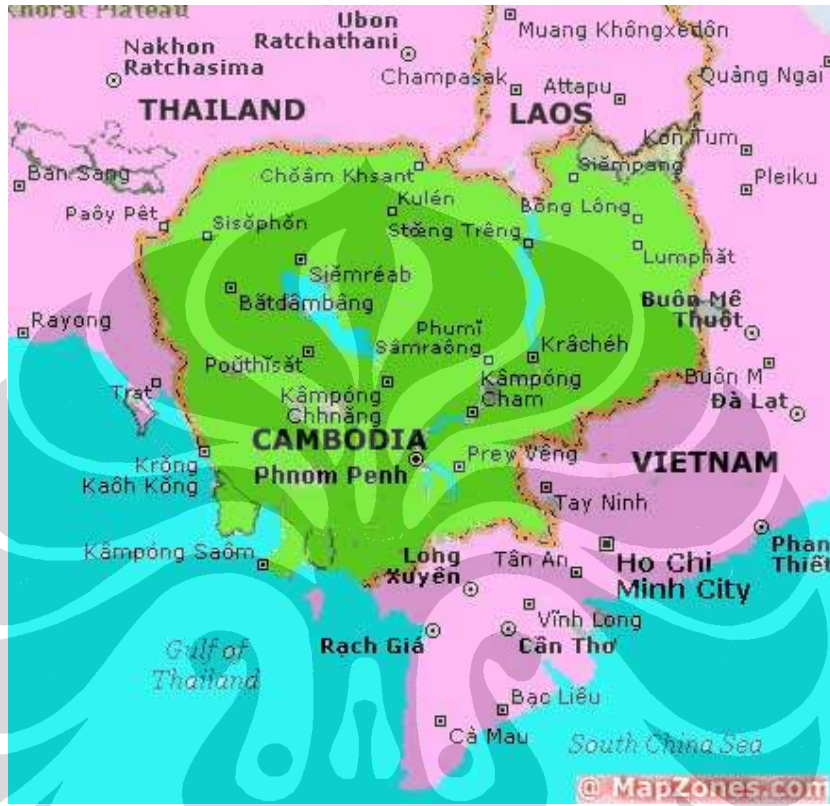


Lampiran 2



Sumber : <http://www.btinternet.com/~andy.Brower/Map.htm>

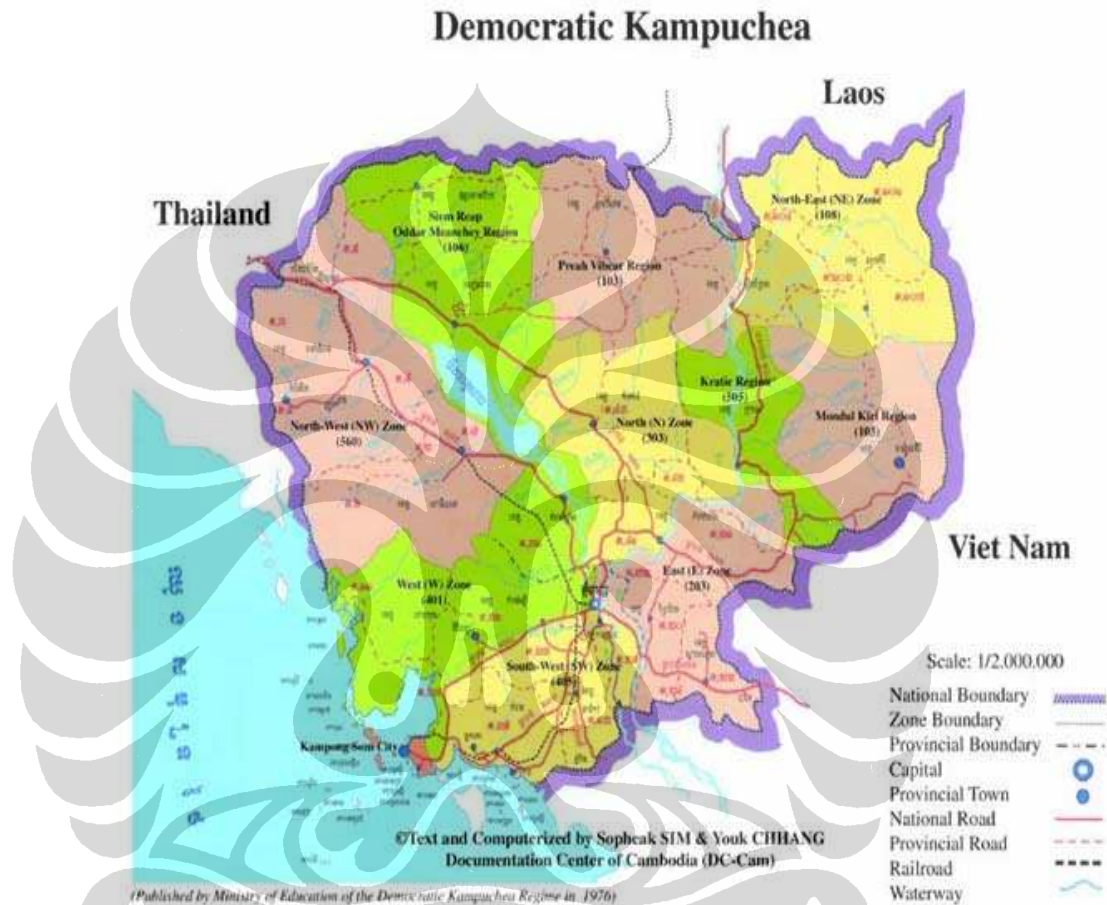
Lampiran 3



Sumber: <http://kidz Mapzones.com/world/Cambodia>

Lampiran 4

Peta pembagian wilayah zona dalam pemerintahan *Democratic Kampuchea* 1975—1979



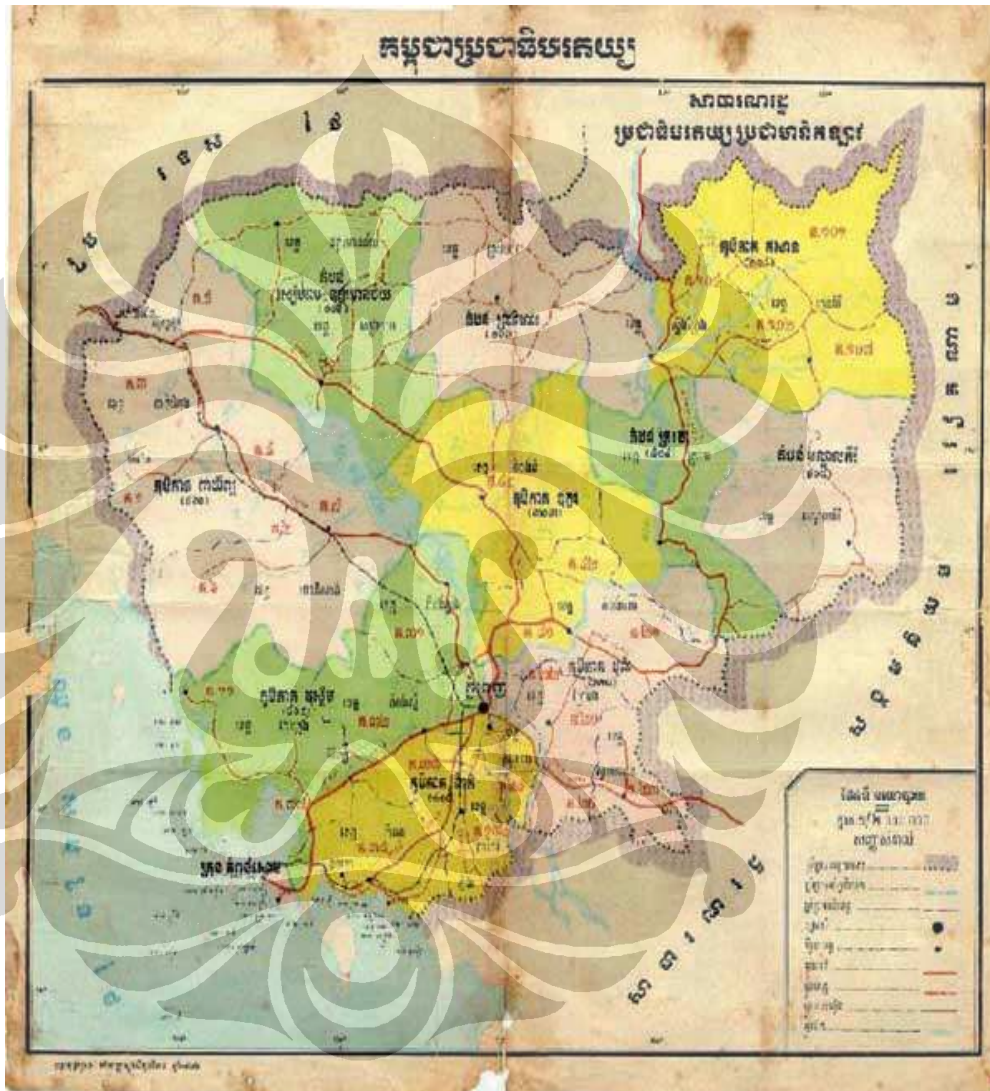
Published by Ministry of Education of Democratic Kampuchea 1976

Sumber: http://www.ddcam.org/Projects/Maps/Mapping_1976.htm

Lampiran 5

Peta pembagian wilayah zona dalam pemerintahan *Democratic Kampuchea* 1975—1979

(bahasa Kamboja)



Published by the Ministry of Education of Democratic Kampuchea, 1976

Sumber: http://www.ddcam.org/Projects/Maps/Mapping_1976.htm

Lampiran 6

ICK-DECLARATION ON KAMPUCHEA

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 13th–17th July 1981, with the aim of finding a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchea 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 consequence 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 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 Kampuchea 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 Southeast Asia.

