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File: Int. Conf. on Kampuchea follow-up
Department of Public Information
Press Section
United Nations, New York

Ad Hoc Committee of
International Conference on
Kampuchea
1st Meeting (PM)



KAM/13
28 October 1981

AD HOC COMMITTEE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA ELECTS CHAIRMAN;
HEARS STATEMENT BY CONFERENCE PRESIDENT

The Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, at its first meeting this afternoon, elected Massamba Sarre (Senegal) as its Chairman.

The Committee decided to defer the election of its two Vice-Chairmen and a Rapporteur to its next meeting to enable delegations to hold consultations. It also decided to consult further on the organization of the Committee's work.

The President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Willibald Pahr, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria, opened the meeting and made a statement.

The Committee met pursuant to General Assembly resolution 36/5 of 21 October 1981, authorizing the Committee to convene during regular sessions of the Assembly to assist the International Conference on Kampuchea in seeking "a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem".

Mr. Pahr, Foreign Minister of Austria and President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, in his opening statement, recalled that in the resolution adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea on 17 July, the Conference established an Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference composed of the following States: Japan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sri Lanka, the Sudan and Thailand. He said that the Conference President had been authorized, in consultation with the members of the Conference, to increase the membership of the Committee.

He said that, following consultations, it had been decided to include Nepal and Peru as additional members of the Committee.

He then invited the Permanent Representatives of Nepal and Peru to take their seats on the Committee and to participate in its deliberations.

The new Chairman, Mr. Sarre (Senegal), said that the objective of the Committee was that of restoring peace and safeguarding the territorial integrity of Kampuchea. That had been the objective of all the international bodies which had dealt with the problem, and it was also contained in the mandate of the Committee. It was his hope that the Committee would successfully be able to carry out that mandate. What was most important, he

said, was to have faith that the problem of Kampuchea could be solved and that the Committee would do its part in that regard.

Birabhongse Kasemsri (Thailand) said that while the Ad Hoc Committee was beginning its work, the fighting in Kampuchea continued unabated and the plight of Kampuchean refugees remained a matter of serious concern to the international community.

His delegation believed that appropriate attention would be given to enable the Committee to finish its work soon on the problem of Kampuchea. He said Thailand pledged its fullest co-operation to the Committee.

The Chairman stated that the next meeting of the Committee would be held following consultations on the items on its provisional agenda, including the organization of work as defined in the Committee's mandate.

(page 2 follows)

Background on Ad Hoc Committee on Kampuchea

The Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea will hold its first meeting this afternoon. The General Assembly, a week ago, authorized the Ad Hoc Committee to meet during regular sessions of the Assembly to carry out the tasks entrusted to it (resolution 36/5 of 21 October 1981).

The Committee had been established by the International Conference on Kampuchea which met in New York from 13 to 17 July. The Conference adopted a Declaration which, among other things, called for negotiations on a cease-fire agreement by all parties to the conflict and withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea under the supervision and verification of a United Nations peace-keeping/observer group.

The Conference assigned the following tasks to its Ad Hoc Committee:

"(a) To assist the Conference in seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question, in accordance with the 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; and

"(d) To advise the President of the Conference, after consultations with the Secretary-General, when to reconvene the Conference."

The Ad Hoc Committee is composed of Japan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sri Lanka, the Sudan and Thailand, and the President of the Conference was authorized, in consultations with the members of the Conference, to include additional members.

The Declaration drawn up at the International Conference on Kampuchea and subsequently adopted by the Assembly included four elements of negotiations for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem:

"(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 the 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; and

"(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 Kampucheans will have the right to participate in the elections."

File Int. Conf. on
A
Kampuchea -
following



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/RES/36/5
26 October 1981

Thirty-sixth session
Agenda item 22

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[without reference to a Main Committee (A/36/L.3/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1)]

36/5. The situation in Kampuchea

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 34/22 of 14 November 1979 and 35/6 of 22 October 1980,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 35/6, 1/

Welcoming the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea, held at United Nations Headquarters from 13 to 17 July 1981, as a step forward towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem,

Noting the joint statement issued in Singapore on 4 September 1981 by Prince NORODOM Sihanouk, Mr. Son Sann and Mr. Khieu Samphan concerning their agreement, in principle to form a coalition, 2/

Bearing in mind the Declaration on Kampuchea and resolution 1 (I) adopted by the Conference on 17 July 1981, as contained in the report of the Conference, 3/

Deploring that foreign armed intervention continues and that foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea, thus causing continuing hostilities in that country and seriously threatening international peace and security,

1/ A/36/583.

2/ A/36/498, annex.

3/ A/CONF.109/5 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.

Greatly concerned that the continuing deployment of foreign forces in Kampuchea near the Thai-Kampuchean border has heightened tension in the region,

Gravely disturbed that the continued fighting and instability in Kampuchea have forced more Kampucheans to flee to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food and safety,

Recognizing that the assistance extended by the international community has continued to reduce the widespread food shortages and health problems of the Kampuchean people,

Emphasizing that it is the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries to return safely to their homeland,

Emphasizing further that no effective solution to the humanitarian problems can be achieved without a just and lasting political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict,

Convinced that, to bring about durable peace in South-East Asia, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem which will provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, as well as the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination free from outside interference,

Convinced further that, after the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question through peaceful means, the countries of the South-East Asian region can pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia so as to lessen international tensions and to achieve lasting peace in the region,

Reaffirming the need for all States to adhere strictly to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which call for respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes,

1. Reaffirms its resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and calls for their full implementation;

2. Reiterates its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny 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 resolution to the Kampuchean problem;

3. Approves the report of the International Conference on Kampuchea and adopts:

(a) The Declaration on Kampuchea, which includes four elements of negotiations for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem;

(b) Resolution 1 (I) in which the Conference, inter alia, established the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to consult with, to assist and to provide the Conference and the Ad Hoc Committee with the necessary facilities to carry out their functions;

5. Authorizes the Ad Hoc Committee to convene during regular sessions of the General Assembly in order to carry out its tasks;

6. Further requests the Secretary-General to undertake a preliminary study of the possible future role of the United Nations, taking into account the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee and the elements of negotiations for a comprehensive political settlement as set out in paragraph 10 of the Declaration on Kampuchea;

7. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for taking appropriate steps in convening the Conference;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to follow the situation closely and to exercise his good offices in order to contribute to a comprehensive political settlement;

9. Decides to reconvene the Conference at an appropriate time in accordance with Conference resolution 1 (I);

10. Urges all States of South-East Asia and others concerned to attend future sessions of the Conference;

11. Requests the Conference to report to the General Assembly on its future sessions;

12. Expresses its deep appreciation to donor countries, the United Nations and its agencies and other national and international humanitarian organizations which have rendered relief assistance to the Kampuchean people, and appeals to them to continue to assist Kampucheans who are still in need, especially those along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand;

13. Deeply appreciates the efforts of the Secretary-General in co-ordinating humanitarian relief assistance and in monitoring its distribution, and requests him to continue such efforts as are necessary to deal with the situation;

14. Urges the countries of South-East Asia, once a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean conflict is achieved, to exert renewed efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia;

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15. Expresses the hope that, following a comprehensive political solution, 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;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session a report on the implementation of the present resolution;

17. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-seventh session the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea".

40th plenary meeting
21 October 1981

TO:	Mr. Ahmed	JGK	
FROM:	M'Hamed Essaafi	AR/CHM	
Room No. - No de bureau	3161A	Extension - Poste	5588
Date	27 Oct. 1981		
FOR ACTION		POUR SUITE A DONNER	
FOR APPROVAL		POUR APPROBATION	
FOR SIGNATURE		POUR SIGNATURE	MA 27/10
FOR COMMENTS		POUR OBSERVATIONS	
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YOUR ATTENTION		VOTRE ATTENTION	
AS DISCUSSED		COMME CONVENU	
AS REQUESTED		SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE	
NOTE AND RETURN		NOTER ET RETOURNER	
FOR INFORMATION	X	POUR INFORMATION	

CONFIDENTIALEA/jw
26 October 1981Note for the FileAd Hoc Committee on Kampuchea

1. The first formal meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea (ICK) will be held on Wednesday, 28 October 1981. The Permanent Mission of Austria has indicated to the Secretariat that, on the basis of consultations with the members of the Committee, this first meeting should be open. The possibility of holding closed meetings in the future is not however excluded.
2. Nepal and Peru have reportedly agreed to join the Ad Hoc Committee. It is expected that Mr. Willibald Pahr will invite these two countries to be seated as members of the Committee immediately after the opening of the meeting. It will be recalled that operative paragraph 1 of the Resolution adopted by the ICK authorizes the President of the Conference, in consultation with the members of the Conference, to include additional members in the Committee.
3. Austria does not intend to become a formal member of the Ad Hoc Committee. The Austrian Mission has indicated, however, that the President of the Conference should be associated "ex officio" with the work of the Committee. Since Mr. Willibald Pahr will not be able to attend personally the regular meetings of the Committee, a member of the Austrian Mission would represent him but Austria's name would not appear among those of the member countries of the Committee.
4. The Ad Hoc Committee will elect a three-member bureau (Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur). It is generally expected that Ambassador Massamba Sarré of Sénégal will be elected as Chairman of the Committee.

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO: A: Mr. Ahmed		<i>of AR/AMH</i>	
FROM: DE: M'Hamed Essaafi		<i>[Signature]</i>	
Room No. - No de bureau 3161A	Extension - Poste 5588	Date	22 October 1981
FOR ACTION		POUR SUITE A DONNER	
FOR APPROVAL		POUR APPROBATION	
FOR SIGNATURE		POUR SIGNATURE	
FOR COMMENTS		POUR OBSERVATIONS	
MAY WE DISCUSS?		POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?	
YOUR ATTENTION		VOTRE ATTENTION	
AS DISCUSSED		COMME CONVENU	
AS REQUESTED		SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE	
NOTE AND RETURN		NOTER ET RETOURNER	
FOR INFORMATION		POUR INFORMATION	

*File: Int. Conf.
on Kampuchea
20/10/81*

Confidential

Note to the Secretary-General

Situation in Kampuchea

1. The General Assembly concluded on 21 October 1981 its consideration of agenda item 22 by the adoption of resolution 36/5 on the Situation in Kampuchea. The result of the vote was 100 in favour, 25 against with 19 abstentions.
2. During the debate, the General Assembly heard statements by 45 member states. It should be noted in this connexion that the representative of the United Kingdom made his statement on behalf of the ten Member States of the EEC. There were also four explanations of vote before the vote (Viet Nam, Seychelles, Albania, Zimbabwe) and one after the vote (Laos).
3. The two previous General Assembly resolutions on the Situation in Kampuchea were adopted with the following results: (a) resolution 34/22 of 14 November 1979: 91 in favour, 21 against and 29 abstentions; and (b) resolution 35/6 of 22 October 1980: 97 in favour, 23 against and 22 abstentions.
4. ASEAN has once again improved its score although the voting pattern does not show any significant shift. The differences with the result of last year's vote are as follows:
 - a) ASEAN won five new votes (Belize, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Zimbabwe) and lost two (Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago);
 - b) For their part, the countries opposing the resolution won three votes (Chad, Nicaragua and Vanuatu which later advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain) and lost one (Guyana).
5. The overall impression left by the debate is that while focusing on Kampuchea and South-East Asia it mainly served to underline the deterioration of the international climate. The well known arguments regarding the causes of tension in the region have been reiterated by the leading speakers on both sides, in remarkably strong terms. Many delegations paid tribute to the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General in pursuit of a peaceful solution and expressed their satisfaction concerning the convening as well as the outcome of the International Conference on Kampuchea. They also stressed the need for further efforts in order to initiate a process of negotiations involving all the interested parties. In this context, the

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statements made by Japan, Sweden and Austria are of particular interest.

6. Ambassador Nisibori of Japan stressed that the best way to achieve a just and lasting solution was to "promptly initiate negotiations". He strongly urged that these negotiations be started "as soon as possible". He indicated that through the activities of the Ad Hoc Committee, "as well as other channels", Japan would continue its efforts. He also reiterated the suggestion made by Foreign Minister Sonoda in the general debate that the Secretary-General should continue to use his good offices and "undertake initiatives", so that a peaceful settlement of the problem might be achieved.

7. Along the same lines, Ambassador Thunborg of Sweden stated that the "first priority" was now to promote a dialogue between the parties concerned and that "all avenues must be tried" to bring this dialogue about. Stressing that China's co-operation was "essential" for any lasting settlement, he urged the Soviet Union and the United States to facilitate a solution by allowing their attitudes and actions to be guided by a search for lasting stability in the region "rather than the pursuit of strategic advantage". The Ambassador also said that the Secretary-General should continue to exercise his good offices. He wondered, however, whether the continued recognition of the Pol Pot régime by the United Nations was not "an obstacle to a solution" of the Kampuchean problem within the framework of the United Nations.

8. Ambassador Klestil of Austria indicated that the most important task of the Ad Hoc Committee established by the International Conference on Kampuchea was to "seek to involve those states and those internal factions who were not present at the Conference", so that genuine negotiations could be initiated. In this respect, he expressed the hope that the Secretary-General would continue to exercise his good offices, "as a necessary corollary" to the endeavours of the International Conference and its Ad Hoc Committee.

9. Concerning the humanitarian assistance programme, many delegations commended the results achieved and stressed that it had assured the "physical survival" of the Cambodian people. Most of the traditional donors expressed the view that the programme should be continued insofar as the need for emergency relief assistance still existed.



M'Hamed Essaafi
22 October 1981

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Mr. Cordovez
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/36/583
12 October 1981

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Agenda item 22

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

Report of the Secretary-General

1. The present report on the situation in Kampuchea is submitted to the General Assembly in pursuance of its resolution 35/6 of 22 October 1980.
2. In that resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed its resolution 34/22 and called for its implementation. It also decided 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 to the Kampuchean problem; decided further that the international conference on Kampuchea 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 would not be a threat to its neighbours; and, in paragraph 4, requested the Secretary-General to take all appropriate steps for the convening of such a conference.
3. In the same resolution, the General Assembly also called for, pending the settlement of the conflict: (a) the stationing of a United Nations observer team on the Thai side of the border in order to observe the situation along the border and to verify that only civilian Kampuchean obtained international relief aid; and (b) the establishment of safe areas under United Nations supervision in western Kampuchea for the uprooted civilian Kampuchean encamped near the Thai-Kampuchean border and those in Thailand who wished to return to their homeland. It also urged the countries of South-East Asia, once a comprehensive political solution to the

Kampuchean conflict was achieved, to exert renewed efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

4. In further paragraphs of the resolution, the General Assembly appealed for the continuation of relief assistance to the Kampuchean people; requested the Secretary-General to strengthen his efforts in co-ordinating and monitoring such assistance; called upon all States to provide resettlement for displaced Kampucheans who did not wish to return to their homeland; urged all parties to the conflict to co-operate in facilitating humanitarian relief efforts; and reiterated its appeal to all parties to the conflict to observe fully the fundamental principles of human rights.

5. Following the adoption of General Assembly resolution 35/6, in compliance with its paragraph 4 and in the continuing discharge of my responsibility relating to international peace and security, I undertook extensive consultations with the States most directly concerned with the situation. During my visit to New Delhi in February 1981 on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the non-aligned movement, I held extensive discussions on this problem. Between 23 March and 11 April 1981, my special representative, Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi, undertook a mission to South-East Asia in order to consult with the Governments in the region. Later, during my visits to Washington, Moscow and Beijing as well as to a number of other capitals, I had further opportunities to discuss the problem with the leaders of the Governments concerned.

6. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 35/6 and in the light of consultations with States concerned, the International Conference on Kampuchea was held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981. Seventy-nine Member States participated in the Conference and 14 States attended as observers. The Conference also invited the representatives of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front and the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia to participate without the right to vote. Twenty-seven Member States informed the Secretariat that they would not participate in the Conference. On 17 July, the Conference adopted a Declaration on Kampuchea and resolution 1(I). In the Declaration on Kampuchea, the Conference reaffirmed the basic principles on which a political settlement in Kampuchea must be based and set out the elements of such a settlement. In resolution 1(I), the Conference, inter alia, decided to establish an Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea and recommended that the General Assembly should authorize the reconvening of the Conference at an appropriate time. The report of the Conference has been submitted to the General Assembly. 1/

7. Throughout this period, I also maintained close contact with the representatives of States concerned and other interested parties in the exercise of my good offices with a view to contributing to a peaceful solution of the problem. It will be recalled in this connexion that, following my visit in August 1980 to the region, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Thailand and Viet Nam met, with my

1/ A/CONF.109/5 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.1.20).

assistance, at United Nations Headquarters during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly (see A/35/501, para. 8). Further consultations have taken place among the countries of the region, as well as other States, with a view to overcoming the impasse which has existed since the beginning of the crisis, and I have been kept fully informed about these consultations.

8. In this connexion, since the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, a number of communications dealing with the situation in Kampuchea have been addressed to me by interested Governments and circulated as documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

9. During the period since the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the humanitarian programme of assistance to the afflicted people of Kampuchea, including those who had sought refuge in neighbouring countries, has continued. In carrying forward this complex programme, the United Nations system continued to co-operate and co-ordinate closely with the International Committee of the Red Cross, many non-governmental organizations as well as donor countries of bilateral assistance. Aspects of these efforts are reported upon separately to the General Assembly under item 83 (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). ^{2/} It is a matter of profound satisfaction that, despite serious difficulties imposed by the underlying political and military situation, these international relief efforts have been successful in helping ameliorate significantly the worst conditions of hunger, malnutrition and disease which were the lot of the unfortunate people of Kampuchea in the recent past, although grave uncertainties still lie ahead. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate my deep appreciation to the donor countries and to the many non-governmental organizations for their generous contribution to this joint humanitarian effort. I should also like to pay tribute to the many men and women - officials and workers of the relief operation - who have worked tirelessly and selflessly under difficult and often hazardous conditions in the discharge of this humanitarian task.

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10. It is evident that a fundamental solution of the problem could be found only with the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the underlying political and military issues. The great tragedy is that, after three decades of war, the people of Indo-China are still denied a stable peace and prosperity to which they so desperately aspire.

11. In spite of the efforts made at various levels, it has regrettably not been possible so far to bridge the gap which exists between the strongly held views of the parties and States concerned, and real progress is yet to be made towards achieving a peaceful solution of the problem. Such a solution must be based on the fundamental principles which are laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and on which the General Assembly has twice pronounced itself, in particular, respect

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth session, Supplement No. 12 (A/36/12).

A/36/583

English

Page 4

for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference and non-intervention in the their internal affairs and non-use of force, respect for self-determination of peoples and for the fundamental principles of human rights. For my part, I reiterate my determination to continue my efforts, in the exercise of my good offices, to contribute to the search for a peaceful solution.

Confidential

File: Thailand
x ref: Int. Conf on
Kampuchea
(follow up)

of. AR/CMY
HA/RB
8 October 1981
R. R. H.
9/10

Notes on the talks held at the breakfast
given by the Secretary-General for the Prime Minister of Thailand

Held at Headquarters on Monday, 5 October 1981 at 8.30 a.m.

Present: The Secretary-General	H.E. General Prem Tinsulanonda Prime Minister of Thailand
Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed	H.E. Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand
Mr. William B. Buffum	H.E. Mr. Birabhongse Kasemsri Permanent Representative of Thailand to the United Nations
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi	Mr. Sakthip Krairiksh Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand

The Secretary-General and the Prime Minister had a general exchange of views on Kampuchea. At the outset, the Secretary-General invited Mr. Essaafi to brief the Prime Minister on recent developments. Mr. Essaafi summed up the results of the International Conference on Kampuchea. He pointed out that the Conference had decided to establish an Ad Hoc Committee which had been entrusted, inter alia, with the task of assisting the Conference and advising the Secretary-General, in pursuit of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict.

An informal meeting of the Committee had been held on 28 September 1981, at the request of H.E. Mr. Willibald Pahr, the Foreign Minister of Austria. A draft resolution on Kampuchea had been circulated and was now being discussed in informal consultations. The item on the situation in Kampuchea would be taken up by the General Assembly on Monday, 19 October 1981. It was also expected, Mr. Essaafi said, that on his return from the Cancun conference, Mr. Pahr would convene the first formal meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee. That meeting was scheduled to be held on 28 October 1981.

As the Secretary-General enquired about what would happen after the meeting of the Committee, Mr. Essaafi pointed out that one of the tasks of

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the Committee was to try and establish a contact with Viet Nam. But since it appeared doubtful, for the time being, that Viet Nam would accept to deal with the Committee as such, the understanding was that Mr. Pahr might pay a visit to Hanoi in the near future in his capacity as Foreign Minister of Austria. The next appropriate step would be decided in the light of Mr. Pahr's visit.

In this context, Foreign Minister Siddhi indicated that his Lao colleague had expressed the wish to meet him during his stay in New York. Foreign Minister Siddhi had replied that he would be happy to see him in Bangkok. He also said that the Soviet Ambassador in Bangkok kept asking him to talk to Viet Nam. He had told the Ambassador that he was prepared to do so. He pointed out, however, that he was waiting for the Ad Hoc Committee to be officially established, implying that Thailand would then undertake these contacts as a member of the Committee. He added that the Deputy Foreign Minister of Thailand had already met with his Vietnamese counterpart.

The Secretary-General said that he did not know how the Vietnamese would respond to the proposals that had been put forward in order to initiate a process of negotiations, but he expected that Hanoi would show some difficulties. The Prime Minister concurred. The Secretary-General went on to ask whether the economic problems which Viet Nam was facing would have any bearing on its attitude. It had been reported to him that Viet Nam was also experiencing some logistic difficulties in Kampuchea.

The Prime Minister pointed out that his own reports confirmed these difficulties. There were many deserters in the ranks of the Vietnamese troops, particularly among those who came from South Viet Nam. He indicated that up to 25 percent of the soldiers drafted in South Viet Nam were deserting to Thailand. Moreover, the Vietnamese troops were suffering from a shortage of food, clothes and medical supplies. About a third of them were reportedly suffering from malaria. This situation had forced Hanoi to ask for foreign medical assistance.

The Prime Minister also stressed that the authorities in Phnom Penh were facing serious problems. This year's harvest was a poor one and this would result in an increase of the number of Kampuchean refugees. He expected that up to 100,000 new refugees would try to cross the border. He therefore wished to make it clear that Thailand would be asking for a continuation of the assistance of the international community.

The Secretary-General recalled that at the dinner that the Prime Minister had given in his honour on the previous evening the question of repatriation of Kampuchean refugees had been mentioned. His understanding was that the Government of Thailand was opposed to flying these

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refugees back to Phnom Penh.

The Prime Minister confirmed this and said it was justified by the fact that the refugees did not come from Phnom Penh. Most of them were from the border area. The best way to repatriate them was therefore to use the landbridge. This solution also had the merit of avoiding a procedure that might imply a recognition of the Heng Samrin régime.

The Secretary-General asked whether the Thai-Laotian border was quieter than it had been in the past. The Prime Minister confirmed that it was quiet. He went on to say that the economic situation in Laos was somewhat difficult. In the border area, the Thais were in fact quietly helping to provide the Laotians with food; very often people on the other side of the border were not only friends but also relatives. The Prime Minister added, however, that this was done on a purely private basis and that the Government was in no way involved in the process.

The Secretary-General recalled that UNICEF was due to put an end by December 1981 to its role as lead agency in the humanitarian assistance programme. He pointed out that this should not result in any change in the conduct of relief operations since Sir Robert Jackson would continue to act as Co-ordinator of the programme and since UNICEF would also be carrying on with its ordinary operations as in the past.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Mr. Cordovez
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

Confidential

File: Malaysia
xRef: Int. Conf. on Kampuchea
follow-up

HA/RB
5 October 1981

NOTES ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S
MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF MALAYSIA

Held at Headquarters (GA-200) on Thursday, 24 September 1981 at 5.30 p.m.

Present:	The Secretary-General	H.E. Tan Sri M. Ghazali Shafie Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia
	Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi	
	Mr. Hédi Annabi	H.E. Datuk Zainal Abidin bin Sulong Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations
		Mr. Mohamed Hashim Taib Special Assistant to Minister and Under-Secretary, General Affairs

The Secretary-General welcomed the Foreign Minister and observed that South-East Asia was still facing a number of problems. The International Conference on Kampuchea held in July 1981 had made a constructive contribution in the search for the ways and means leading to a peaceful settlement. The Austrian Foreign Minister, who was presently in New York, intended to meet on 28 September 1981 with the members of the Ad Hoc Committee established by the Conference. This meeting would examine some organizational matters and possibly the agenda of the Committee. The Secretary-General added that in the present situation more diplomatic efforts would be necessary. He hoped the Ad Hoc Committee would be able to play a role.

The Foreign Minister said ASEAN wished that a few other countries would accept to join the Ad Hoc Committee in order to reach a more balanced geographical representation. It would thus be in a better position to try and establish some sort of a dialogue with all the interested parties, although he was well aware that the promotion of such a dialogue might prove to be difficult. The Minister also indicated that within the framework of ASEAN's proposal for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, he had suggested that one way of making progress might be to work towards the "exclusion" of both China and the USSR from the area. If this could be achieved, then the countries of the region would be able to solve their problems among themselves. It was in this context that the idea of a third force, "including even Heng Samrin" ought to be considered.

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ASEAN, the Minister said, was trying to "put together" a coalition with "some teeth" to it, in order to strike a balance with the Pol Pot group. If an agreement could be worked out "between the Khmer Rouge, Son Sann and Heng Samrin", it might then become possible to "exclude" China and, at the same time, persuade the Vietnamese that they must withdraw from Kampuchea. The Minister concluded that this was his "vision" of the problem.

The Secretary-General observed it was of course necessary to look to the future. However, he had recently received Ieng Sary, the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, who had complained to him that Son Sann was insisting on being handed over the office of Prime Minister. Ieng Sary had stressed that Son Sann's request should not be a pre-requisite but that it should come as the result of a process of negotiations.

The Minister pointed out that this was a "tactical" move. Son Sann was afraid of becoming a "stooge" of the Khmer Rouge. His position was that if he could not be strong enough to face the Pol Pot group with arms and weapons, the only alternative was to insist on being offered the "strong portfolios" in the proposed coalition government. In fact, the idea of having Son Sann as Prime Minister had originally come from the Chinese and not from Son Sann himself.

In response to the Secretary-General's query as to the role of Sihanouk and Pol Pot in the future coalition, the Minister answered that the Prince "could be President". Concerning Pol Pot, he stressed that there was not a single family in Kampuchea to support his return to power. Pol Pot and the two or three other leading Khmer Rouge figures would "have to leave", but some of the others could be included in the Government. The Minister pointed out that one of the difficulties to be overcome in putting together this coalition was the fact that a struggle between two rival communist parties was taking place. The problems involved were not only of a political nature or resulting from personal rivalries, they also had strong ideological overtones. The Minister added that he had met with Foreign Minister Pahr of Austria. He had discussed these ideas with Dr. Pahr and he hoped it would be possible to "incorporate them" progressively within the framework of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

The Secretary-General expressed the view that it might not be easy. He then asked the Minister for his opinion on the absence of the Foreign Minister of Viet Nam from the present session of the General Assembly.

