

RIPOCA

Research Notes 1-2009



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CAMBODIA

**Political Context Study & Review of Rights
Discourse**



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Ripoca Research Notes is a series of background studies undertaken by authors and team members of the research project *Human Rights, Power, and Civic Action* (RIPOCA). The project runs from 2008-2012 and is funded by the Norwegian Research Council (project no. 185965/S50). Research application partners: University of Oslo, University of Leeds and Harvard University.

The main research output of the Ripoca Project is *Human Rights, Power and Civic Action: Comparative Analyses of Struggles for Rights in Developing Societies* edited by Bård A. Andreassen and Gordon Crawford and published by Routledge (Spring 2012).

Project coordinators: Bård A. Andreassen and Gordon Crawford

Research Notes are available on the Project's website:

<http://www.jus.uio.no/smr/english/research/projects/ripoca/index.html>

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The aim of this report is to provide essential background information on the key political developments in Cambodia over the past decade, describe the general situation of the political space in which NGOs function, the legislation that governs their operations, the relevant recent history of their relations with government, local social institutions and structures, international institutions and networks. It will cover major areas of change at the level of the overall and at partial regime levels. This report refers to the main political changes at national level in the overall political system such as nature of politics, emergence of political alliances, and whether they represent progress in terms of policy-making and democratization, the constitutional issues, election violence and the nature of the regime, the various lower tiers of governmental and informal power and decision-making structures.

This report will provide essential background information on how human rights terminology and struggles for rights have emerged and developed within Cambodia over the past 10-15 years, inclusive of the legal context in which rights-promoting organizations operate. It will also provide an 'organizational landscape' of rights-promoting organizations in Cambodia, focusing on civil society organizations. Following on from the review of human rights discourses, it will identify and categorize the different types of rights-promoting organizations operating in the country, the networks of affinity groups, and the extent to which they are recognized. Mapping by theme will also be undertaken, indicating the range of rights being promoted within Cambodia. Numerical data and lists and charts will be presented where available

Cambodia is one of the ten countries in South East Asia such as Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. Cambodia borders with Thailand, Laos and Vietnam.

The Royal Government of Cambodia was established on September 24, 1993. The executive branch comprises the king, who is head of state. In the executive there are a prime minister; deputy prime ministers, senior ministers, ministers (25 Ministries), secretaries of state, and undersecretaries of state. The legislature consists of the National Assembly and the Senate. The judiciary includes a Supreme Court, an Appeal Court, Provincial Courts as lowest courts, and an internationalized court with jurisdiction over the serious crimes of the Khmer Rouge era. Administrative subdivisions are 23 provinces and 1 municipality. Cambodia has so far organized four national elections since 1993. Regarding the legislation, 300 laws have been passed by the National Assembly of Cambodia by 2008.

In the wake of the Paris Peace Agreement, several developments have been made. Many development and human rights NGOs have been also established. There are NGOs working in different fields such as human rights, children's rights, women's rights, anti-trafficking of human persons, education, environments, water resources management, non-timber forest products, forests, disability, etc. As of today, there are some 2,000 NGOs and associations in the Interior Ministry's registry and some are operating without registry. There are emergences of NGOs alliance, networks and platforms in the attempts for communication and advocacy work.

However, the government's human rights record remained poor. In Cambodia, there are many human rights issues/concerns that need to be redressed and it might take a long way to go such as political killings and persecution, extrajudicial killings, impunity, no rule of law, illegal detention, torture, forced confessions, arbitrary arrests, prolonged pretrial detention, weak and corrupt judiciary, denial of the right to a fair trial, land grabbing and forced evictions, unfair elections, restricted freedom of expression, speech and the press, well-known corruption, human trafficking, criminalization of sex workers and drug users, domestic violence, child abuses, little assistance to persons with disabilities, child labor and forced labor and so on.

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ACRONYMS

UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNCHR	United Nations Center for Human Rights
UN	United Nations
SoC	State of Cambodia
SNC	Supreme National Council
PLHIV	People Living with HIV
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NGOCRC	NGO Children's Rights Council
NEC	National Elections Committee
KPNLF	Khmer People National Liberation Front
KNP	Khmer Nation Party
HRAC	Human Rights Action Committee
FUNCINPEC	National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
COHRE	Center On Housing Rights and Evictions
COHCHR	Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
BLDP	Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party

INTRODUCTION

Cambodia¹ is one of the ten countries in South East Asia such as Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. Cambodia borders with Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. Cambodia's history is smeared by its political instability including the Khmer Issarak² guerilla warfare during periods of the French colonization, the 1970 coup, the 1970-1975 civil war, genocide during 1975-1979 under Pol Pot's regime³, the 1979 Vietnamese invasion which led to war against the Vietnamese invasion between 1979-1990, the coup in 1997 as well as other on-going political violence, discriminations, intimidations and threats up to the present. The Vietnamese communist invaders and the Khmer Rough communist guerrillas established armed forces as the means to gain power.

Cambodia gained its independence in 1953⁴ after almost one hundred years of colonization⁵ by French (1887-1963). Cambodia has been plagued for the last thirty years by various governments that have been instable, undemocratic and illegitimate. Prince Sihanouk, acting as head of state, was placed in the extremely delicate position of negotiating with the French for full independence, while he was trying to neutralize party politicians and supporters of the Khmer Issarak and Viet Minh who considered him a French collaborator. By 1954 the Khmer Issarak operating with the Viet Minh by some estimates controlled as much as 50 percent of Cambodia's territory. During the tumultuous period between 1946 and 1953, Sihanouk displayed the remarkable aptitude for political survival that sustained him before and after his fall from power in March 1970.

After gaining full independence in 1953 Cambodia which was led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who still remains influential in Cambodian politics as of today, Prince Sihanouk abdicated his throne in 1955 in order to hold his position as head of state and to engage in a political career that enabled him to become head of government. Prince Sihanouk was capable to create political stability; however, external forces were unfavorable to his rule. Cambodian politics became increasingly entangled with the United States, Vietnam and the growing war in North and South Vietnam. When the Vietnam's war moved forward, elements of the Vietcong found Cambodia to be a means of attacking South Vietnam. Cambodia did not have the military strength to combat the Vietnamese and did not have political power to persuade the United States that were attempting to aid the Vietcong. Tensions between the US and Cambodia were escalated when the United States began the infamous "secret bombing"⁶ over Cambodia in 1969.

The US-supported coup on 18 March 1970⁷ overthrew King Norodom Sihanouk from power and the Khmer Republic regime was established and led by Marshal Lon Nol. The March-1970 coup brought about the five-year civil war in Cambodia between the communist guerrillas supported by China and Vietnam and the Lon Nol military forces supported by US. This war strongly damaged Cambodia more than the French colonization. On 17 April 1975, Khmer Rough⁸ forces captured Phnom Penh and the whole city was emptied. Then the Democratic Kampuchea regime was established. Within three years of

¹ About the history of Cambodia, it can be found at <http://countrystudies.us/cambodia/> or "The History of Cambodia" by David P. Chandler. For Cambodia Profile, see <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2732.htm>

² The Issarak group included indigenous leftists, Vietnamese leftists, antimonarchical nationalists (Khmer Serei) loyal to Son Ngoc Thanh, and plain bandits taking advantage of the chaos to terrorize villagers.

³ see historic figures of Pol Pot at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/pot_pol.shtml or <http://yalepress.yale.edu/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=0300096496>

⁴ See <http://countrystudies.us/cambodia/59.htm>

⁵ The French colonial period was between 1887-1963.

⁶ See online archives of the *New York Times* at <http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/nytimes/advancedsearch.html> and Schanberg, Sydney, "A Cambodian Landscape: Bomb Pits, Rubble, Ashes," *New York Times*, May 24, 1973. The headlines listed on "Cambodia" in the article heading, and "bombing" in the article body, for the year 1973. A complete list of the *Times* articles for 1973 can be seen on this site at <http://www.mekong.net/cambodia/nyt73.htm>.

⁷ About the coup in 1970, see <http://countrystudies.us/cambodia/23.htm>

⁸ For the Khmer Rough period, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodia_under_Pol_Pot

its regime approximately 1.5 million people were killed⁹. Pol Pot provoked armed conflicts with Thailand, Laos and Vietnam in 1978. On December 25, 1978, Vietnam launched a full-scale invasion of Cambodia. The 120,000 Vietnamese military forces with armors and infantry units with strong artillery support invaded Cambodia from the southeastern Cambodian provinces¹⁰ and Phnom Penh fell under Vietnam on 7 January 1979. Vietnam installed a regime headed by former Khmer Rouge and Khmer Viet Minh communists to power. The People's Republic of Kampuchea¹¹, a socialist regime, was established under the Vietnamese control. The United Nations condemned the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia and most countries withheld diplomatic recognition from the pro-Vietnamese regime in Phnom Penh. Meanwhile, the Cambodian people continued to suffer from the war between anti-Vietnamese guerrillas composed of three factions¹² on the one side and the Vietnamese and the Heng Samrin¹³ forces on the other side.

1. POLITICAL CONTEXT STUDY

1.1 Key Political Development Information:

The Paris Conference was made in 1991¹⁴ to assess the future direction of political development in Cambodia and create a power sharing system between opposition factions, FUNCINPEC¹⁵, KPNLF¹⁶, DK and SOC. The Paris Peace Agreement¹⁷ was made on 23 October 1991, allowing the United Nations created a plan in 1992 for peace development in one of the world's most underdeveloped nation-states. The United Nations recognized that political stability was a precursor for political development in Cambodia and created a system for the "fair and free" elections. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was formed as a legitimate body to oversee Cambodia's transitional period. SNC. The UN-sponsored election in 1993 was recognized by the international community as free and fair. On 21 September 1993, the new constitution was promulgated and the Royal Government of Cambodia was therefore established as a constitutional monarchy and a multiparty democracy.

Although the 1993 elections became a success, all elements of political violence were not removed from Cambodian society. CPP which got less votes and the international community acquiesced in Hun Sen's refusal to accept defeat. Faced with his threat of civil war, the international community left Hun Sen in control of Cambodia's security apparatus. Almost 90 percent of eligible voters participated in the 1993 UN sponsored and monitored elections that created the first democratically elected government in Cambodia. The FUNCINPEC¹⁸ party received 45.5 percent of the vote but formed a coalition government by sharing power with CPP¹⁹, other major political parties. The coalition government succeeded in creating a constitution that could create the legitimate institutions necessary for political development led by two prime ministers; that is, the first Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh, a president of FUNCINPEC party and the Second Prime Minister Hun Sen, a deputy-president of CPP.

In 1997 political tensions and rivalries re-emerged between first Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh and the Second Prime Minister Hun Sen. Political conflicts between the two parties evolved

⁹ Death estimation can be found at <http://www.mekong.net/cambodia/deaths.htm>

¹⁰ The Vietnamese launched their invasion on December 25, and captured Phnom Penh by January 7. See Nayan Chanda's *Brother Enemy*, pp. 341-346.

¹¹ About the People's Republic of Kampuchea, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People's_Republic_of_Kampuchea

¹² The three factions are FUNCINPEC, KPNLF and DK.

¹³ A former Khmer Rouge commander installed by Vietnam as a head of the People's Republic of Kampuchea

¹⁴ see http://www.usip.org/library/pa/cambodia/final_act_10231991.html

¹⁵ see FUNCINPECT at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Funcinpec>

¹⁶ see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khmer_People's_National_Liberation_Front

¹⁷ The full text of the agreement can be found at <http://www.websitesrcg.com/border/documents/Paris-Anexes.html>

¹⁸ National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia

¹⁹ Cambodian People's Party

into political violence resulting in the death of over one hundred individuals. FUNCINPEC political leaders were forced to leave Cambodia and Hun Sen was able to assume the sole position of Prime Minister. The political violence leading to the coup overthrowing the first Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh on 5-6 July 1997 was a major setback for democracy in Cambodia but in 1998 elections was able to be held once again including the individuals who had fled in 1997. Hun Sen and the CPP²⁰ received a plurality of the votes and created a coalition government.

