

THE ROLE OF INDONESIA IN CREATING PEACE IN CAMBODIA: 1979-1992

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Abstract

The 1979-1992 conflicts were a thorn in the flesh for the peace in the Indochina area, and the Southeast Asia area. Because Indonesia is part of the countries in Southeast Asia, it is reasonable if Indonesia contributes to creating peace in Cambodia. Therefore, this study tried to find out the beginning of the conflict in Cambodia, to know the role of Indonesia in realizing peace in Cambodia in 1979-1992, and to understand how the impact of Cambodia peace for Indonesia in particular and Southeast Asia in general. The conflict in Cambodia caused political uncertainty in Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia countries attempted either independently or within the framework of ASEAN to resolve the conflict. Indonesia's extraordinary contribution assisted in the peace in Cambodia, both through ASEAN and the United Nations. Indonesia as the representative of ASEAN, has successfully held several important meetings as a solution to solving Cambodia's problems. Successive is Ho Chi Minh City Understanding (1987), and Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) I and II (1988-1989). In the United Nations Framework, the Indonesian Foreign Minister and the French Foreign Minister were appointed Chairman, at the 1989 Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC-Paris International Conference on Cambodia). On 23 October 1991 the PICC was re-organized and resulted in the Paris Agreement as the culmination of a joint success to end conflict in Cambodia.

Keywords: Cambodia, Indonesia, Peace, and Role.

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INTRODUCTION

Cambodia is one of the countries located in the Indochina area, Southeast Asia. Up to 1992, Cambodia had always been faced with either internal or external conflicts. This long-standing conflict affects the political situation in Southeast Asia. At last, in 1992, because of the roles of other neighboring Southeast Asian countries and the ASEAN regional association in the United Nations framework, peace in Cambodia could come true. The 1992 Paris Peace Accords is the beginning of a new chapter of Cambodian history, as well as peace in Southeast Asia.

The 1979-1992 conflicts were a thorn in the flesh for the peace in the Indochina area, and the Southeast Asia area. The long-lasting conflict in Cambodia can be explained in three scopes, i.e. domestic, regional, and international. Domestically, the conflict in the country is essentially an interfraction conflict between the government and its opposition, while regionally the conflict represents a security issue between Vietnam and The People's Republic of China, Vietnam and Cambodia, as well as Vietnam and Thailand. In the international scope, the triangular relationship between The United States, Uni Soviet, and The People's Republic of China contributes to the interminable Cambodia conflict. The three countries understood the importance of the share of power in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia as a matter to be reckoned concerning their security issues in Southeast Asia area.

As one of the countries located in Southeast Asia, Indonesia has made significant efforts both independently or as a part of ASEAN in resolving issues in Cambodia. Indonesia is aware that the conflict can further trigger a wider regional conflict, and as such, the country's contribution does not go unnoticed. Since the beginning of the conflict, Indonesia as the Chair of ASEAN Committee had been pushing to resolve the Cambodia conflict. Both JIM I and JIM II have brought new air in the

conflict settlement process. Peace was eventually realized in 1992 with the Paris Accords. This has brought the political development of the area into peace and the increasingly significant role of Indonesia in the ASEAN regional association.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE 1979 CAMBODIA CONFLICT

The emergence of troubling conflict in Cambodia began since the beginning of Norodom Sihanouk administration as Cambodia was independent from the French colonization. The ruling of Norodom Sihanouk changed the political atmosphere of the country from neutral during the Cold War to taking the communist side in Indochina. Sihanouk took the decision because the southern part of Vietnam ruled by Ngo Dinh Diem was protecting the Khmer Rouge backed by the United States which was against the Sihanouk regime with a base in Saigon. On the other hand, Ngo Dinh Diem accused Sihanouk to support the Vietcong army by allowing a part of Cambodian territory as a base for the army to attack South Vietnam (Riswandi, 2017).