The Minister said that Foreign Minister Co Thach probably felt that his presence would have amounted to a "loss of face". The Minister pointed out,

however, that Viet Nam was "still talking bilaterally" to the countries of ASEAN. Only a few days ago an Indonesian envoy had visited Hanoi.

As the Secretary-General asked him in this context what role Laos was playing, the Minister indicated that he had just met with the Lao Foreign Minister. He had told his colleague from Laos that in order to find a solution to the Kampuchean problem, ASEAN was willing to help "remove the fears" of Viet Nam, but that for its part Viet Nam should help to remove "ASEAN's fears". Viet Nam feared China, but ASEAN feared the USSR. The Lao Foreign Minister had replied that Pol Pot, China and the USSR should all be kept out. If that were the case, the Malaysian Foreign Minister asked, why then were they quarrelling? Obviously, it was first necessary to find a way of restoring confidence between the interested parties. That process, the Minister concluded, would take time.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Mr. Cordovez
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

Confidential

Int. Conf. on Kampuchea
(follow-up)
X ref: Vietnam

of. AR/QUIN
RA AR/QUIN
ME/RE
28 September 1981

NOTES ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MEETING
WITH THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF VIETNAM

Held at Headquarters on Friday, 25 September 1981 at 5.00 p.m.

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi

H.E. Mr. HA VAN LAU
Permanent Representative of the
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam
to the United Nations

The Ambassador thanked the Secretary-General for receiving him and said that they had learned that the Ad Hoc Committee created by the International Conference on Kampuchea was convening a meeting the following week. He said that, as the Secretary-General knew, the Vietnamese Government did not recognize that Committee. The Committee had been created by the International Conference on Kampuchea and Viet Nam did not recognize the Conference itself. He said the United Nations had already been committed by the Conference. It would not be desirable that it be committed any further vis à vis organs created by the Conference. He therefore expressed the hope that the Secretary-General would be kind enough to give the matter his attention, so as to avoid any further United Nations commitment. The Conference had been almost a "unilateral" conference, the Ambassador remarked. How then, he asked, could Viet Nam accept its resolution or the organs instituted by it.

On the other hand, the draft resolution on Kampuchea submitted to the General Assembly committed the Secretary-General personally, he said. He felt that it might reflect on the prestige and authority of the Secretary-General if he were to be entrusted with requests which he would not be able to implement. The Ambassador proceeded to say that the United Nations did not recognize the régime in Phnom Penh, while Viet Nam did not recognize the resolution of the United Nations. He stressed that for his own prerogative therefore, it would not be desirable for the Secretary-General to be further committed.

The Ambassador then informed the Secretary-General that the Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic was in New York and wished to see the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General thanked the Ambassador and said that he would be very happy to receive the Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic

/...

Republic. In answer to the points raised by the Ambassador, he said that the Ad Hoc Committee was acting on its own initiative and that even the meeting scheduled for the following week was an informal one, since the General Assembly had not yet endorsed the recommendations of the Conference on Kampuchea. The meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee was thus not convened by the United Nations Secretariat.

Turning to the issue of the draft resolution on Kampuchea, the Secretary-General stressed that he was not consulted on the text. It had, in fact, been brought to his attention by his aides and he had noted indeed that it contained a number of provisions committing both the Secretariat and the Secretary-General. There were also other paragraphs of the draft resolution which asked for certain facilities to be extended to the Committee. But that must first be adopted by the General Assembly. He said that so long as that had not occurred changes might still affect it. The Secretary-General then said that as far as he was concerned, he would do his best within the framework of his own prerogative under the Charter of the United Nations. He recalled how during his last visit to Hanoi the Vietnamese themselves had pointed out to him that they received him not within the framework of the resolution on Kampuchea, but rather in his capacity as Secretary-General and in the discharge of his own prerogative. As far as certain concrete actions were concerned, such as the appointing of United Nations observers in the area, they must be decided by the Security Council. As for the good offices of the Secretary-General, they could be exercised only when the parties concerned agreed to them, he said. He remarked that one therefore should not over-estimate certain points in the draft resolution. The Secretary-General then said that as far as he was concerned, the Ambassador must know that he would act, as he had in the past, in close co-operation with the Government of Viet Nam and the other parties concerned.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Mr. Cordovez
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

Int. Conf. on Kamp.
(follow-up)

Sp. Com. 25-9
Jeen M 279

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

H. RA
RA
DATE: 25 September 1981
REFERENCE:

TO: Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi, Special Representative
A: of the Secretary-General for
Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia

THROUGH:
S/C DE:

FROM: Erik Suy, The Legal Counsel
DE:

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International
OBJET: Conference on Kampuchea

I have received your memorandum of 24 September 1981 concerning the request which has been received for full Secretariat services for a meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea. As you know, this Ad Hoc Committee was established by the International Conference on Kampuchea in its resolution 1 (I) of 17 July 1981. The recommendations of the International Conference on Kampuchea are before the present session of the General Assembly but have not to date been endorsed by the Assembly. In fact, a resolution calling for such endorsement is before the General Assembly in document A/36/L.3, among the sponsors of which are several members of the Ad Hoc Committee. Operative paragraph 3 of the draft provides for approval of the report of the Conference and also its adoption of resolution 1 (I). Until such time as the General Assembly has acted on the draft, it is my view that there is no legal basis on which the Secretariat could treat the Committee as a duly constituted organ to which it can provide full secretariat services. Nonetheless, there would be no objection to the Secretariat providing the States concerned, on an informal basis, with a conference room and any other available services which are, as a matter of practice, provided to informal groups. After the Assembly, as may be anticipated, has adopted the draft resolution, it will of course be entirely appropriate to provide full services, including, interpretation, documentation and meeting announcements in the Journal. In this latter context it would be desirable for the Assembly itself to indicate that there is no objection to the meeting of the Committee during the current session of the General Assembly in case any doubts were to arise in this regard in view of General Assembly resolution 34/401, para. 34, which provides that no subsidiary organs should meet during the Assembly session.

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE COMMISSION

TO: Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed
A:

FROM: M'Hamed Essaafi
DE:

Room No. - No de bureau: 3161A
Extension - Poste: 5588
Date: 25 Sept.

FOR ACTION		POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL		POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE		POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS		POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?		POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION		VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED		COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED		SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN		NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	X	POUR INFORMATION

File: Int. Conf on
Kampuchea

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

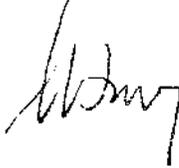
MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi, Special Representative
A: of the Secretary-General for
Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia

DATE: 25 September 1981

REFERENCE: _____

THROUGH:
S/C DE:

FROM: Erik Suy, The Legal Counsel 
DE:

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International
OBJET: Conference on Kampuchea

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UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: Mr. Erik Suy, Under-Secretary-General
A: Office of Legal Affairs

DATE: 24 September 1981

REFERENCE: _____

THROUGH:
S/C DE:

FROM: M'Hamed Essaafi, Special Representative
DE: of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian
Affairs in South-East Asia *MH*

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea
OBJET: Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea

1. The members of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea have informed the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs of their wish to convene an organizational meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Monday, 28 September 1981, at 11 a.m. This request has been brought to the attention of the Secretary-General in a Note Verbale of 16 September from the Austrian Mission, in which the Austrian Foreign Minister asked the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the convening of this meeting (see document enclosed).

It should be noted that the Ad Hoc Committee was established by resolution 1 (1) of the International Conference on Kampuchea which was held at headquarters in July 1981, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/6 (see document A/Conf.109/5).

2. It would be appreciated if you could let me know whether there are any legal objections to this proposal. The facilities which the Austrian Mission is requesting from the Secretariat include the provision of a Conference Room, with simultaneous interpretation in English and French, and document servicing. The Austrian Mission has also informed us that it would like the meeting to be announced in the U.N. Journal.

S.G.

I have sent the original of this note verbale, which was received today, to Mr. Essaafi. His office had already been contacted by the Austrian Mission and had been in touch with the Department of Conference Services. That Department has taken the position that, as the General Assembly has not yet endorsed the recommendations of the International Conference on Kampuchea, it would not be correct to provide conference services formally for the Ad Hoc Committee. As an alternative, they have suggested that the Austrian Mission could request a meeting to be organized by them. Mr. Essaafi's Special Assistant has informed Mr. Prohaska of the position of the Department of Conference Services.

Upon my suggestion, Mr. Essaafi has also discussed this matter with Mr. Suy who agrees that the Secretariat cannot convene the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee until after the General Assembly has adopted the recommendations of the Conference. However, he feels the Secretariat can provide the necessary facilities for such a meeting if it were convened by the Austrian Mission.

RA

Rafeeuddin Ahmed
22 September

cc. AR/GMM

M

PERMANENT MISSION OF AUSTRIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
MISSION PERMANENTE DE L'AUTRICHE AUPRES DES NATIONS UNIES

H. Essaafi
cc. H. Buffum
H. Cordonez

RA
27/9

No. 4201-A/81

The Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to convey to him the following message of the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs:

"Your Excellency,

Members of the ad hoc-Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea have informed me of their wish to convene an organisation meeting of the ad hoc-Committee on Monday, September 28, 1981 at 11.00 a.m. I have the honour to bring this wish to your attention and to ask you to make the necessary arrangements for the meeting to be convened. I have the honour to inform you furthermore that, in addition to the members of the ad hoc-Committee specified in resolution No. 1 of the International Conference on Kampuchea, it is intended to invite Nepal and Peru - after consultations with the members of the conference in accordance with article 1 of the above mentioned resolution - to participate in the work of the ad hoc-Committee."

The Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York, September 16, 1981

The Secretary-General
of the United Nations
United Nations Headquarters
New York



ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:
A: Mr. AhmedFROM:
DE: M'Hamed EssaafiRA
1978

Room No. - No de bureau	Extension - Poste	Date
3161A	5588	23 July 1981

FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	VOTRE ATTENTION
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NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

SE Asia
(Essaafi)
International Conf
on Kampuchea

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Confidential

Note to the Secretary-General

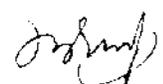
Viet Nam and the Kampuchea Conference

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1. In a statement published in Hanoi on 20 July 1981, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam "firmly rejects" the Declaration and Resolution of the International Conference on Kampuchea which is again denounced as a "unilateral" and "illegal" meeting. (Attached is text of statement).

2. The full weight of the blame is put on China. Hanoi's statement is remarkably mild towards ASEAN which is referred to only once. The countries of ASEAN are merely told that their attitude is encouraging Beijing in its ambitions, to the "detriment" of their own interests. This moderation may indicate that Viet Nam has taken note of the marked difference of approach which China and ASEAN adopted during the Conference. It could also indicate that the "message" ASEAN wished to convey to Hanoi has been understood, although no one expects any significant outcome in the near future.

3. The Conference is presented as a "move by Chinese expansionism" to pave the way for a return of the Pol Pot clique, by "abusing the good name of the United Nations". According to Hanoi, this Conference is "based on a distortion" of the cause of tension in South-East Asia. It is an effort to hide the fact that "the only threat" to peace and stability in the region is the "policy of aggression and intervention practised by Chinese expansionism", in collusion with "United States imperialism" which is "lending a hand" to the "expansionists and hegemonists" in Beijing.

4. Viet Nam reiterates the "common stand" taken by the three Indochinese countries in the Ho Chi Minh City communiqué of 28 January and in the Phnom Penh declaration of 14 June 1981. The Foreign Ministry's statement also urges China to "stop arming" the remnants of the Pol Pot forces, to "resume negotiations" with Viet Nam and to accept the proposal of a "treaty of non-aggression" between China and each of the Indochinese countries.



M'Hamed Essaafi
23 July 1981

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

S O C I A L I S T R E P U B L I C O F V I E T N A M
P E R M A N E N T M I S S I O N T O T H E U N I T E D N A T I O N S

20 Waterside plaza (lobby) New York, N.Y. 10010

Tel. (212) 685.8001

No 057/81/bc

PRESS RELEASE

July 21, 1981

S T A T E M E N T

BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM.

"The Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly rejects the Declaration and Resolution adopted in New York on July 17 by the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea.

"1/ This was a move by Chinese expansionism in conjunction with U.S. imperialism and other reactionary forces, who, abusing the good name of the United Nations, are trying to achieve what they have failed for two years now, i.e. to deny independence and sovereignty to the People's Republic of Kampuchea and pave the way for a return of the genocidal clique of Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionaries to Kampuchea for sabotage of the revival and development of the Kampuchean people and of the solidarity of the three Indochinese peoples.

"The Chinese expansionists, authors of the genocide in Kampuchea, the U.S. imperialists and their allies, who have made wars of aggression against the three Indochinese countries, the Israeli Zionists, the fascist Pinochet junta, and other reactionaries of the worst kind, who act as an instrument for imperialism to oppose self-determination of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, cannot, decidedly, claim to be defenders of the Kampuchean people's self-determination. The so-called International Conference on Kampuchea which they initiate and at which they acted as the core, was only a unilateral gathering held with the intention of furthering criminal schemes against the Kampuchean people, flying in the face of the U.N. Charter.

Whatever Declaration or Resolution taken by this conference is therefore illegal and has no validity whatsoever.

"2/ The self-styled international conference on Kampuchea and its documents were all based on a distortion of the cause of tension in Southeast Asia. The planners of this gathering cooked up what they called the Kampuchean problem in an effort to hid the fact that the only threat to the independence and sovereignty of the three Indochinese countries and to peace and stability in Southeast Asia is none other than the policy of aggression and intervention practised by Chinese expansionism in collusion with U.S. imperialism. The fact is that U.S. imperialism is stepping up its armaments policy, creating tension and generating an atmosphere of cold war in all regions of the world. In Southeast Asia, it is lending a hand to the expansionists and hegemonists in Beijing in the exercise of their policy of aggression and intervention. China is mobilizing great numbers of troops and large quantities of war material for stepped-up armed provocations along the

whole of its borders with Viet Nam and Laos. It is increasing arms shipments to Thai-based remnants of Pol Pot forces and other Khmer reactionaries of all colours, whom it is sending back to Kampuchea to fight the people.

"The ASEAN countries, siding with the United States and China, deliberately ignore this fact. In doing so, however, they are only encouraging Beijing in its ambitions and paving the way for it to undermine peace and stability and worsen the regional situation, which is already very tense, to the detriment of their own interests.

"Together with the three Indochinese peoples, the peaceful, progressive public opinion in the world has been condemning the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea. The socialist countries, most of the non-aligned countries, and many other countries did not take part in this illegal meeting. Many of the countries which, one way or another, were forced to participate, did not join in the debates and did not approve of Chinese and U.S. pressure and imposition on the three Indochinese countries. All the bloody impositions made by imperialism and reaction on the three Indochinese countries over the past 30 years have failed. Any attempt to impose on the three Indochinese countries now, either through the United Nations or by any other means, will certainly end in bitter failure, too.

"3/ The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully supports the just stand of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as contained in the statement issued by the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on July 18, 1981 and reiterates the common stand taken by the three statements issued at the conferences of three Indochinese Foreign Ministers in HO CHI MINH city on January 28, 1981 and in PHNOM PENH on June 14, 1981.

"China must give up its expansionist and hegemonistic policy, and all armed provocations against Viet Nam and Laos and all intervention in their internal affairs, stop harbouring and arming remnants of the Pol Pot forces and other Khmer reactionaries for opposition to the Kampuchean people, resume negotiations with Viet Nam in order to seek measures to normalize relations between the two countries, and accept the proposal made by the Indochinese ministerial conference for a Treaty of non aggression between China and each of the Indochinese countries.

"All issues pertaining to Southeast Asia must be jointly discussed and agreed upon by the Southeast Asian countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect, non-imposition, and without intervention from outside. This will be the only correct way to gradually establish peace and stability in Southeast Asia, in harmony with the interests of the peoples in the region and those of peace in the world./.

HANOI, July 20, 1981

Note to the Secretary-General

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

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Relief Ober*

Further to my note of 17 July 1981, we have received a few other communications from groups and associations expressing their views in connexion with the International Conference on Kampuchea:

1. Letter from Mr. Outhong Souvanavong, President of the "Council of Regents of the National Union Pact for the Liberation of the Laotian People", stressing that the Cambodian and Laotian problems are of the "same nature" and that they should consequently be discussed "jointly" at the International Conference on Kampuchea. Annexed to the letter is a declaration by the "United Lao National Liberation Front" (ULNLF) which denounces the Vietnamese domination of Laos and Hanoi's "regional hegemonism" and pledges to struggle for the restoration of the independence and "neutrality" of Laos. The declaration expresses the ULNLF's profound satisfaction following the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea but urges the United Nations not to "overlook the human rights" of the Laotian people and requests that this question be "included" in the agenda of the Conference. This appeal is signed by members of the previous Laotian regime.

Mr. Souvanavong has been informed that his request would be transmitted by the Secretariat to the President of the Conference who would take a decision in due course, after consultations with participating Member States. It was also pointed out to him that the mandate of the Conference, which was to find a comprehensive settlement of the "Kampuchean problem", had been determined by a resolution of the General Assembly.

2. Telegram from the "Lao Socialist Party", supporting the Conference and stressing that the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea were both fighting against Vietnamese "occupation and colonialism".
3. Telegram from the "Comité des patriotes du Kampuchea démocratique en France", supporting the Conference and calling for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops and the end of Vietnamese "expansionism".
4. Petition from the "Khmer Community of the State of Washington", supporting the Conference and calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the holding of free United Nations supervised elections in Kampuchea (142 signatures).
5. Telegram signed by "Joan Yuille" on behalf of the "Vict Nam Association", urging the United Nations to cease its "support" for Pol Pot.

M. Hamdani
M'Hamdani Essafi
20 July 1981

Confidential

Orig.: SG
b/f : RA/CM

HA/fp
20 July 1981

File: Int. Kampuchea
Conf. on
XRef: Japan

11.2
Ret. of Jap

NOTE ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MEETING WITH THE
FOREIGN MINISTER OF JAPAN

Held at Headquarters on Monday, 13 July 1981, at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Secretary-General

Mr. M. Essaafi

Mr. H. Annabi

H.E. Mr. Sonoda, Minister for
Foreign Affairs of Japan

H.E. Mr. Nisibori, Permanent
Representative of Japan to the
United Nations

Mr. Kaya, Director-General of
the United Nations Bureau of
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Haraguchi, Secretary to the
Foreign Minister

The Foreign Minister presented the Secretary-General with an album of photographs taken during Mr. Waldheim's recent visit to Japan. He pointed out that the album included photographs of the meeting that the Secretary-General had with His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

The Secretary-General thanked the Minister and said that he was most grateful for this very kind gesture. This very nice souvenir would take a special place in his residence. The Secretary-General said that he had been very much impressed by His Majesty the Emperor, who had put many questions to him and had shown a great deal of interest in the activities of the United Nations.

The Foreign Minister said that he had come mainly to pay his respects to the Secretary-General. He wished, however, to say a few words and to express his sincere appreciation for the Secretary-General's efforts aimed at easing east-west tension and enhancing world peace. In his opinion, Kampuchea was not only a bilateral problem with Viet Nam but also an issue which was deep-rooted in the current international situation. He was grateful to the Secretary-General for his efforts, which had made this conference possible. The Minister stressed that the key to the Kampuchean problem was to persuade Viet Nam to accept a negotiated settlement. He expected further efforts from the Secretary-General in this regard.

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The Minister then turned to the question of recruitment of Japanese personnel by the United Nations. He said that the number of Japanese officials employed by the United Nations had increased. He was grateful to the Secretary-General for this development. Concerning the forthcoming seven-nation economic summit meeting in Ottawa, the Minister said that the participants would be facing a rather complicated situation, but he wished to assure the Secretary-General that Japan would help to promote the North-South dialogue.

The Secretary-General said he appreciated the Minister's decision to attend personally the International Conference. He wished to thank him for his kind words regarding the Secretary-General's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem. It was in this spirit that he had decided to convene the conference called for by the General Assembly. He hoped that it would pave the way for a constructive solution of the problem. However, differences had developed between ASEAN and China about the declaration to be adopted at the end of the Conference. China did not want the declaration to be too detailed. It wished a shorter and more general document. Moreover, it was not favourable to the setting-up of a committee to deal with the problem after the Conference.

The Secretary-General said he was in contact with both China and ASEAN and would continue his efforts to help them achieve a unified position. Another controversial question was that of the invitations which ASEAN wished to extend to Son Sann, Sihanouk and Heng Samrin. Since China was strongly opposed to inviting the Heng Samrin régime, it had been suggested that, should the question be raised, it would be deferred to the Bureau of the Conference. The Bureau would deal with it quietly and make a proposal to the Conference at a later stage. The Secretary-General felt that a positive solution to these questions would be found since all participants were interested in a constructive outcome.

Concerning the recruitment of Japanese personnel, the Secretary-General thanked the Minister for his understanding. He assured him that he would continue to make every effort to reach an adequate and satisfactory representation of Japanese personnel.

The Foreign Minister pointed out that he shared the Secretary-General's views on the points he had just raised. Japan was ready to make further efforts to enable ASEAN and China to find a common approach.

The Secretary-General said it would indeed be bad for the Conference to have a public controversy. The differences should be settled through quiet diplomacy. He was grateful to Japan for helping towards this end. He saw the Conference as the beginning of a continuing process. Hopefully, it would pave the way for a solution but nobody expected immediate results at this stage.

20 July 1981

ASEAN PRESS BRIEFING ON KAMPUCHEA CONFERENCE

At a press conference this morning, Tommy T.E. Koh, Permanent Representative of Singapore, speaking on behalf of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), whose Permanent Representatives also attended the briefing, made a statement on the position of the ASEAN countries at the end of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

He said the ASEAN Group was extremely gratified and surprised at the high attendance of the Conference. There were 92 participants, 79 of which were full participants and 23 were non-aligned countries.

The ASEAN countries were very gratified that the Conference had managed to adopt, by consensus, a declaration and a resolution. Another extremely positive fact was that the Conference had responded to the appeal made by the ASEAN countries by adopting a Declaration which was moderate in tone and which contained a suggested framework for negotiations. They believed that they had initiated a negotiating process and they hoped very much that Viet Nam would agree to participate in these negotiations. Finally, they believed that the ASEAN countries, as well as the other members of the Conference, had demonstrated their goodwill and sincerity in seeking a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea which would take into account the legitimate security concerns of Kampuchea's neighbours, including Thailand and Viet Nam.

In answer to a question on what specific arrangements were to be taken in order to ensure that armed Kampuchean factions would not be able to prevent or disrupt the holding of free elections in the country, Mr. Koh said that during the Conference it had been agreed that, apart from the modality suggested in the draft resolution -- the disarming of all forces -- there were other modalities considered more effective for achieving the proposed task, such as the sequestration of armed Kampuchees in camps. It had been decided that, in view of the fact that the negotiations had not yet begun, it would be wise not to specify at this stage what specific modalities were to be used.

However, he went on, it was absolutely clear that appropriate arrangements were to be negotiated and agreed upon in order to ensure three things: that armed Kampuchean forces would not be able to prevent or disrupt the free elections; that they would not be able to intimidate and coerce the population; and, finally, that those factions would respect the outcome of the elections.

In answer to a question referring to an article that appeared in The New York Times, on 18 July entitled "UN Resolution on Cambodia Keeps Doors Open for Pol Pot", Mr. Koh said he had already sent a letter to the Editor of the newspaper in which he stated that Bernard D. Mossiter's article contained a number of inaccuracies on the position of the ASEAN countries and on the results of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

(more)

The position of the ASEAN Group, he said, was that the world should continue to recognize the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea. To do otherwise would be to acquiesce in the right of Viet Nam to invade its neighbouring country and to impose a puppet regime upon its people.

Concerning the future, the position of the ASEAN countries was that once the Vietnamese agreed to a total withdrawal of their troops from Kampuchea, free elections should be held in which all Kampuchean parties and factions, including the Khmer Rouge, would be allowed to participate. The ASEAN countries also held the view that the Conference should negotiate and agree upon appropriate arrangements and measures to maintain law and order in Kampuchea and for the holding of free elections following the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from that country and before the establishment of the new government resulting from those elections.

The ASEAN countries could not accept that the maintenance of law and order as well as the organization of free elections should be left to the Khmer Rouge, he said.

In answer to another question, Mr. Koh said the Conference had had the legal competence to establish an Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference, and that the resolution adopted formed such a Committee, which, at present, consisted of seven countries. It was expected that other countries would be included.

The Committee would elaborate complete 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 the Conference, he said. Second, it was hoped that the efforts of the Committee would make it possible for the Conference to convene its next session with all the conflicting parties present, so that genuine negotiations could be launched with the objective of re-establishing a sovereign and independent Kampuchea.

The next step of the Committee would be for its President and members to consult and decide on what initiatives should be taken before the General Assembly met in September.

Answering other questions, he said the ASEAN countries had demonstrated, once again, that they had not used the Conference for the propaganda purpose of condemning Viet Nam or putting more pressure on Viet Nam. They sincerely wanted to use the Conference as a negotiating process to find a solution. That, in their opinion, implied not only the involvement of the two conflicting countries but also the three internal factions. However, not all the members of the Conference had agreed on an invitation to the Conference for the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea. At this stage, the Bureau of the Conference, due to the complexity of the problem, could not conclude consideration of the matter.

United Nations
Press Release

Department of Public Information
Press Section
United Nations, New York

File: ICK

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Revised after



KAM/12
17 July 1981

STATEMENT BY BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

Following is the text of a statement issued today by the officers* of the International Conference on Kampuchea:

The International Conference on Kampuchea was seized, inter alia, with a proposal to invite the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea to attend and participate in the Conference without the right to vote.

In view of objections raised against the invitation, the matter was referred to the bureau of the Conference on the basis of paragraph 2 of the provisions relating to the organization of work, contained in document A/CONF.109/2.

The bureau has begun to examine the matter referred to it on the basis of General Assembly resolution 35/6. In view of the complexity of the question, the bureau was unable to conclude the consideration of this matter at this stage. It will remain seized of the question and will formulate a recommendation to the Conference in due course.

The bureau noted that on the part of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea there was so far no indication of willingness to take part in the Conference.

* * * * *

* The officers of the Conference, elected at the first meeting on Monday, 13 July, are: President, Willibald Pahr (Austria); Vice-Presidents, Mario Carias (Honduras) and Nassamba Sarre (Senegal); and Rapporteur Ilinome Frank Tarua (Papua New Guinea).

