, was free, and minutes were allocated based on the number of seats in parliament. Even if a party had no seats, he added, a minimum amount of airtime was granted. He explained that these rules also applied to talk shows.

## *Review of Previous Elections and Legal Framework*

Mr. Som Chandyna, a lawyer and member of the NEC, gave a brief presentation on electoral reform in Cambodia.<sup>2</sup> He first stated that elections in Cambodia still had problems and there were many disputes at each stage of the election process. He said, for example, that during the last election, the administration and use of 1018 forms raised serious concerns. Now there was time, he argued, for NGOs to work on changes and propose a draft law. Some key points for reform, he suggested, were: the provision of a national ID card for all citizens; a revision of the laws to allow for a smoother and easier process for addressing complaints; and the establishment of a complaints resolution body.

Mr. Eric des Pallières, European Union (EU) adviser to the National Election Commission (NEC), delivered the second presentation in this session.<sup>3</sup> He first thanked NDI and the expert team for their work. He said the timing of the workshop presented a great opportunity to go beyond cosmetic reforms and consider far-reaching efforts before the country entered its next election cycle.

Mr. des Pallières focused his remarks on voter registration in Cambodia. He emphasized that the stakes with voter registration were high, as the registration process was the key to the most fundamental right of citizens, the right to vote. He added that a variety of stakeholders needed to be involved in reforming registration and that both technical and legislative changes were needed. In 2008, he stated, tens of thousands of voters were unable to find their names on the list. This, he explained, was due to an unreasonably complicated registration process and to flaws in the civil registry.

First he discussed the accessibility of registration. It should not be a burden, he stressed, but a right, and registration should thus be more accessible for people. While the current circumstances might not allow the establishment of a genuinely continuous registry (i.e. accessible all year long for voters and open to public inspection), at a minimum, the annual period for voters to register should be significantly extended. An extended challenge period should also be available before the elections. Currently, he explained, the system required citizens to visit registration centers twice a year, first to check that their names have not been placed on deletion lists, then to examine the preliminary voters list for potential challenges, creating eight possible opportunities to be disenfranchised from one election to the next. The deletion list, Mr. des Pallières explained, was the main factor behind disenfranchisement. In many cases, he stressed, the requirement that any deletion be properly documented was not systematically applied.

With regard to public scrutiny/possible challenges, he said that from the time the commune councils developed their voters list to the time the NEC published the final list, many things could happen. There was no chance, however, for voters to complain about the finalized computerized list. On the issue of cleansing the lists, Mr. des Pallières also said there was no mechanism to determine duplicates on the list, due to similarities in the names, sometimes unknown dates of birth, and the absence of a standardized address system. The only way to systematically clean the list, he argued, was through the provision of unique identification numbers to each voter. In order to do this, the NEC would need to develop a

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<sup>2</sup> Mr. Som did not attend this workshop in his capacity as a member of the NEC, but as an individual and a lawyer.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. des Pallières stressed that his presentation did not reflect the official views of the European Commission or the National Election Committee.



completely new list integrating the national ID number, which is dependent on the establishment of a national ID card database, using bio-data technology as an essential safeguard against the issuance of more than one ID card to each citizen.

The workshop moderator then opened the floor for questions. One participant asked about the loopholes in the current law. On electoral dispute resolution, Mr. des Pallières explained that while the law listed specific electoral offences for which penalties should be imposed, there needed to be a general statement to allow the NEC to sanction any other violation. There also needed to be a clear description of the Committee's jurisdiction, particularly with regard to criminal offences affecting the electoral process. In response to questions on incorrect deletions, Mr. des Pallières responded that there was currently no systematic way to delete names, and despite the clear regulatory provision that any deletion be properly documented, in practice this was almost impossible in cases where voters may have relocated to another commune. Mr. Som Chandyna suggested that reformers develop recommendations to the MoI to submit to the National Assembly. The focus of reforms, he added, should be on the need for citizen ID cards and the development of a completely new voters list.

#### *Working Group Session I: The NEC*

Dr. Hang Puthea moderated this session. Participants first agreed that instead of breaking into different working groups, they would address the topic in the plenary. Dr. Hang asked participants to focus on five primary areas related to the NEC: composition; delegation of responsibilities; capacity building for staff; transparency; and regulations.

