

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2005-1002-F; 2008-1289-F

FOIA Number:
2005-1002-F

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: National Security Council
Series: H-Files
Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

OA/ID Number: 90019
Folder ID Number: 90019-001

Folder Title:
NSC/DC 259 - March, 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	15	2	6	2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. List	Re: Deputy Committee Meeting [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6] (1 pp.)	3/5/90	(b)(3)	
02. List	Re: Deputy Committee Meeting [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6] (1 pp.)	3/5/90	(b)(3)	
03a. Memo	Peter S. Watson to Robert M. Gates Re: March 5, 1991 Deputies Committee Meeting on Cambodia (6 pp.)	3/6/91	(b)(1)	S
03b. Report	Re: Section 562A (b) (2):... (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03c. Minutes	Re: Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee (4 pp.)	2/14/91	(b)(1)	S
03d. Summary	Re: Intelligence Summary (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03e. Cable	Re: Cambodia (2 pp.)	10/12/90	(b)(1)	S
03f. Cable	Re: The War in Cambodia (2 pp.)	1/26/91	(b)(1)	S
03g. Cable	Re: NCR Program (1 pp.)	2/11/91	(b)(1)	C
03h. Report	Re: Cambodia: The Question of Non-Communist Resistance... (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Page 1 of 4

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WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Pinksheet Number: cap1588

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2005-1002-F

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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03i. Memo	To William W. Working Re: Cooperation Between the Noncommunist Resistance and the Khmer Rouge [FOIA exemptions redacted] (3 pp.)	2/1/91	(b)(1)	S
03j. Report	Re: (Reporting Synopsis June 1990 - present) (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03k. Report	Re: Disseminated Reports... (6 pp.)	2/1/91	(b)(1)	S
03l. Memo	To Peter Watson, Re: Forwarding of Disseminated Reports [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03m. Cable	Re: Allegations... (2 pp.)	12/26/90	(b)(1)	S
03n. Cable	Re: Armed Incidents... (3 pp.)	2/6/91	(b)(1)	S
03o. Cable	Re: Reported Execution... (2 pp.)	2/7/91	(b)(1)	S
04a. Memo	Peter S. Watson to Robert M. Gates Re: March 4, 1991 Deputies Committee Meeting on Cambodia (6 pp.)	3/3/91	(b)(1)	S
04b. Report	Re: Section 562A (b) (2):... (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
04c. Minutes	Re: Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee (4 pp.)	2/14/91	(b)(1)	S
04d. Summary	Re: Intelligence Summary (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

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04m. Cable	Re: Allegations... (1 pp.)	12/26/90	(b)(1)	S
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Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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DEPUTY COMMITTEE MEETING
TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1990
2:30PM - 3:30PM
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

WHITE HOUSE

Robert Gates
Andy Card (Invited)

OVP

Carnes Lord

NSC

Karl Jackson

STATE

Robert Kimmitt
Richard Solomon

DOD

Paul Wolfowitz
Carl Ford

JUSTICE

William Barr
Daniel Levin

JCS

David Jeremiah
Merrill Ruck

CIA

Richard Kerr

(b)(3) [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6]

AID

Mark Edelman
Carol Adelman

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TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1990
2:30PM - 3:30PM
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

WHITE HOUSE

Robert Gates
Andy Card (Invited)

OVP

Carnes Lord

STATE

Robert Kimmitt	12/19/47
John J. David (Driver)	12/6/49
Robert Myers (Dip Security)	11/11/64
Richard Solomon	6/19/37

DOD

Paul Wolfowitz	12/23/43
Matthew Turner (Driver)	9/23/32
Carl Ford	1/28/43

JUSTICE

William Barr	(Passholder)
James Seibert (Driver)	(Passholder)
Jeffrey Favitta (Dip Security)	10/19/52
Daniel Levin	3/4/56

JCS

David Jeremiah	2/25/34
Larry Wineglass (Driver)	5/3/58
Merrill Ruck	5/30/41

CIA

Richard Kerr	(passholder)
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(b)(3) [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6]

AID

Mark Edelman	6/27/43
Carol Adelman	9/16/46
Wayne Beathea (Driver)	3/6/55

~~SECRET~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9120150
RECEIVED: 01 MAR 91 16

TO: GATES

FROM: WATSON
JACKSON

DOC DATE: 03 MAR 91
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CAMBODIA
DC

AGENDA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: TALKER & AGENDA FOR 4 MAR DC MTG ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO
CAMBODIA

ACTION: NOTED BY GATES

DUE DATE: 05 MAR 91

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: JACKSON

LOGREF: 9120172

FILES: IFM O

NSCP: DC259

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
NSC CHRON
WATSON

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By cap NARA, Date 1/11/10

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSEF

CLOSED BY: NSEF

DOC 3 OF 4

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 9120150

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 SITTMANN
002
003 GATES
003
004 SCOWCROFT
004

Z 91030118 FOR SIGNATURE
X 91030118 SITTMANN SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES
Z 91030507 ADD-ON / FOR DECISION
X 91072613 NOTED BY GATES
Z 91030519 FOR DECISION
X 91030708 GATES APPROVED RECOM

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By CAF NARA, Date 1/11/10

~~SECRET~~

**National Security Council
The White House**

PROOFED BY:

LOG # 20150

URGENT NOT PROOFED:

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK:

DOCLOG A/O

[Handwritten signature]
Ken Hill
Bill Sittmann
Bob Gates
Brent Scowcroft
Bill Sittmann
Situation Room
West Wing Desk
NSC Secretariat

RECEIVED

91 MAR 4 P 1.31

SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<u>1</u>	<u> </u>	<u>A</u>
<u>2</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u>3</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u>4</u>	<u>24.7/26</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>5</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Sununu Other

Should be seen by:
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS
CC mtg on 4 March 5 at 2:30pm

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03a. Memo	Peter S. Watson to Robert M. Gates Re: March 5, 1991 Deputies Committee Meeting on Cambodia (6 pp.)	3/6/91	(b)(1)	S

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~~SECRET~~

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20150

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING

Monday, March 4, 1991

4:00 - 5:00 p.m.

Cambodia

Agenda

- I. Introduction.....Robert M. Gates
- II. Analysis of Relevant Legal Issues.....DOJ
- III. Policy Implications.....State
- IV. Discussion.....All

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By cap NARA, Date 11/11/10

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

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101ST CONGRESS
2d Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT
101-558

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1991

JUNE 21, 1990.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. OBEY, from the Committee on Appropriations,
submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 5114]

The Committee on Appropriations submits the following report in explanation of the accompanying bill making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1991 and for other purposes.

INDEX TO BILL AND REPORT

	Page Bill	Page Report
Summary of bill:		
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RECIPROCAL LEASING

The Committee has revised Section 546, Reciprocal Leasing, to change the effective date from 1990 to 1991.

DEFENSE EQUIPMENT DRAWDOWN

The Committee has revised Section 547, regarding authority to draw down certain defense equipment, to establish a \$100 million aggregate on the exercise of this authority.

AUTHORIZATION REQUIREMENT

The Committee has revised Section 549 to require authorization of funds appropriated in the bill.

NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS ON DEBT RELIEF AGREEMENTS

The Committee has revised Section 550 to apply Congressional notification procedures to Paris Club reschedulings.

MIDDLE EAST REGIONAL COOPERATION

The Committee has revised Section 551, Middle East Regional Cooperation, to extend the Israel-Arab Scholarships program.

EARMARKS

The Committee has revised Section 554 in order to update the effective date of this provision.

SOUTH AFRICA—SCHOLARSHIPS

The Committee has revised Section 558 to provide that up to \$10,000,000 may be available for scholarships for disadvantaged South Africans.

NARCOTICS CONTROL PROGRAM

The Committee has revised section 559 relating to narcotics control assistance. This provision is discussed earlier in this report.

CAMBODIA

The Committee has revised Section 562 regarding assistance for Cambodia.

In the course of the year, a number of efforts have been underway—including those presently occurring under the auspices of the permanent five members of the United Nations Security Council—to bring a peaceful and enduring conclusion to the civil war in Cambodia.

The Committee believes that the time has come to redirect the assistance that the United States has provided to the non-communist resistance (NCR)—which has largely been used to sustain and augment the military capacity of the NCR and their allies, the Khmer Rouge—and instead utilize U.S. assistance to encourage and to enhance international efforts in support of a peaceful resolution of the Cambodian conflict.

The Committee does not believe that any funds should go to the NCR. Although it has been long-standing policy of the United

S 15138

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

October 12, 1990

may not be in tomorrow, it is hard to determine. There are going to be a lot of people here tomorrow; many Members of this body will be here tomorrow. Members of the Budget Committee will be here tomorrow working on the budget trying to get that ready, and maybe members of other committees trying to finish their reconciliation instructions working with the Budget Committee.

So I guess it would be fair to say, even though we are not in session tomorrow, I imagine the majority of Senators will be working in Washington tomorrow because we need to do that if we are going to complete our work.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, first, as the distinguished Republican leader knows, at all the leadership meetings that we have attended where the subject of adjournment sine die comes up, he and I are in the forefront of those pressing for earlier dates.

I agree completely that even rumors about dates then do become self-fulfilling prophecies. They establish a state of mind that I think is most unfortunate, and that is one reason why I am trying very hard not to do that. I sincerely believe that we can complete our business by midnight October 19, and that is my objective.

I will do everything I can to enable us to meet that objective. If it proves to be not possible, I, of course, will have to take the situation into account at that time.

Second, I might say to the distinguished Republican leader, that it is not a scientific sample, but based upon the conversations I have had with Senators on both sides of the aisle this evening, it is about 50-50; those who would like to stay and finish tonight, and those who would like to finish tomorrow. So it is impossible to accommodate every Senator, as I said.

I think the best way to proceed, which would be best for the largest number of Senators, would be to get an agreement tonight that identified the amendments with a time certain for completing action on this bill on Monday, and that we stay in until we do that this evening which I hope will be in a relatively short period of time. And then we will know we have the bill finished, and we can go to the Defense appropriations bill.

If we cannot do that, of course, we have no alternative but to simply stay in, and plow ahead in a manner that, I think, will be unfortunate, but necessary.

Mr. DOLE. But is there still some slight idea that we might be in tomorrow?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, there is. If it is impossible to get identified a list of amendments and some time certain, then we may have no alternative but to stay tonight and tomorrow to complete action on the bill.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, would there be any possibility of stacking the four votes on the amendments which were described for early Monday morning?

