# **KINGDOM OF CAMBODIA** Time for Action on Human Rights

"My house was under surveillance every day. Soldiers loyal to FUNCINPEC were rounded up and taken away to unknown destinations. It was hopeless to live in that situation." (Words of a Cambodian refugee in Thailand)<sup>1</sup>

# Introduction

For many years, the most serious human rights problem in Cambodia has been that of impunity literally exemption from punishment - for human rights violators. Despite international efforts to rebuild Cambodia's institutions, impunity has remained a cancer at the heart of national life, undermining the rule of law and facilitating the abuse of power.

Since 5 July 1997, evidence suggests that dozens of people have been extrajudicially executed in Cambodia because of their political affiliations, and yet no one has been called to account. Once more the spectre of political killings hangs over Cambodian society and political opponents of the government have fled into exile, fearing for their safety. General elections are scheduled to take place in Cambodia in 1998 and the National Assembly is currently considering the necessary legislation to make that possible. If these elections are to be held in a climate where people are free to exercise their fundamental rights to freedom of expression and association, then improvements in the human rights situation in Cambodia are required. Without such improvements, the security of candidates, activists and voters cannot be guaranteed.

Amnesty International is concerned that the Royal Cambodian Government has yet to take human rights seriously, and that it has failed to live up to the many commitments it has made on this issue in the last four years. This document details some of the organization's concerns relating to the events of 5-6 July 1997, and why government statements regarding human rights should be viewed critically.

This report draws in part on observations made by an Amnesty International delegation during a visit to Phnom Penh in September 1997. The organization regrets that, despite an official invitation, Cambodian ministers (with the exception of one) avoided discussions on human rights concerns.

### Background

During the weekend of 5-6 July 1997, forces loyal to Cambodia's Second Prime Minister Hun Sen (from the Cambodian People's Party - CPP) launched violent and sustained attacks against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Amnesty International interview, Bangkok, 23 July 1997.

forces loyal to First Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh (from the FUNCINPEC party), in Phnom Penh and the surrounding area. The forces loyal to Prince Ranariddh were quickly defeated, and hundreds were arrested and detained in the immediate aftermath of the fighting.<sup>2</sup> In addition to those killed and wounded in the fighting, Amnesty International believes that more than 40 people may have been extrajudicially executed.

The victims of extrajudicial executions in Cambodia since 5 July add to the long list of victims of human rights violations in the country since the Royal Government came to power in 1993. The vast majority of these victims and their families are still waiting for justice, as all around the country members of the police and armed forces have been able to commit human rights violations with impunity, safe in the knowledge that they would never be held to account for their actions. Since the 1993 elections, the Royal Government of Cambodia has frequently promised to investigate cases which have been brought to public attention - such as the grenade attack on peaceful demonstrators on 30 March 1997<sup>3</sup> - and yet in almost every such case, no action has been taken to bring those responsible to justice. The judicial system remains weak and corrupt, and the Royal Government has not demonstrated that it has the political will to implement reforms, uphold the rule of law in Cambodia and provide justice for victims and their families. In this climate, there are grave doubts that the human rights violations which took place during and after 5-6 July will be investigated, thus creating an environment in the run up to the elections due in 1998 in which the security and freedom of association of Cambodians are severely compromised.

### **Reaction from the authorities**

During a visit to Cambodia in September 1997, Thomas Hammarberg, UN Special Representative of the Secretary General for Human Rights in Cambodia, made public his report to the Royal Government about killings and torture following the events of 5-6 July.<sup>4</sup> The Royal Government made a public commitment to investigate the report's findings, and a government commission has been established to look in to the findings of the report. While welcoming the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For more details see Amnesty International *Kingdom of Cambodia: Arrest and execution of political opponents* (AI Index: ASA 23/29/97) 18 July 1997. Since this document was published Amnesty International has learned that General Sam Norin, who was reported to have been killed on 8 July 1997 is alive, and escaped capture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Amnesty International documents *Kingdom of Cambodia: Grenade Attack on Peaceful Demonstration* (AI Index: ASA 23/05/97) 31 March 1997 and *Kingdom of Cambodia: The victims of the 30 March grenade attack: an update* (AI Index: ASA 23/09/97) April 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> <u>Memorandum to the Royal Government of Cambodia: Evidence of Summary Executions.</u> <u>Torture and Missing Persons since 2-7 July 1997.</u> 21 August 1997. Available from the UN Centre for Human Rights, Cambodian Field Office, Phnom Penh.

