N S E M E S E R R



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List of Abbreviations

AD : Alliance of Democrats

AIPO : ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization

BLDP : Buddhist Liberal Democracy Party

CCHR : Cambodian Center for Human Rights

COMFREL : Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia

CPP : Cambodian People's Party

CSD : Center for Social Development

FUNCINPEC: Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Independent, or FUN Neutre, Pacifique Et Cooperatif (French acronym)

= National United Front for an Independent, Neutral,

Peaceful and Cooperation Cambodia

NA : The National Assembly

NDI : National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

NEC : National Election Committee

NICFEC : Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair

Elections in Cambodia

MP(s) : Member(s) of Parliament

PWR : Parliamentary Watch Report

SRP : Sam Rainsy's Party

UNTAC : United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
USAID : United States Agency for International Development

WTO : World Trade Organization

FOREWORD

The Report on Parliamentary Watch is compiled from all findings through the observation of the National Assembly performance and actions of all Members of Parliament (MPs) in the 3rd legislature such as parliamentary sessions: view expressions by raising citizen's concerns to debate in order to find solutions and intervention to solve the issues, suggestions and other challenging matters and MPs visits/missions to the constituencies to fulfill their promises since pre-election period and previous missions.

In the previous semester, The Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) compiled the report by itself. Instead, COMFREL compiled the *second semester report* in cooperation with the Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (NICFEC). This report will be distributed to the Members of Parliament, political parties and general public.

The information related to MPs in the post election period is very important for the democratic process and people should learn about their representatives. People must be informed whether the MPs who represent them really serve their interests during the parliamentary debates and when adopting laws.

COMFREL and NICFEC would like to express its sincere thanks to the General-Secretariat of the National Assembly for facilitating our staff's observation of the sessions and collection of data.

We also appreciate those MPs who offered close cooperation in providing information relating to the field visits in the constituencies. We regret that some MPs did not cooperate well with our staff in providing information.

Thanks to Mr. John Vijghen, consultant and his colleagues, for their editorial work in this report.

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The view expressed by the authors does not necessarily reflect those of USAID.

Koul Panha Hang Puthea

Executive Director of COMFREL Executive Director of NICFEC

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) cooperated with the Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (NICFEC) to monitor activities of the Members of Parliament (MPs) for the 3rd legislature. This report documents significant finding during the period from May to September 2004 focusing on three main areas:

- 1) Formation of the National Assembly (NA)
- 2) Assembly Sessions and
- 3) Performance of Members of Parliament (MPs).

The Formation of the National Assembly

The formation of NA's leadership and the new government members was seen in irregular manner different from the previous mandates. In the third mandate, the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and FUNCINPEC agreed on a controversial Additional Constitutional Law that led to the implementation of the package vote procedure to pass votes of confidence to choose the government composition and the NA's leadership.

In addition, the package vote procedure showed dependency of Members of Parliament on the parties because the "*raising of hand vote*" for approving the Additional Constitution Proposing Law emphasized that the MPs could not expressed different views from their party line, leaders or party interests which therefore they would face the dismissal from the party's membership and as representatives.

Of the nine commissions of the NA, the CPP holds chair positions for five commissions and FUNCINPEC get four with exclusion of the membership of the MPs of the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) though the protocol of agreement between the coalition parties planned to handle a commission's chairman position to the opposition party. The exclusion of the opposition party was seen differently from what had been done in the previous mandates and that could weaken the "check and balance mechanism" of the legislature on the government's performance due to the composition of all commissions being only from the coalition parties. The performance of roles and duties by MPs was particularly inefficient pursuant to the Constitution of Cambodia. (See details on page1-4)

National Assembly Sessions

During observation after structuring until the end of September 2004, the NA had held three parliamentary sessions successively in the third legislature by ratifying a deal on Cambodia's accession package to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO).

There were only nine MPs expressing their views during the three sessions, in which four from the CPP, three from FUNCINPEC and two other from the SRP for 129 minutes. During the sessions, most of MPs from the CPP expressed their views positively to support the adopting law while some of MPs from Sam Rainsy's Party (SRP) and FUNCINPEC party raised a lack performance by the government and draft law. (See details on page 4-7)

MPs Visit Activities

Most MPs (approximately 70%) made contact with their constituents and intervened to address some issues. Still, few have responded in-depth to people's needs and issues. In the period, there were 86 MPs visited their constituencies and other constituencies a total of 445 times of which 49 MPs from CPP made 229 visits followed by the 19 SRP's 176 visits and the 18 FUNCINPEC's 70 visits.

Among all visits' purpose, the SRP's MPs assisted people or did something about their problems for 18 times, the MPs from CPP did also 6 times and FUNCINPEC MPs made only

twice. The most prominent reason for visiting their constituencies for MPs from all three parties was ceremonial and gift-giving, with CPP MPs scoring the highest for 173 times, followed by SRP MPs (69 times) and lastly FUNCINPEC MPs (38 times). The SRP, in particularly, scored highest in attending public meetings (34 times) and networking (30 times), followed by FUNCINPEC (16 times, and in networking for 9 times). The CPP's MPs visited with networking purposes 30 times and used to attend public forums or debates only for one time.

In this period, we also observed that MPs had committed to fulfill their promises very limited. However, the implementation of promises committed by MPs had responded to some citizen's concerns.

Purposes of MPs Visits Political Parties (No. of visits) Total CPP **FUN** SRP Intervention in people's concerns 6 (3%) 2 (3%) 18 (12%) 26 (6%) Gift giving and project 173 (73%) 38 (54%) 69 (46%) 280 (61%) inauguration 30 (20%) Strengthening party networks 30 (13%) 9 (13%) 69 (15%) Attending CSOs' forums 51 (11%) 1 (1%) 16 (23%) 34 (22%) Accompanying their leaders 26 (10%) 6 (7%) 0(0%)32 (7%) Total 236 71 151 458 (100%) (100%)(100%)(100%)

Table 1: Purposes of MPs Visits

Table 2: List of MPs who had visited the constituencies from May—September 2004¹

	Name of MPs	Constituency	Party	In- Constituency	Out- Constituency
1	H.E. Mr. Seang Nam	Siem Reap	CPP	30	0
2	H.E. Mr. Sok Pheng	Kampong Thom	SRP	24	1
3	H.E. Mr. Eng Chhai Eang	Battambang	SRP	19	2
4	H.E. Mrs. Ke Sovannroth	Siem Reap	SRP	14	0
5	H.E. Mr. Chan Cheng	Kandal	SRP	13	0
6	H.E. Mr. Chea Poch	Prey Veng	SRP	13	0
7	H.E. Mr. Mao Monyvann	Kampong Cham	SRP	12	0
8	H.E. Mr. Nhim Vanda	Prey Veng	CPP	12	6
9	H.E. Mr. Sous Kanan	Preah Sihanouk	CPP	11	0
10	H.E. Mr. Sar Kheng	Battambang	CPP	9	2
11	H.E. Mr. Chan Sarun	Takeo	CPP	8	5
12	H.E. Mr. Nguon Nhel	Kampong Thom	CPP	8	0
13	H.E. Mr. Sok San	Kampong Chhnang	FUN	8	0
14	H.E. Mrs. Chuonh Sochhay	Battambang	CPP	7	0
15	H.E. Mr. Toan Vanthara	Battambang	SRP	7	0
16	H.E. Mr. Tes Heanh	Battambang	CPP	7	0
17	H.E. Mr. Sim Soly	Kampong Thom	FUN	7	0

¹ The replacement on 29 July 2004, 22 new CPP's MPs added to the old existing 73 MPs, it becomes 95 in total. Likewise, FUN added new 9 MPs to the existing 26 MPs, therefore the number of MPs increase to 35 MPs in total. The SRP's MPs remains the same due to no replacement. There were 31 Old MPs (before resignation and replacement) did visit in this period, so we would like to keep all visits done by these MPs and shown this observation period as well. We kept record on all missions made by each MP. Therefore, 1 resigned MP and a newly replaced MP is considered 1 MP in order to avoid confusion of number of all MPs.