Mr. MITCHELL. There will be, if they are part of a larger agreement to do that with respect to all of the amendments on the bill.

Mr. NICKLES. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is what we are trying to do. My intention was to have votes on as many of these as possible this evening, and while we were doing that, to try to get an agreement limiting the rest of the amendments.

I have no objection to doing that with respect to these, if we can get the larger agreement.

Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry. Is my amendment now the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has been considered as read and is the pending business.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, along with the chairman of the Intelligence Committee, DAVID BORN, the ranking member of the Commerce Committee JOHN DANFORTH, and Senator BOB KERREY, I rise to offer this amendment to provide assistance to Cambodians, including the non-Communist resistance.

This amendment is designed to make United States assistance consistent with the administration's diplomatic strategy in Cambodia. It broadens the old United States program of non-lethal military assistance to the non-Communist forces to a program that would allow the President to provide humanitarian and development assistance to the non-Communists and to other Cambodians in need. It would pave the way for an elections process that could determine the future of Cambodia.

The administration's efforts, shaped by changes in policy that my colleagues and I had long urged, have helped to transform the situation in Cambodia during the past few months. There is now hope for an end to the debilitating war between the Hun Sen regime, seated in Phnom Penh, and the allied forces of the Khmer Rouge and the non-Communist resistance.

I have long believed that American policy toward Cambodia has been misguided and has greatly increased the likelihood of the return of the Khmer Rouge to power.

I am sadly unconvinced that the settlement guidelines adopted by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council contain adequate safeguards against the return of the Khmer Rouge.

Many stress their belief in the need to include the Khmer Rouge, to give them a stake in the system. But I do not trust the Khmer Rouge. I do not believe they will abide by any terms other than their own terms of genocide and bloodshed. I have grave concerns about a diplomatic settlement

that relies on the good faith of the murderous Khmer Rouge.

I am concerned that the administration has failed to fully consider the glaring loopholes and the weaknesses inherent in the plan it has promoted so successfully. I urge the administration to seriously and critically examine the plan's most alarming defects, those in the provisions for disarmament. I hope that the administration will devote every effort to making certain that this agreement, when finalized at the Paris Conference, will be Khmer Rouge-proof.

Despite my personal reservations about the current outlines of the plan, I believe the United States must now do everything in its power to make this diplomatic process work. We owe this to the people of Cambodia who deserve the opportunity to determine their own futures, free of coercion and violence.

That goal is precisely what this amendment would promote.

This amendment would provide \$20 million in humanitarian and development assistance to Cambodians throughout the country. It would allow the administration to continue providing humanitarian support to the non-Communists and to provide assistance to other Cambodians in need.

Under the amendment, the United States Agency for International Development would conduct a needs assessment inside Cambodia and assistance would be spent, to the maximum extent possible, in accordance with the priority of needs identified by AID.

This is necessary given the serious documented problems with the past U.S. aid program to the non-Communist resistance (NCR). From 1986 to 1990, the United States provided about \$20 million in nonlethal assistance to the NCR.

The United States also provides millions of dollars—some 200 tons between 1987-89—of excess DOD supplies to the non-Communists through a separate Defense Department program. The General Accounting Office reports that AID did not design the assistance program to have specific activities or projects planned and implemented, with goals, objectives and benchmarks being clearly defined. There clearly is a need to establish objectives for our aid program to the NCR and other Cambodians.

There also is an urgent need to improve accountability for U.S. funds. The GAO, in its recent report to Congress, noted that "AID's responsibility for assuring accountability ends when the assistance is turned over to the NCR." The amendment attempts to prompt greater accountability for the U.S. taxpayers' money by requiring the President to report on the use of funds provided to Cambodians. We must address the GAO's conclusion that the actual end-use of U.S. assistance to the NCR "still cannot be monitored or verified."

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The GAO's startling conclusion raises grave questions about compliance with current U.S. law which bars any United States aid from having the effect of promoting, sustaining, or augmenting, directly or indirectly, the capacity of the Khmer Rouge to conduct military or paramilitary operations in Cambodia.

The GAO was told by officers of the Thai Government and Prince Sihanouk's party that battle targets were communicated to the Khmer Rouge. GAO concluded that "to the extent that U.S. nonlethal assistance has contributed to the NCR's performance on the battlefield, it would appear that such communications and contact between the NCR and the Khmer Rouge forces may have had the effect of indirectly augmenting the efforts of the Khmer Rouge."

As many are aware, the press has been much less guarded in its conclusions, reporting many examples of military cooperation between elements of the NCR and the Khmer Rouge.

Given new reports that the Khmer Rouge are poised to begin an offensive with tanks provided by China, it is essential that this restriction on the use of United States funds be maintained. Yet this year, the House voted to weaken the prohibition on cooperation between the NCR and the Khmer Rouge.

This amendment therefore reiterates the existing ban and, to prevent creative lawyerly interpretation of that law, adds an even clearer prohibition against using U.S. money to help the Khmer Rouge. The amendment requires the President to terminate assistance to any Cambodian organization that is cooperating, tactically or strategically, with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations. The amendment also requires a report on the extent of military cooperation since 1986 between the Khmer Rouge and any individual group or faction of the non-Communist resistance.

As long as no such cooperation occurred, the President would be able to provide humanitarian and development assistance to the non-Communist resistance.

In the past, the U.S. nonlethal military aid program was, as GAO concluded from State Department documents, designed to complement military assistance to the NCR. The House-passed program of aid to the resistance reflected this military orientation. Now that agreement by the Perm Five has established a diplomatic process, the U.S. aid program should complement this process that the administration has set in motion. It can do so by providing humanitarian and development assistance to the NCR and other Cambodians as they move toward an elections process.

This amendment would not cut off or undermine the non-Communist resistance, nor would it impede any aspect of the international settlement. It would allow the United States to

continue providing assistance to meet the legitimate and peaceful needs of the factions the administration has chosen to back, so that they can continue to provide a non-Communist alternative in free elections.

This, after all, was Secretary of State James Baker's main request to Congress in his letter of July 1990.

And this amendment would almost triple the amount of aid available in the House bill.

The amendment strengthens the United States role in Cambodia and supports the administration's diplomatic initiatives.

This aid program will demonstrate the United States' commitment to a political process.

It will show that the United States seeks not to further war, but to build peace. It will enable the non-Communists to participate fully in the political arena. And it will help convince Cambodians that the United States has not forgotten them and will help them emerge from the darkness and devastation of war toward a peaceful future of freedom.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DANFORTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. DANFORTH. Mr. President, I am pleased to cosponsor this amendment, and I support it with all of the strength I have.

Mr. President, this is the killing fields. Cambodia is the killing fields. Cambodia is the place where, in 1975, Pol Pot came to power, the Khmer Rouge. And Pol Pot's strange, deviant brand of communism included a systematic effort to impose an agrarian system on his country, a system which included, among other things, the evacuation of the city of Phnom Penh, shoving people out of the city. It would be as though a government came to power in the United States, went into the city of Washington, DC, and shoved people out of their homes, out of their buildings, and pushed them out into the countryside.

People who had an education, or who looked as though they might be educated, were murdered. People who wore eyeglasses were murdered. One to two million people in a country of about 7 million people were killed by the Khmer Rouge. And then, blessedly, the Khmer Rouge were evicted. They were not evicted from control of the country by our friends. They were evicted by the Vietnamese, and the Vietnamese and the government that they installed have been more or less in control of that beleaguered country ever since.

The policy of our Government has been to oppose the established government in Cambodia because of the connection with Vietnam. I think that that is mistaken policy. My reason for believing it is a mistaken policy is that

all things are relative to something, and however we might be in disagreement with the Government of Cambodia, or the Vietnamese, anything is better than the Khmer Rouge; anything is better than mass murder. And make no mistake about it, the Khmer Rouge that came into power in 1975 is still around. The Khmer Rouge that came into power in 1975 is still an active organization, with Pol Pot in control, and the same small group of people around Pol Pot still controlling the Khmer Rouge.

And their methods, if anything, have become more sophisticated in their evil. Their basic method now is to plant land mines in rice paddies, so that people who plant rice or harvest rice are blown up, not soldiers are blown up, but people, including women, children, old people, are blown up by land mines. Cambodia today has more children with missing limbs than any other country in the world.

Now according to press reports, the Khmer Rouge have been armed by their Chinese allies with tanks, and the Chinese tanks will be used by the Khmer Rouge to attack villages. Our Government's position has been to support really minor political organization of no significance from the standpoint of real power, because we say that this is the non-Communist resistance; but these people have allied themselves with the Khmer Rouge against the Government.

The real contest in Cambodia is between the Khmer Rouge and the Government. We would like to have Mr. Son Sann in control of the country. It is not going to be. There is no possibility that that is going to be. So in furtherance of our policy we have cut off all kinds of economic contact with Cambodia, we have isolated the country. We have imposed sanctions on the country and it is one of the poorest countries in the world, all. I would insist, to the furtherance of the cause of Pol Pot.

This amendment says that we are going to provide \$20 million of humanitarian and development assistance. It says that we are going to provide that assistance to the people of Cambodia. It says that we are going to stop trying to play games with the Khmer Rouge. It says that those organizations that chose to affiliate themselves with the Khmer Rouge are not going to get any of this aid. It is an amendment that is designed to rescue the people of this God-forsaken country and to turn our policy away from our assistance, albeit indirect assistance, for the most bloodthirsty political organization since Nazi Germany, and that is the Khmer Rouge.

Mr. President, I am sorry if the representation of the Senator from Wisconsin is correct and that the administration is opposed to this. I have spoken on several occasions with Secretary Baker. In fact, even before he was sworn in, I went to the State De-

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partment and spoke to him on this subject. I do not believe that we have any place to go up in Cambodia, and I think that anything that furthers the cause of Pol Pot and his gang is reprehensible.

This is not a case of Communist government being opposed by freedom fighters. This is a case of a Communist government all right—I am not sure that any of us are exactly quaking in fear of the appellation any more—but it is a question of a Communist government being opposed by a Communist agrarian Chinese-backed radical gang of goons.

It is high time that we change our policy and it is high time that we say anything but the Khmer Rouge, anything but the Khmer Rouge. And this vote gives us an opportunity to say just that.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

MR. BOREN. Mr. President, I thank and compliment my colleague from Missouri for the comments he just made. I had many discussions with my colleague about this important policy question, about what is going on in Cambodia. No Member of this body has spent more time and showed more concern for the plight of the Cambodian people than the Senator from Missouri. He has awakened all of us to what is going on in that country. He is the most knowledgeable Member of this body about circumstances there.