Participants discussed the selection of the NEC leadership and the need for "neutral" officials. One participant suggested that the selection committee be comprised of political parties, CSOs, and academics, and that candidates be allowed to apply from all sectors. In addition, many participants agreed there should be a greater number of nominees than seats. Another participant argued that all levels of the committee must be independent, including the local level bodies, and there must be qualification criteria and a transparent selection process. One participant from academia said that it was impossible to have a neutral or independent NEC as there were no neutral people in Cambodia. In response, another participant suggested that the focus be on balance, requiring all parties to approve of all nominees. Dr. Arya suggested that the nomination process should require some layered selection process and not be the sole decision of Ministers, who are politicians with specific interests. Finally, participants discussed the need to specify the roles and powers of the NEC in the Constitution.

It was agreed that the delegation of electoral responsibilities to local authorities created problems with voter registration and form 1018. The bulk of these problems, participants stated, would be solved through the establishment of a national ID card system, giving less discretion to local officials. Participants also discussed investment in training for local officials and NEC staff, including the provision of a pressure-free work environment. Finally participants discussed transparency and the need to "open up the NEC." The public should have access to decision-making, and the NEC should be required to provide basic electoral statistics, such as data on the issuance of 1018 forms, to the public.

Ultimately, participants agreed on:

- More open and layered selection process for NEC members;
- Greater number of NEC candidates than actual seats;
- More specific qualifications for Committee members;
- The provision of national ID cards to all citizens (to address delegation concerns);
- Increased training for NEC staff at all levels; and
- Greater transparency in NEC business and decision-making.

### *Working Group Session II: Voter Registration*

Mr. Yong Kim Eng, President of the People's Center for Development and Peace (PDP), provided instructions for this working group session. He reminded participants that this was the number one issue identified in the study, and was critical to ensuring that all citizens could exercise their right to vote. He asked participants to consider: the delegation of voter registration responsibilities to local authorities; the use of the deletion list; dissemination of information from the NEC; NEC oversight; and voters list security and auditing. Participants agreed to break into two different groups to discuss in detail and report back to the plenary. The groups were assigned randomly, and representatives of both the ruling party and opposition were present in both.

Group One agreed on several key recommendations. First, they agreed that the current delegation system should be maintained, but the capacity of commune councilors should be strengthened. In addition, time and resources should be allotted to improving NEC staff oversight of registration. The NEC should also be required to provide daily records during voter registration. The lists should be open to parties, CSOs, and the public prior to being sent to the NEC. The registration period should also be extended to at least nine months, with three months for verification and complaints. The majority agreed that the procedures for 1018 should be revised.

Group Two agreed that the MoI must provide ID cards to all citizens with unique serial numbers and biodata, and the voters list should be based on this new database. Participants disagreed as to whether the voters list needed to be completely re-built or could just be cleansed, although it was acknowledged that it would be difficult to include the new ID numbers on the voters list unless starting from scratch. Group members also agreed that the voter registration period should be longer, with a longer appeals and complaints process. If the NEC continued to delegate the responsibility to the commune councils, it must still take full responsibility for the process and handle all complaints related to the voters list. The majority of participants recommended the termination of 1018 forms, but consensus was not reached. Everyone agreed, however, if maintained, that the 1018 process should be scrutinized and implemented with safety controls and that precise data should be available on how many forms were issued. Finally Group Two recommended that the NEC must provide more information to people on registration and the list and there be more extensive voter education efforts on registration.

In the plenary, participants agreed to the following reforms:

- MoI must provide ID cards to all citizens with unique serial numbers and the voters list should be drawn from the MoI database;
- The voter registration period should be greatly extended (no agreement on exact timeframe), with longer complaints/appeals process;

- NEC should continue to delegate registration to commune councils but with more oversight, provision of reports, transparency and public access to lists at all stages, and responsibility for and resolution of all list errors;
- 1018 forms should continue to be used but implemented with safety controls and monitoring of issuance (reasons for use, number of forms given, etc.); and
- Regular training for commune staff carrying out registration duties; training and capacity building for NEC staff in oversight of registration.

### *Working Group Session III: Complaints Resolution and Adjudication*

Mr. Koul Panha provided instructions for this working group session. He explained that there were problems with the regulations governing the complaints process. Currently, if a violation is not precisely listed, it cannot be punished, allowing important transgressions like vote buying to take place with impunity. He also emphasized that local election officials were ill-equipped to handle complaints and did not understand the law. Moreover, he added, the deadline for resolution was far too short. As a result, he said, most complaints were rejected. He asked participants to discuss: the jurisdiction of the NEC; NEC monitoring and supervision; the establishment of clear mechanisms for resolution; training of officials; and the possibility of a separate election judicial body. Participants agreed to break into two different groups to discuss in detail and then report back to the plenary. Participants joined the same groups as in the previous session on voter registration.

