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that its original authorization for food aid included the entire amount then requested by the Executive Branch and all but \$10,000,000 of the economic aid originally requested.

In recommending the provision of additional food aid the Committee wishes to make a number of specific recommendations regarding the implementation of the food aid and humanitarian relief program. The Committee emphasizes that:

(1) food assistance should be furnished, to the maximum extent practicable, under the auspices of and through international agencies or private voluntary agencies. The Committee gave serious consideration to an amendment offered by Senator Pell which would have required that all future obligations for economic assistance be for aid through international agencies and voluntary organizations only. Although the Committee strongly supported the objective of that proposal, it felt that the international and voluntary agencies were not prepared to assume the full burden of distributing food and other humanitarian relief aid in Cambodia at the present time. The Committee is aware of the heroic relief efforts being carried out by the voluntary agencies in Phnom Penh and hopes that American officials will help to insure the safe departure of their personnel, including particularly their Cambodian national employees, from the country in the event this becomes necessary. All possible assistance should be rendered by the United States to encourage and assist the personnel of the voluntary relief agencies.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: JOHN O. MARSH
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: VERNON C. LOEN *VL*

SUBJECT: Viet Nam Supplemental

You may be interested in the attached report filed by Representative Leo Ryan, a liberal Democrat from California who is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, based upon his recent study mission to South Viet Nam and South Korea.

Ryan may be willing to help with the supplemental.

bcc: 4 copies to Nancy Kennedy FYI ✓
bcc: Charley Leppert
bcc: Doug Bennett

TALKING POINTS

Supplemental Assistance for Cambodia and South Vietnam

General Situation

Cambodia

-- The situation in Cambodia is serious. The Communists -- no doubt encouraged by the low level of our aid -- continue to believe a total military victory is possible. They are now conducting an all-out offensive. We believe they will only come to the bargaining table when they see they cannot defeat the Cambodian army on the battlefield.

-- The Cambodian Government has shown it can thwart Communist advances if given the means to defend itself. A year and a half ago, many predicted the imminent collapse of the Government. In fact, the opposite has occurred: The Government and its forces have kept up the fight. They are now holding their own and have kept the Mekong River open so that supply convoys can reach Phnom Penh.

-- They are, however, in danger of defeat for lack of the material means to defend themselves. Funds currently available for military assistance will be totally exhausted and the army out of ammunition by April. At the current levels of economic aid, the Cambodian economy will probably experience a serious downturn in April and could collapse in June or July.

South Vietnam

-- The situation in South Vietnam is also serious. The South Vietnamese have also shown they are fully capable of defending themselves if given adequate levels of assistance. The recent tenacious stand by the garrison at Phuoc Binh in the face of armor attacks and against great odds, proves beyond any doubt that the South Vietnamese are willing to defend themselves.

-- The problem is that the present level of U.S. assistance does not allow them to adequately defend themselves. Our aid was sufficient until last June (1974) when cuts were imposed by the Congress. This



forced a reduction in ammunition expenditure. At the same time, the Communists stepped up attacks. The result was a great increase in casualties, a loss of mobility and a deterioration in the military situation. Government casualties were higher in 1974 than any previous year except 1972 (the year of a major Communist offensive). At the same time, ammunition expenditure dropped nearly 70 percent between 1972 and 1974.

-- Some have argued that if we cut our aid we would force a political settlement. Last year the Congress cut our assistance in half. The result was just the opposite. Hanoi saw Saigon in a weakened state and opted for increased military action. Cutting aid actually increased the fighting and the dying.

-- What is needed in both cases are relatively small increases to cover costs of ammunition, gasoline and other basic items.

U.S. Commitment

-- Some have said that granting additional aid would mean making a recommitment in Indochina.

-- We are not asking for a new commitment which would lead us down the path to greater involvement. We are just seeking to insure survival.

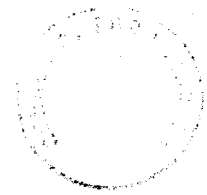
-- We are on the way out, not in.

-- We have already spent 98 percent of what it will take to end our involvement. The final two percent is critical to preserving what we built there.

Implications of Not Providing Adequate Aid

International

-- We have made a commitment to a friend. The depth of that commitment, in the eyes of the world, is measured not just by what we say but by the tens of thousands of American lives which have been lost and the many tens of billions of dollars which have been spent. The world



is watching us and the constancy of our pledges. If, after demonstrating the depth of that commitment through the expenditure of so much blood and treasure, we withdraw, who can have faith hereafter in our word?

-- Two years ago we signed an agreement that climaxed the longest military undertaking in our country's history. The agreement was endorsed by every great power in the Western World. Now, two years later a country of 13 million people has torn it to shreds and the survival of an American ally is threatened -- and we apparently stand helpless, our fidelity in question, our word at stake. Under the terms of that agreement we established the right to provide replacement items of equipment so that the South Vietnamese could take care of their own security. Now, in the face of massive infusion of Communist arms and supplies, we aren't even exercising that right. Current funds will allow only for the provision of critically needed fuel and ammunition. If we fail to do even that, our credibility as an ally will be totally lost.

-- The repercussions could be enormous. If our adversaries see our constancy and determination lacking here, they may be tempted to test our will in other areas of the world.

-- And, with our friends, the message is even more vital. We ask them to trust us, to work with us. In this world of ours, it is not without hazard to be a friend of the U. S. While our power is obvious, it is the strength of our will which is the vital ingredient in inducing our friends to stand at our side.

-- We are now involved in delicate negotiations in the Middle East. The success of these negotiations may well rest on whether the other parties believe we will keep our word and honor the commitments we make.

-- Like it or not, the burden of leadership of the western world is ours. Friend and foe alike judge us by our performance. If we falter, those who rely on us will be quick to make other accommodations to protect themselves. The results would be an alien world in which the costs for our survival would dwarf anything we have ever known.

Domestic

-- The Vietnam war seriously divided this country. Vietnam must not be allowed to become the central issue of American domestic politics. The question of American reinvolverment is not at issue. If we do not



provide sufficient aid, the danger of an all-out Communist victory will be very real. Should this come to pass, we will have to choose whether we are going to abandon an ally or become directly involved in Vietnam again. Whichever choice is taken will rend the country and leave a stain which we may never be able to erase. To keep this question from arising, we must provide the South Vietnamese with the modest amounts necessary for their self defense. With sufficient money, Saigon can stand alone and defend itself. The question of American involvement need never arise.

-- How we end our involvement is vitally important. We have made many sacrifices and have a tremendous investment: Fifty thousand Americans died and we were spending \$30 billion a year. We achieved our purpose. South Vietnam remained free to choose its own course and was strong enough to defend itself. Now for want of a small amount, it all may have been for naught.

-- By providing what is needed now, our aid can be significantly reduced in the near future.

The Best Way to End Our Involvement

-- The South Vietnamese do not want to go on fighting, they want peace. On three separate occasions they have called for full implementation of the Paris Agreement with a specific date set for elections. The Communists have turned down these offers and broken off negotiations. They also have refused to let us search for our missing men, refused to contribute to the ICCS peacekeeping budget and attacked and overrun 11 government district capitals and one province capital.

-- As long as their survival is threatened, the South Vietnamese will fight back. All they ask is that we give them the wherewithal to defend themselves.

-- Giving them the means to do this is the best way to end America's involvement in Indochina.

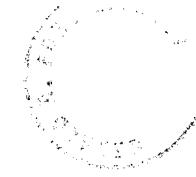
-- America has never abandoned a friend. The American people do not want such an end for Vietnam and Cambodia.



1/30/75

FACT SHEET

U. S. Military and Economic Assistance to
Cambodia and Vietnam for FY 75



	<u>Administration Request</u>	<u>Authorized</u>	<u>Appropriated</u>	<u>Additional Amounts Requested</u>
<u>South Vietnam</u>				
Military	\$1.45 billion	\$1.0 billion	\$700 million	\$300 million
Economic	\$750 million	\$449.9 million	appropriation process now underway	0
<hr/>				
<u>Cambodia</u>				
Military	\$362.5 million	\$200 million ¹	appropriation process now underway	\$222 million
Economic	\$110 million	\$100 million	" "	0 ²

¹The Foreign Assistance Act also authorizes the President to use "drawdown authority" to provide an additional \$75 million of military stocks to the Cambodian Army. The President authorized the use of these funds in early January 1975. The \$75 million of drawdown authority is not included in the ceiling on aid to Cambodia.

