

**REPORT OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON KAMPUCHEA**

**New York (13-17 July 1981)**



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NOTE

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## I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its 44th plenary meeting, on 22 October 1980, the General Assembly adopted resolution 35/6, paragraphs 2 to 4 of which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"2. Decides, taking into account paragraph 12 of resolution 34/22, to convene early in 1981 an international conference on Kampuchea which should involve the participation of all conflicting parties in Kampuchea and others concerned, with the aim of finding a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem;

"3. Decides further that the conference should negotiate with a view to reaching agreement on, inter alia:

(a) Total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea within a specific time-frame to be verified by the United Nations;

(b) Measures by the United Nations to ensure law and order and the observance of the fundamental principles of human rights in Kampuchea;

(c) Measures by the United Nations to ensure non-interference by outside Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea:

(d) United Nations-supervised free elections in Kampuchea;

(e) Guarantees against the introduction of any foreign forces in Kampuchea;

(f) Guarantees to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea;

(g) Guarantees that an independent and sovereign Kampuchea will not be a threat to its neighbours;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to take all appropriate steps for the convening of such a conference;"

2. In compliance with paragraph 4 of resolution 35/6, the Secretary-General, on 1 June 1981, addressed a note verbale to all those Member States which had participated in the vote on the resolution, with the exception of Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam which, under paragraph 2 of the resolution, were considered as "conflicting parties". In the note verbale, the Secretary-General requested those Member States to inform him whether they considered themselves among the "others concerned" in the terms of the resolution and consequently wished to be invited to the Conference.

3. On 18 June, the Secretary-General addressed a further note verbale to those Member States which had replied positively to his note of 1 June, inviting them to participate in the International Conference on Kampuchea to be held at United Nations Headquarters commencing on 13 July. A similar note was sent to Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam.

4. The Conference held eight plenary meetings, from 13 to 17 July. The Secretary-General and the President of the Conference made opening statements at the 1st plenary meeting.

## II. ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

### A. Attendance 1/

5. The following 79 Member States participated in the Conference:

Argentina	Kenya
Australia	Kuwait
Austria	Luxembourg
Bahrain	Malaysia
Bangladesh	Maldives
Belgium	Malta
Bolivia	Mauritania
Brazil	Mauritius
Burma	Morocco
Burundi	Nepal
Canada	Netherlands
Central African Republic	New Zealand
Chile	Niger
China	Nigeria
Colombia	Norway
Costa Rica	Oman
Democratic Kampuchea	Pakistan
Denmark	Panama
Ecuador	Papua New Guinea
Egypt	Paraguay
Fiji	Peru
France	Philippines
Gambia	Portugal
Germany, Federal Republic of	Qatar
Greece	Saint Lucia
Guatemala	Samoa
Honduras	Saudi Arabia
Iceland	Senegal
Indonesia	Sierra Leone
Ireland	Singapore
Israel	Somalia
Italy	Spain
Japan	Sri Lanka

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1/ For the list of delegations, see A/CONF.109/INF.2/Rev.1.

Sudan  
Sweden  
Thailand  
Togo  
Turkey  
United Arab Emirates  
United Kingdom of Great  
Britain and Northern Ireland

United States of America  
Upper Volta  
Uruguay  
Venezuela  
Yugoslavia  
Zaire

6. At its 1st plenary meeting, on 13 July, the representative of Singapore formally proposed that the following political groups be invited to attend and participate in the Conference without the right to vote:

Khmer People's National Liberation Front  
National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and  
Co-operative Cambodia  
People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea

The Conference approved that proposal with respect to the Khmer People's National Liberation Front and the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia; it decided to refer to the bureau of the Conference the question of the participation of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea.

7. The following 14 States attended the Conference as observers:

Botswana	Mexico
Djibouti	Republic of Korea
Finland	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Guinea	Suriname
Holy See	Switzerland
Liberia	Tunisia
Mali	United Republic of Cameroon

8. The European Economic Community also attended the Conference as an observer.

#### B. Election of officers

9. On the proposal of the representative of the Philippines, seconded by the representatives of Senegal, Australia, Venezuela and Belgium, the Conference elected by acclamation His Excellency Mr. Willibald Pahr, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, as President of the Conference.