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	(Replaced H.E. Po Bun Sreu)				
18	H.E. Mr. You Hokry	Kampong Cham	FUN	7	0
19	H.E. Mr. Un Ning	Kampong Thom	CPP	7	0
20	H.E. Mrs. Ly Kim Leang	Battambang	CPP	7	0
21	H.E. Mr. Cheam Channy	Kampong Cham	SRP	6	0
22	H.E. Mr. Chhim Seakleng	Kampong Cham	FUN	6	0
23	H.E. Mr. Chrea Sochenda	Kandal	SRP	5	0
24	H.E. Mr. Nim Thot	Battambang	CPP	5	0
25	H.E. Mrs. Ky Lum Ang	Battambang	FUN	5	0
26	H.E. Mr. Nhem Thavy	Kampong Thom	CPP	5	0
	(Replaced H.E. Po Try)				_
27	H.E. Mr. Min Sean	Prey Veng	CPP	5	0
28	Samdach Hun Sen	Kandal	CPP	5	12
	H.E. Mr. Suy Sem (Resigned)	Pursat	CPP	5	1
29	H.E. Mr. Kuoy Bunreun	Takeo	SRP	4	0
	H.E. Mr. Por Try (Resigned)	Kampong Thom	CPP	4	0
30	H.E. Mr. Pou Sothirak	Siem Reap	FUN	4	
31	H.E. Mr. So Khun	Takeo	CPP	4	
32	Samdach Heng Samrin	Kampong Cham	CPP	4	
33	H.E. Mr. Kieng Vang	Kampot	SRP	4	
34	H.E. Mr. Ly Thuch	Pursat	FUN	3	
35	H.E. Mr. Mey Norn	Pursat	CPP	3	
36	H.E. Mr. An He	Kep	CPP	3	
	H.E. Mr. Por Bun Sroeu (Resigned)	Kampong Thom	FUN	3	
37	H.E. Mr. Ek Sam Ol	Prey Veng	CPP	3	
38	H.E. Mr. Thong Khon (Replaced H.E. Khieu Horl)	Kampong Thom	CPP	3	
39	H.E. Mr. Monh Saphan	Kampong Cham	FUN	3	
40	H.E. Mr. Ngor Sovann	Kandal	SRP	3	1
	H.E. Mr. Khieu Horl (Resigned)	Kampong Thom	CPP	3	
41	H.E. Mr. Ear Limsour	Kampot	FUN	3	
42	H.E. Mr. Kimsour Phirith	Banteay Meanchey	SRP	2	
43	H.E. Mr. Cheam Yeap	Prey Veng	CPP	2	
44	H.E. Mr. Tea Banh	Siem Reap	CPP	2	1
45	H.E. Mr. Kong Sam Ol	Kampong Chhnang	CPP	2	2
46	H.E. Mr. Som Chen	Kampot	CPP	2	
47	H.E. Mr. Ney Pena	Kampot	CPP	2	
48	H.E. Mr. Than Sina	Kampot	FUN	2	
49	H.E. Mr. Sin Pinsen (Replaced H.E. Kuoch Ky)	Prey Veng	FUN	2	
50	Samdach Norodom Sirivudh	Kandal	FUN	2	1
51	Samdach Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh	Kampong Cham	FUN	2	1
52	H.E. Mrs. Thak Lany	Kampong Cham	SRP	2	

53	H.E. Mr. Khem Veasna	Prey Veng	SRP	2	
54	H.E. Mr. Son Chhay	Phnom Penh	SRP	2	
55	H.E. Mr. Kuoch Ky	Prey Veng	FUN	2	
56	H.E. Mr. Sorn Inthor	Stung Treng	CPP	2	
	H.E. Mr. Sun Chanthol	Kandal	FUN	2	
	(Resigned)			_	
57	H.E. Mr. Ly Narun	Pursat	CPP	2	
	(Replaced H.E. Suy Sem)	Doubbary Magnahay	CDD	0	
58	H.E. Mr. Pal Sam Oeun	Banteay Meanchey	CPP	2	
59 60	H.E. Mr. Nuth Rumdoul Princess Sisowath Santha	Kampong Speu Prey Veng	SRP FUN	2 2	2
61	H.E. Mr. Chin Bunsean	Pursat	CPP	1	
				-	0
62 63	H.E. Mr. Sok An H.E. Mrs. Chem Savay	Takeo Kampong Cham	CPP CPP	1 1	3
	<u> </u>				
64	H.E. Mrs. Som Kimsuor	Kampot	CPP	1	
65	H.E. Mr. Van Seng Ly	Kampong Cham	CPP	1	
66	H.E. Mr. Chhin Kimsreng	Kampong Cham	CPP	1	
67	H.E. Mr. Hem Khan	Kampong Speu	CPP	1	
68	H.E. Mrs. Kong Hach	Kampong Speu	FUN	1	
69	H.E. Mrs. Troeung Thavy	Kratie	CPP	1	
	H.E. Mr. Kong Vibol (Resigned)	Kampong Cham	FUN	1	
70	H.E. Mr. Peang Pun Yamin (Replaced H.E. Traim Yvtek)	Kampong Chhang	CPP	1	
71	H.E. Mr. Keat Chhon	Phnom Penh	CPP	1	
72	H.E. Mr. Sam San	Pailin	CPP	1	
73	H.E. Mr. Sok Soty	Phnom Penh	SRP	1	
74	H.E. Mr. Mok Mareth	Takeo	CPP	1	1
75	H.E. Mr. Him Chhem	Svay Rieng	CPP	1	
76	H.E. Mr. Roth Sarem	Mondul Kiri	CPP	1	
77	H.E. Mr. Niev Sithong (Replaced H.E. Kong Vibol)	Kampong Cham	FUN	1	
78	H.E. Mr. Samret Pich	Kampong Speu	CPP	1	
	H.E. Mr. Uk Rabun (Resigned)	Kampong Chhnang	СРР	1	
79	H.E. Mr. Khun Hang	Svay Rieng	FUN	1	
80	H.E. Mr. Khek Sam On	Kampong Cham	CPP	1	
81	H.E. Mr. Tram Iv Teuk	Kampong Chhnang	CPP	1	
82	H.E. Mr. Khieu San (Replaced H.E. Sun Chanthol)	Kandal	FUN		1
	Samdach Chea Sim (Resigned)	Phnom Penh	СРР		1
83	H.E. Mr. Say Chhum	Kampong Speu	CPP		1
84	H.E. Mr. Cham Prasidh	Siem Reap	CPP		1

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86	H.E. Mr. Sam Rainsy	Kampong Cham	SRP		5
85	H.E. Mrs. Men Sam On	Svay Rieng	CPP		1

MPs intervention activities

Most representatives were not engaged in other activities other than functioning in Parliament during the few sessions that took place, but a few MPs wrote letters to request clarification on certain events or actions. For instance, 21 MPs from the SRP sent a letter to the Constitutional Council requesting an interpretation of some constitutional articles. These requests were denied. Other MPs prepared in total 46 appeals or requests for intervention by letter to relevant institutions, including government institutions and the Constitutional Council. However, most of these letters remained without result thus far. (See details on page 8-12)

Government Influence, Intimidation and Complaints

No serous restriction or obstruction posed by the government authority on the MPs activities to the constituencies. There was, however, information of withdraw/suspend immunity of at least 3 MPs from the opposition party. A part from this, complaints between MPs have been going on, especially the FUNCINPEC and the SRP. (See details on page 12-14)

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Detailed Report

1. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (NA) FORMATION AND PERFORMANCE 1.1. Structuring NA's Leadership

There was a controversy in structuring the NA as the protocol of cooperation agreement between the CPP and FUNCINPEC required a *package vote procedure* for structuring the NA and the formation the New Government both at once. Through the first session of the third legislature, which took place on July 8, 2004 under the chairmanship of H.E. Chea Soth -the oldest MP - in which 72 MPs from the CPP and 24 from FUNCINPEC participated, though all of the SRP MPs boycotted. The reason for this boycott was that the SRP's MPs did not agree with the "Additional Constitution Law" which allows the use of a package vote procedure for the formation of the new government and structuring the NA. However, there was a quorum of 96 parliamentarians to approve the Additional Constitutional Law (the package vote procedure) with a show-of-hand vote, supported by all the attending MPs.

Regarding this matter, the former King Norodom Sihanouk commented that "I cannot be responsible for the serious matter which is breaking our nation. I'll let Samdech Chea Sim sign or not sign according to his conscience. The people are the master of power, not the King. The King reigns but has no power. Therefore, the National Assembly, on behalf of the people, should make a referendum so that people can be responsible for this huge matter.² " A lawyer explained that "the approval of the Additional Constitution Law had no base in any procedure³. A group representing civil society also raised that, "package vote procedure contradicts to the power separation principle in democracy. This vote violates the NA's bylaw as well.⁴ "

However, the controversial *Additional Constitution Law* was signed by the Acting Chairman of Senate and the acting Head of State H.E. Nhiek Bunchhay, and the article became a law while Samdech Chea Sim went to Thailand, accompanied by General Director of National Police, for his urgent medical check.

After signing out the Additional Constitution, the MPs from the CPP and FUNCINPEC passed a vote of confident to approve as follow the positions:

- Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh, President of NA.
- Samdech Heng Samrin, First Vice-President of NA.
- H.E. Nguon Nhel, Second Vice-President of NA.
- Chairpersons and Vice-Chairpersons of the nine commissions.
- Samdech Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the New Royal Government and the Cabinet's Members.

The formation of the NA, despite the controversy about its legality, ended a nine-month political deadlock.

It should be noticed that, neither the Constitution nor the NA bylaws stipulate how power should be shared among parties in parliament. During the first mandate three of the four elected parties shared power. The CPP held the Presidency position, FUNCINPEC got the First Vice-President and the Buddhist Liberal Democracy Party (BLDP) received the Second Vice-President position. However, despite the fact that the SRP got 15 seats in the second mandate, more than the BLDP, MP of this party didn't receive the Vice-President position.

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 $^{^2}$ The King's letter sent to Comfrel, "Package vote", on July 12, 2004 $\,$

An open letter wrote by Dr. Say Bory, a former member of the Constitutional Council, "All have to follow the Constitution, especially the article 82 and 119"

⁴ An NGO's letter sent to the King who was in South Korea, dated on July 5, 2004

1.2. Formation of NA Commissions

Pursuant to Article 94 of the Constitution, "the National Assembly is empowered to establish legislative commissions whose functions are specified by the National Assembly's Internal Rules. Principle 6 of the Internal Rules identifies nine Commissions. The nine Commissions are listed on the diagram of the National Assembly. Each Commission consists of a Chairperson, Vice- Chairperson, Secretary and at least four members who elected by MPs."

The formation commission was found controversy while excluding the opposition MPs. The SRP submitted a list with nominees for commissions on 2nd and 3rd of August 2004 to President of the NA, but the MPs of this party are still excluded from any position in any commission⁵. During the 1998-2003 mandate the SRP took part in one commission. The SRP did not receive any top position in the assembly nor got any members in one of the nine commissions despite their 24 seats in parliament of the alliance with FUNCINPEC for the current mandate. On the other hand, the FUNCINPEC with their 26 seats got Chairperson positions in four commissions.