4. 21
Kohling

AR/CMY
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Draft resolution (revised)

The International Conference on Kampuchea;

Recalling its Declaration on Kampuchea of 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, 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 UNGA resolution 35/6;

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

~~/(c) To establish and maintain contact with the parties to the conflict;/~~

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

(e) To advise the President of the Conference, after consultations with the Secretary-General, when to reconvene the Conference;

~~/(f) To carry out any other functions as directed by the Conference;/~~

2 bis Requests the Committee to submit reports to the Conference;

3. 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;

4. 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;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the report of the Conference to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session ~~/in accordance with paragraph 12 of Assembly resolution 35/6,7~~

6. 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.

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UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



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17 July 1981

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

DRAFT REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

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- II. Resolution

ANNEX I

Declaration on Kampuchea

1. Pursuant to Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and to General Assembly resolution 35/6 of 23 October 1980, 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 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.

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ANNEX II

Resolution

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, when to reconvene the Conference;
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.

CONFIDENTIAL

b/f:RA/GMM
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XRef:Conf.on Kampuchea

NOTES ON A MEETING HELD IN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S
OFFICE ON THURSDAY, 16 JULY 1981, AT 10 A.M.

Present: The Secretary-General

H.E. The Rt.Hon. Brian Talboys, Deputy Prime
Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of
New Zealand

H.E. Mr. Harold H. Francis, Permanent
Representative of New Zealand to the United
Nations

One aide

Mr. Albert Roha

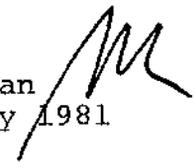
The Foreign Minister expressed his thanks to the Secretary-General for convening the International Conference on Kampuchea. He referred to the differences of opinion between China and the ASEAN countries regarding the Declaration and said that, in his view, one should not put too many details into the document. It would be better to leave a wider scope for the activities of Mr. Pahr, either in his capacity as President of the Conference or as Foreign Minister of Austria. The main aim should be to draw Viet Nam into the negotiating process.

The Secretary-General replied that he was rather sceptical with regard to the possible outcome of the Conference and referred in this context to the talks he had had with the Vietnamese leadership during his visit to Hanoi last year. The purpose of the Conference would have to be to find ways and means to start a meaningful process of negotiations. This could be done through the establishment of a committee or the good offices of the President of the Conference. One problem was the present differences in the positions of the ASEAN countries and China. While the ASEANS wanted to put every detail into the Declaration, the Chinese felt that this was not necessary since the General Assembly resolution contained all elements. The Secretary-General added that he himself would prefer not to

overload the Declaration in order to give greater leeway to the Committee or the President.

The meeting concluded with a brief exchange of views on Afghanistan, the Middle East and the North/South Dialogue.

A. Rohan
16 July 1981



15 July 1981

ASEAN PRESS BRIEFING ON KAMPUCHEA CONFERENCE

At a press briefing this morning, Tommy T.B. Foh, Permanent Representative of Singapore, speaking on behalf of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), briefed correspondents on progress made at the International Conference on Kampuchea, which convened on Monday, 13 July, at United Nations Headquarters.

Discussing the work of the Working Group of the Conference, which met yesterday for the first time, Mr Foh said the Group had before it two conference papers containing draft declarations for adoption by the Conference. One had been submitted by ASEAN and non-aligned countries, the other by the Chinese delegation.

All conference papers, he said, were of equal standing and the Group had, by consensus, agreed to use the ASEAN paper as a reference document and the basis of its deliberations. An exception to this was paragraph 10, which in many ways was the heart of the document. The Secretariat had been instructed to prepare a paper which would juxtapose paragraph 10 of the ASEAN paper and paragraph 8 of the Chinese paper and would show areas of convergence and divergence between the two drafts.

At yesterday's meeting, he said, the Working Group adopted the first six paragraphs of the ASEAN draft declaration by which it would have the Conference, among other things, reaffirm the sovereign rights of all States; express concern at the violation of those rights in Kampuchea; note the resulting escalation of tension in South-East Asia; and note the serious refugee problem resulting from the situation in Kampuchea. The Conference would also stress its conviction that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence and the commitment of all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea were the principal components of any lasting solution to the Kampuchea problem.

Mr. Foh said the Group, which is meeting under the chairmanship of Nassamba Sarré, Permanent Representative of Senegal, would continue its deliberations on the ASEAN paper at a meeting this morning. For its consideration of paragraph 10 relating to negotiations on a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea, it would have before it the Secretariat paper, he said.

In answer to a question on the membership of the Working Group, Mr. Foh said that it was open to all Conference participants and that approximately 33 States were represented at yesterday's meeting. He was unable to say whether the United States had attended.

In answer to a further question, he said that if the ASEAN countries were added to the non-aligned countries, this formed a very sizable group.

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He also said that the ASEAN paper had been prepared after fairly extensive consultations with neutral European countries, non-aligned countries and with the other countries holding a dialogue with ASEAN — Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the European Community, the United States and Canada.

Asked whether there was a lack of consensus regarding the final declaration, Mr. Koh replied that the Group, working on the principle of consensus, had adopted six paragraphs yesterday. He also stated that between 20 to 25 countries had had a hand in the drafting of the ASEAN paper. Asked about support for the paper submitted by China, he said that deliberations today on paragraphs 8 and 10 would reveal the answer to that question.

In response to another question, Mr. Koh said the subparagraphs on the disarming of all Kampucheans and on the establishment of an interim administration pending the holding of free elections in Kampuchea were the most important and controversial sections of the ASEAN paper. While not wanting to prejudge the negotiations, the main thrust of paragraph 10 (c) was that in the event of an over-all political settlement in Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge should not automatically be returned to power but that free elections supervised by the United Nations should be held in which all parties and factions would participate. The ASEAN countries believed that it was important for the electoral process take place in an environment free from intimidation by armed men and that arrangements should be made whereby the result of the free election would be respected by all factions and that no faction would be in a position to repudiate the result by attempting to seize power.

Referring to the subparagraph on the establishment of an interim administration in Kampuchea, he said that prior to a peace settlement, agreement must be reached as to who would maintain law and order in Kampuchea and who would organize the free elections. As far as the ASEAN countries were concerned, he said, these were two fundamental questions which must be negotiated and agreed upon at the Conference.

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File
Int. Conf. on
Kampuchea

FOR INFORMATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT ONLY

15 July 1981

PRESS CONFERENCE BY MISSION OF VIET NAM

Ha Van Lau, Permanent Representative of Viet Nam, held a press conference this morning to explain his country's views on the International Conference on Kampuchea, which convened on 13 July.

He began by stating that Viet Nam's position on the Conference was explained in its 6 July 1981 letter to the Secretary-General. He said the Conference was one-sided because it was being called on the basis of General Assembly resolution 35/5, which was rejected by Viet Nam. That resolution had come at a time when the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, were rebuilding and reviving the country and when the people were effectively handling all the affairs of Kampuchea and had acquired steady institutions as a result of free and democratic general elections in the country in the presence of international delegations and many foreign correspondents, including women from the West.

Ha Van Lau said the convening of the Conference in order to seek a "so-called" comprehensive settlement was in fact interference in the affairs of the Kampuchean people, in violation of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and it was opposed to the process of survival of the people of Kampuchea. That was why the convening of the Conference was in favour of "evil quarters" seeking to impose a solution on the Kampuchean people in violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kampuchean people. He also said the convening of the Conference was in violation of international law and the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. That was why Viet Nam, socialist States and the non-aligned were not participating in the "conspiracy".

Any declaration or resolution coming out of the Conference would be considered illegal, he said.

Asked if Viet Nam would enter into negotiations during the Conference or thereafter, Ha Van Lau said certain parties were trying to create the impression that Viet Nam, while not participating in the Conference, would participate in a further session. He emphasized that that was an illusion. The present Conference was unilateral and all measures discussed there were in violation of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. He added that Viet Nam's position was that the question of the independence of any State was non-negotiable.

To a question whether Viet Nam would be willing to talk to the proposed standing committee about the situation in Kampuchea once the Conference ended, he said that if the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its allies were really concerned about negotiations or discussions, why did they not respond to proposals made by the three Indochinese Foreign Ministers on 13 and 14 June? The Foreign Ministers had proposed the convening of a regional conference for South-East Asia to which the Secretary-General and countries mutually agreed on would be invited to attend as observers. The three

(more)

Indo-China countries had made the proposals based on the principle that the issues of the area would first be discussed and settled by the countries in the region itself without foreign interference and without one side imposing its views on the other. They had further proposed that an international conference be convened, perhaps by the United Nations, to acknowledge the agreements reached in the regional conference. The conference would be convened provided the Pol Pot regime was not seated.

Asked again about the possibility of talks between the standing committee and Viet Nam, Ha Van Lau said Viet Nam would not recognize any committee created by the Conference.

Would Viet Nam and China be part of a final agreement that came from a regional conference? He replied that Viet Nam had repeatedly proposed that a third round of talks between Viet Nam and China be convened, but China had unilaterally cancelled. The meeting was supposed to take place in Hanoi, but recently Viet Nam had proposed that it could take place anywhere. To its regret, its proposals had been turned down by China.

He was asked why Viet Nam was not recognizing the Conference when so many delegations which were friendly towards Viet Nam were participating. He repeated his objections to the Conference being called according to resolution 35/6, and added that the Secretary-General had set a 15 June deadline for responses to his invitation to the Conference. He asked how many countries responded before the deadline. He said that many participants in the Conference might have different motives on which he wished not to comment. He believed that the countries that were deeply attached to genuine independence and freedom, to the process of revival of the Kampuchean people, and which had condemned the crimes of the Pol Pot regime, would not allow themselves to be trapped in a political conspiracy by "evil quarters".

When asked if there was any chance that Viet Nam would unilaterally withdraw from Kampuchea, he said Viet Nam's position had been repeatedly restated and remained unchanged.

He was asked if he was aware of the stresses between China and the ASEAN group during the Conference and whether he was satisfied. He was aware of such stresses, he said, but stated that the ASEAN countries, China and the United States were the initiators of the Conference.

Responding to a question about how long Viet Nam planned to occupy Kampuchea, Ha Van Lau asked the correspondent to come to Kampuchea and then he would know why Vietnamese troops had to remain there. The Vietnamese people, having fought year after year and having lost millions of people, understood the value of independence and sovereignty, he said. That was why they knew how to respect the independence and sovereignty of another people. He thought the reason that Vietnamese troops were in Kampuchea had become clearer in the eyes of the public.

When asked to clarify if he was willing to sit down with Sihanouk and Son Sann to talk, Ha Van Lau said correspondents should distinguish between the Pol Pot clique as the butcher and murderer of the Kampuchean people and the individuals like Sihanouk and Son Sann, who had now become tools of foreign forces to oppose the process of survival of the Kampuchean people.

Asked to define regionalism and its membership, he said South-East Asia was composed of nine countries -- three Indo-China countries, Burma and the five ASEAN States.

Confidential

HA/EE
15 July 1981

File: Sub. Conf. on Kampuchea file
ref: Australia

NOTES ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MEETING WITH THE
FOREIGN MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA

Held at Headquarters on Friday, 10 July 1981 at 4.00 p.m.

Present: The Secretary-General	H.E. The Honourable Anthony Street Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi	
Mr. Hedi Annabi	H.E. Mr. H.D. Anderson, O.B.E. Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations
	Mr. Robert Gordon Principal Private Secretary to the Foreign Minister

The Secretary-General welcomed the Minister and briefed him on the preparations for the International Conference on Kampuchea. He pointed out that ASEAN was somewhat worried about a split which had developed with China. The differences opposing ASEAN and China had come out quite clearly in the meeting the Secretary-General had just had with the Acting Foreign Minister of China. The Chinese had examined the third revised text of the draft declaration prepared by ASEAN and found it too detailed. China did not like the idea of "disarming all Kampuchean factions". She clearly wanted to avoid the disarming of the Khmer Rouge. China was also opposed to the proposal of setting up an inter-sessional committee. The same objections to the ASEAN draft had been expressed by Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, whom the Secretary-General had met on Wednesday, 8 July.

The Secretary-General went on to say that the participation of the other Kampuchean factions posed further problems. China was categorically opposed to inviting the Heng Samrin group. As for the two other factions, namely, Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk, China felt that there was no particular need to have them now since they were still negotiating for the formation of an united front with the Khmer Rouge. The Secretary-General added that Mr. Essaafi had met with Son Sann and a representative of the Prince. Both had requested to participate in the Conference. From what he had heard, the general trend was to refer this matter to the bureau of the Conference. The bureau would deal with it quietly so as to avoid an early controversy on the

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subject. The Chinese were very worried about any proposed decision which might weaken the position of Democratic Kampuchea. The Conference was otherwise expected to complete its work by Friday, 17 July with the adoption of a final declaration, in whatever form it emerged.

The Foreign Minister expressed his thanks to the Secretary-General for "the considerable effort" he had made to convene the present Conference. He was glad to see the Conference established, although his country had no unrealistic hopes of an immediate settlement. Australia wished the Conference to reach an agreement which would mark the first step of a continuing process. The final declaration of the Conference should not preclude Viet Nam from becoming part of this process, he said.

The Foreign Minister continued to say that he had met with the Acting Foreign Minister of China that morning. Interestingly, he said, the Chinese Minister had not raised the question of invitations to the Kampuchean factions. Nor had he raised the problem of the follow-up committee. In Australia's view, this committee should be "an essential part" of the final outcome of the Conference. Australia would strongly support ASEAN on that issue, he said. Mr. Street then went on to say that the Chinese Minister, on the contrary, seemed to feel very strongly about the proposed idea of (a) disarming the Khmer Rouge, and (b) the setting up of a United Nations interim administration in Kampuchea. His own response to the Chinese Minister had been that the idea of an interim administration seemed somewhat premature. However, he had pointed out that the disarming of the Khmer Rouge should be a real pre-requisite if one were to be genuine about getting Viet Nam out of Kampuchea. The Chinese Minister had registered that opinion without further comment, Mr. Street said. He concluded by saying that Australia was eager to play a constructive role and wished to help towards achieving a consensus. The declaration of the Conference, he said, should not be unrealistic. However, if a complete consensus was not possible, it would then be necessary to find some way of expressing the general view of the Conference.

The Secretary-General pointed out that the Chinese Minister had asked if the Conference would proceed by consensus or by a vote on its decisions. The Secretary-General had told him that it was one of the procedural arrangements which had to be decided by the Conference itself, but that he felt that any public confrontation among the participants should be avoided. The Chinese Minister had indicated that his own preference was for a consensus and that he would be unhappy if a vote were to be taken on any item before the Conference. He also appeared to be very much concerned about the adoption of any document that would, in his opinion, be inconsistent with resolution 35/6 and in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Should that happen, the Chinese Minister said, it would be counter-productive.

The Secretary-General remarked that it was quite clear that there were deep differences of approach between ASEAN and China. He could only hope that the consultations in the coming days would enable them to work out an agreed formula. The Secretary-General recalled that he had met in the morning with Foreign Ministers Romulo and Dhanabalan of the Philippines and Singapore respectively. They had assured him that they would not go along with any attempt to use the Conference as a propaganda forum. They had said that the Conference should pave the way for a solution and that their aim was to negotiate the basis for a practical settlement.

The Foreign Minister confirmed that this coincided in broad terms with the approach Australia would adopt at the Conference. Ambassador Anderson pointed out that Ambassador Koh of Singapore had told him of ASEAN's intention to raise the issue of invitations to the Kampuchean factions under the item of organizational matters. ASEAN felt that this question should not be left aside.

The Secretary-General said that his talks with Foreign Ministers Romulo and Dhanabalan had left him with the feeling that that was still an open question. If it were now ASEAN's intention to raise the issue at an early stage, the debate might become uneasy from the very outset, unless some compromise was worked out over the weekend. He stressed that the Chinese had described their differences with ASEAN as "a big gap".

Ambassador Anderson observed that China was indeed totally opposed to the idea of extending an invitation to the Heng Samrin group. However, she might adopt a "more relaxed" attitude concerning Son Sann and the Prince, he said.

The Secretary-General said that the Conference was master of its own conduct of affairs and could, of course, take any decision that would be agreeable to the participants. But the fact remained that Democratic Kampuchea was still the recognized government of Kampuchea in the General Assembly.

Foreign Minister Street said there were two other matters that he wished to discuss with the Secretary-General: the situation in the Middle East and the prospects for progress in the question of Cyprus.

Concerning the Middle East, the Minister said, he had been very sorry to learn that the Security Council had not been able to fulfil its responsibility in the establishment of a peace-keeping force to be dispatched to the Sinai after the completion of the Israeli withdrawal. Australia certainly understood why the United Nations had been unable to reach an agreement on that point. But it was a matter of "great concern" to the Australian Government to be part of a force which would not operate under the United Nations flag.

The Secretary-General pointed out that the USSR had not been alone in opposing the creation of a United Nations force. The Arabs also were opposed to it and Jordan in particular had taken the most radical approach in this regard. The Arab countries were against the idea because, in their opinion, it would amount to an indirect recognition of the Camp David agreements. Their attitude, said the Secretary-General, had made things easier for the Russians. He said that there were also consultations on the possibility of having an observer force instead, but that proposal did not work either.

The Foreign Minister, turning to the situation in Lebanon, said that he sympathised with the Lebanese Government's wish to gain more support for the strengthening of its own authority. Philip Habib, the United States Special Envoy, had been very skillful in carrying out his difficult mission. Australia, he said, hoped that the United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council would give its support to the current peace efforts in Lebanon and that the need of helping the Government of Lebanon would be impressed upon all parties concerned.

The Secretary-General said he fully shared the Minister's concern. He hoped that the Habib mission would succeed. He said that Mr. Begin had assured that he would allow Mr. Habib more time to convince Syria to withdraw its missiles from Lebanon, but that, should Habib's efforts fail to secure their withdrawal, they would have to be removed by force. Begin's declaration had been very firm, the Secretary-General said. Whether it was purely tactical or really meant, remained to be seen. Nevertheless, the Secretary-General hoped it would be possible to find a solution and that the military option would be avoided. He said that he would certainly consider it highly regrettable if Israel did attack the missiles. Washington was trying to avoid such a development, he added.

The Secretary-General went on to say that when Mr. Habib started on his mission, Washington had asked him, the Secretary-General, to get in touch with the PLO and to convey to Yasser Arafat that the United States would appreciate restraint on all sides. Arafat had assured the Secretary-General that the Palestinians would "keep quiet", since they did not want to give Israel a new pretext for using force. However, the following day, Israel launched a heavy attack on the PLO positions in Lebanon, which led Arafat to request his representative in New York to ask the Secretary-General as to what had happened to their tacit agreement of the previous day. The Secretary-General concluded that obviously the danger was not quite over.

The Foreign Minister then said that the question of Cyprus was the other topic he wanted to discuss. As the Secretary-General was no doubt aware, Australia had a large Cypriot population which remained sensitive to the developments in Cyprus. He therefore wished to find out what the prospects of improvement in the situation were.

The Secretary-General said that he was expecting some "territorial proposals" from Turkey. The Turkish Foreign Minister had told him that Turkey would prefer to find a comprehensive settlement rather than an agreement on limited measures. He had indicated that Turkey was ready to come forward with specific territorial proposals. The United Nations policy, the Secretary-General said, was therefore to wait for those proposals and find out how Greece would react to them. If the proposals did not produce results, or if they did not provide the basis for meaningful negotiations, the United Nations would then make its own proposals on the territorial as well as constitutional issues. The Secretary-General felt the matter needed to be clarified before September. Indeed, Greece had said, that it would raise the question before the General Assembly and in other international fora if a formula conducive to a settlement had not by then been defined. That would be a regrettable development, the Secretary-General said. He was making every effort to avert it.

The Foreign Minister stressed that there might be some unrest in the Australian Cypriot communities if some measure of progress was not achieved in the near future. He thought, however, that the Secretary-General's approach was perfectly reasonable.

The Secretary-General thanked the Minister for his understanding and assured him once again that he, the Secretary-General, would make every effort possible towards achieving a successful outcome.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA
Working Group
Meeting no. 1, Tuesday, 14 July 1981, 3:00 p.m.

The meeting was called to order at 3:25 p.m.

The Chairman of the Working Group made an opening statement and invited the sponsors of the two conference room papers to introduce them.

The representative of Singapore expressed the hope that the final documents of the Conference would be adopted by consensus. He suggested that, although the two conference room papers had equal status, CRP/1, produced by the countries closest to the problem, be, in keeping with normal United Nations practice, used as the basis for discussion. He then presented CRP/1, whose "parentage" included, he said, not only the ASEAN countries but also others, including non-aligned, European and neutral States.

The representative of China suggested that both conference room papers be used as basis for discussion. He then presented CRP/2.

The representative of Democratic Kampuchea expressed appreciation to the sponsors of the two conference room papers. He then made a "solemn declaration" that, after the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, a general, free election based on secret ballot and free from all interference would be organized in Kampuchea under United Nations supervision.

After a number of representatives spoke on the procedural question of which conference room paper should be used as the primary basis for discussion, the representative of Thailand proposed that the Secretariat prepare a comparative table of CRP/1, para. 10 and CRP/2, para. 8, which contained the most significantly divergent provisions. As regards the other paragraphs, CRP/1 could be used as the basis, while CRP/2 would also be referred to.

Following a five-minute recess requested by the representative of Singapore, the proposal by Thailand was adopted.

The working group then proceeded to consider the other paragraphs of CRP/1, and adopted paragraphs 1 and 2.

Regarding paragraph 3, the representative of China proposed that Viet Nam should be named as the aggressor. After the President, speaking as the representative of Senegal, appealed to the representative of China not to insist on his proposal so as to leave the door open for a dialogue, and after a number of representatives supported that appeal, the representative of China withdrew his proposal, and paragraph 3 was adopted.

Paragraphs 4 and 5 were also adopted.

Regarding paragraph 6, the representative of Pakistan proposed inserting after "non-interference" the words "and non-intervention". There being no objection, paragraph 6 was adopted as amended.

The representative of China proposed inserting, between paragraph 6 and paragraph 7 of CRP/1, paragraph 7 of CRP/2. The representative of New Zealand said that, although his delegation had no objection to the Chinese proposal on substance, he felt it was better to ignore the so-called elections entirely. A number of representatives supported this position. The decision on this matter was deferred.

Paragraph 7 was adopted.

The representative of Chile proposed that, before considering the paragraphs dealing with the political solution, the Working Group consider adding to the preamble a paragraph similar to the third preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 35/6. The representative of China supported the proposal and suggested that the paragraph should read: "The Conference deeply regrets that the foreign armed intervention continues and the foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea, thus seriously threatening international peace and security." The representative of New Zealand proposed that, instead, paragraph 3 of CRP/1 be amended to read: "... the situation in Kampuchea has resulted from the continued violation of ...". The representative of Pakistan proposed that a paragraph be inserted which should read: "The Conference regrets that resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 of the General Assembly have not been implemented." The representative of Singapore said that the participants agreed on matters of substance as regards these proposals; where they differed was on matters of tactics. Sponsors of CRP/1 wished to distinguish the present exercise, which they intended as an effort to initiate a negotiating process, from the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. He suggested that the participants give the proposals further consideration and that the Working Group adjourn and reconvene at 10:30 a.m. on Wednesday, 15 July 1981. It was so decided.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:15 p.m.

DRAFT DECLARATIONPreamble

1 Pursuant to Articles 1 and 2 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.

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 Southeast Asia and the extension of power conflicts into the region.

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.

The Conference stresses its conviction that the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the commitment by all States to non-interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem.

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 Southeast Asia.

Political Solution

8 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.

9 The Conference appreciates the legitimate concern of the neighbouring States of Kampuchea that it should not in any way become a threat or be used by any State for subversion or armed aggression against them.

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

- (a) A ceasefire agreement by all parties to the conflict in Kampuchea and the despatch of a United Nations peace-keeping force to Kampuchea;
- (b) The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in the shortest time possible after the arrival of the United Nations peace-keeping force which will supervise and verify the withdrawal;

- (c) The disarming of all Kampuchean, following the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, to enable the holding of free elections;
- (d) The establishment of an interim administration in Kampuchea pending the holding of free elections and the establishment of a new government; and
- (e) 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 deems it essential for Kampuchea to remain non-aligned 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 UN Security Council and the States of Southeast Asia 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 status of Kampuchea and recognize its border 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, armaments, munitions and war materials in any form, nor 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; and
- (f) They will not pose a threat to the security of Kampuchea or endanger its survival as a sovereign nation.

13 The Conference welcomes similar declarations by other States.

14 The Conference expresses its hope that following the peaceful resolution of the Kampuchean conflict, an inter-governmental 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, including Vietnam.

15 The Conference notes the absence of Vietnam and other States and urges them to attend the future sessions of the Conference. In this context, the Conference takes note of the on-going 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.

16 The Conference expresses the hope that Vietnam 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 Southeast 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 cooperation in all fields of endeavour, thus heralding a new era of peace, concord and amity in Southeast Asia.

DRAFT DECISION

In pursuance of the Declaration ... the Conference decides:

1 To establish a Committee consisting of the following members:

2 To entrust the Committee with the following tasks:

- (a) to assist the Conference in seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchéan question;
- (b) to hold consultations with the Secretary-General of the United Nations between sessions of the Conference;
- (c) to establish and maintain contact with the parties to the conflict;
- (d) to undertake missions, where appropriate, in pursuit of a comprehensive political settlement to the conflict in Kampuchea;

- (e) to advise the President of the Conference when to reconvene the Conference; and
- (f) to carry out any other functions as directed by the Conference.

3 To recommend to the United Nations General Assembly to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to consult with, to assist and to provide the Committee with the necessary facilities to carry out its functions.

4 To recommend to the United Nations General Assembly to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations 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.

5 To request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to transmit the report of the Conference to the 36th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in accordance with operative paragraph 12 of the General Assembly Resolution 35/6.

6 To recommend to the United Nations General Assembly to reconvene the Conference, at an appropriate time, in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee.

Declaration of the International
Conference on Kampuchea
(Draft)

1. Pursuant to the United Nations General Assembly resolution 35/6 adopted at its 35th session on 22 October 1980, the International Conference on Kampuchea was held in New York from 13 to 17 July, 1981.

2. The Conference made an in-depth study of the situation since the foreign military invasion of Kampuchea on 25 December 1978 and its grave consequences to South-east Asia and Asia as a whole. It notes with deep concern the continued presence of large numbers of foreign troops in Kampuchea, which not only violates the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea, causing untold sufferings to the Khmer nation, but also poses a serious threat to peace and security in the Southeast Asian region and the rest of Asia.

3. The Conference recognizes that the Kampuchean question is not a regional but an international issue that spells danger for peace in Asia and the world, and that a just and reasonable solution to the Kampuchean question should be sought within the framework of the United Nations including the convening of international conferences.

4. The Conference deeply regrets the refusal of the Government of Viet Nam to implement General Assembly

resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and withdraw its troops from Kampuchea.