In 1960 Sihanouk took the throne and became a neutralist king with Lon Nol (pro West) as the prime minister. Not long after, PM Lon Nol was discharged due to communist influence, and succeeded by PM Son Sann. In 1970 Lon Nol had a funding from the U.S. government and launched a coup d'état with Sirik Matak, Long Boret, and Nol Nol (Lon Nol's brother). Lon Nol became the leader of the country and change the monarchical Cambodia into Khmer Republic and appointed himself president. The new Lon Nol alliance with the U.S. and their attacks to the Vietnam communist hiding threatened the Vietnam revolution, and thus paved the way between both the Vietnam and Cambodian political parties to make an alliance against the Phnom Penh regime (Dipoyudo, 1979). During his ruling, Lon Nol appointed Sirik Matak as the Head of Parliament and Long Boret as the Prime Minister. Meanwhile, King Sihanouk flee to Beijing (Wiharyanto, 2012).

Lon Nol administration did not last long, as it was overthrown by the Khmer Rouge (pro China communists) in 17 April 1975. During the precarious condition, Lon Nol decided to flee to Taiwan, while Sirik Matak and Long Boret were both executed. As a result, Cambodia became a communist country with Pol Pot as the prime minister. Ieng Sary was appointed the Secretary of State, and Khieu Samphan acted as a symbolic president. Pol Pot's administration received support from the People's Republic of China (PRC). His role for the Khmer Rouge was a firm gesture of anti-Vietnam sentiment and that the government was leaning more to Peking (Sardiman, 1983). This part of history emphasizes the notion that the Indochina conflict is generated between Vietnam and PRC (Nangoi, 1981).

On the other hand, Indonesia decided to activate its embassy in Cambodia, which received positive support from the Cambodian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nevertheless, the plan failed due to Vietnam's aggression in November 1978, where Vietnam managed to take over the Cambodian government at last (Nasution et al., 2002). Vietnamese occupation in Cambodia caused Indonesia's Department of Foreign Affairs to freeze all embassies' activities in Phnom Penh and relocate it to Bangkok. All Cambodia-related matters were transferred to the Bangkok embassy since then.

The conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia has been going on for so long as the countries are each other's mortal enemy. In addition, their conflict also involves border issues. This results in a tension between Vietnam and ASEAN. The conflict between the two countries also involves the superpowers, especially Uni Soviet and PRC.

Pol Pot's administration enacted a policy in order to change the semifeodal agrarian-based economy to a limited socialist agrarian-based industry with a force of power. The hostilities in the Pol Pot regime caused a termination of 800,000 to a million people. From 1975 – 1979, since the communists took over, Cambodia experienced dark times with over a million of civilian deaths caused by the Khmer Rouge initial invasion to Phnom Penh, the opposition to the reinforced social transformation, the contra-revolutionary and subversive accusations (Ghani, 1978). Others could not handle the pressure of living in the rural areas, especially those who were used to the privilege and comfort of city living.

Heng Samrin and other anti-Khmer Rouge leaders had an immense backing from Vietnam to attack the Khmer Rouge at the end of 1978. This generated refugee issues for the neighboring country of Thailand (Muhammad and Maksun, 2016). Vietnam's decision to overthrow the Pol Pot administration with military forces if necessary, was made in a special meeting of the central committee in February 1978 (Race and Turley, 1980). The Vietnam army entering Cambodia was assisted with Cambodia resistance troops led by Heng Samrin, Chea Sim and Hun Sen (Nasution et al.). The three figures were former military commanders of the Khmer Rouge during Pol Pot administration which were cast aside for opposing the regime. They escaped Pol Pot's hunt by going to Vietnam for help to fight back. Vietnam's strong army kept pushing to invade deeper parts of Cambodia yet failed to get closer to victory. On 3 December 1978, Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation, later known as National United Front of Kampuchea, was founded under Heng Samrin's leadership and his right hand Chea Sim (Sardiman, ...). Eventually, Pol Pot was cornered and in critical condition. Because of the front, the Khmer Rouge ruling was finally put to an end.

At the turn of events, in 7 January 1979, Pol Pot stepped down, Cambodia was controlled by Vietnam with a new leader, Heng Samrin, as the official ruling government in Cambodia. Heng Samrin ruled the administration with the assistance of Vietnam military forces (Usman, 1983). After the end of Khmer Rouge reign, Cambodia was a republic and communist country with more inclination toward the communist Uni Soviet. When Heng Samrin was president, the prime minister position was given to Pen Sovann while Hun Sen acted as the Secretary of

State. To this point, Heng Samrin's efforts in the government could be considered successful as the people could accept him as a leader, despite the backing from Vietnam, as long as Pol Pot would not return. Vietnam's political position was strengthened with the diplomatic efforts that aimed at ruling out PKDK as the representative of Cambodia in international forums, including the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement (Usman, 1983).

