

Cambodia

By Denis Truesdell

Acknowledgments

This case study would not have been possible without the valuable collaboration of the Chairman of the National Election Committee (NEC), Im Suosdey, and the Secretary General, Tep Nytha.

I. Summary of survey findings²⁸

In 2003, Cambodia held an election for members of the National Assembly, the third general election since the restoration of democracy. At that time, the population of Cambodia was estimated at 12,251,089, with 6,749,876 eligible voters.

A total of 6,341,834 voters (94 percent of those eligible) were actually registered on the voter list, of whom 54 percent were women, by Election Day. A total of 23 political parties registered to compete for the 123 seats of the National Assembly. The country is composed of 24 provinces, each forming a separate constituency. Cambodia uses the proportional system, and lists of candidates are introduced for each constituency. On Election Day, a total of 5,277,494 citizens cast their votes, a participation rate of 83.22 percent.

During the 2003 electoral period, the National Election Committee (NEC) established:

- 24 provincial election committees, with a total staff of 412;
- 1,621 commune election committees, with a total staff of 8,105;
- 12,826 polling stations of five members each, for a total staff of 64,130.

Case Study 8 - Table 1. Election costs between 1998	3 and 2003 (in m	nillions of riels)
Description	Riels	US Dollars
Estimated budget for the 2003 election	49,276	12.48 million
Actual cost of the 2003 election (as of September 2003)	44,466	11.16 million
Actual cost of the 2002 commune council elections ²⁹	58,962	15.06 million
Actual cost of the 1998 national election	97,374	24.34 million

As noted in the table, election costs for the 2003 national election were 54 percent lower than in 1998.

²⁸ Source: National Election Committee Report on the Management and Conduct of the Election of Members of the National Assembly, 27 July 2003.

²⁹ First countrywide local elections held in 1,621communes in 2002.

II. Structure of the EMB

The National Election Committee (NEC) was created in 1997 by the Law on the Election of the Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA). The NEC is a permanent institution bound by law to be independent and neutral.²⁹ With the amendment of the electoral law in 2002, the NEC's composition was reduced from 11 to 5 members selected on a non-partisan basis among Khmer dignitaries of experience and good reputation. The members are appointed by royal decree after approval by the National Assembly through a simple majority vote. The initial selection of candidates is made by the Ministry of Interior, which submits a draft list of names to the Council of Ministers. There is no obligation to conduct public consultation regarding the selection of candidates. The members are appointed for a non-fixed term of up to five years that can be renewed.

The General Secretariat of the NEC is in charge of election cost assessment and budgeting, as well as the Committee's annual operations budget. The electoral budget assessment is submitted to the Council of Ministers, which reviews, suggests changes to (if necessary) and ultimately approves the budget after consultation with the Ministry of Finance. The annual operations budget of the NEC is submitted to and negotiated with the Ministry of Finance and is eventually adopted by the National Assembly as part of the annual National Budget Law.

III. Legal framework³⁰

The Constitution of Cambodia states that the "Kingdom of Cambodia adopts a policy of liberal democracy and pluralism" (art. 51 as amended). It further guarantees a citizen's right to vote and to stand as a candidate for elections that should be free, universal, equal, direct and held through a secret ballot³¹—and that election procedures and process shall be determined by an electoral law.³² In 1997, the National Assembly adopted the Law on the Election of the Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA), which was substantially amended in 2002. This is an organic law requiring a two-thirds vote of the legislature. The LEMNA created the NEC and set guidelines for how it would be funded. In 2001, the National Assembly adopted another electoral law specifically for the election of the members of the 1,621 commune councils.³³

The structure, function, and funding of political parties are treated in the Law on Political Parties (1997). There is no general law on the media, but there is a Law on the Press (1995), which does not affect the cost of elections because there are special provisions regarding access to the media in the LEMNA. (See section 4.F below.)

²⁹ Law on the Election of the Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA), art. 11 and 12. An unofficial English translation of the LEMNA is available at the NEC website at: http://www.necelect.org.kh

³⁰ An English translation of the Constitution and of the Law on Political Parties can be found at the Cambodian Council of Jurists at http://www.bigpond.com.kh/Council_of_Jurists/Constit/somconsg.htm

³¹ Constitution of Cambodia, as amended in 1999, art. 34 and 76.

³² Ibid., art. 76

³³ Law on the Elections of the Commune Councils, promulgated 24 January 2001.

The NEC is currently responsible for planning, organizing and managing two electoral events: national elections of the members of the National Assembly and commune council elections. The NEC receives the funds to conduct these elections from two main sources:

- The government, through a special Trust Fund Account for Elections established within the National Treasury;³⁴
- Direct contributions from donor countries or international organizations, especially
 through UNDP who mobilized and coordinated the donors' efforts through
 cost-sharing agreements without passing through the National Treasury. (See
 section 4.L below.)