²There is no need for any additional economic assistance funds for Cambodia. The problem is that the Foreign Aid Authorization Act sets a ceiling of \$377 million on total aid to Cambodia during FY 75. With \$200 million for military assistance and \$100 million for economic aid, this leaves only \$77 million for commodity assistance within the PL-480 program. Originally \$77 million was thought to be enough. However, due to the significant number of new refugees created by the current Communist offensive, price rises and some initial inaccurate estimates, it is now clear that additional assistance, mainly food for refugees, is required. The commodities are available. No additional appropriation is required. However, unless the ceiling is lifted, they cannot be sent.

[3/75?]

J

Before we start on questions tonight, I would like to make a statement on the subject of assistance ~~to Cambodia and South Vietnam.~~

There are three issues ~~at stake.~~ ^{IP} The first is the future of the people who live there. It is a concern that is humanitarian; ~~delivery of~~ food for those who hunger and medical supplies for the men, women and children who ~~have~~ ^{are suffering} ~~endured~~ the ravages of war. We seek to stop the

bloodshed and end the horror and tragedy that we see on television as rockets are fired wantonly into Phnom Penh. I would like to be able to say that the killing would cease if we were to stop our aid, but that is

not the case. The record shows, in both Vietnam and Cambodia, ^{that} Communist takeover ^{an area} does not bring an end to violence, but on the contrary, marks the beginning of a bloodletting. ^{Im}

We cannot meet humanitarian needs unless we also provide some military assistance. Only through a combination of humanitarian endeavors and military aid do we have a chance to stop the fighting in that country in such a way as to ~~bring no more~~ ^{end the} bloodshed.

1/4



The second issue ~~before us~~ is whether the problems of Indochina will be settled by conquest or by negotiation.

Both the government of Cambodia and the ^{United States} (U. S.) have made vigorous and continual ^{ed} efforts over the years to bring about a ceasefire and political settlement.

The Cambodian Government declared a unilateral ceasefire and called for negotiations immediately after the Paris ^{Peace} Accords of January 1973. It has since repeatedly expressed its willingness to be flexible in seeking a negotiated end to the conflict. Its leadership ^{2^m} ^s has made clear that ^{they are} ~~it is~~ ^{they} willing to do whatever ~~it~~ can to bring peace to that country.

The United States has backed these ^{Peace} efforts. Yesterday, we made public an outline of our own unceasing efforts over the years, including six separate initiatives ^{Since I became President} (over the past six months.)

Let me assure you:

~~(1)~~ We will support any negotiations and accept any outcome that



the parties themselves will accept;

~~(2)~~ As far as the United States is concerned, the personalities involved will not, themselves, constitute obstacles ^{of} ~~of~~ any kind to a settlement.

Yet all of our efforts have been rebuffed. (It is not a failure to offer reasonable solutions that has prevented peace in Cambodia.) The aggressor believes that it can win its objectives on the battlefield. This belief will be encouraged if we cut off assistance to our friends. 3m

We want an end to the killing and ~~seek~~ a negotiated settlement.

But there is no hope of success unless the Congress quickly provides the necessary means for Cambodia to survive.

If we abandon our allies, we will be saying to all the world that war pays. Aggression will not stop; rather it will increase. In Cambodia, the aggressors will have shown that if negotiations are resisted for a ~~long~~ ^{long} time, the U.S. will weary, abandon its friends, and force will prevail.



The third issue is the reliability of the United States ~~and our own~~
~~view of ourselves~~. If we cease to help our friends in Indochina, we will
have violated their trust that we would help them with arms, food and
supplies so long as they remain determined to fight for their own freedom. 4m

We will have been false to ourselves, to our word, and to our friends.

No one should think for a moment that we can walk away from that without,
in the end, a deep sense of shame.

This is not a question of involvement or reinvolvement in Indochina.

We have ended our involvement. All American forces have come home.

They will not go back.

Time is short. There are two things the U. S. can do to affect
the outcome. For my part, I ^{will} ~~intend to~~ continue to seek a negotiated
settlement. I ask the Congress to do its part by providing the assistance
required to make such a settlement possible. 4m 50s



FFB 5 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1975

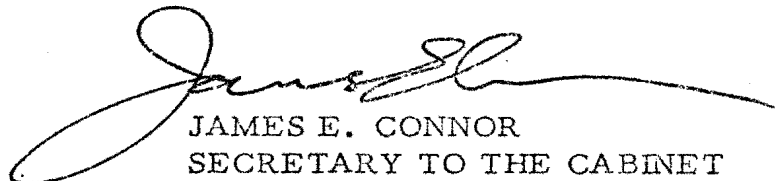
Keep Handy!
M

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
THE SECRETARY OF LABOR
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE ACTING SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

SUBJECT: Talking Points on Supplemental Assistance for
Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Talking Points on supplemental assistance for Cambodia and South Vietnam were requested at the Cabinet Meeting on January 29th. General Scowcroft has prepared the attached material for your use in this connection.


JAMES E. CONNOR
SECRETARY TO THE CABINET

Attachment

bcc: Counsellor to the President Hartmann
Counsellor to the President Marsh ✓
Counsel to the President Buchen
Assistant to the President Rumsfeld
Alan Greenspan, Chairman, CEA
William Seidman, EPB
Richard Cheney
William Baroody
Max Friedersdorf
Ron Nessen
Jerry Warren



CAMBODIA PERSPECTIVE

A number of erroneous allegations are frequently made by opponents of U. S. assistance to Cambodia. The following are some of the basic facts ignored by those who make these allegations:

I. Cambodia, the Communists and Sihanouk - to 1969

Warfare in Cambodia did not begin in 1970 with the fall of Prince Sihanouk or with the Cambodia Incursion, as some critics allege. Rather, as Prince Sihanouk has repeatedly pointed out in the past, the war in Cambodia results from the campaign conducted for many years by the North Vietnamese, and the Cambodian Communists they direct, to impose a Communist system on Cambodia by force.

II. Sihanouk and the U. S. Bombing in Cambodia - 1969

Some critics alleged that the U. S. bombing begun against the North Vietnamese base areas in Cambodia in 1969 marked a unilateral American escalation of the war and was undertaken without Prince Sihanouk's permission. In fact, however, the bombing (which was kept secret at Sihanouk's insistence) was undertaken with Sihanouk's acquiescence and reflected a response to intensified Communist attacks in South Vietnam and Cambodia. Following the initiation of the bombing, Cambodia's relations with the U. S. substantially improved and Sihanouk restored diplomatic relations with the United States.

III. The Fall of Sihanouk, the Cambodia Incursion and New Elections in Cambodia - 1970-1972

Some critics allege that the United States overthrew Prince Sihanouk, put Lon Nol into power and expanded the war with the Cambodia Incursion in 1970. In fact, however, Lon Nol was appointed Prime Minister of Cambodia in August 1969 by Prince Sihanouk, Sihanouk was deposed by the unanimous vote of the Cambodian parliament in March 1970, and the Incursion of May/June 1970 was a limited response to major Communist offensives in South Vietnam and Cambodia and to Cambodia's appeals for help. Subsequently, a new Constitution was written and new elections were held in Cambodia for the Parliament and the Presidency. In the 1972 elections, Lon Nol won a competitive three-man race and became President of the Khmer Republic.

IV. The Paris Accords, the UN Resolution and Other Steps
for Peace in Cambodia -- All Rejected by the Communist Side

A number of major efforts have been made to obtain peace in Cambodia. These efforts include the Paris Accords of January 27, 1973 (underwritten by an International Guarantor Conference and the UN), the Cambodian Government's cease-fire proposals of January 28, 1973 and the initiation of a U. S. bombing halt on the same date; the Cambodian Government's peace proposals of March 6, 1973, July 6, 1973 and July 9, 1974; the Cambodia bombing halt of August 15, 1973; and the United Nations Resolution of November 29, 1974. Regretably, each of these public efforts and all other efforts, including the special, private U. S. efforts cited by the Administration on March 5, 1975, have all been rejected by the Communist side.

V. The Current Communist Role in Cambodia

The North Vietnamese and the Cambodian Communists they equip and control have rejected all negotiations and are continuing their massive violation of the Paris Accords forbidding foreign troop presence, of the United Nations Resolution calling for negotiations and of internationally accepted humanitarian standards. As Sihanouk often has pointed out, the North Vietnamese Communists direct this war -- some 10,000 North Vietnamese combat and logistics cadre in Cambodia are currently buttressing the insurgents. The Communists are waging a total war against Cambodia's civilian population with a degree of systematic terror perhaps unparalleled since the Nazi period -- a clear precursor of the blood bath and Stalinist dictatorship they intend to impose on the Cambodian people.