5. The Conference deeply sympathizes with the Kampuchean people in their sufferings under foreign aggression and expresses grave concern over the resulting floods of refugees which have caused serious problems to the neighbouring countries.

6. The Conference expresses continued support to the Kampuchean people in their just struggle to defend national independence and territorial integrity, and welcomes the efforts of all the patriotic forces in Kampuchea to establish a united front and a coalition government.

7. The Conference considers that it was impossible for the Kampuchean people to freely express their will under occupation by massive foreign troops. The so-called elections of the national assembly in Phnom Penh in May 1981 contravene General Assembly resolution 35/6 and are, therefore, null and void.

8. With a view to achieving a just and reasonable comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question so as to ensure the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea and maintain peace and stability in South-east Asia, the Conference:

(1). Calls on the Government of Viet Nam to strictl

abide by the principles of the UN Charter, implement UN General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea within six months and disarm the Heng Samrin puppet force.

(2). Calls on all countries to respect the right of self-determination for the Kampuchean people who, after the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, shall decide their state structure, political system and government composition through truly free elections under United Nations supervision. The Conference proposes that all the patriotic forces in Kampuchea consult among themselves and work out the necessary measures to ensure truly free elections free from any armed coercion. All countries shall undertake to refrain from any interference in the elections process and to respect fully the results of the free elections of the Kampuchean people.

(3). Calls for the dispatch of an observers' group by the United Nations to supervise and verify the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the disarming of Heng Samrin's puppet forces and to supervise the free elections in Kampuchea.

(4). Calls on the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and the Southeast Asian countries including Viet Nam, after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, to undertake:

(i) to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea,

(ii) to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea;

(iii) not to use Kampuchea as a base for aggression or intervention against any other country in the region;

(iv) not to include Kampuchea in any military alliance of whatever form.

9. The Conference decides to hold at an appropriate time another international conference on Kampuchea, the time and venue of which shall be decided by the United Nations Secretary-General in consultation with the parties concerned.

10. It regrets Viet Nam's absence from the Conference and appeals to Viet Nam to take part in the next conference so that joint efforts can be made to seek a just and reasonable solution to the Kampuchean question.

Comparative table of A/CONF.109/WG/CRP.1, para.10
and A/CONF.109/WG/CRP.2, para. 8

A/CONF.109/WG/CRP.1, para. 10

A/CONF.109/WG/CRP.2, para. 8

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

8. With a view to achieving a just and reasonable comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question so as to ensure the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea and maintain peace and stability in South-east Asia, the Conference:

(1) Calls on the Government of Viet Nam to strictly abide by the principles of the UN Charter, implement UN General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6,

(a) A ceasefire agreement by all parties to the conflict in Kampuchea and the despatch of a United Nations peace-keeping force to Kampuchea;

(b) The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in the shortest time possible after the arrival of the United Nations peace-keeping force which will supervise and verify the withdrawal;

withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea within six months

A/CONF.109/WG/CRP.1, para. 10

(para. 12)

A/CONF.109/WG/CRP.2, para. 8

(4) Calls on the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and the Southeast Asian countries including Viet Nam, after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, to undertake:

(i) to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea;

(ii) to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea;

(iii) not to use Kampuchea as a base for aggression or intervention against any other country in the region;

(iv) not to include Kampuchea in any military alliance of whatever form.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

Working Group

Meeting no. 2, Wednesday, 15 July 1981, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

The Chairman proposed that the Working Group proceed with its first reading of the two conference room papers along the lines agreed at its first meeting and revert later to para. 10 of CRP/1 and para. 8 of CRP/2 as well as the paragraphs on which decision was still pending.

As regards paragraph 9 of CRP/1, Democratic Kampuchea proposed that it be deleted. After a number of representatives spoke in favour or against the proposal, Pakistan proposed amending it to read: "The Conference appreciates the legitimate concern of all countries in the region that no-one should in any way become a threat or be used by any State for subversion or armed aggression against them". Singapore wished to consult further with the representatives who had spoken on the point. After a number of other proposals had been made, it was decided to refer the matter to a group comprising China, Democratic Kampuchea, France, Pakistan, Singapore and Thailand for further discussion and reporting back to the Working Group.

Reverting to para. 4 of CRP/1, China proposed deletion of the phrase "and the extension of major power conflicts into the region". After a number of proposals had been made, it was decided to refer this paragraph also to the small group for further discussion and reporting back.

Regarding paragraph 11, France proposed to add after "to remain non-aligned" the words "and neutral". Paragraph 11 was adopted as amended.

As regards the introductory phrase ("chapeau") of paragraph 12, it was decided to incorporate paragraph 13 as well as other proposals by amending that phrase to read: "The Conference deems it essential for the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, all States of South-East Asia as well as other States concerned to declare ("s'engager" in French), in conjunction with paragraph 11 above that". The phrase was adopted as amended.

Regarding sub-paragraph 12(a), France proposed inserting the words "and neutral" again after the words "non-aligned". Sub-paragraph 12(a) was adopted as amended. Sweden registered a reservation on the amendment.

Sub-paragraphs 12(b) and (c) were adopted.

Regarding sub-paragraph 12(d), Democratic Kampuchea expressed concern that it did not take into account its needs for self-defence. France proposed inserting the phrase "without prejudice to Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations" either at the beginning or the end of sub-paragraph 12(c) or at the end of sub-paragraph 12(d). Pakistan proposed instead to delete

from sub-paragraph 12(d) the words "armaments, munitions and war materials in any form". It was decided to defer this matter to be discussed by France, Pakistan and Singapore and to be taken up at the afternoon meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 1.15 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

Working Group

Meeting no. 3, Wednesday, 15 July 1981, 3.00 p.m.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

Regarding sub-paragraph 12(d) of CRP/1, the representative of Singapore said that the representatives of France and Pakistan and himself had met and agreed to accept the Pakistani amendment, namely, the deletion of the words: "armaments, munitions and war materials in any form." Sub-paragraph 12(d) was adopted as amended.

Sub-paragraphs 12(e) and (f) were adopted.

The Chairman noted that paragraph 13 of CRP/1 had been incorporated into the amended "chapeau" of paragraph 12 (see note for meeting no. 2).

Regarding paragraph 14 of CRP/1, the representative of China proposed deleting the words "including Viet Nam." The representative of Singapore opposed the proposal, saying that that phrase was important in terms of the sponsors' wish to persuade Viet Nam to negotiate through a "carrot and stick" strategy. After a number of representatives spoke in support of Singapore, the Chairman decided, without objection, to refer this matter to the six-member drafting committee set up at the morning meeting.

As regards paragraph 15, Democratic Kampuchea proposed replacing the words The Conference "notes" with "regrets." China supported the proposal and further proposed to delete the words "and other States." After Yugoslavia and Malaysia spoke in favour of the original formulation, the Chairman noted that the divergence of views between delegations was not great and decided, in the absence of objection, to refer the matter to the drafting committee.

Paragraph 16 of CRP/1 was adopted.

The Working Group then turned to the comparative table of CRP/1, para. 10, and CRP/2, para. 8, contained in CRP/3, and decided to proceed step by step, examining the parallel sub-paragraphs or portions thereof of CRP/1 and CRP/2 which were juxtaposed in CRP/3. China proposed that the sub-paragraphs dealing with the substantive aspects be considered first and the "chapeau" later. This was accepted.

Regarding sub-paragraph 10(a) of CRP/1, China said that, in its view, it could not be separated from 10(b), and that China believed that it was essential to agree on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops first and cease-fire second, not vice versa. China also proposed that UN observer group, rather than a peace-keeping force, should supervise these steps. Singapore opposed

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both points, saying that a logical sequence was a cease-fire followed by withdrawal, and that a peace-keeping force, which would have to be authorized by the Security Council, was needed. China said that there would naturally be a cease-fire once Vietnamese troops were withdrawn. It also commended the time-frame of six month and referred to China's reservations on principle regarding peace-keeping forces. A number of representatives supported Singapore's position. Pakistan suggested for consideration the formula: "A cease-fire agreement by all parties to the conflict in Kampuchea, followed immediately by a withdrawal of all foreign forces supervised by a United Nations observer group." The Chairman noted that there was general agreement on the need for a cease-fire and withdrawal of foreign forces, and proposed that China, Pakistan and Singapore discuss the matter and reported back. It was so decided.

China then proposed the deletion of both 10(c) and 10(d) of CRP/1. After Singapore spoke against and China in support of the proposal, Pakistan stressed the importance of reaching a consensus document and said that all agreed on the need for a free election without any interference or coercion in Kampuchea; where they differed was on how to achieve it. He recalled the precedent of Zimbabwe as well as the declaration made by Democratic Kampuchea regarding free elections. He suggested that another formula might be to allow the United Nations presence to take all necessary measures to ensure free elections. The Chairman summed up the points of convergence of views and suggested referring this matter also to the drafting committee. It was so decided.

Regarding sub-paragraph 10(e) of CRP/1, the United Kingdom proposed the formulation "The holding of free elections under United Nations transitional arrangements and supervision." China opposed the proposal.

Singapore proposed that the six-member drafting committee (China, Democratic Kampuchea, France, Pakistan, Singapore and Thailand) should meet in the morning of Thursday, 16 July with the Chairman of the Working Group to discuss all pending matters and report back to the Working Group in the afternoon of that day. China supported the proposal.

It was decided that the drafting committee would meet at 10.30 a.m. on 16 July, and the Working Group at 3.00 p.m. on the same day.

Points to be discussed by the drafting committee

1. CRP/1, para. 4 - (i) Chinese proposal to delete the phrase: "and the extension of major-Power conflicts into the region"
(ii) Pakistan proposal to delete the same phrase and to add: "/the escalation of tension in South-East Asia/ as a result of this situation"
(iii) Australian proposal to amend the paragraph to read: "and the threatened extension of major-Power conflicts" and also to add "as a result of this situation"
(iv) Singapore proposal to replace "/major-Power/ conflicts" with "rivalry" and add: "as a result of this situation" (supported by the Philippines and New Zealand)
2. CRP/2, para. 7 - Chinese proposal to insert it between paras. 6 and 7 of CRP/1
3. Before CRP/1, para. 8 - (i) Chilean proposal to add a paragraph similar to the third preambular paragraph of GA resolution 35/6
(ii) Chinese proposal that the new paragraph should read: "The Conference deeply regrets that the foreign armed intervention continues and the foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea, thus seriously threatening international peace and security"
(iii) New Zealand proposal to amend, instead, para. 3 of CRP/1 to read: "... the situation in Kampuchea has resulted from the continued violation of ..."
(iv) Pakistan proposal that the new paragraph should read: "The Conference regrets that resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 of the General Assembly have not been implemented"
4. CRP/1; para. 9 - (i) Pakistan proposal to amend it to read: "The Conference appreciates the legitimate concern of all countries in the region that no one should in any way become a threat or be used by any State for subversion or armed aggression against them" (supported by China and Democratic Kampuchea)

- (ii) New Zealand proposal to amend, instead, para. 8 of CRP/1 to read: "The Conference emphasizes that Kampuchea, like its neighbours and, indeed, all other countries, has the right ..."
 - (iii) Austrian proposal to incorporate para. 9 into para. 11
 - (iv) French proposal to amend para. 9 to read: "... concern of the neighbouring States of Kampuchea, in particular those which share a common border with it, that it should not ..."
 - (v) Chilean proposal to amend it to read: "... that it should not in any way, as it is today, become a threat ..."
5. CRP/1, para. 10(a) and (b) - (i) Chinese proposal to agree on the withdrawal of foreign forces (b) first and cease-fire (a) second, to be supervised by UN observer group, rather than by a peace-keeping force.
- (ii) Pakistan proposal for a formulation: "A cease-fire agreement by all parties to the conflict in Kampuchea, followed immediately by a withdrawal of all foreign forces supervised by a United Nations observer group"
6. CRP/1, para. 10(c) and (d) - (i) Chinese proposal to delete both paragraphs
- (ii) Pakistan proposal for a formulation whereby a "United Nations presence" would take "all necessary measures to ensure free elections"
7. CRP/1, para. 10(e) - United Kingdom proposal to amend it to read: "The holding of free elections under United Nations transitional arrangements and supervision ..."
8. CRP/1, para.14 - Chinese proposal to delete the words: "including Viet Nam"
9. CRP/1, para.15 - (i) Democratic Kampuchea proposal to replace the word "The Conference/ notes" with "regrets"
- (ii) Chinese proposal supporting the Kampuchean proposal and deleting the words: "and other States"

The following paragraphs have been adopted by the Working Group:

CRP/1, paras. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 as amended, 7, 11 as amended, 12 "chapeau" as amended, 12(a) as amended, 12(b), 12(c), 12(d) as amended, 12(e), 12(f), 16.

Para. 13 of CRP/1 has been incorporated into para. 12 "chapeau" of CRP/1.

United Nations

Press Release

Department of Public Information
Press Section
United Nations, New York

File

Biographical Note



BIO/1811
KAM/6
14 July 1981

WILLIBALD PAHR (AUSTRIA) PRESIDENT FOR CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

H. 2
Pahr for
operations

Willibald Pahr, who was elected President of the International Conference on Kampuchea yesterday, 13 July, is Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria.

Born in Vienna on 5 June 1930, Mr. Pahr was graduated from the University of Vienna in 1953 with a Doctorate in Law. He also holds a Diploma of the European College, Bruges, Belgium.

He was an assistant professor at the Institute of International Law and International Relations at the University of Vienna before entering the Constitutional Service of the Federal Chancellery (the legal service of the Austrian Federal Government) in 1955. In 1968 he became head of the International Department of the Constitutional Service. He was named Director-General of the Constitutional Service in 1973. In 1976 he was named to his current ministerial position.

Since 1976 Mr. Pahr has led the Austrian delegation to several sessions of the General Assembly. In addition, he was elected Rapporteur of the United Nations meeting on human rights in Warsaw in 1967. In 1968 he served as Rapporteur of the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran.

During the years 1973 to 1974 he was President of the Expert Committee on Human Rights of the Council of Europe, of which he has been a member since its foundation. He also was a member of the European Committee for Legal Co-operation of the Council of Europe and member of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Mr. Pahr is also Vice-President of the International Institute of Human Rights.

* * * * *

14 July 1981

PRESS CONFERENCE BY MISSION OF SINGAPORE ON KAMPUCHEA CONFERENCE

Tommy T.B. Koh, Permanent Representative of Singapore, speaking on behalf of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), briefed correspondents this morning on the International Conference on Kampuchea, which convened yesterday, 13 July, at United Nations Headquarters.

Mr. Koh said the attendance at the Conference far exceeded the expectations of the ASEAN countries. As of yesterday, there were 78 full participants, six Member States as observers, and three non-Member States as observers. Another reason why the ASEAN countries were pleased with the Conference was that it had a very distinguished Bureau. They were particularly pleased that the Foreign Minister of Austria was the Chairman. Austria's presidency of the Conference gave credibility to the wish of ASEAN to use the Conference as a negotiating forum and not as a forum in which to castigate or condemn anyone. The Conference was also very fortunate to have the Permanent Representative of Senegal, Massamba Sarré, a well-known personality in the United Nations, as Chairman of the Working Group. The ASEAN was confident that in his good hands the Conference would be able to adopt a text by consensus.

Mr. Koh drew the attention of correspondents to two tables. The first one, he said, identified the 35 non-aligned countries attending the Conference. They are: Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Egypt, Gambia, Indonesia, Kuwait, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Togo, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Saint Lucia, Central African Republic and United Arab Emirates. He said the ASEAN countries attached particular importance to the attendance by these non-aligned countries and the active role which ASEAN would like them to play in the Conference.

The second table, he said, divided the countries attending the Conference into geographic regions, as follows: Western Europe and Others -- United Kingdom, Austria, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Belgium, Ireland, Malta, Iceland, Canada, United States; from South-East Asia -- Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, Democratic Kampuchea; from the Pacific Group -- Samoa, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand; from South Asia -- Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Maldives; from the Middle East -- Kuwait, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Egypt, Bahrain, Israel, United Arab Emirates; from Latin America -- Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Saint Lucia, Venezuela, Peru, Uruguay; from North-East Asia -- Japan, China; from Eastern Europe -- Yugoslavia; and from Africa -- Gambia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Upper Volta, Togo, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Zaire, Mauritius, Mauritania, Kenya, Burundi, Central African Republic.

(more)

Asked to say more about the Declaration which the Conference would finally adopt, Mr. Koh said the ASEAN countries wished the Conference to adopt a Declaration which would enunciate certain relevant principles pertaining to the situation in Kampuchea, one which would outline a negotiating agenda which in ASEAN's view constituted the framework of a just and fair settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea.

Asked what the main points of the Declaration would be, Mr. Koh said he would ask the Working Group when it met this afternoon for permission to give to correspondents copies of all Conference room papers. He felt that there were no secrets at the United Nations, and he would prefer that everyone be given access to the papers to be distributed this afternoon in the Working Group. He hoped that at tomorrow's briefing he would be able to have the permission of the Working Group to do that.

Asked to indicate the points which were under the most intense negotiation so that the Conference would have a consensus at the end, he said the negotiations had not started, but he wished to emphasize that the ASEAN countries were not attempting to dictate to the parties what a peace settlement should be. The ASEAN was only suggesting that as a framework for negotiations, the Conference agenda should contain a number of interrelated points which would include: an agreement by the conflicting parties to accept a cease-fire; an agreement by the negotiating parties and by the Security Council to send a United Nations peace-keeping force to Kampuchea to maintain the peace; an agreement by the foreign forces in Kampuchea to withdraw, as well as an agreement for this withdrawal process to be verified by the United Nations; an agreement that, following the withdrawal of foreign forces, arrangements would be made to hold fair and free elections in which all Kampuchean and every faction would be allowed to participate; an agreement by all parties to observe and accept the outcome of such free elections; certain proposals to ensure that other countries would in future respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, neutrality and non-aligned status of Kampuchea; and a proposal that the future elected government of Kampuchea would also assume certain responsibilities towards its neighbours.

Was not the Conference a bit one-sided without the main antagonists? a correspondent asked. It was one-sided, Mr. Koh replied, but he regretted that one of the two principal parties to the conflict, Viet Nam, was not present at this session of the Conference. The ASEAN envisaged that the Conference would be a continuing one, he said, and efforts would be made after this session to establish and maintain contact with the Government of Viet Nam and with other interested parties to persuade them to attend the next session of the Conference.

Asked if a permanent committee would be set up, Mr. Koh said that was subject to negotiations in the Working Group, but he wished to emphasize again that the ASEAN countries would make certain proposals but were also open to the ideas of other delegations and would certainly attempt to take into account other views and to reflect them in the revisions of the ASEAN text. But it was their hope that the Conference would agree to establish a small committee, one of whose functions would be to establish a dialogue with some of the important countries which ASEAN would like to see at the Conference and to persuade them to come to the next session.

(more)

Asked why no mention had been made in the five-point proposal of disarming the conflicting parties, Mr. Koh explained that the position of the ASEAN countries was that if the Conference was able to arrive at an agreement on Kampuchea, then such an agreement must include arrangements to ensure that no armed Kampuchean faction would have the possibility of attempting to seize power by force. That was fundamental to the ASEAN countries. Second, it was also fundamental that the elections to be held should be free and fair, and in order for that to happen there must also be appropriate arrangements made to prevent armed Kampuchean factions from intimidating or coercing the population during the elections. These were two fundamental points in the minds of the ASEAN countries, points on which they hoped to find support in the negotiating process in the Working Group.

In response to a question, he said he did not know at this point when the next session of the Conference might be held.

Asked whether the rival proposal regarding the question of guarantees by the five permanent members of the Security Council might be incorporated into the final Declaration, Mr. Koh declined to discuss the Chinese paper in any detail because he said the ASEAN countries had not yet had an opportunity to consult on what position to take on it. However, the point referred to in the Chinese paper was also in the ASEAN paper, he said. The ASEAN, too, had proposed that the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the countries of South-East Asia should make certain declarations with respect to Kampuchean neutrality, non-aligned status and the preservation of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. So that was not a point of divergence, but one of convergence, in the two papers.

Asked to comment on the report in The New York Times stating that certain incidents had marred the first day of the Conference, particularly in connection with the invitation to Israel that was later withdrawn, Mr. Koh said that at the Ministerial meeting in Manila, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers had agreed that they would co-host a dinner on the opening night of the Conference and invite the heads of all delegations participating in the Conference. Singapore had become the Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee. It therefore became his duty to implement that decision. On his return to New York he had instructed his secretary to telephone all the delegations attending the Conference and to extend to them an invitation to the dinner. That was where his slip had occurred, he said. Since Singapore had diplomatic relations with Israel, and he was in the habit of inviting Ambassador Blum to social functions, he had not told his secretary not to invite Israel, and Ambassador Blum had been invited along with others. He had then compiled a list of guests coming to the dinner and circulated it to the four other ASEAN members. It was then that the Indonesian and Malaysian members had stated that since the function was one co-hosted by five States and not hosted by Singapore alone, and since they had no diplomatic relations with Israel, it was politically impossible for them to invite Israel to the dinner. They therefore requested that he explain the predicament to Ambassador Blum, to apologise to him "on bended knees" and to ask for forgiveness and to withdraw the invitation, which he had done. Mr. Koh reiterated that if it had been a function hosted by Singapore, he would invite Israel because the two countries had diplomatic relations.

(more)

Asked about the outcome of the dinner, Mr. Koh said that it was very successful, and that 74 of the 78 delegations attended. As far as he knew, only two delegations -- the United States and Canada -- had found it inconvenient to be present after he had very rudely withdrawn the invitation to Ambassador Blum. He said that the offence was the rudeness in first inviting someone to dinner and then saying that the invitation was being withdrawn. The issue was not one of political principle, since it was a social function, not a Conference, and no one could insist that they had the right to be invited to a dinner. One could invite whom one wished to such a function, he said.

Asked to give an indication of the sort of model the ASEAN countries had in mind as a sort of interim administration to run Kampuchea before and leading up to the election, Mr. Koh said he could not. He said ASEAN had been very careful in not prescribing outcomes. It felt that it should merely suggest a framework for negotiations, suggest the salient points that should be on the negotiating agenda and should not prejudge the outcome of the negotiations on each of these points. In ASEAN's view, it was essential for the negotiating Conference to address the issue of how Kampuchea would be administered; in other words, how law and order would be maintained in the interval between the withdrawal of foreign forces and the election of a new government. In its view, this was a question which had to be discussed at the Conference. The phrase "interim administration" seemed to have caused unhappiness in some quarters. However, the words were not important; the essence was important, namely, that you could not get away from having to discuss at the Conference how law and order would be maintained in the country following the withdrawal of foreign forces, and who would organize the free and fair elections. On these two points the ASEAN countries were confident that they would be able to carry most if not all of their colleagues with them.

Asked if the representatives of the national liberation movements of Kampuchea would be permitted to speak, Mr. Koh said that they would be speaking. They were hoping to be able to do so today, but he would have to check with the Secretariat. In Tasm, a former Prime Minister of Kampuchea, would represent the political party headed by Prince Sihanouk. Son Sann, President of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, would attend in person.

Mr. Koh said that in his statement to the Conference he had also proposed that the Conference invite the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, headed by Heng Samrin. The reason why the ASEAN countries had made that recommendation was that they felt they had to demonstrate their good faith to the world that they meant the Conference to be a negotiating Conference. They wanted to demonstrate their good faith to the world, that in order for it to be a negotiating Conference, all the Kampuchean factions which were involved in the conflict should be represented at the Conference. That was why, in spite of the misgivings of many friends, both in the West and in other parts of the world, the ASEAN countries had decided that, as a matter of principle, that delegation should be invited.

Asked when the Conference Bureau might report back to the Conference on the question of that invitation, Mr. Koh said he did not know, but the Bureau was meeting today.

(more)

A correspondent asked how long he thought it might take to entice Viet Nam by these kinds of political exercises, whether 10 years or 20 years. Mr. Koh replied that that was a question which should be put to Viet Nam. He said it depended very much on whether Viet Nam had intervened in Kampuchea in the first place in order to assert its hegemony over its neighbouring States, or whether Viet Nam had intervened because, as Viet Nam claimed, of a perceived threat to Vietnamese security from Kampuchea. If the latter was the real reason for the Vietnamese action, then one would expect Viet Nam to come to the Conference. If the former was the real reason, then one could not expect the Vietnamese to come to the Conference. The ASEAN hoped that Viet Nam would attend because it believed that as long as the guerrilla war continued, it would be detrimental, first of all, to the interests of the people of Kampuchea; secondly, it would be detrimental to Viet Nam's own interests; and thirdly, it would be detrimental to the interests of all the countries of South-East Asia.

He said it was for that reason that he was disappointed that the Western media in its usual big-Power syndrome had reported only statements by the United States and China and not those of the two ASEAN Ministers. After all, he said, this was an ASEAN show, and the media should at least have a look at the statements made by the Indonesian and Malaysian Foreign Ministers and see the content of those two statements, how conciliatory they were towards Viet Nam, how moderate, how very much the ASEAN countries had gone out of their way to assure Viet Nam of their desire to seek an honourable settlement, one which would take account of the legitimate concerns of all the neighbours of Kampuchea including Viet Nam.

