Report

drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation

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

Rapporteur: Mr R. COHEN
By its decision of 16 June 1981, the Bureau of the European Parliament referred the report on the fact-finding visit to Cambodia from 29 March to 3 April 1981 to the Committee on Development and Cooperation as the Committee responsible and to the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Budgets for their opinions.

On 23 June 1981 the Committee on Development and Cooperation appointed Mr Cohen rapporteur.

At its meeting of 21 October 1981 the Committee on Development and Cooperation considered the draft report and unanimously adopted the motion for a resolution.

Present: Mr Poniatowski, chairman; Mr Bersani, vice-chairman; Mr Cohen, rapporteur; Mr De Gucht (deputizing for Mr Sablé), Mr Enright, Mrs Focke, Mr Fuchs, Mr Jackson, Mr Michel, Mr Narducci, Mr Sherlock and Mr Vergès.

The opinion of the Political Affairs Committee is annexed to this report and the opinion of the Committee on Budgets will be published separately.
CONTENTS

Page

A. MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION ......................................... 5

B. EXPLANATORY STATEMENT ........................................... 6

ANNEX I : Report on the fact-finding visit to Cambodia from
29 March to 3 April 1981 ........................................... 10

ANNEX II : EEC aid to needy populations in South-East Asia
(Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam) ......................... 14

Opinion of the Political Affairs Committee .................... 17
The Committee on Development and Cooperation hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution together with explanatory statement:

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

following the visit by a delegation from the European Parliament to Cambodia

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolution of 15 February 1980 on the tragic situation and the threat of starvation in Cambodia,

- 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 opinions of the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Budgets (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 Community aid to Cambodia is continuing in 1981; considers that if emergency aid proves necessary in the future the Community must continue to play its part in internationally organized aid programmes.

5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution and the report of its committee to the Council and Commission of the European Communities.

1 OJ No. C 59, 10.3.1980, p.65
EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

The delegation set up in accordance with the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 15 January 1980 and consisting of Mrs Agnelli, Mrs Macciocchi and Mr Cohen, and accompanied by Mr Ducci (of the Directorate-General for Committees and Inter-parliamentary Delegations), visited Cambodia from 27 March to 3 April 1981. The purpose of their visit was to find out how Community aid to Cambodia is being used and to collect information on the living conditions of the Cambodian population so as to determine the type of Community intervention which would be desirable in the future.

The delegation encountered a number of difficulties and only part of the original programme could in fact be carried out. The visit to the refugee camps in Thailand was cancelled following a telex from the Commission Delegation in Bangkok informing us of the attempted military coup then taking place in that country. The technical details and the programme of the delegation's visit are summarized in the note drawn up by Mr Ducci and attached to this report.

The delegation was not able to travel directly to Cambodia but had to go through Vietnam because of the impossibility of taking a direct flight. It was originally planned that we should leave Bangkok for Phnom Penh by the special Red Cross flight but the Thai authorities refused us permission to use this flight. Phnom Penh could therefore be reached only by air from Ho-Chi-Minh City, Hanoi and the Soviet Union.

During our brief stay in Ho-Chi-Minh City the European Parliament delegation accompanied by two representatives of the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, was able to visit part of the city and the black markets. The impression we gained from our visit was one of extreme distress and poverty. According to the representatives of the Red Cross the Vietnamese population are trying to leave the country by any possible means; many people are said to be willing to give up all their possessions in exchange for an exit visa.

The Soviet 'advisers', of which there are a fairly large number in the country, are apparently hated by the population; two Russians were allegedly murdered in Ho-Chi-Minh City market just a week before our visit.
The situation in Vietnam seems to us to be still extremely difficult. After our arrival in Phnom Penh, a pre-arranged programme was imposed upon us by the Cambodian authorities and despite our protests it did not prove possible to modify it to include a visit to the port of Kom-Pon Som, farms, Red Cross camp hospitals and the temples of Angkor-Vat.