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commitment from the RoyalGovernment, Amnesty International believes that concrete actions must be taken if this is to prove anything more than many such promises made and reneged on in the past. Indeed, several speeches made by the Second Prime Minister suggest that the Royal Government has already dismissed many of the Special Representative's findings.<sup>5</sup>

In July 1997 Amnesty International received an invitation from the Royal Government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to visit Cambodia and discuss human rights concerns with senior government ministers. On arrival in Cambodia in late August, the delegation received no cooperation from the relevant ministry, and only the Minister of Interior Sar Kheng was available for a meeting. The fact that almost all senior government ministers avoided meeting with Amnesty International, in spite of the official invitation, adds further weight to the organization's concerns about the true depth of the Royal Government's commitment to human rights.

In the meantime, the poor human rights climate continues. Well-publicised court cases draw attention to the ongoing and lamentable weaknesses of the judicial system, while a newspaper has been closed down by government order, for publishing an article about government troop casualties which the Ministry of Information claimed "*was inaccurate and intended to lower the morale of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces and seriously affect operations, political stability and national security.*" Such draconian measures do nothing to restore confidence among Cambodians at home and in exile that their right to freedom of expression is guaranteed.

# **Political Developments**

In the immediate aftermath of 5-6 July, senior government ministers moved quickly to help restore a semblance of normality to Cambodia. Foreign Minister Ung Huot (FUNCINPEC) was away from Cambodia during the fighting, having attended meetings in Paris with Cambodia's international donor countries at the beginning of July. He returned to Phnom Penh on 14 July, and two days later it was announced that he would be willing to replace Prince Norodom Ranariddh in the post of First Prime Minister. In a vote in the National Assembly on 6 August 1997, Ung Huot's nomination was approved. Ninety-nine of the 120 National Assembly members were present, of whom 86 voted in favour of Ung Huot. National Assembly members in exile maintain that the election was illegal. Arrest warrants have been issued for Prince Norodom Ranariddh by the military court in Phnom Penh, on charges of "crimes against the security in the country on 4 to 6 July in Phnom Penh" and "illegal purchasing and importing of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See as one example among many "Second Premier Hun Sen Criticizes USA over human rights" *National Voice of Cambodia*, Phnom Penh, in Cambodian, 11 October 1997. As translated by BBC Monitoring, 13 October 1997.

weapons". Second Prime Minister Hun Sen has repeatedly stated that Prince Ranariddh is free to come back to Cambodia, if he wishes to face the Cambodian courts.

The Cambodian authorities have argued that the events of 5-6 July 1997 did not constitute a coup d'etat, and that there has been no change of government, merely a change of First Prime Minister. However, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which Cambodia was scheduled to join at the end of July 1997, has delayed Cambodia's membership, and the UN General Assembly in New York made the decision in late September to leave the Cambodian seat at the UN vacant until elections scheduled for next year take place. Prince Norodom Ranariddh lobbied for the right to retain the seat, while Ung Huot and Hun Sen argued that the seat should be given to the chosen representative of the government in its current form, but the credentials committee decided that the seat should remain vacant. Meanwhile, the InternationalMonetary Fund (IMF) announced that its aid program to Cambodia was suspended, citing the government's apparent inability to meet the conditions required by the IMF for further financial support. The World Bank announced that while existing programs of support will continue, no new projects will start until the resumption of the IMF program. Various donor governments have suspended or scaled down their bilateral aid programs since 6 July.

#### Killings

The Royal Government of Cambodia claims that, with one exception, those killed since 5-6 July died in the course of armed conflict. Amnesty International believes this is not true and that many of the people who were killed did not die during the period of heavy fighting on 5-6 July. Killings continued for weeks after 6 July, at a time when the armed conflict was over in all but the border areas. Amnesty International is concerned that a number of hasty cremations reportedly took place in temples in Phnom Penh and surrounding areas in the weeks following the violence, thus destroying possibly vital evidence. Some of these cremations took place without the necessary authorization. As in most countries, there are regulations in Cambodia relating to the cremation of the dead, and written permission must be taken to the temple crematorium by anyone seeking to cremate a body.

