



ខុមហ្វ្រែល COMFREL

REPORT

Observation of the National Assembly and Its Members 6th Legislature (2018-2023)



October 2023

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Preamble

The Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia, COMFREL, promotes democracy and civic engagement through network capacity building across the country and collaborating with member organizations and partners. Democracy is not merely about voting, but free and fair elections and the performance of duties of voter representatives (parliamentarians), and the National Assembly are essential for democracy.

COMFREL vigorously continues working to promote democracy and genuine democratic elections. Watching the performance of members of the National Assembly and the National Assembly itself is a mission in which COMFREL and other relevant stakeholders, particularly civil society organizations, associations, trade unions, and citizens, collaboratively monitor, provide information, and encourage representatives and the National Assembly to perform their duties under their mandate.

Through this Parliamentary Watch report, COMFREL expresses its deepest gratitude to COMFREL provincial networks, parliamentary monitoring officers, and stakeholders who actively provided feedback and suggestions during the consultation workshop held on December 29, 2022, meaningfully contributing to enhancing and finalizing the report.

COMFREL also extends its thanks for the cooperation provided by the National Assembly, Capital/provincial parliamentary offices nationwide and its officials at all levels.

Special appreciation goes to the COMFREL team members, namely **Mr. Korn Savang**, project manager, Mr. Sam Siklin, Ms. Mao Chanleakna, monitoring officer, and **Miss. Yan Sreymean**, a Project Volunteer, under the leadership of **Mr. Kim Chhorn**, COMFREL Executive Director.

Thanks to **Attorney Sek Sophorn**, legal advisor, for providing legal advice and perspective to the report and **Mr. Koul Panha**, COMFREL advisor, for his substantive feedback and suggestions.

Introduction

The Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia, COMFREL, has observed the operations of the National Assembly and its members for every Legislature, particularly the 6th National Assembly for a period from 2018 to 2023. COMFREL employed its provincial networks and central office staff members to monitor the plenary sessions of the National Assembly, the performance of its Standing Committee and expert commissions, and the activities of parliamentarians. The monitoring is aimed at presenting all related activities carried out by the National Assembly and its members to the voters who have voted for them. The overall objective of the Parliamentary Watch project, which is in line with COMFREL's mission, is to strengthen the accountability and responsibility of elected officials to the voters.

According to the Parliamentary Watch report of the National Assembly and its members in the 6th Legislature, COMFREL notes that the activities in fulfilling roles and responsibilities according to the Constitution, the Law on the Election of Members of the National Assembly, the Statute of Parliamentarians, the internal regulations of the National Assembly, decisions on the roles and responsibilities of expert commissions, the Law on the Common Statute of Civil Servants of the Legislative Branch, the organizational structure and functioning of the General Secretariat of the National Assembly, and the internal regulations of the General Secretariat of the National Assembly have not yet been fully implemented.

COMFREL and relevant stakeholders have provided recommendations, as written in the report, for both the National Assembly and parliamentarians, particularly the General Secretariat, to strengthen their roles and responsibilities in accordance with the additional principles that have been regulated.

COMFREL remains committed to doing the best of its ability to monitor, study, gather information, and produce a report, conveying recommendations provided by relevant stakeholders to the National Assembly. In this regard, COMFREL is pleased to collaborate with and receive information from the National Assembly and its members.

Objectives

COMFREL is a non-governmental organization that aims to empower Cambodian citizens to participate actively in political affairs and decision-making. The programs include civic education and engagement in providing constructive feedback to the government and elected officials. The advocacy and monitoring are for reform policies, promoting free and fair elections, and enhancing accountability of elected officials and the Government. The organization maintains a stance of impartiality in implementing the programs.

The Parliamentary Watch project, focusing on the National Assembly and its members, aims to monitor elected officials' performance and role fulfillment throughout their tenure.

This report aims to enlighten voters on the operational dynamics of the National Assembly as the legislative arm of Government and the extent to which its members discharge their duties during their term. The report does not encompass every aspect of the activities undertaken by the National Assembly and its members; it provides valuable information that helps voters better understand their elected representatives and how to engage with them effectively. The report also serves as a call to action for the National Assembly and its members to act with greater transparency and accountability towards the electorate.

Project methodology

To compile this report, COMFREL has applied several steps in its scientific methodology to ensure that the report is comprehensive and contains complete information. These steps are as follows:

1. Data/information collection for the report:
 - Observations conducted by COMFREL's provincial networks (secretaries) on field visits made by MPs.
 - The COMFREL provincial networks (secretaries) communicated with the Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Offices nationwide to request information related to MPs' missions.
 - Extract information about the activities of the National Assembly and MPs through social media and news broadcasting media outlets.
 - Extracting information about MP activities from their social media platforms;
 - Access to the information posted on the National Assembly's official webpage.
 - COMFREL monitoring officer(s) directly monitoring the plenary sessions of the National Assembly.
2. Incorporation of the collected data/information into a data management system by category;
3. Data extraction with a specific timeline and then writing a report;
4. Review of legal frameworks related to the report and adding legal aspects to the report;
5. Discussions with relevant stakeholders to provide additional recommendations on the shortcomings in the performance of the National Assembly and MPs based on concrete observations.

Shortcomings and observation experiences

In spite of the methodology described above, the report has inherent shortcomings in information and methodology gap for the report-producing process, including:

- Gaps in data/information collection, where some information sources are lost due to the lack of cooperation from the National Assembly and MPs;
- Lack of collaborative efforts in data/information gathering at the Capital/provincial parliamentary offices.
- Incomplete categorization of opinions expressed by MPs during the plenary sessions of the National Assembly, from qualitative to quantitative aspects.

COMFREL also views that the compilation of information flow of the draft laws and proposed laws may not be fully comprehensive for the public or voters.

Despite this, relevant stakeholders such as civil society organizations, associations, trade unions, and political party representatives expressed their opinions during the consultative meeting on the preliminary summary report, perceiving that the report is not yet sufficient since it still lacks some other significant parts, including the effectiveness of budget utilization. However, they acknowledged that the report provides fundamental information and knowledge as a basis for analysis and decision-making in the social process.

Summary of the National Assembly and MPs Watch

The 6th Legislature of the National Assembly was inaugurated in the aftermath of the general election held on July 29, 2018, with 20 political parties contesting. The election was not participated in by the Cambodia National Rescue Party, CNRP, which was a high potential challenger and an opposition party outside the government government. This party was dissolved by the Supreme Court before the election and 118 of its politicians were banned from political activities for an additional five years. This absence resulted in the election outcome of the 6th Legislature of the National Assembly having only one party, the Cambodian People's Party, CPP, winning all 125 seats. This led to the CPP having sole control over the executive and legislative branches.

COMFREL, through its monitoring of the performance of the National Assembly and MPs' activities over the 5 years (September 2018 to July 2023) of the 6th Legislature, observes that at the beginning of the term, the National Assembly did not face a deadlock, neither did it lack legitimacy in establishing the National Assembly compared to the 5th Legislature, which experienced a deadlock at the beginning of the year after the July 2013 election until July 2014, with a high controversy over the election results among political parties winning seats in the National Assembly. At that time, the CNRP protested against the election results and refused to join the CPP in forming the 5th Legislature of the National Assembly.

In the 6th Legislature, the National Assembly ran its operation and functioned smoothly after the official announcement of election results. Notably, even though all seats in the National Assembly were held by one party, the National Assembly opened its sessions to elect the leadership of the National Assembly and to vote on the confidence for the 6th mandate of the Government as a package without going through the procedures of Articles 82 and 119 new of the Constitution.

It is noteworthy and indicative of the results of the monitoring report that the activities and outcomes of the 6th Legislature of the National Assembly are different from those of the 5th Legislature. The 5th Legislature had representatives from different parties competing in resolving issues or making requests to the citizens, which could be seen through the field missions of MPs, their interventions to the Government, their participation in resolving issues, raising various concerns and requests of the citizens at the plenary sessions of the National Assembly, including questioning ministers and debating draft laws or proposed laws.

Below is a summary of activities related to the National Assembly and MPs in the 6th legislative term observed and compiled by COMFREL:

National Assembly Sessions:

The 6th legislative term, spanning from September 2018 to August 2022, saw the National Assembly convene for a total of 9 sessions, with 46 meetings for debating and adopting 180 agendas. On average, 106 MPs participated in approving each agenda.

Out of the 180 agendas brought for debate and adoption at the plenary session of the National Assembly, COMFREL observed that all the agendas were supported and commended by MPs. The purpose of approving draft or proposed laws is to ensure the state's obligations with partner countries or benefit national security. Despite the intentions of passing the laws being in the country's best interest, COMFREL noted that there were at least 5 agendas where the approval process in the National Assembly was particularly contentious, such as: (1) the draft law on the ratification of the supplementary treaty to the 1985 border treaty and the 2005 supplementary treaty between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; (2) the adoption of the draft law on national management in a state of emergency; (3) The draft law on the approval of the land border demarcation and marker planting with Vietnam; (4) the constitutional amendment draft law on Article 19 new (one), Article 89, Article 98 new, Article

102 new, Article 119 new (one), and Article 125 new, as well as the creation of two additional new articles, Article 3 new and Article 4 new; and (5) the draft law on the election law.

Among the contentious agenda, COMFREL observed that the process from the Council of Ministers' approval to the National Assembly's ratification was expedited, typically taking around 30 days for the National Assembly to approve a law. Furthermore, discussions at each session did not incorporate inputs from the general public, external experts, or inputs collected from various meetings or forums. Moreover, before the draft law approval, no MPs engaged in rigorous debate with the draft law makers (law defenders) about the content and potential impacts of the Law's implementation or raised public opinions. Most comments were praises for the draft laws and their drafters, with little to no opposition or critical remarks about the potential consequences of the laws when implemented.

Views/comments expressed by MPs

The monitoring of the plenary sessions of the National Assembly reveals that the MP's views/comments during the deliberation of the above 180 agendas amounted to a total of 674 minutes, equivalent to 11 hours and 14 minutes. A total of 21 MPs made 96 comments. Compared to the 5th legislative term, the 6th Legislature had fewer total minutes of comments, fewer instances of comment-making, and fewer MPs making comments.

The distribution of the comment duration showed that affirmative/supportive comments amounted to 539 minutes, significantly more than the negative/opposing comments by MPs in the plenary sessions of the National Assembly in the 6th legislative term, which totaled 18 minutes. Neutral/critical comments amounted to 117 minutes.

The comparison between the two legislative terms showed that although the 6th legislative term had fewer total minutes of comments, the duration of affirmative/supportive comments in the 6th legislative term was greater than in the 5th legislative term.

Activities of the Expert Commissions:

The National Assembly has 10 expert commissions that work in conjunction with the ministries and institutions under their respective sectors. Each Commission has clearly defined roles and responsibilities as outlined in the decision on the roles and responsibilities of each expert Commission in January 2014. These roles and responsibilities align with the National Assembly's duties as stipulated in the Constitution, including the examination of draft laws and proposed laws, oversight of the Government's performance, conducting field missions to engage with the electorate, and participation in public meetings to listen to the concerns raised by citizens and to facilitate interventions with the Government as requested by the voters. Observations of the expert commissions' grassroots activities revealed that the 10 commissions undertook a total of 905 missions, with 91.05% of these missions involving visiting the electorate, a higher percentage than other activities during the 6th legislative term. Furthermore, the total number of missions was higher compared to that in the 5th legislative term.

For the field missions conducted by the expert commissions, COMFREL has noted that no expert commissions have accepted and conveyed the issue from their field missions to deliberate in the plenary session of the National Assembly or to pose questions to the ministers or the Government.

Field missions to constituencies by MPs:

In the 6th Legislature, there were a total of 125 seats in the National Assembly. Among the total representatives, 128 (including both former representatives and new replacements) MPs conducted missions in and outside their respective constituencies. The field missions conducted by MPs in the 6th Legislature amounted to a total of 5,685 times, of which 4,508 missions within

their constituencies accounted for 79.3%, and 1,177 missions outside their constituencies accounted for 20.7%. According to the observations, the field missions by MPs in the 6th Legislature were fewer than those in the previous legislatures, especially less than that in the 5th Legislature.

Although the total number of field missions in the 6th Legislature was fewer than that in the 5th Legislature, the field missions with the purpose of "visiting voters" were more numerous than those in the 5th Legislature.

Based on the results that categorized the types of field missions and the opinions expressed by MPs during the sessions of the National Assembly, COMFREL views that the field missions of MPs, both within and outside their constituencies, did not correlate with the number of questions submitted to the legislative process, nor with the number of missions conducted. Furthermore, it was observed that many activities, particularly those with the purpose of "visiting" were indeed numerous, but there was no summoning or posing of questions received during the missions for the government representatives to answer, whether at the level of expert Commission or during the plenary sessions of the National Assembly.

Among the activities categorized, COMFREL notes that some activities did not fall within the mandate and roles of MPs, such as strengthening networks or accompanying leadership visits. Therefore, based on this report, the 6th National Assembly was not fully compliant with the activities as per Article 96 of the Constitution in a parliamentary system, compared to a National Assembly with multi-party representatives. The non-full compliance with the articles of the Constitution in a parliamentary system was due to the lack of posing questions to the Government, leading to numerous questions or discussions based on the principles set out in Article 1 of the Constitution, which states that Cambodia is a Kingdom where the King reigns according to the Constitution and the principles of liberal multi-party democracy.