I compliment him for his interest, I compliment him for the courage that he has shown, and I compliment him for the tenacity he has shown in trying to move our mistaken policy in this part of the world.

I also compliment the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Maine, for offering this amendment and, like the Senator from Missouri, I am proud to join as a cosponsor with the distinguished majority leader.

This amendment would do just exactly what the Senator from Maine and the Senator from Missouri have said it will do. It will give us an opportunity to support the agreements that have been entered into between the permanent five, the United Nations, to move toward a peaceful and hopefully democratic solution to the situation in Cambodia.

By using the language that allows the administration flexibility in deciding how the nonlethal humanitarian assistance will be used, it gives us, for the first time, some leverage in trying to move other parties, including the current government in Cambodia, toward support of our own objectives. It also tightens up clearly the prohibition on any funds being provided that could directly or indirectly be used to benefit the Khmer Rouge. This is an important prohibition. It is important that we tighten this restriction for the reasons that the Senator from Missouri has just outlined.

None of us want to be in a position of having provided funds which would

directly or indirectly enhance any possibility that the Khmer Rouge would once again come to power with its reign of terror in that unfortunate and war torn country.

So, Mr. President, it is important that we tighten up those restrictions. Like the Senator from Maine, I am convinced that there is a strong likelihood that in the past some of the funds from the United States might have been used directly or indirectly to benefit the Khmer Rouge. It is time that we have restrictions that are enforceable and it is time we put in place an adequate mechanism to make sure that those restrictions are enforced.

It is also healthy for us to provide this aid in this forum. I have long believed that this is a policy question that should not be discussed behind closed doors where the majority of the Members of the U.S. Senate could not have an opportunity to participate in those discussions and where indeed the American people could not be broadly engaged in the debate about the appropriate policy which the United States should follow in Cambodia.

So this is a step in the right direction. It in no way turns our backs on the non-Communist resistance. It provides continued humanitarian nonlethal support for them. It opens the door to the possibility that we might provide support to a broader spectrum of Cambodian society in need.

It does not require us to make a decision about recognizing the current government or force us in that direction, but it gives the administration the flexibility to move toward an improved relationship if the circumstances merit it and if the current government in Cambodia begins to move in a direction that would further our own policy aims.

It requires that we put on the ground an AID team to evaluate the needs, both current and long-range needs of that country in the event a peaceful solution can be found. It is important that we have that kind of information and that kind of assessment, moving forward at the current time.

So, Mr. President, this is a timely amendment. It gives us an opportunity to reverse some of the policy mistakes of the past. It gives us an opportunity to involve the American people in an open public discussion of this matter. We should be having an open public discussion of it. And, it puts in place a workable mechanism, legal language which is enforceable, that will make certain that we do not have the possibility that our funds could be used to provide benefit to the Khmer Rouge.

I commend the majority leader. I am proud to join with him in sponsoring this amendment. It is my hope that the administration will decide to lend its enthusiastic support for this amendment as well. It does not tie the hands of the administration. It gives the administration flexibility. It gives

the administration an opportunity to move toward a policy which will work, and surely this administration would not want to leave on the books a law related to the flow of funds or assistance to the Khmer Rouge which would open the door in any way to any possibility that American funds could be used to help the people running that particular organization and that particular faction. I do not think any of us could look the American people in the eye, could look at American taxpayers and say to them that we wanted to see a penny of their money go to support a murderous group like the Khmer Rouge, and we have a responsibility to close the door to that possibility.

So I am proud to join in cosponsoring this amendment, and I am proud to state as a Senator, and also as chairman of the Committee on Intelligence, that this debate is occurring where it should be debated, in the open, on the floor of the U.S. Senate, a matter of public policy and not a matter that should be discussed behind closed doors where the rest of the Senate and the American people are foreclosed from the process.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

MR. SIMON. Mr. President, first I ask unanimous consent to be added as a cosponsor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MR. SIMON. Mr. President, I concur completely with my colleague from Oklahoma, Senator BOREN, and join in commending Senator DANFORTH for his leadership and for his forthright statement that he just made here and for what he has been doing and to commend Senator MITCHELL for introducing this.

Talking about the Senator from Maine, I also commend a former Senator from Maine, Ed Muskie, our former Secretary of State, who has been superb in providing insights into this question.

Let me also commend the junior Senator from Nebraska (Mr. KERREY). I had the privilege of hearing him testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this, and he did a superb job in spelling out where we are and what we ought to be doing.

The reality is that our policy has been massively flawed. I think we have reacted because the Government in Cambodia has had ties, very close ties to the Government of Vietnam and in an emotional response to that, we have backed ourselves into doing things that help the Khmer Rouge, the most murderous government that this Earth has seen since the Nazis were in power in Germany.

This amendment should be adopted, should be adopted overwhelmingly, so that there is a signal both to the House and to the administration that we have to move away from this flawed policy.

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I am pleased to join as a cosponsor.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I rise as well as a cosponsor of this amendment in support of it and concur with the remarks that have been made applauding the statements by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. DANFORTH], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BOREN], and the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. President, on the 20th of July last year, 1989, at not too far removed from this particular hour, we debated a Cambodian amendment that was very controversial, that pitted the administration against many Members of Congress and was adopted that evening. Much has happened, and I think it is very important to consider all the things that have happened in the world since the 20th of July because it bears significantly upon this particular amendment and the importance of this particular amendment.

Regrettably, it appears that we may once again be arguing against the administration. I say regrettably because of all the things that have been said thus far the one that I think is perhaps the most important is that the American people need to openly debate our policy toward Cambodia; openly debate it, Mr. President.

Since June 1975 until somewhere early in 1980, we in the United States of America essentially drew the blinds on Southeast Asia. When we had our last helicopter lift from the embassy in Saigon, we turned our backs on that region of the world and said, "Well, the war did not go quite the way we wanted and therefore we going to try to forget this whole matter."

Unfortunately, Mr. President, that permitted Pol Pot to rise in power. It enabled him to use the military power and the absolute political power that he had to do all the things that Senator DANFORTH has described earlier. And that has caused the death in the neighborhood of 2 million Cambodian people during the period of time that he was in control of that country.

It is important that the Members of the Senate understand that what this amendment simply attempts to do is bring it all out in the open. I understand that there are concerns. There were concerns expressed last year that this is going to tip American policy toward a Communist government run by Hun Sen, the puppets, as they were described last year, of Vietnam and that we should not tip our policy toward this Communist government; that what we needed to do was support the non-Communist insurgency on the border of Cambodia and Thailand; that this insurgency would put pressure upon the government and that would produce a positive outcome.

I understand that there is still some concern, Mr. President, that we not tip our policy toward Hun Sen. I must say, with all due respect to that argument, I think the administration's own success the past 6 months in regards to our policy toward Cambodia demon-

strates we should not be overly concerned about that and if we are, we are liable to in fact have the wrong policy put in place.

Much has happened since July 1989 when we debated this. The support that the Government of Cambodia had from the Soviet Union, from the East Bloc, has all but disappeared. They continue to get some support from the Soviet Union but not very much, and none whatsoever from the East bloc. They are increasingly isolated. And that has caused, along with American pressure, that government to appear now to be prepared to agree to an interim national council.

There is going to be a meeting sometime in December in Paris to see if all the parties cannot sign the documents and agree to the creation of this new council. And what this council is going to set in motion is a course toward democracy in Cambodia.

What I urge my colleagues to picture is that we have no presence at all in Cambodia. None. We are guessing about what is going on over there. They have never had a democracy in Cambodia. Never. Military power has always be the most important power. The current government has absolute military power just like the government of Pol Pot did. The professional class in Cambodia is gone. It was wiped out by Pol Pot. It was wiped out by Pol Pot and further decimated by the arrival of the Vietnamese in 1979.

Mr. President, this is a nation that is going to struggle to create a democracy. This is a nation that will struggle to create the structures of free enterprise capitalism as well, but this is a nation that has a capacity to do it.

Part of what President Bush is describing in his new world order is a new response on the part of the United States to help these kinds of democracies, to help these kinds of people as they move toward democracy. And it will not work if we continue our isolation from the people of Cambodia.

What this aid gives us a chance to do is go directly to the people of Cambodia. It cuts off and makes sure none of this money goes to the Khmer Rouge. It still permits money to go to the non-Communist resistance, nonlethal humanitarian resistance. It does not tie our policy toward one government or another. It enables in fact the administration to continue down the course toward getting agreement for the creation of a supreme national council.

Mr. President, this particular amendment reinforces what the administration is trying to do. And this particular amendment, as well, gives the American people the opportunity to participate in the development of a good and decent policy toward the nation of Cambodia and the people of Cambodia.

Mr. President, I see no one else wanting to speak at the moment, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call at roll.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator HARTFIELD be added as a cosponsor to the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Senator DONN of Connecticut be added as a cosponsor of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I wish to speak in support of this very commendable amendment introduced by Senator MITCHELL and Senator DANFORTH on "assistance for Cambodian democracy."

This amendment is crafted to provide continued support for the two factions of the non-Communist resistance as long as they do not provide military support to the Khmer Rouge while beginning to build a broader base for the return of democracy in Cambodia.

For too long our policy has been narrowly constructed at supporting only the two non-Communist resistance factions in a political coalition with the Khmer Rouge. I have been deeply disturbed by credible reports that at least one of these factions—the army led by Prince Sihanouk—has cooperated extensively with the Khmer Rouge in attacking the Phnom Penh government of Hun Sen.

The General Accounting Office in public testimony on September 19, 1990, before the Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs which I chair, concluded that "accountability systems do not exist" to provide assurances that U.S. assistance has not been benefiting the Khmer Rouge.

This amendment will start to make our aid program to Cambodian forces more transparent in terms of accountability.

Second, it will start to refocus our program on what should have always been our goal: to rebuild democratic forces in Cambodia.

Another damaging conclusion of the GAO's investigation was that the United States has provided about \$20

President.
Reports.

(2) Funds made available by paragraph (1) shall be obligated or expended, to the maximum extent possible, consistent with the priorities set forth in the report required by subsection (d). Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a report describing the expenditure of funds under paragraph (1).

(b) **PROHIBITION ON DIRECT OR INDIRECT ASSISTANCE FOR THE KHMER ROUGE.**—(1) Funds made available under this section shall be subject to the prohibitions contained in section 906 of the International Security Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (Public Law 99-83).

President.