* * * * *



General Assembly

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

New York, July 1981

Provisional list of delegations

Addendum

* * *

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE SUR LE KAMPUCHEA

New York, juillet 1981

Liste provisoire des délégations

Additif

* * *

CONFERENCIA INTERNACIONAL SOBRE KAMPUCHEA

Nueva York, julio de 1981

Lista provisional de las delegaciones

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A. Participants

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(Head of the delegation)

Mr. Waliur RAHMAN, Deputy Permanent Representative to the United
Nations

Mr. Syed Shah Mohammad ALI, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission
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BURUNDI

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

M. Simon-Pierre KIBANDA, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent
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ECUADOR

Sr. Miguel ALBORNOZ, Embajador, Representante Permanente ante
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GUATEMALA

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ICELAND

Mr. Tómas A. TOMASSON, Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the United Nations (Head of the delegation)

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M. Amadou RACINE BA, Premier Conseiller, Mission permanente auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

M. Isselmou OULD SIDI AHMED VALL, Deuxième Conseiller, Mission permanente auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

NEW ZEALAND

The Rt. Hon. B. E. TALBOYS, Minister for Foreign Affairs
(Head of the delegation)

Mr. M. NORRISH, Secretary of Foreign Affairs

Mr. H. H. FRANCIS, Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Mr. R. J. MARTIN, Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Mr. L. R. GIBSON, Private Secretary to the Minister

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Mr. G. WARD, First Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

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Mr. Lawal MUHKTAR, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

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Mr. Riaz Mohammad KHAN, First Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

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Mr. Thomas POLUME, Executive Officer to the Minister

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Mr. Hermes J. DORADO, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

SAINT LUCIA

Mr. Barry B. L. AUGUSTE, Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the United Nations (Head of the delegation)

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Mr. Donatus St. AIMEE, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

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Mr. Gaafar M. ALLAGANY, Alternate Representative to the United Nations (Head of the delegation)

Mr. Abdulla A. ZOWAWI, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

Mr. Abdelaziz HEGELAN, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

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Mr. I. B. FONSEKA, Permanent Representative to the United Nations

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Ms. Sarala FERNANDO, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

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Sr. José Luis REMEDI, Consejero, Misión Permanente ante las Naciones Unidas

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Sr. Pedro SORENSEN MOSQUERA, Ministro Consejero, Misión Permanente ante las Naciones Unidas

Sr. Jesús Alberto ZARRAGA, Tercer Secretario, Misión Permanente ante las Naciones Unidas

TOGO

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M. Folly Glidjito AKAKPO, Premier Secrétaire, Mission
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M. Dermane TRAORE, Deuxième Secrétaire, Mission permanete
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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Mr. Fahim AL-QASIMI, Ambassador, Permanent Representative to
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Mr. Mohammed AL-MUSFIR, First Secretary, Permanent Mission to
the United Nations

Mr. Burhan HAMMAD, Senior Adviser, Permanent Mission to the
United Nations

B. Participants without the right to vote

KHMER PEOPLE'S NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT
FRONT NATIONAL DE LIBERATION DU PEUPLE KHMER

M. SON SANN (Chef de la délégation)

M. CHENG HENG

M. SAUKHAM KHOY

M. SUTSAKHANSAK

M. THOUTCH VUTTHI

M. SANGWAR DE LOPEZ

M. PENN THAL

M. LY LOEUNG

M. THACH RENG

M. PHLOK SAPHAT

M. CHAK BORY

M. PRUM HORN

Mme CHHAY HANG CHHENG

M. VAN SAR

Mme PAN SOTHI

M. POK THAN

M. KEO EN

M. OUM SUN THON

NATIONAL UNITED FRONT
FOR AN INDEPENDENT, NEUTRAL, PEACEFUL AND CO-OPERATIVE CAMBODIA

FRONT UNI NATIONAL
POUR UN CAMBODGE INDEPENDANT, NEUTRE, PACIFIQUE ET COOPERATIF

M. IN TAM (Chef de la délégation)

M. TOL LAH

M. TAN BEAN

M. CHEN CHUN

M. HENG MONG

M. MAY SAM OEUN

M. PAL SAM OR

M. SISOWATH SEREI RATH

M. SUOUS CHANTHA

Mme TAN BEAN

M. YANG SEM

C. Observera

MALI

M. Sydou TRAORE, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire,
Représentant permanent auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies
(Chef de la délégation)

M. Théophile SANGARE, Premier Conseiller, Mission permanente
auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

M. Issa SAMAKE, Deuxième Conseiller, Mission permanente auprès
de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

TUNISIA

M. Taieb SLIM, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire,
Représentant permanent auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies
(Chef de la délégation)

M. Hamda KBAIER, Premier Secrétaire d'ambassade, Mission
permanente auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

M. Béchir CHEBAANE, Premier Secrétaire d'ambassade, Mission
permanente auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

Confidential

HAV/tp
13 July 1981

13/7 Kampuchea file

Notes on the Secretary-General's Meeting with the
Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's
Republic of China

Held at Headquarters on Friday, 10 July 1981, at 3.00 p.m.

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. Rafeeuiddin Ahmed
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi
Mr. Hédi Annabi

H.E. Mr. HAN Nianlong, Acting Minister for
Foreign Affairs

H.E. Mr. LING Qing, Ambassador, Permanent
Representative of the People's Republic of
China to the United Nations

Mr. LING Xiqiu, Official of the First Asian
Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. YANG Jiechi, Interpreter

1. The Secretary-General welcomed the Minister and recalled his recent official visit to China. He wished to assure the Minister that he had enjoyed his stay and appreciated the talks he had had with the high-ranking Chinese officials. He also wished to renew his thanks for the kind hospitality extended to him. The Secretary-General then turned to the International Conference on Kampuchea. He said the preparatory work was making good progress. He would meet on Sunday, 12 July, with the Austrian Foreign Minister, who was expected to be elected President of the Conference, to discuss some procedural questions. The Secretary-General pointed out that he would open the Conference with an introductory statement, following which the President would be elected and the procedural arrangements be clarified. He had met in the morning with the Foreign Ministers Romulo and Dhanabalan of the Philippines and Singapore respectively. They had told him that they hoped the general debate would be concluded by Wednesday or Thursday and that the Conference might end its work by adopting a "declaration" on Friday 17 July. Concerning the substance, there were a number of delicate questions to be examined. It was not yet quite clear, for example, as to how the declaration should be formulated. Mr. Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, whom he had received on 8 July 1981, appeared to feel somewhat uneasy about this declaration. Mr. Sary also objected to the setting-up of a follow-up "Committee", which had been envisaged by ASEAN. The Secretary-General said he was not sure whether he had read the latest "version" of the draft declaration prepared by ASEAN but he had heard that some changes were being made so as to avoid making it too concrete. He wished to ask the Minister for his feelings on these questions.

2. The Minister said that upon seeing the first draft of the proposed declaration, China had given its opinion and had told ASEAN that she hoped they

would modify it. Last night he had seen the third draft and in the morning he had met with the Foreign Minister of Singapore. Some changes in wording had been made but Mr. Dhanabalan had told him ASEAN would not accept any substantive changes to the declaration. China did not agree on the substance and she did hope some substantive changes would be made. This position had been explained some time ago to the ASEAN Ambassadors in Beijing. China thought that the main content of the declaration "contravened" the United Nations Charter, the norms governing international relations as well as the efforts of the international community to protect the independence of weak countries. The declaration also represented an "infringement" on the prerogatives of the Security Council and an interference in the internal affairs of a Member State of the United Nations. Moreover, the draft seemed to side with Viet Nam. After reading it, one had the feeling that the victim was Viet Nam and not Kampuchea. The declaration repeatedly stressed the inviolability of Viet Nam's sovereignty and independence. But the truth was exactly the opposite: it was the independence of Kampuchea that has been violated.

The Minister stressed that he had reiterated China's views to Mr. Dhanabalan. He hoped they would be considered "in a calm way". China wished the Conference to succeed. It would not be good to let "differences" be brought into the open at the Conference. His meeting with Mr. Dhanabalan had been "frank" because they were "good friends". But it seemed that it might be "difficult" to persuade ASEAN and there was still "a big gap" between China's views and those of ASEAN.

3. The Minister indicated that the results of the Conference should be "consistent" with resolution 35/6. Its main task was to "compel" Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. It should defend the principles contained in the resolution and protect the United Nations Charter. It should also uphold the norms governing international relations. China believed that it was "up to the Kampuchean people to decide" what kind of government they wanted after the vietnamese withdrawal. ASEAN's intention was to establish an "interim administration". This was a crucial point because there already was a "legal government" of Kampuchea. Later, there would perhaps be a United Front and a "coalition" government. But there certainly was no need to establish an interim administration. Moreover, it would be inappropriate to do this in the name of the United Nations because the Organization would be "overthrowing a recognized government". This would be an interference and an infringement on the sovereign rights of Kampuchea.

China, added the Minister, was also opposed to the proposal to "disarm all Kampuchians" after the vietnamese withdrawal. She thought that the various factions ought to have discussions to lay down measures aimed at organizing elections "under the supervision of United Nations observers". But there certainly was "no necessity" to disarm the Kampuchians.

4. The Secretary-General observed that this was not the normal practice in peace-keeping operations. The Congo precedent had created a lot of problems. The purpose of these operations was merely to maintain a quiet situation so that elections might take place. The Secretary-General felt it was important to continue the negotiations that China had started with Singapore. There was time for consultations since the declaration would probably not be presented on the first day of the Conference. He also felt it very important to maintain unity

between the countries which had sponsored the Conference. It would be bad if these differences came out in public. Every effort should therefore be made to overcome the present difficulties, in order to submit an "agreed text" to the Conference.

5. Ambassador Ling asked what the exact procedure would be. Would there be a "drafting committee" working parallel to the general debate or would the consultations be carried out by the Chairman of ASEAN?

6. The Secretary-General said that, as far as he knew, the idea was to set up an "open-ended working group" at an early stage after the opening of the Conference so as to work on the proposed text. The name of the Ambassador of SÉNÉGAL had been mentioned for the chairmanship of this working group.

Another question that had arisen was whether or not invitations should be extended to other kampuchean factions. The Secretary-General said that when ASEAN presented this idea he refused because in the United Nations the only recognized Government of Kampuchea was that of Democratic Kampuchea. He had made it clear that he would not invite any party other than the Member States. But it seemed that ASEAN might still be thinking of inviting other parties.

7. The Minister pointed out that, in China's opinion, the various kampuchean factions should first form a United Front and then a "coalition government". He thought that it was "correct" to invite Viet Nam and Democratic Kampuchea because they were the "conflicting parties". The others should not be invited, particularly Heng Samrin who was a "puppet" of Viet Nam. Concerning Son Sann and the Prince, the discussions to form a United Front were still underway. But so far they had not succeeded and it would therefore be "better not to invite them" because they might "quarrel" with each other. However, "if they came", the Chinese delegation would have to talk to them and ask them not to quarrel since they were still negotiating to form a United Front.

8. The Secretary-General noted that the Chinese position coincided with his own. When issuing the invitations to the Conference, he had decided not to extend invitations to the other factions. He was not sure whether this question would be discussed at the beginning of the Conference or at a later stage after the situation had been clarified through private consultations.

9. M. Ahmed pointed out that the Secretariat had suggested that if this question arose, it should be referred to the bureau of the Conference which would examine it and report to the Conference for a decision. The intention was to avoid provoking a public controversy on this matter.

10. The Secretary-General said it was his feeling that this matter would not be immediately raised because of its controversial character. It would have to be hammered out before being debated by the Conference.

11. In answer to Ambassador Ling's question as to whether the Conference should adopt its decisions by "consensus" or by a vote, Mr. Essaafi pointed out that this question would be brought up for decision by the President of the Conference. The Minister then observed that the method of consensus would be "better" for a conference of this kind.

12. The Secretary-General said that it was of course always better to avoid bringing out differences into the open but that he could not speak for Member States.

13. Summing up the discussion, the Minister said that his country's position was clear: China was in favour of a political solution leading to a peaceful "non-aligned" government in Kampuchea. China was willing to work with others to reach a compromise. She had no intention whatsoever to establish her own sphere of influence or to have satellites in the region. She had said this to ASEAN. China realized that her ASEAN friends were worried that the Kmer Rouge alone might control the future government of Kampuchea. But China was in favour of a "coalition government" which would set up what ASEAN called a "non-socialist state". Moreover, if the new "coalition government" applied for membership in ASEAN, China would have no objection.

The Minister said, however, that his country would "stick" to its views concerning the sovereignty of Member States and the provisions of the draft declaration which contravened the United Nations Charter. One should not do "illegal things" behind the flag of the United Nations. He added that the Conference should report to the United Nations General Assembly and that it should not do anything else than what had been said in resolution 35/6. At the same time, China would have the patience to discuss all these questions with the participants.

15. The Secretary-General said he was grateful to the Minister for this very useful discussion and stressed that he would remain at the disposal of the participants in order to help achieve a constructive and positive result. He would make every effort to facilitate an agreed approach to the problem. He hoped that the talks in the next few days would lead to a common position.

16. The Minister stressed that he shared the views of the Secretary-General. He added that he had spoken frankly to Mr. Waldheim not only because he was the Secretary-General of the United Nations but because he was also an "old friend". The Secretary-General thanked the Minister and said that he appreciated the trust and confidence that he had expressed in him.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

Confidential

Lit.

Dr. file

cc. AR 10/11/81

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13 July 1981

Int. Conference on
Kampuchea file

Note for the file

1. On Friday, 10 July 1981 at 10.00 a.m., Mr. Son Sann, President of the KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front) called on Mr. Essaafi. Mr. Son Sann was accompanied by Messrs. De Lopez Sangwar, Chief of the Front's Information Bureau in Washington, Thoutch Vutthi, a former Permanent Representative of Cambodia to the United Nations, and Penn Thal, son of Mr. Penn Nouth (a former Prime Minister and close aide to Prince Sihanouk who recently announced his decision to rally Son Sann's KPNLF; cf.: Note for the file dated 29 June 1981).
2. Mr. Son Sann said he wished to express his satisfaction for the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea. He then asked Mr. Essaafi to convey to the Secretary-General his appreciation of the efforts he had accomplished to find a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem and to promote world peace in general. He understood that the Secretary-General had a very tight schedule but he still hoped to be granted an opportunity to express to him the gratitude of the Kampuchean people (cf.: Note to the Secretary-General dated 2 July 1981).
3. Mr. Son Sann said he realised that the conflict could not be settled by force. This was the reason for his "total support" of resolution 35/6. Apart from the diplomatic pressure, some "economic and financial" pressure should also be exerted on Viet Nam. The countries of ASEAN were helping. With the means at its disposal, the KPNLF was exerting "a small military pressure in the field" but it relied most on the action of the United Nations. He thought that the United Nations had helped to put together the "peace convoy". The train was now ready to leave the "station". What remained to be done was to convince the other side to "board" it.
4. Mr. Essaafi observed that that was precisely the main difficulty facing the International Conference. It was necessary to find a way of persuading Viet Nam to join in a negotiating process. In this context, Mr. Son Sann stressed that the Vietnamese would only be considered as "enemies" as long as they maintained their occupation of Kampuchea. After their withdrawal, co-operation and friendly relations would be restored. Kampuchea would not be a "threat" to anyone. It wished to be a free and "strictly neutral" country.
5. Regarding the prospects for the formation of a "United Front", Mr. Son Sann said that talks had been held with the Khmer Rouge at the beginning of June 1981. It was hoped that an agreement would be reached before the ASEAN Manila meeting or before the opening of the International Conference. But these negotiations had failed. The Khmer Rouge, said Mr. Son Sann, obviously did not want to allow anyone else to come to the Conference as "the Government of Democratic Kampuchea". There may also have been "other reasons" but the fact was that their position had become more rigid since the beginning of June. They had insisted on the adoption of a "joint political programme".

/...

But what was needed was to implement the United Nations resolution, hold free elections and let the people decide how the country should be governed.

6. Mr. Son Sann stressed that the KPNLF must have a clear "majority" of seats in the Government of the "United Front". Moreover, the well known "bloodthirsty" Khmer Rouge leaders, including Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, must leave. Should these two most important conditions fail to be satisfied, Mr. Son Sann said, his fellow countrymen would accuse him of being a "puppet" of the Khmer Rouge.

7. Mr. Son Sann then said that he hoped that the members of his delegation who had come to New York to attend the Conference would be granted "passes" by the Secretariat. In response, Mr. Essaafi recalled that the Secretary-General only had the authority to invite Member States to participate in the Conference. The participation of other entities was a matter for the Conference to decide. He had taken note of the KPNLF's request (see attached documents). It would be transmitted to the President of the Conference and the Conference would take a decision in due course. As for the delivery of "passes", this was a technical matter which would have to be examined with the Secretariat of the Conference.

8. Mr. Son Sann expressed his hope that it would be possible to extend an invitation to the KPNLF and to allow it to address the Conference. He then informed Mr. Essaafi that a peaceful "demonstration" was scheduled to be held on Monday, 13 July at 1 p.m. in front of the United Nations Secretariat. He pointed out that the demonstration, promoted by the KPNLF, had been duly authorised by the police authorities. Its purpose was to support the United Nations efforts in favour of a settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

P.S.: Upon checking with the Protocol and Liaison Service, Mr. Gazarian indicated that "passes" are normally issued only to delegates of Member States. Pending a decision on their status with regard to the Conference, it seems that representatives of the KPNLF or any other similar entities could be given access to the Conference Hall only as "visitors" and would have to sit in the public gallery.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓

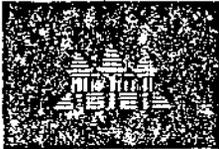
Mr. Buffum

Sir Robert Jackson

Mr. Urquhart

Rec'd 8-VII-81

Mr. Essadji



សម្ព័ន្ធនាយកដ្ឋាន: រដ្ឋបាលទេស

FRONT NATIONAL DE LIBÉRATION DU PEUPLE KHMER

Paris, le 29 juin 1981

A Son Excellence Monsieur Kurt Waldheim
Secrétaire Général de l'ONU
à New-York

Excellence,

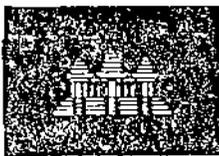
J'ai l'honneur de vous prier de bien vouloir faire parvenir la demande ci-jointe du Front National de Libération du Peuple Khmer (FNLPK), à Son Excellence le Président de la Conférence Internationale sur le Cambodge, qui va se réunir à New-York en juillet prochain .

Je vous serais reconnaissant si vous vouliez bien nous aider en donnant suite aux souhaits exprimés dans la lettre ci-jointe à Son Excellence le Président de la Conférence .

Avec l'expression de ma gratitude, je vous prie d'agréer, Excellence, les assurances de ma haute considération.

Le Président

Son Sann



សម្ព័ន្ធនិគ្រោះជាតិខ្មែរ

FRONT NATIONAL DE LIBÉRATION DU PEUPLE KHMER

Paris, le 26 juin 1981

A Son Excellence le Président de
la Conférence Internationale
sur le Cambodge
à New-York

Excellence,

Au nom du Front National de Libération du Peuple Khmer (FNLPK) qui est le seul Front nationaliste, (non-communiste) ayant un territoire libéré et une armée au Cambodge, j'ai l'honneur de vous prier de bien vouloir nous autoriser à participer aux travaux de la Conférence Internationale sur le Cambodge, qui va se tenir en juillet à New-York, à titre de " partie intéressée " au conflit, prévue par la résolution de l'ONU en date du 22 Octobre 1980 .

Le Prince Norodon Sihanouk ayant déclaré à plusieurs reprises m'accorder son soutien inconditionnel, il importe de ne pas diviser davantage les Cambodgiens, et de n'inviter qu'une partie nationaliste, représentée par le FNLPK qui lutte depuis 1979 contre les envahisseurs nord-vietnamiens, et qui a déjà uni sous sa bannière tous les Résistants nationalistes .

Je vous prie d'agréer, Excellence, les assurances de ma haute considération .

Le Président du FNLPK

Son Sann

United Nations
Press Release

Office of Public Information
Press Section
United Nations, New York

4.2 = Relief oper.
File Conf on
Kampuchea
x ref SG statement



SG/SM/3152
FAM/3
13 July 1981

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY-GENERAL AT OPENING OF CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

Following is the text of a statement made this morning by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim at the opening of the International Conference on Kampuchea:

I declare open the International Conference on Kampuchea, which has been convened in conformity with resolution 35/6 adopted by the General Assembly on 22 October 1980.

By that resolution, the General Assembly decided to convene an international conference 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.

In pursuance of that resolution and in the discharge of the Secretary-General's responsibility relating to international peace and security, I have maintained close contact with the states most directly concerned with the situation. During my visit to New Delhi in February on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the non-aligned movement, I held extensive discussions on this problem. Later in the spring, my Representative undertook a mission to that region in order to consult with the Governments concerned. Moreover, the countries of the region, as well as other states, have held a series of consultations with a view to overcoming the impasse which has existed since the beginning of the crisis. It is a matter of regret and disappointment that, despite all these efforts, little progress has been made up to now.

For over two years now, the United Nations has been deeply preoccupied with the serious situation in Kampuchea. It is one of the great tragedies of our time that, after the long and devastating war in Indo-China, that region has still to achieve peace and stability. Considering the grave human and political consequences of this situation, the urgent need for a just and lasting political settlement is all too obvious. The General Assembly pronounced itself again last year on the essential elements for such a settlement.

The problem is no doubt extremely complex and the concerned parties hold strongly divergent views. These difficulties can be overcome only by a high degree of statesmanship. If all the parties approach the problem in a constructive and forward-looking spirit, motivated by concern for the appalling suffering of the people of Kampuchea and respect for the principles laid down in the Charter, a settlement can surely be attained which should command general acceptance. Only thus can the peoples of the area enjoy the peace and prosperity which they so eminently deserve.

* * * * *

For information media - not an official record



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



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13 July 1981
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

AGENDA

Adopted by the Conference at its 1st plenary meeting,
on 13 July 1981

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 (paragraphs 2 and 3).
5. Adoption of the report of the Conference.

ROUTING SLIP

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A: Mr. Albert Rohan

V. Ustinov

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10/7/81

FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

Attached is a brief background paper providing information on the differences in position underlying the international conference on Kampuchea.

ALR
10/2/81

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND
SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS
Political Affairs Division

CONFIDENTIAL
JSS: BYC: ep
10 July 1981

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO KAMPUCHEA

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO KAMPUCHEA

The present paper summarizes recent developments related to Kampuchea and to the international conference called for in General Assembly resolution 35/6 which opens in New York on 13 July 1981.

Indochinese Foreign Ministers' proposals

Vietnam has rejected resolution 35/6 on the grounds that firstly, it fails to call for an end to the threat posed by China to the South-east Asian region, and secondly, that a resolution demanding that an international conference be convened, which would impose a solution on the Kampuchean problem in disregard of the protests of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), "the sole authentic and legitimate representatives of the Kampuchean people," constitutes a violation of the sovereignty and an interference in the internal affairs of the PRK.

While opposed to the convening of such an international conference, Vietnam has nevertheless, indicated its willingness to continue its dialogue with the ASEAN countries to remove the differences that exist between the Indochinese and the ASEAN countries so that South-east Asia may develop into a "zone of peace, stability and prosperity." Meeting in Ho Chi Minh City on 27-28 January 1981, the Foreign Ministers of Vietnam, Laos and the PRK, put forward the following proposal:

- (a) that a regional conference be held between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries in March 1981, either in Rangoon, Vientiane, Jakarta or Kuala Lumpur;
- (b) that after the countries of the two groups conclude a treaty of peace and stability in South-east Asia, a broad international conference could be convened to recognize and guarantee that treaty.

In a Note dated 22 February 1981 to the ASEAN countries, the Soviet Union urged the ASEAN governments "to show political realism and to duly appreciate the constructive proposals of the states of Indochina." The Soviet Union welcomed the idea of creating a zone of peace in south-east Asia, and proclaimed its readiness, "if the same readiness is shown by other permanent members of the Security Council - to take part in an international conference which could be convened after the conclusion by the countries of both groups of a treaty of peace and stability with the aim of recognizing and guaranteeing such a treaty." Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Firiyubin subsequently visited Malaysia (14-16 April 1981) and Thailand (16-20 April 1981) to seek to persuade the ASEAN countries to respond favourably to the Indochinese proposals. The Foreign Ministers of Malaysia and Thailand, however, requested the Soviet Union to persuade Vietnam to attend the international conference instead.

On 24 April 1981, the Indochinese countries decided that "pending agreement on a conference between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries to solve matters relating to South-east Asia, Laos, Vietnam and the PRK accept the proposal of a number of countries for regional consultations." Laos was appointed as the representative of the three countries and its Foreign Minister Phoun Sipaseut visited Indonesia (28 April-1 May 1981), Malaysia (12-14 May) and the Philippines (15-17 May). The Laotian Foreign Minister's visit was described by these ASEAN countries as strictly "bilateral". They reportedly informed the minister that ASEAN would be prepared to hold "regional consultations" if the issues to be discussed centered on procedures relating to the convening of the international conference.

Another meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Vietnam, Laos and the PRK was held on 13-14 June 1981 in Phnom Penh. The Foreign Ministers noted with satisfaction that even though there remain differences concerning some regional

issues between the Indochinese and the ASEAN countries, the dialogue has brought about "initial results" in enhancing mutual understanding. They also made the following proposals:

- (a) A regional conference to be held between the two groups of Indochinese and ASEAN countries to discuss issues of bilateral interests with the participation, as observers, of the UN Secretary-General in a personal capacity and a number of other countries to be mutually agreed upon. The agenda would be presented in turn by the two groups for discussion on the basis of rotation and equality. The conference should be convened in mid-July 1981 in Rangoon or in another ASEAN capital to be mutually agreed upon.
- (b) In case the ASEAN countries were not yet prepared to participate in the above regional conference, the Foreign Ministers proposed that regional consultations, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, be continued; and
- (c) An international conference with a broader participation to be agreed upon by both sides should be convened to acknowledge and guarantee the agreements reached in the regional conference or regional consultations. And, if the UN stops recognizing Pol Pot and his colleagues, the Indochinese countries would consider the possibility of this international conference being convened by the UN.

The latest proposals appear to contain four new elements, when compared to the earlier proposals made in Ho Chi Minh City: (i) the participation in the proposed regional conference of the Secretary-General, though in his personal capacity, and a number of other countries to be mutually agreed upon; (ii) the agenda of the conference is left open (presumably this means any issue could be raised,

including the question of Kampuchea); (iii) that regional consultations should be continued, and (iv) that if the UN ceases to recognize the Democratic Kampuchea government an eventual international conference could be convened under UN auspices.

ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting

The Foreign Ministers of the ASEAN countries, meeting in Manila on 19-20 June 1981, again urged Vietnam to join in the search for a solution to the Kampuchean conflict by participating in the forthcoming international conference. They rejected the proposals made by the Indochinese Foreign Ministers on 28 January 1981 in Ho Chi Minh City. In a joint communiqué issued at the end of their two-day meeting, they called again for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Kampuchea "in the shortest possible time" under the supervision of UN peace-keeping forces. Khmer factions would be disarmed immediately after the completion of the withdrawal of the foreign troops. General elections could then be held under UN supervision. (Elections were held in Kampuchea on 1 May and a 117-member General Assembly elected, but they have not been recognized by the ASEAN countries).

At the same time, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers warned that an escalation of the fighting in Kampuchea or incursion of foreign forces into Thailand would directly affect the security of the ASEAN member states and endanger peace and security of the region. They reiterated their firm support and solidarity with the government and people of Thailand, or any other ASEAN country, in the preservation of its independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Foreign Ministers while welcoming "the current consultations among the Kampuchean nationalists to form a united front with a view to the early setting up of a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea in pursuit of their inalienable right to liberate their country from foreign occupation and domination," recognized that the establishment of a truly representative government in Kampuchea

must remain a matter for the Kampuchean people to decide. They also declared their continued support for Democratic Kampuchea's continued representation at the UN.

The ASEAN Foreign Ministers further expressed their full support for the programme of voluntary repatriation of Kampuchean refugees/illegal immigrants by Thailand with the cooperation of the UNHCR. (Thailand has recently announced its intention to reduce the number of refugee holding centers in the country from 17 to 3. There are currently some 130,000 Kampuchean refugees in Thailand).

The Foreign Ministers also expressed their conviction that a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchea conflict was "vital" to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region.