9. The Conference emphasizes that Kampuchea, like all other countries, has the right to be independent and sovereign, free from any external threat of 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 ceasefire 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 arrangement should also ensure that they will respect 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 Kampucheans 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 the elected government of Kampuchea to declare that Kampuchea will not pose a threat to or be use 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 United Nations Security Council, all States of Southeast 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 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 Kampuchea conflict, an international committee will be established to consider programmes of assistance to Kampuchea for the reconstruction its economy and for the economic and social development of all States of the region.

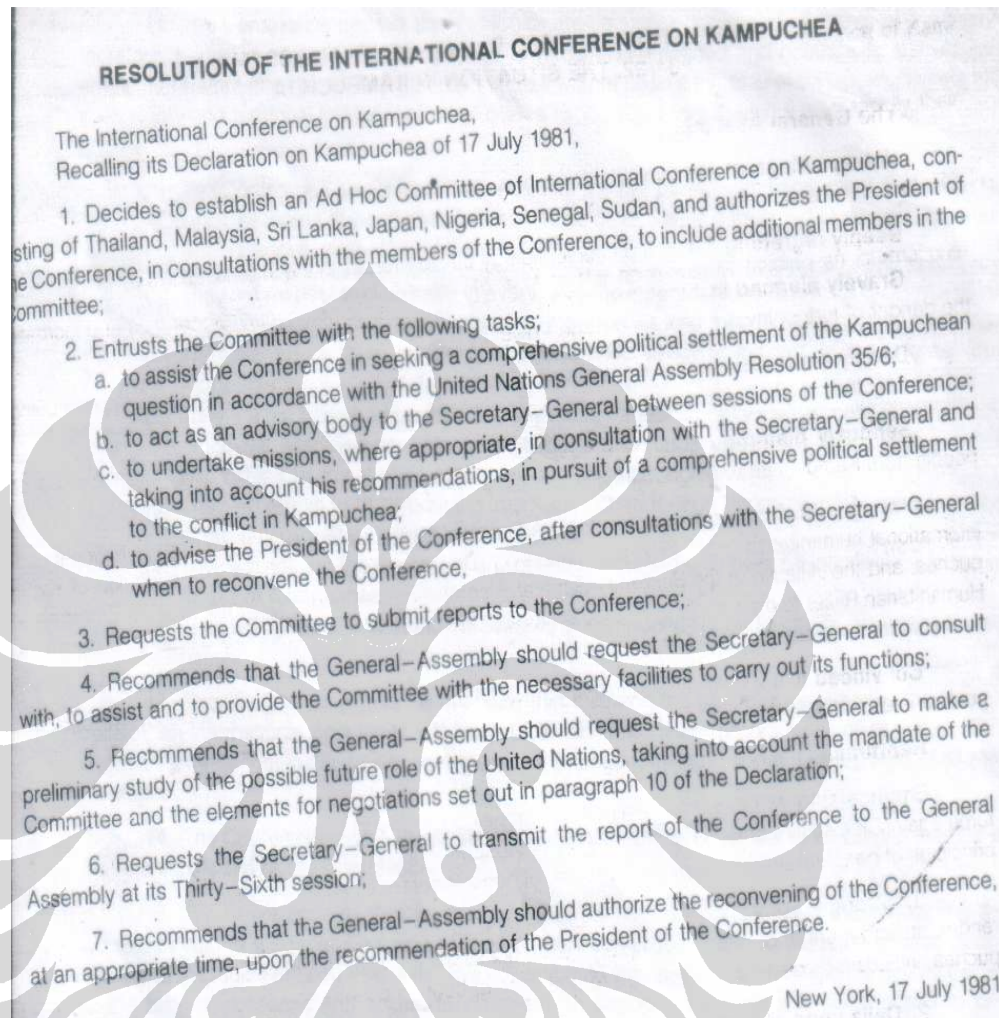
14. The Conference notes the absence of Vietnam and of other states and urges them to attend the future sessions of the Conference.

15. 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 co-operation in all fields of endeavour, thus heralding a new era of peace, concord and amity in Southeast Asia.