The elections in Cambodia are usually positive but the ways the members of the National Elections Committee were selected raises very serious questions about its independence and credibility. Also, they do not naturally create a democratic government. In 2004 the National Assembly has approved a controversial amendment to the previous established 1993 constitution. The amendment requiring a package vote for a new government created a political process but many Cambodians and internationals have argued that it is unconstitutional. Here again, the definition of political development has been debated. In Cambodia the democratic transition can not be based solely on elections. Democracy will only be sustained in Cambodia when freedom of expression is promoted and respected and when there is no political discrimination, harassments, intimidations, threats and a commitment to democratic principles and practices by population at large.

After the Paris Peace Agreement on 23 October 1991, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia sponsored the Cambodian national elections in 1993. Since then Cambodia has been struggling with the changeover to democracy, international relations and social and economic development. The definition for development is not static in Cambodia but a developmental path will have to address the key issues specific to Cambodia and also universal development goals. Cambodia is at a developmental stage in which they have the opportunity to absorb their troubled past and focus on a future that is immune to the conflicts and instability that has defined their history.

1.1.1 NGOs functions in Cambodia

According to Article 15 of Paris Peace Agreement on 23 October 1991, all persons in Cambodia and all Cambodian refugees and displaced persons shall enjoy the rights and freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant international human rights instruments. It requires that Cambodia undertakes to ensure respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia; to support the right of all Cambodian citizens to undertake activities which would promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. It requires that signatories to the Agreement undertake to promote and encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia as embodied in the relevant international instruments and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in order, in particular, to prevent the recurrence of human rights abuses.

In the wake of the Paris Peace Agreement the number of human rights NGOs was established in 1991 and more were established the following years. The formation of local NGOs in Cambodia was largely inspired by the presence of a large number of overseas NGOs during the early 1990s, when the political climate stabilized by the UNTAC²¹ presence (1991-1993). ADHOC, the Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association, was found active in December 1991 and LICADHO, the Cambodia Leagues for Promotion and Protection of Human Rights was found established and active in 1992. Then civil society became very much a part of and central to political society. Trained by the UNTAC human rights component which was later changed the UN Center for Human Rights,²² the Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Cambodia have played important role in delivering human rights promotion (education and training) and human rights protection (monitoring and investigating of alleged human rights abuses).

²⁰ Id.

²¹ See UNTAC at http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/untac.htm

²² Presently it is called Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

1.1.2 Legislation

In 1992, the Supreme National Council (SNC)²³ chaired by Prince Norodom Sihanouk representing the government of Cambodia ratified the number of international human rights conventions and human rights covenants and no provisions of these laws were reserved by Cambodia. UNTAC helped drafted the criminal law and procedures applicable during the transitional period. This law was adopted by SNC in September 10, 1992 and used until 2007 when the new penal code adopted by the National Assembly. Since 1993 until 2009 more than 300 laws²⁴ have been passed by the National Assembly of Cambodia²⁵.

After the UN-sponsored elections in 1993, the first legislation was the Constitution which was promulgated on September 21, 1993. From articles 31 to 50 (20 articles) under Chapter III of the Constitution provides Khmer citizens many civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights including the rights to forms political parties, associations and organizations. In addition, the international human rights law is recognized through article 31, paragraph 1, of the constitution of Cambodia which makes the international human rights law also become the supreme law of Cambodia. Primarily, the civil law in Cambodia is mixed with French-influenced criminal law and procedures applicable during the transitional period. The royal decrees and acts of legislatures influenced by customary law and there are remnants of communist legal theory; however, Cambodia is influenced by common law in recently years.

Human rights NGOs, associations and communities as well as international organizations were found more established after the Constitution was passed in September 1993. Some human rights NGOs became more focuses on specific human rights such as children's rights, women's rights, disabled rights and anti-human trafficking and exploitation and these NGOs can be identified and recognized through names. In late September 26, 2008 Mr. Hun Sen called for the revival of a controversial law requiring more than 2,000 associations and NGOs to complete a complicated registration process and submit to stringent financial reporting requirements. Interviewed by Voice of America in Khmer and broadcasted on October 10, 2008, Sak Setha, secretary of state for the Ministry of Interior, said the proposed "Law on Organizations," is not "Organic Law." He said the law will prevent funding from Islamic extremism to Cambodia's Muslim communities and when the new law is passed, many of the country's more than 2,000 NGOs will have to re-apply and fill out additional documentation.

1.1.3 History of NGOs Relationship with government

The establishments of local NGOs (Development and Human Rights NGOs) in Cambodia was largely encouraged by the presence of a large number of international organizations during the early 1990s, when the political climate began to normalize during the UNAMIC and UNTAC presence (1991-1993)²⁶. Many more groups exist on an informal basis. Some of them are seeking government permission to establish formally. The work of most Cambodian NGOs is cross-sectoral in nature, though there are working in human rights and environment fields. The major activities were human rights education and training, natural resource conservation and tree planting.

Cambodian NGOs receive support from international NGOs, donor agencies, including various United Nations bodies, and governments of other countries. The Cambodian government itself provides little support. According to some NGO workers, the government's attitude toward local NGOs is more of suspicion than cooperation. The Cambodian situation is thus similar to Thailand's in the 1970s and early 1980s when emerging grassroots-level NGOs were under government suspicion as political agencies in disguise. Members of human rights NGOs were regarded as members of the political opposition parties and/or persons who insult people to have conflicts with the government or state officials. Political parties

²³ see UNAMIC at http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unamicbackgr.html and SNC at <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/khmer/Ledgerwood/KEYWORDS.HTM>

²⁴ A compilation of laws currently in force in Cambodia published by UNCOHCHR

²⁵ see <http://www.national-assembly.org.kh/>

²⁶ See <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp>

and civic groups still face impediments when they try to carry out their lawful activities, despite constitutional guarantees to free expression and assembly²⁷.

1.1.4 Local Social Institutions and Structures

The Kingdom of Cambodia is a constitutional monarchy, and its constitution²⁸ provides for a multiparty democracy²⁹. The Royal Government of Cambodia³⁰ was established on September 24, 1993. The executive branch comprises the king, who is head of state; an appointed prime minister; nine deputy prime ministers, 15 senior ministers, 26 ministers of 25 Ministries, 198 secretaries of state, and 205 undersecretaries of state. The bicameral legislature consists of a 123-member elected National Assembly and a 61-member Senate. The judiciary includes a Supreme Court, an Appeal Court, Provincial Courts as lowest courts, and an internationalized court with jurisdiction over the serious crimes of the Khmer Rouge era. Administrative subdivisions are 23 provinces and 1 municipality³¹.

- **Cambodian Ministries:**

- 1 Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
- 2 Ministry of Commerce
- 3 Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts
- 4 Ministry of Economy and Finance
- 5 Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
- 6 Ministry of Environment
- 7 Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
- 8 Ministry of Health
- 9 Ministry of Industry, Mines and Energy
- 10 Ministry of Information
- 11 Ministry of Interior
- 12 Ministry of Justice
- 13 Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training
- 14 Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction
- 15 Ministry of National Defense
- 16 Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and Inspection
- 17 Ministry of Planning
- 18 Ministry of Post and Telecommunication
- 19 Ministry of Public Works and Transport
- 20 Ministry of Religious and Cults
- 21 Ministry of Rural Development
- 22 Ministry of Social Affairs, Veteran and Youth Rehabilitation
- 23 Ministry of Tourism
- 24 Ministry of Water Resources and Meteorology
- 25 Ministry of Women Affairs

Although the 1993 Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia acknowledges the re-establishment of the order existing under Constitution in force in 1993, the practical consequence is that the institutional practices and the 13-year socialist mindset continue irrespective of the new norms having been accepted theoretically. Legal reforms involving a return to liberal democracy from a socialist regime involves conscious denial of these practices and of its mindset.

²⁷ Article 41 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia

²⁸ see <http://www.cambodia.gov.kh/unisq11/egov/english/organ.constitution.html>

²⁹ see Article 51 of the constitution

³⁰ see <http://www.cambodia.gov.kh/>

³¹ The Royal Government Sub-decree, No. 18 sor.nor.kror.bor.kor, of 12 January 2009

In Cambodia freedoms of expression are restricted although article 41 the constitution guarantees the right to freedom of expression, press, publication and assembly. The political violence and human rights violations continued to be a problem in Cambodia. All Cambodian National Assembly elections organized by NEC were judged by national and international elections observers to have been seriously flawed due to intimidations, treats, restrictions of freedoms of expression and freedom of the press, and lack of media access.

1.1.5 International Institutions and Networks

International engagement and networks are traced across the following issue areas - human rights, democracy, labor rights, housing rights, children's rights, women's rights, landmines, and common rights in the environmental sector. There are around sixty Embassies in Cambodia³², more than ten UN family agencies³³ and 429 international aids organizations listed in Cambodia Yellow Page³⁴. As of today, more than 2,000 NGOs are in the Interior Ministry's registry. Also, there are emergence of networking and national platforms which allows NGOs members to raise their concerns, exchange experiences, and develop activities such as Daiku Cambodia which consists of more than 100 NGOs and networks working on health and HIV/AIDS, the Human Rights Action Committee (HRAC) consisting of 21 NGOs and associations, KHANA consisting of 63 implementing partners working on HIV, NGOCRC, ECPAT Cambodia, COSECAM and MEDiCAM.

1.1.6 Main Political Changes at National Level

Genuine democracy in Cambodia is in question. The failure to protect human rights provides the clearest example of where the international community fell short of taking strong action, after 1993, to keep the peace process on track. The UNTAC Human Rights Component which was mandated by the Paris Agreement was changed to the UN Center for Human Rights following UNTAC's departure and later it was again changed to the Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (COHCHR) under the Office of the UN High Commissioner in Geneva. This field office was mandated to monitor Cambodia's human rights situation and to provide technical assistance to the government in promoting human rights.

Between 1994 and 1996 COHCHR at times took a critical stand on government policies which resulted in threats from the co-Prime Ministers to close it down. In March 1997, human rights abuses mounted dramatically when 16 people demonstrating against the government were killed and more than a hundred people injured in a grenade attack in front of the National Assembly. This was followed by the extra-judicial killings of some 40 military advisers of deposed Prime Minister Prince Ranariddh following the July 1997 coup, meticulously investigated and documented by the UN rapporteur for human rights, Thomas Hammarberg, in which people close to Hun Sen were implicated.

The 1998 multi-party elections and the growth of civil society indicate that there has been noticeable political development in Cambodia. However, politically-inspired violence³⁵, the lack of respect for human rights³⁶ and for differences of opinion, and the arbitrary exercise of power, particularly the continued culture of impunity, remained key challenges to Cambodia's political development. The peaceful pro-democracy demonstration in 1998 after the elections was crackdown by pro-CPP demonstrators and police. How many died and injured?

The 2003 election is the third time Cambodia has voted in the 10 years since the UN left in 1993, which suggests Cambodians have embraced democracy. There had been 17 suspected political killings and 13 more attempted murders suspected as political. The police have dismissed all of them as

³² see http://www.cambodia.gov.kh/unisq11/egov/english/country.foreign_embassy.html

³³ see <http://www.un.org.kh/> and see Cambodian Ministry of Tourism web page at <http://www.mot.gov.kh/>

³⁴ see <http://www.yellowpages-cambodia.com/>

³⁵ New York Time, on Monday, February 23, 2009, <http://query.nytimes.com/>

³⁶ Dr. Lao Mong Hay, June 27, 2007, http://www.upiasia.com/Human_Rights/

robberies, domestic disputes, revenge attacks, etc³⁷. Since 2003 election, the government of Cambodia has demonstrated commitment to make progress in education and health, including HIV/AIDS, but the disbursement rate of funds to provincial and district health centers is so slow that it threatens progress in improving health status. The legacy of authoritarian government, political patronage and lack of human capacity has impeded donor efforts to improve civil service administration and reform the judiciary so that it can protect human and civil rights. Accession to WTO signals commitment to open markets and attracting investment. Reforms in rule of law and governance required by WTO accession may bring about the much-needed strengthened commitment to progress in these areas.