Issuance of intervention letters to the Government:

Generally, COMFREL observes that the officials stationed at the National Assembly received the letters requesting the National Assembly's intervention. However, COMFREL still sees no responses to the substance of the submitted letters, no requests made or raised by MPs during the plenary sessions of the National Assembly or any intervention in accordance with the parliamentary mechanism. The resolution of raised issues through letter submission, when viewed in light of the laws that define the roles of MPs or the Expert Commissions, COMFREL sees that the execution of duties allows MPs the right to bring requests as stated in the submitted letters to be heard, through posing questions to the Government and to any expert commission, which may invite ministers to clarify issues related to their respective field according to Articles 96 and 97. However, this did not happen.

Note of observations:

Based on the observation results as well as on the Constitution and other relevant laws associated with the National Assembly and MPs in the 6th Legislature, COMFREL notes the following:

1. The National Assembly did not fully perform its role of monitoring and inspecting the implementation of laws by the Executive branch despite the numerous field missions conducted by MPs. It was observed that in the 6th Legislature, there was only one summoning, which was the summoning of the Minister of Justice to answer questions in the National Assembly, even though there were many issues raised, such as land issues, social injustice, human rights, issues, and labour disputes.
2. The 6th Legislature of the National Assembly was not very active in the parliamentary system because there was no activity of the National Assembly opening a session one day

a week to pose questions and get responses in accordance with the provisions mentioned in Article 96 of the Constitution.

3. The agendas that were adopted lacked opposing opinions because, during the plenary sessions of the National Assembly, there was a lack of debate or thorough questioning as in previous legislatures. Similarly, some draft laws were approved hastily without public debate or any campaigning within the party policy platforms when the party won the election.
4. The National Assembly has failed to fulfill its constitutional obligations in resolving the petitions of the citizens diligently, as it is evident that the petitions submitted by political parties, as well as the summited requests from associations, civil society organizations, and trade unions to the National Assembly have not been discussed or put into the agenda during its sessions.
5. Two types of MPs' field missions categorized by COMFREL do not fall within the legal framework or any decision regarding the roles and responsibilities of MPs. These two types of field missions accompany leaders and strengthen their own party, which represents a conflict of interest.
6. The offices of the capital/provincial constituencies are not active in providing information, receiving complaints and petitions from citizens, or sharing information about MPs.

Recommendations:

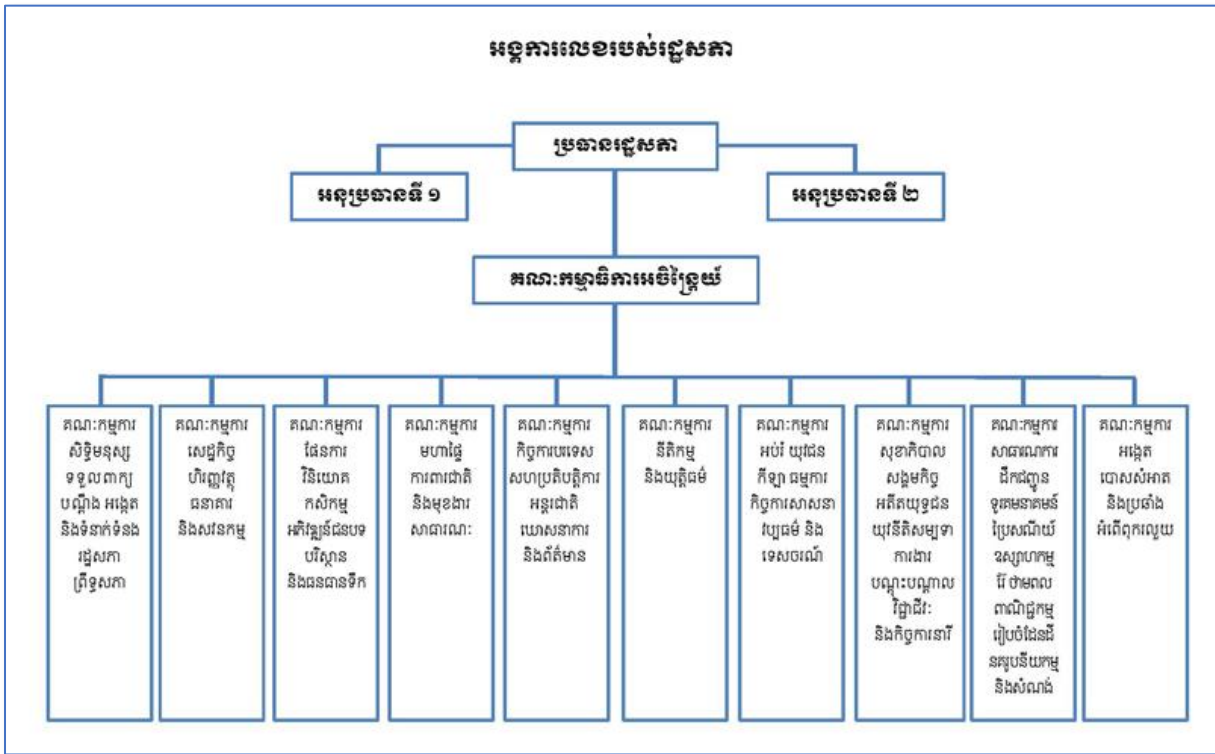
Based on the observations noted above, COMFREL wishes to propose the following recommendations:

- Articles 96 and 97 of the Constitution should be implemented to promote accountability and responsibility of the Executive branch before the Legislative Branch. In this regard, the National Assembly should invite the Government or the Prime Minister or ministers, who are members of the Cabinet and have received the vote of confidence from the National Assembly, to answer questions posed by MPs on various issues such as land disputes, human rights violations, labour disputes, and other matters.
- The Expert Commissions of the National Assembly should be active in field missions to constituencies, but such visits should focus on areas where there are problems between law enforcement authorities or companies and the citizens, in accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution.
- Strengthen the role and responsibilities of the officers and functions of the Capital/Provincial Parliamentary offices and further publicize these places to the citizens.
- The National Assembly, through its Expert Commissions in accordance with the decisions on the roles and responsibilities of the specialized committees, should thoroughly take into consideration and extract inputs and requests made by the public, experts, and relevant stakeholders who have raised various issues and opinions, and to comprehensively deliberate on those issues/opinions before adopting any draft laws and proposed laws.
- After MPs gain legitimacy, the loss of membership from any political party should not result in the loss or removal of their role as MPs before the end of the term, even if their party is dissolved.

The Detail Parliamentary Watch Report on the National Assembly and MPs, 6th Legislature (2018-2023)

This report covers the period from September 2018 to July 2023

The Organizational Chart of the National Assembly



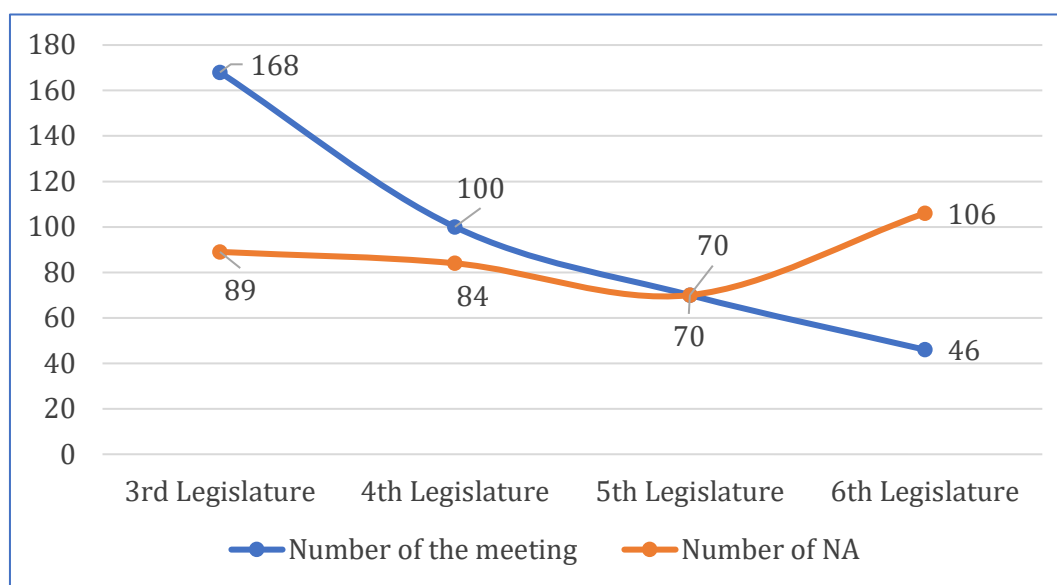
The scene of the National Assembly Plenary Session



A. Proceedings of the National Assembly Plenary Session

A1. The number of sessions and the number of MPs in each session

Graphic 1: Comparison of sessions of the National Assembly by each Legislature



The 6th Legislature of the National Assembly, starting from September 2018 to July 2023, convened for a total of 9 sessions, with 46 meetings held. On average, 106 MPs participated in each session to adopt various agendas.

Upon examining the comparison of sessions of the National Assembly by each Legislature, the results as shown in Graphic 1 indicate that the number of meetings in the 6th Legislature is fewer than those in the previous legislatures.

A2. Number of agendas brought for deliberation and adoption in the sessions

Up to the end of July 2023, the National Assembly has convened and adopted a total of 180 agendas and has not yet concluded the session as there is still one more session remaining. The proposed agendas brought for deliberation in the sessions are categorized as follows:

Table 1: Types of proposed agendas brought for deliberation and adoption

| No. | Types of proposed agendas | Number |
|--------------|---|------------|
| 1 | Ratification of Treaties and Agreements | 55 |
| 2 | Voting to Grant or Remove Confidence or to Grant Validity | 28 |
| 3 | Adoption of Draft Laws | 39 |
| 4 | Adoption of Draft Law on Finance | 21 |
| 5 | Adoption of Draft Laws on Legal Amendments | 13 |
| 6 | Other Agendas | 20 |
| 7 | Adoption of Draft Law on Establishing Institutions | 3 |
| 8 | Posing questions to Ministers to clarify before the National Assembly | 1 |
| TOTAL | | 180 |

Based on the 180 agenda adopted, COMFREL has divided them into 8 categories as shown in the table above.

A3. Description of each type of proposed agenda

Table 1 above lists the types of proposed agendas that COMFREL has categorized into draft laws, proposed laws, or agreements.

1. Ratification of Treaties and Agreements: This type of agenda, which the National Assembly has adopted, amounts to 55 agendas. Most of these involve the ratification of agreements or the recognition of treaties. For example, the agenda concerning the agreement between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on the promotion and reciprocal protection of investments.

2. Voting to Grant or Remove Confidence or to Grant Validity: The National Assembly has adopted 28 agendas of this type. These agendas involve granting confidence or validity to MPs who are moving to other positions or who have passed away. This type of agenda also includes votes of confidence in government reshuffles. For instance, on October 25, 2021, the National Assembly voted to grant confidence for the appointment of additional government members to His Excellency Pa Socheatvong as a Senior Minister in charge of Special Missions. Another case occurred on June 24, 2021, when the National Assembly voted to grant confidence to the new candidate for the President of the National Election Committee (NEC).

3. Adoption of draft laws: The National Assembly adopted additional new draft laws, totalling 39. On April 10, 2020, the National Assembly adopted a draft law on Nation Management in the State of Emergency. On December 13, 2018, it adopted a draft law on trusts and several other laws, such as the Law on construction and commercial transactions via electronic systems.

4. Adoption of the draft law on Finance and Budget: This type of agenda was adopted by the National Assembly, totalling 21 in number. This type of agenda primarily discusses budget management and financial settlements. On November 26, 2019, the National Assembly drafted a law on financial management for the year 2020. Further, on March 26, 2020, it adopted a draft law on the Government's Guarantee on Payment Settlement to Han Seng Coal Mine Company for the management of a 265-megawatt coal power plant investment in Oddar Meanchey Province.

5. Adoption of drafts on Law Amendments: This category of agenda was adopted by the National Assembly, totaling 13. It involves the National Assembly's adoption of draft laws on amending certain articles of existing laws. For instance, on October 25, 2021, the National Assembly adopted the draft law on amendments to Article 19 new, Article 82 new, Article 106 new (one), Article 119 new, and Article 137 new of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, as well as Articles 3 and 4 of the Additional Constitutional Law, aiming to ensure the normal functioning of national institutions.

6. Adoption of draft laws on the establishment of institutions: This type has three agendas adopted by the National Assembly to manage the creation of institutions. For instance, on March 13, 2020, the National Assembly adopted a draft law on establishing the Ministry of Industry, Science, Technology, and Innovation.

7. Other agendas: This category of other agendas besides the ones aforementioned has 20 agendas. An example is the case on April 1, 2019, when the National Assembly listened to its activity report for a period between the first and second sessions of the sixth Legislature.

8. Summoning and questioning ministers for clarification at the National Assembly: This category has one agenda. For instance, on July 4, 2019, the National Assembly summoned the

Minister of Justice to clarify the work by posing questions. COMFREL observed that MPs did not pose questions regarding issues affecting the citizens seeking justice, such as land disputes and other conflicts, unlike previous legislatures where opposition parties participated. In this Legislature, the questioning was limited to what the Ministry of Justice had done in previous legislatures and what plans it had prepared to improve its role in the sixth Legislature.