(2) The President shall terminate assistance under this section to any Cambodian organization that he determines is cooperating, tactically or strategically, with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations.

President.
Reports.

(3) Not later than January 1, 1991, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate an unclassified report describing the extent of military cooperation since 1986 between the Khmer Rouge and any individual group or faction of the noncommunist resistance.

(c) **ADMINISTRATION OF ASSISTANCE.**—To the maximum extent possible, all funds made available under this section shall be administered directly by the United States Government.

(d) **REPORTING REQUIREMENT.**—(1) The Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall conduct within 180 days of enactment of this act an on-site assessment along the Thai-Cambodian border and within Cambodia, including Phnom Penh, determining the priorities of the humanitarian and development needs of the Cambodian people, including noncombatant civilians in all sectors of Cambodia.

President.

(2) Not later than January 1, 1991, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate a report setting forth the priorities determined by the assessment made under paragraph (1).

(e) **RELATION TO ASSISTANCE FOR CAMBODIAN CHILDREN.**—(1) Any assistance provided under this section shall be in addition to the assistance provided for under the heading "humanitarian assistance for Cambodian children".

(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, funds made available under the heading "Humanitarian Assistance for Cambodian children" shall also be available to civilian victims of war.

(f) **DEFINITIONS.**—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "development assistance" means assistance furnished to carry out any of the provisions of chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961; and

(2) the term "humanitarian assistance" means food, clothing, medicine, or other humanitarian assistance, and it does not include the provision of weapons, weapons systems, ammunition, or other equipment, vehicles, or material which can be used to inflict serious bodily harm or death.

Trade sanctions.
Congress.
President.

(g) After the conclusion of the upcoming Paris Conference on Cambodia, Congress and the President shall consult within 30 days with the goal of lifting the Trading with the Enemy Act restrictions on Cambodia.

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(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03e. Cable	Re: Cambodia (2 pp.)	10/12/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03f. Cable	Re: The War in Cambodia (2 pp.)	1/26/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

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AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

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October 24, 1990

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

H 13491

has already been referred to, but I have even more difficulty with what I can only characterize as a rewriting of history, which is in the statement of managers which has come back in this conference report.

□ 1820

Let me emphasize that I agree with my good friend from New York, the previous speaker, who was very critical of the previous administration in not giving timely notice on Iran-Contra. There should have been timely notice. This was a breakdown, it was a mistake, a very serious mistake, and I agree completely with his criticism of that particular mistake.

But to suggest that because a mistake was made in that instance that it follows that the only reason a President may withhold notice of covert action is because of exigent circumstances, because of the timeliness of the event, the rapidity with which the event is unfolding is to rewrite history. For some to assert in the statement of managers 10 years later that it was the legislative intent back in 1980 when the legislation was written that the only reason a President could withhold notice to the Congress of covert action was because of the quick reaction that was necessary and the events unfolding too quickly to notify us simply is a grossly misleading statement of what that legislative history said at that time.

Let me be specific. Congressman Zablocki in the legislative history very clearly indicated that "there could be extraordinary circumstances" which could serve as a basis for the President not notifying us upon the commencement of a covert action.

Congressman Aspin, who was a member of the Intelligence Committee at that time said,

We had a chance in our bill here to make this very specific with regard to the timely notice and to clear up once and for all that matter. We could not clear it up because there were irrevocable differences as to what the Constitution gives the President. We could not in effect come to any agreement on that. So what we have done in this language is, in a sense, still leave it vague.

So for somebody to assert 10 years later that the legislative history back in 1980 very clearly spelled out precisely the only single reason which the President could use for withholding notification files in the face of what that legislative history shows.

Let the record show that the legislative history on covert action notice does not intend that the prior notification could be withheld by the President only in these circumstances, but in other circumstances as well. And of course, the very specific example which we are all aware of is the situation in Iran when Americans were being hidden in the Canadian Embassy, and for a matter of several months his was a matter which the committee was not notified of, of our covert action to attempt to get those Americans, those American diplomats out of

that Canadian Embassy. And indeed, the Canadians would not have cooperated with us had this information been disseminated to the Congress, they informed us, and in fact American lives were involved, and it is a very precise and very specific example of a very good reason and of circumstances in which the President had every right not to notify the Congress.

So I think the record should be clear on this. I thank the gentleman for yielding the time, and I shall vote against this report.

Mr. BEILENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ], a distinguished member of our committee.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report.

Let me first of all pay tribute to the very distinguished chairman of the committee for the thoroughly professional manner in which he facilitated the passage of this bill, first through the committee, then on the floor, and then in conference. With his unfailing good will and good humor, he jollied all of us along, and issues that might have been controversial were worked out. Others were somehow or other resolved. I think he really deserves the gratitude of the entire House for the way in which he discharged his responsibilities.

I would also like, Mr. Speaker, to comment briefly on the provisions in the statement of managers concerning both Cambodia and Angola.

In the case of Cambodia, there is a statement to the effect that no assistance shall be provided to any Cambodian resistance organization that the President determines is engaged in tactical or strategic cooperative activities with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations. I think this provision is a very welcome addition to the legislation.

The whole purpose of our assistance program for the noncommunist resistance is to diminish the possibility that the Khmer Rouge could battle their way back to power in Phnom Penh, and it would, therefore, be literally unthinkable for us to provide assistance to any resistance movement which was in fact engaged in tactical or strategic cooperative activities with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations.

But what I want to emphasize, however, is the fact that the word "activities" in this paragraph clearly implied that what would be necessary to trigger a prohibition or suspension of any aid to the noncommunist resistance would have to be more than the isolated act of a single individual, or for that matter even of a unit acting against the professed policy of the leadership of that organization.

To the extent that there is any kind of a pattern of tactical or strategic cooperative activities with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations, this prohibition or restriction would clearly be triggered, but I do not be-

lieve it was the intention of the conferees to trigger the restriction if there is an isolated incident here or there which takes place in spite of the commands of the leadership of these movements that their followers not engage in any military activities with the Khmer Rouge. And I am pleased to say that we have received communications from the supreme commanders of both the ANS and the KPNLF indicating that they have in fact instructed their followers not to engage in any cooperative military activities with the Khmer Rouge.

Insofar as Angola is concerned, the statement of managers says that:

Any lethal assistance to UNITA shall be suspended if the President certifies that the Government of Angola has expressed a willingness to accept a reasonable ceasefire and political settlement and proposes a reasonable and specific timetable for internationally supervised free and fair multiparty elections in which UNITA would be free to participate.

The purpose of this provision was to try, by providing an incentive to the MPLA, to elicit from them a reasonable proposal for a ceasefire and political settlement and for a specific timetable for an internationally supervised free and fair multiparty election in which UNITA can participate. It does not obligate the MPLA to accept whatever proposal Mr. Savimbi puts forward. We certainly hope that the negotiations will lead to an agreement, but the purpose of this paragraph would be satisfied if the MPLA comes forward with what the President in his judgment determines is a proposal for a reasonable ceasefire and political settlement and a proposal for a reasonable and specific timetable for an internationally supervised free and fair multiparty election in which UNITA would be free to participate.

Insofar as the reference to an internationally supervised free and fair election is concerned, let me observe that last month Mr. Savimbi, the President of UNITA, said that free and fair elections should be "observed by reputable international organizations." UNITA also demanded last April in their call for a free and fair multiparty election that these elections should "be monitored by the international community to ensure fairness."

I think that what we are calling for here, on the assumption that we are not trying to be more Catholic than the Pope and are not calling for more than Mr. Savimbi himself has called for is that willingness on the part of the MPLA to permit international observers—whether they are from the OAU, or the United Nations, or the United States Congress, or the British Parliament, or human rights groups, or any other organizations—to come in to monitor the electoral process, the campaigning, the casting of the votes, the counting of the votes, in such a way that it gives everyone reasonable

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03g. Cable	Re: NCR Program (1 pp.)	2/11/91	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03h. Report	Re: Cambodia: The Question of Non-Communist Resistance... (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03i. Memo	To William W. Working Re: Cooperation Between the Noncommunist Resistance and the Khmer Rouge [FOIA exemptions redacted] (3 pp.)	2/1/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: H-Files
Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
 By SS on 8/2/19

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #: 2010-2224-MR (500.08)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 12/1/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
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- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

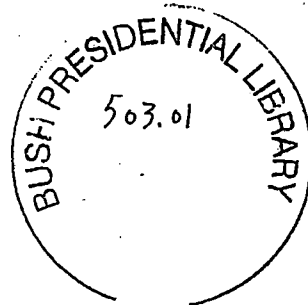
- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

113
~~SECRET~~/NOFORN

The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington D.C. 20505



National Intelligence Council

NIC 00121/91
1 February 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. William W. Working
Special Assistant to the President
National Security Council

SUBJECT: Cooperation Between the Noncommunist
Resistance and the Khmer Rouge

1. As you requested, the following provides a perspective on cooperation between the noncommunist resistance (NCR) and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. To offer some insight into the range of information available on the question, I've attached at Tab A a sample of reporting from US Embassy officers [REDACTED] since July 1990--the month when the noncommunist resistance pledged to Congressman Solarz that its cooperation with the Khmer Rouge would cease. Because of the attention devoted [REDACTED] attached at Tab B is a summary of [REDACTED] the subject since July 1990.

2. Notwithstanding their years of outright military and political competition, the noncommunist resistance and the Khmer Rouge have cooperated in various ways to oust Vietnam's surrogate regime in Phnom Penh. For each of the resistance coalition's members, the rationale has varied: for the militarily weaker noncommunist groups, alignment with the Khmer Rouge has provided muscle they otherwise lack; for the Khmer Rouge, affiliation with Prince Sihanouk provides legitimacy within and outside Cambodia; for all three, political collaboration has put pressure on Hanoi and Phnom Penh as well as satisfied external backers, such as the Chinese, who have encouraged mutual help on and off the battlefield.

3. Since Vietnam's withdrawal of its main force military units in September 1989, [REDACTED] the pattern of cooperation within the coalition has varied considerably. Relatively few reports have suggested that the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF)--the most militarily effective of the two noncommunist groups--has cooperated with the Khmer Rouge. Rather, most

This memorandum is classified
~~Secret~~/NoFORN in its entirety.

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PER E.O. 13526

2010-2220-MR
7/31/2014 MM

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DRV FOR 9-82

SUBJECT: Cooperation Between the Noncommunist
Resistance and the Khmer Rouge

1.4(c) depicts continuing hostility and competition between the two groups. For the forces of Prince Sihanouk (ANS), however, reporting has revealed not only tactical military cooperation, but also statements by Sihanouk and his son among others, describing the rationale for the ANS strategy of working with the Khmer Rouge.