CAMBODIA PERSPECTIVE

In Cambodia, the offensives of the Communist insurgents continue with unabated fury. They are directed by some 10,000 North Vietnamese cadre and are backed by large quantities of Soviet and Chinese military supplies. Villages, towns, schools, marketplaces, hospitals, pagodas and refugee camps are the daily targets of the Communists' indiscriminate terror attacks. In the areas occupied by the Communist forces, executions and terror are widespread. In the face of these intense attacks, and deeply hurt by the cuts and restrictions on American assistance imposed by the U.S. Congress, Cambodia's defenders are now virtually out of ammunition, fuel and food.

The Government of the Khmer Republic has made every possible effort toward peace in Cambodia. It has repeatedly called for a cease-fire and for unconditional negotiation. But the Communist side brags that it does not need to negotiate because Congressional cuts in U.S. assistance to Cambodia will assure the Communists a total victory. The Communists have, therefore, refused to negotiate with any of the non-Communists leaders of Cambodia and have instead stepped up their total war against the Cambodian people.

The U.S. Congress has been requested by the Administration to appropriate the assistance so urgently needed by the Cambodian people. The fate of seven million Cambodians is thus in the Congress's hands. But the stakes are also high beyond Cambodia, for around the world, America's allies and adversaries alike will be profoundly affected by the choice to be made. If the American Congress cuts off the Cambodians at their knees, what assurances can any other country have -- whether in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, or anywhere else -- in the face of aggression, and what incentive will any terrorist army have to negotiate steps toward a just peace?

Opposition to providing the aid essential if the Cambodians are to have a chance to defend themselves, is based largely on a serious misunderstanding of the basic issues involved in the war in Cambodia. Opponents allege, for example, that the United States began the war in Cambodia, that the Government of Lon Nol is illegal and that the Cambodian Government is responsible for the continued warfare.

The facts of the matter, as outlined in the following background papers, disprove these and similar allegations of Cambodia's opponents. They demonstrate clearly that it is the Communist side which initiated and stepped up the war in Cambodia and that the people and the legitimate Government of Cambodia, having made every possible effort toward peace, deserve the assistance so urgently required for their efforts to defend themselves against the Communists' terror offensives.

3/75



Background Materials on

CAMBODIA PERSPECTIVE 1970 to 1975

- I - The Fall of Sihanouk, the Cambodia Incursion and New Elections in Cambodia
- II - The Paris Accords, the UN Resolution and Other Steps for Peace in Cambodia -- All Rejected by the Communist Side

Attachment: Summary of U. S. Negotiating Efforts on Cambodia



THE FALL OF SIHANOUK, THE CAMBODIA INCURSION
AND NEW ELECTIONS IN CAMBODIA

Some critics allege that the United States overthrew Prince Sihanouk, put Lon Nol into power and expanded the war with the Cambodia Incursion in 1970. In fact, however, Lon Nol was appointed Prime Minister of Cambodia in August 1969 by Prince Sihanouk, Sihanouk was deposed by the unanimous vote of the Cambodian parliament in March 1970, and the Incursion of May/June 1970 was a limited response to major Communist offensives in South Vietnam and Cambodia and to Cambodia's appeals for help. Subsequently, a new Constitution was written and new elections were held in Cambodia for the Parliament and the Presidency. In the 1972 elections, Lon Nol won a competitive three-man race and became President of the Khmer Republic.

1. Sihanouk Appoints Lon Nol as Prime Minister - August 1969

During the fall of 1969, some 40,000 North Vietnamese troops were illegally occupying eastern Cambodia at the southern terminus of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The road from the port of Sihanoukville to the Parrot's Beak area near South Vietnam was a logistics highway for the Communist forces. At the same time, North Vietnamese cadre were directing the developing insurgency of the Communist Cambodians, the Khmer Rouge, against the government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The increasing Communist pressure and a deteriorating economic situation led Prince Sihanouk in August 1969 to appoint Lon Nol, a widely recognized and effective Cambodian general, as his Prime Minister. Lon Nol was given a mandate by Sihanouk to deal with Cambodia's pressing problems.

In January 1970 Sihanouk decided to leave his hard-pressed country for a period of several months of rest and relaxation in Europe. In Cambodia meanwhile, the Communist pressure increased and the mood of the Cambodians called for steps against the Communist forces. Sihanouk echoed this Cambodian mood on March 13, 1970, announcing in Paris that: "I am going to Moscow and Peking to ask them to curb the activities of the Viet Cong and the Viet Minh North Vietnamese in my country."

2. The Vote Against Sihanouk - Lon Nol Remains as Prime Minister
- March 1970

In Cambodia, Sihanouk's parliament and the general population were distressed by Sihanouk's continued ineffectiveness and his long absence. Following a number of anti-Sihanouk demonstrations in Phnom Penh, the Cambodian National Assembly and the Council of the Kingdom, in a joint plenary session, voted unanimously on March 18, 1970 to remove the still absent Sihanouk from his duties as Chief of State. Their vote was 92 to 0. The deposition was legal and highly popular throughout Cambodia. In accordance with the Cambodian Constitution, Lon Nol continued as Prime Minister and as Minister of Defense.

3. Communist Offensives and Cambodia's Call for Help -
March/April 1970

Following Sihanouk's overthrow, the Cambodian Government appealed to the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops to leave Cambodian territory. But the Vietnamese Communists responded by stepping up their attacks and moving out of their base areas toward Cambodia's population centers. In March and April, Hanoi ordered major attacks against towns throughout eastern Cambodia and the Communist forces also threatened to cut off the routes leading to the capital, Phnom Penh.

In the face of the Communist offensives, the Cambodian Government appealed for help, to the United Nations on March 31 and to the world-at large on April 14, seeking urgently needed aid for Cambodia.

4. The Cambodia Incursion - May/June 1970

It was in the face of these major Communist offensives and of Cambodia's appeals, as well as in the context of the ongoing Vietnamization program-- which involved the substantial phased withdrawals of U. S. forces from South Vietnam--that the Cambodia incursion of May and June 1970 took place and that the U. S. military assistance program to Cambodia began.

The U. S. and South Vietnamese forces countered the Communists' offensives by conducting a limited incursion for a limited time (30 kilometers and 60 days) against the North Vietnamese base areas along the Cambodian/South Vietnamese border. Even under those restrictions, these operations were a serious setback for the Communist forces both in Cambodia and in South Vietnam and they ensured the continued phase-down of U. S. forces under the Vietnamization program.

5. Subsequent Elections in Cambodia

In accord with the sentiments of the populace, the new Cambodian Government moved to hold new elections in Cambodia. Following the drafting of a new Constitution, which was adopted in a national referendum in April 1972, new elections were held for the Presidency in June 1972, for the House in August 1972 and for the Senate in September 1972.

The 1972 Presidential elections were the first in Cambodia's history. In the elections Prime Minister Lon Nol won with 55% of the vote in a three man race against In Tam, a well known and highly respected Cambodian political personality and against Keo An, the Dean of the Faculty of Law at the national university in Phnom Penh.

Although there are of necessity, some war-time restrictions on political activity, Cambodia's diverse political factions in Parliament and press have continued a lively debate totally unparalleled in the Stalinist terror system of the Cambodian Communists and their North Vietnamese masters.

Cambodia PerspectiveTHE PARIS ACCORDS, THE UN RESOLUTION AND OTHER STEPS
FOR PEACE IN CAMBODIA -- ALL REJECTED BY THE COMMUNIST SIDE

A number of major efforts have been made to obtain peace in Cambodia. These efforts include the Paris Accords of January 27, 1973 (underwritten by an International Guarantor Conference and the UN), the Cambodian Government's cease-fire proposals of January 28, 1973 and the initiation of a U. S. bombing halt on the same date; the Cambodian Government's peace proposals of March 6, 1973, July 6, 1973 and July 9, 1974; the Cambodia bombing halt of August 15, 1973; and the United Nations Resolution of November 29, 1974. Regretably, each of these public efforts and all other efforts, including the special, private U. S. efforts cited by the Administration on March 5, 1975, have all been rejected by the Communist side.

1. The Paris Accords of January 1973 - Article 20

The Paris Accords of January 27, 1973 established an international framework for peace in Indochina, including Cambodia. The Accords were signed by North Vietnam and the three other parties to the Vietnam conflict, including the United States. They were underwritten by eight guarantor nations, including the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, France and Great Britain in the presence and with the support of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Article 20 of the Paris Accords called for an end to all foreign military activities in Cambodia, for the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel from Cambodia (there were some 40,000 North Vietnamese troops there at the time), and for the cessation of the use of Cambodian territory to encroach on neighboring countries. (Similar provisions applied in Laos.)

2. A Cease-Fire and Negotiations Proposed by the Cambodian Government -- Rejected by the Communist Side - January 1973

In the spirit of the Paris Accords, the Cambodian Government took what was surely a dramatic step for peace in Cambodia. Following the signing of the Accords on January 27, 1973, the Cambodian Government with full U. S. support on January 28, 1973 unilaterally stopped all offensive operations and urged the Communist side to join in a cease fire. They also offered to negotiate with any authorized representative of the other side and they undertook to explore other channels that might bring peace to their war-torn country.