On July 27, 2008 Cambodia held its fourth Parliamentary Election in 15 years and the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) decisively won the election. Although 11 political parties participated in the election, CPP managed to capture 90 seats out of 123 according to official result. This means even without the 2006 constitutional amendment to change the requirement from a super majority to a simple majority (50+1) to form a government, CPP could have easily met the former requirement. The current Cambodian constitution recognizes citizens' rights, but it fails to restrict the power of government. There is a thin line between tyranny and democracy. Restricting the power of government and a devotion to creating a well-ordered society by all where no one is above the law will push Cambodia rapidly toward democracy.

There are criticisms around the ways that Hun Sen and CPP has tried to eliminate the opponents and controlled all media. The critics pointed out the dictatorship regime or one-state party and threats given to democracy in Cambodia.

- **Nature of Politics**

All upcoming elections always present occasional opportunities for Cambodia to move beyond corrupted authoritarian rule and to embrace genuine democracy. However, there is no genuine democracy in Cambodia. The integrity of elections depends on all phases of the electoral process, from the registration of voters, through the pre-election period, to the vote count and tabulation and the announcement of results. The political environment is always ruined by violence, threats, intimidation, harassments, and pervasive restrictions on political expression. These undermine the ability of the Cambodian citizens to make free and informed choices and threaten the overall credibility of the election process³⁸.

Besides the very serious questions on the Cambodian elections violence, power following 1993 election in Cambodia also gains from series of violence such as the March grenade attack on a public rally of the opposition Khmer National Party, the July 1997 coup d'etat to oust Prince Ranariddh, and a series of on-going threats to some political opponents to render their submission to CPP members.

Under the framework established by the constitution, the king serves as the head of state for life. Possibly in response to the very active and often controversial roles King Sihanouk has played in the political process in Cambodia since the independence, the constitutional framework also clearly articulates that the king reigns but does not govern and is to serve as the symbol of the unity and continuity of the nation. The head of government, elected in 1998, 2003 and 2008, is Prime Minister Hun Sen, whose appointment is officially made by the monarch after a vote of confidence by the National Assembly.

The system of government also provides for an independent judiciary. At the head of the judiciary is the Supreme Council of the Magistracy, which was provided for in the 1993 constitution, and which was eventually formed in December 1997. Judicial authority is exercised through a supreme court, an appeal court, and lower provincial, municipal and military courts³⁹. However, Cambodian courts are famously influenced by corruption, politicians, rulers and CPP party members.

³⁷ The *Phnom Penh Post* reported in the June 6 - 19, 2003

³⁸ Daniel Calingaert's statement, June 10, 2003

³⁹ There are 21 provincial courts, 1 Phnom Penh court, and 1 military court based in Phnom Penh.

- **Split and Emergence of Political Alliances**

On September 24, 1993, the new Constitution was promulgated and the Kingdom of Cambodia was established with Prince Norodom Sihanouk as King who reigns, but not to hold political power. Under the provisions of the Constitution, in 1993 the King appointed co-prime Ministers resulting from Hun Sen's refusal to defeat. There was the July 2, 1994 aborted coup⁴⁰ attempt which seemed focused on attacking both Ranaridh and Hun Sen. After two year formation of coalition government, the "partners" became to splinter and divide. But most of the political breakdown between 1994 and 1996 was to the advantage of the CPP. In October 1994, the outspoken FUNCINPEC Minister of Finance, Sam Rainsy, was fired. He was admired by external donors for his revamping of financial policies, but as an outspoken opponent of corruption he made enemies across party lines and CPP. The FUNCINPEC Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norodom Sirivuth resigned in protest at Sam Rainsy's ouster. In December 1995, Sirivuth was arrested and alleged of plotting to assassinate Hun Sen. He was stripped of his parliamentary immunity and exiled from Cambodia. By falling in these changes Ranaridh cooperated in the destruction of two of his most important allies.

In June 1995, the BLDP⁴¹ split into two factions; that is, the founder Son Sann and a splinter group lead by Ieng Mouly, former Minister of Information. Mr. Ieng Mouly instantly received Hun Sen's support in his bid for BLDP leadership. When Son Sann tried to hold a party congress in October 1995, grenades were thrown into the crowd assembling for the meeting, resulting in many injuries, but no deaths.

Also in October 1995, Sam Rainsy announced the formation of KNP, a new political party. In February 1996, only five months later, KNP Lieutenant Nuon Soeur broke away and declared an alternative KNP. He was immediately supported by the CPP. External CPP support to factions within the opposition parties played on internal conflicts to wreak chaos within. Ranaridh attacked the coalition with CPP in the FUNCINPEC party congress in April 1996. He argued that FUNCINPEC had no real power and demanded an equal share of power at the district level. Sam Rainsy supported Ranaridh's position and called for reuniting of the former FUNCINPEC allies. Political tension was raised with coup rumors, troop movements and talk of intervention by the king.

In February 1997, a new political alliance was formed between FUNCINPEC, Sam Rainsy's Khmer Nation and Son Sann's BLDP Party called the National United Front. Sam Rainsy's party had gained in strength the previous year, when he supported the formation of labor unions in the nation's garment factories. Then in March a group of FUNCINPEC negotiators was captured and killed by Khmer Rough hard-liners at Anlong Veng. Clearly FUNCINPEC had been trying to negotiate an alliance that included the hard-line Khmer Rough against the CPP. At this crucial juncture, King Norodom Sihanouk began discussing abdication. Hun Sen reacted angrily to these events, threatening to scrap local and national elections planned for 1997 and 1998. He also proposed a Constitutional amendment prohibiting members of the royal family from participating in politics.

On March 30th, a peaceful demonstration in Phnom Penh led by Sam Rainsy was attacked with four grenades. At least 15 people died in the attack and more than 100 people in the crowd were injured. Sam Rainsy barely escaped alive. It was immediately alleged that soldiers from Hun Sen's personal guard had facilitated the escape of the attackers by preventing bystanders from pursuing them. Hun Sen for his part condemned the perpetrators, but then went on to say that the organizers of the rally were to blame⁴². Nothing was ever done to bring anyone to justice for this attack.

Within the next month, there was another split within FUNCINPEC, as several members of the National Assembly formally broke off from Ranaridh. With these new defectors as allies, the CPP nearly

⁴⁰ Prince Norodom Chakropong and Ministry of Interior Officials Sin Song (the supposed organizers of the eastern province secession movement after the election) and Sin Sen were charged and convicted as the organizers of the attempt, speculation was rampant that others in the CPP leadership had also been involved.

⁴¹ see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhist_Liberal_Democratic_Party

⁴² Phnom Penh Post, April 4-17, 1997

succeeded in securing the needed two-thirds majority in the National Assembly to form a government on its own. Tensions escalated dramatically thereafter as both Prime Ministers increased the numbers and armaments of their personal "bodyguard" units. The coalition government by this time had virtually ceased to function, and the National Assembly was unable to meet.

During May and June, both FUNCINPEC and the CPP were negotiating with the Khmer Rough hard-liners in Anlong Veng. Both saw an alliance with the Khmer Rough as a possible deciding factor in their struggle with the other. These negotiations triggered a further split within the Khmer Rough forces. The power struggle was apparently won by Tamok, who announced that Pol Pot had been "captured." Pol Pot was accused of executing the former Khmer Rough defense minister Son Sen and his family, apparently under the suspicion that they had been in contact with CPP negotiators. Rannaridh and Hun Sen together announced that a deal has been made to turn over Pol Pot, but the deal collapsed. On the night of June 17, FUNCINPEC and CPP bodyguard units clashed for 90 minutes in the streets of Phnom Penh.

The buildup of tension finally exploded with two days of fierce fighting July 5 and 6, 1997. FUNCINPEC had successfully concluded negotiations with the Khmer Rough, but the planned announcement of their alliance was preempted. Instead, on the morning of July 5th, CPP forces surrounded and tried to enter and disarm the FUNCINPEC military headquarters outside the capital. When FUNCINPEC military officials refused, fighting ensued. Ranariddh was eventually convicted in absentia of conducting illegal negotiations with the Khmer Rough, illegally importing weapons, and secretly moving armed forces into the city that included Khmer Rough troops. The government proclaimed it had defeated "anarchical forces," and denied that there had been a coup. While the government's version of events state that Ranariddh's forces "attacked" the city, eyewitness accounts by journalists and others, recorded coordinated CPP attacks on the FUNCINPEC base, on party offices and the homes of FUNCINPEC military leaders. The fighting ended on the night of July 6th. For the next two days CPP soldiers looted the areas of the city where fighting had taken place.

A report issued by UNCHR documented the execution of some 40 FUNCINPEC officials and military personnel in the days following the coup. A subsequent report listed another 50 persons who were dead or missing. Many FUNCINPEC and BLDP officials fled the country in the hours following the fighting. FUNCINPEC military forces in the northwest of the country, and their commanders who had survived the fighting in Phnom Penh, withdrew to the Thai border town of O'Smach. Other FUNCINPEC officials stayed and joined the group that had splintered from Rannaridh's FUNCINPEC three months before. Ung Huot, the former FUNCINPEC Minister of Foreign Affairs was installed as a new Co-Prime Minister and Hun Sen declared that the government was unchanged.

The international community, however, viewed matters differently--at least initially. Cambodia was denied admission to ASEAN, and most Southeast Asian nations evacuated their nationals from the country. Bilateral aid programs were temporarily suspended. In September, the IMF and the World Bank announced the suspension of aid, and the United Nations voted to leave Cambodia's seat empty. Tourism dropped dramatically and new investment ground to a halt as everyone waited out the upheaval. But from an international perspective, the choices were limited. No one, it seemed, was willing to commit to funding a renewed round of warfare by backing the FUNCINPEC militarily from the Thai border. The primary goal of both Western nations and ASEAN in the year after the coup was to ensure that national elections were held on schedule in 1998. Japanese diplomatic efforts resulted in a compromise whereby Rannaridh was found guilty of "raising armed forces against the government and colluding with the Khmer Rough," but was then immediately pardoned by his father the King with Hun Sen's permission. This set the stage for his return to participate in the elections in 1998.

Under intense pressure, from the international community and active intervention of King Norodom Sihanouk, the elections were held in July of 1998. In the run-up to the elections there were repeated allegations of voter intimidation and political violence by CPP against the opposition parties. Such tactics were similar to those the 1993 election: forcing people to join the CPP, forcing people to take oaths that they would vote for the party, verbal threats, shooting at party signs, tearing down party materials, and in some cases physical violence. The UN Center for Human Rights investigated a dozen

political murders in the weeks before the elections. The opposition parties were also restricted in their access to electronic media.

The election itself proceeded with remarkably little violence. One Khmer Rouge attack near their former stronghold at Anlong Veng resulted in ten deaths. More than 5 million voters registered, estimated to be over 90 percent of the eligible populace. Of these, some 90 percent of the registered voters turned out to vote on election day. Of the thirty-nine parties that stood in the elections, voters overwhelmingly turned to only three, Hun Sen's CPP, FUNCINPEC and Sam Rainsy's Party.

The CPP won 64 seats in the 122 member parliament, with 41.2 percent of the vote, FUNCINPEC won 43 seats with 31.5 percent, and the Sam Rainsy Party with 14.2 percent of the vote will have 15 seats. FUNCINPEC and the Sam Rainsy party both claimed large-scale election irregularities, and initially refused to discuss the formation of a coalition until their allegations could be investigated. The foreign observers who monitored Cambodia's election, however, declared that it was "fair enough to reflect the broad will of the people." The 500 foreign observers covered less than 10 percent of the polling sites, but local observers, including the Committee for Free and Fair Elections (COMFREL), who did cover the majority of sites, said that their observations did not confirm allegations of widespread abuses.

FUNCINPEC and the Sam Rainsy Party organized public protests to demand investigations of voting irregularities. These protests were broken up with hundreds of riot police who violently dispersed the crowds. In the aftermath 18 bodies were found disposed of around the outskirts of the city. The negotiations between the parties dragged on into the fall. Since a two-thirds majority is required in the National Assembly to form a government, the formation of a new coalition was forced on the parties.