4. For their part, Sihanouk and his son, Ranariddh, have presented various arguments to explain such cooperation:

- That ANS operations in areas infiltrated by the the Khmer Rouge are intended to deny them unchallenged access to the interior;
- That uncertain Western and ASEAN supplies necessitate cooperation;
- That it is unrealistic to expect tactical cooperation not to occur;
- And most recently, that the coalition members must cooperate militarily to compel the PRK to make political concessions.

The key point, however, is clear both before and after the pledges made by the ANS and KPNLF in July 1990, Sihanouk and his son have held to their belief that military and political cooperation is necessary to achieve the coalition's goals.

5. Against this backdrop, 1.4(c) a reasonably consistent picture of ANS-Khmer Rouge tactical collaboration in the field. 1.4(c)

1.4(c) Taken together, however, our information on ANS-Khmer Rouge cooperation--in terms of logistics support as well as tactical battlefield cooperation--leads to the conclusion that virtually every significant military offensive mounted by Sihanouk's forces since last summer has in some fashion involved the Khmer Rouge.

6. Have the leaders of the ANS and KPNLF tried to put a stop to cooperation? Clearly, both realized last year that US support for their cause was in jeopardy because of the cooperation issue. Moreover, both organizations reportedly ordered their subordinate units to cease and desist in the same terms described in their commanders' July 1990 letters to Congressman Solarz. But subsequent 1.4(c)

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1.4(c)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03j. Report	Re: (Reporting Synopsis June 1990 - present) (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03k. Report	Re: Disseminated Reports... (6 pp.)	2/1/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
031. Memo	To Peter Watson, Re: Forwarding of Disseminated Reports [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

**Document Partially Declassified
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By MM on 3/22/2016

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #: 2010-2220-MR(503.04)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 7/31/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

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~~SECRET~~



TO: Peter Watson, National Security Council

SUBJECT: Forwarding of Disseminated Reports

1. Forwarded herewith per your request are the following disseminated reports since 1 January 1991 on the subject of

(b)(7)(C)	
A.	(b)(7)(C)
B.	2 January 91,
	11 January,
C.	
D.	14 January,
	18 January,
E.	
F.	18 January,
G.	23 January,
	25 January,
H.	
I.	29 January,
	30 January,

2. Of these reports, none of which we regard as particularly authoritative, the better are reports B, G and H. The others are of considerably lesser authority. Reports A, F and I may be considered to have the least authority.

3. These reports along with earlier reports suggest

(b)(7)(C)

In addition, there are no reports of significant cooperation between the KPNLF and the Khmer Rouge, although the KPNLF has sometimes received Chinese-supplied ammunition through the KR.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2010-2220-MR

7/31/2014 MM

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03m. Cable	Re: Allegations... (2 pp.)	12/26/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03n. Cable	Re: Armed Incidents... (3 pp.)	2/6/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010 **OA/ID Number:** 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

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(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03o. Cable	Re: Reported Execution... (2 pp.)	2/7/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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Advance copy for Mr. Gates

MATERIALS FOR DEPUTIES MEETING ON CAMBODIA

Monday, March 4, 1991

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By cap NARA, Date 1/11/10

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04a. Memo	Peter S. Watson to Robert M. Gates Re: March 4, 1991 Deputies Committee Meeting on Cambodia (6 pp.)	3/3/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
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20150

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING

Monday, March 4, 1991

4:00 - 5:00 p.m.

Cambodia

Agenda

- I. Introduction.....Robert M. Gates
- II. Analysis of Relevant Legal Issues.....DOJ
- III. Policy Implications.....State
- IV. Discussion.....All

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By cap NARA, Date 1/11/10

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04b. Report	Re: Section 562A (b) (2):... (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04c. Minutes	Re: Meeting of the NSC Deputies Committee (4 pp.)	2/14/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
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101ST CONGRESS
2d Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT
101-558FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND
RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1991

JUNE 21, 1990.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of
the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. OBEY, from the Committee on Appropriations,
submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 5114]

The Committee on Appropriations submits the following report
in explanation of the accompanying bill making appropriations for
foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the
fiscal year ending September 30, 1991 and for other purposes.

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S 15138

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

October 12, 1990

may not be in tomorrow, it is hard to determine. There are going to be a lot of people here tomorrow; many Members of this body will be here tomorrow. Members of the Budget Committee will be here tomorrow working on the budget trying to get that ready, and maybe members of other committees trying to finish their reconciliation instructions working with the Budget Committee.

So I guess it would be fair to say, even though we are not in session tomorrow, I imagine the majority of Senators will be working in Washington tomorrow because we need to do that if we are going to complete our work.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, first, as the distinguished Republican leader knows, at all the leadership meetings that we have attended where the subject of adjournment sine die comes up, he and I are in the forefront of those pressing for earlier dates.

I agree completely that even rumors about dates then do become self-fulfilling prophecies. They establish a state of mind that I think is most unfortunate, and that is one reason why I am trying very hard not to do that. I sincerely believe that we can complete our business by midnight October 19, and that is my objective.

I will do everything I can to enable us to meet that objective. If it proves to be not possible, I, of course, will have to take the situation into account at that time.

Second, I might say to the distinguished Republican leader, that it is not a scientific sample, but based upon the conversations I have had with Senators on both sides of the aisle this evening, it is about 50-50; those who would like to stay and finish tonight, and those who would like to finish tomorrow. So it is impossible to accommodate every Senator, as I said.

I think the best way to proceed, which would be best for the largest number of Senators, would be to get an agreement tonight that identified the amendments with a time certain for completing action on this bill on Monday, and that we stay in until we do that this evening which I hope will be in a relatively short period of time. And then we will know we have the bill finished, and we can go to the Defense appropriations bill.

If we cannot do that, of course, we have no alternative but to simply stay in, and plow ahead in a manner that, I think, will be unfortunate, but necessary.

Mr. DOLE. But is there still some slight idea that we might be in tomorrow?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, there is. If it is impossible to get identified a list of amendments and some time certain, then we may have no alternative but to stay tonight and tomorrow to complete action on the bill.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, would there be any possibility of stacking the four votes on the amendments which were described for early Monday morning?

Mr. MITCHELL. There will be, if they are part of a larger agreement to do that with respect to all of the amendments on the bill.

Mr. NICKLES. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is what we are trying to do. My intention was to have votes on as many of these as possible this evening, and while we were doing that, to try to get an agreement limiting the rest of the amendments.

I have no objection to doing that with respect to these, if we can get the larger agreement.

Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry. Is my amendment now the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has been considered as read and is the pending business.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, along with the chairman of the Intelligence Committee, DAVID BOREN, the ranking member of the Commerce Committee JOHN DANFORTH, and Senator BOB KERREY, I rise to offer this amendment to provide assistance to Cambodians, including the non-Communist resistance.

This amendment is designed to make United States assistance consistent with the administration's diplomatic strategy in Cambodia. It broadens the old United States program of non-lethal military assistance to the non-Communist forces to a program that would allow the President to provide humanitarian and development assistance to the non-Communists and to other Cambodians in need. It would pave the way for an elections process that could determine the future of Cambodia.

The administration's efforts, shaped by changes in policy that my colleagues and I had long urged, have helped to transform the situation in Cambodia during the past few months. There is now hope for an end to the debilitating war between the Hun Sen regime, seated in Phnom Penh, and the allied forces of the Khmer Rouge and the non-Communist resistance.

I have long believed that American policy toward Cambodia has been misguided and has greatly increased the likelihood of the return of the Khmer Rouge to power.

I am sadly unconvinced that the settlement guidelines adopted by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council contain adequate safeguards against the return of the Khmer Rouge.

Many stress their belief in the need to include the Khmer Rouge, to give them a stake in the system. But I do not trust the Khmer Rouge. I do not believe they will abide by any terms other than their own terms of genocide and bloodshed. I have grave concerns about a diplomatic settlement

that relies on the good faith of the murderous Khmer Rouge.

I am concerned that the administration has failed to fully consider the glaring loopholes and the weaknesses inherent in the plan it has promoted so successfully. I urge the administration to seriously and critically examine the plan's most alarming defects, those in the provisions for disarmament. I hope that the administration will devote every effort to making certain that this agreement, when finalized at the Paris Conference, will be Khmer Rouge-proof.

Despite my personal reservations about the current outlines of the plan, I believe the United States must now do everything in its power to make this diplomatic process work. We owe this to the people of Cambodia who deserve the opportunity to determine their own futures, free of coercion and violence.

That goal is precisely what this amendment would promote.

This amendment would provide \$20 million in humanitarian and development assistance to Cambodians throughout the country. It would allow the administration to continue providing humanitarian support to the non-Communists and to provide assistance to other Cambodians in need.

Under the amendment, the United States Agency for International Development would conduct a needs assessment inside Cambodia and assistance would be spent, to the maximum extent possible, in accordance with the priority of needs identified by AID.

This is necessary given the serious documented problems with the past U.S. aid program to the non-Communist resistance (NCR). From 1986 to 1990, the United States provided about \$20 million in nonlethal assistance to the NCR.

The United States also provides millions of dollars—some 200 tons between 1987-89—of excess DOD supplies to the non-Communists through a separate Defense Department program. The General Accounting Office reports that AID did not design the assistance program to have specific activities or projects planned and implemented, with goals, objectives and benchmarks being clearly defined. There clearly is a need to establish objectives for our aid program to the NCR and other Cambodians.

There also is an urgent need to improve accountability for U.S. funds. The GAO, in its recent report to Congress, noted that "AID's responsibility for assuring accountability ends when the assistance is turned over to the NCR." The amendment attempts to prompt greater accountability for the U.S. taxpayers' money by requiring the President to report on the use of funds provided to Cambodians. We must address the GAO's conclusion that the actual end-use of U.S. assistance to the NCR "still cannot be monitored or verified."

October 12, 1990

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 15139

The GAO's startling conclusion raises grave questions about compliance with current U.S. law which bars any United States aid from having the effect of promoting, sustaining, or augmenting, directly or indirectly, the capacity of the Khmer Rouge to conduct military or paramilitary operations in Cambodia.

The GAO was told by officers of the Thai Government and Prince Sihanouk's party that battle targets were communicated to the Khmer Rouge. GAO concluded that "to the extent that U.S. nonlethal assistance has contributed to the NCR's performance on the battlefield, it would appear that such communications and contact between the NCR and the Khmer Rouge forces may have had the effect of indirectly augmenting the efforts of the Khmer Rouge."