Generally speaking, we had the impression that our visit was more or less 'tolerated' by the Cambodian authorities but we cannot say that we were given a friendly welcome. Moreover, the Cambodian authorities did not allow us to be accompanied on the visits we made by representatives of the international organizations operating in Cambodia (the Red Cross, FAO, Oxfam, the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees). It would seem that these international organizations enjoy very little freedom of movement in Cambodia and play the role of mere intermediaries with the Cambodian authorities as regards international aid. As far as the storage and distribution of this aid is concerned, international organizations do not seem to exercise any form of supervision. It is therefore not possible to ascertain how much of this international aid actually reaches the Cambodian people and how much is used to contribute to the Vietnamese military effort, i.e. to meet the needs of the 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers currently stationed in Cambodia and who, according to the Cambodian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs with whom we talked, 'will be there for a long time yet'.

Our general impression of the living conditions of the Cambodian people was (as far as we were able to ascertain from the little that we saw, i.e. the towns of Phnom Penh and Battambang) that these people are still living in conditions of distress but are in the process of recovering. The food situation seems to have improved, partly thanks to international aid, but certain representatives of the international organizations told us that in some provinces of Cambodia people are still dying of hunger.

In Phnom Penh and Battambang the black market seems extremely active and is supplied chiefly by products from Thailand. Part of Cambodian territory (and not only the area in which the fighting is still going on) is not at present accessible to foreigners. According to the Cambodian authorities, this is because of the dangerous nature of the vast expanses of territory in which the landmines have not yet been defused. According to one of the representatives of international organizations with whom we spoke, access is in fact forbidden because certain eastern regions of the country have been occupied by Vietnamese peasants whom the Hanoi Government has established there.

There are still extremely visible traces of the destruction and genocide perpetrated under the Pol Pot regime. We were able to visit the Phnom Penh prison where Pol Pot's gaolers tortured and massacred thousands of Cambodians and the communal grave into which their bodies were thrown. Doctors and schoolteachers were almost all exterminated by the lunatic
Pol Pot regime and even today there are enormous difficulties in the medical and health field. It should however be pointed out that so far only doctors from Communist countries or belonging to western Communist parties may enter and work in Cambodia.

The Heng Samrin regime tries to keep alive the memory of the horrors of the Pol Pot period by intense propaganda at all levels including schools, as we were able to ascertain for ourselves. In the light of what is known today about the Pol Pot regime and what we were able to ascertain directly, it seems incredible that a representative of this regime should still be allowed to sit in the UN and in other international bodies!

The present Cambodian Government, without indulging in the same excesses as the Pol Pot regime, seems at any rate to have established a regime of strict control over the country and its infrastructures.

Throughout our visit we had the feeling that our activities and in particular our contacts with the local population were kept under constant supervision by the authorities. The people are somewhat reticent to talk to foreigners. Our interpreters on many occasions refused to translate the questions we wanted to put to the people and asked us to apply directly to the authorities for the information desired.

Vietnamese 'advisers', though fairly unobtrusive, are undoubtedly present in very large numbers and at all levels. The Cambodian population, who greeted the Vietnamese people as their 'saviour' (as it had also done for Pol Pot), no longer seems to appreciate their presence on its territory. The Cambodian authorities continue to consider the Vietnamese, the Russians and other 'socialist brothers' as the saviours of the Cambodian people and persist in ignoring the importance of aid from non-socialist countries, despite the fact that the latter provide the overwhelming majority of the international aids received. For example, the Cambodian official who accompanied us even maintained that the Italian-made landrovers and trucks that they showed us were gifts from socialist countries.

This again points up the fact that the Cambodian authorities and population seem to be completely unaware of the Community's contribution to the medical and food aid supplied to them. This is understandable as regards the parcels bearing the words 'Don de la Communauté', given the difference in language and alphabet.