It was not until November 13 that the announcement was made of a coalition government formed between FUNCINPEC and CPP. Hun Sen was the Prime Minister, and the CPP retained control over five crucial ministries: Defense, Interior, Justice, Finance, and Foreign Affairs. Prince Ranariddh became the Chairman of the National Assembly, and CPP President Chea Sim was made the head of a new royally appointed Senate. Amnesties were given to a number of people, allowing for their return to Cambodia, including Norodom Sirivuth, Norodom Chakrapong, and a number of FUNCINPEC military officers. Norodom Sirivuth returned to Cambodia, and in 2001 became the Secretary General of FUNCINPEC.

The coalition is nearly completely dominated by Hun Sen's CPP. For the many foreign governments concerned with the election, including the European Union, Japan, the United States, and the neighboring ASEAN countries, this outcome will be welcomed since Hun Sen is widely viewed as the only person capable of bringing stability to the country.

David Chandler pointed out in 1996, "To all intents and purposes, Cambodia reverted to the one-party rule that had characterized it since 1955" (Chandler 1996:241). As Chandler's comments in 1996, this process has proceeded apace, culminating in the expulsion of Prince Ranariddh, first Prime Minister, from the government in the July 1997 violent coup d'état.

- **Constitutional Issues**

The greatest legacy of the international community was the hope for democracy and the knowledge of how it should work. The opposition parties argued that any resolution of the post-election crisis depended on a legitimate adjudication of allegations of electoral fraud by the Constitutional Council as well as the formation of a coalition government in line with constitutional provisions. The investigations of electoral fraud were never committed and the opposition leaders were pressured to form a government with CPP.

Cambodia has continuously failed to act on certain important provisions of its constitution by allowing political discriminations which might split the nation and endangered the political sustainability of the nation. Article 31, paragraph 2, of the Cambodian Constitution provided that Every Khmer citizens shall be equal before the law, enjoying the same rights, freedom and fulfilling the same obligations regardless of race, color, sex, language, religious belief, political tendency, birth origin, social status,

wealth or other status. The exercise of personal rights and freedom by any individual shall not adversely affect the rights and freedom of others. The exercise of such rights and freedom shall be in accordance with the law.

Cambodia's performance on fundamental rights has remained very poor. As stipulated in the Paris Peace Agreements, these fundamental rights comprise of the right to life⁴³, freedom of expression, personal liberty, security, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, assembly and association including rights to form political parties and trade unions, due process and equality before the law, protection from arbitrary deprivation of property or deprivation of private property without just compensation, and freedom from racial, ethnic, religious or sexual discrimination. The constitutional rules were ignored by Cambodia and the new government has further violated the constitution⁴⁴.

- **Election Violence**

Cambodia's elections are usually covered with violence and unfairness. Most radios and TV stations have been controlled by CPP-ruling parties since the July 1997 coup. The elections for the national parliament have not had equal access to radios and televisions, by far the most important source of information for most Cambodians. Information broadcast on television and radio is almost exclusively favorable publicity for the incumbent CPP. Positive coverage of Prime Minister Hun Sen and other party leaders dominates. When the stations cover the opposition, much of the coverage is negative. On July 10, the National Election Commission (NEC) issued a warning to 13 television and radio stations for broadcasting biased coverage of the elections; however, some NGOs workers said it was just to show up that NEC become independent. Ten of those stations are dominated by pro-CPP coverage, according to the NEC. The elections are usually flawed and have not met key standards⁴⁵ and thousands of people usually could not find their name and could not cast their ballots⁴⁶.

Murders on the opposition party activists⁴⁷ usually occur more before and during the election campaigns and committed by pro-CPP armed forces. The widespread intimidation of opposition parties by Cambodia's security forces also occur in the run-up to the country's general election⁴⁸. There are many forms of intimidation, threats and discrimination such as collecting identification cards and voter cards, asking people to pledge allegiance by drinking magic water, spread rumors about possible war if CPP loose elections, and forcing women households to be a party member. Persons reportedly involved in intimidation are supporters of the ruling party and the local authorities. Although there are decreases of violence compared from one election to another, vote-buying and gift-giving are very common practice in Cambodian elections⁴⁹ accompanied with threats, intimidation, and harassments.

- **Nature of Regime**

The nature of the regime from 1998 to the present is surprised by the assaults on liberty and basic freedoms. This includes a series of secrete votes by National Assembly which removed the parliamentary immunity and demonstrated persecution of the Cambodian opponents, culture of impunity, national election issues, extra-judicial killings, corrupt government, human rights abuses and injustices against the Cambodian people.

The reports⁵⁰ of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General pointed out lot violations of human rights including killing of Union leaders⁵¹. Cambodian land and buildings were sold to private

⁴³ see <http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/album.php> and

http://www.cambodia.org/blogs/editorials/archives/2007_03_01_editorials.html

⁴⁴ Dr. Lao Mong Hay, October 29, 2008, http://www.upiasia.com/Human_Rights/

⁴⁵ Radio Australia, Jul 30, 2008, 12:20pm, <http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/>

⁴⁶ COMFREL election reports, 2008

⁴⁷ Joint Statement by ADHOC, COMFREL, NICFEC and CYC, *Phnom Penh, July 02, 2003*

⁴⁸ see <http://www.hr.org/en/news/2008/07/24/cambodia-threats-intimidation-mar-campaign>

⁴⁹ ANFREL pre-election campaign observation report, *June 24th, 2003*

⁵⁰ For the reports, see <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/countries/AsiaRegion/Pages/KHIndex.aspx>

sectors, land grabbing⁵². A series of reports of the Global Witness illustrates the corrupt exploitation of natural resources and international trade systems⁵³, illegal logging network surrounding the Cambodian Prime Minister and other senior officials. Global Witness faced the threat from Hun Nieng, the prime minister's brother and Kompong Cham provincial governor Hun Neng⁵⁴. An estimated 35% of the Cambodian population continues to live in poverty⁵⁵. Changes are needed to address the rampant corruption⁵⁶ which allows a small group of individuals to profit from the exploitation of Cambodia's natural resources at the expense of the country's poor.

1.1.7 Informal Power and Decision-Making Structure

Prior to 1991, Cambodia had long been dominated by authoritarian regimes. Since 1993, however, Cambodia has had a multi-party democracy. During its first phase of democracy, Cambodia actually had two prime ministers, one from each of the two major political parties, as a kind of political compromise. In 1993, Cambodia became a constitutional democracy with the popular Norodom Sihanouk serving as the king. Sihanouk has been an important force in contributing to compromise among competing political factions. The system of having two prime ministers, however, became unworkable and was highly inefficient. It also created a particularly complex environment for international investors or others pursuing economic or development activities in Cambodia. The July 1997 coup overthrowing Prince Norodom Ranariddh by the second Prime Minister Hun Sen left Cambodia in questions on its democracy and left Cambodia solely in hand of Hun Sen. New national elections in 26 July 1998, resulted in a new government with only one prime minister.

Cambodia has a bicameral legislature, consisting of a popularly elected National Assembly (122 seats) and a Senate (61 seats). The members of both bodies serve 5-year terms. The king chooses the prime minister after a vote of confidence by the National Assembly. Since 1998, the prime minister has been Hun Sen who is able to make all decisions. There is also a judicial branch led by the Supreme Court.

Taxation and the ability to collect revenues by the government remain weak, though government revenues increased 40 percent between 1998 and 1999. Such revenues represented only 11 percent of the GDP and direct taxes accounted for only 6 percent of total domestic revenue. Corruption and an inability to collect taxes plagued the government throughout the 1990s upon today.

1.2 Trend towards Democratization

Freedom of expression in Cambodia always falls under fire. Cambodia's genuine democracy is under questions. Peaceful demonstrations have not been authorized by the government and have been cracked down. The killings, threats, harassments, intimidations of journalists also put Cambodia's free press under fire. Although Cambodia held nominally democratic national elections, it does not mean that Cambodia has genuine democracy. Cambodia is just a semblance of democracy and has a rubber-stamp parliament while the powerful persons in the executive could not be invited to answer questions before the parliamentarians.

A fundamental change has been taking place in Cambodia in the last decade that set in signal by the United Nations; that is, the formation of a civil society that is playing an increasing role in national affairs. This is the single most important achievement of the past 10 years. However, There remain a lot

⁵¹ See "Toward Hun Sen's Cambodia" at <http://www.cambodia.org/blogs/editorials/2008/07/towards-hun-sens-cambodia.html>

⁵² About land grabbing, see <http://www.hrsolidarity.net/mainfile.php/2006vol16no02/2505>

⁵³ more information can be seen at <http://www.globalwitness.org>

⁵⁴ See the Cambodia Daily issued on June 5, 2007.

⁵⁵ For more information on poverty in Cambodia visit <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCAMBODIA/Resources/293755-11815972...>

⁵⁶ For further information on Transparency International's "corruption perceptions index" visit http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2006

of problems to be solved such as no power change, well-known corruption, poverty, growing landlessness in rural areas, land grabbing everywhere in Cambodia, violations of freedoms of expressions and the press, human trafficking, extra-judicial killing, a health system in collapse, an HIV/AIDS epidemic, illegal logging, illegal fishing, political discrimination, threats, intimidation and harassment. There is a trend toward dictatorship regime rather than a democratic one.

1.3 Change of Structures and Institutions of Power

After the coup in 1997, Cambodia joined ASEAN in April 1999, completing the dream of an "ASEAN 10." The government was re-seated at the United Nations and World Bank and IMF funding were restored. Bilateral assistance was also reinstated, though donor countries remain frustrated with the slow rate of reform on certain issues including government reform and corruption. In 2001 the Cambodian Consultative Group pledged \$615 million in assistance for the coming year, a figure higher than the Cambodian government had requested. US government also announced in 2001 the resumption of direct bilateral aid to the Cambodian government.

There has been a transformation in Cambodia's relations with the People's Republic of China. President Jiang Zemin visited in 2000, Defense Minister Chi Haotian and National People's Congress Chairman Li Peng in 2001. China has moved from being CPP's bitter foe to one of its closest allies, providing military and civilian aid, trade agreements and interest free loans.

Within the country there is a newfound stability since 1998. With the demise of the Khmer Rouge, there is no military activity in Cambodia for the first time in three decades, creating safe environment for travelling. It is safe to travel around the country. There has been steady economic growth in the last several years, focused primarily in textiles and tourism. There are now some 200 garment factories providing 170,000 jobs and 70 percent of the country's \$1.4 billion US in annual exports (Cambodia Development Resource Institute , October-December 2001:14). Tourism has rebounded well after dropping following the violence in 1997. Agricultural production is also up, with the 2001-2002 harvest predicted at a record four million tons.⁵⁷).

There remain however a huge range of problems including: corruption, poverty, growing landlessness in rural areas, land grabbing, illegal fishing, violations of freedoms of expressions and the press, human trafficking, extra-judicial killing, a health system in collapse, an HIV/AIDS epidemic, and looming environmental disaster from illegal and legal logging, over-fishing, political discrimination, threats, intimidation and harassment.

The Constitution is not to be construed as a mere law. It is the fundamental organic law by which the State is governed. It outlines governmental structure, allocates authority and duties to the Government, establishes basic decision-making procedures, and places limitations upon government activities.

Article 51 says: "The Cambodian people are the masters of their own country. All power belongs to the people. The people exercise these powers through the National Assembly, the Senate, the Royal Government and the Judiciary." This means that the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary are accountable to the people. The Cambodian Constitution recognizes all human rights guaranteed under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, human rights conventions and covenants.

However, the current system can not guarantee the constitutional rights of the Cambodian people. Likewise, the Cambodian institutions are still subjected to the control inherited from pre-1993 communist regime. the Cambodian institutions are utilized to serve the interests of the ruling CPP rather than the interests of the people. Although Cambodia has held its periodic elections, its pluralism democracy has little substance because of no separation of powers⁵⁸ among the three branches of

⁵⁷ See Phnom Penh Post, August 31 – September 13, 2001

⁵⁸ see "No Impartial Tribunal" by Dr. Lao Mong Hay at

http://www.upiasia.com/Human_Rights/2009/01/14/no_impartial_tribunal_in_cambodia/8529/

government. The Parliament is overwhelmingly dominated by the ruling CPP, a former communist party, and is unable to hold the government accountable for its decisions and activities. Its main function seems to be to rubber stamp the government's wishes into law.