A4. Agendas adopted with controversy

During the sixth Legislature, COMFREL noted that the agendas to be adopted need to go through the checking process and approval by the Expert Commissions before being presented in the session for adoption. However, before the adoption of the laws, COMFREL observed that those laws were not thoroughly debated or questioned on their content by the MPs. Among the adopted 167, there were 5 agendas that COMFREL observed to have been adopted with significant controversy, including:

- First, the draft law on the Ratification of the Supplementary Treaty to the 1985 Border Treaty and the 2005 Supplementary Treaty between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.
- Second, the draft law on the Management of State in Emergency was adopted.
- Third, the draft law on the Adoption of Protocol on the Land Border Demarcation and Marker Planting with Vietnam.
- Fourth, the Constitutional Law Draft on the Amendments to Article 19 new (one), Article 89, Article 98 new, Article 102 new, Article 119 new (one), and Article 125 new of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, along with the creation of two additional new articles, namely Article 3 new and Article 4 new.
- Fifth, the on the amendment of the election law aimed to enhance the value of multi-party liberal democracy and promote responsible political leadership.

A 5: Reasons behind the controversy in the adoption of the five draft laws

- **Law 1:** The controversy over the adoption of the draft law concerning the Ratification of the Supplementary Treaty to the 1985 Border Treaty and the 2005 Supplementary Treaty between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam¹ is significant. Based on the report presented by the Government on the border post-installation from Ratanakiri to Kampot provinces, which began in June 2006 until July 2019, 84% of the 375 border posts have been erected along the approximately 1,270-kilometer shared border between the two nations. This border issue has been a contentious topic in public discourse. The draft law was not applauded, generating strong opposition from political parties not represented in the National Assembly, civil society organizations, and extensive debates in media programs and on social media platforms. Despite the discussions, the Government did not seek opinions or consider the views of relevant stakeholders. Furthermore, no MPs in the National Assembly raised the issue for debate during the plenary sessions. On the contrary, the Government expedited the process of pushing the draft law on the Ratification of the Supplementary Treaty to the 1985 Border Treaty and the 2005 Supplementary Treaty between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the National Assembly, which was adopted in the third session on November 4, 2019, with 110 affirmative votes out of the 110 MPs present from the total of 125 MPs. The Law was discussed in the National Assembly session for 35

¹ Source of video footage: <https://bit.ly/3QhmDP> ,<https://bit.ly/3Zf1Css> ,<https://bit.ly/3ijxEmr>,
<https://bit.ly/3GGuliH>

minutes, with His Excellency Ti Sokun speaking for 12 minutes (starting the presentation to the National Assembly at 8:05 AM and concluding the adoption at 8:40 AM).

The successful adoption of this Law led to some political activists being charged in court. The Law has gone through the following process:

- The plenary session of the Cabinet of the Council of Ministers was held on October 11, 2019, to discuss and approve the draft law².
 - The Government's statement was issued on November 1, 2019³.
 - The National Assembly adopted the draft law on November 4, 2019.
 - The Senate reviewed and finally adopted the Law on November 18, 2019, during the fourth plenary session of the fourth Legislature⁴.
 - It is observed that the Law took approximately 38 days (from October 11, 2019, to November 18, 2019) from the cabinet meeting to the Senate's adoption.
- **Law 2:** The controversy over the adoption of the draft law on the Management of the Nation in Emergency⁵. The draft law consists of 5 chapters and 11 articles. The National Assembly adopted it on April 10, 2020, with 115 votes, taking a total of 93 minutes to complete the adoption process (starting the agenda presentation to the National Assembly at 8:19 AM and reaching the adoption at 9:52 AM). Two MPs, namely His Excellency Serei Kosal and His Excellency Ti Sokun, expressed their opinions during the National Assembly session. The Law outlines the objectives of declaring a state of emergency and the management of the nation during such a period, including penal provisions. The Law was not subject to broad public debate or input from the general public by the Government. Moreover, the adoption process was expedited, taking only 11 days from the Cabinet's approval to the National Assembly's adoption.

The adoption of this draft law was similar to the first Law, filled with scepticism from stakeholders, receiving criticism from national and international observers amidst a tense political climate and MPs of the sole ruling party. Some opinions did not reject the creation of the Law but called for a study to assess the magnitude of the issue. Other opinions suggested that the Law was a restriction of freedoms and an attempt to control dissent. The draft law underwent the following process:

- The Council of Ministers approved the draft and forwarded it to the National Assembly on March 31, 2020 (requesting an adoption from the Legislative Branch without holding a plenary session of the Cabinet of the Council of Ministers)⁶.
- The Expert Commission on Legislation and Justice began studying the draft law at the National Assembly on the afternoon of April 7, 2020, following the approval of this draft law by the Standing Committee of the National Assembly for review and study⁷.
- The National Assembly adopted the draft law during its 4th session of the 6th Legislature on the morning of April 10, 2020, through discussion and adoption of the draft law⁸.

² <https://bit.ly/3kfEqu6>

³ <https://bit.ly/3ZGUnKa>

⁴ <https://bit.ly/3ZHVut5> & <https://bit.ly/3J1DFzr>

⁵ Source: <https://bit.ly/3ZdOfun>, <https://bit.ly/3ItkA8P>, <https://bit.ly/3if3nFv>, <https://bit.ly/3Zg3oKa>, <https://bit.ly/3GHwo6j>, <https://bit.ly/3jRJCEu>, <https://bit.ly/3Cl7zdC>,

⁶ <https://bit.ly/3XDn1tL>

⁷ <https://bit.ly/3w9B8LK>

⁸ <https://bit.ly/3XIK8Dv>

- **Law 3:** The draft law on the Adoption of Protocol on the Land Border Demarcation and Marker Planting with Vietnam⁹ has not been acclaimed by the public or the relevant parties. It has been controversial, receiving criticism from former MPs of the now-dissolved Cambodia National Rescue Party, from members of the "100 Nights" working group, and from the Cambodia Watch Council abroad. They have declared their non-recognition of this Law, perceiving that its adoption took place in a single-party National Assembly without multi-party voices and does not reflect the genuine will of the citizens. The Law was hastily approved, taking only 40 minutes during the plenary session of the National Assembly (starting from the presentation of the report to the National Assembly at 8:18 AM until the adoption at 8:58 AM) by a vote of 116 out of 116 MPs on November 2, 2020. During the plenary session of the National Assembly, only one MP, namely His Excellency Ti Sokun, expressed his opinion. From the approval by the Council of Ministers to the final adoption by the Senate, the process took a total of 34 days. This draft law, consisting of three articles, was signed by both parties responsible for border affairs on October 5, 2019, in Hanoi, Socialist Republic of Vietnam¹⁰. The process of this draft law included as follows:
 - The Protocol on the Demarcation and Border Post Installation between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam took place on October 5, 2019¹¹.
 - The Council of Ministers approved the acceptance on October 9, 2020.
 - The President of the Legislative and Justice Commission of the National Assembly brought it up for internal review and study¹² on October 23, 2020.
 - The National Assembly's plenary session adopted it entirely on November 2, 2020¹³.
 - The Senate fully endorsed it during its session on the morning of November 12, 2020¹⁴.
 - The total duration of the adoption process for the draft law was approximately 34 days (from October 9, 2020, to November 2, 2020).

- **Law 4:** The draft law on the Amendments of several articles of the Constitution, specifically Article 19 new, Article 89, Article 98 new, Article 102 new, Article 119 new (one), and Article 125 new, along with the creation of two additional articles, namely Article 3 new and Article 4 new¹⁵. This draft law was adopted by the National Assembly on July 28, 2022, with 105 votes out of 106 MPs during its 7th session, which took 98 minutes (starting from the presentation of the report to the National Assembly at 8:13 AM and reaching the adoption at 9:51 AM without any MPs expressing their opinions). This draft law has also not been acclaimed by the public. It became a topic of discussion, particularly among civil society organizations, which issued statements and expressed concerns that the constitutional amendments could affect the stability of state power, the Executive and Judicial powers, and the respect for the rights and freedoms of Cambodian citizens enshrined in the Constitution. Political parties that did not support the amendments argued that its purpose was to reduce the power of the National Assembly and the influence of opposition parties within it. Following the National Assembly's adoption and subsequent public criticism, the Ministry of Justice announced a meeting

⁹ Source: <https://bit.ly/3GhjtGG>, <https://bit.ly/3WTP5y4>, <https://bit.ly/3jSzHOY>

¹⁰ <https://www.cpp.org.kh/details/246965>

¹¹ <https://www.cpp.org.kh/details/246965>

¹² <https://bit.ly/3XBEgvF>

¹³ <https://bit.ly/3wd33uo>

¹⁴ <https://bit.ly/3XqQ09C>

¹⁵ Source: <https://bit.ly/3i9wxpD>, <https://bit.ly/3IlKyv3>, <https://bit.ly/3jSryKr>, <https://bit.ly/3CoCJAG>,

with civil society organizations and political parties outside the Government to provide explanations. However, civil society organizations and political parties outside the Government declined the meeting, stating that inputs provided to the draft law prior to the National Assembly's adoption were essential, but once the National Assembly had already adopted it, there was no need for further discussion. The process of adopting this Law included:

- The Council of Ministers decided to fully approve the draft law on the Constitutional Amendments on August 8, 2022¹⁶.
- The Council of Ministers sent the draft law on the Amendments of Several Constitutional Articles to the National Assembly on July 13, 2022¹⁷.
- The Standing Committee of the National Assembly approved the submission of the draft law to the Legislative and Justice Commission of the National Assembly for review and study on July 19, 2022¹⁸.
- Representatives from four political parties outside the Government, namely the Candlelight Party, the Khmer Will Party, the Cambodian Reform Party, and the Grassroots Democracy Party, submit a petition to the National Assembly against the 10th amendment of the Constitution on July 21, 2022¹⁹.
- The 7th session of the 6th Legislature of the National Assembly on July 28, 2022, adopted the draft law in its entirety.
- The Senate received the adopted draft law from the National Assembly on August 1, 2022²⁰.
- The Senate convened its 9th session of the 4th Legislature on August 5, 2022, to review and provide opinions on the 10th amendment of the Constitution, which was approved without any changes²¹.
- The adoption process of the draft law took approximately 29 days (from the approval by the Council of Ministers on July 8, 2022, to the Senate's approval on August 5, 2022).

A6. The substance of MPs' opinions during the plenary session of the National Assembly

MPs have parliamentary immunity, which is divided into two: 1) absolute parliamentary immunity and 2) comparative immunity. Absolute parliamentary immunity guarantees the freedom to express opinions or comments during the adoption of any matter within the scope of parliamentary performing duties as an MP. The comparative immunity ensures that no MP is subject to accusations, arrest, detention, or imprisonment (Article 4 of the Law on the Statute of MPs). This point indicates that MPs can express their opinions without fear. Raising issues of the citizens in the National Assembly is part of MPs' duties to act on behalf of the citizens (Article 77 of the Constitution). In the National Assembly sessions, it is crucial for MPs to debate legal issues or the ineffectiveness of problem resolution for the citizens, legal issues, the ineffectiveness of problem resolution for the citizens, or the implications of laws, or to raise public opinion. The expression of opinions on any agenda is not merely to praise the Government or its leadership but to highlight the shortcomings and impacts of the laws that have been adopted and implemented.

¹⁶ <https://bit.ly/3XjmgXf>

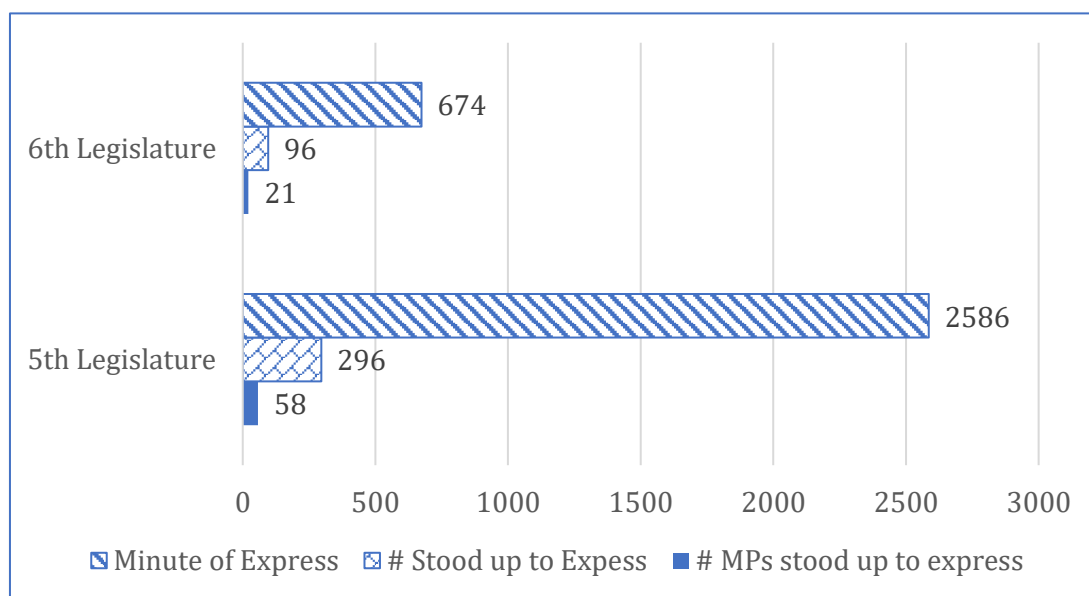
¹⁷ <https://bit.ly/3QQMePu>

¹⁸ <https://bit.ly/3Xpu3CL>

¹⁹ <https://bit.ly/3Xpu8q3>

²⁰ <https://bit.ly/3HnbaLn>

²¹ <https://bit.ly/3GJkrf0>, <https://bit.ly/3HcNGYZ>

Graphic 2: Comparison of time spent and expression of opinions

Observations by COMFREL Monitoring officers during the plenary sessions of the National Assembly revealed that the expression of opinions by MPs in the National Assembly sessions on all 167 agendas amounted to a total of 674 minutes, equivalent to 11 hours and 14 minutes. During this period, 21 MPs stood up to express their opinions 96 times. These figures, when compared to the 5th Legislature where 58 MPs stood up to express their opinions 296 times, spending a total of 2,586 minutes, equivalent to 43 hours and 6 minutes, show that the 6th Legislature had less time spent on expressing opinions, fewer instances of standing up to express opinions, and fewer members participating in the discussions during the National Assembly sessions than the 5th Legislature.