New York, 17 July 1981

Sumber: *Documents of The Kampuchean Problems 1979 – 1985*. 1985. Bangkok: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. hlm. 123 – 124

Lampiran 7



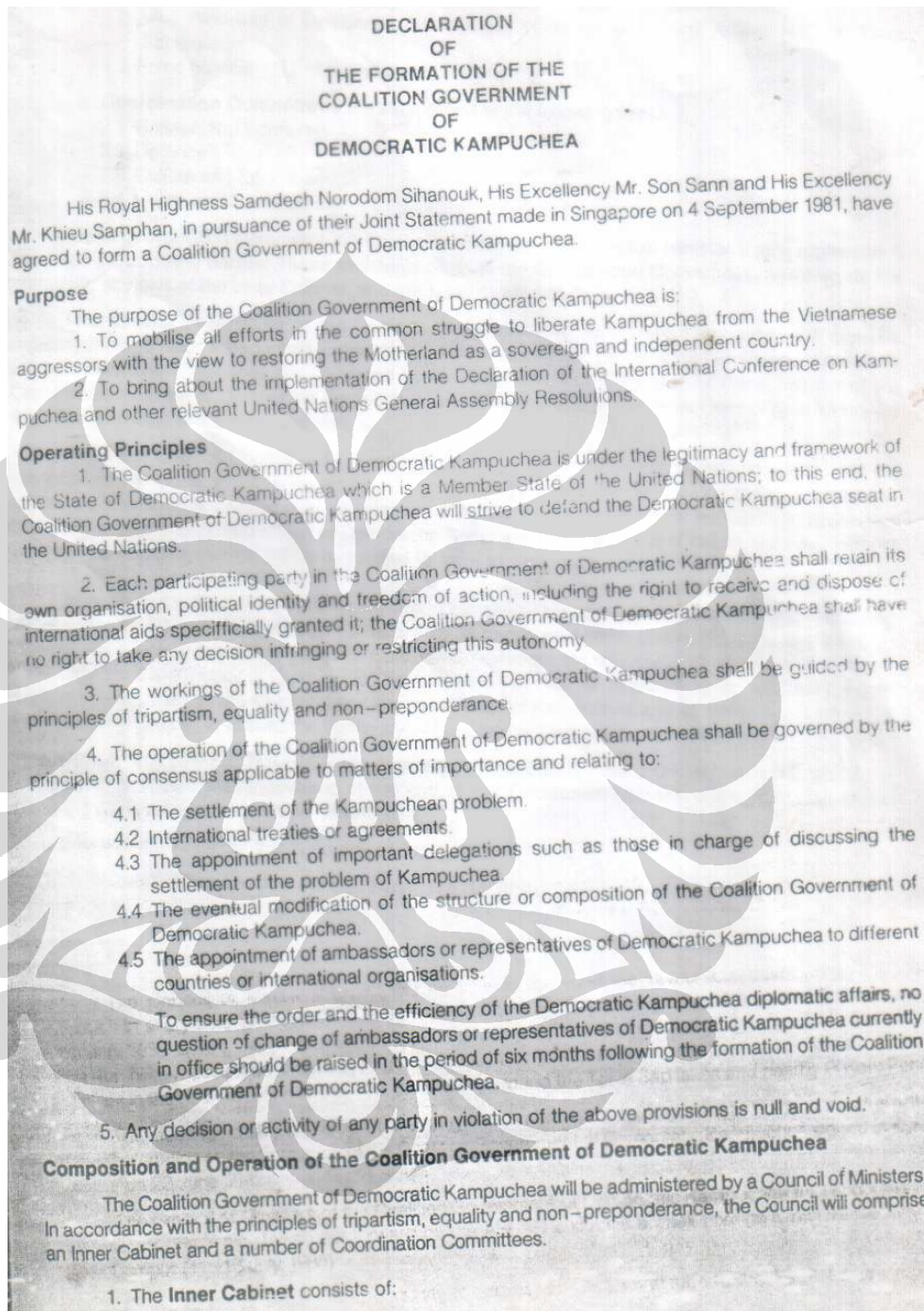
Sumber: *Documents of The Kampuchean Problems 1979 – 1985*. 1985. Bangkok: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. hlm. 125

Lampiran 8



Foto ini diambil pada saat Deklarasi Singapura tahun 1981. Sumber: Sinar Harapan, 22 Juni 1982. "Penandatanganan Koalisi Siang Ini, Sihanouk Tidak Optimis".