The judiciary is also under executive control, as most judges and prosecutors belong to the ruling CPP. Others supposed to be independent institutions such as the Constitutional Council and the Supreme Council of the Magistracy, the judicial body responsible for the appointment and discipline of judges and prosecutors are all members of the ruling CPP. All CPP members are subject to the strict discipline of the party.

Such extensive and tight control has inevitably enabled Prime Minister Hun Sen, already acknowledged as "the Strongman of Cambodia," to become even more unchallengeable. Through the party machinery, he controls all those institutions and rules the country with scant regard for the rule of law and there is nothing changed as of today in term of genuine democracy.

2. REVIEW OF EXPLICIT USE OF HUMAN RIGHTS TERMINOLOGY

2.1 Human Rights Terminology:

Human Rights become the language of the entire world in the domain of politics, international relations, and law. Also human rights become in the eyes of the global community that UN has declared the years 1995-2004 as the UN Decade of Human Rights Education⁵⁹. Regarding the term of human rights, Cambodia is not new to the field of human rights; however, it rarely discussed about human rights and rarely implemented human rights until the 1993 UNTAC⁶⁰ presence. The definitions of human rights are presented in different ways by different authors. Human rights concepts found in the principal international conventions, but also human rights institutions, law, procedures, and mechanisms.

Human rights terminology has been drawn out from different historic documents covering thousands of years of human rights history and it draws upon religious, cultural, philosophical and legal developments throughout recorded history. Much of modern human rights law and the basis of most modern interpretations of human rights can be traced back to relatively recent history such as the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*⁶¹ approved by the National Assembly of France, August 26, 1789. The *1688 Germantown Quaker Petition against Slavery* was the first public document of its kind that declared equal rights for all humans. The *British Bill of Rights or An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown* of 1689 made illegal a range of oppressive governmental actions in the United Kingdom. Two major revolutions occurred during the 18th century, in the United States (1776) and in France (1789), leading to the adoption of the *United States Declaration of Independence*⁶² and the *French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*⁶³ respectively, both of which established certain legal rights. Additionally, the Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776 encoded a number of fundamental rights and freedoms into law.

The Khmer dictionary developed by the original committee⁶⁴ granted royal order to compile a Khmer dictionary in 1915 and published by the Buddhist Institute in 1967 also contain human rights terminology; therefore, the term of human rights were discussed during that generation.

⁵⁹ Full text can be seen at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/education/training/decade.htm>

⁶⁰ About UNTAC can be found at <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/untac.htm>

⁶¹ see the full text at <http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/declaration.html>

⁶² see full text at <http://www.usconstitution.net/declar.html>

⁶³ Full text can be found at <http://www.hrcr.org/docs/frenchdec.html>

⁶⁴ see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chuon_Nath above the history of the Khmer Dictionary

2.1.1 Cambodian Concepts on Human Rights

Under the Paris Accords in 1991, Cambodia suddenly blossomed with human rights concepts and discussions which led to genuinely free and fair elections in 1993 under UN sponsorship. UNTAC human rights components also played an important role before and during the 1993 UN-sponsored national elections to ensure that human rights were understood, respected, implemented and enforced.

However, human rights were interpreted by some Cambodians as an import from the western countries into Cambodia by UNTAC or foreigners. In contrast, human rights were recognized by several Cambodians as one concept in Asian context which differs from human rights in Europe or the Western countries⁶⁵. Also, human rights were interpreted by some government officials as to protect criminals or thieves rather than victims. Misinterpretation of human rights concept made many Cambodians incredible in human rights, law enforcement and implementation, and as result it led to extra-judicial killings including mob killings. It was noted that human rights concepts were challenged in the Cambodian society. Many NGOs later came with explanation in order to prevent any possible back step of respecting for human rights or to make sure that concept on human rights was well understood.

After 1993, Cambodia has also been blossomed with human rights NGOs working to promote and protect human rights as well. Although there were difficulties to disseminate human rights information, human rights training courses/workshops were able to be conducted by different human rights NGOs and Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to different groups such as school teachers⁶⁶, high school students, Buddhist monks, police official, military personnel, gendarmes, political party members, commune council members, minority groups, and general population. Also, there were efforts by Department of Pedagogy⁶⁷, Ministry of Education, to integrate human rights teaching⁶⁸ into primary schools coordinated by HURIGHTS OSAKA⁶⁹.

2.1.2 Definition of Human Rights⁷⁰ in Cambodia

The UNTAC Human Rights component played an important role by developing different illustrated human rights materials such as posters and silk-screens providing different definition of human rights such as right to life, freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, etc. Some copies of posters and silk-screens were found available in Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (COHCHR) up to 2002 when all of its training activities were closed.

In 1995 the UN Center for Human Rights⁷¹ developed a training handout demonstrated the definitions between a right and human rights⁷². The handout wrote that a right is a claim or an entitlement that is something a person believes he/she must or should have. For example, demanding the right to play sports. If the right becomes law, it is called a legal right. Legal rights represent the interests of individuals who shall be protected by society through laws and institutions, such as the courts and the police. There is also a category of rights sometimes known as moral rights. These are rights that people learn about within their social and cultural context. For example, respect for others, courtesy and honesty.

When the word *human* is added to *rights*, this gives *rights* a special meaning. This special meaning concerns those rights that are important to being human, such as staying alive (right to life), avoiding pain (right to be treated humanely), having good working conditions (right to favorable conditions of work), having the opportunity to acquire a good education, to express one's opinions and to apply one's

⁶⁵ Sok Sam Oeun, CDP Director, at <http://material.ahrchk.net/ruleoflawcharter/updates/rolc-u-3.htm>

⁶⁶ human rights training for teachers, see <http://www.hurights.or.jp/pub/hreas/2/29.htm>

⁶⁷ The department is located in the compound of Chao Punheahok high school

⁶⁸ see <http://www.hurights.or.jp/pub/hreas/6/07Cambodia2.htm>

⁶⁹ see <http://www.hurights.or.jp/asia-pacific/040/05.htm>

⁷⁰ Training curriculum developed by UNCOHCHR and human rights NGOs, LICADHO and ADHOC

⁷¹ It was changed to COHCHR in 1996.

⁷² A similar definition of human rights also is seen in the Basic Handbook for UN staff at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/HRhandbooken.pdf>

skills/talents freely (right to education and freedom of expression). Also, human rights either make it possible to live (right to food) or make life worth living (to have an adequate standard of living). Therefore, human rights are essential to the creative and productive development of each individual human. With human rights as an essential element of being human, all members of the human family are inherently born with human rights and human rights are universal in nature.

In 1996 there were several human rights training curricula developed for different groups such as human rights activists of NGOs, National Police Officials, RCAF personnel and the Royal Gendarmes. The above-said definitions of a right and human rights were included in the human rights training curricula developed and printed by ETI Unit of COHCHR. Since then most human rights NGOs adopted or copied-pasted the definitions. Also, when explaining Human Rights, the idea of dignity is also used. Dignity is the self-worth of each human person and all human persons are born with dignity; therefore, the dignity of each human person shall be inherent and can never diminish or be removed. For example, the dignity of a prisoner shall always remain.

2.2 Struggles for Rights in Cambodia

Many years of war and the brutal reign of the Khmer Rouge led to the death of several million people of Cambodia. But peace and stability proved illusive, as warfare among opposing political forces, including the Khmer Rouge, continued. In 1997, the fragile coalition government was destroyed by a coup d'état in 1997. While elections followed in 1998, the coming years following would be marked by a struggle to strengthen respect for human rights, equal justice and democracy in the face of laws adopted in the communist regime, a lack of political will, and corrupt practices influencing judicial decision making. Today, human rights groups struggle to ensure equal protection of the law and justice for all Cambodians.

All struggles for human rights are seen through activities of civil society organizations. These activities include human rights training, workshops, meetings, seminars, peaceful marching, peaceful rallies, petitions, peaceful demonstrations and peaceful strikes, etc. Most peaceful demonstrations and strikes were cracked down by the government security forces or banned. There were extra-judicial killings of journalists and opponents because of their political expressions or tendency.

The land grabbing and land alienation cases are going stronger until today. Such cases have been continued as of today, especially pertaining to indigenous peoples and many other communities in provinces and Phnom Penh. Such land grabs are often backed by the state and corrupted judicial system with no accountability. Many people were jailed because of their protests against land rights violations and land disputes by corrupt judicial system in Cambodia.

2.3 Movements for Human Rights in Cambodia

There are movements among NGOs in Cambodia toward networking, partnership and the creation of different platforms in Cambodia in order to collect voice and work in harmony with each other. The Human Rights Action Committee has been formed by more than twenty human rights NGOs and associations as one of national partnership platform to do advocacy for changes. Global Rights is a member of the Working Group on the Extraordinary Chambers, an ad hoc coalition of international non-governmental organizations and individuals with expertise in international law and background working in Cambodia. The Working Group is dedicated to ensuring that the investigation and prosecution of Khmer Rouge crimes by the Extraordinary Chambers is fair, full and credible, and that it contributes to reconciliation efforts and advancement of the rule of law sought by Cambodians. Through collaborative efforts, the Working Group intends to provide legal, technical and other assistance to Cambodians, the Extraordinary Chambers and interested members of the international community. Daiku Kampuchea is a national partnership platform composed of more than a hundred NGOs working on HIV/AIDS. This platform allows members to express their opinions, to do advocacy, exchange information and as key correspondents on IHV/IADS and human rights of PLHIV.

Also, there are several other platforms, alliances, and networks such as NGOs Forum, the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and its affiliated members in Cambodia, the Human

Rights Action Committee composed of 21 NGOs and associations, CAMBO consisting of some 20 NGOs working on women issues, CEDAW Committee, NGOs Forum, NGO Children's Rights Committee, Housing Rights Task Force focusing on housing rights, Cambodian Living with HIV/AIDS Networks (CPN+), HIV/AIDS Coordinating Committee (HACC), Women Network for Unity (WNU), etc.

2.4 Human Rights Incorporation

In 1993 Cambodia began to honor its international obligations by integration of international human rights norms and standards in its constitution⁷³. Cambodia adopted a policy of Liberal Democracy and Pluralism⁷⁴, the principles of separation of powers⁷⁵ and an independent judiciary in the same constitution⁷⁶.

Article 31 of the Constitution say: "The Kingdom of Cambodia shall recognize and respect human rights as stipulated in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human rights, the covenants and conventions related to human rights, women's and children's rights."

With human rights as stipulated in the Paris Agreement and the Constitution, many human rights training activities have been developed and carried out by national human rights NGOs such as LICADHO, ADHOC, VIGILANCE, CLEC, etc. throughout the countries. The Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR) had lunched its three years project from 1993 to integrate human rights teaching in the primary and secondary schools⁷⁷. Later with assistance from HURIGHTS OSAKA, there were workshops in Manila, Philippines, to help the Asian Ministries of Education to develop human rights lesson plans⁷⁸ and to integrate human rights teaching into the formal primary and secondary school curricula. For Cambodia, the Department of Psychology and Pedagogy⁷⁹ is responsible to integrate human rights teaching into the formal primary and secondary school curricula.

In the Conference on the Establishment of a National Human Rights Institution⁸⁰ in Cambodia held in Siem Reap, Kingdom of Cambodia, on 25-27 September 2006, co-organized and co-hosted by the Royal Government of Cambodia and the Cambodian Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, Prime Minister Hun Sen committed his government to the creation of this body based on the Paris Principles relating to the status of national institutions for protection and promotion of human rights. The key criteria of these principles are: (1) independence, guaranteed by statue or constitution; (2) autonomy from Government; (3) pluralism including membership; (4) a broad mandate based on universal human rights standards; (5) adequate powers; and (6) adequate resources. Soon after the Conference, A civil-society working group soon came up with a rough draft law on the establishment of the Cambodian national human rights commission, which it submitted to its counterpart in the government. However, the Cambodian national human rights commission is inactive.