The Cambodian authorities have admitted publicly that one person only - Secretary of State at the Ministry of Interior Hor Sok - was executed, but have claimed that other deaths occurred as a result of the fighting. Amnesty International is extremely concerned at the reluctance of the Cambodian authorities to acknowledge that individuals appear to have been executed in the aftermath of the fighting.

On 20 August, Second Prime Minister Hun Sen accused human rights organizations of making unsubstantiated allegations of human rights violations and calling on them to provide more information. This followed earlier requests to human rights monitors to submit details of alleged abuses, so that the authorities could take all necessary action.

Amnesty International has now recorded more than 40 instances of apparent extrajudicial execution since 5 July 1997. Three months after the fighting, new evidence continues to come to light. Available evidence suggests that the majority of killings took place in the first two weeks after 5 July, although others apparently occurred later. In approximately half of the cases, the names of the deceased have been verified. In the remaining cases, it has so far proved impossible to identify the dead. These include cases where bodies have been found but not identified, or where cremation sites have been discovered but insufficient evidence remains to make a positive identification.

An example of the difficulties involved in identifying those killed is the case of three bodies discovered in the Bassac river in Kandal province on 17 July 1997. The bodies were dressed in military uniforms, with hands tied behind their backs. All had bullet wounds in the abdomen, but identification was impossible, as they had been beheaded. The names of four bodyguards of FUNCINPEC General Nhek Bun Chhay, whose bodies were left on the road for two days outside his house, have yet to be established. A witness reported that the eyes of the four men were missing. It is not known whether this was a result of mutilation after execution or torture prior to it.

The Cambodian authorities have yet to acknowledge the arrest and apparent execution of General Chao Sambath and General Krauch Yeuam, who were captured together by government forces loyal to the CPP on 8 July 1997, along with around 30 others in Kampong Speu province. The two generals were soon separated from the others, and have not been seen alive since. The Cambodian authorities have provided no information as to what happened to these men, although one pro-government newspaper reported that Chao Sambath had killed himself by biting his tongue and that General Krauch Yeuam was killed by soldiers who fired rockets at him when he refused to surrender. This conflicts with the accounts of eye-witnesses, who have stated that the capture of Generals Chao Sambath and Krauch Yeuam was peaceful and no weapons were fired. On 15 October 1997, human rights workers in Cambodia, together with the family of General Krauch Yeuam exhumed a body at a site 40 kilometres north of Phnom Penh, which was identified as that of General Krauch Yeuam. Personal items, including his identity card were found on the body. He had apparently been executed. A second grave nearby is believed to contain the body of General Chao Sambath.

#### Treatment in detention

Between 5 and 8 July, hundreds of people - mainly soldiers loyal to Prince Ranariddh - were captured and detained by forces loyal to the CPP. Following widespread domestic and international concern as to the fate and whereabouts of these people, the Cambodian authorities allowed access to human rights monitors to some places of detention, including the Tang Krasaing military base and the base of 911 Regiment at Kambol. Soldiers who were captured at the same time as Chao Sambath, and who were transferred to Kambol, told human rights

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monitors that they were detained in a tiny storage room, with no ventilation, and no room to sit down. They were taken from the room for interrogation, and were beaten and tortured and forced to sign false confessions to the effect that they were Khmer Rouge soldiers. The soldiers claimed that if they told the truth - which was that they were not Khmer Rouge soldiers, but simply members of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces (RCAF) - they were beaten and tortured. The soldiers were beaten with wooden planks and a belt and kicked and punched in the body and the face. They were threatened with death, and a vice was used to crush the hands of more than one of the prisoners. One officer, Lieutenant Colonel Sao Sophal, did not return from a second interrogation session on 12 July, and is believed to have been executed that day.

Amnesty International welcomes the fact that human rights monitors were given access to some of those detained, and that, to the organization's knowledge, the soldiers loyal to Prince Ranariddh who were detained have been released. This is an important first step. However, equally important is that action be taken by the Cambodian authorities to ensure that anyone implicated in the ill-treatment and torture of prisoners be immediately suspended from duty, pending both full, independent enquiries into their conduct - the results of which should be made public - and any possible judicial proceedings resulting from such investigations.