International Conference on Kampuchea

The ASEAN ministers have indicated separately that they consider the forthcoming international conference on Kampuchea as the first of a series of such meetings aimed at finding a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. They have expressed the hope that Vietnam and the Soviet Union would eventually decide to participate in future meetings. A declaration is expected to be issued at the end of the international conference, which would outline the strategy for drawing Vietnam into the negotiating process, as well as spell out the framework for a comprehensive settlement of the conflict. A small working group or committee, comprising 3-4 members, may be set up as a contact group to monitor the attitudes of the various parties concerned and to develop a negotiating process and explore the various measures needed for the implementation of resolution 35/6, such as a ceasefire, despatch of UN peace-keeping forces, phased withdrawal of foreign troops.



General Assembly

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10 July 1981

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

New York, July 1981

Provisional list of delegations

* * *

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE SUR LE KAMPUCHEA

New York, juillet 1981

Liste provisoire des délégations

* * *

CONFERENCIA INTERNACIONAL SOBRE KAMPUCHEA

Nueva York, julio de 1981

Lista provisional de las delegaciones

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10 July 1981

Int. Conf. on
Kampuchea file

Note for the file

1. On Thursday, 9 July 1981 at 4.00 p.m., Mr. In Tam, "personal representative" of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and a former Prime Minister of Cambodia, called on Mr. Essaafi. Mr. In Tam was accompanied by two aides, MM. Yang Sem and Tal Loh.
2. After Mr. Essaafi had briefed him on the current preparations for the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. In Tam expressed the view that as long as Viet Nam and the U.S.S.R. refused to attend it, the Conference was not likely to be successful. It would nevertheless represent "another step" in the efforts of the international community to help Kampuchea and to convince Viet Nam that it had to be more reasonable. Mr. In Tam then asked if "a role had been envisaged for Prince Sihanouk" in this Conference.
3. Mr. Essaafi explained that in compliance with his mandate the Secretary-General had invited to the Conference the "conflicting parties" which were Member States of the United Nations. Other conflicting parties had expressed the wish to attend the Conference. This matter would be settled by the Conference.
4. In response to Mr. In Tam's query concerning the procedure, Mr. Essaafi said a letter should be addressed to the President of the Conference. The President would bring this request to the attention of the Conference which would decide.
5. Mr. In Tam said that the FUNCINPEK (Front National Uni pour un Cambodge independant, neutre, pacifique et cooperatif, presided over by the Prince) would like, as far as possible, "that its voice be heard" at the Conference. He did not know, however, what the Prince's final instructions would be. The Prince was now in Mougins (France) and it was not always easy to reach him there.
6. Concerning the prospects for a peaceful settlement, Mr. In Tam observed that Viet Nam had annexed a large portion of Cambodian territory about 150 years ago. Now, its ambition was to take over the whole country. Mr. In Tam thought Viet Nam was using dilatory tactics in order to gain time and to strengthen the Heng Samrin regime. Of course, the problem of the 35,000 Khmer Rouge still had to be "solved". But apart from that, the Vietnamese had almost achieved their goals. In such a situation, diplomatic pressure was not sufficient. It was also necessary to exert military pressure in Kampuchea itself. It would obviously not be possible to drive

/...

the Vietnamese out militarily. But FUNCINPEK's resistance to Vietnamese occupation could be strengthened if ASEAN and other friendly nations agreed to help.

7. The Khmer Rouge could no longer increase their troops. People were reluctant to join their ranks. They were therefore avoiding any large-scale fighting with the Vietnamese for fear of losing more men which would not be replaced. As for Son Sann, he had about 5,000 armed men, Mr. In Tam said. But he had no external support. Hence, he too was not in a position to develop his forces.

8. Mr. In Tam went on to say that in the present situation, it would take at least two or three years to bring back the Vietnamese to a more reasonable stand. Meanwhile, the Heng Samrin regime will have grown stronger, with the help of the U.S.S.R. which was becoming more directly involved. In fact, the U.S.S.R. was already "replacing" the Vietnamese. To improve the prospects of a settlement, Mr. In Tam stressed, it was necessary to convince all Kampuchians to unite their ranks. But this much-desired "entente" had not been achieved.

9. As Mr. Essaafi asked him to elaborate, Mr. In Tam indicated that the Prince had met with the Khmer Rouge in Pyongyang on 10 March 1981. On 12 June, they proposed to hold another meeting. The Prince answered positively and asked them to suggest a date, but they had so far failed to do so. Concerning relations with Son Sann, Mr. In Tam said that Son Sann "still refused" to meet the Prince. He kept saying that the "right time had not yet come". He had refused to meet the Prince on two occasions. Prince Sihanouk had just gone to Paris deliberately to meet with Son Sann, but "nothing happened". After waiting for some time, the Prince "ran out of patience" and decided to go back to Mougins.

P.S.: On Friday, 10 July 1981, a letter addressed to the "President" of the International Conference on Kampuchea was delivered to Mr. Essaafi's office. In this letter, Mr. In Tam expresses, as "Vice-President of the FUNCINPEK", the Front's wish to "participate" in the Conference, "in accordance with the spirit, intention and content" of resolution 35/6.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

Confidential

A.2
(Relief Oper.)

of AR 1981
ME/RE
9 July 1981
Kampuchea file

Notes on the Secretary-General's Meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea

Held at Headquarters on Wednesday, 8 July 1981 at 5.30 p.m.

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi

H.E. Mr. Ieng Sary
Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs

H.E. Mr. Thiounn Prasith
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Chan Youran
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Arab Republic of Egypt

The Deputy Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Mr. Ieng Sary thanked the Secretary-General for receiving him in spite of his heavy schedule. He further wished to thank him on behalf of Democratic Kampuchea for his tireless efforts in connexion with the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

The Secretary-General said that it was an important conference and that he had been in close touch with the countries involved, including ASEAN, but added that one did not know what results the conference would achieve. ASEAN, he said, seemed to have given some thought to the results of the Conference. He remarked further that perhaps one must wait until after the speeches and consultations to know what trend the Conference would take.

Mr. Ieng Sary said, in this connexion, that they were aware of ASEAN's plan to present a draft declaration, but were of the opinion that it would be better to confine the declaration to "generalities" and not go into details. He said that it would be sufficient to recall the principles outlined in resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 without going too much into details.

The Secretary-General pointed out that the United Nations was not involved in this draft declaration, saying that it concerned mainly the participants and that the Secretariat had merely been informed of it. He further stated that it was his understanding that the draft in question had not yet been finalized and that discussions between ASEAN and other participants were going on.

/...

Mr. Ieng Sary stated that resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 had given great encouragement to his people and the army. He added that since Viet Nam and the Soviet Union were not participating in the Conference, Democratic Kampuchea felt the Conference would further strengthen the struggle of the Kampuchean people and consolidate the Charter of the United Nations. Should the Conference achieve a success, it would be a good precedent for Afghanistan and other similar issues, as only the United Nations could provide the framework for resolving such a problem.

The Secretary-General remarked that the resolution certainly made provisions for the United Nations to play a role in resolving the problem and said that the United Nations was doing its best to contribute towards this end.

Mr. Ieng Sary then said that if the Conference made a declaration which would bring encouragement to the struggle of their army and thus opened the way to a solution, that would be a success. However, he said, if it revealed divergences among the participants, it would reflect negatively not only on the Conference, but also on the United Nations. He went on to elaborate that should there be a declaration of a general nature it would be acceptable, but should it go into details, he felt there would be a divergence of views. He stated further that the members of ASEAN were speaking of creating a Committee. He felt that that might be superfluous. He further stated that if such a Committee should be created, its mandate should be made very clear and not be in contradiction with the Secretary-General's own mandate.

The Secretary-General said that he took note of Mr. Sary's position.

Mr. Ieng Sary then handed to the Secretary-General a copy of their five-point draft programme for "a Great National Unity of Kampuchea", which, he said, was being proposed to the other political parties and which presented the minimum conditions to be agreed on. He then proceeded to elaborate on the progress of the armed struggle they were waging against the Vietnamese.

The Secretary-General said: "We hope that a peaceful political solution will be found to this problem. Your people have suffered enough."

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

Confidential

RA
8/17
HS/11
6 July 1981
N/3

Note for the File

Conference on Kampuchea

4.2 = Relief Oper.
Int conf on
Kampuchea

1. According to reliable diplomatic sources, the disagreement between ASEAN and China over the forthcoming conference is evidently not being resolved and China's attitude is stiffening.
2. China has informed ASEAN that it was "disappointed" in the draft declaration and decision prepared by ASEAN. In particular, China objects to the proposal to disarm all groups in Kampuchea after the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, because, China says, Democratic Kampuchea is the only effective military force fighting against the Vietnamese and such a move would discourage the guerrillas and give the Vietnamese a boost. In addition, China objects to the proposal in the draft decision that the Secretary-General be requested to study, among others, the establishment of an interim administration in Kampuchea. This, China says, would amount to involving the Secretary-General in a process of de-recognizing a Member State of the United Nations.
3. In view of these fundamental objections, China is requesting ASEAN not to use these draft documents as the basis for the proceedings of the Conference. China believes that the Conference should not adopt any formal final documents, or if it does, they should refer only to the basic principles contained in the United Nations Charter. Should ASEAN go ahead and circulate officially the draft texts in question, China intends to make clear its own position at the Conference.
4. China also continues to object to the ASEAN proposal that the Conference invite the conflicting parties which are not Member States - Son Sann, Sihanouk as well as Heng Samrin - to participate in it.

United Nations

Press Release

Office of Public Information
Press Section
United Nations, New York



Background Release

KAM/1*
6 July 1981

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA MEETS 13 JULY IN NEW YORK

The International Conference on Kampuchea scheduled to meet at United Nations Headquarters on Monday 13 July is expected to discuss the problem of a comprehensive political solution to the situation in Kampuchea.

As of today, 59 Member States have said they will participate in the Conference. Three others will attend it as observers.

The General Assembly, in 1980, called for a conference to take place in 1981 with the "participation of all conflicting parties in Kampuchea and others concerned" (resolution 35/6 of 22 October 1980, adopted by a recorded vote of 97 in favour to 23 against, with 22 abstentions).

In accordance with the Assembly's resolution, the Conference is expected to negotiate on several matters with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Among the questions identified in the resolution and which will be before the Conference are: the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea; the holding of United Nations-supervised free elections; guarantees against the introduction of any foreign forces in Kampuchea; guarantees to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that country; and guarantees that an independent and sovereign Kampuchea will not be a threat to its neighbours.

On 1 June, the Secretary-General sent a letter to 142 countries which had participated in the vote on the Assembly resolution, or which had advised the Secretariat they had intended to, asking if they considered themselves among the "others concerned" mentioned in the resolution. Based on the replies received, invitations to the Conference were issued to these countries and to Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam.

(more)

* Reissued for technical reasons.

In response to an invitation sent by the Secretary-General, the following 59 countries have indicated their intention to attend the Conference: Argentina, Austria, Australia, Belgium, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Fiji, Gambia, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Maldives, Malaysia, Mauritania, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Portugal, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

Botswana, Finland and Tunisia have indicated their wish to attend in an observer capacity.

To date, the provisional list of speakers has representatives from 26 countries, including 15 Foreign Ministers from Australia, Austria, Canada, China, Democratic Kampuchea, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States.

* * * * *



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/CONF.109/1
6 July 1981
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA
New York, 13 July 1981

PROVISIONAL AGENDA

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



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/CONF.109/2
6 July 1981
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

1. The suggestions set forth below, based on the practice of previous conferences, have been prepared by the Secretariat with a view to facilitating the work of the Conference.

A. Officers

2. In addition to the President, the Conference should elect two Vice-Presidents and a Rapporteur.

B. Participation

3. If a question arises 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.

C. Observers

4. Any observers attending the Conference may participate in the proceedings at the invitation of the President but may not vote or submit any proposal or motion.

D. Schedule of meetings

5. Meetings should normally be scheduled from 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. and should start promptly.

E. Conduct of business

6. On all other matters, unless it decides otherwise, the Conference should conduct its business in accordance with the established rules and practices of the General Assembly.

Confidential

of AR/19/81
RA
3/7
Int. Conference
on Kampuchea

Note to the Secretary-General

Kampuchea

1. On Thursday, 2 July 1981, Mr. De Lopez Sangwar, Chief of the Information Bureau of the Kmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) in Washington, called on Mr. Annabi.
2. Mr. De Lopez indicated that he wished to make the following requests, on behalf of Mr. Son Sann, President of the KPNLF:
 - (a) Mr. Son Sann would arrive in New York on Thursday, 9 July 1981. He wished to call on me the following day. I have agreed to meet with him on Friday, 10 July at 11.00 a.m.
 - (b) Mr. De Lopez said that "President Son Sann" also wished to meet with the Secretary-General before the opening of the International Conference on Kampuchea. He hoped that it would be possible for the Secretary-General to receive him. He added, however, that Mr. Son Sann might try to meet with the Secretary-General during his visit to Paris on 2 and 3 July.
 - (c) Departing from what he had told me when I met him on 24 June, Mr. De Lopez said that the KPNLF wished to attend the Conference "at least in an observer capacity". His initial request on 24 June had been that the KPNLF "wished to be invited as observer" (see Note for the file dated 29 June 1981). Asked to elaborate on his statement, Mr. De Lopez made it clear that Mr. Son Sann's Front in fact hoped to be able to attend the Conference "as a participant", in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of resolution 35/6.

It was pointed out to Mr. De Lopez that this was a matter for the Conference to decide and that, as I had previously explained, Mr. Son Sann would have to send a formal request to the President of the Conference who would decide, in consultation with participating Member States, on the exact status to be granted to the KPNLF.

M'Hamed Essaafi
2 July 1981

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO: Mr. Ahmed

of ARIGM 4

FROM: Mr. Essaafi

RAF

Room No. - No de bureau 3161	Extension - Poste 5588	Date 29 June 1981
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FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

SE Asia
(Essaafi)

H.2.
(Relief obs)

Confidential

HA/fp

29 June 1981

Kampuchea

Note for the file

1. On Wednesday, 24 June 1981, at 12 a.m., Mr. Essaafi met with Mr. De Lopez Sangwar, Chief of the Information Bureau of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) in Washington. Mr. De Lopez was accompanied by an aide, Mr. Chak Bory.
2. Mr. De Lopez said he had requested this meeting upon instructions from Mr. Son Sann, President of the KPNLF, who had asked him to convey an "important message" to Mr. Essaafi. The KPNLF, said Mr. De Lopez, "wished to be invited as observer" to the International Conference on Kampuchea. The Front also wished to be allowed to address the Conference. "President Son Sann" was ready to send a formal request if necessary.
3. Mr. Essaafi pointed out that the participation of the "conflicting parties" in the terms of the resolution 35/6 had been examined in consultations with representatives of ASEAN. According to the approved procedure, the conflicting parties which were not United Nations Member States could write to the President of the Conference and inform him of their wish to participate. The President would bring their request to the attention of the Conference and a decision would be taken. This was a standard practice, Mr. Essaafi said. As things stood, he did not foresee too many difficulties since one could expect that most participants would be willing to listen to other parties to the conflict.
4. Mr. De Lopez thanked Mr. Essaafi for his explanation and confirmed that the KPNLF would send a formal letter to the President of the Conference. He also pointed out that "President Son Sann" intended to come personally to New York a few days before the opening of the Conference.
5. Mr. Essaafi then asked Mr. De Lopez to brief him on the current efforts to form a "United Front". Mr. De Lopez observed that the talks had now reached a crucial stage. Mr. Son Sann had made it clear to the Khmer Rouge that the KPNLF must have "complete and effective control" of the future coalition government. The well-known "blood-thirsty" Khmer Rouge leaders would have to leave. A list of these people, including Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Son Sen (Deputy Premier in charge of national defense) and other leading figures had been communicated to the Khmer Rouge and China. The KPNLF was not however asking for the departure of Khieu Samphan (current President of the Presidium of the State and Prime Minister). The Chinese, pointed out Mr. De Lopez, had not yet reacted. "President Son Sann" was making efforts in order to reach an agreement before the holding of the International Conference

but he "feared" there might not be enough time. He hoped however to be able to attend the next session of the General Assembly as the leader of a "governmental delegation".

6. At this point, Mr. Essaafi asked Mr. De Lopez whether Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Son Sann, who were both reportedly in France, intended to meet in the near future. In his response, Mr. De Lopez showed some reservations about the immediate prospects of an agreement with the Prince. He stressed that so far the Prince had "not done much" to liberate his country from Vietnamese occupation, "except for occasional statements to the press". Following a recent press article which had described Mr. Son Sann as a "rival" to the Prince, the latter had sent a letter to "Le Monde" (reported in the paper's edition of 11 June of which Mr. De Lopez handed a copy to Mr. Essaafi) in which he stressed that he was "a follower" of Mr. Son Sann and "not his rival". In his letter, the Prince added, inter alia, that he was extending his "unconditional support" to Son Sann in his talks with the Khmer Rouge, in order to enable him to become the "leader of the United Front and of Democratic Kampuchea".

This letter showed, Mr. De Lopez said, that the existing problems were not so much with the Prince as with some of his followers who were trying by various "manoeuvres" to prevent an agreement between him and Son Sann. Any meeting of Son Sann with the Prince "must be successful". That is why Son Sann was waiting for the "atmosphere" to become more favourable before deciding to meet with the Prince.

7. Mr. De Lopez then tried to show that Prince Sihanouk was somewhat isolated. In France, the number of his followers had drastically declined. Even Mr. Penn Nouth (a former Prime Minister and close aide to the Prince) had recently announced in a public statement his decision to rally the KPNLF (reported in "Le Monde" of 14/15 June 1981). In Kampuchea, the Prince's main force was the "Moulinaka". But this group, about "200 people altogether", was disintegrating and most of its members were "smugglers" rather than "freedom fighters". The Prince still had some strong followers in the United States. They were not, however, very helpful. One of them, a former President of the National Assembly of Cambodia, was personally hostile to Mr. Son Sann.

8. A few months ago, Mr. De Lopez said, we had "almost reached an agreement" with the Khmer Rouge. The Prince precisely chose that time to come out of his "retreat" and call for a meeting in Pyongyang. After meeting with the Prince, the Khmer Rouge were encouraged to take a more rigid stand. This was not surprising since the Prince had apparently agreed that they could keep such key posts as foreign affairs and defense as well as a vice-president in the future coalition government. Recently, the Prince had declared that fighting the Vietnamese was not a "realistic" approach and that it might become necessary to negotiate with them. Such statements were dangerous, stressed Mr. De Lopez. The KPNLF believed on the

contrary that it was necessary to increase the pressure on Viet Nam. This was what ASEAN and others had decided to do. Only this approach would force Viet Nam to become more reasonable.

9. Regarding the International Conference, Mr. De Lopez said that Mr. Son Sann had come to the "conclusion" that the "conflicting parties" were on the one side "Viet Nam and only Viet Nam" and, on the other side, "the Khmer Rouge and the KPMLF". If the Conference wished to help Kampuchea, then it must give priority to the fate of the Kampucheans and not to the situation of individuals. The Prince was "ready to hand over again" the government to the Khmer Rouge. One should not forget that "he was with them in 1975" when they came to power. He had also shown himself willing to compromise with the Vietnamese. All this was dangerous. The KPMLF, Mr. De Lopez stressed, had nothing against the Prince but it nevertheless feared that the Prince might renew the mistakes of the past and lead Kampuchea to yet another tragedy.

10. Mr. De Lopez went on to say that the KPMLF insisted on getting rid of the leading Khmer Rouge figures. The KPMLF had an "armed force". The Prince did not. The Khmer Rouge would never allow themselves to be "disarmed" by the Prince. Son Sann had requested his "friends" to help him precisely because he was convinced that one could only negotiate with the Khmer Rouge from a position of strength. The KPMLF was being helped although not sufficiently. It was nonetheless growing stronger all the time, thanks to the support of the people of Kampuchea who had clearly understood that the KPMLF represented the "true nationalist forces".

P.S. According to "Le Monde" of 27 June 1981, the FUNCINPEC (Front Uni National pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique et coopératif) presided over by Prince Sihanouk, announced on 24 June that it had decided to join an "antivietnamese United Front" including the Khmer Rouge and Son Sann's KPMLF.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Urquhart

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:
A: Monsieur Mautner-Markhof *MA*

FROM:
DE: Jean Gazarian *JG*

Room No. - No de bureau | Extension - Poste | Date
| | Le 26 juin

FOR ACTION		POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL		POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE		POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS		POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?		POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION		VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED		COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED		SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN		NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POUR INFORMATION

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

New York, July 1981

Monday, 13 July, a.m.

1. Singapore - H.E. Mr. S. Dhanabalan
Minister for Foreign Affairs
2. Japan - H.E. Mr. Sunao Sonoda
Minister for Foreign Affairs
3. United States - H.E. Mr. Alexander M. Haig
Secretary of State
4. Democratic Kampuchea - H.E. Mr. Ieng Sary
Deputy Prime Minister in charge of
Foreign Affairs
- 5.

Monday, 13 July, p.m.

- 1.
- 2.
3. Indonesia - H.E. Mr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja
Minister for Foreign Affairs
4. China -
5. Canada - H.E. The Honourable Mark MacGuigan
Secretary of State for External Affairs
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

Tuesday, 14 July, a.m.

- 1.
2. Australia - H.E. The Honourable Anthony Street
Minister for Foreign Affairs
3. Malaysia - H.E. Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen
Minister for Foreign Affairs
4. United Kingdom -
5. Austria - H.E. Mr. Willibald Pahr
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs
6. Togo -
7. New Zealand - H.E. The Right Honourable Brian Talboys
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs
- 8.

Tuesday, 14 July, p.m.

- 1.
2. Sri Lanka -
3. Thailand - H.E. Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila
Minister for Foreign Affairs
4. France -
5. Somalia - H.E. Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Adan
Permanent Representative
6. Nepal - H.E. Mr. Uddhav Do Bhatt
Permanent Representative
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

Wednesday, 15 July, a.m.

- 1.
2. Papua New Guinea - H.E. Mr. Noel Levi
Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade
3. Yugoslavia -
4. Chile - H.E. Mr. Sergio Diez
Permanent Representative
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
8. Philippines - H.E. Mr. Carlos P. Romulo
Minister for Foreign Affairs

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:
A: Mr. Mautner-Markhof *RA*

FROM:
DE: M'Hamed Essaafi *mb*

Room No. - No de bureau	Extension - Poste	Date
3161A	5588	25 June 1981

FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

25 June 1981
5.30 p.m.

LIST OF COUNTRIES ATTENDING THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
KAMPUCHEA

I. PARTICIPANTS

1. Argentina
2. Australia
3. Austria
4. Bangladesh
5. Belgium
6. Bolivia
7. Burma
8. Canada
9. Chile
10. China
11. Colombia
12. Democratic Kampuchea
13. Denmark
14. Ecuador
15. Egypt
16. Fiji
17. France
18. Germany, Federal Republic of
19. Greece
20. Guatemala
21. Honduras
22. Iceland
23. Indonesia
24. Ireland
25. Israel
26. Italy
27. Japan
28. Luxembourg
29. Malaysia
30. Maldives
31. Mauritania
32. Nepal
33. Netherlands
34. New Zealand
35. Norway
36. Oman
37. Pakistan
38. Panama
39. Papua New Guinea
40. Philippines
41. Portugal
42. Samoa
43. Singapore
44. Spain
45. Sri Lanka
46. Sweden
47. Thailand
48. Togo
49. Turkey
50. United Kingdom

LIST OF COUNTRIES ATTENDING THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA (cont'd.)

I. PARTICIPANTS (cont'd.)

51. United States
52. Upper Volta
53. Uruguay
54. Yugoslavia
55. Zaïre

56. Somalia

II. OBSERVERS

1. Botswana
2. Finland
3. Senegal

LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE DECLINED PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
KAMPUCHEA

1. Bulgaria
2. Byelorussian S.S.R.
3. Cuba
4. Czechoslovakia
5. German Democratic Republic
6. Ghana
7. Hungary
8. India
9. Jamaica
10. Jordan
11. Lao People's Democratic Republic
12. Madagascar
13. Mongolia
14. Nicaragua
15. Poland
16. Rwanda
17. Saudi Arabia
18. Seychelles
19. Trinidad and Tobago
20. Ukrainian S.S.R.
21. U.S.S.R.
22. United Arab Emirates
23. Syrian Arab Republic

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:
A: Mr. Mautner-Markhof

FROM:
DE: M'Hamed Essaafi

Room No. - No de bureau 3161A Extension - Poste 5588 Date 23 June 1981

FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

Rec'd 23 June 1981

Distr.
GENERAL

A/CONF.109/1
June 1981

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/
FRENCH

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA
New York, 13 July 1981

PROVISIONAL AGENDA

1. Opening of the Conference.
2. Election of the President.
3. Organizational matters:
 - (a) Adoption of the agenda;
 - (b) Election of the Vice-Presidents;
 - (c) Organization of work.
4. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 35/6.

Distr.
GENERALE

A/CONF.109/1
Juin 1981

ORIGINAL : ANGLAIS/
FRANCAIS

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE SUR LE KAMPUCHEA
New York, 13 juillet 1981

ORDRE DU JOUR PROVISOIRE

1. Ouverture de la Conférence.
2. Election du Président.
3. Questions d'organisation :
 - a) Adoption de l'ordre du jour;
 - b) Election des vice-présidents;
 - c) Organisation des travaux.
4. Application de la résolution 35/6 de l'Assemblée générale.

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:
A: Mr. AhmedFROM:
DE: M'Hamed EssaafiRoom No. - No de bureau | Extension - Poste | Date
3161A | 5588 | 16 June 1981

FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

File.
Int. Conf. on
Kampuchea
(next to Essaafi)

Mr. Erik Suy, Under-Secretary-General
 Legal Counsel
 Office of Legal Affairs

16 June 1981

CONFIDENTIAL

M'Hamed Essasfi, Special Representative of the
 Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs in
 South-East Asia

International Conference on Kampuchea

1. With reference to your memorandum of 1 June 1981, the Secretary-General has sent a Note to Member States which participated in the vote on resolution 35/6, requesting them to indicate whether or not they considered themselves among the "others concerned" in the terms of the resolution and consequently wished to be invited to the International Conference.

.....
 2. According to the agreed procedure, the Secretary-General will shortly be sending a second note to those Member States who have replied positively to the first note, inviting them to participate in the Conference (cf. enclosed draft).

3. As of 16 June, three Member States have however indicated that they would only be prepared to attend the conference as observers. These countries are Botswana, Finland and Senegal. Copies of their replies are attached for your attention.

4. It would be appreciated if you could give me at your earliest convenience your advice concerning the procedure to be followed in the case of observers and the legal merits of the following possibilities:

-
- (a) Should the Secretary-General invite these countries and, if so, in what form;
 - (b) Should the Secretary-General merely send to those countries a specific note informing them of the date of the convening of the conference (see enclosed draft); or
 - (c) Should the decision to allow these countries to attend the conference as observers be left to the conference itself.

cc. Mr. Ahmed ✓
 Mr. Buffum
 Mr. Urquhart

DRAFT
(Observers)

The Secretary-General of the United Nations presents his compliments to the Permanent Representative of to the United Nations and with reference to his note of .. June 1981,

has the honour to inform His Excellency's Government that the International Conference on Kampuchea, convened pursuant to General Assembly resolution 35/6, will be held in New York, commencing on 13 July 1981.