2.4.1 Human Rights Concerns

The last thirty years, Cambodia has experienced one of the most dreadful human rights records in modern history. The worst experience was between 1975 and 1979 under Democratic Kampuchea (DK) or the Khmer Rouge regime that carried out war crimes, genocide and other crimes against humanity leading to more than 1.5 million of the population dead and the remainder in a semi-permanent state of shock. After the Khmer Rouge regime was overthrown in 1979 by Vietnamese invasion, human rights violations were on-going. Even today, following the end of the three decades of civil war in 1993, human

⁷³ Chapter 3 of the Cambodia Constitution (From Article 31 to Article 50)

⁷⁴ Article 51, paragraph 1, of the Constitution

⁷⁵ Article 51, paragraph 3, of the Constitution

⁷⁶ Article 128 of the Constitution

⁷⁷ See <http://www.hurights.or.jp/pub/hreas/1/11.htm>

⁷⁸ See <http://www.hurights.or.jp/pub/hreas/9/13TrainingWorkshop.html>

⁷⁹ See <http://www.hurights.or.jp/pub/hreas/6/06Cambodia1.htm>

⁸⁰ For relevant concerns, see <http://cambodia.ka-set.info/powers/news-national-human-rights-commission-081215.html>

rights remain more theoretical than practical. The human rights situation is still worse and unreconstructed from its authoritarian roots. Cambodia is covered by a culture of impunity⁸¹, corruption, power abuses, land grabbing, extra-judicial killing, illegal arrest and detention, political violence, persecution, threats and intimidations, etc. The government's human rights records remain poor and the three key branches of government and national institutions dominated by CPP and most powers are in the hands of the prime minister. Security forces of Cambodia usually answered to CPP leadership. Corruption was endemic and extended throughout all segments of society, including the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.

- **Concerns on Indigenous Groups in Cambodia**

In Cambodia, the rule of law Initiative is addressing a growing problem – violations of indigenous people's land rights. As the economy revives after years of war and uncertainty, indigenous people are being evicted from their land to make way for development projects through large land concessions to private companies.

The government often ignored efforts by indigenous communities to protect their ancestral lands and natural resources. In spite of the 2001 land law, which calls for the registration of communal lands of indigenous people, little was done to implement communal land titling. NGOs called for a moratorium on land sales and land concessions affecting indigenous communities. International and local NGOs were active in educating the indigenous communities about their land rights and providing legal representation in disputes.

- **Concerns of International and Regional Organizations on Human Rights in Cambodia**

International human rights organizations continuously condemned the Cambodian government for its serious human rights violations. Impunity is a central human rights problem in Cambodia⁸². Few perpetrators were arrested, detained and jailed just to show up that the administration of justice exists regardless of concrete evidence or illegal arrests are exercised for showing up. Leading human rights activists jailed on politically motivated charges of criminal defamation but released after pressures from international community⁸³, land rights abuses⁸⁴ occurring in all provinces and municipality in Cambodia, The report of the US Department of State concluded that while corruption is still widespread, land disputes and evictions of citizens from their houses are still a major problems including extra-judicial killing committed by Cambodian security forces⁸⁵.

- **Concerns of Local NGOs on Human Rights in Cambodia**

Nowadays, despite the long and meandering procedures for NGOs' creation through bureaucracies from the lower level to the top of the Ministry of Interior, there are about 2000 NGOs on the ministry's register. However, the government has imposed a number of restrictions on their activities, especially the activities of human rights NGOs. In 2005 a set of guidelines were issued by Ministry of the Interior instructing all commune authorities that all activities of NGOs and other associations and civil society organizations must have

⁸¹ ADHOC, LICADHO, and Human Rights Watch. *Impunity in Cambodia: How Human Rights Offenders Escape Justice* Phnom Penh: Human Rights Watch, ADHOC, LICADHO, 1999., see <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1999/cambo2/> or <http://asiapacific.amnesty.org>

⁸² Mr Peter Leuprecht, the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Human Rights in Cambodia, on 8 July 2004

⁸³ See Human Rights Watch for detailed information at <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/>

⁸⁴ see COHRE at <http://www.cohre.org/cambodia> and http://www.usaid.gov/stories/cambodia/ss_cb_legal.html for land rights abuses

⁸⁵ See Press Release of the U.S. State Department's 2008 Human Rights Report at http://cambodia.usembassy.gov/pr_0226010.html and the report from <http://cambodia.ka-set.info/hot-news/>

cooperation from provincial or municipal governors and all invitations to provincial, district and commune officials to attend any seminar or training sessions must have the approval of these governors as well.

These guidelines restrict the activities of NGOs as their members have to travel potentially long distances to the offices of provincial or municipal governors and get through lengthy bureaucracies to get such approvals. Cambodian local authorities have rigorously enforced these guidelines and have banned or interrupted many NGO activities, especially the holding of public forums for the public to debate issues affecting their livelihood.

After the July 2008 election, with a majority 90 % CPP of the total seats of 123, the government wants to make NGOs law other than the anti-corruption law and law to create an independent Cambodia National Human Rights Commission. The reason for this urgency was the government's concern that their funding could come from terrorist groups. Prime Minister Hun said in September 2008, "We have a concern that sometimes under so and so NGOs, financial assistance has been provided for terrorist activities, take for instance the Al Um Quran under which Ham Bali hid himself in Cambodia⁸⁶."

In 2006 Heng Samrin, the President of the National Assembly and Honorary President of the ruling party said, "Today, so many NGOs are speaking too freely and do things without a framework. When we have a law, we will direct them." After the July 2008 election Heng is still holding the two positions.

As provided in Cambodia's Constitution, freedom of association is one of the fundamental rights of the Cambodian people; however, it needs to be a law to determine this right. This law should further guarantee and protect this fundamental right. It should faithfully reflect Cambodia's international human rights obligations under the peace accords mentioned above and other international human rights instruments ratified by Cambodia and recognized by article 31, paragraph 1 of the constitution.

The 1991 Paris Agreement says "all persons in Cambodia shall enjoy the rights and freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant international human rights instruments" and "Cambodia undertakes "to support the right of all Cambodia citizens to undertake activities that would promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms".

The Universal Declaration, which Cambodia has incorporated in its constitution, guarantees the right to freedom of association. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Cambodia is a party, also guarantees this right and elaborates it further "1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests. 2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others."

The same NGO law should not in any way curtail the Cambodian people's "right to participate actively in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation", a right that is guaranteed and protected under Article 35 of their Constitution.

Cambodian lawmakers should be reminded that civil society is essential for democracy and development, and their country is supposed to be a liberal democracy according of its Constitution. The regulation of NGOs should not mean to "direct them" as National Assembly Chairman Heng Samrin has said.

⁸⁶ The Anti-Terrorism Law enacted in 2007 (Chapter 11 on funding and aid for terrorism)

In designing the NGO law, those Cambodian lawmakers should get inspiration, for instance, from the South African Non Profit Organizations Act of 1997. Like the South African Law, the Cambodian law should be designed, for instance, “to provide for an environment in which (NGOs) can flourish” with no unjustified restrictions on their activities, and “to establish an administrative and regulatory framework within which (NGOs) can conduct their affairs”. The same law should also require “every state organ to determine and co-ordinate the implementation of its policies and measures in a manner designed to promote, support and enhance the capacity of nonprofit organizations to perform their functions.”

- ***Concerns on the National Human Rights Commission of Cambodia on Human Rights in Cambodia***

Development and Human rights NGOs and people of Cambodia really need a truly independent and effective National Human Rights Commission⁸⁷. A draft law by NGOs to establish such a commission has been in discussion by a group of NGOs since 1997, when it was written, and the fact that it is still being discussed as of today. It is important to ensure human rights promotion and protection in Cambodia. The proposed commission would hold to challenge human rights abuses in the country as international human rights organizations condemned the Cambodian government for its serious human rights violations in Cambodia. The existing national human rights commission is headed by H.E Om Tintieng, an advisor to the Prime Minister Hun Sen and this commission has faced criticism on its ineffectiveness, CPP partiality, and inactivity.

- ***Concerns of the United Nations on Human Rights in Cambodia***

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Cambodia is one of about thirty such appointments. Some are thematic (such as the Special Rapporteur on the Status of Women and the Special Rapporteur on the Independence of the Judiciary and of Lawyers). Most are dedicated to scrutinizing and reporting upon human rights in particular countries. The Special Representatives and Rapporteurs meet together annually to exchange ideas on methodology and procedures. They report, in the case of most of them, twice yearly - to the Commission on Human Rights in February/March and to the General Assembly in November.

The human rights with which the United Nations is concerned are stated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and in the *International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights* and on *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. There are now many other international instruments which express the dedication of the United Nations to fundamental human rights and peoples' rights. Civil and political rights have been grossly violated in Cambodia.

The United Nations statements of human rights include insistence on rights to free choice of employment, to adequate rest and leisure, to a proper standard of living with adequate protection for health and well being, to food, clothing, housing and medical care. The right to education is part of the fabric of fundamental human rights. So is the right freely to participate in cultural life and the entitlement to a social and international order where the rights and freedoms stated by the United Nations are fully realized.

In addition to these, there are the familiar civil rights which are of equal importance: not to be held in slavery or servitude; not to be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. To be equal before the law, to have effective remedies for legal rights, to be free from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, to have fair access to the courts,

⁸⁷ Open letter by Dr. Kek Galabru, President of LICADHO, May 2004

to have particular rights when charged with criminal offences, to enjoy rights to privacy, and to freedom of movement and to asylum from persecution are all concerns/issues raised in the reports of the Special Representatives to Cambodia.

Human rights present many extremely sensitive questions. Some governments like Cambodia, unused to being criticized at home, do not take readily to being criticized in the councils of humanity.

2.4.2 Operations/Implementation

There are more than national 2,000 NGOs and associations in Cambodia and 22 UN families in Cambodia such as FAO, IFAD, ILO, IMF, IOM, OHCHR, UNAIDS, UNAKRT, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UN-Habitat, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNIDO, UNIFEM, UNODC, UNV, WFP, WHO and the World Bank. Also, many international NGOs and organizations and few thousands of private companies, factories and enterprises have been operationalized in Cambodia. As of today, economic progress is fine with one caution in Cambodia but human rights should never be compromised. Not only the government is to be held accountable for human rights violations, but NGOs, IOs, UN Agencies and Companies shall also be held responsible for human rights of the people affected by their operations.

- ***International and Regional Organizations on Human Rights in Cambodia***

There are many international and regional organizations whose activities are related to or on human rights in Cambodia. Some that operate in Cambodia listed are:

1. *Save the Children Norway – Cambodia (SCN –CO)*: Redd Barna focuses on the improvement of five areas in order to further develop human rights within Cambodia.
2. *Action pour les Enfants (APLE), Cambodia*: is a non-governmental human rights organization established to combat the sexual exploitation of children.
3. *AIDe TouS* In the middle of 2004, Association International pour le Developpement, le Tourisme et la Sante Association International pour le Developpement, le Tourisme et la Sante (AIDéTouS) began a campaign in the international airports of Phnom Penh and Siem Reap/Angkor for the promotion of respectful tourism towards the Cambodian population, with an eye towards combating child sex tourism.
4. *Cambodia Anti-Child Trafficking Coalition*: The NGO coalition called Cambodia Anti-Child Trafficking (Cambodia ACTs) works mainly to fight against child trafficking.
5. *Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*: The United Nations originally created a human rights office during the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the Office of the Human Rights Component.
6. *Don Bosco Foundation*: The Don Bosco Foundation of Cambodia is a religiously affiliated organization that has a history of assisting children with obtaining an education.
7. *Equal Access*: Equal Access celebrates the launch of the newest addition to its Digital Broadcast Initiative (DBI), a Khmer Language Satellite Radio Service, which will reach rural areas of Cambodia that have little to no radio coverage.
8. *International Labor Organization (ILO)*: ILO fact sheet on Trafficking Children and Women in Cambodia.
9. *International Organization for Migration (IOM)*: IOM is involved in Long Term Recovery and Reintegration Assistance to Trafficked Women and Children.
10. *The Asia Foundation*: The Asia Foundation's counter-trafficking programs are designed to combat the issues of trafficking in a number of different ways ranging from direct victim and shelter support, safe migration, and school-based education programs designed to raise awareness of the dangers of trafficking to

young people, training for counseling service providers, and reintegration vocational training for victims.