At the same time, the United States stopped all bombing operations in Cambodia for one week.

The Communist side rejected these steps and thousands of North Vietnamese troops stepped up their attacks together with the insurgent forces they equipped and directed. As a result, the Cambodian armed forces were compelled to continue to defend Cambodian towns and supply lines being attacked and the Cambodian Government had to seek continued U. S. military assistance .

3. Other Steps for Peace and Communist Rejections

Other major steps for peace undertaken by the Government of Cambodia and by other parties include the following, all rejected by the Communists:

- On March 6, 1973 the Cambodian Government broadcast an invitation to North Vietnam to begin negotiations anywhere on the withdrawal of Hanoi's troops from Cambodia in accordance with the Paris and Geneva Accords and to discuss the exchange of prisoners. (The Communists rejected these proposals and stepped up their attacks.)
- The June 13, 1973 Joint Communique signed by North Vietnam and the United States reaffirmed Article 20 of the Paris Accords.
- On July 6, 1973, Cambodian Foreign Minister Long Boret announced a six-point peace plan calling for (1) an immediate cease-fire, (2) talks with the other side on a cease-fire and on national reconciliation, (3) the implementation of Article 20 of the Paris Accords, (4) the withdrawal of all foreign forces, (5) the reactivation of the International Control Commission established at the Geneva Conference of 1954, (6) assistance from the United Nations and the signatories of the International Guarantor Conference protocol on the Paris Accords. (The Communist side on July 10 rejected this initiative, with Sihanouk adding that he would refuse to meet with Dr. Kissinger during the latter's projected trip to Peking.)
- On August 15, 1973, following legislation passed on July 3, by the U. S. Congress, all U. S. bombing ceased throughout Cambodia, a step described by many American critics as likely to encourage negotiations. (In Peking, Khmer Cambodian leader Penn Nouth described the bombing halt as a victory for his side, but warned of the danger that the halt would increase pressure for negotiation, compromise and national concord, all of which he rejected as unacceptable.
- On August 29, 1973 and on December 28, 1974 and on several subsequent occasions, the Cambodian Government repeated its negotiations proposal of July 6, 1973, but the Communist side continued to reject these efforts.

-- On July 9, 1974 the Cambodian Government called for unconditional negotiations with the other side at any time and in any place. This offer dropped the Cambodian Government's July 1973 requirements for a cease-fire, withdrawal of foreign troops and reactivation of the ICC prior to the beginning of peace talks. (The Communist side categorically rejected this proposal, ruling out any talks whatsoever.)

-- On November 29, 1974 the General Assembly of the United Nations once again rejected the claims of Sihanouk and the Cambodian Communists and voted to retain the Cambodian Government (the Government of the Khmer Republic) as Cambodia's official representative in the United Nations. At the same time, the Assembly called on "powers influencing the two parties...to use their good offices for conciliation..." and asked the UN Secretary General to consult and to lend assistance to the contending parties in bringing peace to Cambodia. (Sihanouk and the Cambodian Communists totally rejected the UN's call for negotiation, terming the UN resolution gross interference in their affairs.)

4. The Current Negotiation Situation - March 1975

It must be noted that the Cambodian Government welcomed the UN resolution and has continued to reaffirm its July 1974 proposal for unconditional negotiations. In addition, Cambodia's President, Lon Nol, has confirmed his personal readiness to take any step which would be productive of negotiations bringing peace to Cambodia.

Regretably, all efforts by the Cambodian Government, the United Nations, the United States and other parties, have thus far been categorically rejected by the other side. These efforts include the special private American efforts made public by the Administration on March 5, 1975. *

Instead of responding with reciprocal steps for peace, the Communist side has stepped up its terror offensives. The Communists assert that cuts in American assistance to Cambodia assure their side a total victory and that they thus do not need to negotiate with Cambodia's non-Communist leaders, at least seven of whom they have publicly consigned to the gallows.

In spite of the Communist side's intransigence, the Administration and the Cambodian Government will continue to make every possible effort for peace in Cambodia. They believe, however, that the other side will have little, if any, incentive to negotiate if the American Congress unilaterally cuts off Cambodia's defenders at their knees.

* See Attachment for summary of these U. S. efforts.



Department of State
March 5, 1975

SUMMARY OF U. S. NEGOTIATING EFFORTS ON CAMBODIA

We have made continual and numerous private attempts, in addition to our numerous public declarations, to demonstrate in concrete and specific ways our readiness to see an early compromise settlement in Cambodia.

-- Throughout the negotiations that led to the Paris Agreement on Vietnam in January 1973, the United States repeatedly indicated -- both in these negotiations and through other channels -- its desire to see a ceasefire and political settlement in Cambodia, as well as in Vietnam and Laos. In later discussions concerning the implementation of the Paris Agreement, the United States conveyed its ideas and its desire to promote a negotiated settlement between the Cambodian parties.

-- A number of major efforts toward negotiation were made in 1973. By the summer of that year, these efforts were extremely promising. Just as they appeared to be approaching a serious stage, they were thwarted by the forced bombing halt in August that was legislated by the Congress.

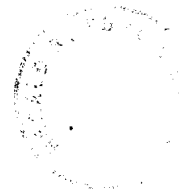
-- In October 1974, we broached the idea of an international conference on Cambodia with two countries having relations with the side headed by Prince Sihanouk (GRUNK). We also discussed the elements of a peaceful settlement. We received no substantive response to these overtures.

-- In November 1974, we again indicated with specificity our readiness to see a compromise settlement in Cambodia in which all elements could play a role to a government with relations with the GRUNK. Nothing came of this initiative.

-- In December 1974 and early January 1975, we concurred in an initiative to open a dialogue with Sihanouk in Peking. Sihanouk at first agreed to receive an emissary, but later refused.

-- In February 1975, we tried to establish a direct contact with Sihanouk ourselves. We received no response.

-- Also in February 1975, we apprised certain friendly governments with clear interests and concerns in the region, and with access to governments supporting the GRUNK, of our efforts to move the conflict toward a negotiated solution and of the degree of flexibility in our approach. They could offer no help.



Unfortunately, none of these attempts have had any result. The reactions we have gotten so far suggest that negotiating prospects will be dim as long as the Cambodian Government's military position remains precarious.

We are continuing to pursue our long-stated objective of an early compromise settlement in Cambodia. In this process we are, and have been, guided by the following principles:

1. The United States will support any negotiations that the parties themselves are prepared to support.
2. The United States will accept any outcome from the negotiations that the parties themselves will accept.
3. As far as the United States is concerned, the personalities involved will not, themselves, constitute obstacles of any kind to a settlement.

Background Materials on

SIHANOUK AND THE CAMBODIAN COMMUNISTS

- I - Sihanouk Statements on the Communists'
War in Cambodia 1965-1969
- II - Sihanouk and the Communists to 1969
- III - Sihanouk, the Communists and U. S.
Bombing in Cambodia - 1968-1969
- IV - The Current Communist Role in Cambodia
- V - Examples of Communist Terror in Cambodia

PRINCE SIHANOUK

Public Statements on the Communists' War in Cambodia 1965 - 1975

"I have never had the slightest illusion on the fate that awaits me at the hands of the Communists, as well as that which is reserved for my government, after having removed from our region the influence, and especially the presence, of the 'free world', and the the U. S. A. in particular..... I concede again that after the disappearance of the U. S. A. from our region and the victory of the Communist camp, I myself and the People's Socialist Community that I have created would inevitably disappear from the scene."

May 16, 1965 - Letter to New York Times Published June 4, 1965

"They (Khmer Rouge) launched these attacks because they want to create civil war.... transform the nation into a Communist country.... The masters of the Khmer Viet Minh are the Viet Minh and the Viet Cong."

May 9, 1967 - Sihanouk on Radio Phnom Penh

"... The pro-Viet Minh Khmer have had the habit of permitting the Viet Minh to come into our country.... The Viet Minh remained in our country in order to conquer it.... If we side with the Viet Minh, we will lose our independence."

May 9, 1967 - Sihanouk on Radio Phnom Penh

"... the Khmer Reds... such as Hu Youn, Khieu Samphan and Hu Nim, who have sold their country to foreigners -- the Viet Minh, the Viet Cong and the People's China."

February 1, 1968 - Sihanouk on Radio Phnom Penh

"I am planning to ask the Russian and Chinese leaders to urge the Viet Cong to leave us alone."

March 12, 1970 - Paris, France - Press Conference

(NOTE: On March 18, 1970 Sihanouk, who was in Moscow at the time was deposed by the Cambodian Parliament by a vote of 92 to 0.)

