CRACKDOWN ON GATHERINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS BY PHNOM PENH AUTHORITIES - SINCE JANUARY 2003

Briefing Paper by

THE CAMBODIAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION COMMITTEE (CHRAC) A coalition of 18 local NGOs working on human rights issues in Cambodia

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Introduction

Since the anti-Thai riots in Phnom Penh on January 29, 2003, when crowds attacked and set fire to the Thai Embassy and destroyed several Thai-owned businesses, the Cambodian government has cracked down on gatherings and demonstrations, regardless of their peaceful nature, by repeatedly denying requests for such events. Those which have gone ahead unauthorized have faced police intimidation, violence, detention and arrests. The crackdown on demonstrations has effectively withdrawn the fundamental right of Cambodian citizens to freedom of assembly, and its continuance is a threat to democratic society in Cambodia.

The Phnom Penh municipality in particular has refused virtually all NGO and opposition party requests to exercise their right to assemble and demonstrate peacefullyⁱ, including on issues such as World Environment Day, the price of gasoline and factory working conditions, deeming such events a threat to national security and public order. Such was the reason given in May 2003 for denying permission to victims of domestic violence and NGO members of the Cambodian Committee for Women, (CAMBOW), a coalition of local NGOs working on women's issues, to gather peacefully at the National Assembly and meet members of parliament to encourage continued debate of the draft Domestic Violence Law. This group of unarmed women was considered, in the eyes of the municipality, to constitute a threat to peace and security. Besides refusing requests for events, the authorities have used extremely hostile language towards demonstrators. For example, the Director-General of the National Police warned in July 2003 that, if necessary, the police would employ "vicious attack dogs" in post-election demonstrations and that "we have only 30 dogs but each of them can fight against 200 people"ⁱⁱ

Demonstrations which do go ahead after official authorization is denied are regularly dispersed with excessive force by the police and military police. Some crackdowns have involved hundreds of heavily armed police officers, carrying guns, electric batons or truncheons, who have launched into crowds of peaceful demonstrators and beaten or arrested those involved. Even at a small rally of 20 to 30 people in September 2004 in support of lower gasoline prices, conducted on rented cyclos without banners or megaphones, more than 50 police appeared and protestors were hauled off their cyclos and arrested. At recent demonstrations such as this gasoline rally, plain-clothes officers have been used to carry out violence against protestors, possibly partly in attempts to distance uniformed police from the violence and to bypass legal and constitutional provisions. In addition, protestors face intimidation and violence from counter-demonstrations by pro-government groups such as the so-called 'Pagoda Boys'. Police have reportedly stood by and done nothing while these groups have attacked protestors.

The right of assembly rests upon balancing the freedom to participate in the public sphere with the responsibility of the State to maintain peace and security. Under exceptional circumstances, in response to an imminent threat, the State may legitimately temporarily limit the right of assembly. However, in Cambodia this balance is being grossly manipulated by the authorities in order to impose a sweeping and routine denial of the right of assembly. Denying and obstructing gatherings and demonstrations on the grounds of maintaining peace and security is unacceptable and clearly indefensible when the demonstrations themselves are peaceful and the police, not the protestors, are responsible for instigating

ⁱ The only exception has been during the month-long campaign period leading up to the July 2003 general elections when rallies by registered political parties were permitted as required under electoral law. However, restrictions were immediately imposed again after the elections ⁱⁱ The *Cambodia Daily*, July 23, 2003, 'Police Warn Against Post-Election Protests'

violence. Equally, neither can the continued crackdown be justified by the failure of the authorities to effectively police the January 29 anti-Thai riots.

Unfortunately, given the frequent intimidation and violence, human rights defenders, political activists and ordinary citizens in Cambodia now feel vulnerable attending and even monitoring demonstrations, fearing violence and/or arrest. The ultimate effect of this crackdown by the authorities is to sabotage attempts by the people of Cambodia to exercise their right to freely and peacefully express political opinions. This right is fundamental to the functioning of any democracy since democratic government depends on ensuring governments act in accordance with the will of their citizens, and thus are ultimately accountable to their citizens. Cambodians cannot fully and freely participate in the conduct of public affairs and so they cannot play a proper part in the process of government and in decisions which affect their lives and welfare.

Not only is the obstruction of gatherings and demonstrations contrary to democratic expression but it is in clear violation of the Constitution of Cambodia Article 37, which states that "the right to strike and nonviolently demonstrate shall be implemented in the framework of a law" and Article 41, which states that "Khmer Citizens shall have freedom of expression, press, publication and assembly". The interference by the authorities goes beyond even the restrictive terms of the 1991 Law on Demonstrations (which itself infringes upon the right to assembly enshrined in the Cambodian Constitution). Furthermore, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and freedom of association are guaranteed by Articles 19 and 21 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights which was ratified by Cambodia on May 26, 1992. Article 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights also refers to freedom of assembly and association. Both documents, the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, have been included in Article 31 of the Constitution of Cambodia.