As many are aware, the press has been much less guarded in its conclusions, reporting many examples of military cooperation between elements of the NCR and the Khmer Rouge.

Given new reports that the Khmer Rouge are poised to begin an offensive with tanks provided by China, it is essential that this restriction on the use of United States funds be maintained. Yet this year, the House voted to weaken the prohibition on cooperation between the NCR and the Khmer Rouge.

This amendment therefore reiterates the existing ban and, to prevent creative lawyerly interpretation of that law, adds an even clearer prohibition against using U.S. money to help the Khmer Rouge. The amendment requires the President to terminate assistance to any Cambodian organization that is cooperating, tactically or strategically, with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations. The amendment also requires a report on the extent of military cooperation since 1986 between the Khmer Rouge and any individual group or faction of the non-Communist resistance.

As long as no such cooperation occurred, the President would be able to provide humanitarian and development assistance to the non-Communist resistance.

In the past, the U.S. nonlethal military aid program was, as GAO concluded from State Department documents, designed to complement military assistance to the NCR. The House-passed program of aid to the resistance reflected this military orientation. Now that agreement by the Perm Five has established a diplomatic process, the U.S. aid program should complement this process that the administration has set in motion. It can do so by providing humanitarian and development assistance to the NCR and other Cambodians as they move toward an elections process.

This amendment would not cut off or undermine the non-Communist resistance, nor would it impede any aspect of the international settlement. It would allow the United States to

continue providing assistance to meet the legitimate and peaceful needs of the factions the administration has chosen to back, so that they can continue to provide a non-Communist alternative in free elections.

This, after all, was Secretary of State James Baker's main request to Congress in his letter of July 1990.

And this amendment would almost triple the amount of aid available in the House bill.

The amendment strengthens the United States role in Cambodia and supports the administration's diplomatic initiatives.

This aid program will demonstrate the United States' commitment to a political process.

It will show that the United States seeks not to further war, but to build peace. It will enable the non-Communists to participate fully in the political arena. And it will help convince Cambodians that the United States has not forgotten them and will help them emerge from the darkness and devastation of war toward a peaceful future of freedom.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DANFORTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. DANFORTH. Mr. President, I am pleased to cosponsor this amendment, and I support it with all of the strength I have.

Mr. President, this is the killing fields. Cambodia is the killing fields. Cambodia is the place where, in 1975, Pol Pot came to power, the Khmer Rouge. And Pol Pot's strange, deviant brand of communism included a systematic effort to impose an agrarian system on his country, a system which included, among other things, the evacuation of the city of Phnom Penh, shoving people out of the city. It would be as though a government came to power in the United States, went into the city of Washington, DC, and shoved people out of their homes, out of their buildings, and pushed them out into the countryside.

People who had an education, or who looked as though they might be educated, were murdered. People who wore eyeglasses were murdered. One to two million people in a country of about 7 million people were killed by the Khmer Rouge. And then, blessedly, the Khmer Rouge were evicted. They were not evicted from control of the country by our friends. They were evicted by the Vietnamese, and the Vietnamese and the government that they installed have been more or less in control of that beleaguered country ever since.

The policy of our Government has been to oppose the established government in Cambodia because of the connection with Vietnam. I think that that is mistaken policy. My reason for believing it is a mistaken policy is that

all things are relative to something, and however we might be in disagreement with the Government of Cambodia, or the Vietnamese, anything is better than the Khmer Rouge; anything is better than mass murder. And make no mistake about it, the Khmer Rouge that came into power in 1975 is still around. The Khmer Rouge that came into power in 1975 is still an active organization, with Pol Pot in control, and the same small group of people around Pol Pot still controlling the Khmer Rouge.

And their methods, if anything, have become more sophisticated in their evil. Their basic method now is to plant land mines in rice paddies, so that people who plant rice or harvest rice are blown up, not soldiers are blown up, but people, including women, children, old people, are blown up by land mines. Cambodia today has more children with missing limbs than any other country in the world.

Now according to press reports, the Khmer Rouge have been armed by their Chinese allies with tanks, and the Chinese tanks will be used by the Khmer Rouge to attack villages. Our Government's position has been to support really minor political organization of no significance from the standpoint of real power, because we say that this is the non-Communist resistance; but these people have allied themselves with the Khmer Rouge against the Government.

The real contest in Cambodia is between the Khmer Rouge and the Government. We would like to have Mr. Son Sann in control of the country. It is not going to be. There is no possibility that that is going to be. So in furtherance of our policy we have cut off all kinds of economic contact with Cambodia, we have isolated the country. We have imposed sanctions on the country and it is one of the poorest countries in the world, all, I would insist, to the furtherance of the cause of Pol Pot.

This amendment says that we are going to provide \$20 million of humanitarian and development assistance. It says that we are going to provide that assistance to the people of Cambodia. It says that we are going to stop trying to play games with the Khmer Rouge. It says that those organizations that chose to affiliate themselves with the Khmer Rouge are not going to get any of this aid. It is an amendment that is designed to rescue the people of this God-forsaken country and to turn our policy away from our assistance, albeit indirect assistance, for the most bloodthirsty political organization since Nazi Germany, and that is the Khmer Rouge.

Mr. President, I am sorry if the representation of the Senator from Wisconsin is correct and that the administration is opposed to this. I have spoken on several occasions with Secretary Baker. In fact, even before he was sworn in, I went to the State De-

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partment and spoke to him on this subject. I do not believe that we have any place to go up in Cambodia, and I think that anything that furthers the cause of Pol Pot and his gang is reprehensible.

This is not a case of Communist government being opposed by freedom fighters. This is a case of a Communist government all right—I am not sure that any of us are exactly quaking in fear to the appellation any more—but it is a question of a Communist government being opposed by a Communist agrarian Chinese-backed radical gang of goons.

It is high time that we change our policy and it is high time that we say anything but the Khmer Rouge, anything but the Khmer Rouge. And this vote gives us an opportunity to say just that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, I thank and compliment my colleague from Missouri for the comments he just made. I had many discussions with my colleague about this important policy question, about what is going on in Cambodia. No Member of this body has spent more time and showed more concern for the plight of the Cambodian people than the Senator from Missouri. He has awakened all of us to what is going on in that country. He is the most knowledgeable Member of this body about circumstances there.

I compliment him for his interest, I compliment him for the courage that he has shown, and I compliment him for the tenacity he has shown in trying to move our mistaken policy in this part of the world.

I also compliment the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Maine, for offering this amendment and, like the Senator from Missouri, I am proud to join as a cosponsor with the distinguished majority leader.

This amendment would do just exactly what the Senator from Maine and the Senator from Missouri have said it will do. It will give us an opportunity to support the agreements that have been entered into between the permanent five, the United Nations, to move toward a peaceful and hopefully democratic solution to the situation in Cambodia.

By using the language that allows the administration flexibility in deciding how the nonlethal humanitarian assistance will be used, it gives us, for the first time, some leverage in trying to move other parties, including the current government in Cambodia, toward support of our own objectives. It also tightens up clearly the prohibition on any funds being provided that could directly or indirectly be used to benefit the Khmer Rouge. This is an important prohibition. It is important that we tighten this restriction for the reason that the Senator from Missouri has just outlined.

None of us want to be in a position of having provided funds which would

directly or indirectly enhance any possibility that the Khmer Rouge would once again come to power with its reign of terror in that unfortunate and war torn country.

So, Mr. President, it is important that we tighten up those restrictions. Like the Senator from Maine, I am convinced that there is a strong likelihood that in the past some of the funds from the United States might have been used directly or indirectly to benefit the Khmer Rouge. It is time that we have restrictions that are enforceable and it is time we put in place an adequate mechanism to make sure that those restrictions are enforced.

It is also healthy for us to provide this aid in this forum. I have long believed that this is a policy question that should not be discussed behind closed doors where the majority of the Members of the U.S. Senate could not have an opportunity to participate in those discussions and where indeed the American people could not be broadly engaged in the debate about the appropriate policy which the United States should follow in Cambodia.

So this is a step in the right direction. It in no way turns our backs on the non-Communist resistance. It provides continued humanitarian nonlethal support for them. It opens the door to the possibility that we might provide support to a broader spectrum of Cambodian society in need.

It does not require us to make a decision about recognizing the current government or force us in that direction, but it gives the administration the flexibility to move toward an improved relationship if the circumstances merit it and if the current government in Cambodia begins to move in a direction that would further our own policy aims.

It requires that we put on the ground an AID team to evaluate the needs, both current and long-range needs of that country in the event a peaceful solution can be found. It is important that we have that kind of information and that kind of assessment, moving forward at the current time.

So, Mr. President, this is a timely amendment. It gives us an opportunity to reverse some of the policy mistakes of the past. It gives us an opportunity to involve the American people in an open public discussion of this matter. We should be having an open public discussion of it. And, it puts in place a workable mechanism, legal language which is enforceable, that will make certain that we do not have the possibility that our funds could be used to provide benefit to the Khmer Rouge.

I commend the majority leader. I am proud to join with him in sponsoring this amendment. It is my hope that the administration will decide to lend its enthusiastic support for this amendment as well. It does not tie the hands of the administration. It gives the administration flexibility. It gives

the administration an opportunity to move toward a policy which will work, and surely this administration would not want to leave on the books a law related to the flow of funds or assistance to the Khmer Rouge which would open the door in any way to any possibility that American funds could be used to help the people running that particular organization and that particular faction. I do not think any of us could look the American people in the eye, could look at American taxpayers and say to them that we wanted to see a penny of their money go to support a murderous group like the Khmer Rouge, and we have a responsibility to close the door to that possibility.

So I am proud to join in cosponsoring this amendment, and I am proud to state as a Senator, and also as chairman of the Committee on Intelligence, that this debate is occurring where it should be debated, in the open, on the floor of the U.S. Senate, a matter of public policy and not a matter that should be discussed behind closed doors where the rest of the Senate and the American people are foreclosed from the process.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, first I ask unanimous consent to be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I concur completely with my colleague from Oklahoma, Senator BOREN, and join in commending Senator DANFORTH for his leadership and for his forthright statement that he just made here and for what he has been doing and to commend Senator MITCHELL for introducing this.

Talking about the Senator from Maine, I also commend a former Senator from Maine, Ed Muskie, our former Secretary of State, who has been superb in providing insights into this question.