10. The Conference also elected by acclamation the following officers:

Vice-Presidents: His Excellency Mr. Mario Carias (Honduras)  
His Excellency Mr. Massamba Sarré (Senegal)

Rapporteur: His Excellency Mr. Ilinome Frank Tarua (Papua New Guinea)

### C. Agenda

11. At its 1st plenary meeting, the Conference adopted its provisional agenda (A/CONF.109/1) as amended. The agenda (A/CONF.109/3) read as follows:

- "1. Opening of the Conference.
- "2. Election of the President.
- "3. Organizational matters:
  - (a) Adoption of the agenda;
  - (b) Election of officers other than the President;
  - (c) Organization of work.
- "4. Consideration of General Assembly resolution 35/6 (paras. 2 and 3).
- "5. Adoption of the report of the Conference."

### D. Organization of work

12. Also at its 1st plenary meeting, the Conference, taking into consideration the suggestions submitted by the Secretariat (A/CONF.109/2), adopted a number of provisions relating to the organization of work (A/CONF.109/4). It decided, inter alia, that:

- (a) If a question arose concerning participation in the Conference, the matter should be referred to the officers of the Conference, who would examine the question in the light of paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 35/6 and report thereon to the Conference for a decision;
- (b) Any observers attending the Conference could participate in the proceedings at the invitation of the President but could not vote or submit any proposal or motion;
- (c) To the fullest extent possible, decisions should be taken by consensus;
- (d) An open-ended Working Group should be entrusted with the consideration of any proposals submitted to the Conference;
- (e) On all other matters, unless it decided otherwise, the Conference should conduct its business in accordance with the established rules and practices of the General Assembly.

13. The Conference decided that one of the Vice-Presidents, His Excellency Mr. Massamba Sarré, would be the Chairman of the Working Group:

#### E. Documentation

14. The Conference had before it the following documents:

A/CONF.109/1	Provisional agenda
A/CONF.109/2	Suggestions relating to the organization of work
A/CONF.109/3	Agenda
A/CONF.109/4	Provisions relating to the organization of work
A/CONF.109/INF.1	Documents relating to the Conference
A/CONF.109/INF.2/Rev.1	List of delegations
A/CONF.109/L.1 and Add.1	Draft report of the Conference

#### III. DEBATE

15. At its 1st to 7th plenary meetings, from 13 to 16 July, the Conference held a debate on agenda item 4 (see para. 11), in the course of which 50 speakers took the floor, namely:

- (a) Participants: Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Egypt, Fiji, France, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia
- (b) Participants without the right to vote: Khmer People's National Liberation Front, National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia
- (c) Observers: Liberia, Republic of Korea, Tunisia.

#### IV. ADOPTION OF PROPOSALS

16. The Working Group (see paras. 12 (d) and 13) held six meetings, from 14 to 17 July, for the consideration of proposals submitted to the Conference.

17. At the 9th plenary meeting, on 17 July, the Chairman of the Working Group presented the recommendations of the Group (A/CONF.109/L.1/Add.1). At the same meeting, the Conference, on the recommendation of the Working Group, adopted by consensus the Declaration on Kampuchea (annex I) and a resolution (annex II).



## V. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

18. At the 8th plenary meeting, the Rapporteur presented the draft report of the Conference (A/CONF.109/L.1 and Add.1). At the same meeting, the Conference adopted the draft report, on the understanding that the Rapporteur would be entrusted with the task of incorporating in the final report any editorial or drafting changes that might be required.

## VI. CLOSING STATEMENT

19. Also at the 8th plenary meeting, the President delivered a closing statement in the course of which he gave an account of the work of the Conference. At that meeting, the Conference decided that the closing statement be annexed to the report (annex III).

