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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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N00909

PAGE 01 PEKING 00328 010137Z

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ACTION NOUS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

105136

R 010038Z MAR 75
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3287~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PEKING 0328

N00IS

FOR OSCAR ARMSTRONG FROM AMB GEORGE BUSH

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP CH
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL VISITS TO PRCDELIGHTED TO KNOW ALBERT AND RHODES ARE COMING.
PLEASE CALL EACH OF THEM WITH FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PEKING:MR. SPEAKER, I AM DELIGHTED TO HEAR ABOUT
YOUR TRIP. PLEASE LET US KNOW IF THERE IS ANYTHING WE
BUSHES CAN DO FOR YOU IN ADVANCE OF YOUR ARRIVAL. WE
LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING YOU AT THE USLO RESIDENCE.
PLEASE TELL MARY THAT BARBARA IS VERY PLEASED AND IS
PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO WELCOME HER TO PEKING.
WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS. GEORGE BUSH"SEND SAM MESSAGE TO RHODES STARTING MESSAGE
JOHN AND SUBSTITUTING BETTY FOR MARY.
BUSH~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HR 5/14/01





Department of State

TELEGRAM

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NOD696

PAGE 01 PEKING 00417 120429Z

Control: 3199Q

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

003451

R 120300Z MAR 75
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3363

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 417

NODIS/CHEROKEE

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES

BY NR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03

State Dept Review
TD 9/27/02

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, PFUR, CH, US, ZA
SUBJECT: COMMENTS OF ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MWAANGA

1. ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER VERNON J. MWAANGA, AND OLD FRIEND FROM UN DAYS, TOOK TIME OFF FROM HIS VISITS WITH PRC LEADERS TO STOP BY FOR A CHAT WITH ME AFTERNOON OF MARCH 11.
2. CHOU EN-LIA. MWAANGA MET WITH PREMIER CHOU FOR 70 MINUTES ON MARCH 10. HE FOUND CHOU MENTALLY ALERT BUT MUCH FRAILER THAN DURING MWAANGA'S LAST VISIT TO CHINA A YEAR AGO WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA. CHOU TOLD MWAANGA HE WAS "RECOVERING SLOWLY" FROM HIS ILLNESS BUT AFRICANS NOTICED ADHESIVE PATCHES ON BOTH HIS WRISTS WHICH MWAANGA FELT SUGGESTED EITHER RECENT BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS OR INTRAVENOUS FEEDING. THE TEA CUP SHOOK VISIBLY IN CHOU'S HANDS.
3. SINO-US RELATIONS. BOTH CHOU AND FOREIGN MINISTER CH'IAO KUAN-HUA SAID THEY WERE SATISFIED WITH THE CURRENT STATE OF SINO-US RELATIONS. CHOU, HOWEVER, ADDED THAT THERE COULD BE NO FORWARD MOVEMENT ON NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS UNTIL THE US STOPPED GIVING "BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS" TO THE NATIONALISTS ON TAIWAN. (COMMENT: MWAANGA THOUGHT CHOU SEEMED TO IMPLY THE OBSTACLE TO NORMALIZATION WAS US MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF TAIWAN RATHER THAN THE SECURITY TREATY.)
4. CAMBODIA. MWAANGA HAD A THREE HOUR LUNCH WITH Sihanouk YESTERDAY

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00417 120429Z

FINDING THE PRICE CHARMING AS USUAL AND CONFIDENT OF AN EARLY KHMER ROUGE VICTORY IN CAMBODIA. SIHANOUK SAID HE EXPECTED TO SERVE AS A FIGUREHEAD IN A KHMER ROUGE GOVERNMENT HANDLING FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUT WITH NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ON THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS, SIHANOUK SAID THAT HE HAD ATTEMPTED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE US WITHOUT SUCCESS. HE CALIMED THAT CHOU EN-LAI HAD SUGGESTED TO SECRETARY KISSINGER IN NOVEMBER THAT SINCE SIHANOUK WAS ALSO IN TOWN PERHAPS THE TWO SHOULD GET TOGETHER FOR TALKS BUT THE SECRETARY HAD REFUSED TO MEET SIHANOUK.