In practice, the difficulties encountered in electoral funding relate to the procedural and administrative practices of the Ministry of Finance, which are not geared for quick response in the context of election preparations. The standard finance procedures of Cambodian government agencies currently are not capable of responding to NEC's exceptional time constraints related to the procurement of materials and cash-flow disbursement, both of which are unavoidable in the organization of elections. In addition, direct funding from international donor assistance (or through UNDP) tends to be disbursed quite late in the process, sometimes even after the elections, creating further cash-flow problems. In some cases, excessive earmarking may hamper the timely utilization of funding and require last-minute changes to funding agreements to fit the actual operational expenditures more flexibly.

IV. Electoral costs

a) Annual operating costs of the NEC

The costs of the NEC's ordinary operations can be established regardless of whether it is an election year because the Committee's budget is planned and approved separately from the budget of each election. The NEC provided the following figures for its annual operational budget with a regular full-time staff of 200. The reduction in the budget for 2004 is due to savings in cost of operations in a non-election year.

b) Voter registration costs

In 2002, the cost of voter registration operations for the commune elections included the production of voter cards with a photograph for each voter. The cost of the total voter registration operation amounted to 20 billion riels (\$4.9 million), which was included in the electoral budget of the commune elections.

³⁴ The Trust Fund is established pursuant to article 121 of the LEMNA and article 229 of the Law on the Election of the Commune Councils. LEMNA, art. 121: ""Subject to the Law on Finance, a special account of the National Treasury, called the Trust Fund Account for Election, shall be established for the benefit of the National Election Committee in its electoral management. Electoral funds obtained from contributions from the Royal Government, foreign governments, international organizations, charitable individuals, non-governmental organizations, and any other legal revenue shall be included in the national budget to be credited to this special account. Some kinds of foreign financing for electoral purposes may be made without passing through the National Treasury."

Case Study 8 - Table 2. NEC annual budgets (2002-2005)						
Year	Budget (in millions of riels, rounded)					
2002	3,100 (\$775,000)35					
2003	3,235 (\$808,750)					
2004	2,380 (\$850,000)					
2005	2,615 (\$653,750)					

In 2003, Cambodia created a permanent voter registry based on the voter list used in 2002 for the commune elections. Registration operations were delegated to the commune administrations but were closely supervised by the NEC. The operation was an update of the previous voter list: voters already on the list did not need to re-register. Only those who had reached voting age or who had moved from one commune to another were required to register. Under this new system, no voter card was issued. As a result, the total cost of voter registration amounted to 12 billion riels and was incorporated in the 2003 electoral budget.

As of 2004, as required by the LEMNA, the maintenance of the permanent registry entails annual voter registration and revision of the list even if there are no upcoming elections. Voter registration and list revision are conducted between October 1 and December 31 of each year. A new valid voter registry, therefore, is generated each year. For these operations in 2004, the NEC prepared a budget of 3.7 billion riels, which was approved and entirely provided by the government (see Annex 1). This amount was not part of any electoral budget. In the future, this recurrent expenditure may either be granted on an ad hoc basis as happened in 2004 or eventually be integrated in the annual operational budget of the NEC. The costs of voter registration will continue to decline as the procedure becomes part of the usual commune administration operations. In 2004, savings had already been realized on training and direct assistance to commune clerks.

Since registration operations are no longer conducted directly by the NEC, part of the cost is now indirectly absorbed by the commune councils, which provide the personnel. Although the financial burden of voter registration seemed to be 'passed on' to the commune councils, the NEC is bound to provide "appropriate training, capacity building, facility, supplies and materials and budget to the commune and clerk to enable the implementation of these responsibilities." Regardless, these costs are already lower than those of a periodic registration. The NEC also provides salary supplement incentives to commune clerks for the additional administrative burden during the annual update period.

 $^{^{35}}$ Between 2002 and 2004, the rate of conversion of the riel into US dollars was slightly more than \$1 = 4,000 riels.

³⁶ LEMNA, art. 53 in fine

c) Boundary delimitation

No boundary delimitation is performed by the NEC. At the commune level, the boundaries of communes are altered, when needed, by the Ministry of Interior.

d) Total cost of the polling operation

The budgetary costs of the 1998 and 2003 elections are extremely difficult to compare because the budget and financial reports of the events were in different formats. The explanation for the reduction of costs by more than 50 percent between 1998 and 2003 is not so much in the polling operations themselves, but in the one-time purchase of basic materials necessary for the earlier election.