Lampiran 10



Lampiran 9



KOALISI KAMBOJA — Pemerintahan koalisi anti-Vietnam di Kamboja akhirnya terbentuk secara resmi hari Selasa, ketika ketiga pemimpin kelompok menandatangani persetujuan di Kuala Lumpur. Dari kiri ke kanan: Son Sann dari Front Nasional Kemerdekaan Kamboja (KNPKF), Pangeran Norodom Sihanouk, Menteri Malaysia Tan Sri Ghazali bin Shafie yang bertindak sebagai tuan rumah dan Khie Samphan dari Khmer Merah, pada saat menandatangani naskah tersebut. Peristiwa bersejarah ini disaksikan pula oleh para wakil ASEAN.

Kompas, 23 Juni 1982. “Ditandatangani, Deklarasi Pembentukan Pemerintahan Koalisi Demokratik Kamboja”.

- 1.1. President of Democratic Kampuchea: Samdech Norodom Sihanouk
- 1.2. Vice President of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of Foreign Affairs: H.E. Mr. Khieu Samphan
- 1.3 Prime Minister : H.E. Mr. Son Sann

2. **Coordination Committees** are established in the following areas:

- 2.1 Finance and Economy
- 2.2 Defence
- 2.3 Culture and Education
- 2.4 Health and Social Affairs

Each Coordination Committee will be chaired by three appointees of ministerial rank representing the three participating parties. These ministerial posts in the Coordination Committees, however, do not constitute any part of the Inner Cabinet, and are subordinated to it.

The Council of Ministers of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will convene regular meetings inside Kampuchea. Extraordinary meetings can also be convened when urgent problems present themselves. Meetings are convened by the President, Vice President, or Prime Minister of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and presided over in the same order of precedence by the three members of the Inner Cabinet.

The Inner Cabinet Council of Ministers will be entrusted with the responsibility of preserving the existence of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which includes the discussion and settlement of differences arising over the interpretation and/or implementation of the Operating Principles governing the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. In the event of failure, the Presidents of the three participating parties will be requested to meet to work out a solution.

In accordance with the above-mentioned Operating Principles, each of the three participating parties reserves the right to its freedom of action so as to ensure its own continuity, in the event that an impasse has developed which renders the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea inoperative. In this case the current State of Democratic Kampuchea led by H.E. Mr. Khieu Samphan will have the right to resume its activities as the sole legal and legitimate State of Kampuchea and as a Member State of the United Nations in order to ensure the continuity of the State of Democratic Kampuchea.

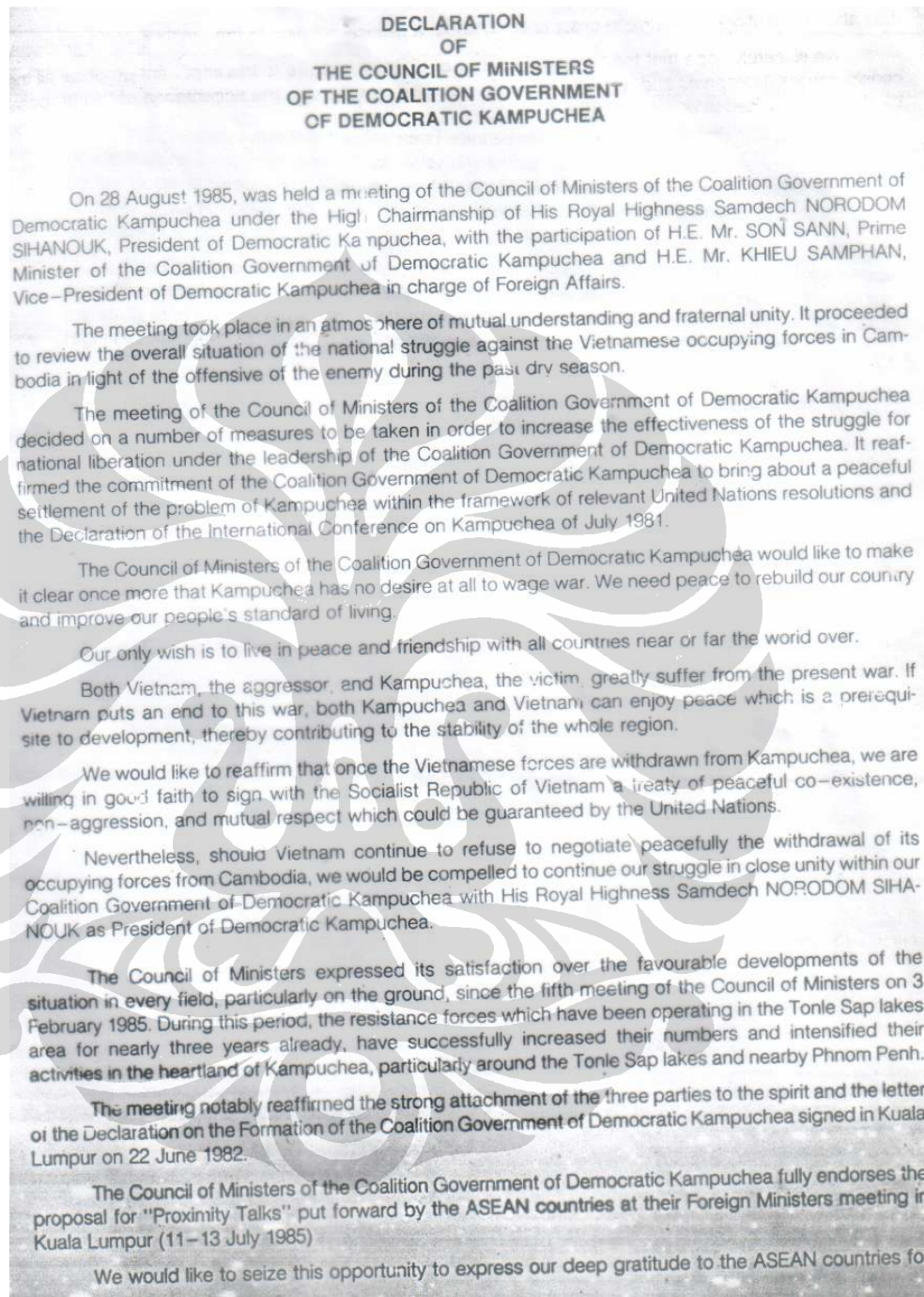
In testimony whereof, H.R.H. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, H.E. Mr. Son Sann, and H.E. Mr. Khieu Samphan have affixed their signatures at the end of this Declaration formalising the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Done in Kuala Lumpur this 22nd day of June, 1982.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk H.E. Mr.Son Sann H.E. Mr.Khieu Samphan

