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REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON KAMPUCHEA ON ITS ACTIVITIES DURING 1987-1988

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea was established on 17 July 1981 by resolution 1 (I) of the International Conference on Kampuchea. 1/ By that resolution, the Conference, inter alia, entrusted the Ad Hoc 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 of 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.

By the same resolution, the Conference also requested the Committee to submit reports to the Conference.

2. By resolution 36/5 of 21 October 1981, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1 (I) of the International Conference on Kampuchea. By resolutions 37/6 of 28 October 1982, 38/3 of 27 October 1983, 39/5 of 30 October 1984, 40/7 of 5 November 1985, 41/6 of 21 October 1986, and 42/3 of 14 October 1987, the Assembly requested the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its work pending the reconvening of the Conference and authorized the Committee to convene when necessary to carry out the tasks entrusted to it under its mandate.

3. The Ad Hoc Committee held its 1st formal meeting on 28 October 1981. The meeting was opened by Mr. Willibald Pahr (Austria), then President of the International Conference on Kampuchea. Mr. Massamba Sarré (Senegal) was elected Chairman of the Committee by acclamation. At the 2nd meeting of the Committee, on 11 January 1982, the representatives of Belgium and Malaysia were unanimously elected Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively. These officers have been re-elected to their posts in subsequent years.

4. The Ad Hoc Committee was originally composed of seven members. In 1982, it was enlarged to 10 members, in accordance with paragraph 1 of International Conference resolution 1 (I), which provided for the inclusion of additional members in the Committee. As a result, the Ad Hoc Committee is at present composed of the following Member States: Belgium, Japan, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Thailand. A representative of the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea participates in the meetings of the Committee.

5. On 1 January 1986, Mr. Leopold Gratz, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, succeeded Mr. Willibald Pahr as President of the International Conference. Mr. Gratz is currently the President of the Austrian Parliament.

I. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

6. At its 35th meeting, on 12 January 1988, the Committee unanimously re-elected its officers for the coming year and had a preliminary discussion on its programme of work. It also heard statements on the situation relating to Kampuchea.

7. Following appropriate consultations with a number of Governments, at its 36th and 37th meetings, on 11 February and 16 June 1988 respectively, the Committee discussed and adopted its programme of work for the year and decided, in accordance with its mandate, to undertake a mission to Beijing, Bangkok and Vienna.

8. At the 38th meeting, on 1 August 1988, the Chairman reported on the consultations held during the Committee's mission. He also informed the members that he would be relinquishing the chairmanship of the Committee as he would shortly be leaving New York. The members paid tribute to Mr. Massamba Sarré for his unfailing leadership over the past seven years and for his dedication to fulfilling the tasks entrusted to the Committee by the International Conference on Kampuchea.

9. At the 39th meeting, on 25 August 1988, Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo (Senegal) was elected Chairman of the Committee by acclamation. At the same meeting, the Committee considered and adopted the present report on its activities during the past year.

II. ACTION TAKEN BY THE AD HOC COMMITTEE

10. A mission of the Ad Hoc Committee visited Beijing, Bangkok and Vienna from 27 June to 8 July 1988. The mission was composed of Mr. Massamba Sarré (Senegal), Chairman, Mr. Michel Delfosse (Belgium), Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Razali Ismail (Malaysia), Rapporteur.

11. During the mission, extensive consultations were held with the Governments concerned on the situation in Kampuchea and on the prospects for a comprehensive political settlement of that issue, in the light of developments since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 42/3 of 14 October 1987. The mission indicated that the purpose of the consultations was to underscore the continuing concern of the international community for the Kampuchean problem and to obtain the widest possible support for a comprehensive political settlement.

12. As in previous years, the mission stated that one of the main objectives of the Ad Hoc Committee was to encourage the initiation of a process of negotiations leading to the implementation of the Declaration on Kampuchea 2/ adopted by the International Conference and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. The mission expressed the view that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean

problem must be based on the following principles: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, national reconciliation, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the establishment of a non-aligned and neutral Kampuchea. It also reiterated the conviction that such a settlement should take into account the legitimate security concerns of the States in the region, including a commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

A. Consultations in Beijing (27-30 June)

13. The mission was received in Beijing by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and by two Deputy Foreign Ministers. The Ministers informed the mission that China felt the time was ripe for finding a solution to the Kampuchean problem, and that it favoured an early, fair and reasonable political settlement. They stated that China would support all efforts aimed at achieving such a settlement and would work constructively towards that goal. In this context, they welcomed the prospect of the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM).