This briefing paper records some of the numerous occasions since January 2003 when the authorities have denied permission for gatherings or demonstrations in Phnom Penh and when peaceful gatherings or demonstrations conducted without authorization have been subjected to intimidation or violence by the police or pro-government groups.

GATHERINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN PHNOM PENH DENIED PERMISSION BY THE AUTHORITIES, OR SUBJECTED TO INTIMIDATION OR VIOLENCE FROM THE POLICE OR PRO-GOVERNMENT GROUPS, SINCE JANUARY 2003

Feb 9 2003	 Cambodia Watchdog Council protest called off after pro-CPP 'Pagoda Boys' gather¹ The Cambodia Watchdog Council, a coalition of five unions, cancel a planned demonstration to protest the arrest of two journalists in the wake of the anti-Thai riots and to call for Prime Minister Hun Sen's resignation, after 200 members of the pro-government 'Pagoda Boys' gather on the same day. Free Trade Union spokesman Phoung Monry said the demonstration was cancelled because they had feared violent clashes with the 'Pagoda Boys'. Police units and roadblocks are nonetheless deployed on all major approach roads into Phnom Penh in preparation for the (cancelled) demonstration. Drivers and passengers are stopped by police and asked where they are going and the purpose of their travel.
Mar 2 2003	 Police disperse Democratic Front student rally in front of National Assembly² Approximately 200 police officials, some carrying bamboo batons, drive away more than 100 members of the Democratic Front of Khmer Students and Intellectuals from outside the National Assembly. The students had intended to hold a rally against a proposed border agreement with Vietnam. Sun Sokunmealea, Democratic Front Secretary-General, said police threatened the students with batons, drove motorcycles into the demonstration and confiscated film, microphones and banners. Municipal Chief of Cabinet, Mann Chhoeun, had denied permission for the rally.
Mar 9-10 2003	 Police appear at demonstration by MSI Garment factory workers³ More than 500 workers from MSI Garment factory in Dangkao district stage a strike in front of the factory protesting the owner's alleged plans to fire 350 workers. According to the union leader, Morm Nhim, workers were chased by several soldiers during the demonstration and intervention police made appearances to intimidate workers.
Mar 20 2003	 Police prevent demonstration in support of imprisoned student⁴ More than 100 police and military police are deployed to prevent students from the Faculty of Law and Economics from leaving the Faculty campus to conduct a non-violent demonstration demanding the release of law student Mr. Ken Sara from Prey Sar Prison. Mr. Ken Sara is accused of involvement in the January 2003 anti-Thai riots. Police threaten to arrest the demonstrators if they continue the protest. Journalists and human rights workers are prevented from entering the campus to cover the event and are also threatened with arrest. Permission to hold the demonstration had previously been denied.
Apr 21-22 2003	 Police and security lock Grant Zann workers inside factory during strike⁵ 600 workers from Grant Zann factory in Kham Meanchey district in Phnom Penh who are conducting a two-day strike inside the factory demanding improved working conditions are locked inside the factory compound and the entrance is guarded by police and security who prevent the strikers from leaving during the two-day protest.
May 11 2003	 Municipality denies permission for monks' peace march through Phnom Penh⁶ The Phnom Penh municipality denies permission for a 'Pilgrimage for Peace' by around 10 monks to pass through Phnom Penh and gather at Wat Oth Taravatey. The monks had already started the 47-day, 651km walk which was scheduled to pass through Phnom Penh on 11 May.