## Seeking refuge

The events of 5-6 July and the ensuing conflict in the north of the country, prompted tens of thousands of Cambodians to flee the country and seek refuge in Thailand, fearing for their lives.

Many members of FUNCINPEC (loyal to Prince Ranariddh), the Khmer Nation Party (KNP) and the Son Sann wing of the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (BLDP) fled Cambodia, fearing for their lives.<sup>6</sup> While many others chose to stay in Cambodia, some informed human rights organizations that they wished to leave but that it was not possible for them to do so. Of those who are currently taking refuge in neighbouring countries, many would like to return to Cambodia, but are fearful of doing so, as they believe that their security and freedom of expression and association will be compromised in the current political climate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Khmer Nation Party is the main opposition party in Cambodia. Its' leader is Sam Rainsy, former FUNCINPEC Minister of Finance and Economics. The Son Sann faction of the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party is the group in the BLDP which remained loyal to the party's founder Son Sann, following a split in the party in 1995. The other faction is led by Information Minister Ieng Mouly. Supporters of the Son Sann faction were the victims of grenade attacks on 30 September 1995, when they gathered in Phnom Penh for their party congress. No one was ever brought to justice for these attacks. See Amnesty International *Kingdom of Cambodia: Political Violence in Phnom Penh* (AI Index: ASA 23/16/95) 3 October 1995.

Refugees arriving in Thailand on 23 and 24 July 1997 who worked for newspapers in Phnom Penh which were sympathetic to FUNCINPEC, told Amnesty International that police loyal to the CPP had called at their houses and offices three or four times in the preceding fortnight, wanting to know the whereabouts of their colleagues, and to collect lists of staff members. They feared for their safety and fled the country.<sup>7</sup>

Amnesty International notes with concern accusations by Second Prime Minister Hun Sen that some human rights workers in Cambodia were guilty of frightening people into leaving the country.<sup>8</sup> Amnesty International interviewed Cambodian refugees in Thailand about their reasons for leaving the country. All those who spoke to the organization talked of the fear they had experienced and the overriding concern for their safety. One refugee said:

"I didn't want to leave Cambodia. It's my country and we worked hard since 1993 to improve the situation. But if I acted according to my conscience and spoke my mind, no one could guarantee my security or my family's security. I had no choice."<sup>9</sup>

Another said:

"At this time I was very disappointed and unhappy, and worried about my own safety."<sup>10</sup>

A third described how his house had been put under surveillance, and how he was worried he would not be able to leave. He said:

"I told my colleagues I was going to work. Then [at work] I said that I was going out to do something, in order not to leave tracks...many people wanted to leave with me...it was difficult to go anywhere without [the soldiers] knowing."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Some opposition newspapers have begun publishing again in Cambodia. For details see "Opposition press comes back to life," *Phnom Penh Post*, August 15-28 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This was widely reported. See for example "HR groups report more murders," *Phnom Penh Post*, August 15-28, 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Amnesty International interview with Cambodian refugee, 24 July 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Amnesty International interview with Cambodian refugee, 23 July 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Amnesty International interview with Cambodian refugee, 23 July 1997.

Meanwhile, fighting on the Thai-Cambodian border between the remnants of forces loyal to Prince Ranariddh, and the main body of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces, loyal to Hun Sen, has caused major refugee flows from Cambodia to Thailand. Almost 50,000 people have crossed the border at several different points seeking refuge from the fighting. They are currently held in camps provided by the Thai authorities, who have said that they can remain in Thailand until the fighting stops, when they will be taken to the border and sent back. By mid-October, two repatriations of approximately 250 people in each group had taken place, with the assistance of the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. These were voluntary repatriations.

If people who have fled Cambodia are to return in safety and security, action must be taken to prove that the verbal human rights guarantees given by the Cambodian authorities in recent weeks are being backed up with action. It is true that many members of FUNCINPEC remain in Cambodia, and the majority of FUNCINPEC National Assembly members have attended the recent session of the National Assembly. However, this in itself does not mean that everyone in Cambodia is free from political persecution, harassment and intimidation. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person, and at present, thousands of Cambodians believe that these rights will be denied them in their own country, and have fled to seek refuge elsewhere.