Meanwhile, Dismissal from his position as the leader of Cambodia solicited a lot of protests from the neighboring countries, including ASEAN. Pol Pot's regime resulted in many violations on Cambodia's security and sovereignty. Vietnam, however, argued that they were part of security efforts as Cambodia had done a violation by crossing the border and committing mass murder to Vietnamese civilians in the border (Sardiman, ...). Vietnam also argued that they were part of an attempt of fleeing from PRC's territorial ambitions.

In May 1981, Cambodia held their first presidential election during Heng Samrin's regime in 1979, where 99% of civilians were registered, while Heng Samrin won the majority votes with 99.75% people supported the CPP party that he led (Nasution et al., ...). After the attack on the Khmer Rouge ended, Vietnam still placed around 130,000 to 200,000 troops in Cambodia. This was then causing new problems because the move was seen as an occupation, which emerging groups and movements respond to as a form of opposition, such as Khmer Rouge led by Khieu Samphan, KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front) led by nationalist Son Sann, and Moulinaka led by Prince Sihanouk.

Vietnam's decision to occupy the part of Indochina was condemned by both ASEAN and the UN. ASEAN stated that no matter what excuse Vietnam had on its decision to occupy Cambodia, it was still an act of aggression that was against the Dasasila Bandung and the UN Charter (Wiharyanto, ...). As a regional association in Southeast Asia, ASEAN made continuous efforts so that Vietnam would retreat its army from Cambodia. ASEAN saw Vietnam's invasion to Cambodia as a violation of the fundamental principles between states, i.e. non-interference and non-use of force (Cipto, 2010). The meeting between ASEAN's secretaries of state contested Vietnam by reinstating the 1967 Bangkok Declaration as a form of protest of Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia.

The next step was by making a recommendation of international conference to resolve Cambodia's problems, which were well accepted by the UN. An international conference was then held in New York, the U.S. from 13-17 July 1981, chaired by the Austrian Secretary of State, Willibald Pahr, and joined by 79 participants from 92 countries—13 among them acted as reviewers. The conference aimed to result in a political settlement for Cambodia's problems as a whole (Cipto, 2010). The final result was to demand Vietnam to withdraw its army from Cambodia. Both Vietnam and Uni Soviet rejected the notion as they preferred military solutions to diplomatic approach.

What happened next was the united guerilla groups including the Khmer Rouge, KPNLF and Moulinaka against the Vietnam-backed Heng Samrin. At this point most countries refused to acknowledge Heng Samrin administration due to their solidarity for the Cambodian civilians' human rights to determine their own fate (Dipoyudo...). Vietnam's intervention was a form of Cambodia's independence and sovereignty, and thus had to be stopped. ASEAN's efforts resulted in the meeting between Khmer Rouge, KPNLF and Moulinaka on 4 September 1981 which resulted in the Coalition People's National Liberation Front (CGDK).

The next step was the informal meetings of the four parties of Khmer Rouge, KPNLF, Moulinaka, and Heng Samrin in Jakarta. They were held twice and known as Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) I and JIM II. The overwhelming pressure and condemnation on Vietnam forced the country to change its policy regarding Cambodia by withdrawing all the troops after several considerations. Soon after, the four opposing fronts

held another meeting on 22-28 February 1990 in Jakarta, known as Informal Meeting on Cambodia, which resulted in the establishment of the UN transfer government under Agassi (Japan), aiming to hold a general election, and establishing the National Highest Council, which is in charge for the general election (Wiharyanto...).

THE ROLE OF INDONESIA IN THE PEACE IN CAMBODIA (1979-1992)

By 1982 Indonesia attention on the issues related to Cambodia had improved, in line with the efforts performed by the regional Association of South East Asia Nation (ASEAN). The establishment of Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) in 1982 helped accelerate to resolve Cambodia conflict. CGDK was also supported by western countries which were among the members of the UN (United Nations) (Putra and Aqimuddin, 2011). UN did not acknowledge the existence of PRK, and it still supported the fallen Democratic Governance led by Pol Pot.