ANNEX I

Declaration on Kampuchea

1. Pursuant to Articles 1 and 2 of 22 October 1980 of the Charter of the United Nations and to General Assembly resolution 35/6, the United Nations convened the International Conference on Kampuchea at its Headquarters in New York, from 13 to 17 July 1981, with the aim of finding a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.
2. The Conference reaffirms the rights of all States to the inviolability of their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and stresses their obligation to respect those rights of their neighbours. The Conference also reaffirms the right of all peoples to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion.
3. The Conference expresses its concern that the situation in Kampuchea has resulted from the violation of the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force in international relations.
4. The Conference takes note of the serious international consequences that have arisen out of the situation in Kampuchea. In particular, the Conference notes with grave concern the escalation of tension in South-East Asia and major Power involvement as a result of this situation.
5. The Conference also takes note of the serious problem of refugees which has resulted from the situation in Kampuchea and is convinced that a political solution to the conflict will be necessary for the long-term solution of the refugee problem.
6. The Conference stresses its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem.
7. The Conference regrets that the foreign armed intervention continues and that the foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea, thus making it impossible for the Kampuchean people to express their will in free elections.
8. The Conference is further convinced that a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict is vital to the establishment of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in South-East Asia.
9. The Conference emphasizes that Kampuchea, like all other countries, has the right to be independent and sovereign, free from any external threat or armed aggression, free to pursue its own development and a better life for its people in an environment of peace, stability and full respect for human rights.

10. With a view to reaching a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea, the Conference calls for negotiations on, inter alia, the following elements:

(a) An agreement on cease-fire by all parties to the conflict in Kampuchea and withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in the shortest time possible under the supervision and verification of a United Nations peace-keeping force/observer group;

(b) Appropriate arrangements to ensure that armed Kampuchean factions will not be able to prevent or disrupt the holding of free elections, or intimidate or coerce the population in the electoral process; such arrangements should also ensure that they will respect the result of the free elections;

(c) Appropriate measures for the maintenance of law and order in Kampuchea and the holding of free elections, following the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country and before the establishment of a new government resulting from those elections;

(d) The holding of free elections under United Nations supervision, which will allow the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination and elect a government of their own choice; all Kampuchean will have the right to participate in the elections.

11. The Conference appreciates the legitimate security concerns of all States of the region and, therefore, deems it essential for Kampuchea to remain non-aligned and neutral and for the future elected government of Kampuchea to declare that Kampuchea will not pose a threat to or be used against the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States, especially those sharing a common border with Kampuchea.

12. The Conference also deems it essential for the five permanent members of the Security Council, all States of South-East Asia as well as other States concerned to declare, in conjunction with paragraph 11 above, that:

(a) They will respect and observe in every way the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned and neutral status of Kampuchea and recognize its borders as inviolable;

(b) They will refrain from all forms of interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of Kampuchea;

(c) They will not bring Kampuchea into any military alliance or other agreement, whether military or otherwise, which is inconsistent with its declaration under paragraph 11 nor invite or encourage it to enter into any such alliance or to conclude any such agreement;

(d) They will refrain from introducing into Kampuchea foreign troops or military personnel and will not establish any military bases in Kampuchea;

(e) They will not use the territory of any country, including their own, for interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea;

(f) They will not pose a threat to the security of Kampuchea or endanger its survival as a sovereign nation.

13. The Conference expresses the hope that, following the peaceful resolution of the Kampuchean conflict, an intergovernmental committee will be established to consider a programme of assistance to Kampuchea for the reconstruction of its economy and for the economic and social development of all States of the region.

14. The Conference notes the absence of Viet Nam and other States and urges them to attend the future sessions of the Conference. In this context, the Conference takes note of the current bilateral consultations among the countries of the region and expresses the hope that these consultations will help to persuade all countries of the region and others to participate in the future sessions of the Conference.

15. The Conference expresses the hope that Viet Nam will participate in the negotiating process which can lead to a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem and to the restoration of peace and stability to the region of South-East Asia. This will enable all the countries of the region to devote themselves to the task of economic and social development, to engage in confidence-building and to promote regional co-operation in all fields of endeavour, thus heralding a new era of peace, concord and amity in South-East Asia.