The nature of our delegation and of the European Parliament itself often seemed not to be clearly understood by the Cambodian authorities we met. They seem to distinguish only between their 'socialist brothers'
who they regard as the saviour of the people and their 'American' enemies who are seen as the cause of all their misfortunes.

Conclusions

In the light of the information the delegation was able to obtain during the visit to Cambodia it would make the following suggestions:

(1) the Community must continue to send to Cambodia the aid planned for 1981;

(2) as far as 1982 and the following years are concerned, the whole policy of aid to Cambodia must be reviewed in the light of developments in that country. Of course people dying of hunger must be helped but there must be a political awareness that those who rule over them use methods which bear no relation to the principles of freedom and democracy.

To this end the delegation recommends that the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Development and Cooperation of the European Parliament commence discussion of this matter as soon as possible and thereby provide the members of the delegation with the opportunity to relate their experience and express their opinions on the matter. In conclusion, the delegation wishes to state how positive and useful it considers its visit to Cambodia to have been.
REPORT

on the fact-finding visit to Cambodia
from 29 March to 3 April 1981

Mandate and composition of the delegation

The delegation consisted of three members:

Mrs Susanna AGNELLI
Mr Robert COHEN
Mrs Maria Antonietta Macciocchi

They were accompanied by one official.

The mandate of the delegation was defined by a resolution of the European Parliament adopted on 15 February 1980 as follows:

'instructs its Political Affairs Committee urgently to consider the setting up of a committee of members of Parliament to ascertain in Cambodia the people's vital needs and to check that Community aid of all kinds is being properly distributed'.

The principle of the setting up of a delegation was adopted by the Political Affairs Committee on 23 April 1980. The membership of the delegation was then decided by the enlarged Bureau on 22 May 1980.

According to these decisions the visit by the delegation was to be of a strictly humanitarian nature. It was to collect information about the scope of the financial aid operations undertaken by the European Community through international and humanitarian organizations to assist the needy sections of the population in Cambodia. Basically this involved finding out what had become of the Cambodian refugees in Cambodia and the refugees still in certain areas of Vietnam. The delegation was also to look at the situation at the Thai frontier as a result of the presence of Cambodian refugees, international aid being confined within this perimeter.
Day-to-day account of the visit

The visas for Cambodia and the assistance of the Khmer authorities were obtained through the Red Cross and various UN bodies.

The delegation arrived in Ho-Chi-Minh City on 26 March. After being welcomed at the airport by representatives of the HCR the delegation obtained visas from the Cambodian Consulate on the same afternoon and held an exchange of views with the representatives of the HCR on the problems of the Vietnamese refugees in general and the problem of Cambodian refugees in Vietnam in particular.

The following day the delegation flew to Phnom Penh by scheduled Air Vietnam flight.

On arrival in Cambodia the representatives of the Red Cross (ICRC), the HCR and UNICEF explained that their scope for assisting the delegation on the spot was fairly limited. They had obtained the visas, they could talk to the delegation about the implementation of the aid programme, but the visits could be conducted only under the supervision of the Cambodian authorities. The freedom of movement of the international organizations also appeared to be fairly restricted. This is evidenced by the fact that the delegation was hardly ever allowed to be accompanied, whether in Phnom Penh or the provinces, by representatives of the ICRC, UNICEF or the HCR. The guides and escorts were officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea.

On the afternoon of 27 March the delegation was received by Mr Hun-Sen, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The following day the delegation visited the communal graves near Phnom Penh showing evidence of the massacres of the Pol Pot regime. The delegation also visited a prison and the torture chambers located in the capital’s former secondary school. On the same day they visited a hospital and a school which had benefited from aid from international organizations.

On 29 March the delegation went to Battambang (300 km from Phnom Penh near the Thai frontier, a 12-hour car journey along dirt tracks). They had officially asked to be accompanied by a representative of the ICRC, but this request had been rejected. The delegation’s two cars were preceded by an armed military escort. Living conditions during the stay in Battambang were extremely difficult.
On 30 March the delegation visited a hospital, a school and an orphanage in Battambang, all of which had benefited from aid from international organizations. The following day it witnessed the distribution of food and family kits from the HCR for refugees returning from camps in Thailand on the other side of the frontier. The delegation then had to visit other mass graves and torture chambers.