In the annual meeting, the UN already voted to support the withdrawal of Vietnam troops from Cambodia. The Vietnam military invasion could impact on larger regional conflicts, further causing political tension and threat on Southeast Asia. The issue in Cambodia became a regional (ASEAN) and international (UN) focus, since it was no longer a domestic issue. Various countries had helped in creating peace in Cambodia, including Indonesia which participated in the scopes of ASEAN or UN. A series of efforts were done by Indonesia to resolve the conflicts in the Indochina areas. The period of 1979-1992 was essential years where the possibility of peace in Cambodia was beginning to concur. The role of Indonesia in creating peace in Cambodia in the period of 1979-1992 is presented as follows.

THE ROLE OF INDONESIA IN THE SCOPE OF ASEAN

The main vision of ASEAN, as stated in 1967 Bangkok Declaration was in order to create one political and security area as well as solving conflict among Southeast Asian countries. All ASEAN efforts in resolving Cambodia conflict is an essential factor in assuring peace and security in Southeast Asia. Indonesia had actively participated as a member of ASEAN in creating peace in Cambodia. Indonesia was appointed as the Head of Permanent Member of ASEAN where the country had to make the right strategy in response to Vietnam invasion in Cambodia. Indonesia's then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, and ASEAN countries foreign affairs minister colleagues hurriedly conducted a special meeting in Bangkok in January 12th-13th 1979. Through the special meeting the ASEAN foreign affairs minister condemned the Vietnam invasion and ask for withdrawal of Vietnam troops from the Cambodia areas.

Later, Cambodia conflict resolution is regularly discussed in ASEAN foreign affairs minister meeting. There was a solution after Indonesia minister of foreign affairs, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja held a meeting with Vietnam minister of foreign affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, in Ho Chi Minh City (it was Saigon) in July 29th 1987. The result of the meeting included an agreement signing in order to conduct an informal meeting for those who were involved in Cambodia issue. This agreement was then called as Ho Chi Minh City Understanding, and it was followed up by the foreign affairs minister Ali Alatas who substituted Mochtar Kusumaatmadja in March 23rd 1988. There is bigger chance to peace when in 1989 Vietnam withdrew all their troops from Cambodia.

Informal Meeting should be held in neutral country so the arguing parties can freely discuss the issue about Cambodia conflict. Indonesia with sense of responsibility was able to host of the meeting. The meeting is known as Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), which was able to conduct in two periods: JIM I in July 25th-28th 1988 and JIM II February 16th-18th 1989.

The first period of JIM was held Bogor Palace, West Java, by mediating two parties conflicted in Cambodia. The first party,

CGDK which consisted of parties i.e. FUNCINPEC, KPNLF, and DK and the second party PRK which was then known as State of Cambodia (SOC). The first JIM agreed on these following things, namely withdrawing the Vietnam troops, immediately ending the Cambodian sorrow, international monitoring on the Vietnam troops withdrawal, conducting election and non-permanent government, and establishing the independent Cambodia which sovereignty, neutral, and non-blocking. JIM I was considered as a successful form of political accommodation in Cambodia peacekeeping for ASEAN in general, and Indonesia in particular. The aim of JIM I was direct informal discussion and dialogue among all involving parties in the Cambodia problems.

The second JIM was held in Jakarta by accommodating a meeting of four conflicting Cambodian fractions and the delegations of stakeholder countries such as Vietnam, Laos, and other ASEAN country members. JIM II was chaired by the Indonesian Secretary of State, Ali Alatas, and aimed to elaborate the discussion of the previous JIM's results in the form of Consensus Statement of the Chairman of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, which comprises of the following principles (Nasution et al.,...). First, all parties agree to follow up the results of JIM I. Second, regarding the Vietnamese troops withdrawal, all parties agree on the following aspects: 1) a cease-fire throughout Cambodia came into force since the adoption of an agreement on the settlement of the Cambodia conflict; 2) immediately after the ceasefire, begin withdrawing troops and war equipment Vietnam from Cambodia no later than 30 September 1989; 3) the basis and stage of Vietnam troop withdrawal and the modalities of its implementation will be discussed later; 4) international supervision of the withdrawal process and all related aspects.