ANNEX II

Resolution 1 (I)

The International Conference on Kampuchea,

Recalling its Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted on 17 July 1981,

1. Decides to establish an Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, consisting of Japan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sri Lanka, the Sudan and Thailand, and authorizes the President of the Conference, in consultation with the members of the Conference, to include additional members in the Committee;

2. Entrusts the Committee with the following tasks:

(a) To assist the Conference in seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/6 of 22 October 1980;

(b) To act as an advisory body to the Secretary-General between sessions of the Conference;

(c) To undertake missions, where appropriate, in consultation with the Secretary-General and taking into account his recommendations, in pursuit of a comprehensive political settlement to the conflict in Kampuchea;

(d) To advise the President of the Conference, after consultations with the Secretary-General, as to when the Conference should be reconvened;

3. Requests the Committee to submit reports to the Conference;

4. Recommends that the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to consult with, to assist and to provide the Committee with the necessary facilities to carry out its functions;

5. Recommends that the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to make a preliminary study of the possible future role of the United Nations, taking into account the mandate of the Committee and the elements for negotiations set out in paragraph 10 of the Declaration on Kampuchea;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the report of the Conference to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session;

7. Recommends that the General Assembly should authorize the reconvening of the Conference, at an appropriate time, upon the recommendation of the President of the Conference.

ANNEX III

Closing statement by the President  
of the Conference

1. Last Monday, in my opening statement to the Conference, I pointed out that the task before us would be an extremely difficult one and that difficult decisions would have to be taken which require a spirit of compromise and mutual understanding.

2. Today, after five days of intensive deliberation and debate, I think that we all agree with this assessment. At the same time, this first session of the Conference has also clearly brought out the fact that with the necessary will and determination progress can indeed be made.

3. Of course, it was obvious from the very outset that in such a short period of time, and in its present composition, we could not expect the Conference to achieve fully its objective. To find a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem would have had as a precondition the presence at the Conference of all parties to the conflict and others concerned. We, therefore, regret the absence of Viet Nam and others. We hope that their absence will only be a temporary one.

4. Despite their absence, the Conference was able to set the stage for a meaningful dialogue and to chart a course of action which we all hope would eventually lead to a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem. The fact that about two thirds of the Members of the United Nations have participated already at this phase of the Conference - which is much more than had been expected - augurs well for the future. The impressive attendance bears also witness to the determination of the international community to stand up and speak out in defence of the values and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Your presence here clearly testifies to the sincere desire of the overwhelming majority of nations to seek a peaceful and negotiated political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, involving the participation of all conflicting parties and others concerned. This high attendance is further an impressive demonstration of the general belief that the use of force against the political independence and territorial integrity of any State - wherever it might occur - has a serious and global impact on international affairs as a whole. It cannot be confined to a particular area or retain a regional character. Peace and détente are indeed indivisible and, therefore, any restriction of a policy of peace and détente to certain regions must fail. Détente must be world-wide.

5. In the Declaration which we have just adopted, we try to pave the way for further progress towards the re-establishment of the political independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, a freely elected government and the effective safeguarding of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Kampuchean people. The basic elements for such a solution have already been outlined by the General Assembly. They have now been further defined and specified by this Conference. In our future work we will have to continue to be guided by a spirit of compromise while at the same time fully respecting the principles of the United Nations.

6. Our expectations with regard to the Ad Hoc Committee just set up by the Conference are twofold:

(a) We expect the Committee to elaborate concrete proposals for the solution of the problem of Kampuchea in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and on the basis of the results of this Conference;

(b) We hope that the efforts of the Committee will make it possible for the Conference to convene its next session with all the conflicting parties present, so that, on the basis of the proposals elaborated by the Committee, genuine negotiations can be launched with the objective of re-establishing a sovereign and independent Kampuchea where its people can live in peace and security under a freely elected government.

7. The impressive results we have achieved so far are due first and foremost to the vigorous support of all of you and especially to the untiring efforts of the Working Group under the chairmanship of the distinguished representative of Senegal and Vice-President of the Conference, His Excellency Mr. Massamba Sarré. A special word of gratitude is also due to our other Vice-President, His Excellency Mr. Mario Carias of Honduras and to our Rapporteur, His Excellency Mr. Ilinome Frank Tarua of Papua New Guinea. I would also like to thank most sincerely the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his staff, especially his Special Representative, Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi, and the Secretary of the Conference, Mr. Jean Gazarian, for their most valuable assistance.

8. Before concluding, I wish to appeal again to all of you and especially to those who have chosen, at least for the time being, to be absent to consider carefully the recommendations and decisions of the Conference with a view to taking part as fully and as constructively as possible in our future efforts. It is only in this way that we will be able to bring about a peaceful and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem.