



NDI

*National Democratic
Institute for
International
Affairs*



**AN ASSESSMENT OF
CAMBODIAN POLITICAL PARTIES**

October 1994



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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AN ASSESSMENT OF CAMBODIAN POLITICAL PARTIES OCTOBER 1994

This document includes reports on the three major Cambodian political parties and a listing of NDI's 1994 programs to help strengthen these parties and their role in the National Assembly. The reports were prepared by NDI staff members following the Institute's four-week provincial party development program from May 7 to June 4, 1994 in which more than 1075 provincial party members participated in 18 workshops in six provinces.

The reports on the provincial workshops were presented to the leadership of the three parliamentary parties that participated in the program. They outline the methodology and format of each of the single-party workshops and address the issues and concerns raised by the participants. Each report also includes an assessment of each party's organizational strength based on NDI's observations during the provincial workshops. The NDI staff also suggested short and long term recommendations for future party activities to assist in strengthening party organization and outreach.

NDI has worked continuously in Cambodia since January 1993 when it assisted political parties in preparation for the country's first national elections held in May 1994.

NDI conducts nonpartisan political development programs overseas. By working with political parties, civic groups, parliaments and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions and pluralistic values in new and emerging democracies. In its political party programs, NDI brings expert trainers from around the world to forums where members of fledgling parties can learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact. Stable democracy requires the development of strong, broadly based and well-organized political parties. If democratic party organizations fail to fulfill their special role in society, the citizenry will lose faith in the governing process itself. NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties.





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SUMMARY OF NDI POST-ELECTION POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITIES IN CAMBODIA

- December 1993** **CPP National Conference**
Strengthening Political Parties
Phnom Penh (54 participants)
- March 1994** **FUNCINPEC National Conference**
Political Parties in Transition
Phnom Penh (267)
- April 1994** **Parliamentary Workshop**
Parliamentary Commissions
Phnom Penh (30)
- Parliamentary Workshop**
Developing Legislation
Phnom Penh (30)
- May 1994** **Parliamentary Workshop**
Constituent Services
Phnom Penh (30)
- BLDP National Conference**
Grassroots Growth & Development
Phnom Penh (145)
- May - June 1994** **Provincial Party Training Workshops:**
BLDP (total number of participants: 337)
- Kandal Province (27)
 - Kompong Cham (112)
 - Kompong Speu (30)
 - Prey Veng (36)
 - Svay Rieng (75)
 - Takeo (57)
- CPP (328)
- Kandal (48)
 - Kompong Cham (73)



- Kompong Speu (51)
- Prey Veng (51)
- Svay Rieng (57)
- Takeo (48)

FUNCINPEC (393)

- Kandal (52)
- Kompong Cham (94)
- Kompong Speu (46)
- Prey Veng (78)
- Svay Rieng (67)
- Takeo (56)

August 1994

Political Party Workshops

CPP - Battambang Province (30)

Parliamentary Seminar

Rules of Procedure

Phnom Penh (25)

August - November 1994

Ongoing consultations with members of the Special Commission to review and revise the Rules of Procedure. Monthly meetings with the entire Commission.

Additional meetings are scheduled.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Samdech Son Sann
H.E. Son Soubert
H.E. Ieng Mouly
H.E. Pen Thol
Members of Parliament
Other Members of the BLDP Executive Committee

FROM: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

SUBJ: BLDP Provincial Party Training Report

DATE: September 1994

SUMMARY

During the four-week period from 7 May to 4 June, 337 BLDP party members attended political party workshops conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Workshops were held at BLDP party offices and other sites in the provincial towns of Kandal, Kompang Speou, Takeo, Prey Veng, Kompang Cham, and Svey Rieng. Participants included local party representatives, election workers and other BLDP provincial supporters. Sixty-two provincial districts were represented. Among the total number of participants, 13 were women. NDI trainers included resident field staff and international political party experts from Senegal and the United States. A representative of the International Republican Institute (IRI) also participated in the workshops in Prey Veng, Kompang Cham and Svey Rieng.

The provincial workshops were organized in consultation with BLDP's General Secretary and other members of the Executive Committee in order to determine the most appropriate approach to take at the local level. During these discussions, BLDP representatives expressed interest in receiving NDI's assistance in the provinces, with particular focus on local party structure and organization, membership, communications, party activities and resource development.

During this same time period, NDI and IRI jointly convened an international seminar in Phnom Penh on 22 March. With the principle theme of "grassroots growth and development", the seminar covered the importance of local party structure and the role of third-party coalition partners. NDI's provincial trainers served on the expert panel during this one-day seminar as well.

METHODOLOGY

(1) Workshop Agendas and Topics:

Ongoing consultations with BLDP officials in Phnom Penh provided the foundation for the preparation of workshop agendas. The comments and suggestions of BLDP's Members of Parliament were especially helpful in designing the structure and content of the provincial workshops. Through these pre-workshop meetings, a range of party development issues, including local organization and structure, membership, party activities and communications, were discussed in order to identify and prioritize the topics to be included on the agendas. From this process, draft agendas were prepared by NDI's resident party training field staff and then reviewed by BLDP officials in Phnom Penh. Final agendas incorporated the comments and suggestions that emerged from this process of review and discussion.

Topical themes included:

Role of political parties in a multi-party democratic system:

- what political parties do;
- what makes a party democratic;
- the importance of continuity;
- the concept of loyal opposition;
- the challenge to maintain party discipline.

Identifying party goals and objectives:

- assessing the party's strengths and weaknesses;
- defining short and long-term party term goals;
- identifying issues;
- developing the party's distinctive message;
- identifying the party's substantive policy goals.

Strengthening the party at the local level:

- importance of organization and structure;
- membership retention and recruitment;
- party activities;
- internal party communication;
- relationship to other political parties;
- strategies for gaining public support.

(2) Logistics:

Logistical arrangements for each workshop were made by NDI logistics staff members in close coordination with local party leaders. BLDP MPs were very helpful in this process by providing the names of provincial party leaders and introducing our logistics staff to local contacts in advance. Before each workshop, NDI staff members visited the provincial town and met with BLDP's provincial representatives to survey and prepare the workshop site, to review necessary transportation, meals and lodging arrangements for the workshop participants, and to deliver workshop invitations to BLDP members in the provinces.

WORKSHOP FORMAT

Each workshop covered a full 8-hour day and began with an introduction by the local party leader to NDI's trainers and an explanation about the purpose of the workshop. Morning sessions were devoted to general plenary presentations by the trainers, group discussion, and questions and answers. Presentations covered the major themes on the agenda--for example, the need for local party and structure and identifying and achieving party goals--as well as specific topics such as building party membership, communication to party members and the public, and organizing local party activities.

Through different scenarios on membership, party activities, and communications, small group breakout sessions in the afternoon provided participants with the opportunity to interactively work together (see attachments). The purpose of the scenarios was to address practical examples of different issues of importance to local party activities in order to encourage problem-solving, positive interaction and effective internal communication. In addition, the small group sessions were intended to offer participants an opportunity to work together to build skills and self-confidence. NDI's Cambodian training assistants sat in on these sessions and were available to answer questions about the scenarios and to encourage active participation by everyone. Trainers were also available as needed throughout the afternoon sessions. Written materials, designed to supplement each topic on the agenda, provided additional explanation of the issues discussed throughout the day.

WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

General Themes:

The level of interaction among BLDP participants varied in each province. In some provinces, participants were very candid about expressing their concerns about a number of issues that had been foremost on their minds since the election. In these workshops, participants appeared to believe that they might not have the opportunity to state their views to party leaders in Phnom Penh directly and wanted NDI to communicate their concerns for them. In other workshops, participants were indirect in their complaints about the national leadership but were nonetheless quite vocal about the political and organizational barriers they face in the provinces, particularly from CPP.

While numerous common themes emerged during the four-week period that NDI spent with BLDP members in the provinces, the two issues raised most frequently were:

- * a continuing fear of political violence and intimidation from CPP partisans;
- * the lack of financial, human and material resources to support local party offices, staff and activities.

It should also be noted that these two issues were raised repeatedly by BLDP provincial participants at the NDI/IRI seminar in Phnom Penh in late May and appear to represent critical obstacles for the party in strengthening the morale and confidence of BLDP's supporters at the local level. These, and other issues raised during the provincial workshops, will be addressed in more detail below under the following headings:

- * Party Structure;
- * Party Communications;
- * Expectations;
- * Accountability/Transparency at the National and Local Levels;

Party Structure:

(1) **Local Level:**

The most serious post-election barrier for BLDP in the provinces is the lack of resources and skills needed to establish and sustain an operational party structure at the provincial, district, communal and village levels. The absence of local structure presents numerous challenges for BLDP, both now and in the future, and it is illustrated in several different ways. First, while certain individuals are clearly acknowledged as local party leaders, BLDP's limited human, financial and material resources impedes the ability of these individuals to take positive action at the local level as provincial representatives of the party. Second, provincial party leaders reported that they do not convene party meetings and have not done so since the election. Third, local party structure is an essential organizational tool for building a constituency for the party in the provinces yet the lack of structure makes it virtually impossible to expand the party's local base of support.

To address these issues, BLDP members expressed strong interest in (a) raising money to be used for party activities in the provinces; (b) strengthening their own skills and confidence through leadership development training; and (c) devising specific strategies to improve local party structure. To accomplish these goals, local leaders need the support of their national leaders in Phnom Penh.

(2) National Level:

For more than a decade, BLDP, like Funcinpec, operated as a resistance movement *in exile*. For this reason, it is difficult to determine, with any degree of certainty, the genuine strength of support that BLDP enjoys at the national or local levels. BLDP's most skilled and active resistance and pre-election party leaders now serve in the National Assembly or the Royal Government. They are understandably faced with carrying out new responsibilities under very difficult circumstances.

BLDP has taken few steps since the election to transform itself from a resistance movement to a modern political party. The attention of top party leaders has shifted toward managing a complex and uncertain relationship with its coalition partners. As a result, BLDP's long-term viability and success in the provinces has been subordinated to other pressing matters in the capital. While this post-election trend may be necessary in the current environment, BLDP will be unable to compete effectively in a multi-party system in the future without an overall party structure that incorporates, supports and promotes its leaders at the local level.

Communications:

(1) Internal:

Related to party structure is the important tool of intra-party communication. The lack of a viable local structure, manifested in particular by the failure to convene local party meetings, suggests that BLDP's communication system is not working adequately, if at all. Also clearly absent is a system of reporting in which a two-directional level of input at the local level is maintained on a regular and reliable basis. Follow-up on information that is communicated also appears to be limited as well. This lack of regular communication, both from the top down and from the bottom up, has left local party leaders feeling abandoned and unappreciated.

(2) External:

The role that local party leaders play in informing the national leadership about pressing local issues is very important. The absence of regular internal communication limits the availability of information about governmental and parliamentary decisions and action. As a result, local party leaders find it very difficult to communicate substantively with supporters outside the party apparatus and with the Cambodian population in general.

(3) **Inter-Party Communications:**

In every workshop, BLDP members uniformly cited a continuing fear of political intimidation and violence by CPP despite the appointment of Funcinpec governors and vice governors. The pre-election assassinations of both BLDP and Funcinpec officials, participants noted that many of those believed responsible continue to serve in local administrative positions. The protection of local activists remains the highest of priorities yet provincial leaders do not believe that their safety will be guaranteed if they begin to organize or emerge with any heightened degree of party visibility. Official and informal communication between BLDP and CPP and Funcinpec provincial officials can provide a very important mechanism for allaying these concerns and for strengthening inter-party interaction and cooperation.

Expectations

In general, provincial leaders reported no significant change at the provincial, district, communal or village levels and they appear impatient for some evidence to the contrary. BLDP workshop participants also expressed great frustration that the party did not gain more seats in parliament and attributed this both to an unsafe and non-neutral campaign environment and to an identity that merged with that of Funcinpec during the pre-election period. The inability of national leaders to secure jobs following the election through the expected integration of BLDP members into the security and military forces was another complaint expressed repeatedly at the provincial workshops. To these issues, NDI explained that no political party, whether it wins or loses, is able to provide jobs for all of its campaign supporters. NDI trainers also pointed out that this type of complaint is commonly heard following elections and is not unique to Cambodia.

To BLDP's provincial leaders, the party's performance in the election appears to represent failure. Yet it also presents the party with an unexpected advantage. Although BLDP officials serve in the government, Funcinpec and CPP are far more vulnerable to public disaffection than BLDP if the government fails to meet public expectations for change. It is important for national leaders to take the time to explain to local supporters the basic characteristics of governing coalitions in which power and equal credit for the successful implementation of policies and programs are shared among the partners in the coalition.

At the same time, the absence of a formal government opposition presents a challenge for BLDP that is considerably greater than that of its coalition partners, particularly given the party's lack of resources. To address this, it is important that national leaders communicate BLDP's achievements and activism in the capital, particularly through its work in the National Assembly, to its provincial supporters on a regular basis. For example, the high profile role of BLDP officials in the Ministry of Information and the Human Rights Commission provides the party with a unique opportunity to develop and maintain a distinct identity in support of the democratization process without destabilizing the coalition. By sharing the party's accomplishments with provincial leaders, and supporting their efforts to communicate these to the local population, BLDP will be able to demonstrate that the party is working hard to transform its fundamental principles into practice.

Accountability/Transparency:

The presence and involvement of BLDP MPs at the workshops indicates that they are more active in the provinces than their Funcinpec and CPP counterparts. While this impression was supported by workshop participants, they nevertheless expressed disappointment that their national leaders in the parliament and government do not spend more time visiting their local districts. While most local leaders appear ready and willing to support the party in the future, their loyalty should not be taken for granted.

Local leaders are especially concerned with how to work on behalf of the party when national leaders are largely invisible and unaccountable to party members and voters in the provinces. In particular, provincial leaders have limited knowledge about what the government is doing and reported that they must expend considerable effort to travel to the capital for the minimal information they gain.

Participants also expressed apprehension about what they can do to promote the party's interests at the provincial level without adequate financial resources. On this point, they appear to believe that national leaders are raising money for the party but are keeping it all in the capital to support their new status as parliamentarians or government officials. Financial transparency within the party can be promoted by opening the internal budgeting process to local leaders and allowing them to have some input into how the party's limited resources are allocated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are several short-term and long-term measures that BLDP can begin to implement including:

Short-Term:

(1) Communication and Information:

Comments made by local leaders and supporters during provincial workshops and at the March seminar indicate that BLDP risks losing its *existing* membership through inaction and by default. Regular contact with local offices in the provinces should be initiated immediately. This contact should be maintained as frequently as possible and can be accomplished without significant expense to the party. For those who are not already doing so, BLDP MPs should visit their districts at least once a month. While there, MPs may convene meetings with provincial representatives to discuss party policy, enacted and pending legislation, relations with other parties, executive decisions and other relevant governmental action. Provincial leaders should be given the opportunity to report and discuss local issues, *whether or not immediate solutions to such local problems exist*. Regular face-to-face contact is essential to ensuring that provincial party members remain motivated and inspired.

(2) Local Party Structure:

Without solid party organization and structure, political parties operate inefficiently. Equally important, without organization and structure, people remain individuals and are more inclined to act in their own self-interests. BLDP should move immediately to implement a local structure at the district, commune and village levels. In order to do this, BLDP will have to allocate resources, however limited they might be, to the provinces for establishment of local branches at these different levels. By reviewing BLDP's performance in the election, the party can prioritize and target these resources strategically. If BLDP does not do this, the party will find it difficult to retain its membership, attract new supporters, communicate its message and accomplishments to the public, or support its elected officials as they act to represent the people who voted for BLDP in the election.

(3) Party Identity and Message:

Over time, strong political parties become associated with particular issues and positions. These issues and positions help shape the party's identity. Regardless of ideology, any political party has two major goals. These are (1) to win elections at the national and local levels so that it can govern and (2) to promote its policies through governmental action in important sectors of national life. To achieve its goals, BLDP must transform its policies into action so that the party's identity becomes known to as many people as possible. Because effective communication is the key to success for any political party, transparency is also an important tool. In a multi-party system, a political party cannot be a secret organization. On the contrary, political parties must increase and attract support from as many people as possible in order to outnumber its competitors.

During the campaign, BLDP was identified as the non-royalist, anti-communist, pro-democracy party. BLDP candidates attempted to incorporate these basic principles into their campaign message to the voters. With the restoration of the monarchy, BLDP should evaluate and refine its pre-election message so that it is clear and concise and then develop a strategy for communicating it to the public. In addition, the Royal Government drafted a government policy statement that was unanimously approved by the National Assembly. This government policy covers everything from health to human rights, from foreign policy to national sovereignty. Within the framework of the government policy document, BLDP has begun to identify specific issues it wants the government to address and its works actively to enact related legislation in the parliament. This approach can provide a positive contribution to the complex process of national reconstruction and should be continued and strengthened wherever possible.

In addition, BLDP should begin to establish relationships with organizations that operate outside the governmental arena and the party structure. Such relationships can provide a low-cost opportunity for BLDP to become more visible in the provinces. There are more than 150 international NGOs and 30 local NGOs providing development assistance to Cambodia. In an

continuing effort to develop and strengthen Cambodia's human resources, foreign NGOs transfer skills and knowledge about the development process by employing and training Cambodian staff to carry out this work. In the future, skilled Cambodians may then establish additional independent local NGOs. NGOs are operational in almost all provinces and work at the district, communal and village levels. Cambodian NGO workers help to implement rural development and small credit programs. Working actively in support of basic human rights and needs, they are also building schools, wells and hospitals.

Cambodian NGO workers have access to valuable information about what people think and what they need. The value of this information to the party should not be underestimated. This information would be very useful to BLDP MPs in their oversight role with the government, particularly with those who are responsible for overseeing the development of specific operational sectors such as agriculture, health and education.

Cambodian NGO workers are also voters. Through the solid contacts that local NGO workers have established at many levels throughout the country, they are in a unique position to help mobilize new BLDP supporters in the future. Provincial party leaders can initiate and maintain regular contact with Cambodian NGO workers in order to inform themselves about development projects in their provinces. In this way, local party leaders they can serve as informal intermediaries between BLDP MPs, government officials and citizens in the provinces.

These relationships can also be used to establish a positive association between BLDP and the improvements that are achieved through the efforts of NGOs at the local level. Through this process, the party can also begin to develop and implement its own community projects such as painting a wat or school, organizing youth and sports leagues, and inviting ministers and MPs to address village meetings about pressing local issues.

Long-Term:

(1) Leadership Development and Training:

Although leadership is a quality that not everyone has, leadership development is a process that almost anyone can benefit from. Informal leaders exist at every level of Cambodian society, whether or not these individuals are recognized through appointed or elected title and position. BLDP lacks the human resources it needs to insure the growth of the party. To address this, new leadership at different levels of the party should be cultivated and encouraged. Particular emphasis should be placed on recruiting and training lower-level members in the capital and the provinces. Using this report and supplementary materials as a guide, BLDP can organize its own provincial training activities focusing on improving organizational, management, and political development skills.

A combination of cultural and social factors continue to constrain the economic and political advancement of Cambodian women yet the plight of most, in the provinces and the capital, remains desperate and untenable. Yet, while nearly 75 percent of an estimated population of 9 to 10 million are believed to be women and their dependent children, NDI noted the absence

of women and younger people both at BLDP's provincial workshops and at the seminar in Phnom Penh. Cambodian women have long been acknowledged as essential to the social and economic well-being of their families yet they are routinely neglected in the country's political affairs and leadership positions remain firmly out of reach. In addition, students and young people represent Cambodia's voters of the future and they are vitally important to the development of the party. Population estimates make a compelling argument for specifically targeting women and young people through membership recruitment drives, as participants in party training activities, and for leadership positions, particularly at the local level.

The strategic planning process described below can also be used one vehicle through which emerging local leaders are identified and given responsibility for undertaking specific tasks on behalf of the party.

(2) **Strategic Plan:**

In addition to the short-term measures described above, BLDP could develop a 3- or 5-Year Strategic Party Plan. Key elements of this plan would include identifying and developing

- * party goals and objectives;
- * electoral and post-electoral party activities at the national and provincial levels;
- * resources (human, financial and material);
- * timeframe.

Throughout this process, BLDP should solicit and incorporate the views of members from all levels of the party, both in Phnom Penh and the provinces. A special commission of BLDP MPs, government officials, other executive committee members, and representatives from important electoral districts could be established to carry this out.

CONCLUSION

Cambodia's post-election policy of national reconciliation represents the highest test of national will and self-determination. Last year's UN-organized parliamentary elections brought 90% of registered adult voters to the polls. Confronted with recurring political violence, BLDP's perseverance during the campaign demonstrated an impressive force of party unity and courage. Today, as a partner in the Royal Government, BLDP is faced with the need to simultaneously balance several distinct but inter-related governance, parliamentary, and electoral functions at once. The retention, recruitment and training of members who can effectively serve BLDP's long-term interests is essential. A strategy to improve the leadership skills and active participation of members at all levels is equally central to the development and success of the party in the future.

This report has been prepared as a party management, organizing and training tool for the benefit of BLDP national and provincial party leaders and members. The information contained in this report primarily reflects the observations and analysis of the NDI party development field staff who have worked with BLDP in Cambodia since January 1993. It is intended to assist BLDP with identifying and achieving its short and long-term party development goals. We hope that this report will contribute to this process.

MEMORANDUM

TO: H.E. Heng Samrin
Samdech Chea Sim
Samdech Hun Sen
H.E. Sar Kheng
H.E. Say Chhum
H.E. Ngoun Nhel
H.E. Ith Samheng
Other Members of the CPP Central Committee

FROM: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

SUBJ: CPP Provincial Party Training Report

DATE: September 1994

SUMMARY

During the four-week period from 7 May to 4 June, 332 CPP party members attended political party workshops conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Workshops were held at CPP party offices in the provincial towns of Kandal, Kompang Speou, Takeo, Prey Veng, Kompang Cham, and Svey Rieng. Participants included local party chiefs, election workers and other provincial CPP supporters. Fifty nine provincial districts were represented. Among the total number of participants, seventeen were women. NDI trainers included resident field staff and international political party experts from Senegal and the United States. A representative of the International Republican Institute (IRI) also participated in the workshops in Prey Veng, Kompang Cham and Svey Rieng.

In consultation with CPP's deputy chief of cabinet, the provincial workshops were organized in response to CPP's request for assistance following the NDI/IRI international seminar convened in December 1993. At that time, CPP party leaders and members expressed interest in receiving further training in the provinces, with particular focus on local party structure and organization, membership, communications and party activities. Following the March seminar, NDI continued to meet with CPP officials in Phnom Penh in order to determine the most appropriate approach to take at the provincial level.

METHODOLOGY

(1) Workshop Agendas and Topics:

Ongoing consultations with CPP officials in Phnom Penh provided the foundation for the development of workshop agendas. The comments and suggestions raised by CPP participants at the December seminar were also very helpful in designing the structure and content of the provincial workshops. Through discussions with the deputy chief of cabinet, CPP MPs and other central committee, a range of party development issues were prioritized for inclusion as topics on the workshop agendas. By incorporating the comments and suggestions that emerged from this process of review and discussion with CPP officials, final agendas were prepared by NDI's resident party training field staff.

Topical themes included:

Role of political parties in a multi-party democratic system:

- what political parties do;
- what makes a party democratic;
- the importance of continuity;
- the concept of loyal opposition;
- the challenge to maintain party discipline.

Identifying party goals and objectives:

- assessing the party's strengths and weaknesses;
- defining short and long term party term goals;
- identifying issues;
- developing the party's distinctive message;
- identifying the party's substantive policy goals.

Strengthening the party at the local level:

- importance of organization and structure;
- membership retention and recruitment;
- party activities;
- internal party communication;
- relationship to other political parties;
- strategies for gaining public support.

(2) Logistics:

Logistical arrangements for each workshop were made by NDI logistics staff members in close coordination with local party leaders. The deputy chief of cabinet at CPP's Phnom Penh party headquarters was especially helpful in this process by providing a list of provincial party leaders and introducing our logistics staff to local contacts through written communication sent out to the provinces in advance. Before each workshop, NDI staff members visited the provincial town and met with the provincial party chief and other CPP representatives to survey and prepare the workshop site, to review any necessary transportation, meals and lodging arrangements for participants, and to deliver invitations to party members.

WORKSHOP FORMAT

Each workshop covered a full eight-hour day and began with an introduction by the local party chief to NDI's trainers and an explanation about the purpose of the workshop. Morning sessions were devoted to general plenary presentations by the trainers, group discussion, and questions and answers. Presentations covered the major themes on the agenda--for example, the need for local party and structure and identifying and achieving party goals--as well as specific topics such as building party membership, communication to party members and the public, and organizing local party activities.

Through different scenarios on membership, party activities, and communications, afternoon small group breakout sessions provided participants with the opportunity to interactively work together (see attachments). The purpose of the scenarios was to address practical examples of different issues of importance to local party officials in order to encourage problem-solving, positive interaction and effective internal communication. In addition, the small group sessions offered participants an opportunity to work together in order to build skills and self-confidence. NDI's Cambodian training assistants sat in on these sessions and were available to answer questions about the scenarios and to encourage active participation by everyone. Trainers, however, were also available as needed throughout the afternoon sessions. Written materials, designed to supplement each topic on the agenda, provided additional explanation of the issues discussed throughout the day.

WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

(1) General Comments:

The level of interaction among CPP participants varied in each province. In general, CPP participants were highly disciplined, listened attentively and took extensive notes. In some provinces, participants were obviously comfortable with the morning lecture format, willing to ask and answer questions, and were very candid in expressing their concerns regarding a number of issues that have been foremost on their minds since the election. In other workshops, CPP members were uneasy when asked to speak spontaneously in front of the group or when asked

for an opinion about some aspect of party organization or policy. Participants were clearly nervous about stating their views in the presence of provincial party leaders. However, this appeared to depend on the extent to which a high ranking local party official, such as a governor or vice governor, encouraged people to speak openly.

Overall, CPP members demonstrated a high level of political awareness and sophistication. This sophistication is best represented by the types of issues that were raised--rather complex and global in scope--in discussions about Cambodia's transformation from a communist single-party regime to a democratic multi-party system. These issues include:

- rule of majority vs. rights of minority;
- emergence of anarchy as a consequence of multipartism;
- democracy and reform in the military;
- anti-democratic effect of veto rights, ie, UN security council;
- democracy vs. pluralism in the U.S. system;
- authoritarianism vs dictatorship ;
- barriers to democracy in developing countries;
- maintaining party identity within coalition governments.

CPP members were also very interested in the American system. Participants were quick to note the vast differences between the U.S. and Cambodia yet they were also anxious to find any similarities that might help strengthen CPP's ties to the international community.

In discussions about the party's strengths and weaknesses, CPP members were quite vocal on the subject of Cambodia's 1993 parliamentary elections. When asked why CPP won more votes than Funcinpec in certain provinces, participants responded that CPP was understood by the people to have more experience in governance and that CPP was consistently opposed to the Khmer Rouge. When asked why they thought CPP lost the election overall, participants cited election irregularities and pointed out that UN-sponsored election was not "Cambodian" and thus not genuine. They also commented that Funcinpec was viewed by the voters as the party of change and benefitted from the symbol of the King. One person in attendance stated that the actions and behavior of CPP officials in some districts and communes were viewed unfavorably by local people and that the party lost support as a result.

Other issues raised during the provincial workshops will be addressed in more detail below under the following headings:

- * Party Structure;
- * Party Communications;
- * Expectations;
- * Accountability/Transparency at the National and Local Levels

Party Structure:

(1) **Local Level:**

It is evident to NDI that CPP has a solid party structure at the provincial, district, communal and village levels. At the same time, NDI noted during the provincial workshops that CPP's structure is not fully deployed or operational in the provinces where the training occurred. For example, provincial party leaders reported that they do not convene regular party meetings and have apparently not done so since the election. CPP's local structure represents a distinct organizational advantage for the party over that of its partners in the coalition government. Yet, local party structure, essential as an organizational tool for maintaining and expanding the party's base in the provinces, provides only a framework for activities. Without activities, party members become passive and unmotivated. CPP's organizational advantage, evident by the party's ability to mobilize people quickly, should not be taken for granted.

To address these issues, CPP members expressed strong interest in (a) raising money to be used for party activities in the provinces; (b) strengthening their own skills and confidence through leadership development training; and (c) devising specific strategies to improve local party structure. To accomplish these goals, local leaders need the support of their leaders in Phnom Penh.

(2) **National Level:**

For more than a decade of single-party rule in Cambodia, CPP had the opportunity to build a sophisticated centralized party apparatus with the full weight of state resources behind it. Since the election, CPP has taken few steps to accommodate the shift to a multi-party system. CPP's existing structure, formulated during the communist period, does not provide CPP leaders with an adequate opportunity to build support for the party among people who voted for CPP in the election but who may choose not to join the party officially.

In addition, the attention of national party leaders appears to have shifted toward managing its complex and uncertain relationship with Funcinpec and to the continuing threat of political and economic instability from the Khmer Rouge. As a result, CPP's long-term viability and success in the provinces appears to have been subordinated to other pressing matters in the government and the parliament. While this post-election trend may be necessary in the current environment, CPP will be unable to compete effectively in a multi-party system in the future without an overall party structure that incorporates, supports and promotes its leaders at the local level through opportunities for decision-making, communication and activity.

Communications:

(1) Internal:

Related to party structure is the important tool of internal party communication. No matter how viable CPP's party structure may be, the failure to convene regular meetings at the local level suggests that the party's communication system is not working as well as it could. In addition, CPP's continued reliance on a two-directional system of reporting, while useful as mechanism for insuring party discipline and loyalty, is probably inadequate. Follow-up on information that is communicated--both from the top to the bottom and from the bottom up--appears to be limited as well. The absence of regular communication and a local meeting schedule has left some local CPP supporters feeling abandoned and unappreciated.

(2) External:

The role that provincial party leaders play in informing the national leadership about emerging local issues is very important. The absence of regular internal communication limits the flow of information about governmental and parliamentary decisions and action to the provinces. Equally important to CPP's external relations is the continuing reliance on an internal process in which all communication and decision making rest *within* the party. As a result, it very difficult for local party leaders to communicate with supporters outside the party apparatus and with the Cambodian people in general. Because communication occurs only bi-directionally from the top down and the bottom up, lateral communication among party leaders across provinces appears to occur infrequently. This structural characteristic will continue to affect the ability of local leaders to attract new support. By utilizing the skills and local knowledge of CPP's existing membership, the party can begin to establish new relationships with organizations and individuals who operate outside the party system. In this way, CPP can begin to attract more support for the future.

(3) Inter-Party Communications:

While CPP continues to yield influence and power in the provinces, the relationship among the three parliamentary parties at the local level is beginning to change. At the same time, despite the appointment of Funcinpec governors and vice governors, CPP's coalition partners cite a continuing fear of political intimidation and violence by local officials acting in the name of CPP. Within the framework of Cambodia's policy of national reconciliation, regular official and informal communication between local CPP party leaders and the other parties provides a very important mechanism for allaying these fears and for strengthening inter-party interaction and cooperation in the provinces.

Expectations

The presence of UNTAC, and the electoral process that took place during its tenure, reinforced the principles of democracy without adequately preparing Cambodia's citizens for the responsibilities of living under a democratic system. As a result, CPP, like Funcinpec, is vulnerable to tremendous public disaffection if the government fails to meet public expectations for change. For this reason, it is important that CPP's national leaders take the time to explain the basic characteristics of governing coalitions in which power and credit for the successful implementation of policies and programs are shared among the partners in the coalition. In the current environment, it is also important that national leaders communicate CPP's achievements within the government to its provincial supporters on a regular basis. By sharing the party's accomplishments in governance with provincial party leaders, CPP will be better able to demonstrate what action is taking to improve overall security and quality of life for the local population.

Also related to the issue of expectations--both internal and external--is communications. CPP members appeared confident that the party can win a decisive majority in the next parliamentary elections. Yet they are concerned about the lack of communication between national headquarters and the provincial offices and the absence of information about the policies and actions of the government. Local party leaders seemed especially concerned about how to advance CPP's party interests given Cambodia's policy of national reconciliation. Also within the context of Cambodia's new multi-party democratic system, provincial party leaders are interested in finding out what they should do between now and the next election to help meet public expectations and to strengthen the party's organizational advantage and competitive edge at the local level. It is to these public expectations that CPP must respond if it is to build credibility and garner support for the difficult policies of transformation that are required.

Accountability/Transparency:

During the provincial workshops, CPP members expressed frustration that national leaders in the government and the parliament spend little time in the provinces. While most local leaders appear ready and willing to support the party in the future, their loyalty should not be taken for granted. Local leaders are uncertain about how to work on behalf of the party when national leaders remain invisible and unaccountable to party members and voters in the provinces. As noted above, provincial leaders have limited knowledge about what the government is doing and reported that they must travel to the capital for what little information they gain from the considerable effort that this requires. They also expressed apprehension about what they can do to promote the party's interests at the provincial level without adequate financial resources. Financial transparency within the party can be promoted by opening the internal budgeting process to local leaders and allowing them to have some input into how the party's resources are allocated to the provinces.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are several short-term and long-term measures that CPP can begin to implement including:

Short-Term:

(1) Communication and Information:

Comments made by local leaders and supporters during provincial workshops and at the March seminar indicate that CPP risks losing its *existing* membership through inaction and by default. Regular contact with local offices in the provinces should be initiated immediately. This contact should be maintained as frequently as possible and can be accomplished without significant expense to the party. As the elected representatives of their party, CPP MPs should be authorized and encouraged the national leadership to visit their districts at least once a month. While there, MPs may convene a meeting at the provincial party office to discuss party policy, enacted and pending legislation, relations with other parties, executive decisions and other relevant governmental action. Provincial leaders should be given the opportunity to report and discuss local issues, *whether or not immediate solutions to such local problems exist*. Regular face-to-face contact is essential to ensuring that provincial party members remain motivated and inspired.

(2) Local Party Structure and Activities:

To ensure party unity and cohesion, it is important that provincial party officials undertake activities at the local level that are firmly supported by the CPP leadership in Phnom Penh. CPP can use its existing structure in order to retain the membership it has, attract new supporters, communicate its message and accomplishments to the public, and support its elected officials in their attempts to represent the people who voted for CPP in the election.

In addition, to expand its base of support, CPP should begin to look outward by establishing relationships with organizations that operate outside the governmental arena and the party structure. There are more than 150 international and 30 local NGOs providing development assistance to Cambodia. In an continuing effort to strengthen Cambodia's human resources, foreign NGOs transfer skills and knowledge about the development process by employing and training Cambodian staff to carry out this work in the future through the establishment of additional independent local NGOs. NGOs are operational in almost all provinces and work at the district, communal and village levels. Cambodian NGO workers help to implement rural development and small credit programs. They are also building schools, wells and hospitals. Cambodian NGO workers have access to valuable information about what people think and what they need. The value of such information to the party should not be underestimated. This information is also very useful to CPP ministers who are responsible for overseeing the development specific operational sectors such as agriculture, health, education and other important issues.

Cambodian NGO workers are also voters. Through the solid contacts that local NGO workers have established at many levels throughout the country, they are in a unique position to help mobilize new CPP supporters in the future. Provincial party leaders can initiate and maintain regular contact with Cambodian NGO workers in order to inform themselves about development projects in their provinces. In this way, local party leaders they can serve as informal intermediaries between CPP ministers, MPs and the people in the provinces.

Such relationships can also be used to establish a positive association between CPP and the improvements that are achieved through the efforts of NGOs at the local level. Through this process, the party can also begin to develop and implement its own community projects such as painting a wat or school, organizing youth and sports leagues, and inviting ministers and MPs to address village meetings about health and education.

(3) Party Identity and Message:

Over time, strong political parties become associated with particular issues and positions. These issues and positions help shape the party's identity. Regardless of ideology, any political party has two major goals. These are (1) to win elections at the national and local levels so that it can govern and (2) to promote its policies through governmental action in important sectors of national life. To achieve its goals, CPP must transform its policies into action so that the party's identity becomes known to as many people as possible.

During the campaign, CPP's message was opposition to the Khmer Rouge and experience in governance. CPP should evaluate and refine its pre-election message to determine that it is still viable and adequate in Cambodia's post-election environment. Because effective communication is the key to success for any political party, it is also important to develop a clear strategy for communicating this identity and message to the public. In addition, transparency is an equally important organizing principle. In a multi-party system, a governing party cannot be a secret organization. On the contrary, political parties must increase and attract support from as many people as possible in order to outnumber its competitors.

Following the election, the Royal Government drafted a government policy statement that was unanimously approved by the National Assembly. This government policy covers everything from health to education to foreign policy and national sovereignty. Within the framework of the government policy document, CPP can identify specific issues it wants the government to address and actively work to enact related legislation and directives in the parliament and through the ministries.

Long-Term:

(1) Leadership Development and Training:

Although leadership is a quality that not everyone has, leadership development is a process that almost anyone can benefit from. Informal leaders exist at every level of Cambodian society, whether or not these individuals are recognized through appointed or elected title and position.

CPP members in the provinces are inactive. To address this, new leadership skills are required. Particular emphasis should be placed on recruiting and training lower-level members in the capital and the provinces. Using this report and supplementary materials as a guide, CPP can organize its own provincial training workshops that focus on improving the organizational, management, and political skills of party members.

In addition, a combination of cultural and social factors continue to constrain the economic and political advancement of Cambodian women and the plight of most, both in the provinces and the capital, remains desperate and untenable. While Cambodian women have long been acknowledged as essential to the social and economic well-being of their families, they are routinely neglected in the country's political affairs and leadership positions remain firmly out of reach. Nevertheless, nearly 75 percent of an estimated population of 9 to 10 million are believed to be women and their dependent children. Such population estimates make a compelling argument for specifically targeting women for membership recruitment drives, as participants in party training activities, and for leadership positions in the party at the local level.

The strategic planning process described below can also be used one vehicle through which emerging local leaders are identified and given responsibility for undertaking specific tasks on behalf of the party.

(2) Strategic Plan:

In addition to the short-term measures described above, CPP can develop a 3- or 5-Year Strategic Party Plan. Key elements of this plan include identifying and developing

- * party goals and objectives;
- * electoral and post-electoral party activities at the national and provincial levels;
- * resources (human, financial and material);
- * timeframe.

Throughout this process, CPP should solicit and incorporate the views of members from all levels of the party, both in Phnom Penh and the provinces. A special commission of MPs, ministers, other central committee members, and representatives from important electoral districts could be established to carry this out.

CONCLUSION

Cambodia's post-election policy of national reconciliation represents the highest test of national will and self-determination. Last year's UN-organized parliamentary elections brought 90% of registered adult voters to the polls. Today, as a partner in the Royal Government, CPP is faced with the need to simultaneously balance several distinct but inter-related governance, parliamentary, and electoral functions at once. The retention, recruitment and training of

members who can effectively serve CPP's long-term interests is essential. A strategy to improve the leadership skills and active participation of members at all levels is equally central to the development and success of the party in the future.

This report has been prepared as a party management, organizing and training tool for the benefit of CPP's national and provincial party leaders and members. The information contained in this report reflects the observations and analysis of the NDI party development field staff who have worked with CPP in Cambodia since January 1993. It is intended to assist CPP with identifying and achieving its short and long-term party development goals. We hope that this report will contribute to this process.

MEMORANDUM

TO: H.R.H. Prince Norodom Ranarriddh, First Prime Minister,
President of Funcinpec Party

H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sirivudh, Minister of Foreign Affairs
and International Cooperation, Vice Prime Minister, General
Secretary of Funcinpec Party

Members of the Funcinpec Party Steering Committee

FROM: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

SUBJ: Funcinpec Provincial Party Training Report

DATE: September 1994

SUMMARY

During the four-week period from 7 May to 4 June, 397 Funcinpec party members attended political party workshops conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Workshops were held at Funcinpec party offices in the provincial towns of Kandal, Kompang Speou, Takeo, Prey Veng, Kompang Cham, and Svey Rieng. Participants included local party chiefs, election workers and other provincial Funcinpec supporters. Sixty-one provincial districts were represented. Among the total number of participants, twenty-two were women. NDI trainers included resident field staff and international political party experts from Senegal and the United States. A representative of the International Republican Institute (IRI) also participated in the workshops in Prey Veng, Kompang Cham and Svey Rieng.

In consultation with Funcinpec's General Secretary, the provincial workshops were organized in response to requests for assistance from more than 200 Funcinpec provincial leaders and activists who attended the NDI/IRI seminar on 16-17 March in Phnom Penh. At that time, Funcinpec members expressed interest in receiving further training in the provinces, with particular focus on local party structure and organization, membership, communications and party activities. Following the March seminar, NDI continued to meet with Funcinpec party officials in Phnom Penh in order to determine the most appropriate approach to take at the provincial level.

METHODOLOGY

(1) Workshop Agendas and Topics:

Ongoing consultations with Funcinpec officials in Phnom Penh provided the foundation for the development of workshop agendas. The comments and suggestions raised by Funcinpec participants at the March seminar were also very helpful in designing the structure and content of the provincial workshops. Through pre-workshop meetings with Funcinpec MPs, steering committee members and the General Secretary, a range of party development issues were prioritized as topics for inclusion on the workshop agendas. From this process, draft agendas were prepared by NDI's resident party training field staff and then reviewed by Funcinpec officials. Final agendas incorporated the comments and suggestions that emerged from this process of review and discussion with Funcinpec officials.

Topical themes included:

Role of political parties in a multi-party democratic system:

- what political parties do;
- what makes a party democratic;
- the importance of continuity;
- the concept of loyal opposition;
- the challenge to maintain party discipline.

Identifying party goals and objectives:

- assessing the party's strengths and weaknesses;
- defining short and long-term party goals;
- identifying issues;
- developing the party's distinctive message;
- identifying the party's substantive policy goals.

Strengthening the party at the local level:

- importance of organization and structure;
- membership retention and recruitment;
- party activities;
- internal party communication;
- relationship to other political parties;
- strategies for gaining public support.

(2) **Logistics:**

Logistical arrangements for each workshop were made by NDI logistics staff members in close coordination with local party leaders. The administrative staff at Funcinpec's Phnom Penh party headquarters were very helpful to this process by providing a list of provincial party leaders and introducing our logistics staff to local contacts through written communication sent out to the provinces in advance. Before each workshop, NDI staff members visited the provincial town and met with the Funcinpec representatives to survey and prepare the workshop site, to review any necessary transportation, meals and lodging arrangements for participants, and to deliver invitations to attend the workshops.

WORKSHOP FORMAT

Each workshop covered a full eight-hour day and began with an introduction by the local party leader to NDI's trainers and an explanation about the purpose of the workshop. Morning sessions were devoted to general plenary presentations by the trainers, group discussion, and questions and answers. Presentations covered the major themes on the agenda--for example, the need for local party and structure and identifying and achieving party goals--as well as specific topics such as building party membership, communication to party members and the public, and organizing local party activities.

Through different scenarios on membership, party activities, and communications, afternoon small group breakout sessions provided participants with the opportunity to interactively work together (see attachments). The purpose of the scenarios was to address practical examples of different issues of importance to local party activities in order to encourage problem-solving, positive interaction and effective internal communication. In addition, the small group sessions were intended to offer participants an opportunity to build skills and self-confidence. NDI's Khmer training assistants sat in on these sessions and were available to answer questions about the scenarios and to encourage active participation by everyone. Trainers, however, were also available as needed throughout the afternoon sessions. Written materials, designed to supplement each topic on the agenda, provided additional explanation of the issues discussed throughout the day.

WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

General Themes:

The level of interaction among Funcinpec participants varied in each province. In some provinces, participants were very candid about expressing their opinions and concerns regarding a number of issues that have been foremost on their minds since the election. In these workshops, participants clearly believed that they might not have the opportunity to state their

views to party leaders in Phnom Penh directly and wanted NDI to communicate their concerns for them. In other workshops, participants were indirect in their complaints about the national leadership but were nonetheless quite vocal about the political and organizational barriers they face in the provinces, particularly from CPP.

While numerous common themes emerged during the four-week period that NDI spent with Funcinpec members in the provinces, the two issues raised most frequently were:

- * CPP's continued position of power and control in the provinces despite Funcinpec's win in the election;
- * The failure of Funcinpec's national leadership in the government and the parliament to visit or communicate with local leaders and supporters in the provinces on a regular basis.

It should also be noted that these two issues were raised repeatedly by Funcinpec provincial participants at the NDI/Funcinpec seminar in Phnom Penh in March. It was also evident by the time NDI travelled to the provinces 1 1/2 months later, that little action had been taken by national leaders to address these concerns. These issues, however, represent critical obstacles to sustaining the morale and confidence of Funcinpec's supporters at the local level. These, and other issues raised during the provincial workshops, will be addressed in more detail below under the following headings:

- * Party Structure;
- * Party Communications;
- * Expectations;
- * Accountability/Transparency at the National and Local Levels

Party Structure:

(1) **Local Level:**

The most serious post-election barrier for Funcinpec in the provinces is the absence of an operational party structure at the provincial, district, communal or village levels. This absence of local structure represents numerous challenges for Funcinpec, both now and in the future, and it is illustrated in several different ways. First, while certain individuals are clearly acknowledged as local party leaders, Funcinpec's limited human, financial and material resources impedes the ability of these individuals to take positive action at the local level as provincial

representatives of the party. Second, reaffirming what was heard at the Phnom Penh seminar in March, provincial party leaders reported that they do not convene party meetings and have not done so since the election. Third, local party structure is an essential organizational tool for building a constituency for the party in the provinces. The lack of local structure makes it virtually impossible to expand the party's base of support in the provinces.

To address these issues, Funcinpec members expressed strong interest in (a) raising money to be used for party activities in the provinces; (b) strengthening their own skills and confidence through leadership development training; and (c) devising specific strategies to improve local party structure. To accomplish these goals, local leaders need the support of their leaders in Phnom Penh.

(2) National Level:

For more than a decade, Funcinpec operated as a resistance movement *in exile*. For this reason, it is difficult to determine, with any degree of certainty, the genuine strength of support that Funcinpec enjoys at the national or local levels. Funcinpec's most skilled and active resistance and pre-election party leaders now serve in the Royal Government or the National Assembly. They are understandably faced with carrying out new responsibilities under very difficult circumstances.

To this end, while Funcinpec has taken some steps since the election to transform itself from a resistance movement to a modern governing political party, the attention of top party leaders has shifted toward managing a complex and uncertain relationship with the CPP and to the continuing threat of political and economic instability from the Khmer Rouge. As a result, Funcinpec's long-term viability and success in the provinces has been subordinated to other pressing matters in the government and the parliament. Nevertheless, while this post-election trend may be necessary in the current environment, Funcinpec will be unable to compete effectively in a multi-party system in the future without an overall party structure that incorporates, supports and promotes its leaders at the local level.

Communications:

(1) Internal:

Related to party structure is the important tool of intra-party communication. The lack of a viable local structure, manifested in particular by the failure to convene local party meetings, suggests that Funcinpec's communication system is not working adequately. Also clearly absent is a system of reporting in which a two-directional level of input at the local level is maintained on a regular schedule. Follow-up on information that is communicated in either direction also appears to be limited as well. This lack of regular communication, both from the top down and the bottom up, has left local party leaders feeling abandoned and unappreciated.

(2) **External:**

The role that local party leaders play in informing the national leadership about pressing local issues is also important. The absence of regular internal communication limits the availability of information about governmental and parliamentary decisions and action. As a result, local party leaders find it difficult to communicate substantively with supporters outside the party apparatus and with the Cambodian population in general.

(3) **Inter-Party Communications:**

Funcinpec members cited a continuing fear of political intimidation and violence by CPP despite the appointment of Funcinpec governors and vice governors. Funcinpec members are still angry about the pre-election assassinations of Funcinpec officials and the fact that many of those believed responsible continue to serve in local administrative positions. While the protection of local activists remains the highest of priorities, provincial leaders do not believe that their safety will be guaranteed if they begin to organize or emerge with any heightened degree of party visibility. Within the framework of Cambodia's policy of national reconciliation, official and informal communication between Funcinpec and CPP party officials in the provinces provides a very important mechanism for allaying these fears and for strengthening inter-party interaction.

Expectations

Internally, the inability of Funcinpec's national leaders to deliver on promised jobs was one complaint expressed by participants at the provincial workshops. In response, trainers pointed out that no political party, whether it wins or loses, is able to provide jobs for all of its campaign supporters and that this is not unique to Cambodia. This sentiment appears to be attributed by party members to Funcinpec's position of perceived weakness relative to CPP. In general, they report no significant change at the provincial, district, communal or village levels and they are impatient for some evidence to the contrary. As a result, they fear that Funcinpec has lost credibility with the people and the advantages that the party had before the election. Overall, Funcinpec members are confused about why the party won the election but appears to have limited power in the provinces. This last issue was raised repeatedly in every workshop.

Because Funcinpec promised peace and a change from the status quo during the campaign, the party's burden of failure with the population-at-large is also greater. Funcinpec is more vulnerable to public disaffection than CPP if the government fails to meet public expectations for change. It is important that national leaders take the time to explain the basic characteristics of governing coalitions in which power and equal credit for the successful implementation of policies and programs are shared among the partners in the coalition. In the current

environment, this challenge for Funcinpec is considerably greater than that of CPP. Thus, it is important that national leaders communicate Funcinpec's achievements within the government to its provincial supporters on a regular basis. For example, journalists in Phnom Penh have reported that the new policies of the Minister of Education have eliminated fraud and corruption in high school examinations and that this claim has been supported by students and teachers. By sharing these types of accomplishments with provincial party leaders, and supporting their efforts to communicate them with the local population, Funcinpec will be able to demonstrate that it has taken action to improve access to quality education on the basis of merit and not fraud and that it is working hard to transform the party's principles and platform into action.