It should also be noted that in the 5th Legislature, there were 123 members from two parties, while in the 6th Legislature, there were 125 members from a single party.

COMFREL analyzed the expression of opinions by MPs who stood up to speak during the plenary sessions of the National Assembly, categorizing the voices into three categories for easier analysis:

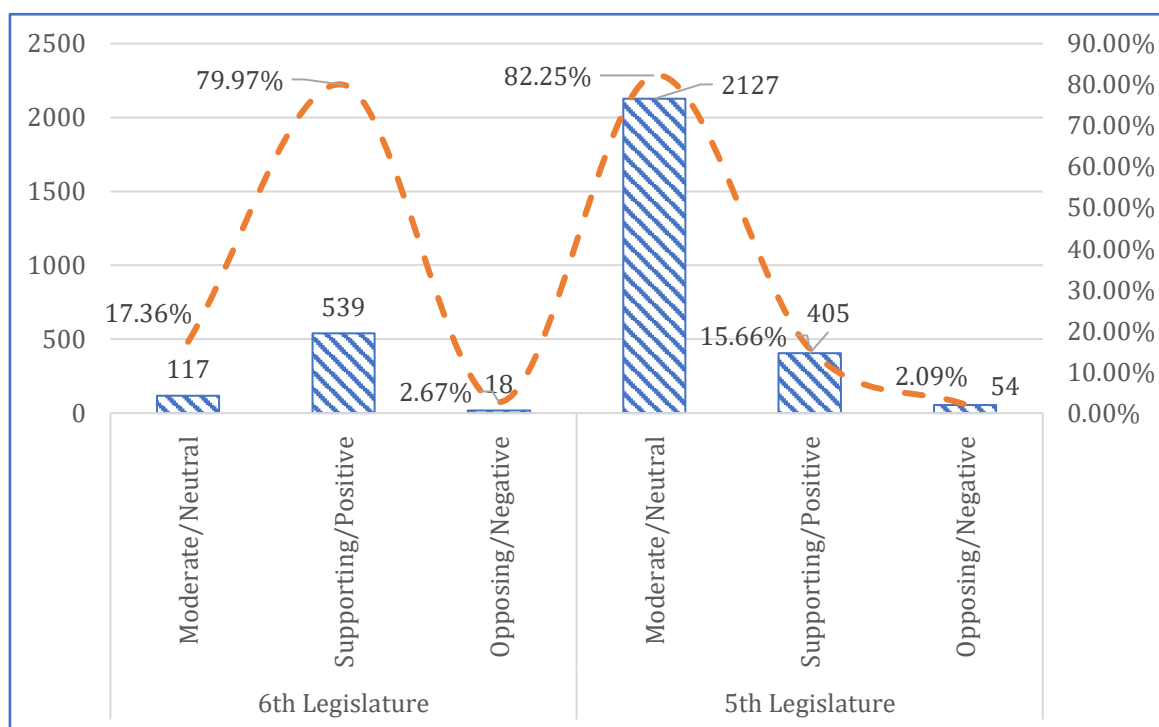
1. **Supporting or positive opinions** focus on the expressions of MPs praising the advantages of the proposed Law, draft law or any actor or institution, recognizing the improvements in the content of the proposed agenda brought for deliberation. For example, in his speech, an MP expresses, "**I am pleased with this draft law** that the government... **Congratulations**, this is good news for our people...". **Supporting opinion** means any opinion that praises or expresses pleasure/delight with the draft law being debated in the session.
2. **Opposing or negative opinions** focus on the expressions of MPs highlighting the defects of any actor or institution or the negative aspects of a proposed law or draft law that could influence or cause problems for the beneficiaries in the agenda brought for deliberation. For example, one MP expressed an opinion about consumer protection during the draft law debate, explaining the reasons for requesting the removal of certain content from article(s) in the draft law because it was seen as redundant to the original article... Another case involved one MP who spoke about the deficiencies and weaknesses in the implementation by a particular ministry with regard to the injustice of provincial judicial officers (not mentioning their names), due to the reasons... These expressions indicate the

shortcomings that the judicial officers have inflicted on the gullible citizens... This means that the content of MPs' raised opinions does not align with the meaning or content of the current discussion, and in this case, **it is considered an opposing or disagreement or negative opinion.**

3. **Moderate or neutral opinions** focus on MPs who hold conventional views towards individuals or institutions without engaging in harsh criticism or praise. Generally, this opinion is difficult to categorically distinguish. For instance, one MP expressed his view on the RZ agreement by stating, "I request the Honorable Minister and the competent authorities to assist in disseminating the laws and agreements on the comprehensive economic partnership RZ." This instance is considered a neutral opinion.

A7. The substance of MPs' comments/expressions compared to the total duration

Graphic 3: Comparison of the duration of expressing comments during parliamentary sessions



Based on the direct monitoring of MPs expressing their views during the parliamentary sessions and through the categorization of the tones of viewed expressed in the 6th Legislature, it is evident that supporting/positive comments amounted to 539 minutes, exceeding the duration of opposing/negative opinions, which totalled 18 minutes, and moderate/neutral comments, which totalled 117 minutes. In the 5th Legislature, supporting/positive opinions amounted to 405 minutes, exceeding the duration of opposing/negative opinions, which totalled 54 minutes, but less than moderate/neutral opinions, which totalled 2,127 minutes.

The comparison between the two legislatures shows that although the 6th Legislature had a shorter total duration than that in the fifth legislature, the duration of supporting/positive opinion in the 6th Legislature exceeded that of the fifth term.

COMFREL wishes to quote the opinion expressed by MPs who stood up to comment on the draft law on the Management of the State in Emergency during the plenary session of the National Assembly, which adopted the draft law on April 10, 2020, as follows:

1. One MP mentioned, "I have gone through many experiences... I highly appreciate the creation of this Law." The situation... "This Law is very appropriate for the situation. This Law is the life of the nation. Our foes used an approach that can kill two birds with one stone. If we do not address the issue of workers, they say we do not care, but when we take measures, they say we are not doing it right. COVID-19 is like guerrilla warfare, so we use guerrillas against guerrillas."
 - This opinion is considered "neutral" and addresses the importance and benefits of the draft law.
 - The time of opinion expression was between 8:34 and 8:49 A.M.
 - Its duration was 15 minutes.

2. Another MP expressed his gratitude to the President of the National Assembly for allowing him to speak on this Law. "Congratulations to Samdech Hun Sen for initiating this draft law in accordance with the situation." For major countries... "Samdech leads the fight against this disease before others, even before the leaders of the World Health Organization and the United Nations. The Cambodian people are truly proud to have such a clever leader who has made the world recognize that although we are a small country, we have a big heart for humanity, which has touched and impressed the world with gratitude and general recognition from the leadership" and... including foreigners. "Because of the proper and meticulous leadership policy of Samdech Techo, with active participation from all relevant stakeholders, especially from the medical experts, I support this law."
 - This opinion is considered a "**supporting/positive opinion**", praising and supporting the leader and the creator of this Law, without discussing the content of the Law itself.
 - The time of this opinion expression was between 8:49 and 9:01 A.M.
 - The duration of this comment was 12 minutes.

3. Another MP raised a question during the session on July 4, 2019, to His Excellency Ang Vong Vathana, Minister of Justice, about the injustice of the judges in Battambang province. His speech did not mention the names of any judges but raised the issue of collusion between judges and authorities to oppress innocent citizens.
 - This opinion expression is considered "opposing/negative."
 - The time of the opinion expression was between 10:04 and 10:07 A.M.
 - Its duration was 3 minutes.

A8. MPs expressing opinions during the parliamentary sessions

The table below lists the names of 21 MPs who took the floor to express their opinions during the parliamentary sessions.

Table 2: List of the 21 MPs expressing opinions during the parliamentary sessions

| No. | MP Name | Number of opinion expressions | Neutral | Positive | Negative | Total |
|-----|-------------|-------------------------------|---------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1 | Chheang Vun | 27 | 19 | 120 | 3 | 142 |
| 2 | Ti Sokun | 12 | 23 | 77 | 1 | 101 |
| 3 | Hun Many | 7 | 11 | 60 | 0 | 71 |
| 4 | Serei Kosal | 5 | 10 | 51 | 0 | 61 |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| 5 | Lork Kheng | 6 | 13 | 42 | 0 | 55 |
| 6 | Mok Mareth | 6 | 0 | 46 | 0 | 46 |
| 7 | Pen Panha | 4 | 3 | 30 | 7 | 40 |
| 8 | Chea Vandeth | 8 | 18 | 19 | 0 | 37 |
| 9 | Sam Rithy | 4 | 0 | 32 | 0 | 32 |
| 10 | Suos Yara | 3 | 6 | 13 | 0 | 19 |
| 11 | Pen Simorn | 3 | 0 | 13 | 3 | 16 |
| 12 | Tea Banh | 1 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 8 |
| 13 | Loy Sophat | 1 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 8 |
| 14 | Cheam Yeap | 2 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| 15 | Nin Saphon | 1 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 7 |
| 16 | Nguon Socheat | 1 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| 17 | Nong Vassana | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| 18 | Kep Chuktema | 1 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| 19 | Prach Chan | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 20 | Hu Sry | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 21 | Sar Kheng | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 96 | 117 | 539 | 18 | 674 |

In summary of the list of opinion expressions above, it was reflected that the dissenting/negative views expressed by MPs, such as criticism of the laws discussed, were not many; they did not reveal shortcomings or impacts of the draft law, nor did they reflect the public opinion to be brought for debate prior to the draft law adoption as robustly as that in the fifth Legislature. On the contrary, COMFREL observed supporting/positive opinions that indicated the draft law was sufficiently comprehensive by merely listening to the presentation of the draft law and then adopting it.

A9. The response process of the National Assembly to the public

COMFREL noted in this sixth Legislature that some political party representatives and some affected citizens had submitted letters to the National Assembly through the parliamentary and voter mechanisms, such as the case on June 11, 2019, when representatives of the Grassroots Democratic Party submitted a letter to the National Assembly requesting intervention on a case of land refilling in Tamok Lake (Boeung Kob Sriv)²². On August 17, representatives from four political parties requested a meeting with the President of the National Assembly but were refused. This refusal was responded to with a letter justifying that the Constitution and the internal regulations of the National Assembly do not specify the procedures and methods for meetings and discussions between the National Assembly and political parties without a seat in

²² Source: <https://bit.ly/3XqFTwb>

the Assembly²³. Another case involved 134 civil society organizations, associations, and trade unions working on the promotion and protection of human rights, women's rights, and workers' rights, who jointly submitted an open letter to the National Assembly on February 7, 2022, seeking an intervention to resolve the Naga World labour dispute²⁴ located near the National Assembly compound. COMFREL observed that in this case, no MPs came to receive the letter and raise the issues contained in the letter submitted to the National Assembly for discussion or to summon any minister for questioning.

Based on various articles related to the National Assembly enshrined in the Constitution, The National Assembly is a place where elected representatives shall go to office for their parliamentary work after being officially recognized as representatives. The National Assembly has a General Secretariat with roles and responsibilities, among others, to handle various external communications (Article 14 new of the Internal Regulations of the National Assembly). The General Secretariat is also led by a Secretary-General (Article 15 new of the Internal Regulations of the National Assembly). Members of the National Assembly or representatives represent all Cambodian citizens nationwide, not just their constituencies (Constitution, Article 77), and have roles in assisting citizens to have a voice and bring concerns and needs to the decision-making of the state (the National Assembly and the Government).

All Cambodian citizens can exercise their rights by raising issues with their representatives to help resolve them through various mechanisms, such as submitting letters, raising opinions through meetings and forums, etc. This is not limited to parties that have won seats and have representatives sitting in the National Assembly to have the right or ability to raise issues or receive resolutions from the National Assembly.

If examining the roles of representatives, the roles and responsibilities of the National Assembly's Expert Commissions (Decision on the major roles and responsibilities), as well as the roles of the General Secretariat and the related departments under the General Secretariat (Decision detailing the Secretariat General), COMFREL perceives that the structure, roles, and responsibilities of the National Assembly are sufficiently comprehensive to perform tasks effectively for the citizens and voters and are adequate for intervention and receiving information.

Generally, COMFREL observed that in cases where documents requesting intervention were submitted to the National Assembly, they were received by the officials of the National Assembly, but COMFREL did not see a response to the issues raised or representatives raising them in any plenary session of the National Assembly or intervening according to the procedures of the National Assembly. The resolution of the problems through the submission of letters; when looking at the principles of the Law that specify the roles of representatives or Expert Commissions, COMFREL sees that the implementation of roles defined in Articles 96 and 97 of the Constitution, which state that representatives have the right to question the Government, and Expert Commissions can invite ministers to clarify any issue related to their respective sector, as shown in the letters mentioned above, is not present. Furthermore, when looking at the Decision on the major roles and responsibilities of each Expert Commission of the National Assembly in 2014²⁵, it is seen that the Expert Commissions have not yet fully fulfilled what was mentioned in that Decision.

