

European Communities

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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

# Working Documents

1983-1984

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12 October 1983

DOCUMENT 1-802/83

## Report

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee  
on the situation in Cambodia

Rapporteur: Mr P. ROMUALDI

PE 84.731/fin.



At its sitting of 11 March 1982, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the situation in Cambodia and instructed the Political Affairs Committee to draw up a report on the situation in Cambodia.

At its sitting of 13 September 1982, the European Parliament referred the motion for a resolution by Mr de la MALENE and others, pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure, on the situation in Cambodia (Doc. 1-510/82), to the Political Affairs Committee as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Development and Cooperation for an opinion.

At its meeting of 20 October 1982 the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report and at its meeting of 29 November - 1 December 1982 it appointed Mr ROMUALDI rapporteur.

The Political Affairs Committee considered this draft report at its meetings of 24-25 May 1983 and 28-30 September 1983.

At the latter meeting, the motion for a resolution was adopted by 12 votes to 2 with 8 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Mr Rumor, chairman; Mr Haagerup, first vice-chairman; Mrs Charzat, second vice-chairman; Mr Fergusson, third vice-chairman; Mr Romualdi, rapporteur; Mr Barbi, Lord Bethell, Mr Cariglia, Mr Croux (deputizing for Mr Deschamps), Lady Elles, Mr Ephremidis, Mr Habsburg, Mr Hänsch, Mr Majonica (deputizing for Mr Schall), Mr van Minnen (deputizing for Mr Lomas), Mr Mommersteeg (deputizing for Mr Klepsch), Mr d'Ormesson, Mr Penders, Mr Piquet, Mr Schieler, Mr Seefeld (deputizing for Mr B. Friedrich), Mr Segre and Mr Walter.

By letter of 25 November 1982, Mr Poniatowski, chairman of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, stated that the report by Mr Cohen (Doc. 1-639/81) and its motion for a resolution, adopted by the European Parliament (OJ C 327 of 14 December 1981), should be regarded as the opinion of his committee. By letter of 5 October, the Committee on Development and Cooperation sent an addendum to its opinion.

This report was tabled on 3 October 1983.

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A.

The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution together with explanatory statement:

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the situation in Cambodia

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 15 February 1980 on the tragic situation and the threat of starvation in Cambodia<sup>1</sup>,
  - having regard to the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 11 March 1982 on the situation in Cambodia<sup>2</sup>,
  - having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr de la MALENE and others on the situation in Cambodia (Doc. 1-510/82),
  - having taken note of the report by Mr WAWRZIK, on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation, on food aid to Cambodia<sup>3</sup>,
  - having taken note of the report by Mr COHEN on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation<sup>4</sup>, and the accompanying report on the fact-finding mission undertaken from 29 March to 3 April 1981 in Cambodia by Mr COHEN, Mrs AGNELLI and Mrs MACCIOCCHI,
  - having regard to the report by the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation (Doc. 1-802/83 ),
- A. noting the position adopted by the European Council in Luxembourg on 20 and 30 June 1981 supporting a free and independent Cambodia,
- B. having regard to the results of the Conference on Cambodia held in July 1981 at the New York headquarters of the United Nations, and UN Resolutions 34/22 of 14 November 1979 and 35/6 of 21 October 1981,

<sup>1</sup> OJ No. C 59, 10.3.1980, p. 65

<sup>2</sup> OJ No. C 87, 5.4.1982, p. 80-81

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 1-734/79, OJ No. C 117, 12.5.1980

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 1-639/81, OJ No. C 327, 14.12.1981, p. 110