"Prince Norodom Sihanouk said today that the majority of the Royal Cambodian National Union Government is now Red Khmer, and the power already belongs to the Cambodian Communist Party. 'I am giving everything to the Red Khmers.'"

September 26, 1970 - Peking Interview

* These three men became the leaders of the Communist insurgency.

"Our regular troops are entirely equipped by China, including heavy equipment, and our militia are equipped by (North) Korea."

September 26, 1970 - AFP

"But if I go on as chief of state after victory, I run the risk of being pushed out the window by the Communists, like Masaryk, or that I might be imprisoned for revisionism or deviationism...."

December 10, 1971 - Tribune de Geneva - Interview

"Our instructor in chief is General Giap."

July 3, 1972 - AFP

"Asked about his own forces rocket attack on Phnom Penh's Pochentong airport earlier this week, in which a number of civilians living in make-shift homes were killed or injured, Prince Sihanouk said: 'That's war.'"

April 28, 1973 - Reuters

"He said that the strategy and tactics of the 'people's forces' were worked out in Cambodia itself by Khieu Samphan, Deputy Prime Minister of the Cambodian Royal Government of Popular Union and his general staff, and nowhere else. As for eventual negotiations between himself and the United States, Prince Sihanouk toughened his position in declaring that even for preliminary contacts before any negotiations the decision rested with the 'interior resistance' and not with himself."

April 28, 1973 - AFP

"We wanted to get rid of American aid, and as a result we not only had to open a casino but to transport, to become the Viet Cong's coolies.... Two thirds for the Viet Cong, one-third for yourself -- at that rate one sells one-self. So that was my end. There is the truth."

July 5, 1973 - Washington Star

"The Khmer Rouge do not like me at all and I know that. Oh la, la! I understand quite well that they only tolerate me, because without me they cannot prevail over the peasants, and without the peasants one can make no revolution in Cambodia. It is clear to me: when they no longer need me, they will spit me out like a cherry pit."

July 20, 1973 - Oriana Fallaci Interview

* RGNU- Sihanouk's Government in Exile

"I am one of the Khmer Rouge. I no longer want power....I will live in the temples of Angkor Wat and commune with the ghosts of my ancestors....I will be a figurehead."

September 24, 1973 - The Guardian, U.K. - Interview

"Prince Norodom Sihanouk announced today that he had cancelled plans to visit the 'liberated zone' of Cambodia in 1974 and would not go ahead with scheduled foreign tours....Prince Sihanouk stressed that since he was 'a head of state who does not govern,' the Royal Government of National Union (RGNUC) did not need his presence within Cambodia."

November 12, 1973 - AFP Report

"I was calling them 'Stalinists' in the sense that they would readily practice a cliquish policy... a certain form of surveillance of people's actions and words, and lastly an austere life-style so extreme that the non-Communist Cambodians couldn't appreciate it."

January 7, 1974 - Far Eastern Economic Review - Interview

"The DRV (North Vietnam) has constantly provided the most important multiform support and assistance as a timely and powerful contribution to the victory of our national liberation struggle."

February 15, 1975 - Telegram to DRV's Premier Pham Van Dong
Text broadcast February 21, 1975

"Questioned on the form of the regime after the overthrow of Marshal Lon Nol, President of the Cambodian Republic, Prince Sihanouk said: 'After the Liberation of Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge will be the sole masters of the destiny of the nation and the Khmer country....' The Khmer Rouge, 'who well deserve it in all respects, will be solely responsible for internal policy, government and the country's administration,' the Prince said. Regarding the fate of Marshal Lon Nol and his close aides, the Prince recalled the recent decision of the Sihanouk-backed National Congress presided over by Khieu Samphan, the Khmer Rouge leader, which 'sentenced to death the seven principal leaders of those who alienated Cambodian peace and independence.' The 'other traitors,' he said, would be granted clemency if they agreed 'not too late' to cooperate with the RGNUC."

March 12, 1975 - Interviews with French TV/Radio - AFP Report

Cambodia PerspectiveSIHANOUK AND THE COMMUNISTS TO 1969

Warfare in Cambodia did not begin in 1970 with the fall of Prince Sihanouk or with the Cambodia Incursion, as some critics allege. Rather, as Prince Sihanouk has repeatedly pointed out in the past, the war in Cambodia results from the campaign conducted for many years by the North Vietnamese, and the Cambodian Communists they direct, to impose a Communist system on Cambodia by force.

1. The Roots of the Communist Insurgency

The struggle to make Cambodia Communist goes back decades, and it originated not in Cambodia but in North Vietnam. The Cambodian Communists are not an independent organization, but are an off-shoot of the Communist Party founded in Hanoi in 1930. This Hanoi Party called itself, not the Vietnamese Communist Party, but the Indochinese Communist Party, and from the start it laid claim not only to Communist control of all of Vietnam, but also to Communist control of Cambodia and Laos.

Shortly after the Vietnamese Communist leaders had invited the French back into Indochina following World War II, the Viet Minh, as they were called, began to fight the French. In the war against the French, however, the Viet Minh sought to coup the nationalist movements, liquidating or driving out all non-Communist nationalists from their side. Throughout Indochina, including Cambodia, the Viet Minh fought as a pro-Hanoi and increasingly Stalinist movement. In the process, they profoundly alienated most Indochinese nationalists.

2. The Geneva Accords and North Vietnam's Violations

The Geneva Accords of 1954 which concluded the Indochina war provided for the removal of all foreign forces (including the North Vietnamese) from Cambodia, for Cambodia's neutralization and for an effective International Control Commission. The Accords were signed by North Vietnam and by France.

Following the signing of the Accords, the French forces left Cambodia. North Vietnamese troops, however, violated the Accords and remained in Cambodia in force. As they did with regard to Laos and South Vietnam, the North Vietnamese Communists similarly violated and sabotaged each of the provisions of the Geneva Accords affecting Cambodia. They illegally continued to use large areas of eastern Cambodia as bases for their attacks on South Vietnam and for fostering a Communist insurgency directed against the Cambodian government of Prince Sihanouk. To run the insurgency effort in Cambodia they brought to North Vietnam more than 5,000 Cambodian youths whom they trained as cadre to lead the insurgency at Hanoi's direction.

3. Sihanouk Denounces the Communists

Sihanouk sought to keep his nation neutral, as had been prescribed by the Geneva Accords, but he faced several tens of thousands of North Vietnamese troops who were illegally occupying large sections of Cambodia and fomenting a Communist insurgency against him. Sihanouk frequently denounced these Communist violations, warning the Cambodian people and the world about the consequences of these Communist actions. His warnings include the following typical statements:

- In a letter to the New York Times in 1965, Sihanouk said of his fate in a Communist Cambodia that "... after the disappearance of the USA from our region and the victory of the Communist camp, I myself and the People's Socialist Community that I have created will inevitably disappear from the scene."
- In a speech of May 9, 1967, Sihanouk stated that the Khmer Communists "launched these attacks because they want to create civil war..." He noted that "The masters of the Khmer Viet Minh are the Viet Minh and the Viet Cong." He added that "after I had expelled the French and after the French troops left Cambodia, the Viet Minh remained in our country in order to conquer it.... If we side with the Viet Minh we will lose our independence."
- In a speech of February 1, 1968, Sihanouk denounced the best known Cambodian Communist leaders as follows: "Hu Youn, Khieu Samphan and Hu Nim, who have sold their country to foreigners -- the Viet Minh, the Viet Cong and the People's China." In a speech of October 13, 1969, he said of the Cambodian Communists that "they have opened the door for the Viet Cong and the Viet Minh to enter and stay in the country. There are so many of them now. When I asked our Royal Armed Forces, how many Viet Cong and Viet Minh were in the country, I was told 40,000."
- Later, shortly before his deposition as Head of State, Sihanouk was to declare in Paris on March 13, 1970 that: "I am going to Moscow and Peking to ask them to curb the activities of the Viet Cong and the Viet Minh North Vietnamese in my country."

Since his deposition, Sihanouk has repeatedly made clear that the Cambodian Communists are controlled by Hanoi, that they would not keep him in office if they gained power and that they would impose a rigid Communist dictatorship on Cambodia. This situation is also clearly recognized throughout East Asia, where all of the non-Communist countries again backed the Khmer Republic and rejected the Communists' Front at the 1974 United Nations representation vote on Cambodia.