Group One did not reach a consensus on who should resolve complaints, as some participants thought there should be a separate judicial body and others expressed the need to strengthen the NEC's ability to solve disputes. Group members did agree, however, that the law needed to be amended to clarify jurisdiction. In addition, the group suggested that the Constitutional Council establish an ad-hoc committee on elections to handle appeals. This body would have specific expertise on elections and be able to expedite election-related grievances. Participants stressed that the NEC must have the power to punish local authorities carrying out election duties, including problems related to 1018, and to solve party-to-party disputes. Greater resources and training for Committee staff were also recommended by Group One.

Group Two members agreed that the law and recommendations needed to be amended with all loopholes addressed and gaps closed, and there be a clear statement of jurisdiction in the law on the authority of the NEC. Both administrative and criminal violations must be addressed by the NEC, in addition to the courts, if they affect the elections. The NEC must have a specific mandate to be proactive in investigating problems, instead of waiting to receive complaints. There was a strong push from Group Two that Cambodia consider the yellow and red card system of Thailand. Like Group One, Group Two suggested a Constitutional Council ad-hoc committee on elections to serve as an appeals body. Group Two also recommended greater resources and training for Committee staff handling disputes. Finally, Group Two agreed that the deadline for resolution must be extended.

There was a lively discussion in the plenary, particularly on the issue of jurisdiction. Participants agreed on the following:

- Amendment and streamlining of regulations to close loopholes and clarify procedures;

- Importance of combined jurisdiction -- even in a criminal case, the NEC must have jurisdiction, in addition to the courts;
- A clear statement of jurisdiction of the NEC on all election-related problems, including those not specifically listed;
- Intensive training of Committee staff and adequate resources to Committee offices to handle complaints;
- Strengthen the investigation unit of the NEC (although supported by the majority, there was objection from a few participants on the establishment of an independent judicial body);
- Establish an ad-hoc committee (under Constitutional Council) on elections to serve as an appeals body;
- Deadline for resolution must be extended.

### *Conclusion: Strategies and Implementation*

In the final session of the workshop, Dr. Sok Sam Oeun, Executive Director of the Cambodian Defenders Project, led a discussion in the plenary on next steps for reform implementation. He asked participants to consider legislative interventions, changes in NEC regulations and procedures, government initiatives, and advocacy and education needs.

A Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) member of parliament asked the workshop organizers to prepare a report of the findings and present it to the MoI and NEC, as well as the international community. A representative from the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) expressed his satisfaction with the workshop and confidence that the MoI would be receptive to all good ideas and arguments on electoral reform. He said that the CPP leadership would support improved elections and would push forward with progress. A FUNCINPEC party representative said he would bring the workshop results to his leaders. A Human Rights Party (HRP) member of parliament said that he hoped that NGOs and international organizations would continue to advocate for these reforms and discuss with the MoI and NEC, and he expressed his disappointment that the NEC refused to participate in the workshop. He added that reformers must focus on the enforcement of the law, because even if amendments were made, enforcement in Cambodia remained weak.

Mr. Koul Panha questioned participants about who would follow up to advocate reforms. He explained that civil society alone could not do it, particularly given the enormous amount of political will needed. He suggested that a team be formed of legal experts, politicians, media, and others. Dr. Arya agreed that although the organizers could write the report and meet with relevant stakeholders, everyone must be involved in bringing these issues to parties, MoI, NEC, and the National Assembly. He suggested that advocacy and education on the key reform needs were essential. A CPP representative said that parties could not be involved, but the workshop organizers could form an expert team and meet with the parties.

Dr. Surbakti argued that ultimately change would have to come from the ruling party and the MoI, and advocacy efforts needed to be targeted at them. He added that the expert team had identified the important reform needs – voter registration, NEC, and complaints resolution – and now was the time for implementation from decision-makers.

In summary, next steps would include:

- NDI report on the workshop outcomes and agreements;
- Distribution of consultations findings and recommendations and workshop report to MoI, NEC, and other decision-makers;
- Cambodian civil society groups form a team of legal experts, journalists, politicians, and others to advocate reforms; and
- Cambodian reformers conduct a public education campaign on need for reform.

Mr. Koul Panha thanked all participants and closed the workshop.