Third, actual action must be taken, to prevent the reemergence of policies and practices of mass killings and armed violence. Fourth, cessation of foreign countries' involvement and supply of their weapons to the conflicting parties shall be adjusted accordingly. Fifth, the mandate and function of the international control mechanism (ICM), among other things monitors, monitors, verifies the process of troop withdrawal of Vietnam troops and other aspects related to point 1d and conducts the election. Sixth, if a dispute arises between the four factions regarding the formation of a temporary quadripartite government under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, it refers back to the principle of self-determination that the internal problem of Cambodia must be resolved by the people of Cambodia itself.

Seventh, regarding the restoration of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, all participants agree that: 1) membership to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, reflecting the common goal of creating stability, peace and mutual cooperation; 2) solving the political problems of Cambodia thoroughly, will accelerate the realization of ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality) in Southeast Asia. Eighth, all participants agreed to hold the International Conference on Cambodia, and the aims of the conference include: 1) guarantees all conference participants to recognize an agreement on solving Cambodia's problems; 2) the international endorsement of Cambodia's declared status, as a sovereign, independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned state within its territorial territory; 3) approval of the start of an international program, for the development and recovery of Cambodia's economy as well as other countries within the region; 4) funds required for the implementation of the Cambodia peace process. Ninth, the need to organize the International Conference, to expand the JIM framework by involving countries outside the Southeast Asian region. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas specifically mentioned countries outside the region are the United States, Soviet Union, China and Japan. This is related to the involvement of these countries in Cambodia's problems. International Conference as an initial step to resolve Cambodia conflict within the UN framework, where Indonesia also plays a role in it.

THE ROLE OF INDONESIA IN THE SCOPE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Cambodia reconciliation was not attempted in ASEAN framework only but was also developed in UN framework. ASEAN understood that it was difficult to resolve Cambodia conflict without support from developed countries especially the permanent members of UN Security Council. Since October 1980, UN issued General Council Resolution No. 35 that suggests Vietnam to withdraw its soldiers from Cambodian zone (Sardiman, ...). Through the UN forum and JIM II implementation, it was decided to hold International Conference about Cambodia.

As progress in negotiation was reached in JIM framework, France was pushed to initiate the International Conference. The initiative was stated by France ministry of foreign affairs, Roland Dumas, at 1 June 1989, shortly after a meeting with Indonesia foreign minister Ali Alatas (Nasution et al., ...). Indonesia, represented by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, was appointed as Co-Chairman and led the conference. On 30-31 July 1989 the Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC-Paris International Conference on Cambodia) was held in Paris. The PICC was attended by representatives of 19 countries, namely Indochina (Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos), six ASEAN countries (Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand), five permanent UNSC (United States, Soviet Union, China, England, France), Australia, India, Japan, Yugoslavia, and Zimbabwe (Luhulima, ..).

Paris International Conference resulted four resolutions as consideration elements to resolve Cambodian conflict (Putra and Aqimuddin, ...). Those are proclaim for the Vietnam soldiers to leave Cambodia and disarmaments among all conflicted parties; 2) Hold democratic election under the UN supervision; 3) Create regulation to prevent military faction in Cambodia to control or interfere the election result; 4) Send UN peacekeepers to ensure independence, law, order, national integrity and non-aligned status of Cambodia by the other countries (members of UN Security Council, South East Asia and the concerned).

The PIC was then attended by the Informal Meeting on Cambodia (PIK) in Jakarta on 9-10 September 1990. The PIK was attended by the four warring Cambodia factions, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, French Ambassador Edwige Avicé and UN Secretary General Raffeuddin Ahmed's Special Envoy. The final result of PIK is an agreement to establish the Supreme National Council of the Supreme National Council (SNC). The SNC becomes the highest-powered body in Cambodia, and will take the seat of Cambodia at the UN.