Sumber: *Documents of The Kampuchean Problems 1979 – 1985*. 1985. Bangkok: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. hlm. 119 – 120

Lampiran 11



their above-mentioned initiative in order to bring about a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

We sincerely hope that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will give to this important proposal all the considerations it deserves and will not delay any longer its acceptance. The acceptance of this proposal by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam would constitute a great step towards a political solution of the problem of Kampuchea and would be surely greeted by all peace-loving countries as an important contribution to peace and security in our region and the world.

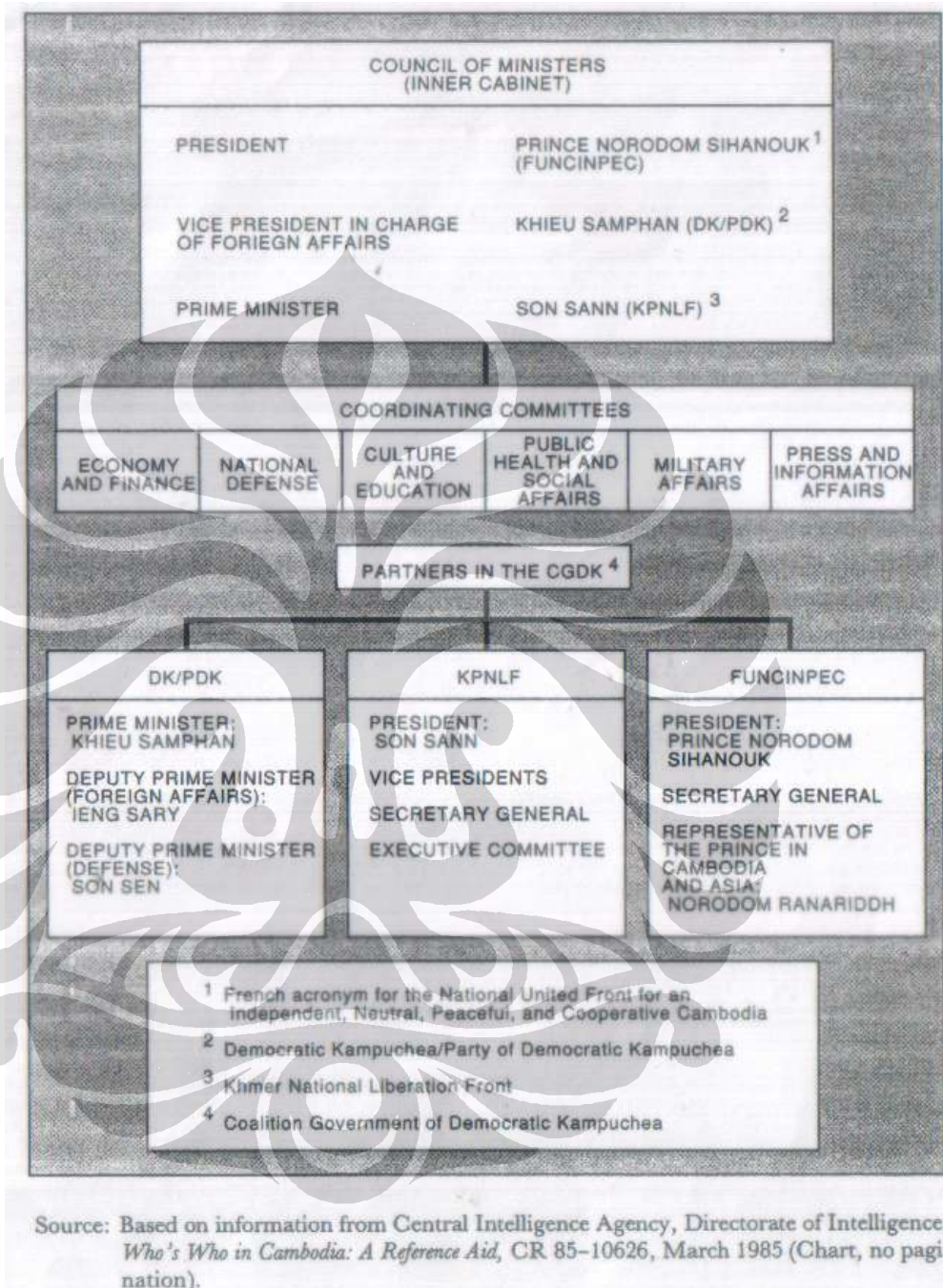
The Council of Ministers of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea expressed once again its gratitude to all peace- and justice-loving countries and called on them to continue to support the just struggle of the Khmer people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with His Royal Highness Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK as President of Democratic Kampuchea.