May 21 2003	 Violent police crackdown on peaceful Sam Rainsy Party demonstration⁷ Around 100 heavily armed police officers, swinging wooden batons and rubber truncheons and carrying AK-47 rifles, confront several hundred demonstrators led by opposition leader Sam Rainsy, conducting a peaceful rally in front of the National Assembly to protest efforts to remove parliamentary immunity from Sam Rainsy Party lawmaker Cheam Channy. Police charge the rally with commanding officers shouting orders through megaphones to "storm" the protestors and "beat them back" to SRP headquarters. Electric batons are also used to disperse the demonstrators. At least a dozen people are injured, two seriously. Permission for the demonstration had previously been denied by the authorities.
May 26 2003	 Governor prevents domestic violence gathering at the National Assembly⁸ The Governor of Phnom Penh refuses a request by the Cambodian Committee of Women (CAMBOW) to allow victims of domestic violence and NGO workers to gather peacefully at the National Assembly to meet elected representatives and discuss draft Domestic Violence Law because "it will affect security and public order". Municipal Chief of Cabinet, Mann Chheoun, elaborated: "We want to keep our city peaceful, without demonstrations". CAMBOW officials decide not to proceed with the demonstration without municipality permission fearing the participants would be arrested or physically harmed.
June 3-4 2003	 Armed police end two-day strike by beer promotion workers over wages⁹ More than 30 armed police officers in riot gear disperse a two-day strike by around 100 "beer girls" in front of Cambodia Brewery Ltd's sales office over allegations of wage-skimming by the brewery's accountant.
June 5 2003	 Government refuses to allow parade celebrating World Environment Day¹⁰ Dozens of NGOs are denied permission to conduct a march celebrating World Environment Day.
June 11 2003	 Two deaths after crackdown on demonstration by TerraTex factory workers¹¹ On 9 June hundreds of garment factory workers, mostly women, begin a peaceful demonstration, over labor disputes and the unfair dismissal of a union member. On 11 June around 200 police, carrying shields and rubber batons, block and disperse a non-violent march by the workers through Phnom Penh. Four individuals are injured. On 13 June the workers march again and around 1,000 armed national military police and intervention police are sent to disperse the demonstration. Violence erupts, with the police shooting and demonstrators throwing stones. One demonstrator is shot dead and one policeman dies of head injuries. A number of demonstrators and policemen are seriously injured and 34 individuals are arrested.
Aug 31 2003	 Police violence at demonstration by Khmer Front Party contesting election result¹² A non-violent march by 25 demonstrators from Khmer Front Party towards the National Assembly, protesting the CPP's victory in the July elections and the alleged encroachment onto Cambodian territory by Vietnam and Thailand, is met and pushed back by approximately 100 police and military police carrying shields, rubber truncheons and electric batons. Eight demonstrators are injured and at least 20 people arrested. Some of those arrested are made to pledge not to join future demonstrations and are photographed holding banners which accuse them of illegal demonstration and of disrupting public order and security. Permission to hold the demonstration had previously been denied by the Phnom Penh municipality. In contrast, the municipality granted permission for three progovernment groups, including the 'Pagoda Boys', to stage a counter-demonstration on 31 August, in favor of the election result.

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Nov 17 2003	 Police violently intervene at demonstration by Wonrex female factory workers¹³ 150 intervention police carrying shields, AK-47s, bamboo clubs and rubber batons form a human wall to prevent around 3,000 mostly female workers from Wonrex factory in Dangkao district marching from their factory to the National Assembly to protest low wages and alleged management-sponsored intimidation and violence against the workers. Police beat factory workers with batons, leaving four women injured. The demonstration comes at the end of a four-day strike by the workers.
Nov 19 2003	 Police crackdown again as Wonrex factory workers demonstration continues¹⁴ Several hundred military police armed with guns, batons and shields and supported by seven water-trucks intervene at a demonstration by around 300 workers from Wonrex garment factory in Dangkao district who are continuing to protest low wages and the fairness of elections for workers' representatives Police use electric batons to beat and shock workers outside the factory and prevent them from walking to the National Assembly. "Hysterical" workers are forced to flee into a lotus field to escape police wielding electric batons. Seven workers are arrested. Authorities had previously denied the permission for demonstration.
Nov 23 2003	 United Ath Garment factory workers say police disrupted union elections¹⁵ Police and local authorities repeatedly disperse workers from the United Ath Garment factory in Dangkao district who are gathering in front of the factory to hold union elections. According to the union organizer, Ath Thun, there were around 10 police officers with shields and electric batons present at the factory and workers were forced to move to Chamkar Mon district to elect their officials. Sok El, Kakab commune chief, had previously denied workers permission to gather because they did not have an official letter authorizing the gathering.
Dec 14 2003	 NGOs refused permission to conduct Anti-Corruption rally¹⁶ Phnom Penh Governor Kep Chuktema denies permission for the Khmer Human Rights and Anti-Corruption Organization (KHRACO) and another NGO to hold an Anti-Corruption Day rally in Wat Botum Vatei park because the event would "sully the park and disturb public order", according to the Governor's letter denying permission. He suggests the rally be held in KHRACO's office instead. On the day of the march nearly 100 police officers wait in the park and the police block park entrances and place a line of vehicles in front of the bandstand. However, since permission for the demonstration has been denied no demonstrators appear. This is the first time in four years that the KHRACO rally has been prohibited. The event was to include musical performances and discussions by human rights groups.
Jan 7 2004	 Police stop Khmer Front Party's anti-January 7 demonstration¹⁷ A demonstration in front of the National Assembly by students from the Khmer Front Party, against CPP-organized celebrations of the anniversary of Vietnam's ousting of the Khmer Rouge, is disbanded by more than 100 police officers and military police, including the Flying Tiger police. Four demonstrators are arrested for questioning and forced to sign pledges promising not to demonstrate in future. The police threaten to "take action" against journalists if they do not stop reporting on the crackdown. Police later blocked off the street outside the Khmer Front Party offices, herding activists inside their building. Permission for the demonstration had previously been denied by the municipality.
Jan 29 2004	 Police intervene at MSI factory strike over dismissal of representative¹⁸ Workers from the MSI Garment factory in Phnom Penh's Dangkao district conduct a strike in protest at the dismissal of union secretary-general, Toeung Chanrin The 11-day strike is still ongoing by 29 January when dozens of Intervention Police from the riot suppression unit intervene and march into the 2,000 strong crowd of strikers firing bullets into the air and using batons to beat the protestors. Police claim