When it was first created, the NEC had to be equipped from scratch with office furniture, stationery, etc. These were all one-time expenditures that were not repeated in 2002 or 2003. In addition, large sums were invested in training of electoral staff, education of political parties, party agents and local observers, as well as voter information and education. The 1998 report shows that the European Union alone contributed almost \$7 million for training/education and stationery. In 2003, the figure for equivalent items amounted to only \$661,000. The one-time costs in 1998 included:

- provision of ballot boxes: \$3 million;
- cars, trucks and motorcycles: \$1 million;
- radios and other communications equipment: \$1 million.

Although different in nature, the commune council elections of 2002 may provide some valid basis of comparison with the national election of 2003 (see Annexes 2 and 3). Most of the polling costs remained relatively stable between the two elections,

Cost Description	Riels (in millions, rounded)	US Dollars
Salaries of polling station officials	4,617	1.1 million
Salaries for verifying and counting ballots	490	122,500
Transportation of polling material	1,637	409,250
Rental of loudspeakers for polling	328	82,000
Rental of offices and polling stations for commune election committees	378	94,500
Training for polling station officials	96	24,000
Training material (for all election officials)	2,845	711,250
Polling material	1,596	399,000
Ballots	2,808	702,000
Value of donation of indelible ink	687	171,750

Case Study 8 - Table 4. Other costs relevant to polling operations						
Cost Description	Riels (in millions, rounded)	US Dollars				
Salaries of commune election committee officials	5,334	1.3 million				
Salaries of provincial election committee officials	4,295	1.07 million				
Training for commune election committee officials	413	103,250				
Training for provincial election committee officials	270	675,000				
Communications	917	229,250				
Vehicles, gasoline, maintenance	1,895	473,750				
Helicopter services	466	116,508				

with only negligible procedural differences. However, one considerable disparity was found in the salaries of the commune election committees and their functioning expenditures. This item alone was \$2.5 million more in 2002 than in 2003, the reason being that the committees were put in place to participate in the voter registration operations seven months before Election Day. In 2003, the commune election committees were put in place only five weeks before Election Day because voter registration and list update were carried out by local administrations.

e) Cost of external voting operations

There are no external voting operations in Cambodia.

f) Campaign funding and political party finance

The Law on Political Parties states that parties should be funded through their members' contributions, from income generated by lawful business activities, from donations of private Cambodian enterprises or individuals, and from the political parties' own assets. The Any contributions from foreign firms, public or government institutions, and NGOs are forbidden. Regardless of their participation in the electoral process, all political parties are required to report annually to the Ministry of Interior on their income and expenditures, balance sheets, statements of bank accounts and assets. These documents are not made available to the public.

Regarding campaigns, the Law on Political Parties has a provision allowing the state to provide funding to political party electoral campaigns on an equal basis;⁴⁰ to date,

³⁷ Law on Political Parties, art. 27. An unofficial English translation of this law is available at the NEC website at http://www.necelect.org.kh.

³⁸ Law on Political Parties, art. 29.

³⁹ Ibid., art. 31.

however, this provision has never been applied. Each political party wishing to participate in a national election must deposit 15 million riels (\$3,750); the deposit is reimbursed if the party obtains at least 3 percent of the valid votes or if it wins at least one seat at the National Assembly.

The LEMNA further specifies that electoral campaign expenditures shall be borne by political parties. Each party participating in the elections must maintain a special account registry showing its sources of income and expenditures for the purpose of the electoral campaign.⁴¹ This registry should remain available to the NEC for examination, if requested.

The only actual government contribution to campaigns of political parties comes under the provision of free airtime on state radio and TV. State radio and television are bound by the LEMNA to offer free airtime to the NEC for voter education and electoral issues. It is also the duty of the NEC to publicize party campaign messages through the media.⁴² The NEC arranges free equal access to airtime for political campaign messages both on radio and TV during the 30-day campaign period.⁴³ This, however, does not apply to commune elections.

h) Civic education

The electoral budget of the NEC in 2003 included a provision of approximately 2 billion riels (\$485,000) for voter and civic education. This was less than 5 percent of its total budget and did not include the value of a large amount of free airtime made available by the state media as well as a number of private media outlets to broadcast voter/civic education messages. Nevertheless, Cambodia has a very active civil society: numerous NGOs, both national and international, take a prominent role in civic education electoral activities.

Support to the NGO community in election-related activities was massive in 2003. It is estimated that the total amount provided to NGOs for their electoral activities was nearly equal to the NEC's overall electoral budget.⁴⁴ Initiatives such as televised candidate debates, printed information material destined for voters (including the campaign platform of all competing political parties), or training manuals destined for party agents or observers, posters, etc. are just a fraction of what was accomplished and funded outside the NEC's budget. Although a fair share of these programs related to local observation of the electoral process, a significant portion remained under the general category of civic education.

⁴⁰ Ibid., art. 28.

⁴¹ LEMNA, art. 81 and 82.

⁴² Ibid., art. 74 and 75.

⁴³ For the 2003 elections, on both TV and radio, each political party had a slot of five minutes of free airtime each day during the special two-hour equal access broadcast for the duration of the electoral campaign (30 days). The program was repeated in the morning for a total of four hours of broadcast per day. Overall, the state TV provided 120 hours of free airtime during the electoral campaign. The two state radios stations provided the same. See the UNDP report "National Assembly Election in Cambodia –

two state radios stations provided the same. See the UNDP report "National Assembly Election in Cambodia – 27 July 2003", pp. 14-15 available at http://www.un.org.kh/undp/publications/election2003_main.pdf. Other innovative media access initiatives were also undertaken. See: Election reports, "Equity News" at http://www.un.org.kh/undp/index.asp?page=publications.asp

⁴⁴ UNDP report "National Assembly Election in Cambodia – 27 July 2003", p. 5.

i) Cash transaction of the NEC

The NEC performs all its transactions through banking operations or by check with the sole exception of staff salaries, which are paid in cash.

j) Inventory of unused supplies

All unused supplies are inventoried and stored in a central warehouse. Each year, a committee for inventory is established and performs its task for all NEC departments. In addition, the department of operations receives monthly reports on the movement of supplies and materials in and out of the warehouse.

k) Costs of new election technologies

The electoral list is compiled in a centralized database. For the past three elections, lists for each polling station have been generated by computer. (A new computer system costing \$220,000 was offered to Cambodia in 2001.) Efforts are ongoing to improve technical aspects related to the sorting of voter names and the cleansing of double registrations; the budget for this is around \$20,000. There are plans to change the software platform to one that is less expensive to maintain and to provide computer equipment to all provincial offices, including networking capacity; the prospective budget for these operations is \$103,000. Such initiatives are bound to improve the technical quality of the list while reducing the costs of technical maintenance. The production of the list on CD-ROM will enhance its accessibility and considerably reduce the cost for political parties to buy the list for their own use.

1) International financial assistance

In 1998, international assistance funded almost 80 percent of the total cost of the election. This percentage declined to around 60 percent for the 2002 commune elections and to about 50 percent for the 2003 national election.

Table 5 provides a breakdown of international assistance received by the NEC for the 2003 national election. ⁴⁵ The donors' money largely covered the non-salary, non-contingency budget costs. UNDP signed funding agreements with 12 donor countries

Case Study 8 - Table 5. Breakdown of financial national election (in millions of riels, rounded)	
Trust Fund for Elections (National Treasury)	24,345 (\$6 million)
International community	24,932 ⁴⁶ (\$6.2 million)
Total amount	49,276 (\$12.3) of which 4.81 billion riels (\$1.2 million) were not spent)

⁴⁵ Source: National Election Committee Report on the Management and Conduct of the Election of Members of the National Assembly on 27 July 2003.

⁴⁶ Not included in this figure: UNDP provided advisory services and technical assistance to the NEC for a total of \$580,000 (2.3 billion riels).

Case Study 8 - Table 6. Breakdown of international donations by source (in millions of riels, rounded)

International donations through UNDP 17,000 (\$4.2 million)

Donations through the Ministry of Finance 6,000 (\$1.5 million)

Direct contributions from donor countries 536 (\$134,000)

and coordinated the earmarked funding to cover all the different phases of the process in agreement with each country. Cambodian government money paid almost exclusively for salaries.

The NEC accredited more than 1,000 international observers. The two most important observation missions were conducted by Asia Foundation, with 305 observers, and by the European Union, with approximately 120 observers. The approximate cost was \$1.5 million for the EU Election Observation Mission and \$240,000 for the Asia Foundation observation effort.

V. Overall assessment

The substantial reduction in costs achieved by the NEC from 1998 to 2003 can be explained by a series of factors that are not all technical in nature. At the policy level and as a matter of pride, the Government of Cambodia does not want to rely heavily on international assistance for future elections. Eventually, the greater part of electoral costs will come from the government's coffers. This, in itself, is a strong incentive to reduce costs. Electoral assistance dropped substantially, from almost \$19 million in 1998 to \$10 million in 2002 to \$6 million in 2003. The reform of the legal framework in 2002 was undertaken with the double objective of improving and reducing the costs of the electoral machinery. For instance, a permanent voter registry was introduced, and voter registration was delegated to local administrations. In addition, expensive procedures were abandoned or replaced with cheaper alternatives. For example, the practice of issuing a new voter identity card (with photograph) for each election was replaced by the use of other identification documents, such as a new national identity card. The NEC was forced to rationalize its internal practices and reduce the number of departments. The chairman of the NEC has said he believes that electoral costs in Cambodia should not vary widely in future elections; if anything, he said, the cost of materials and salaries are likely to increase slightly. Other possible contributing factors to larger electoral budgets in the future may include capital expenditures to replace aging vehicles, computers and other electoral items, and the necessity to provide for an ever-increasing voter population.