A copy of the provisional agenda of the Conference (A/CONF.109/1) is enclosed for the information of His Excellency's Government.

DRAFT
(Participants)

The Secretary-General of the United Nations presents his compliments to the Permanent Representative of to the United Nations and has the honour to invite His Excellency's Government to participate in the International Conference on Kampuchea, convened pursuant to General Assembly resolution 35/6, which will be held in New York, commencing on 13 July 1981.

A copy of the provisional agenda of the Conference (A/CONF.109/1) is enclosed for the attention of His Excellency's Government. Inscriptions for the speakers list will be received by the secretariat of the Conference at United Nations Headquarters (Room) from .. June 1981, at 9.30 a.m.

The Secretary-General would be grateful to be informed of the names of the representatives designated by His Excellency's Government to attend the Conference.



PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
 TWO DAG HAMMARSKJOLD PLAZA • 866 SECOND AVENUE • 2ND FLOOR • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

TELEPHONE: 789-6587

REGISTRY SECTION	
JUN 11 1981	
ACTION TO:	
1.	MR. GAZARIAN.....
2.
3.
<input type="checkbox"/>	PUT AWAY
<input type="checkbox"/>	INITIALS.....
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CALL: BOYSREP, NEW YORK	
ON.....
DAY	MONTH YR.
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UN/POL/16

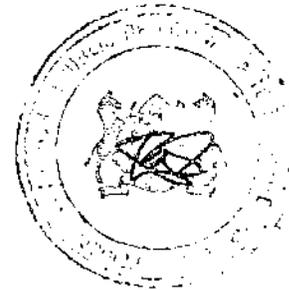
8th June, 1981

PO 240 KAMPUCHEA

The Permanent Mission of Botswana to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to refer to the latter's Note PO 240 of 1st June, 1981 concerning the convening of a Conference on Kampuchea during the month of July 1981.

The Government of Botswana considers that "others concerned" in terms of the Resolution cited in the Note refers to parties directly affected by "The situation in Kampuchea". Botswana, however, will not object to being invited as an observer.

The Permanent Mission of Botswana to the United Nations avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurances of its highest consideration.



Secretary-General of the United Nations
 United Nations, Room 3800
 New York, NY 10017.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE	CONTROL NO.
NOT BE RETURNED TO REGISTRY SECTION, ROOM 2074	6/30

Recd 12/11/81

Mr. Essrafi

PERMANENT MISSION OF FINLAND
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
866 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
TELEPHONE 212-355-2100

No. 3312

The Permanent Representative of Finland presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to refer to his Note PO 240 of June 1, 1981, concerning the General Assembly resolution 35/6 on an international conference on Kampuchea.

In view of the fact that Finland abstained on the vote on the General Assembly resolution 35/6 the Permanent Representative of Finland has been instructed to inform the Secretary-General that Finland wishes to be present at the conference as an observer.

The Permanent Representative of Finland takes this opportunity to present to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York, June 11, 1981

H.E. the Secretary-General
of the United Nations

New York



document (SUI) 21



MISSION PERMANENTE DU SENEGAL
auprès des Nations Unies
51 East 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

Réf: 05/156 HAT/ndb

Le Représentant permanent de la République du Sénégal auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies présente ses compliments au Secrétaire général de l'Organisation, et se référant à sa note n° PO 240 en date du 1er juin 1981 a l'honneur de l'informer de ce qui suit :

Le Gouvernement du Sénégal considère qu'il est préférable que, dans le cadre de l'organisation de la Conférence internationale sur le Kampuchéa, les termes "autres parties intéressées" soient compris comme étant notamment les pays voisins. En conséquence, si cela est possible, il n'envisage de prendre part à cette Conférence qu'en qualité d'observateur.

Le Représentant permanent du Sénégal auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies saisit cette occasion qui lui est offerte pour renouveler au Secrétaire général de l'Organisation, les assurances de sa haute considération.



New-York, le 15 juin 1981

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:
A: Mr. AhmedFROM:
DE: Mr. Essaafi

Room No. - No de bureau 3161 Extension - Poste 5588 Date 16 June 1981

FOR ACTION		POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL		POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE		POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS		POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?		POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	X	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED		COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED		SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN		NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION		POUR INFORMATION

File:

S.E. Asia (Essaafi)
(Kampuchea)
Int. Conf. on Kamp



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: Mr. Mohamed Essaafi, Special Representative
A: of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian
Affairs in South-East Asia

DATE: 16 June 1981

REFERENCE: _____

THROUGH:
S/C DE:

FROM: J. F. Scott, Director
DE: Office of the Legal Counsel, in charge of
the Office of Legal Affairs

SUBJECT: International Conference on Kampuchea
OBJET: International Conference on Kampuchea

1. In the absence of Mr. Suy, I am replying to your memorandum of 16 June 1981, concerning the question of Member States which have expressed a wish to attend the forthcoming International Conference on Kampuchea as observers.

2. As you know, operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 35/6 defines two broad categories of participants: (i) all conflicting parties in Kampuchea and (ii) others concerned. It makes no mention of a category of observer States.

3. The procedure so far followed by the Secretary-General in making arrangements for the conference has been designed, through his note of 1 June 1981, to ascertain those Member States which consider themselves to come within the category of "others concerned". Such States are clearly entitled to invitations as full participants. The States which have replied that they would wish to attend the Conference as observers have, in two cases (Botswana and Senegal), clearly indicated that they do not consider themselves as coming within the category of "others concerned". In the third case (Finland), the clear implication is the same, as that State has referred to its abstention on resolution 35/6 as the basis for its decision not to seek full participation.

4. In the absence of a reference to an observer category in resolution 35/6, it could be argued that no such category was intended, the Conference being limited to full participants coming within one or other of the categories mentioned in paragraph 2 of the resolution. On the basis of this latter argument, observers should (i) either be excluded or (ii) their attendance be left to a decision by the Conference. On the other hand, there is a long-standing practice whereby Member States have been permitted to attend open meetings of major Conferences as observers, when they have indicated they did not wish to be invited as full participants. In such circumstances there is no obligation to send those States a formal invitation, a notification of the meeting being sufficient.

5. In the light of the foregoing, it may be concluded that, in the

present case:

(i) it would be preferable not to send formal invitations to States which have expressed a wish to attend the Conference as observers, and

(ii) a notification of the Conference would suffice.

6. In respect of point (ii) above, the draft attached to your memorandum under reply is perfectly adequate. It should be noted that it fully safeguards the Secretary-General's position in the event a question is raised at the Conference whether an observer category should be permitted. A notification of a meeting is manifestly not an invitation, but is merely a courtesy to States which have expressed an invitation to attend as observers so that they may be represented at the opening where the presence of observers could be raised or tacitly accepted by the full participants. If the question were raised, it would be for the Conference to decide.

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTES ON A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND
H.E. AMBASSADOR FLORIN OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
ON 28 MAY 1981, AT 17:15 HRS.

File: GDR
xref: Amb. Conf
Kamp.

Present: The Secretary-General

H.E. Mr. Peter Florin, Permanent Representative
of the German Democratic Republic to
the United Nations

One Aide

Georg Mautner-Markhof

The Ambassador referred to the question of an international conference on Kampuchea and stressed that his Government was interested in this matter since it had provided considerable assistance to the Kampuchean people in overcoming their difficulties after the fall of Pol Pot. In connexion with an international conference the question arose whether a conference that aimed at interfering in purely internal affairs of a country was appropriate. Another question was who should be invited to such a conference since there had already been disagreement over that issue at the time of the adoption of resolution 35/6.

The Ambassador further mentioned that the internal development in Kampuchea had taken a better course than originally expected. With the election of 1 May the political problems had been solved and a general stabilization of the situation had been achieved. An international conference which would interfere with the internal situation could only have a destabilizing effect.

On the other hand, it was certainly true that the situation in the region was still serious. His Government therefore supported the suggestion made by the Indo-Chinese countries to convene a regional conference to tackle these problems. The Indo-Chinese countries had shown great flexibility with regard to the organization of such a conference. The Foreign Minister of Laos had undertaken a number of missions to capitals in the area in order to explain the situation and the progress made during these contacts could easily be destroyed by convening an international conference.

Since such a conference would be attended by only a limited number of participants it could not be expected to bring about any positive results which would be acceptable to all parties. The Government of the GDR appreciated the efforts of the Secretary-General to contribute to an understanding among the countries in the region, and his valuable efforts would also be hampered or even demolished by an international conference.

The Secretary-General thanked the Ambassador for his exposé and explained the background of his intention to circulate a note on the question of participation in an international conference. He shared the opinion of the Ambassador that an international conference would be faced with considerable difficulties. That was the reason why he had undertaken extensive consultations with the countries concerned during the first part of the year. He briefed the Ambassador in this connexion about his talks in New Delhi in February and in particular about the suggestions made by Foreign Minister Co Thach concerning regional consultations. The ASEAN countries had clearly rejected the idea of a regional conference but had agreed that regional consultations could continue parallel to the preparations for the convening of an international conference. He was aware of the fact that Viet Nam had made certain efforts to facilitate the problem of recognition of Heng Samrin, but the ASEAN countries were not of the view that progress had been made during the discussions the Foreign Minister of Laos had had in some of their capitals. They therefore insisted on the convening of an international conference and even accused the Secretary-General of not complying with the clear mandate given to him in resolution 35/6 to convene such a conference. It was impossible for him to ignore this resolution and he therefore intended to address a Note to all states who had participated in the vote on it, putting the question to them whether or not they would participate in an international conference. In the light of the replies received he would then decide on the next step. He emphasized that this Note would be drafted in a way so as not to be construed as an invitation to the conference.

The Ambassador took note of the information provided by the SG and stated that he would report it to his government.

GM 3/6
G. Mautner-Markhof

3 June 1981

CONFIDENTIALFile: USSR
Xm: SE AR 10
(Essaafi)MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND
AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY ON 27 MAY 1981 AT 12 NOON

Present: The Secretary-General
H.E. Mr. Oleg A. Troyanovsky
Permanent Representative of the USSR
to the United Nations
One Aide
G. Mautner-Markhof

The Secretary-General briefed the Ambassador on his recent trip to Paris. This was followed by an exchange of views on the new French Government which, according to the Secretary-General's impressions, would probably place a strong emphasis on its relations with the Third World, also as far as South Africa and Namibia were concerned.

Ambassador Troyanovsky opined that some shift in the French position with regard to Southern Africa had already emerged.

The Secretary-General briefly touched upon future prospects for a solution of the Namibia problem and emphasized that it was essential to remain within the framework of Resolution 435. During the recent visit of Foreign Minister Botha to Washington South Africa had expressed objection to the military component of that resolution which was another sign of their mistrust of the United Nations.

The Ambassador remarked that his Government had become very suspicious about the South African intentions since practically every month new objections from their side had turned up.

The Secretary-General added that Ambassador Rupia had taken the position that any agreement to a possible addition to Resolution 435, for instance in the form of a chapeau reaffirming the rights of minorities, would have to be linked to an unconditional acceptance by South Africa not to go back on the substantive parts of the resolution.

Ambassador Troyanovsky then read out to the Secretary-General instructions he had received on the question of convening an international conference on Kampuchea. He mentioned that these instructions had been transmitted to him as a follow-up to the conversations the Secretary-General had had in Moscow. They were as follows:

The Soviet Government had received information about the intention of the secretariat of the United Nations to expedite the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea. In their view this represented an attempt to interfere with the internal situation in Kampuchea. The present political contacts which were underway between ^{the} Indo-Chinese and the ASEAN countries had resulted in an intensification of the dialogue between states in the area and the convening of the conference could therefore only impede this process and lead to new tensions. Without the participation of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos, i.e. the parties directly concerned, as well as many other member states which were interested in the problem, the conference would be useless and even counter-productive and harmful. The only realistic way towards a normalisation of the situation in the area would be to accept the proposal put forward by the Indo-Chinese countries, namely to hold a regional conference. The prestige of the United Nations would be enhanced by supporting this proposal, rather than by creating additional obstacles in the path of a solution in convening the international conference.

In this connexion it had to be noted that the mandate of Resolution 35/6 clearly stated that all conflicting parties should participate in an international conference. Since Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos objected to such a conference, the Secretary-General could report to the next session of the General Assembly that it had proved impossible to convene a conference which was in accordance with the provisions of the resolution.

The Secretary-General pointed to the relevant paragraph in resolution 35/6 which requested him "to take all appropriate

steps for the convening of such a conference". In that resolution the General Assembly had also decided that the conference be convened in the first part of 1981. He had been extremely careful in conducting extensive consultations with the parties concerned on that matter. As a result of these consultations his idea was to send a note to all the states which had expressed their view in the vote on the resolution and in the light of the replies received to decide on the next step. An additional problem which he as Secretary-General could not resolve was that the resolution specifically referred to the participation of the conflicting parties in Kampuchea.

Ambassador Troyanovsky enquired how the note would be phrased, i.e. would it ask the member states who had participated in the vote whether they would agree to the convening of the conference or whether they would take part in the conference. The Secretary-General replied that it was the second alternative which he had in mind. The Ambassador then put the question as to whether a conference could be held without the participation of a conflicting party. The Secretary-General replied that he was under very heavy pressure from the great majority of member states which had expressed themselves in favour of a conference and was bound by the resolution adopted by the General Assembly. The Ambassador further asked whether the Secretary-General intended to indicate the dates for the conference in his note, to which the Secretary-General replied that the idea was to sollicit reactions on the question of participation in the conference and at the same time/^{to} mention July as a possible date for the conference.

Ambassador Troyanovsky repeated his Government's position that a conference without the participation of Vietnam and Kampuchea would be counterproductive and would in fact not respond to the mandate contained in Resolution 35/6.

The Secretary-General mentioned that the participation of the conflicting parties was indeed important in order to achieve the desired aim, namely a peaceful solution of the problem. He also referred to the talks he had had in New Delhi where the ASEAN countries had agreed to the holding of regional consultations parallel to the preparations for the conference. They would have been agreeable to having a positive outcome of these consultations endorsed by the conference, but since in their view no progress had been made in these consultations they wanted to go ahead with the conference.

The Secretary-General requested the Ambassador to convey to his authorities that he was under growing pressure to go ahead with the convening of the conference. He counted on the understanding of the Soviet authorities in this situation for the approach he had adopted in steering a middle course which would release steam and thus also be in the interest of the Soviet Union. In the light of the answers received he would then decide on the next step.

The Ambassador expressed the view that the next step was practically decided if the Secretary-General was going to indicate that the conference would be convened in July. The Secretary-General clarified that the note would not be formulated in a way which could be taken as an invitation to the conference and would be very carefully drafted.

The Aide to Ambassador Troyanovsky suggested that the note could be formulated in such a way as to indicate that a possible conference could be convened in July.

Ambassador Troyanovsky added that in the case of the Indian Ocean Conference certain countries which now spoke in favour of the Kampuchea conference used exactly the reverse arguments in order to block the convening of the Indian Ocean conference.

The Secretary-General then informed the Ambassador on the meeting he had had the same day with the Permanent Representative of Pakistan on the question of Afghanistan. He had briefed the Permanent Representative on his talks in Moscow and had asked him whether Pakistan was prepared to go ahead with a meeting with Afghanistan with the participation of the United Nations. It had been agreed that Mr. Perez de Cuellar would undertake another mission to the area immediately before or after the month of July (Ramadan) and that the Secretary-General would be given a reaction by the Pakistani Government before Mr. Perez de Cuellar left for his mission.

Ambassador Troyanovsky repeated his Government's position that the Soviet Union did not consider the door closed in this question. However, his Government was very mistrustful of the Pakistani Government, in view of its changes of position on the matter.

G. Mautner-Markhof

27 May 1981

Confidential

ME/RB

28 May 1981

Kampuchea file (SE A319)

x re) ASEAN

Essaafi

NOTES ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S
MEETING WITH ASEAN REPRESENTATIVES

Held at Headquarters on Tuesday, 26 May 1981 at 4.00 p.m.

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi

H.E. Mr. Purbo Sugiarto Suwondo
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the
United Nations

Mr. Wirjono Sastrohandoyo
Minister Counsellor
Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the
United Nations

Mr. A.W. Ouardin
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
Permanent Mission of Malaysia to the
United Nations

H.E. Mr. Reynaldo O. Arcilla
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
Permanent Mission of the Republic of the
Philippines to the United Nations

Mr. Victor G. Garcia III
Second Secretary
Permanent Mission of the Republic of the
Philippines to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. T.T.B. Koh
Permanent Representative of the Republic
of Singapore to the United Nations

Mr. Geoffrey Yu
Counsellor
Permanent Mission of the Republic of
Singapore to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Birabhongse Kasemsri
Permanent Representative of Thailand to
the United Nations

Mr. Thinakorn Kanasuta
Second Secretary
Permanent Mission of Thailand to the
United Nations

The Secretary-General welcomed the ASEAN representatives and gave the floor to the representative of the Philippines.

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Speaking on behalf of ASEAN, Ambassador Arcilla of the Philippines thanked the Secretary-General for receiving the ASEAN representatives and said that he had received instructions from the Standing Committee, which after taking the Secretary-General's views, agreed on the two-step approach that was suggested by him: first, to inform all countries that voted on the resolution (but this information would not be construed as an invitation), and second, to invite those who answered positively and showed interest to come. But certain conditions had now been agreed upon by the ASEAN members - that direct invitations without prior inquiry should be sent to the following categories: (i) Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam; (ii) Sihanouk, Son Sann and Heng Samrin (these could be invited by the Chairman of the conference); (iii) the seven South-East Asian countries, meaning the ASEAN members, Laos and Burma; (iv) the fifteen members of the Security Council; and (v) the co-sponsors of the resolution. Moreover, a time-limit of two weeks should be given to those consulted in the first step. The Standing Committee felt that the Secretary-General should proceed with the conference on 13 July even if certain replies were pending.

The Secretary-General thanked the Ambassador for giving him the ASEAN reactions so quickly. He said that he took note of their views but pointed out that the two-tier approach was not the Secretary-General's suggestion. Rather, it was the spokesman for ASEAN who had suggested it upon discussing the various formulae, in order, it was argued, to avoid too many negative answers. The Secretary-General then said that he also took note of the fact that the other conflicting parties, i.e., Son Sann, Sihanouk and Heng Samrin, should be invited by the President of the conference. He continued to say that the only difficulty that he foresaw was the difference in treating the invitees as suggested by ASEAN. He asked for the views of Messrs. Ahmed and Essaafi in this regard.

Mr. Essaafi said that the formula used in approaching all those who had participated in the voting was designed to avoid giving the Secretary-General the responsibility of selecting which parties were concerned and which were not. It would thus allow the Member States themselves to determine whether they were interested in participating and if they were concerned. The ASEAN suggestion would again place on the Secretary-General the responsibility of discriminating between Member States.

Mr. Ahmed concurred with Mr. Essaafi in his views and said that the formula previously discussed, that of consulting all those who participated in the vote, was the most solid and defensible. He added that it was also the view of the Legal Counsel of the United Nations that that was the most correct interpretation of the resolution.

The Ambassador of Thailand defended the proposal of ASEAN by saying there was a good ground to single out a certain group of countries as automatically concerned, namely, (i) those who lived in the region, (ii) Members of the Security Council because of the reference made in the resolution to a threat to international peace and security, and (iii) the

co-sponsors of the resolution, who by virtue of definition indicated their position as countries concerned.

The Secretary-General took note of the Ambassador's views, although, he said, he did not find them convincing. He stressed that he saw, rather, the merits of addressing an "inquiry" to those who had in fact voted and felt that the decision of participation should be left to individual Governments. This approach would not give rise to speculation as to why he, the Secretary-General, had taken upon himself to invite some and exclude others. He continued that at any rate he did not understand the purpose of the Ambassador's suggestions, since those who wanted to come would do so anyway while those who did not would not. He therefore failed to see why it was necessary to adopt such a discriminatory approach.

Ambassador Koh of Singapore interceded here and said that he would attempt to give an explanation of the formula which ASEAN was putting forward although, he pointed out, none of the Ambassadors were present at the Manila meeting. First, he said, when ASEAN last Fall had drafted resolution 35/6, they chose the wording "others concerned" deliberately in order to allow for the inclusion of countries beyond South-East Asia, and yet be restrictive enough as not to invite all Member States. He stressed that the ASEAN Ministers wanted it to be a "negotiating conference" and therefore it stood to reason that the smaller the number of participants the better it would be. He added further that the Secretary-General's view that whatever he did must be done on the basis of principle was taken into consideration. Therefore in order to protect the Secretary-General from any criticism, ASEAN supported in addition to those categories the sending of "inquiries" to all the others, although, he admitted, it did not "make any sense".

The Secretary-General remarked that according to the ASEAN suggestions then, for two weeks a large number of Member States would have received a letter of "inquiry" from the United Nations and yet those most concerned would not.

Ambassador Koh said that he and his colleagues would be meeting with them to explain it.

The Secretary-General said that even if that were explained to them by ASEAN, what would be the press reaction and public opinion as to why a limited number of countries were approached while others were not.

Mr. Bssaafi recalled that the previous intention of the Secretariat had been to issue one single letter to those who had participated in the vote which would be worded in such a manner as to inform them that the Secretary-General intended to call an international conference and at the same time ask them if they wished to participate. At the suggestion of ASEAN, however, the

/...

Secretary-General had accepted the two-phase approach, and if one were to meet the time-frame of 13 July, it was "about time" to set things in motion.

Mr. Ahmed also stressed the time element and said that although he understood ASEAN wanting the conference to be a negotiating one, it was however clear that that would not be the case since only one side would be participating.

The Secretary-General agreed with Mr. Ahmed and spoke of the meeting he had had the Friday before with the Deputy Permanent Representative of Viet Nam who had confirmed to him the opposition of Viet Nam to the international conference. She had, on the contrary, insisted on the regional conference proposed by the Indochinese States, he said. The Secretary-General again proposed that a note of "inquiry" be sent to all those who had participated in the vote, so as not to be exposed to any awkward problems. He then asked the ASEAN representatives to report his preference to their respective Governments adding that he would appreciate it if they would agree to it. He further stated that he shared Mr. Essaafi's pre-occupation of not losing time and asked if he, the Secretary-General, could be informed of ASEAN's decision before the end of the week or by the beginning of the following week.

The Ambassador of Thailand asked if the Secretary-General had any suggestions on the level of participation.

The Secretary-General replied that usually that decision was left to the participants themselves. He added that perhaps some Foreign Ministers would attend.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO: Mr. Ahmed
A:

FROM: M'Hamed Essaafi
DE:

Room No. - No de bureau
3161A

Extension - Poste
5588

Date

19/5/81

FOR ACTION

POUR SUITE A DONNER

FOR APPROVAL

POUR APPROBATION

FOR SIGNATURE

POUR SIGNATURE

FOR COMMENTS

POUR OBSERVATIONS

MAY WE DISCUSS?

POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?

YOUR ATTENTION

VOTRE ATTENTION

AS DISCUSSED

COMME CONVENU

AS REQUESTED

SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE

NOTE AND RETURN

NOTER ET RETOURNER

FOR INFORMATION

POUR INFORMATION

Fdr SE Asia (Essaafi)
x REF ASEAN

NOTES ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MEETING
WITH ASEAN REPRESENTATIVES

Held at Headquarters on Monday, 18 May 1981, at 3.30 p.m.

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi

H.E. Mr. Purbo Sugiarto Suwondo
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the
United Nations

Mr. Wirjono Sastrohandoyo
Minister Counsellor
Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the
United Nations

Mr. Abdul A. Halim
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
Permanent Mission of Malaysia to the
United Nations

H.E. Mr. Alejandro D. Yango
Permanent Representative of the Republic
of the Philippines to the United Nations

Mr. Victor G. Garcia III
Second Secretary
Permanent Mission of the Republic of the
Philippines to the United Nations

Mr. Geoffrey Yu
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
Permanent Mission of the Republic of
Singapore to the United Nations

Mr. Thambynathan Jasudasan
Second Secretary
Permanent Mission of the Republic of
Singapore to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Birabhongse Kasemsri
Permanent Representative of Thailand to
the United Nations

The Secretary-General opened his remarks by saying that he had been kept informed by Mr. Essaafi of the ASEAN views on the question on Kampuchea and that, before extending invitations to the conference, he wanted to see the representatives of ASEAN to have their concrete suggestions on the matter.

He added that the only question that remained now to be formalized was the question of the invitees. He then gave the floor to the Ambassador of the Philippines.

The Ambassador of the Philippines said that ASEAN had had two meetings with Mr. Essaafi and each time they reported the discussions to their Governments. ASEAN agreed that their Foreign Ministers should consult among themselves and intimate their Permanent Representatives in New York of whatever decisions they formulate on the invitations. He then quoted again the different formulae they had reported to their respective capitals, i.e. 36 plus 3, and the "feedbacks" they received on them. Yet another suggestion from Singapore, he said, was to add to the 36 plus 3, 16 more Member States who co-sponsored the resolution which would bring up the total to 52. At the second meeting, the Ambassador said, Mr. Essaafi told ASEAN that the Secretary-General was envisaging two possibilities, namely (i) to invite all Member States, and (ii) if legally feasible, only the States which participated in the vote. ASEAN, he said, again reported this to their capitals and on that morning they had received replies from Indonesia and Singapore. The Ambassador continued to say that one delegation would rather stick to the formula of 36 plus 3, but added that they were flexible and not firmly welded to this. Another suggested 36 plus 3 plus the co-sponsors and any other delegation the Vietnamese would like to see invited. A third variation was 52 plus those who would come forward and say they would like to participate.

The Secretary-General asked if their suggestions were meant to be counter-proposals.

Ambassador Yango of the Philippines replied that that applied to only the two delegations mentioned and not to all the countries.

The Secretary-General thanked Ambassador Yango for his statement and clarifications and agreed that the only question remaining was that of the actual participation.

The Chargé d'Affaires of Singapore said that the thinking behind the suggestion was to help the Secretary-General with those who were not invited, as Viet Nam might criticize the selectivity.

The Secretary-General said that he himself would refrain from selecting the groups to be invited to the conference and would rather abide by the relevant principles. In that case, he said, he opted for the idea put forward by the Ambassador of Thailand of contacting those who had participated in the vote. It followed, he said, that those who did not participate in the vote did not show any concern.

Mr. Ahmed stated that some countries who have heard about these formulas of invitations being considered have expressed some concern that

these formulas would put them in an awkward position, in that they might be invited when they did not wish to be while others wishing to be included might be left out. He said that it was therefore important for the United Nations to be on sure grounds and abide by the principle of the participation in the vote.