²³ Source: <https://bit.ly/3IFURtX>

²⁴ Source: <https://bit.ly/3X8PqYY>

²⁵ <https://shorturl.at/CDL39>

A10. Comparison of the issuance of intervention letters from MPs and the National Assembly

To the extent of observation and receiving information about the acceptance of letters by the National Assembly, COMFREL noted that the National Assembly received three letters in this Legislature (there may be more that COMFREL did not receive). All three letters noted requests for MPs or the National Assembly to help intervene. It was observed that no MPs or the Expert Commissions intervened, requesting the Government to examine and publicly clarify the requests for intervention submitted to the National Assembly.

Based on COMFREL's report for the 5th Legislature, it was revealed that citizens submitted letters to their MPs to request intervention and resolution of various disputes concerning land issues and labour conflicts. These letters were observed to have been issued by 59 MPs from the Cambodian People's Party and the Cambodia National Rescue Party, to urge the Government to take measures and resolve issues through information received by the MPs. In total, during the 5th Legislature, there were 537 letters issued by MPs to make an intervention and to request actions taken. Among these were 165 intervention letters, 362 petitions, 1 opinion letter, 6 question letters, 1 letter requesting clarification before the National Assembly, and 61 response letters.

Overall, the intervention activities through the receipt and submission of letters by MPs indicate that the 5th Legislature was more active than the 6th Legislature because the former had a diversity of political party representatives competing to resolve issues the citizens were facing, whereas the latter had only MPs from one political party.

B. Activities of the National Assembly's Expert Commissions

The National Assembly is structured with leadership by a President of the National Assembly, two Vice-Presidents, and the Standing Committees of the National Assembly (new Article 7 of the Internal Regulations of the National Assembly). The Standing Committees of the National Assembly include the President of the National Assembly, the Vice-Presidents, and all 10 Expert Commissions of the National Assembly (Article 84 of the Constitution and the organizational structure of the National Assembly²⁶).

B1. The 10 Expert Commissions of the National Assembly

The 10 Expert Commissions of the National Assembly (new Article 6 of the Internal Regulations of the National Assembly) include:

1. Commission on Human Rights, Complaints, Investigates, and Liaison with the National Assembly and the Senate
2. Commission on Economics, Finance, Banking, and Auditing
3. Commission on Planning, Investment, Agriculture, Rural Development, Environment, and Water Resources
4. Commission on Interior, National Defense, and Civil Service Administration
5. Commission on Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation, Information, and Media
6. Commission on Legislation and Justice
7. Commission on Education, Youth, Sports, Religious Affairs, Culture, and Tourism
8. Commission on Public Health, Social Affairs, Veterans, Youth Rehabilitation, Labor, Vocational Training, and Women's Affairs
9. Commission on Public Works, Transport, Telecommunications, Post, Industry, Mines, Energy, Commerce, Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction and
10. Commission on Investigation and Anti-Corruption.

²⁶ <https://shorturl.at/yE489>

B2. Roles and Responsibilities of the National Assembly's Expert Commissions

The 10 Expert Commissions of the National Assembly are the executive subordinates of the National Assembly in exercising legislative power in accordance with the Constitution and the prevailing laws. Each Commission has the core responsibility of examining, studying draft laws, and proposing laws related to the sectors under its jurisdiction, especially matters delegated by the Standing Committees of the National Assembly. Other key roles include monitoring, investigating, conducting missions to ministries, institutions, and various bases to inquire about the well-being of citizens, tracking the implementation of laws, as well as understanding the progress in the implementation of government policies, and then reporting to the President of the National Assembly. Each Expert Commission examines complaints, mediates, or intervenes with relevant authorities and institutions to resolve complaints or requests from citizens (the Decision on the Roles and Responsibilities of the Expert Commission, July 2014)²⁷.

1. **The Commission on Human Rights, Complaints, Investigates, and liaison with the National Assembly and the Senate** examines draft laws and proposed laws related to human rights as well as handles citizen complaints, investigations, and liaison with the National Assembly and the Senate, and other tasks delegated by the Standing Committees²⁸.
2. **The Commission on Economics, Finance, Banking, and Auditing** examines draft laws and proposed laws related to the economics, finance, banking, and audit sectors, as well as other tasks delegated by the Standing Committees²⁹.
3. **The Commission on Planning, Investment, Agriculture, Rural Development, Environment, and Water Resources** examines, studies, researches, and provides opinions on proposed laws and draft laws related to the sectors of planning, investment, agriculture, rural development, environment, and water resources, and other tasks delegated by the Standing Committees³⁰.
4. **The Commission on Interior, National Defense, and Civil Service Administration** initiate ideas for proposing laws or requests for legal amendments, especially related to the sectors of national defence, national security, and public functions, or organizes discussions, workshops, and coordination with relevant institutions to find solutions to various issues within the Commission's jurisdiction³¹.
5. **The Commission on Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation, Information, and Media** examines, researches, and provides opinions on all draft laws, proposed laws, and other documents sent by the Standing Committees. It is the executive unit of the National Assembly that monitors and oversees implementation in the fields of foreign affairs, international cooperation, information, and media as legislated³².
6. **The Commission on Legislation and Justice** has several core responsibilities, including the examination and proposal of legal amendments, as well as the review of legal frameworks that are not in accordance with the actual situation, aiming to ensure harmony with national, regional, and international laws. It encourages active participation from the public in various forums, aiming to respond to requests and ensure the legal interests of the citizens. A vital aspect of the Commission's work is to receive and examine complaints and various requests from citizens through the responsible sectors, make proposals through the President of the National Assembly, and resolve them³³.

²⁷ Source: <https://bit.ly/3IPPYyI> (as stipulated in the Decision on the Roles and Responsibilities of Each Expert Commission of the National Assembly)

²⁸ <https://bit.ly/3wyugrv>

²⁹ <https://bit.ly/3kPhQZy>

³⁰ <https://bit.ly/3Ra7AHu>

³¹ <https://bit.ly/3XKNLsQ>

³² <https://bit.ly/3XKNLsQ>

³³ <https://bit.ly/3JjgaSz>

7. **The Commission on Education, Youth, Sports, Religious Affairs, Culture, and Tourism** conducts research and studies to initiate any propose laws deemed necessary within its responsible sectors. It invites ministers, dignitaries, or leaders of appropriate institutions to explain and address challenges and take measures, including addressing concrete social issues within their competence³⁴.
8. **The Commission on Health, Social Affairs, Veterans, Youth Rehabilitation, Labor, Vocational Training, and Women's Affairs** examines and researches draft laws or proposed laws related to its core sectors, including health, social affairs, veterans, youth rehabilitation, labour, vocational training, and women's affairs. Other activities include field missions, aiming to respond to the requests made by citizens and ensure their legal interests³⁵.
9. **The Commission on Public Works, Transport, Telecommunications, Post, Industry, Mines, Energy, Commerce, Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction** examines studies on draft laws and proposed laws related to public works and transport, telecommunications, mining and energy industries, commerce, land management, urban planning, and construction, as well as civil aviation. It monitors the implementation of laws related to its sectors and other responsibilities as stipulated in the Decision³⁶.
10. **The Commission on Investigation and Anti-Corruption** has core responsibilities to examine and study draft laws and proposed laws related to investigation and anti-corruption. It monitors and inspects the implementation of laws related to the Commission's sectors based on the Constitution and the existing laws, and in accordance with the policies of the Government, to ensure effectiveness. The CCommission's important tasks include examining all kinds of proposals and requests from citizens related to the Commission's sectors and communicating with voters at the grassroots level to obtain comprehensive information about the needs and challenges faced by citizens, as well as the inactiveness of sectors under its jurisdiction³⁷.

B3. Field missions by Expert Commissions of the National Assembly

The National Assembly convenes its plenary sessions twice a year. Each plenary session lasts at least three months (Article 83 of the Constitution). Therefore, during the intervals between sessions, MPs take the time to conduct field missions or to meet with various institutions to inquire about the well-being and listen to various challenges in the implementation of laws or concerns that citizens have encountered, to report as stipulated in the Decision on the roles outlined above.

With observations on the field missions conducted by the National Assembly's Expert Commissions, COMFREL has categorized the objectives of the field missions or institutions into five main purposes as follows:

1. Listening to issues raised or interventions to the authorities
2. Visiting citizens or officials in institutions
3. Meeting with or strengthening party networks
4. Participating in public forums or meetings and
5. Accompanying any leaders in their field trip.

³⁴ <https://bit.ly/3j6JtwX>

³⁵ <https://bit.ly/3XZYRK7>

³⁶ <https://bit.ly/3XJ695j>

³⁷ <https://bit.ly/3kMjdIG>

Table 3. Field missions conducted by all 10 Expert Commissions

| Expert Commissions | Listening to issues | Visiting | Strengthening networks | Forums | Accompanying | Total |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Expert Commission 1 | 0 | 98 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 105 |
| Expert Commission 2 | 0 | 184 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 202 |
| Expert Commission 3 | 0 | 81 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 88 |
| Expert Commission 4 | 0 | 135 | 4 | 1 | 9 | 149 |
| Expert Commission 5 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 36 |
| Expert Commission 6 | 0 | 41 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 48 |
| Expert Commission 7 | 0 | 61 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 66 |
| Expert Commission 8 | 3 | 69 | 0 | 1 | 11 | 84 |
| Expert Commission 9 | 0 | 96 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 100 |
| Expert Commission 10 | 0 | 26 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 27 |
| Total | 3 | 824 | 15 | 10 | 53 | 905 |
| | 0.33% | 91.05% | 1.66% | 1.10% | 5.86% | 100% |

The above table shows the results of observations on field missions to the grassroots or various institutions conducted by the Expert Commissions. The results show that all 10 Expert Commissions have undertaken a total of 905 field missions, among which the Expert Commission 5 (Commission on Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation, Information, and Media) and the Expert Commission 10 (Commission on Investigation, and Anti-Corruption) Corruption, and Cleaning) have the fewest number of missions. These activities include inviting ministers to clarify issues within the Expert Commissions, Meeting and discussing at line ministries/departments and related sectors, receiving complaints from citizens, and meeting with competent authorities to examine and understand various issues and concerns, as well as visiting different dispute locations, especially land disputes. The observed activities do not include internal meetings of the Expert Commissions or field missions abroad.

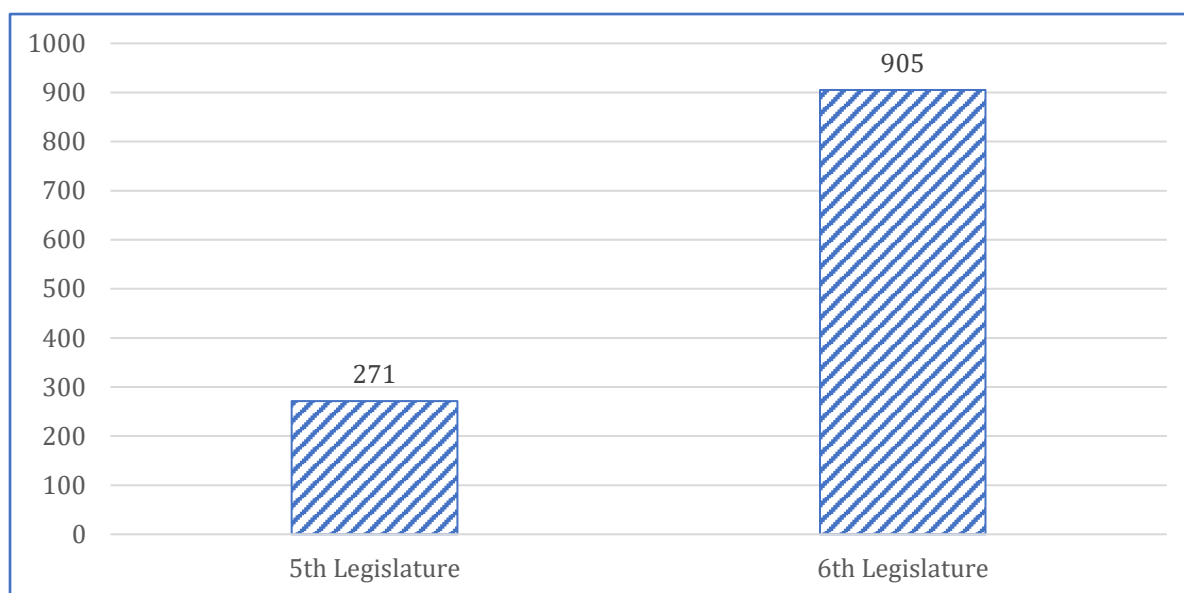
Among the 905 missions undertaken, the field missions with the objective of "visiting" accounted for 824 instances, equivalent to 91.053%, which is the highest percentage among all the five field mission objectives.

Nevertheless, missions aimed at listening to issues or intervening with authorities has only 3, such as the case on November 5, 2020 when Her Excellency Loak Kheng, MP from Phnom Penh Constituency and Chairwoman of the Commission on Public Health, Social Affairs, Veterans, Youth Rehabilitation, Labor, Vocational Training, and Women's Affairs of the National Assembly, along

with her team, conducted a field mission to inspect an issue related to vegetable vendor conflict over the area where vendors can sell their vegetable in Kandal Village, Chbar Ampov II commune, Chbar Ampov district, Phnom Penh. She confirmed that this vegetable market had been a traditional trading spot for our people, selling along the entire public road, and the dispute arose between new tenants in the market area and the existing roadside vendors, leading to altercations. She continued that the authorities and the district governor are facilitating the issue.