- C. recalling the decisions which emerged from the meeting between the EEC and the ASEAN countries on 14 October 1981 and 25 March 1983,
  - D. recalling the declaration of the foreign Ministers of the ASEAN countries of 7 August 1982 in Bangkok,
  - E. noting the undemocratic methods by which the elections of May 1981 were conducted in Cambodia,
  - F. having regard to the setting up of the tripartite coalition government in Kuala Lumpur,
  - G. recalling the discussions which have been held in the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament,
  - H. noting the tragic continuation of the situation in which the Cambodian people has found itself since well before the Vietnamese invasion and the failure of all attempts to improve it and put an end to the acts of war and the occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese armed forces,
1. Repeats its condemnation of the aggression against the independence and freedom of Cambodia, and of the atrocious sufferings inflicted in recent years on the people of Cambodia;
  2. Calls on the Vietnamese government to put an end to all acts of war and to withdraw its occupying troops to within its own borders;
  3. Expresses its solidarity with the representatives of the Cambodian people united in the National Liberation Front of the Cambodian people, in their military and political struggle for a free and independent Cambodia;
  4. Calls on the Council and the Commission to promote initiatives to put an end to all interference and outside intervention in the state of Cambodia;
  5. Calls for the holding as soon as possible of free elections under international supervision;

6. Asks that finance be made available, through the Khmer Serei of the ex-prime minister Son Sann and the organization of Prince Sihanuk, to the people of Cambodia for the purchase of medical supplies and foodstuffs.
  
7. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the European Community meeting in political cooperation, to the Council and the Commission.

B.

## EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

### 1. Cessation of hostilities

The war in Cambodia is entering its thirteenth year, practically without a break since 1970, even though both the adversaries and the stakes have changed.

In 1970 the Republic of South Vietnam, with the help of the US, invaded Cambodia to assume control of a region then in practice outside the control of the Sihanuk Government, and used by the North Vietnamese as a guerrilla base in the war against Saigon. It is the Vietnamese who, following the collapse of the Saigon Government, now maintain in Cambodia an army of occupation estimated at around 180,000 men. Without their help and the open political support of the USSR, the Government of Heng-Samrin which it set up in Phnom-Pen in January 1979, would probably be unable to combat the guerrilla forces of the supporters of Pol-Pot and Heng-Sari, which have now come together in a tripartite coalition government with the Khmer Serei nationalists and the Sihanuk loyalists, a government supported by the ASEAN governments and by the People's Republic of China.

It is clear from this picture that the first result which any political initiative must aim at achieving is a cessation of hostilities. To achieve this objective a number of points must first be clarified:

- (a) to what extent is Vietnamese action in Cambodia dependent on the USSR;
- (b) does Vietnam have any real interest, desire and above all the ability to maintain its own occupying troops in Cambodia without Soviet aid?
- (c) how much reliance can be placed on the tripartite coalition government, in which the Khmer Rouge component - in spite of the fact that it is widely discredited among the Cambodian population which recalls the atrocities it perpetrated - has a much stronger bargaining power than the other components in large measure because of its military strength?

On the first point it might be answered that Vietnam does not have the necessary resources to conduct and win on its own a war which would be likely to last for a number of years. As for Vietnam's interest in Cambodia, this is determined above all in direct proportion to China's interest in blocking or at least opposing Soviet influence in Asia; an influence which is now being demonstrated through the



expansionist policy of Vietnam which is increasingly acting as a Soviet policeman in the area.

At the same time it should be said that if Soviet influence in Cambodia, even though exercised through an intermediary, declined or disappeared, China might in turn stop encouraging anti-Vietnamese guerrilla action.

The third point is certainly the most controversial in view of the number of unknown quantities involved. It is difficult to believe that the Khmer Rouge leaders have changed their beliefs and political philosophy, if such a term can be used to describe their past activities, except in so far as this is forced on them by tactical considerations.

The confidence which one could have in such a government would therefore seem to depend on the moderate, non-Communist, elements acquiring greater credibility and on the search for a better balance within the coalition. This balance can be achieved by greater political and diplomatic support designed to channel the action of the tripartite coalition government: this support should as far as possible be concentrated on the factions of the ex-Prime Minister Son-San and Prince Sihanouk

There is a wide range of possibilities for action open to the ten Members of the Community: from material aid, in the form of food and medicines, to better access to European mass media, from financial aid to decisive political support in major international bodies.

To solve the Cambodian question it is also necessary above all, in view of the rapidly changing political situation, and also with the prospect of a significant improvement in relations between Russia and China, that European diplomatic efforts be directed actively towards the People's Republic of China, which is to the Khmer Rouge what the Soviet Union is to Vietnam. This is not an easy approach, but perhaps the only valid one to control the excesses of the Khmer Rouge and achieve a negotiated solution capable of bringing peace to Cambodia and the whole Indo-China peninsula as well as putting an end to atrocities against the civilian population.