Case Study 8 - Attachment I. Costs of the 2002 commune elections, in millions of riels (rounded).*

Cost Description	Cost (Riels)	Cost (US Dollars)
Salary of CEC	14,727,703,184.00	3,757,067.00
Printing of registration cards & other docs	6,632,791,918.00	1,696,366.00
Salary of Polling Station Officials	4,513,752,000.00	1,151,467.00
Salary of PEC members and officials	4,407,384,926.00	1,124,333.00
Purchase of film & cameras	3,564,494,046.00	911,635.00
Salary of registration officers	3,332,989,000.00	850,252.00
Salary of NEC members and officials	3,090,019,410.00	788,270.00
Administrative process & other costs	2,740,742,693.00	702,755.00
Transportation of materials	2,220,889,260.00	568,002.00
Supply of stationery	1,904,479,592.00	487,079.00
Other materials	1,862,620,000.00	476,373.00
Gasoline	1,460,096,075.00	373,426.00
Staff training	1,357,700,210.00	347,238.00
Lamination	1,059,331,600.00	270,929.00
Purchase of software	857,770,480.00	218,819.00
Preparation of registration and polling stations	785,313,000.00	200,847.00
Cost of batteries and battery rechargers	775,008,064.00	198,720.00
Rental of generators, loudspeakers & video	719,311,625.00	183,967.00
Salary of data entry operators	710,366,227.00	181,216.00
Maintenance & Repair	705,726,333.00	180,493.00
Purchase of ink for dipping finger	682,168,500.00	174,468.00
Cost for missions	659,259,670.00	169,041.00
3 trucks	124,800,000.00	32,000.00
Salary of freelance workers	67,705,000.00	17,316.00
TOTAL Expense	58,962,422,813.00	15,062,079.00
TOTAL Budget Received	63,702,954,897.00	16,274,257.00
TOTAL Remaining Budget	4,740,532,084.00	1,212,178.00

^{*}Translated from the NEC's financial report, with riel and dollar amounts rounded. For these figures, \$1 = about 4,100 riels.

Case Study 8 - Attachment II. Costs of the 2003 national election, in millions of riels (rounded).*

Cost Description	Cost (Riels)	Cost (US Dollars)
Salary of CEC	5,334,193,490.00	1,333,548.37
Salary of Polling Station Officials	4,617,360,000.00	1,154,340.00
Salary of PEC members and officials	4,295,333,575.00	1,073,833.39
Salary of NEC members and officials	3,708,065,641.00	927,016.41
Salary of clerk assistants during registration	796,440,000.00	199,110.00
Salary of com. clerks during registration	519,672,000.00	129,918.00
Salary of officials counting ballots	345,672,000.00	86,418.00
Salary of computer operators at NEC	265,872,980.00	66,468.25
Salary of officials verifying ballots	144,450,000.00	36,112.50
Producing/printing training materials	2,845,232,280.00	718,493.00
Printing ballots	2,807,505,000.00	701,000.00
Transportation of polling materials	1,637,324,500.00	406,986.83
Producing/printing polling materials	1,596,347,280.00	403,118.00
Registration materials	1,595,396,484.00	405,437.48
Administrative process of 24 PECs	1,556,991,491.00	393,179.67
Stationery	1,547,890,660.00	390,881.48
Gasoline	1,464,999,995.00	371,827.12
Admin. process & other expenses at NEC	1,400,405,773.00	350,623.79
Materials, repair & telecomm. service	917,001,178.00	231,565.95
Public information	757,703,990.00	191,339.39
Media Center of the NEC	386,234,640.00	97,534.00
Transportation by air	466,032,000.00	116,800.00
Transportation of registration materials	334,158,100.00	84,920.00
Rental of loudspeakers for polling	327,720,000.00	82,757.58
Rental of loudspeakers for registration	191,115,900.00	48,568.21
Cost of battery rechargers and acid refill	100,930,680.00	25,487.55
Rental of CEC offices & polling stations	377,387,600.00	95,300.00
Training for commune clerks	294,949,500.00	74,955.00
Training for PEC	270,148,000.00	68,219.19
Training for CEC	413,354,500.00	104,382.44

Case Study 8 - Attachment II. Costs of the 2003 national election, in millions of riels (rounded).*