14. The main points of the Chinese position, as subsequently outlined in the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' statement of 1 July 1988 (A/43/441-S/19985), were explained by the Ministers. They stressed that the early and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea remained the key to a solution, and that Viet Nam should provide a timetable for this purpose as soon as possible. They expressed the view that international supervision would be required for the withdrawal, as well as to assist with the maintenance of law and order and for the conduct of general elections in Kampuchea. The Ministers added that China favoured the establishment of a provisional quadripartite coalition government with neither the predominance nor the elimination of any Kampuchean party. China was also of the view that all internal matters should be left to the Kampucheans to determine for themselves, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. In this connection, the Chinese authorities felt that only the Prince could command the consensus of all parties concerned with the Kampuchean question. In addition, they expressed support for the declaration made on 25 June 1988 (A/43/429-S/19966 and Corr.1) by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK). Finally, the Chinese Ministers expressed their Government's appreciation for the work accomplished by the Committee in maintaining the pressure to reach a political solution, and in thus promoting a settlement of the problem.

B. Consultations in Bangkok (1-6 July)

15. In Bangkok, the mission was received, on 3 July, by Prince Sihanouk. The Prince briefed the mission on the deliberations which had led the three partners of CGDK to adopt their declaration of 25 June. The Prince said that he considered three points as necessary conditions for any Kampuchean settlement: the formation of a provisional quadripartite government following the second phase of the Vietnamese withdrawal; the simultaneous dismantling of the Phnom Penh régime and the CGDK; and the introduction of an international peace-keeping force (IPKF). He regarded such a force as necessary to ensure stability in Kampuchea and prevent

factional clashes, which were a matter of great concern to him. That concern was repeated to the mission at a subsequent meeting, on 5 July, with Prince Ranariddh, Prince Sihanouk's son and commander-in-chief of the Armée nationale sihanoukiste.

16. Finally, Prince Sihanouk expressed his support for all efforts and initiatives aimed at resolving the Kampuchean problem, including those of the Ad Hoc Committee. He said he believed that all such efforts were useful as means for promoting dialogue, and stressed that dialogue was essential. The Prince was also supportive of the efforts to hold the JIM, which he said at that time he intended to attend. 3/

17. On 4 and 5 July, the mission attended the opening and closing ceremonies of the 21st annual Ministerial Meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), at the invitation of the Government of Thailand. The mission held consultations, on 5 July, with the six Foreign Ministers of ASEAN, namely: Air Chief-Marshal Siddhi Savetsila (Thailand), Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee; Prince Mohamed Bolkiah (Brunei Darussalam); Mr. Ali Alatas (Indonesia); Dató Haji Abu Hassan Omar (Malaysia); Mr. Raúl Manglapus (Philippines); and Mr. Supiah Dhanabalan (Singapore). Following a briefing by the mission on the activities of the Committee, discussions with the ASEAN Foreign Ministers focused on the then upcoming JIM.

18. The ASEAN Ministers expressed the view that the JIM would be convened in Bogor, Indonesia, on 25 July, in conformity with the Ho Chi Minh City communiqué of 29 July 1987 (A/42/432-S/19010). They pointed out that the JIM was conceived as one meeting to take place in two stages. The first stage would involve representatives of the four Kampuchean factions, who would be joined in the second stage by Viet Nam and other concerned countries. In this connection, the Ministers welcomed the willingness of Viet Nam and all the Kampuchean factions to participate in the JIM, and recalled that they had issued a joint statement on 3 July (A/43/444-S/19988) outlining the aspirations of ASEAN for the meeting.

19. The ASEAN Ministers expressed the view that the JIM represented an effort at breaking new ground through a meeting of all the Kampuchean factions and an attempt by concerned countries in the region to discuss the issues together, in order to overcome the impasse that had prevailed for some time. They also expressed their appreciation for the work of the Committee in promoting a wider understanding in the international community of the Kampuchean problem.