There are voices that dispute the legality of the exclusion of the opposition party.

Mr. Chhim Phal Vorun, Constitutional Law Expert, said on 12 August 2004:

"In parliamentary mechanism, the parties that have seats in the NA should be included in the nine Commissions and the NA leadership if Cambodia really wants to follow the Article 51 (new) of the Constitution. They should not link the formation of the New Government and parliamentary mechanism simultaneously because the Article 51 learly states the separation of power, and Cambodia carries out the parliamentary system in which the representatives (NA) have to vote of confidence to choose the government. Therefore, It doesn't matter how many parties the government is formed (2/3 of 123 parliamentary seats) they could base on the coalition of two parties to cancel three elected parties in the NA because the NA choose the government. The separation of leadership and commission mechanism should consist of tripartite following the election results."

The number of seats a party has in parliament defines the NA leadership and its influence in parliament. But a party's power in parliament is also influenced by other factors, such as confidence of a party to get support from society. The table 3 illustrates the consistent increase in seats of the CPP (25% increase in 2nd mandate; 14% increase in 3rd mandate), the consistent decrease to less than half of FUNCINPEC (from 58 to 26 seats) and the large increase of the opposition party SRP (60% more in 3rd mandate).

1993-1998		199	1998-2003		3-2008
Parties	Seats	Parties	Seats	Parties	Seats
FUN	58	CPP	64	CPP	73
CPP	51	FUN	43	FUN	26
BLDP	10	SRP	15	SRP	24
MNKFP	1	Others	0	Others	0
Total	120	Total	122	Total	123

Table 3: Parliamentary Seats of successive mandates

These changes are obviously a reflection of the support political parties were able to mobilize in society. It would be a sign of real democracy if such tendencies in society would be reflected in the power sharing in parliament. However, the opposition party has no membership in any commission, while FUNCINPEC kept its previous influence in parliament despite its reduced popular support. With lesser seats FUNCINPEC still got control over one more commission than during the second mandate.

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⁵ Referring to the 12 August 2004 Session.

BLDP

Total

9

It was seen a difference from the previous principle in structuring the NA's leadership and Commissions.

1993-1998			1998-200			2003-2008		
Parties	Chairs	Members ⁶	Parties	Chairs	Members	Parties	Chairs	Members
FUN	4	25	CPP	4	31	CPP	5	27
CPP	4	25	FUN	4	31	FUN	4	27 (15**
								persons)

10

72

SRP

Total

0

9

0

54

SRP

Total

6

56

Table 4: Number of chairs of commissions that each party held

9

The Table 4 shows that a party, who gets fewer seats in the NA, receives chairman position or members of the Commissions but none in the current mandate.

1.3. Effect of Exclusion of the opposition and influence in Parliament

Regarding the exclusion of the opposition MPs from the Commissions, an argument was raised because the power sharing with exclusion could affect the parliamentary democratic regime. "The rejection of including the opposition MPs in the Commissions will seriously affect the multi parties democracy as stated in the 1991 Paris Peace Accord and the 1993 Constitution of Cambodia.....It does not respond to the people's willing also." ⁷

It was not new in a separation of power in the NA. In the previous mandates, the party who got fewer seat or opposition party were given positions in the NA's Commission at least one.

Article 97 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia stipulates that, "the commissions of the National Assembly may invite any minister to clarify certain issues under his/her field of responsibility". The checks and balance mechanism, therefore, will be better implemented if a party that is not in the government has strong legislative power to control government's performance. For an opposition party to gain such power they need influence in important Assembly commissions. This will lead to a weakened checks and balance mechanism in control the government's and parliament's performance.

1.4. Roles and duties of MPs

The table 5 shows that up to September 2004, the NA and MPs had not yet effectively implemented their roles and duties as stated in article 96 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, "The MPs have the right to put a motion against the Royal Government.....The replies shall be given by one or several ministers depending on the matters related to the accountability of one or several ministers. If the case concerns the overall policy of the Royal Government, the Prime Minister shall reply in person. The explanations by the ministers or by the Prime Minister shall be given verbally or in writing...... The explanations shall be provided within 7 days after the day when the question is received...."

However, the NA and MPs had been fulfilled their duty conforming to the Constitution, in article 82, 96, 97 and 141, that were observed during this period is shown in the table below.

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^{** (}In fact, there are only 26 MPs from FUNCINPEC represented in the NA what is insufficient to occupy all allocated seats in commissions). There are 15 MPs represent 27 position held in the nine Commissions, in which 12 of them hold two commission positions and other three MPs are each in a commission.

⁶ **Members** include Vice Chairpersons, Secretaries and members of the commissions. The Number of FUN'CINPEC's MPs increase at 27 due to 12 MPs hold two commissions at once.

7 The commission of the commission

The Appeal issued by the Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee, on 10 August 2004.

Table 5: Implementation of NA according to the Constitution of Cambodia

Cambodian Constitution	Actual implementation of the National Assembly	Remarks
Article 82: Before taking office, the National Assembly shall decide on the validity of each member's mandate and vote separately to choose a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and members of each Commission by a 2/3 majority vote.	Instead of 'vote separately' for each position the assembly voted for a package conforming to the controversial Additional Constitutional Articles.	96 MPs from the CPP and FUNCINPEC followed the package vote procedure for pass a vote for confidence of the National Assembly's structure and formation of the government.
Article 96: The MPs have the right to put a motion against the Royal GovernmentThe replies shall be given by one or several ministers depending on the matters related to the accountability of one or several ministers	Done but no questioning in the NA yet.	H.E. Keo Remy of the SRP sent a letter to Minister of Economy and Finance regarding the rising price of fuel.
Article 97: The National Assembly commissions may invite any minister to clarify certain issues under his/her field of responsibility.	Done	
Article 141: After promulgation of any law, the King, the President of the Senate, the President of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister, 1/4 of members of Senate, 1/10 of members of National Assembly or the Courts may request the Constitutional Council to review the constitutionality of that law.	Done but not yet effective.	21 SRP MPs – about 17% of the membership - had written letters to the Constitutional Council to interpret some articles of the Constitution and the Additional Constitutional Law but no replied.

2. NATIONAL ASSMEBLY SESSIONS 2.1. Session Process

The article 83 of the Constitution states: "The National Assembly shall hold its ordinary Sessions twice a year. Each Session shall last at least three months. The National Assembly Sessions shall be held in public, but will meet in closed Sessions at the request of the President of the National Assembly." Between the National Assembly Sessions, the Permanent Standing Committee of the National Assembly shall manage the work of the Assembly.

Further, parliamentary rules define that:

 The President of the NA shall be the Chairperson of the Permanent Standing Committee.



Photo 1: NA Session, on 15 July 2004, after package voting

The Permanent Standing Committee of the NA and the Expert Commissions of the NA shall serve the same legislative term as that of the NA.

The Expert Commissions shall review the draft laws of the Royal Government and the proposed laws of the NA.

2.2. Views expressed during Sessions

During the three parliamentary sessions, there were 9 MPs who expressed their opinions. The observers measured the time required by each MP to express their views during their speeches in "minutes". No female MPs debated in any of these sessions observed by COMFREL-NICFEC. Figure 1 shows that CPP MPs during the first session spoke the longest while not speaking at all during the second session. All parties used about the same time during the third session.

An example is the issue of Cambodia's Membership of the World Trade Organization: six MPs raised their concerns about Cambodia's full membership and the challenge of competition between domestic and foreign products that the country will face. This while the current government demonstrates a poor achievement to find markets for local products or fails to encourage farmers to produce as much as they can for the markets. In addition, corruption and bureaucracy is another constraint that keeps investors away.

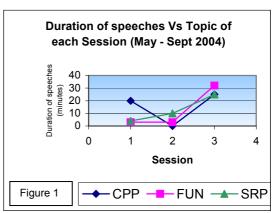




Photo 2: MPs raised their hands supporting WTO

Most of CPP's MPs supported overwhelmingly in any debate and law approval while some of FUNCINPEC and the SRP criticized lack of the government's performance in such debate.

H.E. Ek Sam OI (MP from CPP for Prey Veng) showed his support to the draft law that, "this is a new achievement that Cambodia integrated into the global trade while the country is walking on peace, national reconciliation towards future prosperity and development under shadow of King Norodom Sihanouk."

H.E. Khieu San (FUNCINPEC, Kandal) was talking about the possibility for the Royal government to compete as a member in this world organization. He suggested the government has to eliminate all kinds of corruption and bureaucracy, and to increase the export of domestic products. H.E. Pou Sothirak, Vice-Chairman of the 7th Commission (FUNCINPEC, Siem Reap) raised his concern about protection of local agricultural products as well as the intellectual rights.

Challenging the government's representative **H.E. Cham Prasidh**, Senior Minister of Commerce, **H.E. Son Chhay** (SRP, Phnom Penh) questioned the government's commitment. He raised that "what is benefit from being a member of the WTO, it in fact is an obligation to do so in order to have a clear decision making for positive success." He suggested the government to avoid monopoly in the export area and he suggested to improve infrastructures and punish corrupt persons if found.

Table 6: List of MPs who expressed their views

Date	Name of MPs	Party	Duration (min)	Time(s)
2 August 2004	H.E. Mr. Son Chhay	SRP	4	1
	H.E. Mr. Ek Sam Ol	CPP	10	1
	Samdech Hun Sen	CPP	10	1

	H.E. Mr. Monh Saphan	FUN	3	1
12 August 2004	H.E. Mr. Sam Rainsy	SRP	10	1
	H.E. Mr. Sam Rainsy	SRP	19	1
	H.E. Mr. Khieu San	FUN	10	1
31 August 2004	H.E. Mr. Keat Chhon	CPP	15	1
31 August 2004	H.E. Mr. Pou Sothirak	FUN	22	1
	H.E. Mr. Son Chhay	SRP	16	1
	H.E. Mr. Ek Sam Ol	CPP	10	1

2.3. General Assembly of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization

The NA is the State's supreme institution. This institution has relations with foreign Parliaments in order to build good connections between itself and other assemblies.⁸ The NA maintains two kinds of international relations: bilateral and multilateral.