SIHANOUK, THE COMMUNISTS AND U. S. BOMBING IN CAMBODIA 1968-69

Some critics alleged that the U. S. bombing begun against the North Vietnamese base areas in Cambodia in 1969 marked a unilateral American escalation of the war and was undertaken without Prince Sihanouk's permission. In fact, however, the bombing (which was kept secret at Sihanouk's insistence) was undertaken with Sihanouk's acquiescence and reflected a response to intensified Communist attacks in South Vietnam and Cambodia. Following the initiation of the bombing, Cambodia's relations with the U. S. substantially improved and Sihanouk restored diplomatic relations with the United States.

1. Communist Violations and the Early U. S. Role in Cambodia

In violation of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and in spite of Sihanouk's frequent protests, the North Vietnamese forces steadily built up the large base areas they illegally occupied in eastern Cambodia. They also started fomenting a pro-Communist insurgency against the neutralist government of Prince Sihanouk. By 1968, the Communists' attacks and their Stalinist occupation policies had grown far beyond Sihanouk's control. Sihanouk's small army of 25,000 men, few of whom had any effective weapons or even any infantry training, was quite powerless against the 40,000 plus North Vietnamese/Viet Cong forces they confronted in Cambodia.

It must be remembered that these major Communist violations took place in a Cambodia in which, during the 1960's, the United States had only a very limited role. The Communists' target was the government of Prince Sihanouk, not the United States, and Sihanouk was not pro-American but neutralist. The small U. S. AID mission which had been in Cambodia was terminated in 1963 at Cambodia's request and from 1965 until 1969, the United States had no diplomatic mission in Phnom Penh and no military or economic assistance programs for Cambodia.

2. Sihanouk Seeks U. S. Help

Confronted by the Communists' increasing pressure, Sihanouk began in 1968 to turn to the United States for help and to suggest that U. S. bombing of the Communist base areas would be appropriate.

In a January 10, 1968 meeting with U. S. special emissary Chester Bowles, Sihanouk stated that he did not want the North Vietnamese in Cambodia and that while he could not say so publicly, he wanted the U. S. to retaliate against the North Vietnamese forces by bombing their base areas in Cambodia's unpopulated border zones near South Vietnam. Sihanouk insisted that because of the diplomatic sensitivities involved vis-a-vis Hanoi, Peking and Moscow, the bombing must not be officially acknowledged and must be kept secret.

3. The U. S. Initiates the Bombing of the Border Base Areas

In February 1969, the North Vietnamese forces launched a series of mortar and rocket attacks on some 115 targets in South Vietnam. In South Vietnam's Military Region III, next to Cambodia, the North Vietnamese employed four divisions involving some 25-30,000 troops.

In March 1969, the U. S. began to conduct limited bombing of the North Vietnamese base areas in Cambodia, along the South Vietnamese border areas. The bombing operations protected American (and South Vietnamese) lives during the preparation for and the actual withdrawal of U. S. forces from South Vietnam by preempting imminent Communist offensives being staged from the base areas in Cambodia. They also helped meet Sihanouk's request, though in accord with his desires and in view of the diplomatic sensitivities involved, these bombings were kept officially secret. (Subsequently it was revealed that the U. S. also conducted a number of limited ground reconnaissance missions into the North Vietnamese base areas in Cambodia.)

4. Sihanouk's Acquiescence

Sihanouk did not protest the bombing. Asked about reports of bombings, he noted in a May 13, 1969 press conference that he had received no reports from any Cambodians that they were being bombed and that if the Americans were bombing North Vietnamese/Viet Cong occupation forces in Cambodia this was quite another matter. He indicated that there could be no Cambodian protest because he and the Cambodians had "not lost any houses, any countrymen, nothing, nothing. No body was caught in those barrages -- nobody, no Cambodians."

In July 1969, several months after the bombing was initiated, Sihanouk renewed diplomatic relations with the United States -- a further reflection of his acquiescence in the U. S. bombing. Furthermore, Sihanouk's official correspondence with the U. S. Government during this period was friendly and forthcoming and it included an invitation to the President to visit Cambodia.

In a meeting with Senator Mansfield in August 1969, Sihanouk pointed out that there would be no Cambodian protests of the bombing as long as only North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces, and not Cambodians or Cambodian villages, were being hit. And although in a public toast he referred somewhat critically to certain "border incidents," i. e., bombings, he clearly indicated that these had not as yet jeopardized Cambodian/US relations.

THE CURRENT COMMUNIST ROLE IN CAMBODIA

The North Vietnamese and the Cambodian Communists they equip and control have rejected all negotiations and are continuing their massive violation of the Paris Accords forbidding foreign troop presence, of the United Nations Resolution calling for negotiations and of internationally accepted humanitarian standards. As Sihanouk often has pointed out, the North Vietnamese Communists direct this war -- some 10,000 North Vietnamese combat and logistics cadre in Cambodia are currently buttressing the insurgents. The Communists are waging a total war against Cambodia's civilian population with a degree of systematic terror perhaps unparalleled since the Nazi period -- a clear precursor of the blood bath and Stalinist dictatorship they intend to impose on the Cambodian people.

1. The Communist Violations of the Paris Accords

Although Article 20 of the Paris Accords of January 27, 1973 provided for the cessation of fighting by foreign troops in Cambodia, for their withdrawal from Cambodia and for the territorial integrity of Cambodia and her neighbors, the North Vietnamese completely ignored the Accords.

-- The North Vietnamese and the Cambodian Communists did not reciprocate the Cambodian Government's action of January 28, 1973 ceasing offensive operations and calling for a cease-fire and they did not respond to the U. S. bombing halt initiated on the same date.

-- In violation of the Paris Accords, the North Vietnamese have continued to maintain many thousands of their forces in Cambodia and they continued to direct the militant strategy and to underwrite the stepped up offensives of the Cambodian Communists. They are thus snubbing the Paris Agreements and the parties to the International Guarantor Conference and the United Nations which underwrote the Agreements.

2. The Current North Vietnamese Role in Cambodia

The North Vietnamese Communists continue their control and direction of the Cambodian Communist insurgency. Hanoi supplies the insurgencies essential war materiel and its logistics cadre move these supplies to the front. Through their long-time control of the insurgency's principal cadres it directs the militant strategy being carried out by the insurgents.

-- As of January 1975, an estimated 10,000 Vietnamese Communist troops were permanently stationed inside Cambodia. These included some 2,000 North Vietnamese infantry "liaison" cadre working directly with Cambodian Communist combat units and targeted on Cambodian operations. They also included some 7,000 administrative/logistics personnel and some 1,000 Viet Cong troops backing up the insurgent's war effort.

-- The North Vietnamese continue to provide vast quantities of ammunition, artillery, mines and other military hardware. This aid is massive and vital as Sihanouk noted in a telegram of February 15, 1975 to Hanoi's Premier Phan Van Dong following Sihanouk's recent visit to Hanoi. In the telegram, which was broadcast over the Cambodian Communists' radio from Hanoi on February 21, 1975, Sihanouk expressed the Insurgent's gratitude, saying: "The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has constantly provided the most important multiform support and assistance as a timely and powerful contribution to the victory of our national liberation struggle."

-- The Cambodian Communist cadre taken to North Vietnam in the 1950's and the three leading pro-Communists who left Sihanouk's government for Hanoi in the mid-sixties (Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn and Hu Nim) are dependent upon and obedient to Hanoi's directives. They, not Sihanouk, who often called them traitors and country-sellers, are in charge of implementing Hanoi's policies in Cambodia. It should be noted that the Insurgent's Front first surfaced in Hanoi in 1970 and that its radio and some of its cadre training facilities are in North Vietnam.

-- In the large base areas they occupy, especially in eastern Cambodia and which they are in some cases colonizing and collectivizing via Vietnamese families brought from North Vietnam, The Vietnamese Communists rule the local Cambodian population in a rigid Stalinist pattern, press-ganging the people and killing and terrorizing peasants and monks. Occasional uprisings against them, sometimes even involving local insurgent units, are suppressed ruthlessly by the North Vietnamese forces.

3. The Cambodian Communist Leadership

The formal organizations on the insurgent side are the Royal Government of National Union (GRUNK or RGNU) and its affiliated political front, the National United Front of Cambodia (FUNK) formed in 1970 in Peking and Hanoi. As currently constituted, both are little more than fronts for the Khmer Communist Party (KCP).

-- Originally, the RGNU cabinet was composed mainly of men based in Peking with Sihanouk and loyal to him. More than half of the original 12 Cabinet portfolios were held by individuals considered non-Communist in orientation.

-- Especially since November 1973, when the portfolios of most of the Peking-based RGNU cabinet members were reassigned to the "Resistance of the Interior" i. e. the pro-Hanoi Communists in Cambodia, the Communists have assumed virtually total control of the RGNU cabinet. Of the RGNU's seventeen current cabinet posts, fourteen are now held by the Cambodia-based insurgents. Of these, all except one, Prince Norodom Phurissara, are considered Communists and are believed to be members of the KCP's Central Committee.