Kampuchea, 28 August 1985

Sumber: *Documents of The Kampuchean Problems 1979 – 1985*. 1985. Bangkok: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. hlm. 121 – 122



Lampiran 12



Sumber: Russel, R. Ross (ed.). 1990. *Cambodia a Country Study*. Washington: Federal Result Library Division of Congress. hlm. 202.

FINAL ACT OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON CAMBODIA

1. Concerned by the tragic conflict and continuing bloodshed in Cambodia, the Paris Conference on Cambodia was convened, at the invitation of the Government of the French Republic, in order to achieve an internationally guaranteed comprehensive settlement which would restore peace to that country. The Conference was held in two sessions, the first from 30 July to 30 August 1989, and the second from 21 to 23 October 1991.

2. The Co-Presidents of the Conference were H. E. Mr. Roland DUMAS, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, and H. E. Mr. Ali ALATAS, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

3. The following States participated in the Conference : Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, the People's Republic of China, the French Republic, the Republic of India, the Republic of Indonesia, Japan, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Singapore, the Kingdom of Thailand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

In addition, the Non-Aligned Movement was represented at the Conference by its current Chairman at each session, namely Zimbabwe at the first session and Yugoslavia at the second session.

4. At the first session of the Conference, Cambodia was represented by the four Cambodian Parties. The Supreme National Council of Cambodia, under the leadership of its President, H.R.H. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK, represented Cambodia at the second session of the Conference.

5. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, H.E. M. Javier PEREZ DE CUELLAR, and his Special Representative, M. Rafeeuddin AHMED, also participated in the Conference.

6. The Conference organized itself into three working committees of the whole, which met throughout the first session of the Conference. The First Committee dealt with military matters, the Second Committee dealt with the question of international guarantees, and the Third Committee with the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons and the eventual reconstruction of Cambodia.

The officers of each committee were as follows :

First Committee

Co-Chairmen : Mr. C.R. GHAREKHAN (India)
Mr. Allan SULLIVAN (Canada)
Rapporteur : Ms. Victoria SISANTE-BATACLAN
(Philippines)

Second Committee

Co-Chairmen : Mr. Soulivong PHRASITHIDETH (Laos)
Dato' ZAINAL ABIDIN IBRAHIM (Malaysia)
Rapporteur : Mr. Hervé DEJEAN de la BATIE (France)

Third Committee

Co-Chairmen : Mr. Yukio IMAGAWA (Japan)
Mr. Robert MERRILLEES (Australia)
Rapporteur : Colonel Ronachuck SWASDIKIAT (Thailand)

The Conference also established an Ad Hoc Committee, composed of the representatives of the four Cambodian Parties and chaired by the representatives of the two Co-Presidents of the Conference, whose mandate involved matters related to national reconciliation among the Cambodian Parties. The Ad Hoc Committee held several meetings during the first session of the Conference.