20. The mission also met, on 5 July, with Mr. Khieu Samphan, Vice-President in Charge of Foreign Affairs of CGDK. Mr. Khieu Samphan expressed his support for the CGDK declaration of 25 June. Concerning the position of his faction with regard to an international peace-keeping force, he explained that he believed the time was not yet ripe to pronounce on this issue.

21. Mr. Khieu Samphan stressed that the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops remained the key to a solution. He questioned Viet Nam's recently announced partial withdrawal, and charged that fresh Vietnamese troops were still being sent into the country. Mr. Khieu Samphan stated that his faction did not intend to monopolize power in Kampuchea. He believed that all the Kampuchean factions would

be able to resolve their internal problems and achieve national reconciliation once the Vietnamese troops had been withdrawn. Mr. Khieu Samphan advocated the convening of an international conference to include the five permanent members of the Security Council, which would provide guarantees for a solution. He also informed the mission that he would be attending the JIM.

22. Also on 5 July, the mission met with a delegation from the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), led by Mr. Im Chhoodeth, a Minister in CGDK. The KPNLF representatives expressed the view that any solution should provide for the disarming of all the factions and the introduction into Kampuchea of a United Nations international peace-keeping force. They also confirmed to the mission that Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of CGDK and leader of KPNLF, would be attending the JIM.

C. Consultations in Vienna (7-8 July)

23. In Vienna, on 8 July, the mission reported to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea on the activities of the Ad Hoc Committee and on the talks held during the visits to Beijing and Bangkok. The President informed the mission of the discussions he had held with some of the parties concerned, including with Prince Sihanouk, since his informal meeting in New York with members of the Committee on 24 September 1987. Mr. Gratz assured the mission that he intended to pursue his contacts actively, with a view to contributing to a negotiated settlement that would preserve the legitimate interests of all the countries in the region. In that regard, he indicated that he would come to New York at the beginning of October to meet with the members of the Ad Hoc Committee and hold consultations with leaders of the countries concerned attending the forty-third session of the General Assembly.

24. Also on 8 July, the mission met with senior officials of the Austrian Foreign Ministry.

III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

25. The Ad Hoc Committee wishes to thank the Governments of China and Thailand for their hospitality, as well as for the co-operation so generously extended to its mission. The Committee also wishes to express its appreciation to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea and to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of ASEAN for receiving its delegation.

26. The Ad Hoc Committee believes that the mission it has undertaken has served the objective of highlighting the concerns of the international community on the Kampuchean issue. The discussions held by the mission have been useful in focusing on the various related and complex issues. The Committee is encouraged that there seems to be a general convergence of views and interests for an early solution to the Kampuchean problem. The Committee has noted with great interest all of the recent developments in this context, in particular the outcome of the JIM (A/43/493-S/20071) held in Bogor, Indonesia, from 25 to 28 July 1988. It sincerely hopes that the Working Group established by the JIM will lead to the initiation of a process of negotiations on the main substantive issues.

27. The Ad Hoc Committee is determined to continue its consultations and to consider all appropriate measures within the context of its mandate, with a view to gaining further understanding and support for the principles and objectives set out by the International Conference on Kampuchea and the General Assembly. It will seek, through these endeavours, to facilitate dialogue on the substantive aspects of the problem. It is the hope of the Committee that, in order to encourage this process, all parties concerned will demonstrate the political will necessary for the peaceful resolution of the problem, and will refrain from actions which could jeopardize the chances for attaining such a solution.

28. The Committee also wishes to express its appreciation for the efforts undertaken by the United Nations Secretary-General, and its conviction that these efforts will facilitate progress towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The Committee, in pursuance of its mandate, remains convinced that the long-term interests of all parties to the conflict lie in a negotiated settlement leading to the establishment of an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, thereby creating the conditions for the lasting peace and stability to which the peoples of the region have aspired for so long.

Notes

1/ Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex II.

2/ Ibid., annex I.

3/ On 10 July, Prince Sihanouk announced his resignation as President of CGDK. It was subsequently announced that, although the Prince would not attend the JIM, he would be present in Jakarta during that period as a personal guest of Indonesian President Suharto.