Let me also commend the junior Senator from Nebraska (Mr. KERREY). I had the privilege of hearing him testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this, and he did a superb job in spelling out where we are and what we ought to be doing.

The reality is that our policy has been massively flawed. I think we have reacted because the Government in Cambodia has had ties, very close ties to the Government of Vietnam and in an emotional response to that, we have backed ourselves into doing things that help the Khmer Rouge, the most murderous government that this Earth has seen since the Nazis were in power in Germany.

This amendment should be adopted, should be adopted overwhelmingly, so that there is a signal both to the House and to the administration that we have to move away from this flawed policy.

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I am pleased to join as a cosponsor. Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I rise as well as a cosponsor of this amendment in support of it and concur with remarks that have been made applauding the statements by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. DANFORTH], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BORN], and the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. President, on the 20th of July last year, 1989, at not too far removed from this particular hour, we debated a Cambodian amendment that was very controversial, that pitted the administration against many Members of Congress and was adopted that evening. Much has happened, and I think it is very important to consider all the things that have happened in the world since the 20th of July because it bears significantly upon this particular amendment and the importance of this particular amendment.

Regrettably, it appears that we may once again be arguing against the administration. I say regrettably because of all the things that have been said thus far the one that I think is perhaps the most important is that the American people need to openly debate our policy toward Cambodia; openly debate it, Mr. President.

Since June 1975 until somewhere early in 1980, we in the United States of America essentially drew the blinds on Southeast Asia. When we had our last helicopter lift from the embassy in Saigon, we turned our backs on that part of the world and said, "Well, we did not go quite the way we wanted and therefore we going to try to forget this whole matter."

Unfortunately, Mr. President, that permitted Pol Pot to rise in power. It enabled him to use the military power and the absolute political power that he had to do all the things that Senator DANFORTH has described earlier. And that has caused the death in the neighborhood of 2 million Cambodian people during the period of time that he was in control of that country.

It is important that the Members of the Senate understand that what this amendment simply attempts to do is bring it all out in the open. I understand that there are concerns. There were concerns expressed last year that this is going to tip American policy toward a Communist government run by Hun Sen, the puppets, as they were described last year, of Vietnam and that we should not tip our policy toward this Communist government; that what we needed to do was support the non-Communist insurgency on the border of Cambodia and Thailand; that this insurgency would put pressure upon the government and that would produce a positive outcome.

I understand that there is still some concern, Mr. President, that we not tip our policy toward Hun Sen. I must say in all due respect to that argument, I think the administration's own success in the past 6 months in regards to our policy toward Cambodia demon-

strates we should not be overly concerned about that and if we are, we are liable to in fact have the wrong policy put in place.

Much has happened since July 1989 when we debated this. The support that the Government of Cambodia had from the Soviet Union, from the East Bloc, has all but disappeared. They continue to get some support from the Soviet Union but not very much, and none whatsoever from the East bloc. They are increasingly isolated. And that has caused, along with American pressure, that government to appear now to be prepared to agree to an interim national council.

There is going to be a meeting sometime in December in Paris to see if all the parties cannot sign the documents and agree to the creation of this new council. And what this council is going to set in motion is a course toward democracy in Cambodia.

What I urge my colleagues to picture is that we have no presence at all in Cambodia. None. We are guessing about what is going on over there. They have never had a democracy in Cambodia. Never. Military power has always been the most important power. The current government has absolute military power just like the government of Pol Pot did. The professional class in Cambodia is gone. It was wiped out by Pol Pot. It was wiped out by Pol Pot and further decimated by the arrival of the Vietnamese in 1979.

Mr. President, this is a nation that is going to struggle to create a democracy. This is a nation that will struggle to create the structures of free enterprise capitalism as well, but this is a nation that has a capacity to do it.

Part of what President Bush is describing in his new world order is a new response on the part of the United States to help these kinds of democracies, to help these kinds of people as they move toward democracy. And it will not work if we continue our isolation from the people of Cambodia.

What this aid gives us a chance to do is go directly to the people of Cambodia. It cuts off and makes sure none of this money goes to the Khmer Rouge. It still permits money to go to the non-Communist resistance, nonlethal humanitarian resistance. It does not tie our policy toward one government or another. It enables in fact the administration to continue down the course toward getting agreement for the creation of a supreme national council.

Mr. President, this particular amendment reinforces what the administration is trying to do. And this particular amendment, as well, gives the American people the opportunity to participate in the development of a good and decent policy toward the nation of Cambodia and the people of Cambodia.

Mr. President, I see no one else wanting to speak at the moment, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call at roll.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator HARTFIELD be added as a cosponsor to the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Senator DONN of Connecticut be added as a cosponsor of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I wish to speak in support of this very commendable amendment introduced by Senator MITCHELL and Senator DANFORTH on "assistance for Cambodian democracy."

This amendment is crafted to provide continued support for the two factions of the non-Communist resistance as long as they do not provide military support to the Khmer Rouge while beginning to build a broader base for the return of democracy in Cambodia.

For too long our policy has been narrowly constructed at supporting only the two non-Communist resistance factions in a political coalition with the Khmer Rouge. I have been deeply disturbed by credible reports that at least one of these factions—the army led by Prince Sihanouk—has cooperated extensively with the Khmer Rouge in attacking the Phnom Penh government of Hun Sen.

The General Accounting Office in public testimony on September 19, 1990, before the Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs which I chair, concluded that "accountability systems do not exist" to provide assurances that U.S. assistance has not been benefiting the Khmer Rouge.

This amendment will start to make our aid program to Cambodian forces more transparent in terms of accountability.

Second, it will start to refocus our program on what should have always been our goal: to rebuild democratic forces in Cambodia.

Another damaging conclusion of the GAO's investigation was that the United States has provided about \$20

President.
Reports.

(2) Funds made available by paragraph (1) shall be obligated or expended, to the maximum extent possible, consistent with the priorities set forth in the report required by subsection (d). Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives a report describing the expenditure of funds under paragraph (1).

(b) PROHIBITION ON DIRECT OR INDIRECT ASSISTANCE FOR THE KHMER ROUGE.—(1) Funds made available under this section shall be subject to the prohibitions contained in section 906 of the International Security Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (Public Law 99-83).

President.

(2) The President shall terminate assistance under this section to any Cambodian organization that he determines is cooperating, tactically or strategically, with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations.

President.
Reports.

(3) Not later than January 1, 1991, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate an unclassified report describing the extent of military cooperation since 1986 between the Khmer Rouge and any individual group or faction of the noncommunist resistance.

(c) ADMINISTRATION OF ASSISTANCE.—To the maximum extent possible, all funds made available under this section shall be administered directly by the United States Government.

(d) REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—(1) The Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall conduct within 180 days of enactment of this act an on-site assessment along the Thai-Cambodian border and within Cambodia, including Phnom Penh, determining the priorities of the humanitarian and development needs of the Cambodian people, including noncombatant civilians in all sectors of Cambodia.

President.

(2) Not later than January 1, 1991, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate a report setting forth the priorities determined by the assessment made under paragraph (1).

(e) RELATION TO ASSISTANCE FOR CAMBODIAN CHILDREN.—(1) Any assistance provided under this section shall be in addition to the assistance provided for under the heading "humanitarian assistance for Cambodian children".

(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, funds made available under the heading "Humanitarian Assistance for Cambodian children" shall also be available to civilian victims of war.

(f) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "development assistance" means assistance furnished to carry out any of the provisions of chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961; and

(2) the term "humanitarian assistance" means food, clothing, medicine, or other humanitarian assistance, and it does not include the provision of weapons, weapons systems, ammunition, or other equipment, vehicles, or material which can be used to inflict serious bodily harm or death.

Trade sanctions.
Congress.
President.

(g) After the conclusion of the upcoming Paris Conference on Cambodia, Congress and the President shall consult within 30 days with the goal of lifting the Trading with the Enemy Act restrictions on Cambodia.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04d. Summary	Re: Intelligence Summary (3 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

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04e. Cable	Re: Cambodia (2 pp.)	10/12/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04f. Cable	Re: The War in Cambodia (2 pp.)	1/26/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
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October 24, 1990

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H 13491

has already been referred to, but I have even more difficulty with what I can only characterize as a rewriting of history, which is in the statement of managers which has come back in this conference report.

□ 1820

Let me emphasize that I agree with my good friend from New York, the previous speaker, who was very critical of the previous administration in not giving timely notice on Iran-Contra. There should have been timely notice. This was a breakdown, it was a mistake, a very serious mistake, and I agree completely with his criticism of that particular mistake.

But to suggest that because a mistake was made in that instance that it follows that the only reason a President may withhold notice of covert action is because of exigent circumstances, because of the timeliness of the event, the rapidity with which the event is unfolding is to rewrite history. For some to assert in the statement of managers 10 years later that it was the legislative intent back in 1980 when the legislation was written that the only reason a President could withhold notice to the Congress of covert action was because of the quick reaction that was necessary and the events unfolding too quickly to notify us simply is a grossly misleading statement of what that legislative history was at that time.

Let me be specific. Congressman Zinke in the legislative history very clearly indicated that "there could be extraordinary circumstances" which could serve as a basis for the President not notifying us upon the commencement of a covert action.

Congressman ASPIN, who was a member of the Intelligence Committee at that time said,

We had a chance in our bill here to make this very specific with regard to the timely notice and to clear up once and for all that matter. We could not clear it up because there were irrevocable differences as to what the Constitution gives the President. We could not in effect come to any agreement on that. So what we have done in this language is, in a sense, still leave it vague.

So for somebody to assert 10 years later that the legislative history back in 1980 very clearly spelled out precisely the only single reason which the President could use for withholding notification flies in the face of what that legislative history shows.

Let the record show that the legislative history on covert action notice does not intend that the prior notification could be withheld by the President only in these circumstances, but in other circumstances as well. And of course, the very specific example which we are all aware of is the situation in Iran when Americans were being held in the Canadian Embassy, a matter of several months in which the committee was not notified of, of our covert action to attempt to get those Americans, those American diplomats out of

that Canadian Embassy. And indeed, the Canadians would not have cooperated with us had this information been disseminated to the Congress. They informed us, and in fact American lives were involved, and it is a very precise and very specific example of a very good reason and of circumstances in which the President had every right not to notify the Congress.

So I think the record should be clear on this. I thank the gentleman for yielding the time, and I shall vote against this report.

Mr. BEILENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ], a distinguished member of our committee.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report.