The NA hosted the 25th Asian Inter-Parliament Organization (AIPO) General Assembly held from 12 to 17 September 2004 aiming at strengthening the cooperation and enforcing the work performance within the ASEAN's framework.

The process of the meeting went smoothly but the spending (\$1.2 million) was criticized by the opposition party's MPs, which was more than spending in few countries like in Thailand (\$ 0.4 million in 2001) and in Indonesia (\$0.6 million)⁹. The representative of the NA replied to the critique that more spending due to Cambodia had no necessary equipments for proceeding the meeting, including security fees, accommodation fees, travel expenses to visit Angkor Wat Temple; etc. The meeting offered a positive result to Cambodia, in terms of regional cooperation, development and prosperity boiling towards a splendid and strong democracy.

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⁸ "National Assembly's Text Book", published by General-Secretariat of the NA, September 2003, p.16

⁹ H.E. Son Chhay's view in The Cambodia Daily: "Phnom Penh hosts Annual Asean Summit", dated 13 September 2004, p.12 (English version).

Table 7: Parliamentary Sessions held after the formation of the new government (from 2 August to the end of September 2004)

Date	NA Sessions		Attendance)	Result of discussion	No. of MPs
		CPP	FUN	SRP		adopted
Aug 2, 2004	The NA discussed the approval of the existing NA's bylaw	72	22	22	The NA's bylaw	94/116
Aug 12, 2004	 The NA discussed three main topics: Vote for the Members of the nine Commissions of the NA (Only the MPs from CPP and FUNCINPEC). Approval for the creation of a new special commission for preparing and reviewing the existing bylaw, which consists of 14 MPs. 	67	22	23	Completely done	1. ¹⁰ 2. ¹¹
Aug 31, 2004	3. Vote for new Members of the Constitutional Council. The NA discussed the ratification of Cambodia' accession to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO). This is the first law ratified by the MPs since the formation of the new government.	66	22	21	The bill was ratified by the MPs.	106/107
September 2004	No Session.					

Commission 1st approved by majority votes 87/110, 2nd: 88/110, 3rd: 87/88, 4th: 90/90, 5th: 89/90, 6th: 89/90, 7th: 90/90, 8th: 89/90 and 9th: 89/89. The difference due to separated votes for each commission.
All SRP's MPs left the National Assembly after they had voted for only two commissions.

11 The article 94 of the Constitution states that, "The National Assembly shall establish various necessary commissions..."

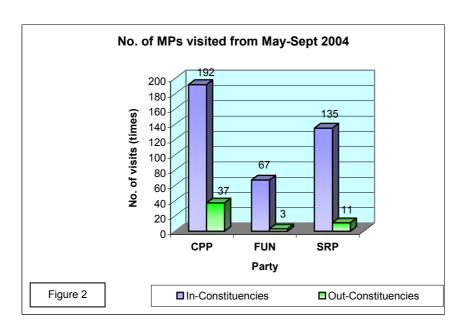
3. MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ACTIONS

Two aspects of MP relationships will be addressed in this chapter: Visits to constituents, and other activities outside parliament by MPs.

3.1. Visits to Constituencies

Article 77 of the Constitution stipulates that, "The deputies in the National Assembly shall represent the entire Khmer people, not only Khmers from their constituencies." Therefore, in order to assess how MPs adhere to this article missions and visits of MPs were observed by COMFREL-NICFEC in every constituency since May till September 2004.

86 MPs (70%) out of the total MPs made a total of 445 visits to their and other constituencies. (See for a breakdown by party figure 2). In total 394 visits were made to own constituencies and 51 visits to other constituencies.



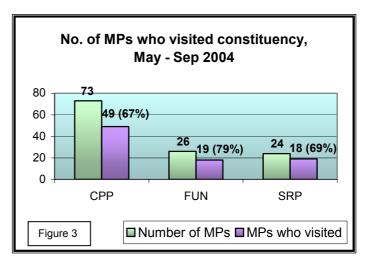
3.1.1. MPs who visited constituencies

Among the total of 445 visits made by MPs we did not concern with personal visits, but we focused on visits that were made as an elected official. The obtained information showed

that during the May - September

2004 period:

- 49 out of total MPs from CPP (67%) went on mission to their constituencies.
- 19 out of 24 MPs from SRP (79%) went on mission to their constituencies.
- 18 out of 26 MPs from FUN (69%) went on mission to their constituencies.



Exemplary MPs

H.E Sieng Nam (CPP, Siem Reap) visited his constituency 30 times in the course of 5 months followed by **H.E. Sok Peng** (SRP, Kampong Thom) 25 times. FUNCINPEC's MP for Kampong Chhnang, **H.E. Sam San** visited his constituency 8 times which makes him the leading MP in his party.

Three female MPs were very active visiting constituencies, to know: **H.E. Mrs. Ke Sovannroth** (SRP, Siem Reap): 14 visits, **H.E. Mrs. Chuonh Sochhay** (CPP's MP, Battambang): 7 visits, and **H.E.Mrs. Ky Lum Ang** (FUNCINPEC, Battambang): 5 visits.

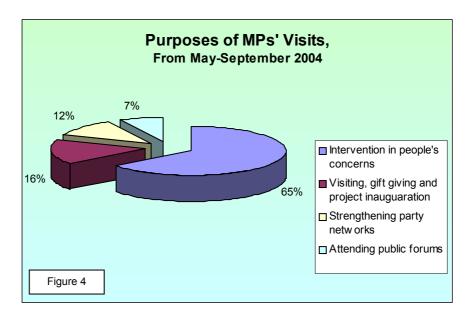
3.1.2. The Purposes of Visits

In this report we organize the reasons for the visits in five main areas:

- 1. Intervention in regard of people's concerns: this means when MPs listen to people's problems and try to do something about it (or at least promised to do something)
- 2. Visiting, gift giving and project inauguration: these included all kinds of ceremonial activities
- 3. Strengthening party networks: this included arranging party internal affairs
- 4. Attending discussions/public forums organized by civil society organizations;
- 5. Accompanying their leaders, such as NA (Vice) President, Prime Minister or Deputy Prime Minister.

Table 1: Purposes of MPs' visits¹²

Purposes of MPs Visits	Political	Political Parties (No. of visits)			
	CPP	FUN	SRP		
Intervention in people's concerns	6 (3%)	2 (3%)	18 (12%)	26 (6%)	
Visiting, gift giving and project inauguration	173 (73%)	38 (54%)	69 (46%)	280 (61%)	
Strengthening party networks	30 (13%)	9 (13%)	30 (20%)	69 (15%)	
Attending CSOs' forums	1 (1%)	16 (23%)	34 (22%)	51 (11%)	
Accompanying their leaders	26 (10%)	6 (7%)	0 (0%)	32 (7%)	
Total	236 (100%)	71 (100%)	151 (100%)	458 (100%)	



¹² Number of MPs' visits may be different from the number of visit purpose because a visit may be for two purposes.

Explanation of breakdown of visits/missions made by MPs from each party

CPP:

Among all visits' purposes made by CPP's MPs to the constituencies (236 times), most of the party's MPs dealt with visiting, gift giving and project inauguration for 173 times (73%), followed by strengthening the party's network for 30 times (13%), accompanying the leaders for 26 times (10%), intervention in people concerns for 6 times (3%) and only 1 time (1%) attending public forum organized by NGOs.



Photo 3: Hun Sen attended an inauguration

SRP:

Among all visits made by CPP's MPs to the constituencies (151 times), most of the party's MPs dealt with visiting, gift giving for 69 times (46%), followed by attending public forum organized by NGOs for 34 times (22%), strengthening the party's network for 30 times (20%) and intervention in people concerns for 18 times (12%). No accompanying their leaders was observed.



Photo 4: Sam Rainsy met with party's activists

FUNCINPEC:

Among all visits made by CPP's MPs to the constituencies (71 times), most of the party's MPs dealt with visiting, gift giving and project inauguration for 38 times (54%), followed by attending public forum organized by NGOs for 16 times (23%), strengthening the party's network for 9 times (13%), accompanying the leaders for 6 times (7%) and a few of them intervened in people concerns only for 2 times (3%).



Photo 5: President of NA visited people in constituency

Problem solving

MPs from the SRP were seen four times more active than from CPP or FUNCINPEC when addressing people's concerns. The MPs from SRP mostly addressed land disputes, factory workers' problems and reduction of gasoline's price. The MPs from CPP mostly addressed water drainage (canals), pond digging and building roads issues. The MPs from FUNCINPEC mostly addressed digging ponds, land disputes and medicine distribution.

Visiting/gift giving and inaugurations

The CPP scored highest in proportion of visits for inauguration of projects or structures, like schools, wells, pagodas, irrigation system, roads, handing out gifts and other ceremonial activities with three quarters of all visits (173 times). The SRP was a good second with more than half of their visits (69 times). The FUNCINPEC scored just under half of their total visits for this purpose (38 times).

The CPP MPs mostly visited for ceremonial reasons and donated gifts to people. These ceremonies were often showed on TV or heard on radio or printed on newspapers, especially when they accompanied their leaders, for instance Samdech Hun Sen or H.E. Sar Kheng. During each of CPP's missions constituents were well informed by local authorities. Likewise, MPs of FUNCINPEC mostly dealt with visiting, gift giving and accompanying their leader, for example Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh. SRP MPs were more active in meeting with people. Most SRP MPs visits to their constituency were without their leader.