Cost Description	Cost (Riels)	Cost (US Dollars)
Training for PSO	96,120,000.00	24,272.73
Printing documents of legal service	283,575,442.00	71,609.96
Computers & photocopiers repair	315,481,320.00	79,667.00
Purchased 5 new photocopiers	126,000,000.00	31,500.00
Work consolidation conferences of 24 PECs	86,671,980.00	21,886.86
Vehicles & materials maintenance	430,616,412.00	108,741.52
Papers, ink & materials at NEC	295,143,200.00	74,531.11
Update computer programs at NEC	239,600,000.00	59,900.00
Electricity fee at CEC	97,260,000.00	24,560.00
Expense for mobile registration teams	77,785,400.00	19,767.57
Posting station lists and voter lists	50,274,900.00	12,776.13
Work consolidation conferences at NEC	52,611,040.00	13,285.62
Freelance workers	31,440,000.00	7,939.39
Donation of 45 motorbikes equivalent to	200,000,000.00	50,000.00
Donation of stationery equivalent to	80,000,000.00	20,000.00
Donation of ink for dipping finger equal to	687,600,000.00	171,900.00
TOTAL Expense	44,466,068,931.00	11,162,479.49
TOTAL Income	49,276,405,017.00	12,370,036.86
TOTAL Remaining Budget	4,810,336,086.00	1,207,557.37

^{*}Translated from the NEC's financial report, with riel and dollar amounts rounded. For these figures, \$1 = about 4,100 riels.

2	A. Kits for Update Electoral List in 1621 Communes List for registering new voters Registration form/ registration receipt Forms for voter list revision and Folders with string attached Pens Rulers Indelible markers Stations' signboard	package book paper folder pen ruler	540,400 33,000 2,571,650 3,244 27,900	1 package 28 papers 1 book 40 papers 15 types	\$0.02 . \$0.96	10,808 31,680 51,433	43,232,000
:	Registration form/ registration receipt Forms for voter list revision and Folders with string attached Pens Rulers Indelible markers	book paper folder pen	33,000 2,571,650 3,244	1 book 40 papers	\$0.96 \$0.02	31,680	126,720,000
1	registration receipt Forms for voter list revision and Folders with string attached Pens Rulers Indelible markers	paper folder pen	2,571,650 3,244		\$0.02	·	
0	Folders with string attached Pens Rulers Indelible markers	folder pen	3,244	15 types		51,433	205 722 225
0	Pens Rulers Indelible markers	pen			4		205,732,000
0	Rulers Indelible markers	•	27,900		\$0.25	811	3,244,000
0	Indelible markers	ruler		red/blue pens	\$0.15	4,185	16,740,000
0			1,630		\$0.20	326	1.304,000
0	Stations' signboard	marker	1,621		\$0.50	810.50	3,242,000
0		board	1,621	printed plastic board	\$1.50	2,431.50	9,726,000
	All types of printed envelopes	envelop	76,620	\$0.15	11,493	45,972,000	
	Writing papers for Commune Clerks	paper	1,126	A4	\$3.00	3,378	13,512,000
1	Bags for registration materials	bag	25,330	5 types	\$0.50	12,665	50,660,000
2	Padlocks	lock	1,630	case for registration materials	\$0.30	489	1,956,000
	Total A B. Computer System & Materials for	Producing	Voter Lists			130,510	522,040,000
	Papers for producing voter lists and other forms	case	234	printing papers	\$30.00	7,020,00	28,080,000
4	Photocopying and printing ink	box	37			4,585,00	18,340,000
5	Materials used for packing voter lists			7 types		2,000,00	8,000,000
	Repairing printers and photocopiers NECC	machine	6		\$500.00	3,000,00	12,000,000
7	Repairing printers and computers			for provincial operations		11,600,00	46,400,000
8	System maintenance	year	1	warranty		7,000,00	28,000,000
	Computer system maintenance and repair	year	1	warranty		2,500,00	10,000,000
	Salary for computer operators at Computer Center	person	150	170.5*2 months	\$170.50	51,150,00	204,600,000
	Total B C. Money Facilitating Electoral List	Update at (Communes			88,855	355,420,000
	Salary of commune clerks during voter registration	person	1.621	1620 * 30 days	\$2.00	97,260	389,040,000
2	Cost for posting location lists and voter lists	4.863	location list	, last list & preliminary list	\$1.00	4,863	19,452,000
	Expense for mobile registration teams	3.242	Expense on	transportation	\$2.00	6,484	25,936,000
	Total C D. Training and Civic Education					108,607	434,428,000