On 1 April the delegation returned to Phnom Penh and the next day visited the art college, an orphanage, an exhibition on the new Cambodian economy and the old royal palace. The programme ended with a long conversation with the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the evening the delegation, which had already attended working meetings of the pool of international organizations, had lengthy talks with the representatives of the ICRC, UNICEF, the HCR, FAO and a number of private organizations involved in the aid programmes co-financed by the Community.

On 3 April the delegation left Phnom Penh by a cargo plane chartered by Oxfam-World Vision. On arrival at Singapore military airport, they were stopped by a telex from the Commission delegation in Bangkok. By agreement with the ICRC and the HCR the Commission delegate requested the delegation to terminate its mission in Singapore. The situation in Thailand, where an attempted military coup had been in progress for two days, was such that there could no longer be any question of visiting the refugee camps in the north-east of the country or holding the planned talks with the Thai authorities.

The delegation therefore decided to abandon the part of the programme devoted to Thailand. The members of the delegation returned to Europe by the first available flights.

International aid and action by the EEC

Before departure the delegation had taken stock of the schemes undertaken with the assistance of the EEC. This summary will be found in Annex II to this report.

Shortly after the delegation's return the Commission decided, on 29 April 1981, to propose that the Cambodian refugees be granted 5 million ECU's in emergency aid, from 1981 appropriations. This would be financed, together with aid totalling 15 million for Afghan refugees, by transferring appropriations from Chapter 78 to Article 950 of the budget. The Commission also proposes food aid in the form of 10,000 t of cereals (costing about 1,800,000 ECU) from item 92 of the budget.

These new aids, on which a decision should be taken by the end of May, fall short of the amounts requested of the EEC by the Conference of donor organizations which was held in New York on 6 March 1981, when an amount of
14-18 million dollars was requested. The finance to be supplied by the international community in 1981 totals about 190/210 million dollars. In 1980 the EEC supplied aid totalling about 74 million dollars out of a total expenditure of about 400 million.

As far as food aid is concerned, the official reports published by FAO, the last of which is dated February 1981, indicate a rice deficit of 222,800 t for this year. Part of this deficit will be met by the Soviet Union (90,000 t), the United States (18,000 t) and the WFP (12,000 t). Requirements still to be met therefore total about 102,800 t. As stated above, the EEC intends to supply 10,000 t.

This deficit subsists despite the considerable progress made by farming in Cambodia in recent months and which was noticed by the delegation. But the Cambodian rice plantations, traditionally the granary of South-East Asia, and which covered some 2.4 million hectares in 1968/69, had been reduced to 600,000 hectares in 1979 after 10 years of war. They had been expanded to 1.3 million hectares in 1980 but FAO experts believe that self-sufficiency will not be attained in 1982 unless rice can be harvested over an area of at least 1.7 million hectares in 1981.
It is necessary to distinguish between several different types of aid:

- direct food aid (Chapter 9.2 of the budget)
- food aid through certain specialized bodies (ditto)
- direct emergency aid (Art. 9.5.0 of the budget)
- emergency aid through certain specialized bodies (ditto)

It is useful to bear in mind the overall amounts entered in the budget for these operations (the budget does not distinguish between direct action and indirect action):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food aid</td>
<td>366,431,000</td>
<td>395,344,000</td>
<td>296,035,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ch. 9.2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency aid</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>43,000,000</td>
<td>42,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Art. 9.5.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In order correctly to assess the financial impact of food aid operations the sums paid out in the form of 'refunds' should be added to these amounts. Appropriations covering this expenditure are entered in Chapter 6.0 (e.g. for cereals 40,180,000 EUA in Item 6.0.0.1) relating to EAGGF Guarantee Section expenditure, as these appropriations in fact represent only a support guarantee for Community producers. The amounts entered in Chapter 9.2 'cover' the value of the merchandise at the world price.
CAMBODIA