Networking

Each visit of MPs of the three parties had also dealt with strengthening their internal affairs and party's networks. For example, some MPs had joined in the 53th Birthday Celebration (CPP) and meeting with party's members for 30 times, paid respect to dead who died on 5-6 of July 1997 (FUN) and met with party activists for 9 times and visited the Party's member who was detained (SRP) for 30 times.

Public Meetings

While the MPs from SRP (30 times) and FUNCINPEC (16 times) were active in attending in public forums/debates organized by civil society (COMFREL, CSD, CCHR and NDI), only few CPP MPs did. They did not participate in such forums because other activities got priority. The CPPs Central Committee said that: "CPP's MPs can not attend the public forums or debates due to their concerns to people's local issues." 13

3.1.3. Breakdown of Reasons for Visits

Out of 445 visits there were only 287 visits when MPs acted as representatives. Of the rest 85 visits were related to political party affairs and 73 visits concerning to government action. Below are listed findings from the five months observation period starting from May through September 2004.

People's impression during the visits

People felt happy when they saw their representatives come to visit them. Obvious reasons for their happiness were for example:

- They were given gifts.
- The MPs visits showed concern for their living.
- They had chances to discuss with and getting to know their representatives.
- New roads, wells, bridge, pagoda, etc. were built or promised.
- Some of their local issues were addressed MPs.

Locations of MP Visits

Visits where MPs contacted their constituents occurred in virtual all constituents as observed by COMFREL and NICFEC. Only in Oddor Mean Chey, Rattanakiri and Preah Vihear constituencies were no visits observed 14. However, the frequency and purpose of the visits varied much between the constituencies

MPs and Constituents

People from several constituencies often complained that communicating with parliamentarians to ask for interventions or providing information to them was so difficult. It was due to one staff or none at the MPs office.

For instance, many citizens living along Mekong River in Koh Prak village, Phum Thum commune, Kien Svay district, Kandal province appealed to their representatives and the government to assist them immediately when their lands and houses were flooded. They asked that their representatives would come to resolve their difficulties and so they would get to know them after the elections time. However, they saw few MPs who went to that constituency, but indeed H.E. Khieu San (FUN), H.E. Mrs. Ho Non (CPP) and H.E. Chrea Sochenda (SRP) met with the victims.

Letter of CPP sent to COMFREL, No.506 dated 24 August 2004.

¹⁴ Perhaps there were visits to these constituencies but no information was provided or appeared on the newspapers.

3.2. MP's Commitment implementation

Through our observation, the members of parliament had committed to fulfill their promises made during the election period. However, among the MP's total visits, we had observed that the MPs had responded to few of their promises in addressing to the constituents' concerns.

Several promises were fulfilled by the MPs during this period.

- > Built local infrastructure like schools, roads, pagoda, irrigation system;
- Intervened to land grabbing and land disputes in the constituencies;
- Intervened to the governmental authorities to secure for citizen's security;
- Supported funds to some poor citizens in the constituency;
- > Distributed medicines to the citizens.

3.3. MPs Intervention Activities

At least 21 SRP MPs sent at least 46 letters demanding some intervention, appealing and asking questions to the King, to the Constitutional Council for interpretation of laws, to government institution¹⁵ and the Cambodian Red Cross. There were few responses from the relevant authorities or institutions. Despite requests we did not get information from the other two parties about their MPs activities besides the normal parliamentary work or visits.

Table 8: List of MPs who issued letters in May—September 2004 Period

7	H.E. Mr. Chea Poch H.E. Mr. Yim Sovann	SRP, Prey Veng SRP, Phnom Penh	2		
8	H.E. Mr. Yim Sovann H.E. Mr. Mao Monyvann	SRP, Phnom Penh SRP, Kampong Cham	2 2		
9	H.E. Mr. Nuth Rumdoul	SRP, Kompong Speu	1		
10	H.E. Mr. Ngor Sovann	SRP, Kandal	1		
11	H.E. Mr. Kimsour Phirith	SRP, Banteay Meanchey	1		
12	Group of SRP's MPs	SRP	9	3	
Tota			43	3	2

During this period only two responses from the Ministers were noted. On September 15, 2004, Minister of Economy and Finance H.E. Keat Chhon responded to the letter of H.E. Keo Remy dated on September 2004 regarding the high price of fuel. The Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery accepted to answer MP H.E. Keo Remy's question in the NA's session focusing on the low turnout of fishery yields.

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¹² Those letters were sent not only to His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk and Her Majesty Norodom Monineat Sihanouk, but also to the Prime Minister, Constitutional Council, Ministry of Interior, Rural Development, Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries, Economy & Finance, Social Affairs & Labor, Tourism, Education, Youth & Sports Health, Provincial Governors and Municipal Governor.

¹³ The Cambodia Daily, Volume 30 Issues 09, dated September 28, 2004. The minister replied that the rise of fuel due to the ongoing conflict in the Middle East, especially war in Iraq.

4. GOVERNEMNT INFLUENCE, INTIMIDATION AND COMPLAINTS 4.1. Government Influence

The Constitution and other existing laws are unclear about who is in charge of the NA budget. There is not yet a system to regulate how expenses for performance of the NA will be claimed. As long as this issue is unresolved the new Assembly is hampered to control the current government effectively.

There are no indications that government officials in any way obstructed field visits made by MPs. Also no other activities, such as inaugurations or speeches, were obstructed in the past by government authority.

No serious restrictions were imposed on MPs activities by the local authorities during their visits. But on 4 September 2004, a SRP parliamentarian for Phnom Penh, H.E. Sok Soty was forced to stop his activity by a market security chief and forced to go to their office while he was distributing leaflets to venders in Phsar Thum Thmey. The SRP MP lodged a complaint to the municipality governor, but the response from the municipality was that the activity of the MP caused social disorder and that therefore the market security chief was correct to stop the activity of the MP.

4.2. Intimidation:

There was generally no serous impression over the MPs existed like in the First Semester. However, after the formation of the new government, there was information of withdrawing/suspending the opposition MPs immunity. For instance, H.E. Cheam Channy (SRP, Kampong Cham) was alleged by the Prime Minister of running an illegal military organization to challenge the government. The Prime Minister said that the government had enough evidence to bring those on the governments' black list to trial. H.E. Cheam Channy of the SRP was accused of being the chief of SRP's Committee No.14 and others were accused to conspire with him [Military Region no. 14 group of the SRP is part of a shadow ministry modeling British and Australian opposition party that scrutinizes the corresponding ministry's performance]. The Prime Minister appealed to "the SRP members to admit guilty and switch sides – those who would do this before the ultimatum date would not be tried. For those who did not do so the military court would investigate the case on the basis of evidence provided by the military Intelligence'. But H.E. Cheam Channy rejected the accusation and asked the international parliament to intervene.

4.3. Complaints:

During this period leaders of the three parties lodged the following major complaints:

- ➤ On 19 August 2004, a day after his return from France, Samdech Hun Sen was questioned by the municipal judge at his cabinet regarding to the lawsuit filed by Sam Rainsy accusing him of provoking an attempted killing on 30 March 1997.
- ➤ On 31 August 2004, FUNCINPEC filed a lawsuit against H.E. Sam Rainsy for taking a bribe (\$30 million) from Samdech Hun Sen. On 13 August, H.E. Sam Rainsy and H.E. Chea Poch together sent a letter to the Constitutional Council with the request to decide whether article 63 of the 1992 UNTAC Criminal Law on which the lawsuit filed by FUNCINPEC against them (as MPs) was based overrides the Constitution (article 80 protects the MPs).
- Two weeks later, clearly in response to the FUNCINPEC lawsuit, on 13 September 2004, H.E. Sam Rainsy filed a lawsuit against the Prince. On 24 of August 2004 the Prince said in a ceremony welcoming a group of SRP members who switched to his party that: "If I had not resolved the issue prior to the date of adoption of the package vote procedure (on 12 July) the members of FUNCINPEC and SRP would have beheaded." This was

reason for H.E. Sam Rainsy to file a complaint accusing the Prince of conspiracy for an attempted killing.

➤ 2 September 2004, FUNCINPEC filed a lawsuit against H.E. Chea Poch (SRP MP, Prey Veng) and Mr. Kem Sokha, Chairman of Cambodian Center of Human Rights for defamation by saying that the party took a helicopter as bribe from Prime Minister Hun Sen for agreeing with the new government composition. The party demanded 100 million Riel in compensation from the accused. Being accused, Mr. Kem Sokha and H.E. Chea Poch were summoned by the municipal judge on 8 August and 14 September 2004 successively

CONCLUSION

Primarily, this period was notable for the irregularity, controversy and public critics over the formation the new government and creation of the National Assembly (NA)'s structure.

Members of the Parliament (MPs) from the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and FUNCINPEC Party agreed to adopt the "Additional Constitutional Law" allowing package votes by showing hand to vote for confidence for leadership of the NA and government at the same time. However, the foundation of the NA and government ended the 9 month-political deadlock. The MPs from the opposition party who did not join in the package vote, have not been included in the NA's leadership and commissions.

At least, three (03) MPs from the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) have been being accused by the court and faced suspending of immunity.

Even though the above problems, 86 MPs (70% of all MPs) from the three elected parties (of each party's seats, SRP: 79%, FUNCINPEC: 69%, CPP: 67%) visited the constituencies, intervened and solved problems. But these activities were limited in responding to the people's need. This number is increased if compared to the 1st semester, which counted only 46 MPs (37%).