as	se Study 8 - Attachment III	. Estima	ted budg	et for updating e	electoral I	ist in 20	04* (cont.)
25	Expense for training of master trainers and PEC officials		304	2 days		3,024	12,096,000
26	Expense for training of CC, Clerks & Assistants		4.193	2 days		16,772	67,088,000
27	Transporting training materials Producing stereo cassettes 2 stories 55 mn	trip story	24 2	1 province 1 trip	\$125.00 \$400.00	3,000 800	12,000,00028 3,200,000
29	Copying stereo cassettes distributed at communes	cassette	50	\$2.00	100	400,000	
30	Producing video spots 2 stories 40 mn	story	2		\$1,100.00	2,200	8,800,000
31	Copying video cassettes distributed at provinces/cities	cassette	50		\$3.00	150	600,000
	Total D E. Public Information					33,046	132,184,000
32	Information work & dissemination Total E F. Legal					2,000 2,000	8,000,000 8,000,000
12	Documents ruling on complaints	book	6.000			2,000	8,000,000
	Printing Form 1007-1202-1203	book	0.000	3 types		2,000	8,000,000
5 T	Total F G. Logistics & Transportation	DOOR		3 types		4,000	16,000,000
35	Wages for freelance workers when packing & sending materials to each province	person	30	30* 10 days	\$3.00	900	3,600,000
36	Wages for freelance workers when collecting materials from each province to store in the warehouse of NEC	person	15	15* 10 days	\$3.00	450	1,800,000
37	Materials used for packing	type		8 types		2,000	8,000,000
38	Transporting materials from NEC to each province	province	24			11,000	44,000,000
39	Transporting materials from each province to each commune	commune	1.621	1 trip	\$10.00	16,210	64,840,000
40	Transporting materials from each commune to province	commune	1.621	1 trip	\$10.00	16,210	64,840,000
41	Transporting remaining materials from province to NEC	province	24			11,000	44,000,000
	Total G H. Telecommunication					57,770	231,080,000
42	Cost on mobile-phone service for NEC	phone	30	30*\$30*3 months	\$30.00	2,700	10,800,000
	Cost on desk-phone service for NEC & PEC	phone	24	24*\$80*3 months	\$80.00	5,760	23,040,000

69	Unexpected Cost 2%					18,008 918,412	72,032,320,00 3,673,648,32
	Total A - J					900,404	3,601,616,00
	Total J					254,078	1,016,312,00
	provincial level (trainers)	p313011	.01	.c. year i month	7200	20,000,00	,200,000
66	Salary of registration officers at	person	184	184*\$200*1 month	\$200	36,800,00	147,200,000
55	Salary of Assistants of PEC	person	84	84*\$170*3 months	\$170	42,840,00	171,360,000
54	Salary of PEC officials	person	60	60*\$176*3 months	\$176	31,680,00	126,720,000
53	Salary of NEC members & NEC officials	person	231	231*\$206*3 months	\$206	142.758.00	571,032,000
	J. Salary of Electoral Commissions ((National &	Provincial	0		213,010	032,312,000
JL	Total I					213.078	852,312,000
51 52		iitei	24	3 IIIUIIIII3 (LA,DU,MU)	\$100	4.500	18,000,000
51	Gasoline for PFC	liter	24	3 months (EA,DO,MO)	\$700	50,400	201,600,000
50	Gasoline for NFC	liter	3	3 months (EA.DO.MO)	\$6.000	18.000	72.000.000
49	Cost of water/electricity for PEC		24	24 provinces* 3 months	\$100	7.200	28,800,000
48	Operation of PEC (missions, administrative expense)		24	3 months	\$600	43.200	172.800.000
40	(missions, administrative expense)		1	3 months	\$5,000	15,000	60,000,000
47	Operation of NEC			2	¢= 000	15.000	(0.000.000
46	Vehicle maintenance	vehicle	74		\$250	18,500	74,000,000
45	Photocopier maintenance	machine	30		\$730	21,900	87,600,000
44	Office equipment for NEC & PEC					34,378	137,512,000
	Total H I. Stationary/Operation					8,460	33,840,000

Case Study 8 - Attachment IV. 2005 NEC budget

Case Study 8 - Table 1. Table comparing the NEC's proposed budget plan with the adopted 2005 budget in a package of 2,615 million riels

N	Expense	NEC proposed	2005 adopted	Increase/deci	ease Remark
Chapter 10	Remuneration	1,607	1,610	3	Increase
	NEC Members	250	250	-	
	NEC Contracted Agents	1,357	1360	3	Increase
Chapter 11	Administrative Expense	1,006	1,000	(6)	Decrease
	Rent administrative office	117	117	-	
	Maintenance	20	20	-	
	Water	6	6	-	
	Electricity	180	304	124	Increase
	Phone and fax fees	110	110	-	
	Printing papers/stationery	80	50	(30)	Decrease
	Books and documents	10	10	-	
	Conferences and meetings	11	10	(1)	Decrease
	Vehicle maintenance	50	50	-	
	Gasoline	370	273	(97)	Decrease
	Receiving foreign guests	5	5	-	
	Receiving domestic guests	6	5	(1)	Decrease
	Cost on ceremonies			-	
	Cost on uniforms	8	8	-	
	Workshops and meetings	5	5	-	
	Separate expense by sectors (built provincial HQ)				
	Domestic missions	28	27	(1)	Decrease
	Oversees missions			-	