-- The KCP's Central Committee's leading figures include Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn, Hu Nim, Saloth Sar, Son Sen and Ieng Sary. Ieng Sary, who is thought to be Hanoi's man, is constantly with Sihanouk in Peking in a watchdog role much resented by Sihanouk.

-- Three of the seventeen cabinet members are still based in Peking with Prince Sihanouk. Two of these are considered not to be Communists -- Penn Nouth, who is old, in poor health and with little influence, and Foreign Minister Sarin Chhak. Although Penn Nouth was the nominal RGNU Prime Minister, in fact the Deputy Prime Minister, Khieu Samphan, who leads the insurgents in Cambodia, has been Acting Prime Minister since November 1973.

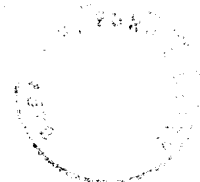
-- Sihanouk's role in relation to the Cambodian Communists is clearly one of little influence. While the Communists are currently exploiting him as an international figurehead, they have little use for his princely ways and his neutralist predilections. Sihanouk, who has frequently stated that he would have no power in a Communist Cambodia, has noted that: "the RGNU is now Red Khmer and the power already belongs to the Cambodian Communist Party." (September 26, 1970). Sihanouk has described his own probable fate with the Communists as follows: "when they no longer need me they will spit me out like a cherry pit" (July 20, 1973). As Sihanouk has noted: "If I go on as chief of state after victory, I run the risk of being pushed out the window by the Communists, like Masaryk, or that I might be imprisoned for revisionism or deviationism..." (December 10, 1971)

4. Cambodian Communist Terror

The record of the indiscriminate terror attacks launched by the Communist forces against Cambodia's civilian population is by now widely known to the world. It is perhaps unparalleled since the Nazi era.

The evidence of Communist terrorism is massive. The press and television each day bring vivid new examples of the villages, towns, schools, market places, hospitals, pagodas and refugee camps which are the daily targets of the Communists' terror attacks. Additionally, eyewitness accounts tell of the widespread terrorism and executions carried out by the Cambodian Communists in the so-called "liberated" areas.

The fate of all Cambodians is now at stake. The evidence is clear that a large-scale blood bath -- far larger than anything thus far in the war -- would surely be the Communists' policy following a Communist victory in Cambodia.



EXAMPLES OF COMMUNIST TERROR IN CAMBODIAThe Khmer Communists' Systematic Use of Execution and Terror:
Why Cambodians flee from the Khmer Rouge

On March 12, Prince Sihanouk himself said that the Khmer Communists will be in complete control of all "internal policies" after the fall of Phnom Penh. So there is no question whose policies will be applied to the population under a new government. The following examples of systematic terror lead to the conclusion that a widespread purge will follow the capture of Phnom Penh by the Communists:

- Refugees who fled to South Vietnam said that infringements of even minor Communist rules were often punished by death. One refugee from Svay Rieng Province said that thousands of villagers had been killed for not toeing the Khmer Rouge line. (source: Wash. Post, November 24, 1974, pg. K-1)
- At the Tuol Trach Refugee Camp, the Communists killed 10 refugees, six of whom were young children under 10 years of age. They were brutally executed by knife and bayonet. (source: Jack Anderson, Wash. Post, March 3, 1975)
- Meak Son Ham, chief of a village in Kampong Thom Province which fled the Communists said: "They (the Communists) killed people by beating them and shooting them. They said people were enemy agents and led them to the woods and shot them." (source: Chicago Tribune, July 14, 1974, Section 2, pg. 3)
- Um Chum, a refugee in Kampong Thom, said "Sometimes they killed one member of a family as an example, or they killed whole families. They led people to the forests in chains for executions. They put five people at a time in graves. People had to dig their own graves." (Chicago Tribune, July 14, cited above)
- Another refugee at Kampong Thom said: "The Communists forbid people to worship or be monks without their permission. They are very cruel to monks." (source: Chicago Tribune, July 14, cited above)
- Sanguon Preap, a refugee at Tuol Sampeou said: "I saw the Khmer Rouge saw off the neck of a civilian with the sharp edge of a sugar palm leaf. They spent three days cutting his head off. They sawed a little one morning, and then in the evening and the following day in the morning and the evening, and finally the following day in the morning and night."

"They made the victim stand up while they were cutting in front of hundreds of people. Then they held him up when he could no longer stand."

Reporter Donald Kirk added that this episode was not an isolated case but "one of many I heard during visits to refugee camps. Khmer Rouge soldiers have also used the knife like edges of sugar palm trees to lop off heads of Cambodian officers captured while overrunning towns." (source: Donald Kirk in the Chicago Tribune, July 14, 1974)

- Another refugee, Lach Pech, said in his village Buddhist monks were forced to dig up roots of large trees and then throw bodies into the ground where the roots had been. (Kirk, Chicago Tribune, July 14, cited above)
- The Khmer Communists overran the town of Ang Snoul around New Year, 1975. After the town was recaptured the bodies of 52 civilians, including 10 children, were found with wounds indicating they had been shot and bayoneted. (source: Christian Science Monitor: January 6, 1975)
- Mias Penh, of Phnom Tragn, said 10 people of his village were murdered with an ax during the years of Communist rule. He said "people who protested against the Communist policy of food distribution were taken into the forest and beheaded and mutilated with ax and hammer." (source: Wash. Star News, April 10, 1974)
- Correspondent Tammy Arbuckle interviewed refugees in several parts of Northern Cambodia and "it was the same story . . . always the same story. Murders, houses burnt, conscription, hardly any food given to the villagers . . ." (Tammy Arbuckle in the Wash. Star News, April 10, 1974)
- In Pursat Province the Communists formed a special unit in February 1974 to execute villagers and officials who did not conform to their policies. Within four months there had been nine executions, almost all by stabbing. (U.S. Embassy report)
- Monk Phra Kou Ath, chief of the Wat Tha Phuay pagoda who fled from Cambodia to Sithandone Province of Laos, said "Those who do not obey Khmer Communist orders are executed." Monks are forced to leave their monasteries, forced to join the Army. (XAT LAO Newspaper, Vientiane Laos, August 9, 1974)

- On July 1, 1974 approximately 700 civilians and surrendered soldiers were executed at Ta Hen in Battambang Province by Khmer Communist. All inhabitants of Ta Hen were moving overland when they were ambushed by the Communists. About 75 people, mostly women and children, were killed in this initial contact. The remaining people all surrendered. Five minutes after the surrender, the Communists began firing indiscriminately into the group killing another 200 people.

Following that, all of those remaining men alive were marched away and then systematically executed as follows. The group was subdivided into two smaller groups: one made up of men, the other, women and children. The men were made to sit on the ground with their hands tied behind their backs. They were then executed by being stabbed with bayonets. The women and children were marched off and put to work in the fields. (source: Reports by U.S. Embassy officials who spoke to refugees who escaped from this group and Communist prisoners who admitted taking part in the atrocity.)

- Captured Communist orders reveal that the following actions will be carried out during attacks on Phnom Penh: "We will burn and destroy everything. For sure, we will burn down the markets, ration stocks, etc. We will kill politicians as well as officers, ministers, and national assembly members who have no way to defend themselves. We will use arson. We will burn homes and markets." (source: Captured Communist documents)



Cambodian Communist Radio Broadcast - February 20, 1975

NUFC RADIO HAILS DESTRUCTION OF MUANG TOWNSHIP

Voice of NUFC [Clandestine] in Cambodian to Cambodia 0400 GMT 20 Feb 75 BK

[Excerpt] Maung township is completely leveled. Our people throughout the country congratulate and convey warm wishes to the victorious CPNLF units on the Maung-Battambang battlefield.

According to initial reports from this front, our CPNLF completely leveled the Maung business district. We killed or captured almost all the enemy, seized a large quantity of weapons and material and liberated hundreds of thousands from the traitors' yoke.

Maung is a large, important district in Battambang Province. Our CPNLF liberated the rural areas long ago, leaving the enemy in control of only Maung township and its defense perimeter. At the end of the rainy season and the beginning of the dry season our CPNLF continuously surrounded and strongly assaulted the Maung defense perimeter. Intensifying their stormy offensive early this year, on 13 January our CPNLF leveled the Reluc position west of Maung; on 23 January, we again leveled the Stung Chak position near the Maung market place. From 24 to 25 January we leveled three other positions around the marketplace--Spean Ta Meay, Kreng Nil and Svay Cheat villages. On the night of 15-16 February, we vigorously attacked the enemy and occupied Maung market. On 17 February, we killed and captured all enemy troops. Thus, Maung township is completely leveled.