The quality of the MPs activities can be observed:

- Most actions of the three parties' MPs, especially, the CPP had visited their constituencies, given gifts, inaugurated achievements and accompanied their leaders (173 times equaling to 73% of their total visits' purposes).
- SRP's MPs lead in intervention to address problems facing the constituencies following the direct actions and letters (18 times equaling to 12% of their total visits's purposes).
- Almost FUNCINPEC and SRP's MPs participated in public forums on "MPs and People" organized by civil society.
- Even if the NA has not implemented their roles and duties effectively according to some article of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia including article 82, 96, 97 and 141, COMFREL and NICFEC would like to congratulate the MPs for their effort in discussing and adopting the bill such as ratification Cambodia's Accession to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO) which serve the economics and promote rule of law in Cambodia.

For more detailed information regarding this Parliamentary Watch Report read the following chapters and/or contact:

- 1. Mr. Koul Panha, Executive Director of COMFREL
- 2. Mr. Hang Puthea, Executive Director of NICFEC
- 3. Mr. Mar Sophal, COMFREL Monitoring Coordinator

Reference:

- Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, 1993
- The bylaw of the National Assembly
- Book of the National Assembly, complied by General-Secretariat in 2003
- A letter of King Norodom Sihanouk, dated 12 July 2004
- Cambodia Daily News, Reaksmey Kampuchea and Koh Santipheap News
- Other letters and statements

Annexes

Annex 1: GOAL, OBJECTIVES and METHODOLOGY

1. Goal:

In the spirit of promoting the democracy in Cambodia elections are very important events for COMFREL and NICFEC. However, similarly important is the observation of the performance of elected officials¹⁷ and how they fulfill their electoral mandate. Responsibility of elected officials is one of the key indicators for the success of democracy.

Given that transparency of elected official performance also depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of monitoring and the effective participation of local citizens in the process of democratization, observing the work of Members of Parliament is required. The ongoing monitoring of what MPs actually do will be an important tool to inform constituents about how MPs fulfill their promises and about the accountability of elected officials.

To accomplish this COMFREL and NICFEC observed activities of elected officials after the elections. The first result is the 2nd Semester Parliamentary Watch Report (PWR) that covers the period after the last national elections from May till September 2004. The Report contains observations about activities of MPs-elect who visited constituencies and acted on behalf of people, and observations of sessions of the 3rd legislature held by the National Assembly (NA). However, the latter part covers only a very brief period because the assembly met since the October 2003 swearing-in only three times, after the formation of the new government in August 2004. The Report focuses therefore mostly on the composition of the NA's leadership, the formation of commissions and visits to constituencies.

2. Objectives

In order to increase the transparency about MPs mandated activities and how election promises are kept the Report will:

- Increase awareness among people about the power sharing process at the NA.
- Provide information to constituents about their MPs; this should also encourage MPs to keep their promises and behave like representatives.
- Illustrate the kind of relationship that exists between people and their representatives.
- Document the purposes of visits of MPs to their and other constituencies.
- List the kinds of concerns and issues that people in constituencies bring to the attention of their representatives.

3. Methodology:

The techniques used to obtain the information for the report are practiced by COMFREL's and NICFEC's staff, such as contacting office staff of MPs, attending missions made by MPs, listening to people's requests and demands, attending NA sessions or reviewing documentation provided by or concerning MPs.

A team work was set up and assigned to compile the report which led by Mr. MAR Sophal, Monitoring Coordinator of COMFREL. Staff and volunteers have contributed to the production of this book including: Mr. OEUNG Jeudy as report writer, Mr. KORN Savang, Mr. NEANG Sovann as assistants and Mr. SAM Narith in addition to a composition from NICFEC such as Mr. HOR Daluch, Mr. SENG Daravuth and COMFREL's and NICFEC's provincial/municipal coordinators and secretaries through out the country. Besides, two major approaches guided the information collection for the Parliamentary Watch Report, namely observation of NA sessions and observation of MP visits to constituencies.

¹⁷ **Elected officials** are here synonym to Members of Parliament

3.1 **National Assembly Sessions**

Four of COMFREL's and NICFEC's observers were assigned to observe each session held by the National Assembly. The observers completed for each session the Session Observation Checklists (Agenda, Views expressed by MPs)¹⁸.

3.2 **Field Visits**

All 23 trained COMFREL observers¹⁹ and NICFEC observers²⁰ were deployed to observe the activities of each MP in each constituency. These observers were assigned to communicate directly with MPs, political party branch offices and staff at MPs offices in each constituency. The observers were required to complete the Observation Checklists provided by COMFREL-NICFEC²¹. All collected information was entered into a database²².

2.3 **Information Sources**

This report is and meant to be impartial and wherever possible data is based on firsthand evaluation of actual performance by parliamentarians. However, often parties or MP offices could or would not provide information on request²³.

In those instances were no firsthand information from the Member of Parliament, their party or our observers was available we based our assessment on secondary data, e.g. the press. Despite our efforts to be exhaustive in our reporting it might be that some public visits and activities of MPs are not included.

The observers faced some challenges in performing their tasks. It was very difficult to collect information at the offices of MPs and political parties, especially in provinces or municipalities. FUNCINPEC and SRP were very cooperative with the observers to provide information. However, CPP offices – especially in the provinces – often refused to respond to information requests. Elected officials from FUNCINPEC and SRP participated in public forums organized by COMFREL, CCHR, CSD, NDI and others. The observers could glean much information from such debates, but because CPP MPs rarely joined they got less information about these politicians' views.

¹⁸ See the attached Session Observation Checklist.

19 For the purpose of COMFREL Report, the small municipality Kep is included in Kampot province

NICFEC deployed observers in 12 constituencies such as: Siem Reap, Battambang, Kampong Thom, Kampong Cham, Kampong Speu, Kampong Chhnang, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng, Kampot, Koh Kong, Sihanouk Ville and Rattanakiri. 21 Form for observers used to collect data relating to MPs.

²² The data base is maintained at COMFREL for documenting all the information related to MPs including MPs' visits observations checklists, National Assembly's observation checklist and MPs CV. ²³ See letter No. 006 dated 20 January 2004 by the CPP.

Annex 2: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: Profile and Performance

The resolution of the conflicts in Cambodia through the Paris peace accord of 23 October 1991 provided that the elections were held in order to establish the rule of law and to created a governing institution of the country. In this respect, three National Assembly Members elections were held successively in 1993, 1998 and 2003. The National Assembly Members are directly elected by Cambodian citizens in 24 constituencies and serve a five-year term. During the second mandate, after a short political crisis, the Constitution was amended to allow for the establishment of a Senate, which is the upper House of the Nation's legislative body (Cambodian Parliament) and play a coordination role between the National Assembly and the Royal Government. In this regard, the legislative power is shared between the National Assembly and the Senate.

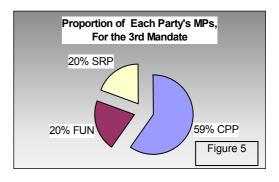
1. Profile of Members of Parliament

The current National Assembly began its life as the *Constituent Assembly*, which was established by the UNTAC electoral law of 1993. The elected candidates of the election of 1993 formed the Constituent Assembly and their first and only task was to adopt a new Constitution for Cambodia. Following the enactment of the Constitution in 1993 the *Constituent* Assembly was changed to the *National* Assembly although its membership remained the same.

The Primary function of the National Assembly is to adopt laws. According to the Constitution these laws can be proposed by MPs, Senators or the Executive branch. After being adopted by the National Assembly, the King signs a "Kram" to promulgate these laws following which the Royal Government of Cambodia (Executive Branch) has the duty to administrator and enforce them.

In addition to these "law making" powers the National Assembly, as mentioned previously, also has a number of other functions fundamental to the operation of parliament.

Three political parties have succeeded to cross the threshold and are now participating in parliament after the 2003 national elections. In this mandate, the CPP has 73 members, the FUNCINPEC has 26 members and the SRP has 24 members, total 123 members of parliament. A large proportion of MPs from the previous period returned. Some MPs did not return to parliament because they died, resigned or were replaced by their party. Figure 5 illustrates the proportion of MPs for each party.



1.1. Replacement of MP-elect

Article 79 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia stipulates that: "The National Assembly mandate shall be incompatible with the holding of any active public function and of any membership in other institutions provided for in the Constitution, except when the assembly member(s) is (are) required to serve in the Royal Government...."

Since the official declaration of the election results on 30 August 2003, 41 MP-elect were replaced by their political parties, 30 from CPP and 11 from FUNCINPEC.

1.2. Female MPs

The number of female representatives increased to 22 women or 18%. According to the official results announced by the NEC, only 10% or 12 members of parliament were female, 6 female MP-elect out of 73 MP-elect from the Cambodian People's Party, 3 female MP-elect

out of 26 MP-elect from FUNCINPEC and 3 female MP-elect out of 24 MP-elect from the Sam Rainsy Party.

The table below shows the proportion of female MPs that entered as member of parliament for each party.

Table 9: Breakdown of the 123 MPs elected in July 2003*

	MPs	MPs-elect Replaced MPs All members		Replaced MPs		nbers
Party	Male	Female	Male	Female	Female	All
CPP	37	6	22	8	14 (19%)	73
FUNCINPEC	12	3	9	2	5 (19%)	26
SRP	21	3	0	0	3 (12%)	24
Total	65	12	31	10	22 (18%)	123

Nomination

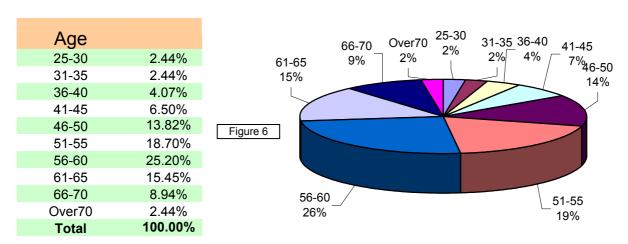
The proportion of female nomination was similar for all parties. However, only 6 out of 14 female nominees of CPP, 3 out of 15 female nominees of FUNCINPEC were elected, while 3 out of 14 female nominees of SRP became MP-elect (see Table below).