#### Lack of credibility

For years, the Royal Government of Cambodia has claimed that it is committed to upholding human rights and the rule of law. However, these public statements never appear to be followed by concrete action, leading to a lack of credibility with each new commitment. Since the Royal Government came to power in 1993 Amnesty International has noted the various statements made by the government with respect to particular cases, and the following lack of action. In a major document published in May 1996, the organization included a 10 page appendix of cases brought to the attention of the the government since 1993. Almost every case remained unresolved.<sup>12</sup>

Amnesty International is disturbed by the fact that the Cambodian authorities are also disingenuous in their reporting to the United Nations. In accordance with its obligations as a state party to the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Cambodia submitted a report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Amnesty International *Kingdom of Cambodia: Diminishing Respect for Human Rights* (AI Index: ASA 23/02/96) May 1996.

Time for Action

Discrimination in February 1997.<sup>13</sup> Paragraph 116 of this report which relates to freedom of peaceful assembly and association states:

Recently, citizens from the provinces and the city of Phnom Penh have gathered in front of the National Assembly and the residences of the First and Second Prime Ministers on several occasions. On 23 October 1995, a group of demonstrators vandalized the office of the newspaper <u>La</u> <u>Liberté Nouvelle</u> and injured the employees working there. This act was in violation of the law, which prohibits the use of violence.<sup>14</sup>

In choosing this attack as an example of a violation of Cambodia's law, the Royal Government seems to suggest that its reaction to the violence at the time was condemnatory. The facts were rather different. The attack on the office of *Sereipheap Thmae* (New Liberty News) did indeed take place on 23 October 1995, when three truckloads of men armed with sticks and axes broke into the office. Witnesses at the scene said that police in the area watched the attack take place but did not attempt to intervene, even though one office worker was injured by a blow to the head. On 21 October 1995 the newspaper had published an article criticising a development project funded by Second Prime Minister Hun Sen in Kraingyov commune, Kandal Province. It was alleged that the people who attacked the office on 23 October came from Kraingyov commune, although witnesses disputed that all the people who arrived in the trucks were genuine residents of Kraingyov. It was reported to Amnesty International that some of the attackers were members of Second Prime Minister Hun Sen's bodyguard unit. In a speech delivered to Kraingyov villagers on 30 October 1995, the Second Prime Minister appeared to endorse the violent activities of the demonstrators. He said: "I would just like to exercise my right...to express the opinion that Kraingyov people were not wrong in their action... Those who are opposed to Kraingyov people... are Khmer Rouge." He also offered to provide transport to the people, should they wish to exercise their right to "demonstrate" again.<sup>15</sup>

This case is typical of the human rights problems that beset Cambodian people. No investigation was carried out into the attack on the offices of *Sereipheap Thmae* and the assault on one staff member, and no one was ever brought to justice. The violence was publicly endorsed at the time by the Second Prime Minister, and yet the Royal Government has chosen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> <u>Seventh periodic reports of States parties due in 1996 Addendum: Cambodia</u>, UN document CERD/C/292/Add.2, 5 May 1997

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid, page 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See "PM says attackers defended their honour" in <u>Phnom Penh Post</u> November 3-16 1995. For more details on this case see Amnesty International Kingdom of Cambodia: Diminishing Respect for Human Rights (AI Index: ASA 23/02/96) May 1996.

to use the case as an example of an "illegal act" - because of the use of violence - in its reporting to the UN on meeting treaty obligations. Just weeks after this report was submitted to the UN, KNP supporters participating in a peaceful, authorised demonstration outside the National Assembly were victims of a grenade attack that killed at least 16 and injured over 100.<sup>16</sup> The Royal Government appears to have made no effort to bring to justice those responsible for this violent attack on the right to peaceful assembly.

Such double standards, presenting one face in the international arena while doing nothing for the victims of human rights violations at home, raise serious doubts about the commitments made by the Cambodian authorities in respect of more recent violations.