## ELECTORAL REFORM WORKSHOP: DAY ONE

### Participants List

August 11, 2009

No	Title	First Name	Last Name	Job Title	Organization
<b>1- Government</b>					
1	H.E.Mr	Sak	Setha	Secretary of State	Ministry of Interior (MoI)
2	Mr.	Sreng	Sopheap	Head of Office	Department of Local Administration of the Ministry of Interior (DoLA)
3	Mr.	Kin	Phea	Researcher	Royal Academy of Cambodia (RAC)
4	Mr.	Nang	Khun	Reporter	Ministry of Information
<b>2- National Election Committee (NEC)</b>					
5	Mr.	Chea	Se	Media Officer	National Election Committee (NEC)
<b>3- Political Parties</b>					
6	H.E.Mr.	Ke	Bunghieng	Deputy Chief, Central Commission on Propaganda and Education	Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
7	H.E.Mr.	Som	Soeun	Deputy Chief of Cabinet	Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
8	H.E.Mr.	Sam	Rainsy	President	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
9	H.E.Mr.	Kuoy	Bunroeun	Deputy Secretary General	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
10	Mr.	Hong	Sokhour	Treasurer	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
11	Mr.	Hing	Yoeun	Member of the Steering Committee	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
12	Mr.	Ruos	Sur	Chief of Information Department	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
13	H.E.Mr.	Yin	Luoth	Adviser	Funcanpec Party (FCP)
14	H.E.Mr.	Yem	Ponhearith	Secretary General	Human Rights Party (HRP)
15	Mr.	Mao	Veasna	President of Youth Movement	Human Rights Party (HRP)
16	Mr.	Tim	Borak	Liaison Officer	Human Rights Party (HRP)
17	Mr.	Thav	Kim Long	Deputy Secretary General	Nationalist Party (NP)
<b>4- National Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Labor Groups</b>					
18	Mr.	Ath	Thorn	President	Cambodian Labor Confederation (CLC)
19	Ms.	Mao	Pouthyoth	Program Coordinator	Youth Council of

					Cambodia (YCC)
20	Mr.	Ou	Sivhuoch	Researcher	Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI)
21	Ms.	Ros	Lim	Program Assistant	Youth Council of Cambodia (YCC)
22	Ms	Choum	Sambo	Chief of Women's Unit	Khmer Youth Association (KYA)
23	Mr.	Ouk	Samath	Network Officer	Committee to Promote Women in Politics (CPWP)
24	Ms.	Ly	Tem	Research Assistant	Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI)
25	Mr.	Doung	Virorta	Researcher	Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI)
26	Mr.	Yong	Kim Eng	President	People's Center for Development and Peace (PDP-Center)
27	Mr.	Ny	Chakrya	Monitoring Coordinator	Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC)
28	Mr.	Im	Francois	Head of Elections and Parliamentary Unit	Center for Social Development (CSD)
29	Mr.	Sok	Sam Oeun	Executive Director	Cambodia Defenders' Project (CDP)
30	Mr.	Sun	Chansen	President	Khmer Youth Association (KYA)
31	Mr.	Hang	Chhaya	Executive Director	Khmer Institute of Democracy (KID)
32	Mr.	Tep	Va	Assistant to Executive Director	Khmer Kampuchea Krom Human Rights Association (KKKHRA)
33	Ms.	Ros	Sopheha	Accountant	Cambodian Independent Teachers' Association (CITA)
<b>5- International NGOs</b>					
34	Mr.	Greg	Lavender	Civil Society Coordinator	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
35	Mr.	Aamir	Arain	Project Manager	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