To sum up, the European Community must do everything humanly possible to convince the major powers indirectly involved in the Cambodian civil war that the risks

involved in the possible neutrality of that unfortunate country are far lower than those involved in an indefinitely drawn out war: not to mention the undeniable overall economic and commercial benefits that would derive from a return to peace in the region.

2. Withdrawal of all foreign armed forces in application of Resolution 34/22 adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on 14 November 1979

Once the agreement of the parties involved has been obtained for a diplomatic solution, it will be necessary to examine the procedures for a gradual withdrawal of the Vietnamese expeditionary force and for the delimitation and stabilization of the areas controlled by the armed forces of the tripartite coalition government. An agreement of this kind can only be achieved in the spirit of Resolution 34/22 adopted by the UN on 14 November 1979. The UN itself should if necessary send its own contingents to ensure that the armed forces of the present Phnom-Pen Government do not come into contact with the troops of the tripartite coalition government, with the obvious danger of a renewed flare-up. This is a basic and delicate task which can only be carried out by UN troops, whose presence is essential particularly if these troops are to carry out more than merely humanitarian duties. It is clear that the UN contingent should be made up of troops from countries governed by true parliamentary democracies, but excluding for obvious reasons the United States. The presence in this operation of even symbolic contingents from the European Community could provide a valuable encouragement and perhaps even a guarantee of a restoration of democracy in Cambodia.

3. General elections

The UN force should remain in Cambodia until after the general elections which are essential to produce a responsible and freely elected government. The sole condition for a lasting peace is the formation of a government representing the whole Cambodian nation, directly formed as a result of free general elections. At the present time the Cambodian constitution which guarantees all fundamental freedoms, religious freedom, freedom of association, freedom of the press etc. etc. is not applied. The last elections in May 1981, called, organized and won by the United National Front of Cambodia for National Salvation saw a turnout of 3,400,000 voters, 99.75% of whom favoured President Heng-Samrin. It is clear that this type of election, obviously rigged, can provide no serious base for a national reconciliation. There is therefore a need for new elections to be

held on a truly democratic basis as soon as the political situation permits. These elections should be held under the auspices of an international body acceptable to all the parties, to provide the country with a national assembly truly able to produce a responsible government which will guarantee internal peace.

#### 4. Neutrality of Cambodia

Whatever the result produced, the new national Assembly of Cambodia will have to come out in favour of neutrality for Cambodia, a task made all the more easy by the position taken by Prince Sihanuk since the end of the French protectorate. The Prime Minister Son-San, Head of the Khmer-Serei Nationalist Group, after his various talks with representatives of the People's Republic of China, has given frequent assurances that China would favour a solution of this kind, which would obviously be facilitated by the possibility of better relations between the Soviet Union and China, which could provide a starting point for the process of neutrality, it being made clear that the condition 'sine qua non' imposed by China is a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodian territory.

However, a neutrality guaranteed only by the Soviet Union and China, and not based on a wider agreement, might be resting on too fragile a basis, as is demonstrated by China's recent accusations that the USSR is not prepared to negotiate seriously on the various problems which have bitterly divided them.

In this general context designed to guarantee Cambodia's frontiers, attention should also be paid to the need to protect the territorial integrity of Cambodia, the threats to which are described in the Cohen report, which mentions the real possibility of colonization by Vietnamese farmers in a number of south-eastern areas of Cambodia, bordering on the People's Republic of Vietnam.

This is a problem to which due consideration should be given in the organization and dispatch of food aid and other aid. It has been ascertained that a significant proportion of food and medical aid destined for the Khmer people and sent to that region has been rerouted to Vietnam.

If we add to this the fact that a further substantial proportion of international aid ends up in the hands of the Vietnamese forces of occupation, it is clear how little of this aid, provided by the generosity and humanitarian feelings of the western world, reaches its correct destination to alleviate the unbelievably inhuman sufferings of the Cambodian people.