## The future

The international community has invested heavily in Cambodia, both politically and financially. It therefore has a position of special leverage, and thus also a special responsibility. It needs to continue to send a clear and unequivocal signal to the Cambodian authorities of its concerns about the fundamental rights and freedoms of Cambodia's people, not just in the lead up to elections next year, but in Cambodia's long term institutional development. Human rights were integral to the 1991 Peace Accords. So too will they be integral to securing the country's future. This was explicitly recognised in the wording of the Paris Peace Agreements, when all parties agreed to *'promote and encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia...in order in particular, to prevent the recurrence of human rights abuses.*"

What is needed now is concrete action by the Cambodian authorities to investigate all alleged cases of human rights violations in the country, both before and after the 5 July 1997. The international community has a role to play, by ensuring that the victims of human rights violations in Cambodia are not forgotten. Experience suggests that, without ongoing interest and pressure from the international community, commitments from the Cambodian authorities to investigate human rights violations may prove to be no more than hollow promises.

# Recommendations

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> For details see Amnesty International documents *Kingdom of Cambodia: Grenade Attack* on Peaceful Demonstration (AI Index: ASA 23/05/97) 31 March 1997, and *Kingdom of Cambodia: The* victims of the 30 March grenade attack: an update (AI Index: ASA 23/09/97) April 1997.

# (a) to the Cambodian authorities

Amnesty International urges the Cambodian authorities to:

1. initiate full, independent inquiries into the circumstances of the apparent executions that have occurred since 5 July. In the interim period, the number and names of those believed to have been killed should be made public. All those implicated in the killings should be suspended from duty, pending judicial proceedings against them.

2. give an unequivocal guarantee that intimidation and harassment of FUNCINPEC and other party activists, journalists and editors will cease immediately, and the fundamental human rights to freedom of expression and association will be upheld in Cambodia.

3. give an unequivocal statement of adherence to Article 15 of the 1991 Paris Peace Accords and the human rights guarantees provided in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia.<sup>17</sup>

4. give an unequivocal commitment to retain the presence of the United Nations Centre for Human Rights in Cambodia, and extend full cooperation and support to its monitoring and reporting functions. Verbal attacks on the Centre and its staff should cease immediately.

5. enunciate principles for elections that guarantee full security for all candidates and activists from all parties, the rights to freedom of expression and association including: equal access to the media; a secure right to peaceful assembly; and neutrality of the security forces. Politically motivated criminal charges should not be used as a means of excluding candidates from standing for election.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Article 15 states that: 1. All persons in Cambodia and all Cambodian refugees and displaced persons shall enjoy the rights and freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant international human rights instruments.

<sup>2.</sup> To this end, (a) Cambodia undertakes: - to ensure respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia; - to support the right of all Cambodian citizens to undertake activities which would promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms; - to take effective measures to ensure that the policies and practices of the past shall never be allowed to return; - to adhere to relevant international human rights instruments; (b) the other Signatories to this Agreement

undertake to promote and encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia as embodied in the relevant international instruments and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in order, in particular, to prevent the recurrence of human rights abuses.

6. reaffirm their commitment to facilitating an international tribunal to bring to justice Khmer Rouge leaders implicated in gross violations of human rights that occurred in Cambodia between 1975-1979.

All of these recommended actions are achievable if there is the political will to do so. They would help to restore confidence and trust, both within Cambodia and internationally that will be necessary for a durable solution to the current crisis, and for establishing a climate in which free and fair elections can take place in the year ahead. The onus is on the Cambodian authorities to take the necessary steps to improve the human rights situation in their country, in order to meet the obligations laid down in the Paris Peace Accords of 1991, the international human rights treaties to which Cambodia is a party, and the guarantees provided in Cambodia's own constitution.

### (b) to the international community

Attention is now focused on the general elections, scheduled to take place in Cambodia in May 1998. Elections in any country cannot be meaningful unless people are able to exercise their fundamental human rights with security. The international community should use its influence in Cambodia to ensure that, as a minimum show of good faith and commitment to human rights:

1. legislation relating to elections upholds the rights of all Cambodians to freedom of expression, association and assembly, and is consistent with Cambodia's obligations as a state party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

2. the Cambodian authorities take all possible measures to investigate the human rights violations which took place during and after the military action on 5-6 July. Those responsible for these human rights violations, including extrajudicial executions should be brought to justice.

3. the Cambodian authorities also prove that they are attempting to identify and bring to justice those responsible for previous serious human rights violations in the country, including the grenade attack on the peaceful KNP demonstration on 30 March 1997.

4. legal measures which provide for impunity for civil servants are speedily repealed, and individuals who are state employees - including members of the police and armed forces - who are suspected of having committed human rights violations are brought to justice.