The aids can be distinguished by category of recipient, according to the geographical location of the groups of refugees assisted. All these actions are indirect actions, the EEC having confined itself to supplying cash or goods to the private and international organizations on the spot. A detailed breakdown of such financing (updated figures) will be found in the tables attached to this note. The year of reference is the year during which the decisions to grant aid were taken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EUA:</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian refugees on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Thai frontier</td>
<td>14,619</td>
<td>10,710,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai villages affected</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by the presence of the</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian refugees in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>15,526</td>
<td>33,330,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian refugees in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,150,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>30,135</td>
<td>48,400,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1979 total represents:
- 24,000,000 emergency aid in 'cash' (Art. 9.5.0)
- 6,135,000 food aid (Ch. 9.2) in the form of 30,000 t of rice and 300 t of milk powder

**TOTAL 1979** 30,135,000

The 1980 total represents:
- 40,000,000 food aid in cash (Art. 9.5.0)
- 8,400,000 food aid (Ch. 9.2) in the form of 35,000 t of rice

**TOTAL 1980** 48,400,000

As regards the aid decided on in 1980 it must be noted that:

(i) the 40,000,000 in cash was paid in two 20,000,000 instalments; the operations financed by the first instalment have all been carried out and the aid distributed; the second instalment was not decided on until December 1980 and the money paid to the organizations on the spot in early January 1981 has not yet been fully spent (all the orders have been fully made out but the aid distributed would seem at present to cover only 36% of the amount released) (the attached table does not contain details of the operations financed by the second instalment);

(ii) the 8,400,000 in food aid has all been spent and the aid distributed.

---

1 Source: Commission of the European Communities
The position in respect of 1981 is as follows: certain private and international organizations active in Cambodia held a meeting of their inter-agency group in New York on 6 March. As regards the people of Cambodia a comparison of available resources and actual requirements shows a deficit of some 60-70 million dollars. As had been expected since the end of the year, the inter-agency group has now officially asked the EEC to provide finance for 1981 totalling 14 to 18 million dollars. The appropriations entered this year in Article 9.5.0 (3 million EUA) would therefore not suffice. It is, however, unlikely (though not impossible) that the Community will resort to a supplementary and amending budget. It is more likely to transfer money from Chapter 92 (food aid) to Article 9.5.0 (emergency aid). The sum involved would be about 5,000,000 EUA (approximately half of the sum required). The EEC might also decide to grant food aid in the form of 10,000 t of cereals from Chapter 92 (worth about 2,000,000 EUA, not including 'refunds').

THAILAND

In 1980 the Community decided for the first time to grant direct food aid in the form of 3,000 tonnes of milk powder and 286 tonnes of butter oil (worth about 2,000,000 EUA on the world market). This aid, which so far has only been allocated but not distributed, should be used for a free milk campaign in schools.

No provision has so far been made for 1981.

LAOS

In 1978 the Community decided to grant food aid in the form of 450 tonnes of skimmed-milk powder; in 1979 aid totalled 1,000 tonnes. This is indirect aid channelled through the UNHCR and all of it has been carried out.

VIETNAM

In 1978 the Community decided to grant emergency aid amounting to 250,000 EUA following the particularly serious floods. In the same year Vietnam received food aid in the form of 416 tonnes of skimmed-milk powder. This aid has been carried out. Since then all aid has been suspended.
OPINION OF THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Draftsman of the opinion: Mrs M.A. MACCIOCCHI

At its sitting of 6 July 1981 the European Parliament referred the report on the fact-finding visit to Cambodia to the Committee on Development and Cooperation as the committee responsible and to the Political Affairs Committee for its opinion.