Table 10: Nominated versus Elected Female MPs

Party	Female Nominees	Female MP-elect
CPP	14 (11.4%)	6 (4.87%)
FUNCINPEC	15 (12.2%)	3 (2.43%)
SRP	14 (12.2%)	3 (2.43%)
Total	44	12

Source: NEC, 2003 National Assembly Elections

Number of MPs sorted by age



Number of MPs sorted by gender Gender Female 22 Male 101 Total 123 Figure 7 Male 82%

2. List of MPs Post Changing

Below is the list of Members of Parliament after the changing of membership for the National Assembly of the third mandate.

Table 11: List of MPs Post Changing

Constituency	No.	Name of MPs	Age	Party
	1	H.E. Mr. Koy Dok	55	
	2	H.E. Mr. Vong Kan	63	CPP
Banteay Meanchey	3	H.E. Mr. Pal Sam Oeun	59	CFF
(6 Seats)	4	H.E. Mr.Try Chheang Huot	60	
	5	H.E. Mr. Lam Phu An	49	FUN
	6	H.E. Mr. Kimsour Phirith	44	SRP
	7	H.E. Mr. Sar Kheng	54	
	8	H.E. Mr. Muy Chat	68	
	9	H.E. Mr. Tes Heanh	58	CPP
Battambang	10	H.E. Mrs. Ly Kim Leang	55	
(8 Seats)	11	H.E. Mrs. Chuonh Sochhay	49	
	12	H.E. Mrs. Ky Lum Ang	55	FUN
	13	H.E. Mr. Eng Chhai Eang	38	SRP
	14	H.E. Mr. Tan Vanthara	41	SKP
Kampong Cham	15	Samdech Heng Samrin	70	
(18 Seats)	16	H.E. Mr. Chhin Kimsreng	64	
	17	H.E. Mr. Hor Nam Hong	69	
	18	H.E. Mrs. Im Run	62	CPP
	19	H.E. Mr. Khek Sam On	53	CFF
	20	H.E. Mr. Van Seng Ly	64	
	21	H.E. Mr. Yos Son	62	
	22	H.E. Mrs. Chem Savay	50	
	23	Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranaridh	60	
	24	H.E. Mr. You Hockry	59	
	25	H.E. Mr. Chhim Seakleng	63	FUN
	26	H.E. Mr. Neav Sithong	55	
	27	H.E. Mr. Monh Saphan	55	
	28	H.E. Mr. Sam Rainsy	56	SRP
	29	H.E. Mr. Mao Monivann	42	
	30	H.E. Mrs. Thak Lany	50	
	31	H.E. Mr. Cheam Channy	44	

	32	H.E. Mr. Ahmad Yahya	51	
	33	H.E. Mr. Kong Sam Ol	68	
Kampong Chhnang	34	H.E. Mr. Nuon Sok	70	CPP
(4 Seats)	35	H.E. Mr. Peang Pun Yamin	49	
(,	36	H.E. Mr. Pok Sam El	70	FUN
	37	H.E. Mr. Say Chhum	59	
	38	H.E. Mr. Hem Khorn	53	CPP
Kampong Speu	39	H.E. Mr. Ly Son	55	011
(6 Seats)	40	H.E. Mr. Samret Pich	62	
,	41	H.E. Mrs. Kong Hach	54	FUN
	42	H.E. Mr. Nuth Rumdoul	58	SRP
	43	H.E. Mr. Nguon Nhel	62	
Managara Thaga	44	H.E. Mr. Un Ning	62	CPP
Kampong Thom	45	H.E. Mr. Khieu Horl	55	011
(6 Seats)	46	H.E. Mr. Nhem Thavy	54	
, ,	47	H.E. Mr. Sim Soly	61	FUN
	48	H.E. Mr. Sok Pheng	30	SRP
	49	H.E. Mr. Nay Pena	56	
Maranah	50	H.E. Mr. Sam Chen	56	CPP
Kampot	51	H.E. Mrs. Som Kimsour	55	
(6 Seats)	52	H.E. Mr. Than Sina	56	FUN
, ,	53	H.E. Mr. Ear Lim Sour	65	1 011
	54	H.E. Mr. Kieng Vang	57	SRP
	55	Samdech Hun Sen	53	
	56	H.E. Mrs. Khuon Sodary	52	
	57	H.E. Mr. Phay Bunchheun	50	CPP
	58	H.E. Mr. Mom Chim Huy	65	
Kandal	59	H.E. Mrs. Ho Non	57	
	60	Samdech Norodom Sirivudh	53	
(11 Seats)	61	H.E. Mr. Hong Sun Huot	57	FUN
	62	H.E. Mr. Khieu San	64	
	63	H.E. Mr. Chan Cheng	47	
	64	H.E. Mr. Chrea Sochenda	32	SRP
	65	H.E. Mr. Ngor Sovann	34	
Koh Kong (1)	66	H.E. Mr. Ai Khon	48	CPP
Kratie	67	H.E. Mr. Doeu Sophal	58	CPP

	68	H.E. Mrs. Troeung Thavy	53	
	69	Princess Norodom Rottana Devi	30	FUN
Mondulkiri	70	H.E. Mr. Roth Sarem	63	CPP
44 0				
(1 seat)	-4			
	71	H.E. Mrs. Kruoch Sam An	51	
	72	H.E. Mr. Hou Sry	62	CPP
	73	H.E. Mr. Keat Chhon	70	
	74	H.E. Mr. Um Nhanh	61	
Phnom Penh	75	Princess Norodom Vacheahra	59	FUN
	76	H.E. Mr. Khy Taing Lim	68	
(12 Seats)	77	H.E. Mrs. Tioulong Somura	54	_
	78	H.E. Mr. Yim Sovann	40	_
	79	H.E. Mr. Son Chhay	48	SRP
	80	H.E. Mr. Keo Remy	41	
	81	H.E. Mr. Ho Vann	57	
	82	H.E. Mr. Sok Soty	75	
Preah Vihear (1seat)	83	H.E. Mr. Suk Sam Eng	49	CPP
	84	H.E. Mr. Chea Soth	76	
	85	H.E. Mr. Nhim Vanda	57	
	86	H.E. Mr. Cheam Yeap	58	CPP
	87	H.E. Mr. Ek Sam Ol	60	
Prey Veng	88	H.E. Mr. Pen Panha	63	
(11 Conto)	89	H.E. Mr. Min Sean	59	
(11 Seats)	90	H.E. Mr. Veng Sereyvuth	46	FUN
	91	H.E. Mr. Sin Pinsen	57	FUN
	92	Princess Sisowath Santha	62	
	93	H.E. Mr. Chea Poch	30	SRP
	94	H.E. Mr. Khem Veasna	43	
Pursat	95	H.E. Mr. Ly Narun	43	
i disat	96	H.E. Mr. Sman Teat	52	CPP
(4 Seats)	97	H.E. Mr. Mey Nan	69	
	98	H.E. Mr. Ly Thuch	38	FUN
Siem Reap	99	H.E. Mr. Bou Thong	66	CPP
(6 Soata)	100	H.E. Mr. Tea Banh	58	
(6 Seats)	101	H.E. Mrs. Pov Savoeun	57	
	102	H.E. Mr. Seang Nam	46	

	103	H.E. Mr. Sam Heang	49	
	104	H.E. Mr. Pou Sothirak	47	FUN
	105	H.E. Mrs. Ke Sovannaroth	42	SRP
Sihanouk Ville (1)	106	H.E. Mr. Suos Kanan	59	CPP
	107	H.E. Mr. San Inthor	49	
O Di	108	H.E. Mrs. Men Sam An	51	
Svay Rieng	109	H.E. Mrs. Chhim Sarem	54	CPP
(6 Seats)	110	H.E. Mr. Hul Savorn	52	
,	111	H.E. Mrs. Duong Vanna	51	
	112	H.E. Mr. So Victor	39	FUN
	113	H.E. Mr. Sok An	54	
	114	H.E. Mr. Chao Sophon	55	
.	115	H.E. Mr. Prak Thuch	56	CPP
Takeo	116	H.E. Mr. Ing Bunhov	33	
(8 Seats)	117	H.E. Mrs. Nin Saphon	56	
,	118	H.E. Mr. Khek Vandy	69	FUN
	119	H.E. Mr. Hong Sok Heang	56	1011
	120	H.E. Mr. Kuy Bunroeun	36	SRP
Kep (1 seat)	121	H.E. Mr. An He	59	CPP
Pailin (1 seat)	122	H.E. Mr. Sam San	57	CPP
Odor Meanchey (1 seat)	123	H.E. Mr. Nov Sam	49	CPP