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	they intervened to prevent workers from burning tires.More than 100 garment workers are injured. One worker is knocked unconscious the police and taken away. He is later released.
Mar 3 2004	 Police arrest two vendors at market protest outside Hun Sen's residence¹⁹ Around 50 market vendors from Beateay Meanchey province conduct a daytin vigil outside Hun Sen's Phnom Penh residence protesting what they see as unf development by Thomak Construction company at their Chamkar Kor market Sisophon. On the third day of the vigil two female vendors are arrested by police. The remainder of the protestors, fearing similar treatment, flee or go into hiding.
Mar 11 2004	 Police intervene at Supremier factory demonstration²⁰ The Tuol Sangke district deputy police chief intervenes to end a demonstration at Supremier factory in Phnom Penh.
Apr 11 2004	 Workers on strike from hotels claim intimidation by 'Pagoda Boys' and police²¹ Workers from six luxury hotels, including Hotel Cambodiana and Sunway Hotel, strike over service charges claim they are the target of intimidation by the Phno Penh Municipal police and the pro-CPP 'Pagoda Boys' group. Tuoch Samath, Hotel Cambodiana union advisor said around 30 'Pagoda Boys' tri unsuccessfully to intermingle with the strikers. Hotel Sunway's union preside Dom Sohpat, said that about 30 intervention police appeared at the strike a "Police asked workers if they wanted to end up like [slain union leader] Ch Vichea". The police denied issuing threats.
May 1 2004	 Labor Day march goes ahead without permission, monitored by military police²² The municipality denies permission for a march and rally to mark Labor D. However, on this occasion, 300 union members are able to rally as planned desp being refused authorization. The march is monitored by at least 100 military pol and municipal intervention police.
May 6 2004	 Police disperse demonstration at Zann Tex garment factory²³ Approximately 200 armed police with guns, electric batons and shields arrive duri a strike by garment workers at Zann Tex factory stemming from a dispute with the Thai garment factory buyers. Police lock the workers inside the factory, which provokes a demonstration outside including stone throwing. The police then fire repeatedly into the air to disperse to demonstrators.
June 1 2004	 Crackdown on gasoline demonstration by Student Movement for Democracy²⁴ Hundreds of municipal and military police armed with AK-47 rifles and bate repeatedly disperse a peaceful demonstration of 100 to 300 students and motorbit taxi drivers organized by the Student Movement for Democracy Association demand a reduction in the price of gasoline. The Association had been deni permission for the demonstration. The President, Secretary-General and three other Association members are arrest and questioned and then released after being made to sign pledges agreeing not demonstrate. On June 11, 2004, two of the protestors received summons to court to fa misdemeanor charges relating to the gasoline demonstration. The same tw protestors had led the Khmer Front Party demonstration, August 31, 2003, whe they were also arrested and made to sign pledges. The court case is currently bei reviewed.
June 4 2004	 Khmer Kampuchea Krom march called off after permission refused²⁵ A planned march to the Vietnamese Embassy in Phnom Penh by around 2,0 supporters of the Khmer Kampuchea Krom community is called off due to secur concerns after the municipality refuses to give permission.