On October 23, 1991, the PICC was re-organized. The four warring factions in Cambodia signed the Paris Accords, witnessed by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cueller and all PICC participants. The contents of the Paris Accords are 1) The establishment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC); 2) The establishment of the Supreme National Council (SNC) which is the highest body in Cambodia; 3) Withdrawal of all foreign powers from Cambodia; 4) Will be held election under UN supervision; 5) Supervision of human rights implementation; 6) Return of Cambodian refugees.

A series of formal and informal talks involving many parties, ultimately able to give birth to the Paris Accords of 1991. The Paris Accords emerged as a legitimate framework for the settlement of the conflict as well as a sign of the end of the long-running conflict in Cambodia. The Paris Accords is the end result of a series of Cambodia peace processes, and marks a new beginning for Cambodia's next chapter. The Paris Accords includes the following: 1) PICC final result on Cambodia; 2) Approval on the full resolution of Cambodia's political problems, including its attachments of UNTAC's mandate, military affairs, elections, repatriation of Cambodian refugees, and Cambodia's new constitutional principles; 3) Agreement on sovereignty, independence, territorial integration, neutrality, and Cambodia's national integrity; 4)

Declaration on the rehabilitation and development of Cambodia. After the draft of the Paris Accords was signed by all parties, the original two texts of the treaty were deposited by Indonesia and France as chair of the conference. The results of the agreement will be reported to the UN Secretary-General, before being discussed at the UN Security Council meeting.

After the implementation of PICC, it was agreed upon the establishment of UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). The main task of UNTAC is to maintain peace and administer the interim government in Cambodia until the elections of 1993. Before UNTAC personnel came to Cambodia, the United Nations sent the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) mission to maximize UNTAC's task. Two Indonesian officers, Kol (Inf.) Ferry Tinggogoy and Major (Inf.) Arief Rachman, are members of UNAMIC with 250 members from 23 countries.

On March 11, 1992, Indonesia sent the Garuda XII-A Contingent of Lieutenant Colonel (Inf.) Erwin Sudjono with 850 members. The Garuda XII-A contingent includes part of UNTAC, and became the first UN peacekeeping force to arrive in Cambodia. There are 13 countries that send troops to Cambodia within the framework of UNTAC, but Indonesia is the only country requested to send two battalions. One battalion was placed in Phnom Penh and another battalion in Kompong Thom. On 23-25 May 1993 the elections in Cambodia were held. Election results set Prince Norodom Sihanouk as president of Cambodia, Prime minister I is Norodom Ranaridh, and Prime Minister II is Hun Sen.

THE IMPACT OF PEACE IN CAMBODIA ON SOUTHEAST ASIA'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Cambodia's peace has a positive influence on the political development in Southeast Asia. The 1990s was the beginning of dramatic changes in Cambodia along with gradual stabilization. Between 1979-1991, various factions entered into a partnership seeking a civil war solution that resulted in a peace treaty in October 1991. The political relations in Southeast Asia began to improve along with the neutrality that came with Cambodia's peace. The Paris Accords of 23 October 1991 was a historic peace effort not only for Cambodia but also for ASEAN including Indonesia. The Paris Treaty thoroughly solved the political conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia. The agreement was adopted on 23 October 1991 as the final settlement of political issues by forming the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) as the body overseeing the outcome of the agreement. The following discussions are the impact of Cambodia's peace on the political developments in ASEAN and Indonesia in particular.

THE IMPACT OF PEACE IN CAMBODIA ON ASEAN

After the Paris Accords of 1991, Singapore held the Fourth ASEAN Summit (KTT IV) on 27-28 January 1992, which had historic significances for political development in Southeast Asia. The meeting was held at the right time, when ASEAN reached the age of 25, the world experienced many fundamental changes, one of which was the peace achieved in Cambodia. In the case of Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, ASEAN put forward diplomatic settlement. The settlement was conducted in accordance with the principles agreed upon by ASEAN member countries in maintaining the stability of the region. ASEAN needed to assess and review the steps taken during this Summit. This development demanded ASEAN to adjust the direction and priorities of policies in politics, economy, and security.