Accountability/Transparency:

During the provincial workshops, Funcinpec members expressed frustration with national leaders and are disappointed that Funcinpec MPs and ministers spend little time in the provinces. While most local leaders appear ready and willing to support the party in the future, their loyalty should not be taken for granted. Local leaders are uncertain about how to work on behalf of the party when national leaders remain invisible and unaccountable to party members and voters in the provinces. In particular, provincial leaders have limited knowledge about what the government is doing and reported that they must expend considerable effort to travel to the capital for what little information they gain. They also expressed apprehension about what they can do to promote the party's interests at the provincial level without adequate financial resources. On this point, they generally believe that national leaders are raising money for the party but are keeping it all in the capital to support their new status as government officials or parliamentarians. Financial transparency within the party can be promoted by opening the internal budgeting process to local leaders and allowing them to have some input into how the party's resources are allocated to the provinces.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are several short-term and long-term measures that Funcinpec can begin to implement including:

Short-Term:

(1) Communication and Information:

Comments made by local leaders and supporters during provincial workshops and at the March seminar indicate that Funcinpec risks losing its *existing* membership through inaction and by default. Regular contact with local offices in the provinces should be initiated immediately.

This contact should be maintained as frequently as possible and can be accomplished without significant expense to the party. As the elected representatives of their party, Funcinpec MPs should be authorized and encouraged by Phnom Penh leadership to visit their districts at least once a month. While there, MPs may convene meetings at provincial party offices to discuss party policy, enacted and pending legislation, relations with other parties, executive decisions and other relevant governmental action. Provincial leaders should be given the opportunity to report and discuss local issues, *whether or not immediate solutions to such local problems exist*. Regular face-to-face contact is essential to insuring that provincial party members remain motivated and inspired.

(2) Local Party Structure:

Without solid party organization and structure, political parties operate inefficiently. Equally important, without organization and structure, people remain individuals and are more inclined to act in their own self-interests. Without local structure, Funcinpec limits its ability to retain its membership, attract new supporters, communicate the party's message and accomplishments to the public, or support its elected officials as they act to represent the people who voted for Funcinpec in the election. To address this, Funcinpec should act immediately to implement a local structure at the district, commune and village levels. In order to do this, Funcinpec will need to allocate resources to the provinces for the establishment of local branches at these different levels. By reviewing where Funcinpec won its votes during the election, the party can prioritize and target these resources strategically.

(3) Party Identity and Message:

During the campaign, Funcinpec's basic message was "peace" and "change." Following the election, the Royal Government drafted a government policy document that was unanimously approved by the National Assembly. The government policy covers everything from health to education to foreign affairs and national sovereignty. Within the framework of this policy statement, Funcinpec has begun to identify specific issues it to address and actively works to enact related legislation and directives in the parliament and through the ministries. The changes in the examination procedures by the Ministry of Education is an example of how this process can work positively to the benefit of Funcinpec.

Over time, strong political parties become associated with particular issues and positions. These issues and positions help shape the party's identity. Regardless of ideology, any political party operating in a multi-party system has two major goals. These are (1) to win elections at the national and local levels so that it can govern and (2) to promote its policies through governmental action in important sectors of national life. To achieve its goals, Funcinpec must transform its policies into action so that the party's identity becomes known to as many people as possible. To do this, Funcinpec can evaluate and refine its pre-election message and develop

a clear strategy for communicating it to the public. Because effective communication is the key to success for any political party, transparency is also an important tool. In a multi-party system, a governing party cannot be a secret organization. On the contrary, political parties must increase and attract support from as many people as possible in order to outnumber its competitors.

In addition, Funcinpec should begin to establish relationships with organizations that operate outside the governmental arena and the party structure. There are more than 150 international NGOs and 30 local NGOs providing development assistance in Cambodia. In an continuing effort to develop and strengthen Cambodia's human resources, foreign NGOs transfer skills and knowledge about the development process by employing and training Cambodian staff to carry out this work. In the future, skilled Cambodians can establish additional independent local NGOs. NGOs are operational in almost all provinces and work at the district, communal and village levels. Cambodian NGO workers help to implement rural development and small credit programs. They are also building schools, wells and hospitals.

Cambodian NGO workers have access to valuable information about what people think and what they need. The value of this information to the party should not be underestimated. Such information would be very useful to Funcinpec ministers who are responsible for overseeing the development specific operational sectors such as agriculture, health and education. Cambodian NGO workers are also voters. Through the solid contacts that local NGO workers have established at many levels throughout the country, they are in a unique position to help mobilize new Funcinpec supporters in the future. Provincial party leaders can initiate and maintain regular contact with Cambodian NGO workers in order to inform themselves about development projects in their provinces. In this way, local party leaders they can serve as informal intermediaries between Funcinpec ministers, MPs and citizens in the provinces.

Such relationships can also be used to establish a positive association between Funcinpec and the improvements that are achieved through the efforts of NGOs at the local level. Through this process, the party can also begin to develop and implement its own community projects such as painting a wat or school, organizing youth and sports leagues, and inviting ministers and MPs to address village meetings about health and education.

Long-Term:

(1) Leadership Development and Training:

Although leadership is a quality that not everyone has, leadership development is a process that almost anyone can benefit from. Informal leaders exist at every level of Cambodian society, whether or not these individuals are recognized through appointed or elected title and position. Funcinpec lacks the human resources it needs to insure the growth of the party. To address this, new leadership at different levels of the party should be cultivated and encouraged. Particular emphasis should be placed on recruiting and training lower-level members in the capital and the provinces. Using this report and supplementary materials as a guide, Funcinpec could organized its own provincial workshops that focus on improving the organizational, management, and political skills of party members.

In addition, a combination of cultural and social factors continue to constrain the economic and political advancement of Cambodian women and the plight of most, both in the provinces and the capital, remains desperate and untenable. While Cambodian women have long been acknowledged as essential to the social and economic well-being of their families, they are routinely neglected in the country's political affairs and leadership positions remain firmly out of reach. Nevertheless, nearly 75 percent of an estimated population of 9 to 10 million are believed to be women and their dependent children. Such population estimates make a compelling argument for specifically targeting women for membership recruitment drives, as participants in party training activities, and for leadership positions in the party at the local level.

The strategic planning process described below can also be used one vehicle through which emerging local leaders are identified and given responsibility for undertaking specific tasks on behalf of the party.

(2) **Strategic Plan:**

In addition to the short-term measures described above, Funcinpec could develop a 3- or 5-Year Strategic Party Plan. Key elements of this plan would include identifying and developing

- * party goals and objectives;
- * electoral and post-electoral party activities at the national and provincial levels;
- * resources (human, financial and material);
- * timeframe.

Throughout this process, Funcinpec can solicit and incorporate the views of members from all levels of the party, both in Phnom Penh and the provinces. A special commission of MPs, ministers, other steering committee and representatives from important electoral districts could be established to carry this out.

CONCLUSION

Cambodia's post-election policy of national reconciliation represents the highest test of national will and self-determination. Last year's UN-organized parliamentary elections brought 90% of registered adult voters to the polls. Confronted with recurring political violence and intimidation, Funcinpec's perseverance during the campaign demonstrated an impressive force of party unity and courage. Today, as a partner in the Royal Government, Funcinpec is faced with the need to simultaneously balance several distinct but inter-related governance, parliamentary, and electoral functions at once. The retention, recruitment and training of members who can effectively serve Funcinpec's long-term interests is essential. A strategy to improve the leadership skills and active participation of members at all levels is equally central to the development and success of the party in the future.

This report has been prepared as a party management, organizing and training tool for the benefit of Funcinpec national and provincial party leaders and members. The information contained in this report reflects the observations and analysis of the NDI party development field staff who have worked with Funcinpec in Cambodia since January 1993. It is intended to assist Funcinpec with identifying and achieving its short and long-term party development goals. We hope that this report will contribute to this process.