Comparison of Field Missions of the Expert Commissions by the Legislative Term

Graphic 4: Comparison of the missions of the Expert Commission in each legislative term



According to the COMFREL Parliamentary Watch Report on the National Assembly and Its Members, 5th Legislature, it was noted that the Expert Commissions of the National Assembly of the 5th Legislature undertook only 271 missions, while the 6th Legislature saw a total of 905 missions, which is an increase from the 5th term.

In summary, based on the data obtained by COMFREL as presented above and on the decision of the National Assembly regarding the core roles of all 10 Expert Commissions, which serve as the executive subordinates of the National Assembly in exercising legislative power in accordance with the Constitution and the prevailing laws, the Expert Commissions have the primary responsibility to examine, study draft laws, and propose laws related to their respective sectors, especially in resolving issues and intervening with the Government as requested by the citizens facing problems. Nevertheless, COMFREL observed that none of the commissions are very active in resolving issues or intervening with the authorities. In particular, COMFREL did not observe any commission actively submitting public reports to the President of the National Assembly or raising discussions, inquiries, or posing questions to any minister regarding the management of their sector raised by the citizens.

C. Activities of MPs

After the elected candidates have been declared of their validity for the parliamentary mandate by the National Assembly, they become representatives (Article 82 new of the Constitution), of the whole Khmer Nation and not of the only citizens from their constituencies (Article 77 of the Constitution). Any imperative mandate shall be considered null. The representatives have core roles no different from those of the Expert Commissions; they have the right to question the Government, which is submitted in writing through the President of the National Assembly

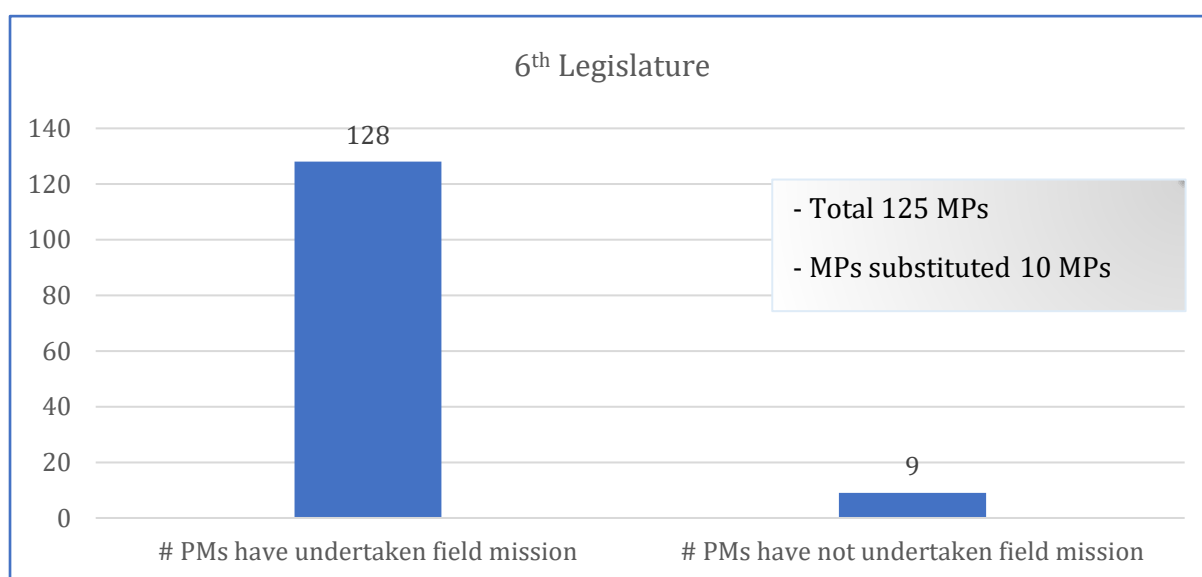
(Article 96 of the Constitution). Additionally, **the National Assembly sets one day per week for question time.**

Despite the Internal Regulations of the National Assembly, the Law on the Statute of Members of the National Assembly, or the Constitution not specifying post-session activities as clearly as the guidelines of the Expert Commissions, the activities in intervening with the Government upon the request of citizens facing issues remain an essential duty of MPs through visits and welfare inquiries, receiving the concerns raised by the electorate in accordance with Article 77 as stipulated in the Constitution.

During their mandate as representatives, they enjoy parliamentary privileges, which are divided into two parts: 1) the guarantee of expressing opinions or views in the adoption of any matter as representatives within the scope of their parliamentary duties, which is the absolute privilege of the representatives; 2) The guarantee against accusations, arrests, or detentions of any representative, which is the comparative privilege of the representatives (Article 4 of the Law on the Statute of Members of the National Assembly).

C1. Field missions of MPs

Graphic 5: Field missions conducted by MPs

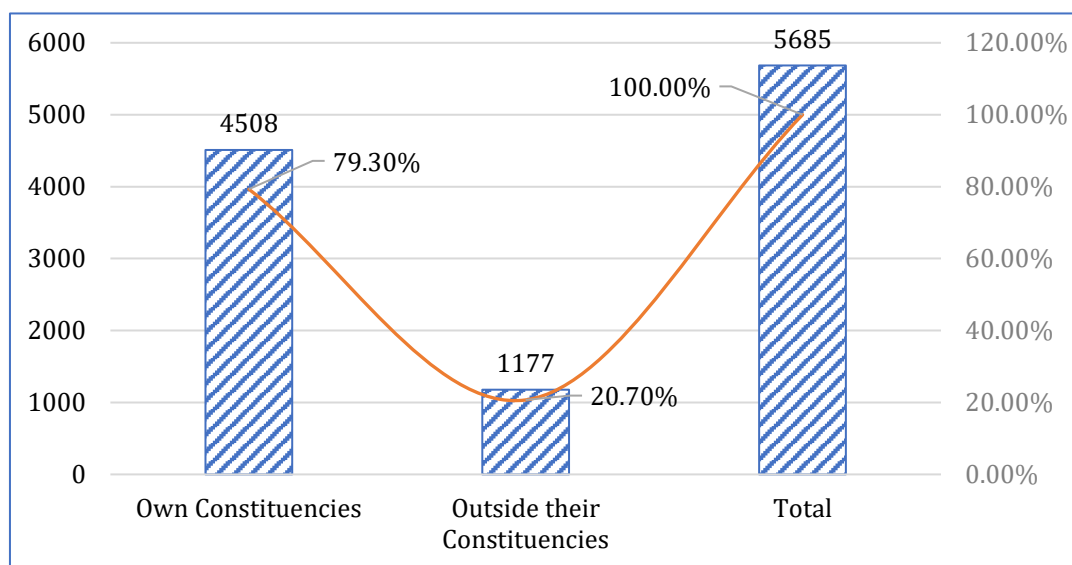


The above graphic shows that among the 125 MPs, 10 MPs have been substituted. Among the 125 MPs, including those who have been substituted, a total of 128 MPs (including the substituted ones) have undertaken field missions, and 9 MPs (including the substituted ones) have not undertaken any missions at all (based on the information received by COMFREL).

C2. Activities of MPs in their constituencies

MPs in the National Assembly have their constituencies where they carry out activities, referred to as "representatives in the constituency of...". Based on the articles stipulated in the Constitution, these representatives can also perform activities outside their constituencies, which can be described as "missions outside the constituency".

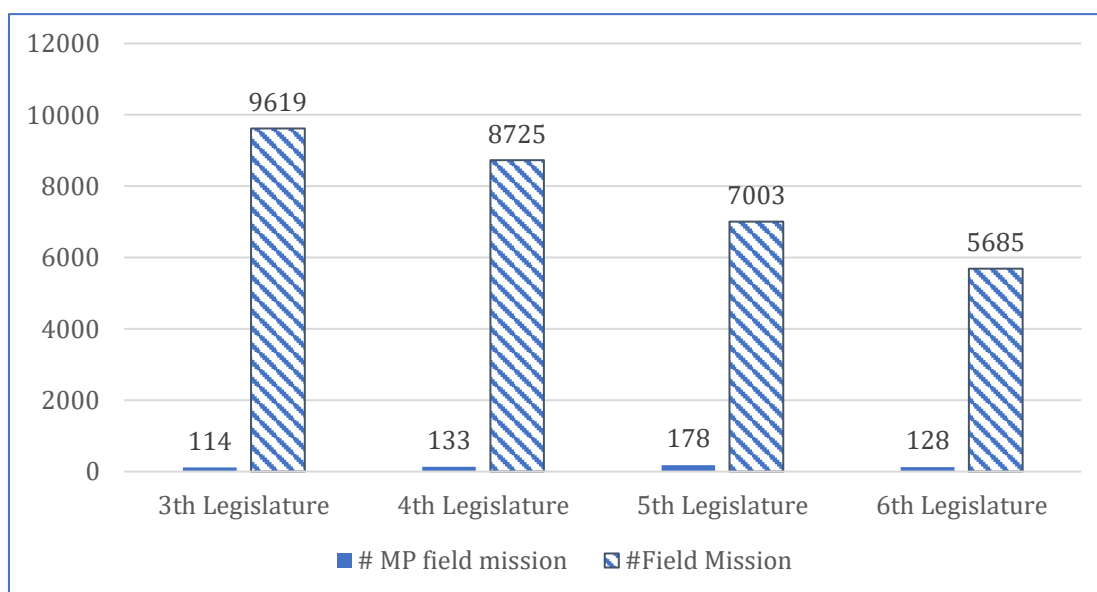
Graphic 6: Missions of MPs



According to the above graphic, 128 MPs (including those who have been replaced) undertook a total of 5,685 missions, of which 4,508 were within their own constituencies, equivalent to 79.37%, and 1,177 were outside their constituencies, equivalent to 20.63 %.

C3. Comparison of MPs’ field missions by Legislature

Graphic 7: Comparison of MPs’ field missions by each legislature



It is worth noticing that the number of MPs' field missions shown in the graphic above is greater than the total number of MPs due to the inclusion by COMFREL of MPs who have been replaced and those who are active or inactive in the data.

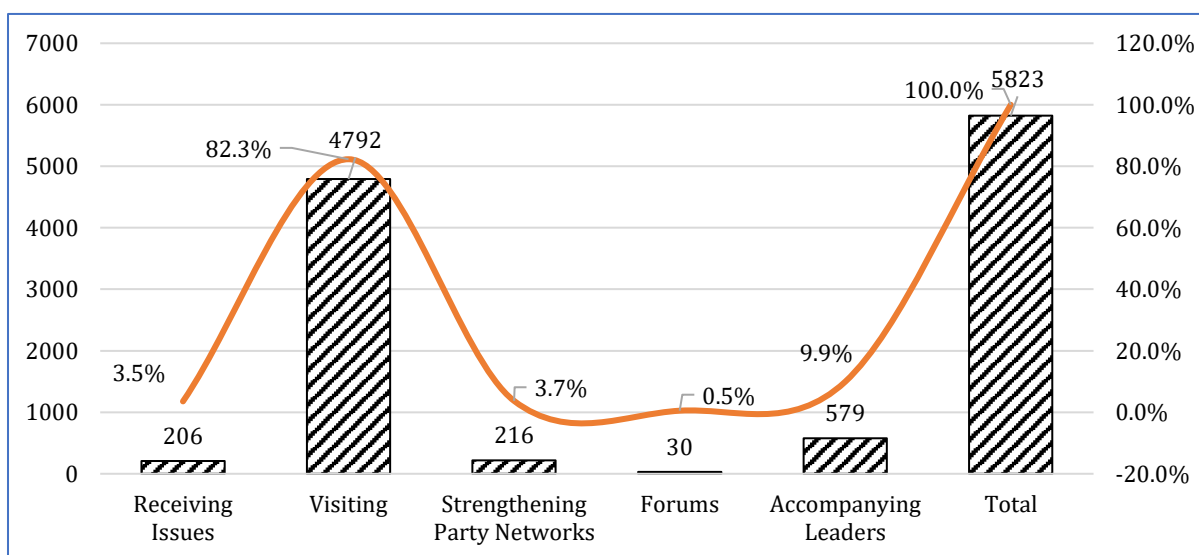
Based on observations and COMFREL reports for each Legislature, it is noted that the number of field missions conducted by MPs in the 6th Legislature, totalling 5,685 (not categorization) is less than in those in previous legislatures, especially the number of field missions of MPs in the 5th Legislature, which had a total of 7,003 missions.