June 22 2004	 Garment factory workers march goes ahead despite municipality ban²⁶ The municipality denies permission for garment factory workers to march peacefully through Phnom Penh to deliver a petition to King Norodom Sihanouk requesting he grant national hero status to the murdered union leader, Chea Vicha. However, on this occasion, 50 factory workers are able to march as planned despite being denied authorization. The march is monitored by about 100 police officers including Flying Tiger police, carrying AK-47 assault rifles, pistols and batons.
Aug 4 2004	 Police ambush march by Transportation Association over gasoline price²⁷ A march by 50 people from the local NGO 'Association for Development of People's Transportation and the Cambodian Freedom Democracy Right' seeking a reduction in the price of gasoline is ambushed by around 10 police and military police. The president of the Association, Sok Sambath, had been surrounded by police and detained on his way to the march. Three people are arrested and one vehicle and motorbike are confiscated. Applications to the Phnom Penh municipality and the Ministry of Interior to hold the demonstration had both been denied.
Aug 20 2004	 Police intervene at another Transportation Association march over gasoline price²⁸ Seven Transportation Association members march with about 20 motor-dop drivers to repeat their demand for lower gasoline prices. Around 40 intervention police confront the demonstration and arrest two demonstrators for questioning. Some demonstrators are slightly injured. The request for a peaceful march had previously been denied by the municipality.
Aug 25 2004	 Armed police disperse Yen Yu Ing garment workers march to Phnom Penh²⁹ Approximately 150 police with guns, electric batons and shields disperse around 400 workers from Yen Yu Ing garment factory in Kandal province as they march past Pochintong International Airport on their way into Phnom Penh to demand improved working conditions One worker is knocked unconscious with a shock from an electric baton and another is beaten with the butt of a gun.
Sept 14 2004	 Vietnamese Cao Dai protesters arrested during march to deliver petition³⁰ Police arrest and detain 12 Vietnamese members of the Cao Dai religious sect as they march down Mao Tse-tung Boulevard in white religious robes towards a meeting of Asean lawmakers at the Hotel InterContinental, where they intended to deliver a petition calling on Vietnam to let them worship freely. The petition called on the UN and "any other country that cares about human rights in Vietnam" to help the Cao Dai who, the report states, are restricted from traveling and worshipping freely. The protesters are deported to Vietnam on September 17.
Sept 7 2004	 Cyclo demonstration over gasoline price broken up by police³¹ More than 50 Flying Tiger and riot police halt a peaceful demonstration by between 20 and 30 people on cyclos led by Student Movement for Democracy, to protest the recent rise in gasoline prices. Plainclothes officers pull protestors off their cyclos and remove seven students to a police station. The detained students are interviewed and released after providing information to the police. The demonstration involved no banners or megaphones and the protestors had intended to boycott motorized vehicles for a day and ride hired cyclos to the riverfront from Monivong Boulevard. A request for the demonstration had previously been denied by Phnom Penh governor, Kep Choutema. The previous week security at Olympic Market had detained several volunteers for the Student Movement as they handed out fliers for the 7 Sept demonstration.
Sept 16 2004	 Police presence deters students from performing plays outside National Assembly³² The presence of some 30 municipal police officers deters about 30 students from several Phnom Penh universities from performing a series of plays protesting government civil liberties restrictions outside the National Assembly.

	• The students said that rather than risk the harassment and arrests that have accompanied recent protests they decided to withdraw to the offices of the Students' Movement for Democracy to perform the plays.
Sept 19 2004	 Police prevent march against rape organized by youth NGOs³³ A peaceful march in Phnom Penh KM6 district by approximately 70 young people organized by the Khmer Youth Association and another NGO as part of a campaign against rape was prevented by police officers, participant Nakagawa Kasumi reported. She said the police told the organizers that they had failed to obtain permission for the demonstration (although permission had been obtained from the chief of Sangkat).
Sept 19 2004	 Plainclothes police forcibly break up Transportation Association demonstration³⁴ Around 20 people, led by the Association for Development of People's Transportation, protesting high gasoline prices, are "beaten into submission" by plainclothes officers while uniformed municipal police stand by. A plainclothes officer is seen beating the pregnant wife of the Association leader Sok Sambath. Ouch Sokhon, chief of Chamkar Mon district police is quoted in The <i>Cambodia Daily</i> as saying: "The demonstrators always complain that police use violent force against them, and that is why we use plainclothes policemen to crack down on themI am fed up with disbursing protestors. I am waiting for an order to make arrests" [sic].
Oct 3 2004	 Police crackdown on another peaceful Transportation Association demonstration³⁵ District police officers and Flying Tiger police disperse dozens of people conducting a peaceful demonstration in Phnom Penh's Meanchey district organized by Association for Development of People's Transportation to protest high gasoline prices. According to protestors, the police punched and beat those involved with batons and walkie talkies. The police denied using violence. Six protestors are arrested and detained at the district police station for four hours. The demonstrators had intended to march from Canadia Industrial Zone on the outskirts of the city to the National Assembly but after 2km were stopped by police.

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