5. US - ZAMBIAN RELATIONS. IN ANSWER TO MY GENERAL INQUIRY ON US - ZAMBIAN RELATIONS, MWAANGA CHARACTERIZED THEM AS "GOOD" AND NOTED THAT PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S UPCOMING VISIT TO THE US SYMBOLIZED OUR GOOD RELATIONS. MWAANGA INDICATED THEY WERE PARTICULARLY LOOKING FORWARD TO THE DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND THEIR RECEPTION AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

6. THE DAVIS APPOINTMENT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE APPOINTMENT OF NAT DAVIS AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS WAS CURRENTLY A SORE POINT IN US - AFRICAN RELATIONS BECAUSE OF AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO EVENTS IN CHILE DURING DAVIS' TOUR THERE. I EXPRESSED FULL CONFIDENCE IN NAT AND DELIVERED A SMALL LECTURE ON OUR RIGHT TO APPOINT WHOMEVER WE WISHED TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY, ADDING THAT AFRICAN CRITICISM COULD BE MISUNDERSTOOD IN THE US, AND CAUSE DAMAGE TO US AFRICAN RELATIONS. MWAANGA SAID AFRICANS ALSO HAD A PUBLIC RELATIONS PROBLEM. ZAMBIA, FOR EXAMPLE, DID NOT WANT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS HURT BY PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST A VISITING US ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE AS A "CIA STOOGES". HE HASTENED TO SAY THAT ZAMBIA WANTED US TO KNOW THEIR CONCERNS BUT NOT TO MAKE IT A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I SUGGESTED THAT AS TIME PASSED, THEY WOULD FIND THEIR INITIAL REACTION TO DAVIS HAD BEEN MISTAKEN.

7. SINO-ZAMBIAN RELATIONS. MWAANGA HAD LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT HIS EXTENDED TALKS WITH THE CHINESE ON SINO-ZAMBIAN ISSUES OTHER THAN TO NOTE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES REMAIN QUITE CLOSE AND ZAMBIA WILL SOON FILL ITS AMBASSADORIAL SLOT IN PEKING. THE FOREIGN MINISTER CLEARLY IS SUFFICIENTLY CONFIDENT OF HIS OWN

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PAGE 03 PEKING 00417 120429Z

POSITION WITH THE CHINESE THAT HE DID NOT HESITATE TO BREAK ALL OF THE PROTOCOL RULES IN PEKING BY COMING TO USLO FOR A CUP OF TEA WITH ME.

8. MNAANGA HANDED ME A SEALED ENVELOPE ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY WHICH I WILL POUCH TO WASHINGTON MARCH 14.

9. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO FORWARD RELEVANT PORTIONS OF THIS MESSAGE TO INTERESTED POSTS.

BUSH

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TELEGRAM

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NO0132

PAGE 01 PEKING 00423 130924Z

CONTROL: 3689Q

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ACTION NO05-00

RECD : MARCH 13, 1975
5:03 A.M.

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

027693

P 130850Z MAR 75
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3368

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PEKING 423

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SCUL, CH

SUBJECT: PROPOSED APPROACH TO PRCLO ON "TAIWAN LIBERATION" SONG IN
U.S. PERFORMANCES

REF: STATE 56173

1. USLO FULLY CONCURS IN APPROACH TO PRCLO RECOMMENDED REPTTEL. THIS DEVELOPMENT WITH INTRANSIGENT CHINESE POSITION ON PRESS COVERAGE OF ARCHEOLOGICAL EXHIBITION OPENING AND FLAP THAT IS SHAPING UP OVER DEMAND FOR CLOSURE OF PERMANENT CHINESE EXHIBIT AT NELSON-ATKINS GALLERY IN KANSAS CITY SUGGESTS THAT PRC MISUNDERSTANDS OUR WILLINGNESS TO BE ACCOMMODATING IN INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT THE CHINESE WILL BACK DOWN IF CONFRONTED WITH A FIRM DEPARTMENT POSITION, BUT IF THEY DO NOT, THEY STAND TO LOSE MORE THAN WE DO.

2. WE SHOULD ADD ONLY ONE THOUGHT TO PRESENTATION PROPOSED BY DEPARTMENT. ALTHOUGH IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS TO CHINESE, JUST TO MAKE SURE THERE IS NO BASIS FOR MISINTERPRETATION, WE THINK IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT OUR FIRM POSITION ON THIS QUESTION IN NO WAY REFLECTS A CHANGE IN OUR POLICY WITH RESPECT TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS OR OUR ADHERENCE TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