Before we start on questions tonight, I would like to make a brief statement on the subject of assistance to South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Three issues are at stake.

The first is the future of the people who live there. We have all witnessed on television each night the horror and tragedy that comes with the Communist rockets fired wantonly into Phnom Penh.^P We have all seen South Vietnamese soldiers defending their country against massive North Vietnamese violations of the ceasefire.

It would be gratifying to be able to say that the killing would cease were we to stop our aid. But that would not be the case. Past Communist performance in Vietnam and Cambodia demonstrates that a Communist victory would only be the beginning of the bloodletting. The people of Cambodia and Vietnam have invariably, by the hundreds of thousands, fled to government controlled territory rather than accept Communist rule. The Congressional Delegation which recently returned from Indochina spoke with a number of refugees and dissidents. In not a single case did they find one who preferred Communist control.

The second issue before us is whether the problems of Indochina will be settled by fighting or by negotiation?

In Cambodia, both the government in Phnom Penh and the U. S. have made vigorous and continual efforts over the years to bring about a ceasefire and political settlement.



The Cambodian Government declared a unilateral ceasefire and called for negotiations immediately after the Paris Agreements on Vietnam were signed in January 1973. Ever since, it has repeatedly expressed its willingness to be flexible in seeking a negotiated outcome of the conflict. Its leadership has made clear that it is willing to do whatever it can to bring peace to that country.

The United States has^s backed these efforts. And we have patiently and exhaustively pursued initiatives through various channels. Yesterday we made public an outline of our efforts over the years. In this process we have been consistently guided by three principles:

1. The United States will support any negotiations that the parties themselves are prepared to support.
2. The United States will accept any outcome from the negotiations that the parties themselves will accept.
3. As far as the United States is concerned, the personalities involved will not, themselves, constitute obstacles of any kind to a settlement.

Unfortunately, these efforts have consistently been rebuffed. It is not a failure to offer reasonable solutions that has prevented peace in Cambodia. The other side believes that it can win its objectives on the battlefield. They can only be encouraged in this belief if we cut off assistance to our friends. We will continue energetically to seek a negotiated solution.

We want an end to the killing and ^{we seek} a negotiated settlement.
The Cambodian Government wants an end to the killing and a negotiated settlement. We will continue to do everything we can to bring about this result. But there is no hope of success unless the Congress provides the necessary means for Cambodia to survive.

If we abandon our allies in Cambodia and Vietnam, we will be saying to all the world that war pays. Aggression against the Republic of Vietnam will continue and grow worse. And in Cambodia, the Communists will have shown that if negotiations for a settlement are resisted for a time, the U. S. will ~~wary~~, abandon its friends, and force will prevail.

The third issue is the reliability of the United States and our own view of ourselves. If we cease to help our friends in Vietnam and Cambodia, we will have violated their trust that we would help them with arms, food and supplies so long as they were determined to fight

for their own freedom. We will have been false to ourselves, to our word, and to our friends. No one should think for a moment that we can walk away from that without, in the end, a deep sense of shame.

Peace will come to Indochina when the North Vietnamese recognize that they cannot win by fighting. If we sustain our aid, the people of Cambodia may yet have a chance to negotiate a settlement, and Vietnam will be able to preserve its independence.

This is not a question of involvement or re-involvement in Indochina. We have ended our involvement. The American troops have come home. They will not be sent back.

When the American people have known the facts; when they have understood the issues; when they have seen the innocent suffer at the hands of others, they have always done what was right. Today is such a time. I call upon the American people and their representatives in the Congress to do the right thing and grant the assistance we have requested for Cambodia and Vietnam.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MAR 8 1975

March 7, 1975

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MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: VERN LOEN VL
SUBJECT: Subcommittee report on Cambodia

The full House Foreign Affairs Committee will consider the subcommittee report on Cambodia next Wednesday.

Broomfield was very negative about prospects for House passage, even at a figure reduced from the \$222 million requested supplemental.

The Special Subcommittee on Investigations, chaired by Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind), is holding hearings on U.S. policies and involvement in S.E. Asia. It was suggested that you as an Indianaian might be the best person to feel out Hamilton's intentions and prospects. I, of course, will be glad to do so if you are too busy.

cc: John Marsh ✓
Gen. Brent Scowcroft
Sam Goldberg (State Dept.)

MAR 13 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

The outlook in the House Foreign Relations Committee is grim following the 15 to 18 defeat today of the Hamilton-Dupont Cambodia compromise.

Bill Broomfield and Doc Morgan have discussed the situation and the Chairman is inclined to kill our whole request when the full committee reconvenes next week.

Technically the door is still slightly open because our basic request for additional funds has not been disposed of.

However, Doc seems inclined now to kill the entire request and we believe that part of the motivation is to protect the Democratic Caucus and avoid a floor vote which would put the onus of cutting loose Cambodia on the Democrats.

Broomfield estimates that even if we could get the full committee to reconsider and pass the compromise or a revised version of it, that there are still 250 votes on the House floor against any form of military aid. Both Broomfield and Morgan were highly critical of Bob Ingersoll's testimony today prior to the vote and felt it was the deciding factor in the defeat of the compromise.

Bob came down in support of the Senate version and this irritated the House committee which had predicated its support of any measure on a cutoff date.

We know that at least two votes, Herb Burke and Roy Taylor, were influenced adversely by Ingersoll's testimony.

We lost on the Republican side Findley, Burke and Whalen and picked up Biester whom we had as highly questionable. Findley went his own way with an amendment of his own; Burke said he was turned off by Ingersoll and also under heavy pressure from newspapers in his district and the fact that Paul Rogers and Bill Lehman would be voting different than he would. Whalen was as usual, inflexible.



We picked up seven Democratic votes and the only surprise was Roy Taylor who said he had had it up to here with Cambodia and also was upset about the closing of an Agricultural station in his district.

We will continue working with State to try and secure a reconsideration of the Compromise or a modification. The Senate Foreign Relations full committee is scheduled to consider the \$125 million draw down on Monday but the overwhelming Democratic Caucus vote today (35-5) against more military aid for Cambodia will further damage our chances in the Senate.

bcc: ~~Jack Marsh~~
Don Rumsfeld
General Scowcroft



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3/15/75

Attached from Gen. Scowcroft



MAR 15 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

It is my understanding that the House Foreign Affairs Committee will meet this morning to consider H. R. _____.

It is my hope that the Committee before finally acting on this measure will reconsider the proposal known as the Hamilton/Dupont Amendment which was acted on by the Committee last Thursday. As you are aware, this measure which would authorize \$_____ million also provided for a cutoff of assistance to Cambodia on 30 June of this year. When I appeared before the Committee and in response to questions, I indicated that it was the view of the Administration that a measure which would not contain this cutoff was much preferable and, for that reason, indicated our desire that the Committee favorably consider the proposal now pending in the Senate.

The view of the Administration has not changed in reference to some of the provisions of the Hamilton-Dupont compromise for the reasons which I previously assigned in my testimony. However, we do believe there is an overriding consideration in enabling the Congress to work its will on this subject by permitting Floor action on this matter relating to the critical situation in Cambodia.

To that end, we feel it would be most helpful if the Committee would favorably report the bill in order to provide an opportunity

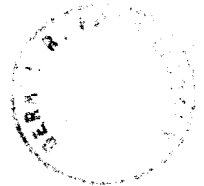
Second Draft



on the Floor for both debate and amendments. The Administration, of course, would support amendments that enable the legislation to be more reflective of the views previously suggested in our legislative request.

Thanking you and the Committee for your consideration of this very important matter, I am

Sincerely,



March 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: JACK MARSH

President considered two letters and this was the alternate, which he did not select, but which is preferred by Broomfield, Hamilton, and the Foreign Affairs Committee Staff Director, Czarnaeki.

Discuss with Max upon receipt. Still on the Hill. Will call around 12:45 EST.



3/17

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick --

The last sentence has been amended.

The following words were added to the last sentence in the last paragraph:

"so the House can work its will."

Jack



Dear Mr. Chairman:

It is my understanding that the House Foreign Affairs Committee will meet this morning to consider H. R. _____.

It is my hope that the Committee before finally acting on this measure will reconsider the proposal known as the Hamilton/Dupont Amendment which was acted on by the Committee last Thursday.

As you are aware, we voiced serious objections to some provisions of this compromise. However, we view it as the only legislative vehicle to bring this issue before the full House for its consideration.

Therefore, we recommend that the full Committee today report favorably the Hamilton/Dupont compromise with regard to the additional Cambodian funding so the House can work its will.

Sincerely,



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Therefore, we recommend that the full Committee today report favorably the Hamilton/Dupont compromise with regard to the additional Cambodian funding. *so the House can*

Sincerely,

work its will.