The Coordination Committee of the Conference, chaired by the representatives of the two Co-Presidents, was established and given responsibility for general coordination of the work of the other four committees. The Coordination Committee met at both the first and second sessions of the Conference. An informal meeting of the Coordination Committee was also held in New York on 21 September 1991.

7. At the conclusion of the first session, the Conference had achieved progress in elaborating a wide variety of elements necessary for the achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict in Cambodia. The Conference noted, however, that it was not yet possible to achieve a comprehensive settlement. It was therefore decided to suspend the Conference on 30 August 1989. However, in doing so, the Conference urged all parties concerned, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement, and asked the Co-Presidents to lend their good offices to facilitate these efforts.

8. Following the suspension of the first session of the Conference, the Co-Presidents and the Secretary-General of the United Nations undertook extensive consultations, in particular with the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, with the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, and with other participants in the Paris Conference. The object of

these consultations was to forge agreement on all aspects of a settlement, to ensure that all initiatives to this end were compatible and to enhance the prospects of ending the bloodshed in Cambodia at the earliest possible date. The efforts of the Co-Presidents and the Secretary-General paved the way for the reconvening of the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

9. At the inaugural portion of the final meeting of the Paris Conference, on 23 October 1991, the Conference was addressed by H.E. Mr. François MITTERRAND, President of the French Republic, H.R.H. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK, President of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, and H.E. Mr. Javier PEREZ DE CUELLAR, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

10. At the second session, the Conference adopted the following instruments :

1. AGREEMENT ON A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CAMBODIA CONFLICT, with annexes on the mandate for UNTAC, military matters, elections, repatriation of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, and the principles for a new Cambodian constitution;
2. AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND INVIOABILITY, NEUTRALITY AND NATIONAL UNITY OF CAMBODIA; and
3. DECLARATION ON THE REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMBODIA.

These instruments represent an elaboration of the "Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict" adopted by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council on 28 August 1990, and of elements of the work accomplished at the first session of the Conference. They entail a continuing process of national reconciliation and an enhanced role for the United Nations, thus enabling the Cambodian people to determine their own political future through free and fair elections organized and conducted by the United Nations in a neutral political environment with full respect for the national sovereignty of Cambodia.

11. These instruments, which together form the comprehensive settlement the achievement of which was the objective of the Paris Conference, are being presented for signature to the States participating in the Paris Conference. On behalf of Cambodia, the instruments will be signed by the twelve members of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, which is the unique legitimate body and source of authority enshrining the sovereignty, independence and unity of Cambodia.

12. The States participating in the Conference call upon the Co-Presidents of the Conference to transmit an authentic copy of the comprehensive political settlement instruments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The States participating in the Conference request the Secretary-General to take the appropriate steps in order to enable consideration of the comprehensive settlement by the United Nations Security Council at the earliest opportunity. They pledge their full cooperation in the fulfilment of this comprehensive settlement and their assistance in its implementation.

Above all, in view of the recent tragic history of Cambodia, the States participating in the Conference commit themselves to promote and encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia, as embodied in the relevant international instruments to which they are party.

13. The States participating in the Conference request the International Committee of the Red Cross to facilitate, in accordance with its principles, the release of prisoners of war and civilian internees. They express their readiness to assist the ICRC in this task.

14. The States participating in the Conference invite other States to accede to the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict and to the Agreement concerning the Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia.

15. Further recognizing the need for a concerted international effort to assist Cambodia in the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction, the States participating in the Conference urge the international community to provide generous economic and financial support for the measures set forth in the Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the representatives have signed this Final Act.

DONE AT PARIS this twenty-third day of October one thousand nine hundred and ninety one, in two copies in the Chinese, English, French, Khmer and Russian languages, each text being equally authentic. The originals of this Final Act shall be deposited with the Governments of the French Republic and of the Republic of Indonesia.

Sumber: Himpunan Naskah Perjanjian Paris Mengenai Kamboja. 1991. Direktorat Asia Pasifik, Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia.

RIWAYAT HIDUP

Prisca Prima Widya, lahir di Jakarta, 12 Oktober 1986 adalah anak kedua dari pasangan suami-istri FX. Hendro dan Naniek Setyawati. Penulis memperoleh pendidikan dasar dan menengahnya SD Katolik Permata Bunda Cimanggis dan Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama Katolik Slamet Riyadi, serta mendapat ijazah Sekolah Menengah Umum Negeri 98 Jakarta jurusan IPS pada tahun 2004. Penulis melanjutkan studi di Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, Program Studi Ilmu Sejarah dengan pengutamaan Sejarah Asia Tenggara dari tahun 2004 – 2008, hingga memperoleh gelar Sarjana Humaniora dengan skripsi yang berjudul “Proses Rekonsiliasi Damai Kamboja 1982 – 1991”.