At its meeting of 23-25 September 1981 the Political Affairs Committee appointed Mrs Macciocchi draftsman of the opinion.

At its meeting of 19/20 October 1981 the Political Affairs Committee adopted the opinion drawn up by Mrs Macciocchi.

Present: Mr Rumor, chairman; Mr Haagerup, vice-chairman; Mrs Macciocchi, draftsman of the opinion; Mr Blumenfeld, Mr Cariglia, Mrs Cassanmagnago-Cerretti, Lord Douro, Lady Elles, Mr Fergusson, Mr Habsburg, Mr Hånsch, Mr von Hassel, Mr C. Jackson (deputizing for Sir James Scott-Hopkins), Mr Lalor, Mr Mottchane, Mr Pöttering (deputizing for Mr Antoniozzi), Mr Prag (deputizing for Lord Bethell), Mr Reapa di Meana (deputizing for Mr Zagari), Mr Schall (deputizing for Mr Klepsch), Mr Segré and Mr J.M. Taylor.
1. The resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 15 February 1980 called on the Political Affairs Committee 'urgently to consider the setting-up of a committee of Members of Parliament to ascertain in Cambodia the people's vital needs and to check that Community aid of all kinds is being properly distributed'. The aim of the visit was therefore essentially humanitarian as is indicated in the draft report drawn up by Mr Robert Cohen on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation. However, the information obtained by the delegation - of which the draftsman was a member - and the fact that the problems involved in sending this mission were referred to the Political Affairs Committee in the first instance confirm that the conditions for satisfying the vital needs of the people of Cambodia cannot be separated from the political situation in that country. This opinion will therefore pay greater attention to these matters.

2. The Political Affairs Committee has a favourable opinion of Mr Cohen's report and its conclusions. It also has a favourable opinion on the usefulness of the visit to Cambodia, despite the difficulties encountered.

3. The committee feels that there has been no improvement in the food situation in Cambodia since the delegation's visit at the beginning of April following the stabilization of the situation at the beginning of 1981. Of the two phrases used in Mr Cohen's report: 'these people are still living in conditions of distress' and (they) are in the process of recovering', the former is still closest to the truth according to more recent reports. On 3 September, Mr Hong Samrin, head of the pro-Vietnamese government in Phnom Penh, made a speech giving details of the natural disasters which, in his opinion, 'posed a serious threat' to the forthcoming rice crop and appealed to the international organizations to continue their aid beyond 31 December 1981.

4. Nor has there been any improvement on security matters. Periodic fighting continues between Vietnamese troops and the Khmer Rouge as well as with other nationalist forces. The committee notes in this respect that on 13 September 1981, the American Secretary of State accused Vietnam of using chemical weapons against Cambodia and claimed to have evidence to support the accusation. Thailand also made the same accusation.

The committee is not in a position to comment on this but feels it essential that all the facts should be brought to light. In particular, there should be an unbiased international investigation into frequent reports of a 'yellow rain' with a cyanide or myotoxin base used by Vietnamese troops against their adversaries in Cambodia and Laos.
5. The committee also notes that the prospect of a negotiated settlement of the crisis in Cambodia is constantly blocked by the refusal of the Vietnamese Government, supported by the USSR and the other Warsaw pact countries, to evacuate its troops from Cambodia and to recognize the Khmer people's right to self-determination.

On the other hand, there has been slow but significant progress between the various Cambodian groups not subject to Vietnamese influence. An agreement which was signed in Singapore on 4 September 1981 between Prince Sihanouk, former head of state, Mr Son Sann, leader of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front and Mr Khieu Samphan, leader of the Khmer Rouge 'government', contains provisions for the formation of a coalition government under the leadership of Mr Son Sann. While this is doubtless still no more than a formal agreement as the three leaders failed to agree on the role of the Khmer Rouge, the European Community must take it into account and increase its efforts (without detracting from the parallel efforts of ASEAN) to ensure that this government is set up as soon as possible and that the majority of its members are supporters of Prince Sihanouk and Mr Son Sann who are evidently the only figures capable of attracting the support of the largest possible number of Cambodians.