36	Mr.	Nan	Theng	Project Assistant	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
37	Ms.	Thay	Bone	Dialogue Component Officer	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
38	Mr.	Heng	Socheat	Program Analyst	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
39	Ms.	Miku	Kamimura	Coordinator	People's Forum on Cambodia, Japan (PEFOC,J)
<b>6- Embassies</b>					
40	H.E.Mr.	Andrew	Mace	Ambassador	British Embassy
41	H.E.Mr.	Ted	Allegra	Deputy Chief of Mission	U.S. Embassy
42	Ms.	Angela	A. Soewono	Third Secretary	Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
43	Ms.	Maria	Fariello	Attaché (Democracy and Good Governance)	Delegation of the European Union Commission to Cambodia
44	Mr.	Eric	Des Pallières	Adviser to NEC	European Union (EU)
45	Mr.	Kiet	Leng Hour	Program Officer	European Union (EU)
<b>7- International Speakers</b>					
46	Mr.	Gothom	Arya	International Speaker	Mahidol University
47	Mr.	Ramlan	Surbakti	International Speaker	Airlangga University
<b>8- Media</b>					
48	Mr.	Vang	Pheakdey	Reporter	National Radio of Cambodia (RNK)
49	Mr.	Ou	Kanel	Reporter	National Radio of Cambodia (RNK)
50	Mr.	Veng	Pheakdey	Reporter	Khmer Express
51	Mr.	Suon	Samnang	Reporter	Radio FM 93.5
52	Mr.	Cheok	Sopon	Reporter	Kampuchea Thmey Daily
53	Mr.	Eang	Mengly	Reporter	The Cambodia Daily
54	Mr.	Sam	Sumon	Reporter	Sinchew Daily
55	Mr.	Moung	Sovanarith	Reporter	Khmer Sthepana
56	Mr.	Hai	Sina	Reporter	DAP News



## ELECTORAL REFORM WORKSHOP: DAY TWO

### Participants List

August 12, 2009

No	Title	First Name	Last Name	Job Title	Organization
<b>1- Government</b>					
1	Mr.	Sreng	Sopheap	Head of Office	Department of Local Administration of the Ministry of Interior (DoLA)
<b>2- Political Parties</b>					
2	H.E.Mr	Ke	Bunghieng	Deputy Chief, Central Commission on Propaganda and Education	Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
3	H.E.Mr.	Som	Soeun	Deputy Chief of Cabinet	Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
4	H.E.Mr.	Sam	Rainsy	President	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
5	H.E.Mr.	Kuoy	Bunroeun	Deputy Secretary General	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
6	Mr.	Hong	Sokhour	Treasurer	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
7	Mr.	Hing	Yoeun	Member of the Steering Committee	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
8	Mr.	Ruos	Sur	Chief of Information Department	Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
9	H.E.Mr.	Yin	Luoth	Adviser	Funcinpec Party (FCP)
10	H.E.Mr.	Yem	Ponhearith	Secretary General	Human Rights Party (HRP)
11	Mr.	Tim	Borak	Liaison Officer	Human Rights Party (HRP)
12	Mr.	Mao	Veasna	President of Youth Movement	Human Rights Party (HRP)
13	Mr.	Thav	Kim Long	Deputy Secretary General	Nationalist Party (NP)
<b>3- National Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Labor Groups</b>					
14	Mr.	Im	Francois	Head of the Elections and Parliamentary Unit	Center for Social Development (CSD)
15	Mr.	Sun	Chansen	President	Khmer Youth Association (KYA)
16	Mr.	Tep	Va	Assistant to Executive Director	Khmer Kampuchea Krom Human Rights Association (KKKHRA)
17	Mr.	Chheat	Sreang	Program Coordinator	Cambodian Center for Human Rights (CCHR)
18	Mr.	Hang	Chhaya	Executive Director	Khmer Institute of Democracy (KID)

19	Mr.	Sok	Sam Oeun	Executive Director	Cambodia Defenders' Project (CDP)
20	Mr.	Ny	Chakrya	Monitoring Coordinator	Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC)
21	Mr.	Ker	Phos	Monitoring Officer	Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC)
22	Mr.	Yong	Kim Eng	President	People's Center for Development and Peace (PDP-Center)
23	Mr.	Doung	Virorta	Researcher	Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI)
24	Mr.	Ouk	Samath	Network Officer	Committee to Promote Women in Politics (CPWP)
25	Ms.	Ros	Sopheha	Accountant	Cambodian Independent Teachers' Association (CITA)
26	Ms.	Ros	Lim	Program Assistant	Youth Council of Cambodia (YCC)
<b>4- International NGOs</b>					
27	Mr.	Aamir	Arain	Project Manager	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
28	Mr.	Heng	Soheat	Program Analyst	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
29	Ms.	Thay	Bone	Dialogue Component Officer	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
30	Mr.	Nan	Theng	Project Assistant	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
31	Ms.	Miku	Kamimura	Coordinator	People's Forum on Cambodia, Japan (PEFOC,J)
<b>5- International Speakers</b>					
32	Mr.	Gothom	Arya	International Speaker	Mahidol University
33	Mr.	Ramlan	Surbakti	International Speaker	Airlangga University
<b>6- Media</b>					
34	Mr.	Ouy	Bounmy	Reporter	National Television of Cambodia (TVK)