Let me first of all pay tribute to the very distinguished chairman of the committee for the thoroughly professional manner in which he facilitated the passage of this bill, first through the committee, then on the floor, and then in conference. With his unfailing good will and good humor, he jollied all of us along, and issues that might have been controversial were worked out. Others were somehow or other resolved. I think he really deserves the gratitude of the entire House for the way in which he discharged his responsibilities.

I would also like, Mr. Speaker, to comment briefly on the provisions in the statement of managers concerning both Cambodia and Angola.

In the case of Cambodia, there is a statement to the effect that no assistance shall be provided to any Cambodian resistance organization that the President determines is engaged in tactical or strategic cooperative activities with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations. I think this provision is a very welcome addition to the legislation.

The whole purpose of our assistance program for the noncommunist resistance is to diminish the possibility that the Khmer Rouge could battle their way back to power in Phnom Penh, and it would, therefore, be literally unthinkable for us to provide assistance to any resistance movement which was in fact engaged in tactical or strategic cooperative activities with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations.

But what I want to emphasize, however, is the fact that the word "activities" in this paragraph clearly implied that what would be necessary to trigger a prohibition or suspension of any aid to the noncommunist resistance would have to be more than the isolated act of a single individual, or for that matter even of a unit acting against the professed policy of the leadership of that organization.

To the extent that there is any kind of a pattern of tactical or strategic cooperative activities with the Khmer Rouge in their military operations, this prohibition or restriction would clearly be triggered, but I do not be-

lieve it was the intention of the conferees to trigger the restriction if there is an isolated incident here or there which takes place in spite of the commands of the leadership of these movements that their followers not engage in any military activities with the Khmer Rouge. And I am pleased to say that we have received communications from the supreme commanders of both the ANS and the KPNLF indicating that they have in fact instructed their followers not to engage in any cooperative military activities with the Khmer Rouge.

Insofar as Angola is concerned, the statement of managers says that:

Any lethal assistance to UNITA shall be suspended if the President certifies that the Government of Angola has expressed a willingness to accept a reasonable ceasefire and political settlement and proposes a reasonable and specific timetable for internationally supervised free and fair multiparty elections in which UNITA would be free to participate.

The purpose of this provision was to try, by providing an incentive to the MPLA, to elicit from them a reasonable proposal for a ceasefire and political settlement and for a specific timetable for an internationally supervised free and fair multiparty election in which UNITA can participate. It does not obligate the MPLA to accept whatever proposal Mr. Savimbi puts forward. We certainly hope that the negotiations will lead to an agreement, but the purpose of this paragraph would be satisfied if the MPLA comes forward with what the President in his judgment determines is a proposal for a reasonable ceasefire and political settlement and a proposal for a reasonable and specific timetable for an internationally supervised free and fair multiparty election in which UNITA would be free to participate.

Insofar as the reference to an internationally supervised free and fair election is concerned, let me observe that last month Mr. Savimbi, the President of UNITA, said that free and fair elections should be "observed by reputable international organizations." UNITA also demanded last April in their call for a free and fair multiparty election that these elections should "be monitored by the international community to ensure fairness."

I think that what we are calling for here, on the assumption that we are not trying to be more Catholic than the Pope and are not calling for more than Mr. Savimbi himself has called for is that willingness on the part of the MPLA to permit international observers—whether they are from the OAU, or the United Nations, or the United States Congress, or the British Parliament, or human rights groups, or any other organizations—to come in to monitor the electoral process, the campaigning, the casting of the votes, the counting of the votes, in such a way that it gives everyone reasonable

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04g. Cable	Re: NCR Program (1 pp.)	2/11/91	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04h. Report	Re: Cambodia: The Question of Non-Communist Resistance... (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04i. Memo	To William W. Working Re: Cooperation Between the Noncommunist Resistance and the Khmer Rouge [FOIA exemptions redacted] (3 pp.)	2/1/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)
By SS on 8/12/19

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #: 2010-2224-MR (501.08)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 12/1/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

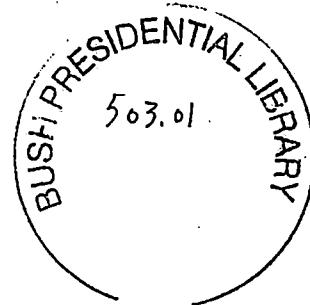
- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

113
~~SECRET~~/NOFORN

The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington D.C. 20505



National Intelligence Council

NIC 00121/91
1 February 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. William W. Working
Special Assistant to the President
National Security Council

SUBJECT: Cooperation Between the Noncommunist
Resistance and the Khmer Rouge

1. As you requested, the following provides a perspective on cooperation between the noncommunist resistance (NCR) and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. To offer some insight into the range of information available on the question, I've attached at Tab A a sample of reporting from US Embassy officers ^{14(c)} since July 1990--the month when the noncommunist resistance pledged to Congressman Solarz that its cooperation with the Khmer Rouge would cease. Because of the attention devoted ^{14(c)} attached at Tab B is a summary of ^{14(c)} the subject since July 1990.

2. Notwithstanding their years of outright military and political competition, the noncommunist resistance and the Khmer Rouge have cooperated in various ways to oust Vietnam's surrogate regime in Phnom Penh. For each of the resistance coalition's members, the rationale has varied: for the militarily weaker noncommunist groups, alignment with the Khmer Rouge has provided muscle they otherwise lack; for the Khmer Rouge, affiliation with Prince Sihanouk provides legitimacy within and outside Cambodia; for all three, political collaboration has put pressure on Hanoi and Phnom Penh as well as satisfied external backers, such as the Chinese, who have encouraged mutual help on and off the battlefield.

3. Since Vietnam's withdrawal of its main force ^{14(c)} military units in September 1989, ^{14(c)} the pattern of cooperation within the coalition has varied considerably. Relatively few reports have suggested that the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF)--the most militarily effective of the two noncommunist groups--has cooperated with the Khmer Rouge. Rather, most

This memorandum is classified
~~Secret~~/NoFORN in its entirety.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2010-2220-MR
7/31/2014 MM

CL BY 664692
DECLASS OADR
DRV FOR 9-82

SUBJECT: Cooperation Between the Noncommunist
Resistance and the Khmer Rouge

14(c) depicts continuing hostility and competition between the two groups. For the forces of Prince Sihanouk (ANS), however, reporting has revealed not only tactical military cooperation, but also statements by Sihanouk and his son among others, describing the rationale for the ANS strategy of working with the Khmer Rouge.

4. For their part, Sihanouk and his son, Ranariddh, have presented various arguments to explain such cooperation:

- That ANS operations in areas infiltrated by the the Khmer Rouge are intended to deny them unchallenged access to the interior;
- That uncertain Western and ASEAN supplies necessitate cooperation;
- That it is unrealistic to expect tactical cooperation not to occur;
- And most recently, that the coalition members must cooperate militarily to compel the PRK to make political concessions.

The key point, however, is clear both before and after the pledges made by the ANS and KPNLF in July 1990, Sihanouk and his son have held to their belief that military and political cooperation is necessary to achieve the coalition's goals.

5. Against this backdrop, 14(c) a reasonably consistent picture of ANS-Khmer Rouge tactical collaboration in the field. 14(c)

14(c) Taken together, however, our information on ANS-Khmer Rouge cooperation--in terms of logistics support as well as tactical battlefield cooperation--leads to the conclusion that virtually every significant military offensive mounted by Sihanouk's forces since last summer has in some fashion involved the Khmer Rouge.

6. Have the leaders of the ANS and KPNLF tried to put a stop to cooperation? Clearly, both realized last year that US support for their cause was in jeopardy because of the cooperation issue. Moreover, both organizations reportedly ordered their subordinate units to cease and desist in the same terms described in their commanders' July 1990 letters to Congressman Solarz. But subsequent 14(c)

ENTIRE PAGE CLOSED

1.4(c)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04j. Report	Re: (Reporting Synopsis June 1990 - present) (5 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04k. Report	Re: Disseminated Reports... (6 pp.)	2/1/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed:	1/11/2010	OA/ID Number:	90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
041. Memo	To Peter Watson, Re: Forwarding of Disseminated Reports [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: H-Files
Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Document Partially Declassified
(Copy of Document Follows)

By MM on 3/22/2014

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #: 2010-2220-MR(503.04)
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition: Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date: 7/31/2014

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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~~SECRET~~



TO: Peter Watson, National Security Council

SUBJECT: Forwarding of Disseminated Reports

1. Forwarded herewith per your request are the following disseminated reports since 1 January 1991 on the subject of

14(c)	[REDACTED]		
A.	14(c)	2 January 91,	14(c)
B.	[REDACTED]	11 January,	[REDACTED]
C.	[REDACTED]	14 January,	
D.	[REDACTED]	18 January,	
E.	[REDACTED]	18 January,	
F.	[REDACTED]	23 January,	
G.	[REDACTED]	25 January,	
H.	[REDACTED]	29 January,	
I.	[REDACTED]	30 January,	

2. Of these reports, none of which we regard as particularly authoritative, the better are reports B, G and H. The others are of considerably lesser authority. Reports A, F and I may be considered to have the least authority.

3. These reports along with earlier reports suggest

14(c) [REDACTED]

In addition, there are no reports of significant cooperation between the KPNLF and the Khmer Rouge, although the KPNLF has sometimes received Chinese-supplied ammunition through the KR.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2010-2220-MR

7/31/2014 MM

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04m. Cable	Re: Allegations... (1 pp.)	12/26/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04n. Cable	Re: Armed Incidents... (3 pp.)	2/6/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010 **OA/ID Number:** 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Appeal Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

AR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Case #:

MR Disposition:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04o. Cable	Re: Reported Execution... (2 pp.)	2/7/91	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010	OA/ID Number: 90019-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04p. List	Re: Deputy Committee Meeting [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6] (1 pp.)	3/5/90	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 259 - March 05, 1991 - NSC/DC Meeting on Cambodia, Keywords: Cambodia [1]

Date Closed: 1/11/2010

OA/ID Number: 90019-001

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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DEPUTY COMMITTEE MEETING
TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1990
2:30PM - 3:30PM
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

WHITE HOUSE

Robert Gates
Andy Card (Invited)

OVP

Carnes Lord

NSC

Karl Jackson

STATE

Robert Kimmitt
Richard Solomon

DOD

Paul Wolfowitz
Carl Ford

JUSTICE

William Barr
Daniel Levin

JCS

David Jeremiah
Merrill Ruck

CIA

Richard Kerr

(b)(3) [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6]

AID

Mark Edelman
Carol Adelman