Case Study 8 - Attachment V

1998 Election Budget

(Extracted from NEC's Report, 1998. Note: currency calculations based on a rate of about \$1 = 3,800\$ riels in 1998)

A-Budgetary Situation of the NEC:

A.1–Budget received by the NEC for electoral expenses in 1998 (figures are rounded, unless indicated otherwise):

- 1. Government funds: 19,530 million riels
- EU agreed to provide 9.5 million ECU for electoral expenses. The EU spent 1.1 million ECU on electoral observation; 100,000 ECU on dissemination of information. Of this, 8.3 million ECU were transferred to the NEC.
- The Japanese government provided to the NEC and distributed on expenses (via transferring from the Ministry of Economy and Finance) a total of 13.13 billion riels.
- 4. Australia assisted in preparing the Computer Center, total of 1 billion riels.
- 5. Trust Fund provided through UNDP to the NEC: total of 22.62 billion riels
 - directly provided to the NEC: 10.35 billion riels
 - Japan provided 12,500 ballot boxes equivalent to 11.55 billion riels
 - UNDP purchased ink equivalent to 722 million riels
- 6. People's Republic of China provided 27 Jeeps which cost 963 million riels

Total of budget received by the NEC: 92 billion riels

A.2-Budget spent by the NEC and donors:

- 1. Government funds 19.53 billion riels, spent on:
 - Salaries: 14.12 billion riels
- Administrative processes (small repair): 4.94 billion riels
- Expenses on intervention in the field of social affairs: 70 million riels
- Expenses on construction and miscellaneous materials: 208 million riels
- Other expenses: 197 million riels
- 2. EU budget provided to the NEC a total of 8.3 million ECU (about 34.83 billion riels)

*Of that, 8.93 billion riels were spent on:

- Salaries: 6.19 billion riels
- Training: 89 million riels

• Transportation: 525 million riels

• Missions: 159 million riels

• Kits: 2 million riels

• Food: 1.05 billion riels

• Gasoline: 199 million riels

• Other expenses: 709 million riels

- EU spent a total of 25.90 billion riels directly on training, operations and stationery
- 3. The Japanese government provided to the NEC and distributed on expenses (via transferring from the Ministry of Economy and Finance) a total of 13.13 billion riels, spent on the following targets:
 - Kits: 279 million riels
 - Phone installation fees: 137 million riels
 - Computer equipment: 745 million riels
 - Air conditioners: 165 million riels
 - Photocopiers: 1.04 billion riels
- Stationery: 405 million riels
- Purchase of 14 PRADO vehicles: 1.38 billion riels
- Administrative processes: 368 million riels
- Purchase of HILLIX vehicles: 2.39 billion riels
- Purchase of communication radio: 5.6 billion riels
- Purchase of trucks: 272 million riels
- Other expenses: 395 million riels
- 4. Australian funds, which the donor directly spent on preparing the computer center and providing remuneration to four leading officials of the computer center: 1 billion riels
- 5. Trust Fund provided via UNDP totaled for 23 billion riels

*Of that amount, 10.3 billion riels were spent on:

- Service of polling station staffs: 6.5 billion
- Training for the polling time: 1.5 billion
- Public information: 917 million
- Missions during the poll: 16 million
- Transportation during the poll: 1.3 billion
- Other expenses during the poll: 172 million

*Japan provided 12,500 ballot boxes through the Trust Fund, a total of 11.6 billion riels

*Black ink ordered by UNDP using the Trust Fund totaled 723 million riels

- 6. People's Republic of China provided 27 Jeeps, which cost 963 million riels
- 7. Debts owed in 23 provinces/cities during the polling operations totaled 699 million riels

Total of budget spent by the NEC, rounded: 92,77 billion riels (\$24 million)

Precise numbers:

Budget received by the NEC $92,073,785,199 \text{ riels } (\approx \text{USD } \$24,230,000)$

Spent 92,771,639,269 riels (≈ USD \$24,414,000)

Indebted 697,854,070 riels (≈USD \$184,000)

About the author

Denis Truesdell is a Canadian lawyer and graduate from the London School of Economics. In 1992, he embarked on his first United Nations peacekeeping mission to Cambodia as civil administrator for UNTAC. After serving in several missions in the Balkans, he returned to Quebec as legal advisor to the Chief Electoral Officer of Quebec. Subsequently, he worked for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as a consultant for the Peace-Building unit. In 2001 he returned to Cambodia to carry out a wide-ranging UNDP electoral assistance program to the Cambodian National Electoral Committee. He assisted in Cambodia's first commune council elections, followed by the reform of the legal framework for the 2003 national elections and continued post-electoral assistance until 2004.