Annex 3: Permanent Standing Committee and NA's Commissions

A. Permanent Standing Committee

No	MPs Name	Position in NA	Position in Permanent Committee
1	H.R.H. Norodom Ranariddh	President of the NA	Chairman
2	Samdech Heng Samrin	First Vice President	1 st Vice Chairman
3	H.E. Nguon Nhel	Second Vice President	2 nd Vice Chairman
4	H.E. Pen Pannha	Chairman of 1 st Commission	Member
5	H.E. Cheam Yeap	Chairman of 2 nd Commission	Member
6	H.E. Ly Thuch	Chairman of 3 rd Commission	Member
7	H.E. Monh Saphan	Chairman of 4 th Commission	Member
8	Samdech Norodom Vacheara	Chairman of 5 th Commission	Member
9	H.E. Ek Sam Ol	Chairman of 6 th Commission	Member
10	H.E. Mom Chim Huy	Chairman of 7 th Commission	Member
11	H.E. Mrs. Ho Non	Chairman of 8 th Commission	Member
12	H.E. Mrs. Ky Lum Ang	Chairman of 9 th Commission	Member

B. Expert Commissions of the National Assembly

Table 15: List of MPs in Expert Commissions of the National Assemble\y

No.	Name	Position	Party
1. C	ommission on protection of Human	│ Rights and Complaint	Reception
1	H.E. Pen Pannha	Chairman	CPP
2	H.E. Ear Limsour	Vice-Chairman	FUN
3	H.E. Samret Pich	Secretary	CPP
4	H.E. Van Seng Ly	Member	CPP
5	H.E. Mrs. Khoun Sodary	Member	CPP
6	H.E. Chhim Seakleng	Member	FUN
7	H.E. Khieu San	Member	FUN
	2. Commission on Finar	nce and Banking	
1	H.E. Cheam Yeap	Chairman	CPP
2	H.E. Than Sina	Vice-Chairman	FUN
3	H.E. Ai Khon	Secretary	CPP
4	H.E. Mrs. Chhun Sarem	Member	CPP
5	H.E. Mrs. Ly Kim Leang	Member	C PP
6	H.E. Neav Sithong	Member	FUN
7	H.E. Sor Victor	Member	FUN
3. (Commission on Economy, Planning,		ure, Rural
	Development and	Environment	
1	H.E. Ly Thuch	Chairman	FUN
2	H.E. Try Chheang Huot	Vice-Chairman	CPP
3	H.E. Sem Soly	Secretary	FUN
4	H.E. Pok Sam El	Member	FUN
5	H.E. Hong Sok Heang	Member	FUN
6	H.E. Muy Chat	Member	CPP

7	H.E. Suk Sam Eng	Member	CPP
	Commission on Interior, National D		
	Corrupti		
1	H.E. Monh Saphan	Chairman	FUN
2	H.E. Pal Sam Oeun	Vice-Chairman	CPP
3	H.E. Hong Sok Heang	Secretary	FUN
4	H.E. Ear Limsour	Member	FUN
5	H.E. Sin Pinsen	Member	FUN
6	H.E. Koy Dok	Member	CPP
7	H.E. Hul Savoan	Member	CPP
5. Co	mmission on Foreign Affairs, Intern		Propaganda
	and Inform		
1	Samdech Norodom Vacheahra	Chairman	FUN
2	H.E. Un Ning	Vice-Chairman	CPP
3	H.E. Neav Sithong	Secretary	FUN
4	Princess Sisowath Santha	Member	FUN
5	H.E. Sem Soly	Member	FUN
6	H.E. Yos Son	Member	CPP
7	H.E. Hou Sry	Member	CPP
	6. Commission on		
1	H.E. Ek Sam Ol	Chairman	CPP
2	H.E. Khek Vandy	Vice-Chairman	FUN
3	H.E. Ly Son	Secretary	CPP
4	H.E. Min Sean	Member	CPP
5	H.E. Mrs. Krouch Sam An	Member	CPP
6	H.E. Chhim Seakleng	Member	FUN
7	H.E. Khieu San	Member	FUN
7.	Commission on Education, Religiou	s Affairs, Culture and	Tourism
1	H.E. Mom Chim Huy	Chairman	CPP
2	H.E. Pou Sothirak	Vice-Chairman	FUN
3	H.E. Saom Chen	Secretary	CPP
4	H.E. Tes Heanh	Member	CPP
5	H.E. Mrs. Pov Savoeun	Member	CPP
6	H.E. Sin Pinsen	Member	FUN
7	H.E. Mrs. Kong Hach	Member	FUN
8.	Commission on Public Health, Socia		
	Affairs	•	
1	H.E. Mrs. Ho Non	Chairwoman	CPP
2	Princess Sisowath Santha	Vice-Chairman	FUN
3	H.E. Mrs. Im Run	Secretary	CPP
4	H.E. An He	Member	CPP
5	H.E. Mrs. Chuonh Sokchhay	Member	CPP
6	H.E Lam Phou An	Member	FUN
7	H.E. Mrs. Kong Hach	Member	FUN
	9. Commission on Public Work		
	Telecommunication, Industry	•	
1	H.E. Mrs. Ky Lum Ang	Chairwoman	FUN
2	H.E. Mrs. Nin Saphon	Vice-Chairwoman	CPP
3	H.E. Sor Victor	Secretary	FUN
4	H.E. Pok Sam El	Member	FUN
5	H.E. Lam Phou An	Member	FUN
6	H.E. Chhin Kimsreng	Member	CPP
7	H.E. Khieu Horl	Member	CPP
<u> </u>			1

Annex 4: Observation forms and other letters

A. NA Session Observation Form



Checklist on Observing the Session of the National Assembly, 3rd Mandate 2003—2008



Session:	Mandate: 3 rd	Date:	Time:	Start:	End:
Agenda:	1				
	2				
	3				
	4				
	5				
	Participants:	CPP I	FUNCINPEC	SRP	Total
	Female:				
	Male:				
	Total:				
		☐ Has no quorum considered as valid ¡			sembly meeting shall 0 of all members.")
	, ,	absent without per No If yes, how m			nt?
		speak far beyond f No If yes, how m	the mentioned s nany?		
3. Is/ar		speak without aski			om the NA President
		•	nany?		
		interrupt other MP: No	s? nany?		
		humiliate individua	•		
	Yes □	No If yes, how m	nany?		
		express any actior No If yes, how m	n that leads to di nany?		
	of the today me Nothing (It is di Approve the na Approve state p Approve loans; Approve financ	scussing) itional budget; planning;			

 □ Approve the creation, modification and annulment of taxes; □ Approve administration accounts; □ Approve the creation of institutions; □ Adopt the law on the general amnesty; □ Adopt or repeal treaties and International Conventions; □ Adopt the law on proclamation of war. □ Amendment □ Approve other bills. Please specify: 					
Opinions expressed by each parliamen	ntarian du	ıring the session:			
Name of parliamentarian:		Sex:			
From party: Constituency:		Turn of Speaking:			
Start: End:		Duration:			
Topic:					
Meaning of expressing opinions, relating to: Meaning when he/she expresses	Neutral	Positive Negative	Time(min)		
1-Sugestion/opinions 2-Prime Minister 3-Government 4-President of National Assembly (NA) 5-National Assembly 6-Commission of NA 7-Chairman of Senate 8-Senator 9-His/her Political Party 10-Other political party 11-As Parliamentarian herself/himself 12-As other Parliamentarian(s) 13-His/her constituency 14-Other constituency 15-Court system 16-Women matters 17	11-1	1-2			

B. Mission Observation Form



Checklist on The Members of Parliament Missions 3rd Legislature (2003-2008)



Name of Observer: Sex: Tel: Commune/Sangkat: District/Khan: Province/Municipality: Signature of Supervisor:
Detailed information:
1. Visit/mission No.:
2. Name of Parliamentarian:
3. Position in other institutions: \square Yes \square No Specify:
4. Parliamentarian from: ☐ CPP ☐ FUNCINPEC ☐ SRP
5. Duration of visit/mission:
Start (time/date): End:
6. Place of visit/mission: village: Commune/Sangkat:
District/Khan: Province/Municipality:
 Purpose of visit/mission: With whom does he/she meet? □ Authority □ People □ Personal (if choose this box please do not continue) Specify the purpose of visit:
8. Purpose and activity of the parliamentarian, on behalf of: <i>(choose only one)</i> □ Political Party □ Parliamentarian □ Government Official (Please specify opinions, purpose and activity of the representative during his/her visit)
9. Promises of the parliamentarian: Does the representative promise something?a. Promises during his/her previous visit (Since October 2003)
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Do not know

	If yes, please specify. If no, please continue to No. 10 b. Promises during the visit: □ Yes □ No □ Do not know If yes, please specify:
10.	Visit/mission activity and previous promises: ☐ Address all ☐ Some ☐ No ☐ Do not know
	Constituency's Requests/Suggestions to the parliamentarian during his/her visit: Yes □ No □ Do not know If yes, please specify:
visit	Parliamentarian's responses to people's requests/suggestions during the /mission: He/ she: Accepts Does not accept Does not know Specify the reasons:
3.	People's impression on the visit: □ Happy □ Not happy □ Do not know Specify the reasons:
14.	Other information beside the description in this report format:

C. Letter:

Cambodian People's Party
Central Committee
No. 006 Central Committee



Independence, Peace, Liberty, Democracy, Neutrality and Social Development

Phnom Penh, 24 August 2004

To: Executive Director of COMFREL

<u>Subject:</u> Request for participating in a public forum, "Citizen and Members of

Parliament"

Reference: -Letter No. 730/04 dated 24 August 2004

Further to the above subject and reference, we have great honor to inform you that: each CPP's Members of Parliament is busy at visiting citizens in his/her own constituency in order to know concerns and help to resolve those issues following the role and duty. It has become a habit for the CPP's Members of Parliament to meet and resolve the citizens' issues.

Therefore, CPP's Members of Parliament cannot participate in such organized public forum.

Please, the executive director, accept my sincere assurance.

Chairman of the Central Committee (Signed and sealed)

Say Chhum

(This letter is original Khmer language. So this is an unofficial translation done by COMFREL onl