6. At international level, events have not matched Hanoi's attempts to secure ratification for a fait accompli. The conference on Cambodia which was held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981 was attended by 79 countries - including the Community countries represented by Lord Carrington - and 11 observers, despite the boycott by Hanoi and its allies. The conference called for a cease-fire agreed to by all the parties involved in the conflict and the withdrawal of all foreign troops as soon as possible under the supervision and control of a peace-keeping force. A special committee, chaired by the Austrian Foreign Minister, was set up to draft a settlement plan and was instructed to undertake missions, where necessary, for this purpose. On 18 September, the UN General Assembly voted against admission of the Heng Samrin regime and to maintain the delegation from 'Democratic Cambodia' by a larger majority than last year: 77 votes as against 71 in 1980.

7. The Political Affairs Committee welcomes the fact that the regime set up under Vietnamese occupation has not been recognized by the international community but it cannot condone the fact that this has resulted in representatives of the Pol Pot regime retaining their seat in the UNO. The draftsman and all the members of the delegation agree with the conclusions of Mr Cohen's report on the homicidal mania of this regime and the genocide which was inflicted on the people of Cambodia. We would express even greater condemnation of the propaganda campaign carried out in schools by the present authorities in Phnom Penh where children were asked to describe the horrors they have
witnessed: on the contrary, we should be helping the children of Cambodia to forget these atrocities as quickly as possible.

The Political Affairs Committee agrees with Mr Cohen's comment that "it seems incredible that a representative of this regime should still be allowed to sit in the UN and in other international bodies'. By excluding the representatives of an imposed regime bolstered by foreign arms and of a bloodthirsty clique whose heinous crimes are an anathema to mankind, the international community will show that in its eyes the problem of Cambodia remains unresolved and that a political solution will have to be found as soon as possible. It will also diminish the Khmer Rouge's hopes of returning to power and will increase the pressure on the signatories of the agreement of 4 September to establish the proposed coalition government, which is the only one fit to occupy Cambodia's seat at the UNO.

8. The committee approves the conclusions of Mr Cohen's report on the continuation of aid to Cambodia. Like Mr Cohen, it hopes that this aid will be reviewed in the light of developments in that country and with complete political awareness as regards the local authorities' violations not only of democracy and freedom but also of the most elementary notions of honesty. Nevertheless, it believes that aid will still be required in 1982, at roughly the same level as in 1981 and that this should be agreed in principle with the proviso that the Phnom Penh regime satisfies certain minimum conditions: intensification of controls by international organizations, public admission that this aid comes from the European Community and not from 'socialist brothers', unrestricted entry for a number of doctors from Community countries. The fact that Mr Hou Samin has himself requested that aid be continued in 1982 places the Community negotiators in a strong position to ensure that its demands are met.

9. The committee feels that the visit of this delegation from the European Parliament to Cambodia was a useful one as would be any visit— even under the same difficult conditions - to a country in a similarly tragic situation whether caused by a natural disaster or by civil war. It is in this way that the Community can best bring its message of peace, prosperity and freedom to a suffering people - a message which can only augur well for the future once peace and security are restored. It is not simply a question of our common duty to show solidarity but also of the influence of Europe and its own real interests.

In other words, the experience should be extended to other countries and applied in other situations.
AMENDMENT

to the draft report on the results of a visit by a delegation from the European Parliament to Cambodia submitted by Mr Cohen

on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation

(PE 74.277)

Amendment
tabled by Mrs Macciocchi, draftsman of the Political Affairs Committee

Replace paragraph 4 of the motion for a resolution with the following text:

'Welcomes the fact that aid granted by the European Community was maintained in 1981 and hopes that positive consideration will be given to extending it into 1982 whilst insisting that better guarantees be provided in respect of its distribution and the indication of its origin.'