11. *UNIFEM*: UNIFEM is the women's fund at the United Nations.
12. *United Nations International Children's Fund*: UNICEF activities include capacity-building of the government in legal and social protection through technical and financial assistance, including policy and regulatory framework development.

There are main regional organizations and networks based in Cambodia such as Forum Asia that has its member as local NGOs, Amnesty International that has its linking organizations and key correspondents (KCs), activists and supporters, Human Rights Watch that has its researcher and KCs and the Global Witness that has its key correspondents (KCs), activists and supporters.

- **Local NGOs on Human Rights in Cambodia⁸⁸**

A part from development NGOs in Cambodia, there are many local NGOs established and their work was related to human rights⁸⁹ or on human rights promotion and protection. They are:

- 1 Buddhism and Democracy(B and D)
- 2 Cambodia Border Community Development Organization(CBCDO)
- 3 Cambodia Federation for Human Rights and Development(CFHRAD)
- 4 Cambodia Organization for Human Rights and Development(COHD)
- 5 Cambodian Center for the Protection of Children's Rights(CCPCR)
- 6 Cambodian Defenders Project(CDP)
- 7 Cambodian Health and Human Rights Alliance(CHHRA)
- 8 Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association(ADHOC)
- 9 Cambodian Human Rights Task Force(CHRTF/Task Force)
- 10 Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights(LICADHO)
- 11 Cambodian Rights and Justice Protection Organization(CAREPO)
- 12 Cambodian Socio-Economic Development and Democracy Association(CSDA)
- 13 Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre(CWCC)
- 14 Cambodia's Save the Children Organization for Human Rights & Development(CSCOHD)
- 15 Center for Social Development(CSD)
- 16 Cham Khmer Islam Minority Human Rights and Development Association(CKIMHRDA)
- 17 Committee for Free and Fair Election in Cambodia(COMFREL)
- 18 Community Legal Education Center(CLEC)
- 19 Coordination of Action Research on AIDS and Mobility(CARAM Cambodia)
- 20 East West Management Institute(EWMI)
- 21 Forum Syd(FORUM SYD)
- 22 Human Inborn Freedom(HI-FREE)
- 23 Human Resource and Natural Development(HRND)
- 24 Human Rights and Community Outreach Project(OUTREACH)
- 25 Human Rights Organization for Transparency and Peace(HROTP)
- 26 Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia(VIGILANCE)
- 27 Indradevi Association(IDA)
- 28 Khmer Ahimsa(KAH)
- 29 Khmer Democratic Youth Association(KDYA)
- 30 Khmer Kampuchea Krom for Human Rights and Development Association(KKKHRDA)
- 31 Khmer Kampuchea Krom Human Rights Association(KKKHRA)

⁸⁸ Updated address of NGOs can be found at <http://www.yellowpages-cambodia.com>

⁸⁹ List of human rights provided by CCC

- 32 Khmer Students Association(KSA)
- 33 Khmer Youth and Social Development(KYSD)
- 34 Khmer Youth Association(KYA)
- 35 Legal Aid of Cambodia(LAC)
- 36 Liberal Vision(LV)
- 37 Minority Organisation for Development of Economy(MODE)
- 38 Mission of Generous Cambodian Alliance(GENEROUS)
- 39 Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Election in Cambodia(NICFEC)
- 40 NGO CRC-Children's House(NGO CRC)
- 41 NGO Forum on Cambodia(NGO FORUM)
- 42 Protection of Juvenile Justice(PJJ)
- 43 Sahmakum Teang Tnaut(STT)
- 44 Support Rural Children Organization(SRCO)
- 45 The Khmer Institute of Democracy(KID)
- 46 Urban Sector Group(USG)
- 47 Youth Council of Cambodia(YCC)

In addition, there are several movements of human rights NGOs to form networks, alliance and national partnership platforms working on human rights and HIV/AIDS. Human rights NGOs alliance, network and platforms are the Human Rights Action Committee composed of 21 NGOs and associations, CAMBO consisting of some 20 NGOs working on women issues, CEDAW Committee⁹⁰, NGOs Forum, NGO Children's Rights Committee, Housing Rights Task Force focusing on housing rights, etc.

- ***The National Human Rights Commission of Cambodia on Human Rights in Cambodia***

Development and Human rights NGOs and people of Cambodia really need a truly independent and effective National Human Rights Commission⁹¹. A draft law by NGOs to establish such a commission has been in discussion by a group of NGOs since 1997, when it was written, and the fact that it is still being discussed as of today. It is important to ensure human rights promotion and protection in Cambodia. The proposed commission would hold to challenge human rights abuses in the country as international human rights organizations condemned the Cambodian government for its serious human rights violations in Cambodia. The existing national human rights commission is headed by H.E Om Tintieng, an advisor to the Prime Minister Hun Sen and this commission has faced criticism on its ineffectiveness, CPP partiality, and inactivity.

- ***The United Nations on Human Rights in Cambodia***

In 1993, the United Nations Centre for Human Rights was requested by the United Nations General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights to establish an office in Phnom Penh with its branches in three provinces and later expanded to some of other Cambodian provinces. From the beginning, strengthening the judiciary was a main focus of the Center's activities.

The Centre has been carrying out a programme of assistance to the judiciary through the placement of foreign consultants in Cambodian courts to conduct on-site training and to assist judges in their work. The Centre also works closely with the Cambodian National Assembly, in particular by assisting the Commission on Human Rights and by providing advisory services in the elaboration of legislation related to human rights. This includes laws on the judicial structures. The Centre has also produced a compilation of existing Cambodian laws, aiming at facilitating the work of legal

⁹⁰ Chaired by Dr. Kek Galabru, president of LICADHO

⁹¹ Open letter by Dr. Kek Galabru, President of LICADHO, May 2004

professionals, legislators and researchers, and has translated into the Khmer language a number of international human rights instruments⁹². Also, from 1995 to 2002 the Center⁹³ conducted human rights training for NGOs (LICADHO, ADHOC, and VIGILANCE, National Police, the Royal Gendarmerie, and the Royal Cambodia Armed Forces (RCAF).

3. ORGANIZATIONAL MAPPING

The aim of this part is to provide an 'organizational landscape' of rights-promoting organizations in Cambodia and health related organization, focusing on civil society organizations (CSOs). Following on from the review of human rights discourses, it will identify and categories the different types of rights-promoting organizations operating in the country (e.g. social movements, formal NGOs, professional associations, grassroots organizations), the networks of affinity groups (e.g., health and medicine, land issues, women's issues, protection of human rights, etc.), and the extent to which they are recognized. Mapping by theme will also be undertaken, indicating the range of rights being promoted within Cambodia.

Cambodia's recent history has been colored by political and civil conflict. The wars of the Indochina region, followed by the Khmer Rouge regime, killed over twenty percent of Cambodia's population. Now, during this time of rebuilding, the people of Cambodia are working to redevelop land, educate their children, and become active members of this democratic society. They must have faith in the strength and accountability of the new government. This process is difficult, however, when Cambodian people's basic rights are violated by the outsider without hope of recourse (ADHOC).

The Cambodian Constitution (1993) provides basic human rights and fundamental freedoms to every Cambodian citizen. Cambodia has ratified a large number of international human rights conventions, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention against Torture, the Genocide Convention and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Nevertheless, human rights violations are widespread in Cambodia especially between first and second mandate of the Royal Government of Cambodia (ADHOC).

Noticeably, there are lots of Human Rights Organization has been created in order to promote the rights within Cambodia. Those included non-governmental organizations, international organizations, UN agencies and government bodies as well.

3.1 Local Human Rights NGOs in Cambodia

It is not easy to identify the NGOs that are working in a unique service. There are usually combined its activities within the program implementation. As of today, there are more than 2,000 NGOs in the Interior Ministry's registry.

3.1.1 Human Rights NGOs

In Cambodia, there are several NGOs covering the areas of human rights, not on explicit human rights. Some NGOs in Cambodia are involved in a variety of sectors, especially health, HIV/AIDS, education, human rights, women's, children's rights, anti-trafficking of human persons, land rights, housing rights, torture, environment, and rural development.

⁹² The translation of international instruments was reviewed by the Working Group composed of representatives from the National Assembly, the Ministry of Education, the Royal Academy, the Ministry of Justice, human rights NGOs, and Buddhist Patriarch of Thamayuth.

⁹³ It was later changed to the Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

- **Local Human Rights NGOs:**
 1. Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association(ADHOC)
 2. Cambodian Human Rights Task Force(CHRTF/Task Force)
 3. Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights(LICADHO)
 4. Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia(VIGILANCE)
 5. STAR Kampuchea

- **International Organizations that have human rights programs:**
 1. East West Management Institute(EWMI)
 2. NGO Forum on Cambodia (NGO FORUM)
 3. DanChurchAid
 4. Forum Syd (FORUM SYD)

3.1.2 Disabled Rights NGOs⁹⁴

At least 650,000 Cambodians live with a disability, and the exact count may be as high as 1.4 million. The incidence of disability is also expected to increase in the future. Despite the fact that many Cambodians have at least one disability, the country does not have adequate legal provisions to protect the human rights of people with disabilities. There are no comprehensive laws that address disability issues (Connelly & Ulrike Buschbacher, 2009). The following is the list of some NGOs working on disability in Cambodia.

- **Governmental Organizations and Public Facilities for Persons with Disabilities⁹⁵**
 1. Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MOEYS)
 2. Ministry of Health (MOH), Cambodia
 3. Ministry of Social Affairs, Labour, Vocational Training and Youth Rehabilitation (MOSALVY)
 4. Ministry of Women's and Veterans' Affairs (MWVA)
 5. Cambodian Mine Action and Mine Victim Authority (CMAA)
 6. Cambodian Mine Action Center (CMAC)
 7. Cambodian Red Cross (CRC), Year Established: 1992
 8. Disability Action Council (DAC)
 9. National Paralympic Committee of Cambodia (NPCC)

- **Local Non-governmental Organizations of/ for Persons with Disabilities⁹⁶**
 1. Action on Disability and Development (ADD), Year Established: 1995
 2. Aid aux Handicaps du Cambodia (AHC)
 3. American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Year Established: 1979
 4. Association for Aid and Relief, Japan, Cambodia (AAR-J), Year Established: 1980
 5. Association of Blind Cambodia (ABC) Year Established: Jan 2001
 6. Cambodia Disabled People's Organization (CDPO), Year Established: 1995
 7. Cambodia Trust (CT), Year Established: 1989
 8. Cambodian Association for the Development of Farmers and the Poor (CADFP), Year Established: 1995
 9. Cambodian War Amputees Rehabilitation Society (CWARS)

⁹⁴ Updated address of NGOs can be found at <http://www.yellowpages-cambodia.com>

⁹⁵ Quoted from <http://www.apcdproject.org/countryprofile/cambodia/>

⁹⁶ Quoted from <http://www.apcdproject.org/countryprofile/cambodia/>

10. CARITAS Cambodia (Caritas), Year Established: 6 June 1990
11. Children Affected by Mines-International (CAM-I), Year Established: 2000
12. Helen Keller International (HKI), Cambodia, Year Established: 1992
13. Help Age International (HAI), Year Established: 1992
14. International Committee Red Cross (ICRC), Year Established: 1991
15. Jesuit Services Cambodia (JS-C), Year Established: 1990
16. Krousar Thmey (KT), Year Established: 1991
17. Marist Mission Australia (MMA), Year Established: 1995
18. National Center for Disabled Persons (NCDP), Year Established: 1995
19. NGO Forum on Cambodia (NGO Forum), Year Established: 1994
20. Nutrition Centre
21. Veterans International/ Cambodia (VI), Year Established: 1991

- **Local Non-governmental Organizations of/ for Persons with Disabilities⁹⁷**

1. American Red Cross (AmCross), Year Established: 1991
2. Handicap International (HI) Cambodia, Year Established: 1982
3. Save the Children Australia (SCA)
4. Save the Children Norway Cambodia Office, Year Established: November 1988
5. World Rehabilitation Fund-Cambodia (WRF)
6. World Vision Cambodia (WV-C), Year Established: 1979

3.1.3 Women's Rights NGOs⁹⁸

Women in Cambodia face numerous challenges and dangers, including gross human rights violations. Many of the problems are related to the different values assigned to men and women in Cambodian society. Men occupy positions of importance and power, and are not censured for their frequent use of violence within the family. The lower social status of women, on the other hand, means many are treated as mere possessions or objects, and are denied their rights and full participation in society.