The Secretary-General said that the formulas put him in a position to decide as to who are "concerned" and who are not, when he could not make the decision for the Member States. The wording in the resolution, he said, was not very clear and that brought him back to the States participating in the vote and thus expressing their concern. He felt, he said, that that was the most correct interpretation.

The Chargé d'Affaires of Singapore wished to explain why they chose to offer some other formulations. ASEAN was concerned lest a large number of countries approached should decline, which might be exploited politically.

The Chargé d'Affaires of Indonesia asked whether an approach in two phases would be considered. The first phase would sound out if the countries wished to participate. The second phase would issue invitations to countries which had expressed their wish to participate.

The Secretary-General said that this might be possible, but expressed some reservation involving the loss of time.

The Ambassador of Thailand recalled that his original idea was actually for a two-phased approach and he reiterated his wish that it be considered. He added that as a time-saving device invitations could be extended by telegrams. He also remarked that most Governments that were interested would so indicate their wish to the Secretary-General without delay.

The Secretary-General said that he was grateful for ASEAN's helpful co-operation and if the two-tier approach was acceptable, he was willing to "go along with it". He said however that this should not be regarded as a delaying process.

The Ambassador of the Philippines said that ASEAN would report back shortly and let the Secretary-General know.

The Secretary-General stated that it was his understanding that the first note of inquiry would be sent to the countries which had participated in the vote without fixing a date of the conference.

Mr. Ahmed added that the note would, however, give the delay for the reply.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar

H. 2 -
Relief Operations

SE Asia (SS 441)
ref ASEAN JNTT - JNTT 102 9/5

BR/ANN

CONFIDENTIAL

Note for the file

Ambassador Yango (Philippines) telephoned me today with the request that I convey to the Secretary-General a message from Foreign Minister Romulo that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' meeting in Djakarta has decided to make the following three recommendations to the Secretary-General:

- (1) The international conference on Kampuchea should be held in New York.
- (2) The Chairmanship of that conference should be offered to the Foreign Minister of Austria.
- (3) The conference should be held during the first half of July.

I promised to convey this message to the Secretary-General. In the meantime, I pointed out that, with regard to the second recommendation, it would appear to me that this is a matter solely within the responsibilities of the participants of the conference. I then enquired whether the ASEAN Foreign Ministers had made any suggestions concerning the invitees to the conference. Ambassador Yango replied that, as yet, he had not received any information on this aspect.

I conveyed the contents of this conversation to Mr. Essaafi.

Rafesuddin Ahmed
8 May 1981

cc. Mr. William Buffum
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:

A: Mr. Ahmed

af. AR

FROM:

DE: M'Hamed Essaafi

M. RA
8/5

Room No. - No de bureau

3161A

Extension - Poste

5588

Date

FOR ACTION

POUR SUITE A DONNER

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POUR SIGNATURE

FOR COMMENTS

POUR OBSERVATIONS

MAY WE DISCUSS?

POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?

YOUR ATTENTION

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AS DISCUSSED

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NOTE AND RETURN

NOTER ET RETOURNER

FOR INFORMATION

POUR INFORMATION

Confidential

HA/RB

8 May 1981

Kampuchea fileNote for the file

1. On Thursday, 7 May 1981 at 11.30 a.m., Ambassador Michel DUPUY, Permanent Representative of Canada called on Mr. Essaafi.
2. Ambassador Dupuy said he wished to be briefed on the question of Kampuchea. He wanted to find out where things stood after Mr. Essaafi's mission to South-East Asia and whether it had been decided to convene the International Conference. The Ambassador pointed out that Foreign Minister Siddhi of Thailand had visited Ottawa after Washington. After recalling his country's policy of general support to ASEAN, Ambassador Dupuy said that it had been indicated to Siddhi in Ottawa that if ASEAN decided to press for the International Conference and if the Secretary-General agreed to convene it, Canada would attend it.
3. Mr. Essaafi conveyed to the Ambassador the gist of his talks in Viet Nam and the ASEAN countries. He pointed out that while maintaining their basic positions, both sides had insisted on their desire to reach a peaceful solution. Some members of ASEAN had found "interesting indications" in the attitude of Viet Nam but all of them agreed that these indications were not sufficient. Consequently, ASEAN had decided to ask for the convening of the International Conference. At the same time, they were prepared to pursue a parallel process of bilateral consultations with Viet Nam and Laos.

Mr. Essaafi went on to say that by holding the International Conference, ASEAN members were seeking "to put pressure" on Hanoi but they had also indicated that the purpose of the exercise was "not to condemn" Viet Nam. Their opinion was that the Conference should "leave the door open", thus making it possible for Viet Nam to join the process at a later stage. This approach had the support of the United States and Japan. It was shared by Foreign Minister Siddhi who had also suggested in his recent meeting with the Secretary-General that the Conference should be held at the beginning of July and that the Austrian Foreign Minister had offered to hold it in Vienna.
4. Asked if the decision to hold the Conference had effectively been taken, Mr. Essaafi answered that, after his mission, the ASEAN Ambassadors had requested the Secretary-General to "go ahead" with the convening of the International Conference. They had not explicitly said, however, that they wished the Conference to be held, even without Viet Nam. The Secretary-General had indicated that he was ready to go ahead with the Conference. He had also pointed out that Viet Nam and the USSR had made it clear that they would not attend it. The Secretary-General was now awaiting the 8-9 May ASEAN ministerial meeting in Jakarta for a

confirmation of ASEAN's request. He would then proceed to carry out his mandate, in accordance with Resolution 35/6.

5. The Ambassador then asked if some of the non aligned countries had indicated their positions with regard to participation in a Conference without Viet Nam. Mr. Essaafi said he was currently having consultations with representatives from non aligned countries. According to his information, India would not participate. Burma did not give a clear answer but stressed that its policy was to try and maintain good relations with both sides. The representatives of Sri Lanka and Bangladesh said they had to consult with their Governments.

6. Ambassador Dupuy observed that the representation of Kampuchea would also be an important item in the preparation for the Conference. This problem could probably be solved more easily if the initiatives to create a "united front" were to succeed before the Conference was held.

Mr. Essaafi pointed out that the Resolution had called for the participation of "all conflicting parties in Kampuchea". Two of them were quite obvious. But there were also others like Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk who might be considered. The legal implications of their participation were being looked into, Mr. Essaafi said. From a political point of view, it was however quite clear that the sponsors of Resolution 35/6 had the participation of Son Sann and the Prince in mind. A decision on this matter would be taken in due course.

7. The Ambassador said that the question of Kampuchea was in his opinion one of the most complicated international issues of the moment. In such situations, he remarked, all the roads leading to peace were worth trying. He therefore understood the attitude of those members of ASEAN who wanted to "avoid cutting" any of these roads.

At Mr. Essaafi's request, Ambassador Dupuy then proceeded to explain his country's position. He said that basically Canada wanted to keep to a "discreet" attitude and to avoid putting pressure one way or the other on the countries of ASEAN. Canada would be willing to attend the International Conference, "even without Viet Nam", if that were the wish of ASEAN. Ottawa was aware that this conference could not be expected to reach immediate and concrete results. It was therefore not opposed to the idea of having a protracted conference that would hold several rounds of talks. The Ambassador said Ottawa would support this approach if ASEAN decided to adopt it. He believed it was desirable to keep some degree of pressure on Viet Nam. Canada had been one of the sponsors of Resolution 35/6. It remained committed to it and wished to see the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea take place.

Ambassador Dupuy observed that if the Conference decided to "leave the door open" to Viet Nam, it would make it possible for the 36th session of the General Assembly to resume the debate on Kampuchea

in an improved and more constructive atmosphere. He pointed out that he was merely expressing the "trend of Ottawa's thinking" on these matters. The policy of his Government was one of general support to ASEAN but Ottawa had not yet defined its position on the various aspects of the problem. The Foreign Minister of Canada had agreed to attend the Manila ASEAN ministerial meeting in June. He would then present Canada's official stand.

8. Concerning the current efforts to build a "united front" in Kampuchea, the Ambassador said Canada was watching this process carefully. If a "united front" were formed, it could create better conditions for the debates on the Kampuchean issue within the United Nations. Ottawa had no intention to become involved in any way, but it was looking with "sympathy" at the efforts undertaken by ASEAN towards the emergence of this front.

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO:
A: Mr. AhmedFROM:
DE: M'Hamed EssaafiRoom No. - No de bureau | Extension - Poste | Date
3161A | 5588 | 1/5/81

FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
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MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
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AS DISCUSSED	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

File: S.E. Asia (Essaafi)

H 2 -
Relief operations

Confidential

HA/RB

1 May 1981

Kampuchea file

Note for the file

Kampuchea

1. The following information has come to my attention through a reliable American diplomatic source:
2. The United States "strongly" supports ASEAN's appeal to hold an international conference on Kampuchea, in accordance with the provisions of Resolution 35/6. Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Haig both conveyed this position to the Secretary-General during their meeting with him in Washington on 30 April 1981. The Secretary-General had confirmed that he was "proceeding" to convene the conference. He had pointed out, however, that he was awaiting advice on the timing of and participation in this conference. More indications on these two points were expected after the 8-9 May ASEAN ministerial meeting in Jakarta.
3. Apparently the date, venue and membership of the conference were not discussed further with the Secretary-General. The United States felt, however, that this matter should be primarily dealt with by the ASEAN member countries since they were most directly concerned by the problem of Kampuchea. The United States Government did not want to "push" ASEAN one way or the other, but it would now examine the questions of procedure and perhaps present some "suggestions" to ASEAN and to some other countries. Basically, the United States thought that the conference should be structured in a way that would make it as "appealing" as possible to Viet Nam. The "format" of the conference should also give Viet Nam the possibility of joining the process of negotiations some time later, since the indications were that it was not prepared to attend now. The United States also felt that it would be useful to sound out the intentions of the countries that voted Resolution 35/6 with regard to their participation in the conference, although in the last analysis, this would not affect their decision to support ASEAN's call for its convening.
4. The visit of the Lao Foreign Minister to Jakarta from 27 to 29 April had not brought anything new. He had reportedly kept to the line defined by the Ho Chi Minh City Declaration. It was further pointed out to me that this might help to convince Indonesia that there were no change of substance to be expected from Viet Nam at the present time.
5. Mr. Son Sann, President of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) was considered as a reasonable and responsible man. It

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seems that the impression he made during his recent trip to the United States was generally favourable. His weakness was that the fighting forces on the ground remained largely in the hands of the Khmer Rouge. The United States was not, however, in a position to become involved with Son Sann. The armed elements under the control of Son Sann probably amounted to about 3,000 men. The contacts designed to work out a united front between Sihanouk, Son Sann and the Khmer Rouge have been reportedly stepped up during the last few weeks. But it was difficult to predict what the prospects were. State Department specialists of Asian Affairs were inclined to be sceptical as to the final outcome of these contacts.

Hédi Annabi

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar

UNITED NATIONS



GENERAL ASSEMBLY SECURITY COUNCIL

Distr.
GENERAL

A/36/230

S/14471

1 May 1981

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-sixth session
Item 22 of the preliminary list*
THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-sixth year

Letter dated 30 April 1981 addressed to the Secretary-General
by the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to
the United Nations

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, the text of the statement of 25 April 1981 by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea on the necessity of convening an international conference on Kampuchea.

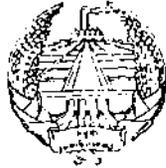
I should be very grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 22 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
of Democratic Kampuchea

* A/36/50.

ANNEX

កម្មវិធីប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ



STATEMENT BY
THE SPOKESMAN OF THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

ON

THE NECESSITY OF CONVENING
AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA

1. The 34th United Nations General Assembly has adopted the resolution 34/22 calling for the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. Following up this resolution, the 35th General Assembly has adopted the resolution 35/6 calling for the convening of an International Conference on Kampuchea to be held in early 1981 so as to set a specific time-frame for that withdrawal. Despite efforts of goodwill deployed by the ASEAN countries, by other peace- and justice-loving countries and by the United Nations Secretary General, the Hanoi authorities are stubbornly and barbarously carrying on their war of aggression, expansion, annexation and racial extermination in Kampuchea, and obstinately refuse to participate in the International Conference as stipulated in the resolution 35/6 of the United Nations General Assembly. In front of the arrogance and war-mongering of the Hanoi authorities, the ASEAN countries and all peace- and justice-loving countries have upheld a steadfast stand of justice and refused to let themselves be fooled by the perfidious manoeuvres of the latter who want to convene a so-called regional conference so as to make people forget their aggression in Kampuchea, to evade the implementation of the United Nations resolutions, and to have their invasion of Kampuchea accepted as a fait accompli. The ASEAN countries and all peace- and justice-loving countries have firmly abided by the resolution 35/6 and insisted on demanding the convening of the stipulated International Conference, whether the Hanoi authorities and their supporters attend it or not. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea fully supports this constant and just stand and calls for an urgent convening of that Conference.

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2. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is convinced that the United Nations Secretary General will take all necessary measures for the urgent convening of that International Conference on Kampuchea.

3. Considering the United Nations resolution 35/6 and whereas it is the sole legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea, a party to the conflict and a victim of the aggression committed by the Hanoi authorities called the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is prepared to take part in that International Conference, as it is entitled to do.

4. At a time when some countries in the world are victims of acts of aggression and expansion by the Soviet expansionists and their agents among which are Vietnam and Cuba, at a time when many other countries are directly threatened by those expansionists, the convening of an International Conference on Kampuchea in order to set a specific time-frame for the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, not only will help to put a rapid end to the Kampuchean people's immeasurable sufferings, but also directly contribute to ensure peace, stability and security in South-East Asia and in other regions of the world.

The people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea who now are overcoming difficulties and obstacles of all kinds, consenting to lofty sacrifices in their struggle against the Vietnamese invaders for the survival of the Kampuchean nation, and for an honourable contribution to the safeguard of peace and stability in the world, are convinced that all the friendly countries, near or far, always will keep carrying on actively their efforts for an International Conference to be effectively held in conformity with the United Nations resolution 35/6.

Democratic Kampuchea,
25 April 1981

Confidential

Feb: Thailand

x ref. SE Asia (Essaafi)

H: P/A/AR

ME/RB

28 April 1981

NOTES ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MEETING WITH
THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THAILAND

Held at Headquarters on Monday, 27 April 1981 at 12.00 noon

Present: The Secretary-General	H.E. Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand
Mr. M'Hamed Essaafi	
Mr. Georg Mautner- Markhof	H.E. M.R. Kasem S. Kasemsri Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
	H.E. Mr. Birabhongse Kasemsri Permanent Representative of Thailand to the United Nations
	Mr. Arsa Sarasin Director General Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	Mr. Nitya Pibulsonggram Deputy Director General Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	Mr. Sakthip Krairiksh Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs

The Secretary-General welcomed the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand and gave him the floor.

The Foreign Minister of Thailand thanked the Secretary-General and said that from the Secretary-General's meeting with the representatives of ASEAN the week before, the Secretary-General was aware of ASEAN's assessment of the position of the Indochinese countries and of the reconfirmation of the ASEAN wish for the convening of the international conference. He added that he was glad to learn that the Secretary-General was preparing for its convening, which was indeed encouraging to ASEAN.

As regards Thailand, the Foreign Minister said, they had asked their Ambassador in Austria to get confirmation from Foreign Minister Pahr of Austria as to whether his offer of Vienna as a proposed site for the international conference still stood. He said that he also asked the

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ASEAN members as to what procedures should be adopted on the conference and whether it should be held even without the participation of Viet Nam and the USSR. As regards the question of procedure, he said that they would have to decide with their other ASEAN colleagues on 8-9 May, when they were scheduled to meet in Jakarta. Offhand, the Minister said, he felt that the appropriate time for the conference would be July. It was his understanding that Foreign Minister Pahr would be available from 1 to 6 July. However, the precise date of the convening of the conference would be left to the Secretary-General to decide.

Continuing, the Foreign Minister said that Foreign Minister Mochtar of Indonesia had returned to Jakarta to receive the Foreign Minister of Laos. He said that as Mr. Essaafi had already been informed, such bilateral consultations should continue, but they should not hamper the convening of the international conference. Mr. Firyubin, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, he said, had recently visited Bangkok. He supported the idea of a regional conference, following which an international conference could be convened to ratify the agreements reached in the regional conference, the Minister said. He pointed out that Firyubin interestingly emphasized the threat that came from the United States rather than from China. As such, the conflict involved the Big Powers and, he said, that it was therefore of an international nature. Mochtar, the Foreign Minister said, would explain this to the Lao Foreign Minister. In Thailand, he went on to say, they sought to narrow the differences between the two sides in order to come to the conference table.

Regarding the participants of the conference, the Foreign Minister said that Thailand was of the opinion that it should be left to the discretion of the Secretary-General. However, under "others concerned", the Minister continued, the following might be considered: the Big Powers, the Donor countries since the refugee problems were a product of the conflict, the third world nations, the Non-Aligned countries since their interest was indicated in their statement issued on Kampuchea. Viet Nam had reiterated that they would not come. The Foreign Minister hoped that the Secretary-General would report this to the General Assembly. He said that ASEAN did not wish to corner Viet Nam but simply wished to show them that public opinion still insisted on the withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea. The Minister pointed out that they also feared, in this connexion, that other questions like Namibia coming to the fore might cause the Kampuchean problem to be forgotten. It was also their hope that Viet Nam might join the conference once it got underway, as they did in the past during the Geneva Conference. He reflected that in Kampuchea itself there could be no military solution and that Viet Nam was in a difficult situation. They were therefore looking to outside help, the Minister said. Moreover, he added, there were other elements: Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk also asked for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops - and yet Sihanouk had been a friend of Viet Nam! The Foreign Minister continued that, with reasoning, Viet Nam might come to listen and reason. Viet Nam had its own problems at home, said the Minister, and it was his hope that the conference would benefit all concerned.

The Foreign Minister of Thailand then proceeded to report on his talks with Co Thach, Foreign Minister of Viet Nam, when they had met in New York. He said that Co Thach had stuck to the "same line". He said that he intended to propose to his Government, but since he had not done so yet, spoke in strictest confidence, that he should like to send his Deputy Foreign Minister to meet with the Deputy Foreign Minister of Viet Nam either in Hanoi or in Burma.

The Secretary-General thanked the Foreign Minister of Thailand for giving him the benefit of his analysis. He emphasized that he felt bound by the General Assembly resolution which had given the Secretary-General a clear mandate. He added that contrary to certain beliefs he has never tried to delay the convening of the conference. In New Delhi, while continuing his consultations with the parties concerned, he said, he had met with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore and the Ambassadors of Thailand and the Philippines, when he had discussed the two-phase approach of Co Thach. Following those consultations he had informed Co Thach that that formula was not acceptable to ASEAN. He then had asked ASEAN if they wished him to convene the international conference immediately, at which point Foreign Minister Mochtar had said that ASEAN would prefer to wait just a little while longer to see the outcome of the bilateral consultations and that they would let the Secretary-General know later. The Secretary-General then said that he considered the recent démarche made to him to mean that he should proceed with the convening of the international conference, to which the Secretary-General's answer had been that he was prepared to do so. He continued to say that he was grateful to the Thai Foreign Minister for informing him of the offer extended by the Austrian Foreign Minister regarding the site of the conference. However, he added, Foreign Minister Pahr had not contacted him about it and when the Secretary-General had tried to inquire, Foreign Minister Pahr happened to be on Easter vacation. But, he said that he would contact him in the near future. The Secretary-General then proceeded to say that between 1 and 6 July, he would be required, as a matter of tradition, to open the annual meeting of the Economic and Social Council, which fell on 1 July. He therefore suggested that the conference be called a day or two later.

The Foreign Minister of Thailand said that that would not be a problem.

The Secretary-General then asked whether invitations should be sent to all countries or only on a selective basis.

The Foreign Minister of Thailand replied that it would be left to the discretion of the Secretary-General. However, their suggestions made previously had indicated the minimum requirements.

The Secretary-General at this juncture explained that since the resolution stated as one of its objectives the withdrawal of troops, in his discussions with Foreign Minister Mochtar earlier, he had told the Minister that in the absence of Viet Nam and the USSR, he could not guarantee the outcome of such a conference. If the Vietnamese did not

File: SE Asia
(Essaafi)

AR/6/1981
Raf

CONFIDENTIAL

Note for the file

Mr. Cu Dinh Ba, Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, came to see me on 14 April 1981. He had been instructed by his Government to convey to the Secretary-General certain clarifications regarding its position on Southeast Asia in view of reports in certain Western media of statements made by Mr. Essaafi which did not accurately reflect the spirit and content of the talks he had with the Vietnamese Government in Hanoi.

His Government was in favour of contacts between the two groups of nations in Southeast Asia, on the basis of mutual equality, but was not in favour of an enlarged regional conference. During the talks with Mr. Essaafi in Hanoi, neither the question of a political solution for Kampuchea nor that of an international conference was discussed. His Government did not accept the General Assembly resolution adopted last year. It felt that regional consultations or bilateral talks, at which both sides could put forward any ideas they wished, could be the basis for peace and stability in the region.

I told Mr. Cu Dinh Ba that I would convey his Government's position to the Secretary-General and to Mr. Essaafi, who would be returning to the office shortly, and ask the latter to meet with the Chargé d'Affaires to clarify the matter further, if necessary.

Rafeuddin Ahmed

cc. Mr. M. Essaafi

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3161AExtension - Poste
5588

Date

21/4/81

FOR ACTION	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	POUR INFORMATION

Kamp Refs.
SE Asia
 (Essaafi)

Note to the Secretary-GeneralThe International Conference on Kampuchea

1. Upon my return to Headquarters I have had meetings with the Ambassadors or Deputy Permanent Representatives of the following countries:

United Kingdom (14 April)

Australia and Canada (15 April)

France, Japan and United States (16 April)

2. The representatives of all these countries have expressed converging views. Although they have no particular illusions, they are prepared to support ASEAN's demand for an "early convening" of the international conference on Kampuchea, with or without Viet Nam. The date most often mentioned as suitable is July. According to France and the United Kingdom, the EEC has not yet reached a final consensus on this matter, but the general tendency is to go along with ASEAN.

3. Ambassador Petree (USA) and Ambassador Nisibori (Japan) think that the Conference should be organized along the lines of the "1954 Geneva Conference". The others did not elaborate on their conception of the conference. For the United States and Japan, the objective should not be a short conference to "condemn" Viet Nam. What they have in mind is a conference that could meet and recess in accordance with the needs of the negotiating process. The first "round" would enable ASEAN and others to state their position. The door would be left open for Viet Nam to join the conference at a later stage.

4. On 20 April 1981, I met with Mr. Shustov, Deputy Permanent Representative of the USSR. His opinion was that if the international conference were to be convened now, it would be a "unilateral" conference. While reiterating his Government's support to Viet Nam, he said he believed that the countries of ASEAN and Indochina could work out together a mutually acceptable solution. He added that, at the present time, a decision to hold the international conference would only make things "more difficult". Furthermore, it would jeopardize the chances of a future agreement between the two sides.

I pointed out that you were facing growing pressure to convene the international conference in compliance with the provisions of Resolution 35/6. I told him you were, of course, fully aware that,

in the absence of the USSR and Viet Nam, this conference would not reach significant conclusions, but that it would be difficult for you to withhold further a decision on this matter. In response, Mr. Shustov indicated that he "understood" your position with regard to the Resolution.

5. The representatives of ASEAN have requested a meeting with you in order to present you formally with a copy of the 10 April ASEAN statement published in Manila after my meeting with Romulo. According to our information, they also wish to convey to you on behalf of their Governments a proposal to convene the international conference in Vienna at the beginning of July 1981.

6. The members of ASEAN are scheduled to meet twice in the following weeks: they will have an informal meeting in Jakarta on 7 May for the inauguration of the new ASEAN headquarters, and they will then hold their annual ministerial meeting in Manila on 16 June. General Haig, the President of the EEC Council of Ministers, the Foreign Ministers of Japan, Australia as well as other Western representatives are expected to attend this meeting.

M'Hamed Essaafi

Distributed to: Mr. Ahmed ✓
Mr. Buffum
Sir Robert Jackson
Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar

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HNL24-04 CONFIDENTIAL ATTENTION SECRETARY-GENERAL FROM SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ESSAAFI.

1. ON 10 APRIL 1981 AT 10 A.M. I MET WITH FOREIGN AMBASSADORS OF OTHER ASEAN MEMBERS, I.E. ASEAN STANDING COMMITTEE, ASWELLAS SENIOR AIDES OF FORMIN ALSO PRESENT.
2. I CONVEYED GIST OF DISCUSSIONS IN NANOI.
3. GEN. RONULO EXPRESSED HIS AND ASEAN'S APPRECIATION FOR YOUR EFFORTS AND OUR MISSION. HE STRESSED COMMON ASEAN DESIRE TO CONVENE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN ACCORDANCE GA RESOLUTION TO ACHEIVE VIETNAM WITHDRAWAL FROM KAMPUCHEA, SINCE MATTER VITALLY AFFECTS FUTURE PEACE OF ALL COUNTRIES IN REGION AND SACROSANCT PRINCIPLE UN CHARTER. HE SAID, SPEAKING AS FORMIN PHILIPPINES, THAT ASEAN MEMBERS WERE CONTINUING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER SIDE AS PROMISED TO SECCEN IN NEWDELHI BUT ANY REGIONAL CONFERENCE, HOWEVER FLEXIBLE VIETNAM MIGHT BE, WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE.
4. FORMIN SAID FORMAL STATEMENT WOULD BE ISSUED THIS PM UPON RECEIPT APPROVAL FROM ASEAN FORMINS.
5. AM MEETING FORMIN PRIVATELY AT 6:30 P.M. TODAY.

(MORVAN UNDEVPRO MANILA)

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cc. H. Perez de Cuellar
Chavez AR [Signature]

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TO: THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK
 FROM: H. ESTERLICH, SINGAPORE
 DATE: 5 APRIL 1974

NUMBER: HCR/SIN/384

1. MET FOR MIN OF MALAYSIA AND SENIOR AIDES ON 3 APRIL 1974. MIN INDICATED INTEREST IN HANOI'S SUGGESTION AND STATED NEED FOR CONGRUENT PROCEEDING.
2. MEETING IN SINGAPORE ON 3 APRIL MET FOR MIN AND AIDES FOR TWO HOURS THAT DAY AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SRI-ARTANA AND AIDES FOR ONE AND HALF HOURS ON 4 APRIL. SINGAPORE EXPRESSED VIEW THERE WAS NOTHING NEW ON SUBSTANCE AND STRESSED NEED TO PROCEED TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.
3. DESPITE SAPP 1 ABOVE, SUNDAY TIMES SINGAPORE REPORTED 7 APRIL FOR MIN. OF MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE MET ON 4 APRIL AND AGREED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD SOON EVEN WITHOUT VIETNAM.
4. PROCEEDING TO TOKYO ON 6 APRIL AND TO MANILA ON 8 APRIL.

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