C4. Types of field missions of MPs

COMFREL has categorized the missions of MPs into 5 main objectives, similar to the missions of the Expert Commissions of the National Assembly, which include:

1. Listening to issues or intervening in conveying the problems to authorities
2. Visiting and inquiring about the well-being of citizens or officials in institutions
Meeting with or strengthening party networks
3. Participating in public forums or meetings and
4. Accompanying leaders on their field trips

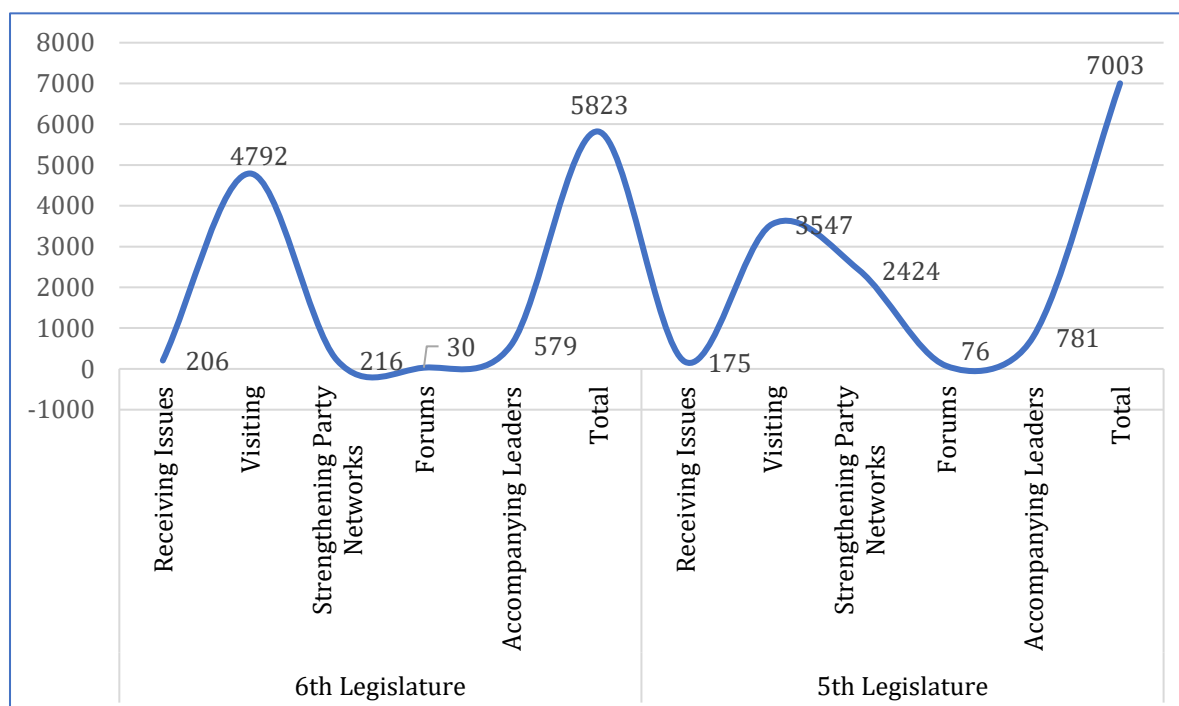
Graphic 8: Field missions of MPs



The field missions conducted by MPs in the 6th Legislature totalled 5,823 times. According to the categorization of MPs' field missions in the above graphic, the missions with the purpose of "visiting" occurred 4,792 times, the highest percentage among all field missions. The field missions with "accompanying leaders" had 579 times, followed by missions of "strengthening party networks" 216 times, field missions of "intervening with the government/receiving issues" 206 times, and field missions of "participating in forums/meetings" 30 times.

C5. Comparison of types of field missions of MPs by Legislature

Graphic 9: Comparison of types of field missions of MPs by each legislature



The results of the observation show that the number of MPs' field missions in the 6th Legislature is almost half as many as that in the 5th Legislature. Although the total number of field missions in the 6th Legislature is less than that in the 5th one, it is observed that the field missions with the purpose of "visiting" are more numerous than those in the 5th Legislature.

C6: List of MPs undertaking field missions in the 6th Legislature

The table below lists the names of the top 10 MPs who have conducted the most field missions, including:

| No. | Name of MP | Intervene | Visiting | Strengthen party | Forums | Accompany | Total |
|-----|----------------|-----------|----------|------------------|--------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | Kol Thearin | 4 | 239 | 8 | 0 | 18 | 269 |
| 2 | Chan Sophal | 11 | 216 | 3 | 2 | 22 | 254 |
| 3 | Khong Sun Eng | 4 | 202 | 7 | 0 | 20 | 233 |
| 4 | Srey Kim Chhoy | 4 | 199 | 8 | 0 | 20 | 231 |
| 5 | Man Navy | 3 | 181 | 2 | 1 | 28 | 215 |
| 6 | Laok Kheng | 3 | 166 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 187 |
| 7 | Sos Mousin | 3 | 180 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 186 |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|---|-----|----|---|----|-----|
| 8 | Mat Set | 2 | 142 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 147 |
| 9 | Pal Samoeun | 1 | 98 | 10 | 0 | 20 | 129 |
| 10 | Mot Yousus | 2 | 112 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 121 |

For other MPs' field missions, please refer to Appendix 1.

C7. Clarification on the types of field missions of MPs

COMFREL wishes to highlight several field missions undertaken by MPs with all five objectives, including examples of each case as follows:

1. Inspection, or listening to issues, or intervening in conveying the issues to the Government

Case1: On April 27, 2020, His Excellency Bou Lam, a representative of Ratanakiri province, met with representatives of citizens from two communes, namely Seda commune and Kalaeng commune, Sambor district, Ratanakiri province, led by the two commune chiefs at the Ratanakiri provincial parliamentary office. They requested intervention regarding a land issue where the environmental rangers of the provincial Department of Environment had prohibited the citizens of both communes from growing crops on land that had been in their families for generations. His Excellency Bou Lam promised to review what the citizens had raised at that time and to write a report to the provincial authorities for a concrete inspection and resolution, as the representative cannot directly interfere in executive work but can only forward the concerns and issues of the citizens to the executive for resolution in accordance with the hierarchy line.

Case 2: On March 4, 2019, His Excellency Hun Mani, a representative of Kampong Speu province, had a field mission to help intervene in a complaint lodged by citizens from 7 communes in Phnom Sruoch district regarding the environmental impacts of sand and stone mining businesses. The representative, along with provincial, district, and relevant department officials and company representatives, discussed solutions and implemented concrete actions on agreed points, including: (1) Grinding and exploding activities should not be conducted beyond the hours of 6 am to 6 pm; (2) regular watering of roads to prevent impacts on the lives and health of residents living along the road; (3) transport vehicles must maintain a minimum distance of 150 meters from one another and travel at the slowest speed in the populated areas; (4) the company must jointly contribute to repairing roads damaged by their transportation activities without affecting the community, life, and health of the citizens.

2. Visiting and inquiring about the well-being of citizens

His Excellency Chev Kimheng, a representative of Preah Sihanouk province, visited and distributed gifts to students and teachers of Hope School under the presidency of Mr. Ey Sokleng, Governor of Preah Sihanouk province, on the afternoon of January 17, 2019.

3. Strengthening Party networks

His Excellency Pa Socheatvong, Representative of the Phnom Penh Capital, presided over the appointment ceremony of the President of the Cambodian People's Party Committee of Russey Keo District on Friday, January 4, 2019, at the Modern 5 Business Center. The strengthening of the party network is an activity within the Law on Political Parties rather than the activities of the representatives who have parliamentary immunity and represent the Cambodian people nationwide (Article 77 of the Constitution).

4. Participation in meetings

On the morning of July 1, 2020, Her Excellency Loak Kheng, President of the Commission on Health, Social Affairs, Veterans, Youth, Professional Training, and Women's Affairs of the National Assembly, was invited to participate in a workshop on "Data Verification and Consultation on the Draft Report of the Policy Vision Analysis on Non-Communicable Diseases in Cambodia". This workshop was organized by a non-governmental organization in Cambodia, with the support of the OXFAM organization in the Kingdom of Cambodia, at the Cambodiana Hotel in Phnom Penh.

5. Accompanying leaders in field missions

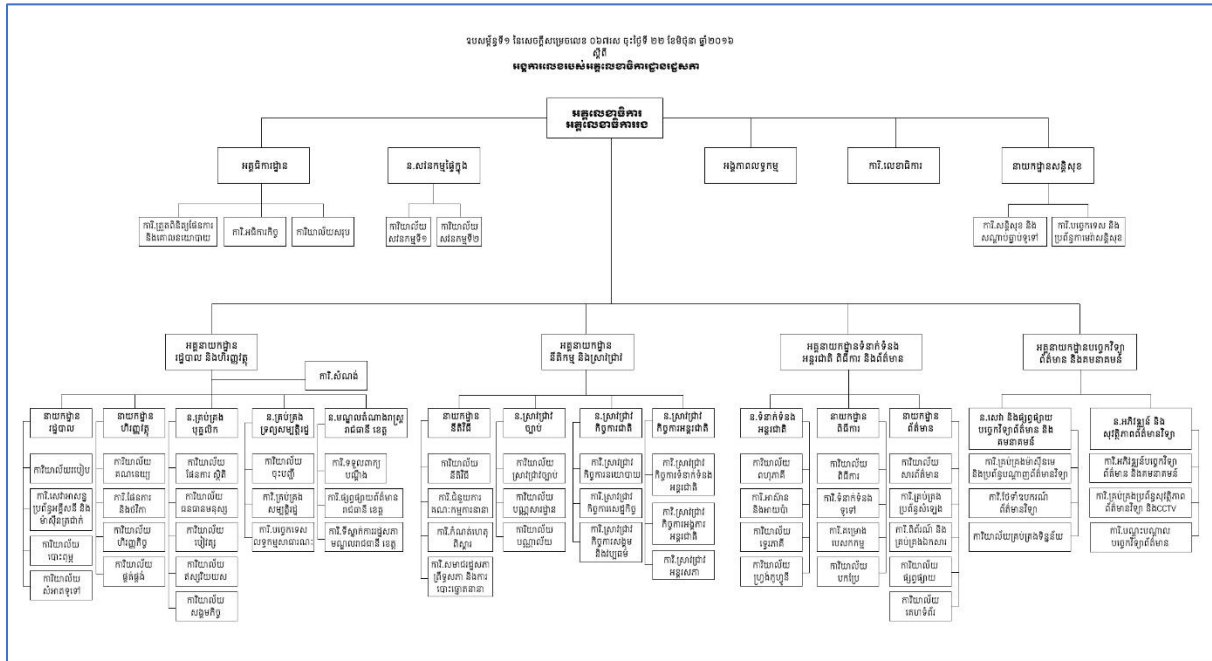
His Excellency Chai Borin, Representative of Tboung Khmum Province, on Sunday, March 3, 2019, participated with the delegation of the Economic, Financial, Banking, and Auditing Commission of the National Assembly, led by His Excellency Doctor Cheam Yeap to inspect the naval vessels of the customs and excise in Preah Sihanouk Province.

In summary, the field missions undertaken by MPs observed in the 6th Legislature indicate that the missions of MPs both within and outside their constituencies are not proportionate to the number of questions submitted in the parliamentary mechanisms nor to the various issues raised by the citizens during those missions. Moreover, it has been observed that although the number of missions by MPs is high, there are no reports submitted for debate in the National Assembly session, even at the level of Expert Commissions or plenary sessions of the National Assembly.

Some activities do not fall within the scope and roles of MPs, such as strengthening the party networks and accompanying leaders. Therefore, based on this observation report, the 6th Legislature of the National Assembly has not carried out activities in line with Article 96 of the Constitution, which weakens the parliamentary system and democracy when compared to the National Assembly with representatives from multiple parties who pose questions to any policy implementation as stipulated in Article 1 of the Constitution.

D. General Secretariat and Officials of the Legislative Branch

Image 10: The organizational structure of the Secretariat General of the National Assembly



D1. Secretariat General

The National Assembly has a Secretariat General led by a Secretary-General, assisted by a number of Deputy Secretaries-General as necessary (Chapter 4 of the Internal Regulations of the National Assembly). In the Organizational Chart of the Secretariat General the National Assembly, the structure concerning the organization and functioning of the Secretariat General was amended based on Decision No. 067 RS dated June 22, 2016, including:

- 4 Departments General
- 1 Secretariat General
- 1 Legal Unit
- 2 Departments and
- 1 Secretarial Office

Based on the Organizational Chart of the Secretariat General of the National Assembly, the Secretariat General has four Departments General under its jurisdiction, with 14 Departments and 51 Secretarial offices.

D2. Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Offices

In the provinces and the capital, there are Provincial Parliamentary Offices under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Parliamentary Department and the Department General of Administration and Finance. A deputy bureau chief is responsible for leading the administrative work as the head of the Provincial Parliamentary Office.

Image 2: Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Office



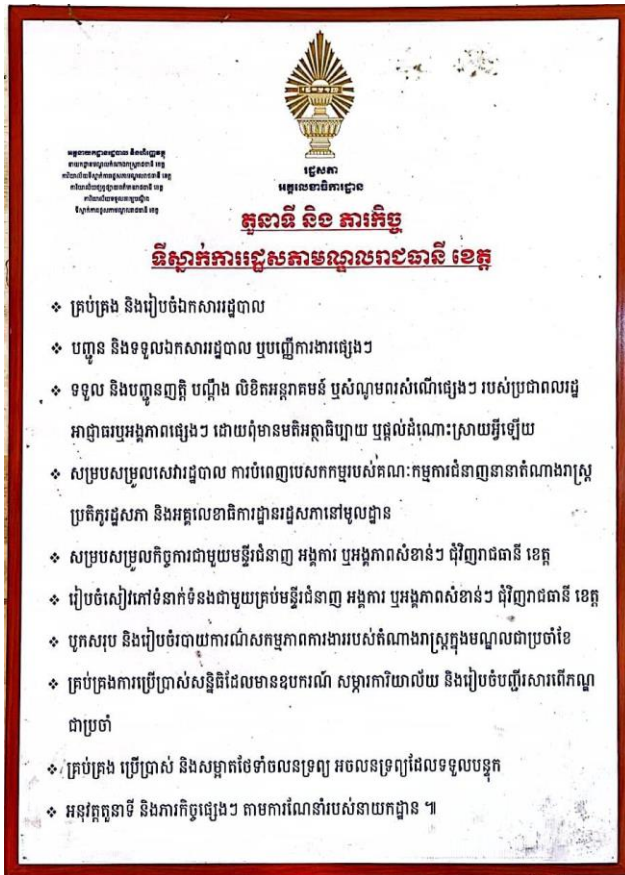
The Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Offices serve as the administrative office where the representatives of each constituency carry out their duties and are also a place where citizens can contact their representatives through letters, requests for intervention, etc.