RESOLUTION

on the situation in Cambodia  
adopted by the European Parliament on 11 March 1982<sup>1</sup>

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolution of 19 July 1979<sup>2</sup> and 15 February 1980<sup>3</sup>,
  - having regard to the deliberations between the EP and ASEAN delegations in April 1981,
  - having regard to the International Conference on Cambodia on 17 July 1981,
  - having regard to the communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN and the EEC of 14 October 1981,
  - considering that the situation in Cambodia remains dramatic from the political, economic, social and food supply points of view,
  - concerned at the serious repercussions of the state of war on the Cambodian people,
1. Demands, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions 34/22, 35/6 and that of 21 October 1981,
- the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops,
  - the immediate cessation of foreign intervention and interference at every level,
  - the organization of genuinely free elections under the supervision of the United Nations in order to enable the Khmer people to express its will in complete independence and with its sovereignty and territorial integrity being respected;

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<sup>1</sup>OJ No. C 87, 5.4.1982, p. 80-81

<sup>2</sup>OJ No. C 203, 13.8.1979, p. 27

<sup>3</sup>OJ No. C 59, 10.3.1980, p. 65

2. Considers it essential for an international conference to be held with the participation of all the parties concerned so as to ensure the peaceful re-establishment of a sovereign Kampuchea;
3. Notes the existence, apart from the various occupants and factions, of an independent movement, the National Khmer People's Liberation Front;
4. Urges the Commission to maintain and increase its aid through the non-governmental organizations, and to report to the European Parliament;
5. Requests it to take the necessary measures for a better distribution of its aid to ensure that it reaches the population scattered over the whole territory and along the Thai frontier;
6. Again requests the Commission to send a mission to ascertain that the aid is actually being supplied to the civil population;
7. Instructs its Political Affairs Committee to draw up a report on the situation in Cambodia and to send a delegation to investigate the situation on the spot;
8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the governments of the Member States and the United Nations.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-510/82)

tabled by Mr de la MALENE, on behalf of the Group of European Progressive Democrats and by Mrs PRUVOT and Mr von HABSBURG

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the situation in Cambodia

OR:FR

PE 79.898

The European Parliament,

- A having regard to its resolutions of 19 November 1979 and 15 February 1980,
- B having regard to the communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN and the EEC of 14 October 1981,
- C recalling its resolution of 11 March 1982,
- D having regard to the condemnation of the Vietnamese occupation and the support for a democratic Kampuchea expressed by the five ASEAN countries last June,
1. Welcomes the creation of a coalition government consisting of the National Khmer People's Liberation Movement, Prince SINANOUK and Mr Khieu SAMPHAN;
  2. Encourages the NKPLM to continue its action and urges this government to make every effort to re-establish a national sovereign and independent state of Cambodia;
  3. Calls on it to organize genuine elections which allow the Khmer people to express themselves in complete freedom;
  4. Again demands the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops;
  5. Considers that the time has come for an international conference to be held to reach a peaceful settlement of the situation in Cambodia;
  6. Invites the Commission to increase its aid;
  7. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission and the Foreign Ministers Meeting in Political Cooperation and to the United Nations.

PE 79.898

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE ON DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION

Letter of 25 November 1982 to Mr M. RUMOR from Mr M. PONIATOWSKI

Dear Mr Chairman,

At its meeting of 24 November 1983 the Committee on Development and Cooperation considered a motion for a resolution pursuant to Rule 47 on the situation in Cambodia, tabled by Mr de La Malène and others (Doc. 1-510/82).

Following its discussions, it took the view that the report (Doc. 1-639/81) tabled at the end of 1981 by Mr Cohen whose resolution was adopted by the European Parliament (OJ No. C 327, 14.12.1981) sets out its position on this matter and can therefore be considered as representing its opinion on the report of your committee.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd) M. PONIATOWSKI



## RESOLUTION

on the results of a visit by a delegation from the European Parliament  
to Cambodia

adopted by the European Parliament on 20.11.1981<sup>1</sup>

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolution of 15 February 1980 on the tragic situation and the threat of starvation in Cambodia<sup>2</sup>,
- having regard to its delegation's report (PE 73.330/BUR),
- having regard to the results of the conference on Cambodia held in New York in July 1981,
- having regard to the report of the Committee on Development and Cooperation and the opinion of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 1-639/81),

1. Repeats its request for the restoration of Cambodia's independence and sovereignty and the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country;
2. Considers that further diplomatic and political initiatives are needed to this end and to guarantee peace and security in South-East Asia;
3. Hopes that the European Community and its Member States will continue their efforts at international level to achieve these objectives;
4. Welcomes the fact that the aid granted by the European Community was maintained in 1981 and hopes that the possibility of extending it into 1982 will be examined in a constructive spirit but at the same time asks that more solid guarantees be given about the allocation of this aid and about the indication of its origin;
5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution and the report of its committee to the Council and Commission.