The Fourth ASEAN Summit produced important documents one of which was the Singapore Declaration of 1992. The core statements in the Singapore Declaration are: 1) ASEAN's determination to increase cooperation in the political and economic fields, and to maintain peace and prosperity in the region; 2) ASEAN's determination to protect its collective interests through fostering an international economic system and enhancing economic cooperation; 3) ASEAN's determination to find the right approach in discussing security issues; 4) ASEAN's determination to forge closer ties based on

friendship and mutual benefit with countries in and out of ASEAN.

Peace in Cambodia opened opportunities for Indochina countries to join ASEAN as members. Ideological differences were not a problem for ASEAN's expansion. The desire to unite all countries in Southeast Asia into ASEAN was one step away. The efforts of ASEAN leaders to unite all the countries in Southeast Asia was presented in Bangkok Declaration 1967. ASEAN committed to strengthen cooperation within the member countries, both in politics and in other fields to achieve peace and prosperity of the region. This was the step taken to create stability for ASEAN regional area.

THE IMPACT OF PEACE IN CAMBODIA ON INDONESIA

The signing of the Paris Treaty as an effort to create peace in Cambodia, is a historic peace-making effort for Southeast Asia, considering Cambodia as a part of ASEAN regional area. Indonesia as a member of the ASEAN regional organization is responsible for maintaining world peace. For Indonesia, peace in Cambodia is meaningful. First, Indonesia as the initiator should be proud of being able to become a peacemaker. This is in accordance with the contents of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution: "... to educate the life of the people and in the establishment of a world order based on freedom, eternal peace, and social justice...". Indonesia as an independent and sovereign country strongly supports the peaceful settlement of the conflict. Secondly, in terms of geostrategy, Cambodia's position in the region is one of the gateways to Indonesia. It proves that Indonesia is participating in resolving the conflict that occurred in Cambodia as an effort to create world peace. Indonesia's role in maintaining world peace is solely done to preserve peace and not to fight with the disputants in the mission destination country. Indonesia's active roles in the international level as an effort to maintain world peace are based on political policy, humanitarian aid and Indonesia's role as military observer, military staff, as well as Task Force of peacekeeping operations as Indonesian ambassador under United Nations.

On January 16, 1992, Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas paid a three-day visit in Cambodia to meet with SNC President Prince Sihanouk and its members. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Prince Sihanouk held a press conference first. The Indonesian Foreign Minister was enthusiastic about the efforts made by the factions in Cambodia to implement the Paris Treaty. The Cambodian parties also hoped that Indonesia would continue playing its role to the end of the implementation of Paris Treaty. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas stated that the Indonesian Representative to the UN and SNC would be assisting in accelerating the implementation of the Paris treaty. The success of Indonesia's participation in resolving the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict which became one of the international agenda, resulted in Indonesia as one of the world's leading countries that resolve the conflict by diplomacy.

CONCLUSION

The conflict in Cambodia has been initiated since the coup by Lon Nol, against the reign of Prince Sihanouk in 1970. Lon Nol changed the form of the Kingdom of Cambodia into the Khmer Republic, and made himself president. On April 17, 1975, the Lon Nol Government was overthrown by Khmer Rouge of communist Pol Pot. Cambodia is then led by Pol Pot who has the support of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The invasion of Vietnamese troops to Cambodia in 1978, has exacerbated the conflict in Cambodia. Vietnam supported the government of Heng Samrin, and overthrew the Pol Pot regime on January 7, 1979. The conflict in Cambodia developed involving Vietnam in favor of Heng Samrin, and the PRC in favor of the Khmer Rouge (Pol Pot).

Various parties have sought to realize peace in Cambodia, one of which is Indonesia both within the framework of ASEAN and the UN. Indonesia as the representative of ASEAN, has successfully held several important meetings as a solution to solving Cambodia's problems. Successive is Ho Chi Minh City

Understanding (1987), and Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) I and II (1988-1989). In the United Nations Framework, the Indonesian Foreign Minister and the French Foreign Minister were appointed Chairman, at the 1989 Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC-Paris International Conference on Cambodia). On 23 October 1991 the PICC was re-organized and resulted in the Paris Agreement as the culmination of a joint success to end conflict in Cambodia. Peace in Cambodia brings a positive influence, for political development in ASEAN and Indonesia. The opening of opportunities for Indochina countries to enter into ASEAN members, and the improvement of Indonesia-Cambodia political relations become one of the positive impacts.

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