Image3: A billboard indicating the location of the Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Office



This image shows the letters indicating the role of the representatives and the opportunity for voters to exercise their power through their representatives.

Image 4: Description of the roles and responsibilities of the Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Offices



In this image, the roles and responsibilities of the Capital/ Provincial Parliamentary Offices include:

- Managing and organizing administrative documents or other work lists;
- Receiving and conveying petitions, complaints, intervention letters, or requests from citizens, authorities
- administrative documents or various work lists or other entities without providing opinions or solutions;
- Coordinating administration work and field missions of Expert Commissions, MPs, and delegates from the National Assembly and the Secretariat General.

Regarding the Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Offices, COMFREL's provincial networks have requested information about MPs' activities and other necessary information since the 2nd Legislature. The activities of communication at these offices, as noted by COMFREL, indicate that citizens are not able to contact and inquire about information with their representatives there easily, and in some provincial offices, it is not possible to inquire about information at all or the offices do not have information about the representatives in the constituencies. Regarding this case, COMFREL had submitted a letter No. 26/2020 dated June 5, 2020, to request the facilitation of work at the Capital/Provincial Parliamentary Offices to the President of the National Assembly for intervention, aiming to collaborate and provide information. However, there has been no letter or response from the National Assembly thus far.

D3. Officials of the legislative group

The Internal Regulations of the National Assembly state that the Secretariat General is led by a Secretary-General and assisted by a number of Deputy Secretaries-General as necessary. The Secretary-General and Deputy Secretaries-General are selected from among senior officials with at least ten years of experience who are not members of the National Assembly and are not leaders of any political party. All officials are subject to a separate law governing the legislative branch, namely the Law on the Statute of Officers of the Legislative Group.

According to the provisions on the recruitment of the Secretary-General of the National Assembly, COMFREL perceives that the Secretary-General has a role that is not subordinate to the support

of any political party, meaning that the Secretary-General of the National Assembly has impartial activities towards political parties.

E. Comments by relevant stakeholders

Regarding the comments/inputs by relevant stakeholders, COMFREL presented this preliminary report for public discussion through a discussion session with a total of 54 participants on December 29, 2022. The participants included representatives from 10 political parties and representatives from 20 civil society organizations, associations, and trade unions. The invitation to the discussion session was also extended to the National Assembly, the General Secretariat, and the Ministry of National Assembly-Senate Relations and Inspection, but there was no response to the invitation and no participants.

Based on the discussion on the monitoring of the National Assembly and its members in fulfilling their roles and responsibilities, all participants raised several points as follows:

- Support the report compiled by COMFREL and the findings, and the observation that despite the COVID-19 situation, MPs are rarely seen visiting citizens in red or yellow zones, and there has been no intervention to resolve issues that arose during that time.
- In the process of adopting laws, it is observed that the activities of MPs during plenary sessions of the National Assembly do not involve debate or questioning, unlike previous legislatures where there was debate and questioning before raising hands to adopt a draft or a proposed law.
- MPs undertake field missions, aiming to meet citizens and to help resolve or intervene with the Government regarding various concerns or deficiencies, such as land issues, which are voter issues, to call relevant ministries to inquire about these concerns or issues in resolving them. Nevertheless, there has been no such inquiry in this Legislature.

Conclusion

The Parliamentary Watch Report offers a detailed review of the National Assembly's sessions, Expert Commissions' work, MPs' field missions, and various interventions by MPs and the Assembly itself. It's important to note that while the data presented may not encompass all activities from the sixth legislature of the National Assembly, it forms a critical basis for COMFREL's verification efforts. This data is valuable given its scarcity from alternative sources.

From the data analyzed, COMFREL found a noticeable lack of activity and performance of the National Assembly and its members during the sixth legislature regarding oversight, summoning, and questioning ministers to hold the Executive Branch accountable before the National Assembly. The problem is that single-party dominance within the Assembly hindered the execution of their oversight functions as such actions could potentially impact the ruling party itself. Another consideration could be the capabilities of the MPs themselves.

The purpose of this report's observations, analyses, and comments is not to assign blame or levy criticism against any national institutions. Instead, it aims to scrutinize legal procedures and introduce alternative viewpoints, aligning with the stated analytical goals of the report. This endeavor of observation and monitoring is a foundational step that invites further input and enhancement through the abovementioned methodologies.

Appendix

Appendix 1

| No. | Name of MP | Party | Solution | Visit | Strength en | Forum | Accompany | Total |
|-----|----------------|-------|----------|-------|-------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | Kol Thearin | CPP | 4 | 239 | 8 | 0 | 18 | 269 |
| 2 | Chan Sophal | CPP | 11 | 216 | 3 | 2 | 22 | 254 |
| 3 | Khong Sun Eng | CPP | 4 | 202 | 7 | 0 | 20 | 233 |
| 4 | Srey Kim Chhoy | CPP | 4 | 199 | 8 | 0 | 20 | 231 |
| 5 | Ma Navi | CPP | 3 | 181 | 2 | 1 | 28 | 215 |
| 6 | Loak Kheng | CPP | 3 | 166 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 187 |
| 7 | Sus Musin | CPP | 3 | 180 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 186 |
| 8 | Mat Set | CPP | 2 | 142 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 147 |
| 9 | Pal Sam Oeun | CPP | 1 | 98 | 10 | 0 | 20 | 129 |
| 10 | Mut Yusus | CPP | 2 | 112 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 121 |
| 11 | Sar Kheng | CPP | 0 | 69 | 8 | 1 | 37 | 115 |
| 12 | Ke Chanmony | CPP | 3 | 96 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 107 |
| 13 | Mak Vansitha | CPP | 3 | 84 | 4 | 0 | 7 | 98 |
| 14 | Bou Lam | CPP | 4 | 78 | 3 | 0 | 7 | 92 |
| 15 | Mok Mareth | CPP | 1 | 74 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 91 |
| 16 | Kim Vanna | CPP | 3 | 79 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 90 |
| 17 | Tea Banh | CPP | 0 | 42 | 4 | 0 | 41 | 87 |
| 18 | Rofi Osman | CPP | 1 | 77 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 86 |
| 19 | Kob Mariyas | CPP | 1 | 73 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 83 |
| 20 | Ke Kim Yan | CPP | 0 | 68 | 10 | 0 | 3 | 81 |
| 21 | Khoy Sokha | CPP | 2 | 60 | 1 | 0 | 18 | 81 |
| 22 | Nguon Bien | CPP | 4 | 68 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 79 |
| 23 | Lon Lim Thai | CPP | 4 | 66 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 75 |
| 24 | Nin Saphon | CPP | 1 | 68 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 72 |
| 25 | Hun Many | CPP | 4 | 59 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 69 |
| 26 | Loy Sophat | CPP | 3 | 58 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 69 |
| 27 | Kep Chuktema | CPP | 1 | 41 | 5 | 0 | 20 | 67 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------|-----|----|----|----|---|----|----|
| 28 | Hun Sen | CPP | 0 | 55 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 64 |
| 29 | Seang Nam | CPP | 6 | 45 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 63 |
| 30 | Ban Sreymom | CPP | 0 | 55 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 62 |
| 31 | Pich Chivoan | CPP | 1 | 55 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 61 |
| 32 | Ly Chheng | CPP | 3 | 44 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 59 |
| 33 | Troeung Thavy | CPP | 1 | 54 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 58 |
| 34 | Tak Vantha | CPP | 1 | 53 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 56 |
| 35 | Men Sam An | CPP | 2 | 38 | 11 | 0 | 3 | 54 |
| 36 | Khoeng Nupheap | CPP | 2 | 43 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 53 |
| 37 | Cheam Pei A | CPP | 1 | 52 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 53 |
| 38 | Phu Puy | CPP | 11 | 35 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 52 |
| 39 | Chheang Vun | CPP | 1 | 41 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 48 |
| 40 | Noum Sophorn | CPP | 1 | 35 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 48 |
| 41 | Heng Samrin | CPP | 3 | 23 | 3 | 0 | 15 | 44 |
| 42 | Seang Suthong | CPP | 1 | 36 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 44 |
| 43 | Duom Yu Hean | CPP | 1 | 40 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 44 |
| 44 | Chan Sarun | CPP | 1 | 39 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 43 |
| 45 | Ngin Khon | CPP | 1 | 36 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 43 |
| 46 | Pov Sopheap | CPP | 2 | 34 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 42 |
| 47 | Chay Borin | CPP | 2 | 18 | 6 | 0 | 14 | 40 |
| 48 | Ly Kimleang | CPP | 1 | 32 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 38 |
| 49 | Khuon Sodary | CPP | 1 | 21 | 11 | 0 | 4 | 37 |
| 50 | Chev Kimheng | CPP | 1 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 37 |
| 51 | Nou Sovanny | CPP | 1 | 32 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 36 |
| 52 | Prach Chan | CPP | 9 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 36 |
| 53 | Ey long | CPP | 1 | 26 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 35 |
| 54 | Loak Hour | CPP | 2 | 27 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 35 |
| 55 | Sam Rithy | CPP | 2 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 35 |
| 56 | Sao Sarath | CPP | 5 | 29 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 34 |
| 57 | Niv Sam | CPP | 2 | 29 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 34 |
| 58 | Sorn Sarana | CPP | 1 | 26 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 33 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----|---|----|----|---|---|----|
| 59 | Cheam Yeap | CPP | 1 | 26 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 33 |
| 60 | Kong Salon | CPP | 1 | 28 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 33 |
| 61 | Sok Born | CPP | 1 | 23 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 33 |
| 62 | Pen Simon | CPP | 1 | 30 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 33 |
| 63 | Hun Neng | CPP | 1 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 32 |
| 64 | Pov Savoeun | CPP | 2 | 28 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 32 |
| 65 | Nguon Nhel | CPP | 3 | 22 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 31 |
| 66 | Slesh Punya Men | CPP | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 30 |
| 67 | Sar Chamrung | CPP | 2 | 27 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 30 |
| 68 | Pa Socheatvong | CPP | 0 | 11 | 12 | 0 | 7 | 30 |
| 69 | Soun Rindy | CPP | 2 | 23 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 29 |
| 70 | Lim Phalla | CPP | 2 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 29 |
| 71 | Chea Vandeth | CPP | 0 | 26 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 28 |
| 72 | Ouk Damri | CPP | 3 | 18 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 28 |
| 73 | Chea Sophara | CPP | 0 | 20 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 28 |
| 74 | Doung Vanna | CPP | 1 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 28 |
| 75 | Khuth Chandara | CPP | 1 | 18 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 26 |
| 76 | Krouch Sam An | CPP | 2 | 19 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 24 |
| 77 | Chhun Sirun | CPP | 1 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 24 |
| 78 | Nou Phalla | CPP | 1 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 24 |
| 79 | Yim Chhay Ly | CPP | 0 | 15 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 24 |
| 80 | Khieu Phearith | CPP | 2 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 21 |
| 81 | Nen Malay | CPP | 1 | 17 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 19 |
| 82 | Su Phirin | CPP | 1 | 12 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 18 |
| 83 | Nguon Sim An | CPP | 1 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 15 |
| 84 | Un Sokunthea | CPP | 1 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 15 |
| 85 | Sary Koasal | CPP | 1 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 15 |
| 86 | Som Chin | CPP | 1 | 12 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| 87 | Nong Veasna | CPP | 1 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 15 |
| 88 | Ngor Sovann | CPP | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 14 |
| 89 | Em Bunna | CPP | 1 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 13 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----|---|----|---|---|---|----|
| 90 | Sun Saphoeun | CPP | 1 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| 91 | Ou Sam Oun | CPP | 0 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 12 |
| 92 | Keo Pisith | CPP | 1 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| 93 | Tong Seng | CPP | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 12 |
| 94 | Chhoeum Ma | CPP | 1 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 95 | Cheap Sivorn | CPP | 1 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 96 | Chey Son | CPP | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 97 | Satya Vuth | CPP | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| 98 | Sous Yara | CPP | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| 99 | Li Sukri | CPP | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 100 | Hu Sree | CPP | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 101 | Lung Bunny | CPP | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 102 | Ey Sam Ol | CPP | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 103 | Pen Panha | CPP | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 104 | Chhun Sarim | CPP | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| 105 | Sok Pheng | CPP | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 106 | Nguon Socheat | CPP | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 107 | Pich Kim Sreang | CPP | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 108 | Heng Bunthan | CPP | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 109 | Ith Sok | CPP | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 |
| 110 | Mom Sibon | CPP | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 111 | Yin Kim Sean | CPP | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 112 | Khem Chankiri | CPP | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 113 | Yim Leat | CPP | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 114 | Prak Sokhon | CPP | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 115 | Ma Chhoeun | CPP | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 116 | Thong Vorleak | CPP | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 117 | Ty Sokun | CPP | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 118 | Kosi Saroeut | CPP | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 119 | Serey Kosal | CPP | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 120 | Dul Koeun | CPP | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 121 | Chim Sok Khon | CPP | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 122 | Chea Oeung | CPP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 123 | Sok Sokan | CPP | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 124 | Tep Samorn | CPP | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 125 | Kieng Wang | CPP | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 126 | Chan Yoeun | CPP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 127 | Yin Bunnang | CPP | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 128 | Un Bun Hean | CPP | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | | 206 | 4,792 | 216 | 30 | 579 | 5,823 |
| | | | 3.54% | 82.29% | 3.71% | 0.52% | 9.94% | 100% |