<sup>1</sup>OJ No. C 327, 14.12.1981, p. 110

<sup>2</sup>OJ No. C 59, 10.3.1980, p. 65

COMMITTEE ON  
DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION

Opinion in the form of a letter to the Political Affairs Committee

Letter of 5 October 1983 from Mr PONIATOWSKI to Mr RUMOR

Dear Mr Rumor,

In November 1982, our committee forwarded to you its opinion, in the form of a letter, on the situation in Cambodia. It considers today that that opinion needs to be updated to take account of subsequent developments in the situation in Cambodia.

At its meeting of 28 and 29 September 1983, the Committee on Development and Cooperation instructed me to forward to you the following observations, which constitute its opinion.

I. The food situation:

The emergency phase as such is finished in Cambodia. But agricultural production is far from having returned to its earlier levels. Given the limited number of draught animals, it is impossible to extend the area under cultivation. The country has no other choice than to improve output per hectare, which implies the use of pesticides, fertilizers and other products which are currently unobtainable in the country.

Another characteristic of the country is the existence of zones where there is a food deficit and others where there is a surplus. The lack of infrastructure hinders the distribution of a surplus throughout the territory. The FAO estimates that the current food deficit as regards rice is 130,000 tonnes and an appeal to donors has been launched in order to meet minimum requirements urgently.

But the most serious problems affect the 'vulnerable' sections of the community, i.e. widows, old people, orphans and children. The children suffer from malnutrition caused mainly by lack of food rich in protein and vitamins and by poor medical facilities and unhygienic conditions. These two factors - illness and a poor diet - are the main causes of malnutrition.

An agreement has been reached between government and donors on the categories of persons entitled to receive international aid.

II. Aid management

International organizations announce an improvement in management: better statistics, better understanding of the needs of donors, an open approach by managerial staff and leaders at all levels. This has been reflected in the formal agreement between the WFP and the government in April 1983, which stipulates that:

.../...

- food aid is to be distributed only to the vulnerable groups;
- the aid is to be distributed only in the provinces defined as being in deficit by agreement between government and donors;
- reports on distribution are to be drawn up province by province;
- WFP staff are to have freedom of movement in order to monitor the distribution of aid.

### III. Priorities to be adopted for possible humanitarian aid in 1983:

The immediate objective of government and donors is to achieve a minimum level of self-sufficiency in rice and to supply primary medical assistance to the population. The government recognizes the priority which must be accorded to the rehabilitation of agriculture and not to a simple extension of food aid. The introduction of the supplementary food programmes for children remains a priority so long as output of products other than rice is not sufficiently developed.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that Cambodia finds itself at present in an exceptional situation. Its economy is in ruins and its productive capacity has been shattered. But Cambodia remains the only developing country which receives no international development aid.

The committee feels that humanitarian aid based on the priorities described above is needed to help the country, and above all its agriculture, to get off the ground again. It also feels that the international community of donors is nearing the end of its action and that bilateral aid will soon be in a position to take over.

The committee wishes the EEC to continue assisting the whole population, both that of the interior of the country and the 200,000 or so persons in the camps on the border with Thailand. This is in line with the resolution on which the report is based. This was not the case in 1982 when the Council decided to grant 10,000 tonnes of food aid for the camps alone out of an overall amount of 20,0000, of which half was earmarked for Cambodia.

The EEC must maintain in this matter the even-handedness which the situation - in the country and in the camps - calls for.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) Michel PONIATOWSKI

Present: Mr Deschamps, Mr Brok, Mr Narducci, Mr Vankerkhoven, Mr Ferrero, Mr Vergès, Mrs Dury, Mr G. Fuchs, Mr De Courcy Ling, Mr Pearce and Mr Lomas.