Domestic violence, rape and human trafficking for sexual exploitation are among the most serious violations of women's rights in Cambodia. Domestic violence has largely gone unchecked in Cambodia, where cultural norms dictate that relations between husband and wife are internal affairs. Surveys conducted in 2000 have shown that one-in-six women have been beaten by their husbands, and one-in-four have suffered physical, sexual or emotional abuse from their husbands. Abuse of children in families is also common, though statistics are not yet available⁹⁹.

There are a number of human rights NGOs whose activities do not focus only on women and children. Therefore, sometimes it is difficult to categorize NGOs on the areas of their work or the same NGOs are repeated on specific human rights. However, the list below provides a number of Women's Rights NGOs and NGOs whose programs on women's issues/concerns:

- **Women's Rights NGOs**

1. Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre(CWCC)
2. Women's Media Centre of Cambodia (WMC)
3. Khmer Women's Voice Centre

- **NGOs that have women's rights programs**

⁹⁷ Quoted from <http://www.apcdproject.org/countryprofile/cambodia/>

⁹⁸ Updated address of NGOs can be found at <http://www.yellowpages-cambodia.com>

⁹⁹ See <http://www.licadho-cambodia.org>

1. Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association(ADHOC)
2. Cambodian Human Rights Task Force(CHRTF/Task Force)
3. Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights(LICADHO)
4. Cambodian Rights and Justice Protection Organization(CAREPO)
5. Community Legal Education Center(CLEC)
6. Coordination of Action Research on AIDS and Mobility(CARAM Cambodia)
7. East West Management Institute(EWMI)
8. Forum Syd (FORUM SYD)
9. Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia (VIGILANCE)
10. Legal Aid of Cambodia (LAC)
11. NGO Forum on Cambodia (NGO FORUM)

3.1.4 Child's Rights NGOs and Associations

Children are one of Cambodia's most vulnerable groups, facing numerous threats to their safety and livelihood. The psychological impact of Cambodia's murderous Khmer Rouge regime and years of civil war are often passed down from parent to child. Available healthcare is poor and infant mortality rates are high. Literacy levels remain low across all sections of society and access to education – especially beyond primary school – is limited for many Cambodian children. In addition, children are the subject of violence and exploitation such as sexual abuse, trafficking and dangerous forms of child labor.

In Cambodia, besides NGOs working in the field of human rights in general, there are NGOs working on specific human rights issues such as the rights of the children. Sometimes it is difficult to identify one NGOs working on a unique human rights while they have their activities divided by small offices within the organizations and work on those specific rights. Some human rights NGOs have children's rights office, Women's Rights Office, and so on. However, there are Children's Rights NGOs working specifically on children's issues/concerns.

Among Children's Rights NGOs and human rights NGOs that one of their offices focus on children's issues/concerns, there are movements toward the formation of alliance, networking or partnership to promote and protect the rights of the child. They are the NGO Committee on the Rights of the Child (NGOCRC¹⁰⁰), is a coalition of national and international non-government organizations (NGOs) working together to advocate for the rights of children and monitor the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in Cambodia (CRC), Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee (CHRAC) and so on. The following is the list of some Children's Rights NGOs and NGOs whose programs on the rights of the child:

- **Children's Rights NGOs**

1. Cambodia's Save the Children Organization for Human Rights & Development(CSCOHD)
2. NGO CRC - Children's House (NGO CRC)
3. Children of Cambodia NGO
4. Children and Life Association (CLA)
5. Protection of Juvenile Justice (PJJ)
6. Support Rural Children Organization (SRCO)
7. Cambodia Anti-Child Trafficking Coalition

¹⁰⁰ The NGOCRC, networking NGOs, was established in 1994 and there are currently 34 NGO members. In 2002, there are approximately 200 NGOs in Cambodia working specifically with children. See http://www.cdc-crdb.gov.kh/cdc/ngo_statement/child_rights.htm or <http://www.crin.org/organisations/vieworg.asp?id=721>

- **NGOs that have children's rights programs**

1. Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association(ADHOC)
2. Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights(LICADHO)
3. Cambodian Rights and Justice Protection Organization(CAREPO)
4. Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia(VIGILANCE)
5. NGO Forum on Cambodia (NGO FORUM)

3.1.5 Housing Rights/Land Rights NGOs¹⁰¹

Cambodia has a total territory of 18.1 million hectares of which at least 6.5 million hectares is considered arable. Over 80 % the country's population lives in rural areas and depends on land, forests, rivers and other natural resources for its livelihood. Subsistence agriculture, fisheries and foraging in surrounding forests and woodlands are the main sources of food, employment and income for Cambodia's rural communities.

Typically, a rural family would have a small plot of land for its house and small parcels of land around the village (from 1-3 hectares) for cultivating rice. Cambodia's terrain allows for both sedentary and shifting (swidden) cultivation; whatever the mode of cultivation, rural communities rely greatly on surrounding woodlands, forests and water bodies for food and non-timber forest products for household use and income. Loss of agricultural land and/or loss of access to natural resources directly translate into hunger, cash-poverty, poor health and destitution for rural communities. The poorest in any village are usually those without land and in fact, not having agricultural land or the means to purchase land can be considered a reliable indicator of poverty in Cambodia¹⁰².

- **Housing Rights / Land Rights NGOs**

1. Urban Sector Group
2. Urban Poor Women Development

- **NGOs that involve in monitoring, promoting and protecting housing rights**

1. Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association(ADHOC)
2. Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights(LICADHO)
4. Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia(VIGILANCE)
5. NGO Forum on Cambodia (NGO FORUM)
5. STAR Kampuchea
6. Community Legal Education Center (CLEC)

In addition, there are networks, platforms or alliance working which allow NGOs working together to do advocacy on housing rights. They are Asian Coalition for Housing Rights is a regional network of grassroots community organizations, Housing Rights Task Force (HRTF)¹⁰³, Resettlement Action Network, BABSEA, and so on.

Housing rights and land rights are hot issues in Cambodia. People's housing rights and land rights have been continuously violated. People have been forcibly evicted from their houses and lands for property development or sales or sometimes in the pretext of public interests but later sold to private sectors by the government.

¹⁰¹ Updated address of NGOs can be found at <http://www.yellowpages-cambodia.com>

¹⁰² Making the Poor More Visible, Landlessness and Development Research Report.

¹⁰³ The Housing Rights Task Force (HRTF) is a coalition of more than 20 local and international organizations dedicated to protecting housing rights, including forced evictions that are not in conformity with international human rights law and domestic law.

3.1.6 Health and HIV/AIDS NGOs in Cambodia

There are more than a hundred NGOs and networks working in the field of health and HIV/AIDS in Cambodia. Most of them have communication and advocacy programs on HIV/AIDS and human rights related. Several human rights NGOs are also founding their activities or programs extended to the field of HIV/AIDS while at the same time there are NGOs focusing on HIV/AIDS since their start-up. The following is a list of some NGOs working on health and HIV/AIDS:

- **Health or HIV/AIDS NGOs**

1. Khmer HIV/AIDS NGOs Alliance (KHANA)
2. Cambodian Community of Women Living with HIV/AIDS (CCW)
3. Cambodian Alliance for Combating HIV/AIDS (CACHA)
4. NYEMO – Cambodia (NYEMO)
5. Cambodian People Living with HIV/AIDS (CPN+)
6. MEDiCAM
7. Bandang Chatomuk (BC) National MSM Network
8. Cambodian Business Coalition on AIDS

3.2 International Human Rights Organizations in Cambodia¹⁰⁴

There are many international and regional organizations whose activities are related to or on human rights in Cambodia. Some that operate in Cambodia listed are:

1. *Save the Children Norway – Cambodia (SCN – CO)*: Redd Barna focuses on the improvement of five areas in order to further develop human rights within Cambodia.
2. *Action pour les Enfants (APLE), Cambodia*: is a non-governmental human rights organization established to combat the sexual exploitation of children.
3. *AIDe TouS* In the middle of 2004, Association International pour le Developpement, le Tourisme et la Sante Association International pour le Developpement, le Tourisme et la Sante (AIDeTouS) began a campaign in the international airports of Phnom Penh and Siem Reap/Angkor for the promotion of respectful tourism towards the Cambodian population, with an eye towards combating child sex tourism.
4. *Cambodia Anti-Child Trafficking Coalition*: The NGO coalition called Cambodia Anti-Child Trafficking (Cambodia ACTs) works mainly to fight against child trafficking.
5. *Cambodia Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*: The United Nations originally created a human rights office during the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the Office of the Human Rights Component.
6. *Don Bosco Foundation*: The Don Bosco Foundation of Cambodia is a religiously affiliated organization that has a history of assisting children with obtaining an education.
7. *Equal Access*: Equal Access celebrates the launch of the newest addition to its Digital Broadcast Initiative (DBI), a Khmer Language Satellite Radio Service, which will reach rural areas of Cambodia that have little to no radio coverage.
8. *International Labor Organization (ILO)*: ILO fact sheet on Trafficking Children and Women in Cambodia.
9. *International Organization for Migration (IOM)*: IOM is involved in Long Term Recovery and Reintegration Assistance to Trafficked Women and Children.

¹⁰⁴ For detailed addresses, see <http://www.yellowpages-cambodia.com>

10. *The Asia Foundation*: The Asia Foundation's counter-trafficking programs are designed to combat the issues of trafficking in a number of different ways ranging from direct victim and shelter support, safe migration, and school-based education programs designed to raise awareness of the dangers of trafficking to young people, training for counseling service providers, and reintegration vocational training for victims.
11. *UNIFEM*: UNIFEM is the women's fund at the United Nations.
12. *United Nations International Children's Fund*: UNICEF activities include capacity-building of the government in legal and social protection through technical and financial assistance, including policy and regulatory framework development.

There are main regional organizations and networks based in Cambodia such as Forum Asia that has its member as local NGOs, Amnesty International that has its linking organizations and key correspondents (KCs), activists and supporters, Human Rights Watch that has its researcher and KCs and the Global Witness that has its key correspondents (KCs), activists and supporters.

There are also a number of UN organizations whose activities also focus human rights. They are COHCHR, UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO, UNIFEM, UN-Habitat, and UNHCR.

3.3 The UN Family in Cambodia¹⁰⁵

1. International Fund for Agriculture and Development	IFAD	www.ifad.org
2. Food and Agriculture Organization	FAO	www.fao.org
4. International Labor Organization	ILO	www.ilo.org
5. International Monetary Fund	IMF	www.imf.org
6. International Organization Migration	IOM	www.iom.org
7. Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights	OHCHR	www.ohchr.org
8. United Nations AIDS	UNAIDS	www.unaids.org
9. United Nations Association to the Khmer Rouge Trial	UNAKRT	www.unakrt.org
10. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development	UNCTAD	www.unctad.org
11. United Nations Development Program	UNDP	www.undp.org
12. United Nations Education Socio-Cultural	UNESCO	www.unesco.org
13. United Nations Fund for Population Activities	UNFPA	www.unfpa.org
14. United Nations-Habitat	UN-Habitat	www.unhabitat.org
15. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	UNHCR	www.unhcr.org
16. United Nations Children's Fund	UNICEF	www.unicef.org
17. United Nations	UNIDO	www.unido.org
18. United Nations Volunteers	UNV	www.unv.org
19. United Nations Development Fund for Women	UNIFEM	www.unifem.org
20. United Nations Office Drug and Crime	UNODC	www.unodc.org
21. World Food Program	WFP	www.wfp.org
22. World Health Organization	WHO	www.who.org
23. World Bank	World Bank	www.worldbank.org

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¹⁰⁵ Sources: <http://www.un.org.kh/> and <http://www.mekong.net>