3. REQUEST DEPARTMENT AT ITS DISCRETION PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY.
BUSH

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HR 5/14/01

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NO0542

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 PEKING 00441 150247Z

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ACTION NO05-00

CONTROL: 4547Q

RECD: 14 MAR'75 10:02pm

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

064451

R 150200Z MAR 75

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3384

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 441

NO015

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PHOK, CH, TW

SUBJECT: CO-PRODUCTION ADD-ON FOR F-5E'S

REF: STATE 55970

1. USLO NOTES REFTEL REPORT OF PROMISE TO ROC AMBASSADOR SHEN THAT AN EARLY ANSWER WOULD BE PROVIDED ON THE QUESTION OF ADDING TWENTY MORE F-5E'S TO THE ORIGINAL CO-PRODUCTION AGREEMENT FOR ONE HUNDRED AIRCRAFT. WE WOULD LIKE TO WEIGH IN WITH OUR SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT CONTINUING FURTHER AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH PRC INEVITABLY WILL VIEW AS SLIPPAGE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. IT IS THIS TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP WHICH CHOU EN-LAI OBJECTED TO AS "BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS" R

TAIWAN IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH AN AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER.

2. IF DEPARTMENT CONCLUDES THAT ADDITIONAL TWENTY AIRCRAFT ARE ESSENTIAL DEFENSE REQUIREMENT FOR TAIWAN, WE WOULD MUCH PREFER THEY BE PROVIDED ON A CASH SALE BASIS WHICH WOULD AVOID THE DEGREE OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT INHERENT IN A CO-PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENT. (NEVERTHELESS, CASH SALE WOULD STILL CARRY "BLOOD TRANSFUSION" CONNOTATION AS FAR AS PRC CONCERNED.) WE WOULD APPRECIATE BEING ADVISED OF DEPARTMENT'S THINKING ON THIS QUESTION.

BUSH

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NO0496

PAGE 01 PEKING 00493 200947Z

CONTROL: 6168Q

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5:31AM

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INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3425

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 493

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), SCUL, CH

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM : "TAIWAN LIBERATION" SONG IN PRC
CULTURAL PERFORMANCE (S/S 7505512)

REF (A) STATE 062804 AND (B) STATE 57289

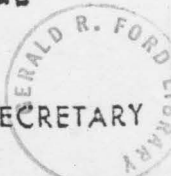
1. USLO FULLY CONCURS THAT WE MUST STAND FIRM ON PRC REFUSAL TO DELETE "TAIWAN LIBERATION" SONG FROM PROGRAM OF PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE. NEVERTHELESS, WE FEEL THE APPROACH SPELLED OUT REFTTEL OMTS A VITAL STEP IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHICH COULD POSSIBLY SAVE THE WHOLE EXERCISE. CHINESE ARE PRACTICED CONFRONTATION NEGOTIATORS, AND THEY MAY WELL BE COUNTING ON ANOTHER U.S. CAVE-IN ON THIS ISSUE. IT IS ENTIRELY CONCEIVABLE THAT THERE ARE DIVERGENT COUNSELS WITHIN PRC FOREIGN MINISTRY ON ADVISABILITY OF PUSHING THIS QUESTION TOO FAR, AND WE ARE CONCERNED THAT SCENARIO OUTLINED REF A DOES NOT ALLOW CHINESE "A WAY OUT", ALSO A LONG STANDING PRINCIPLE OF CHINESE NEGOTIATING PROCEDURE.

2. DESPITE THE STATEMENT REF B THAT "HAN WAS LEFT IN LITTLE DOUBT THAT TOUR IS IN JEOPARDY IF PRC DOES NOT ACCOMMODATE OUR REQUEST, OR THE THREAT OF "SERIOUS CONSEQUENTS" (REF A) WE DO NOT THINK THIS IS SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR TO TAKE IRREVOCABLE STEP OF INFORMING CHINESE THAT TOUR IS CANCELLED. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT HADIS CALL IN HAN HSU AND INFORM HIM THAT WE FEEL SUFFICIENTLY STRONGLY ABOUT THIS MATTER THAT IF SONG IS NOT DELETED WE WILL

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00493 200947Z

CANCEL THE TOUR. WHEN CONFRONTED WITH UNMISTAKABLE THREAT TO CANCEL, WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT CHINESE WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO OMIT THE OFFENSIVE NUMBER "IN THE INTEREST OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES". THEY MAY NOT, BUT THE PRESENT APPROACH SHUTS OFF THE ROUTE FOR THE CHINESE TO CAVE.

3. IF CHINESE REFUSE TO BUDGE, SCENARIO OUTLINED REF A LOOKS FINE TO US, BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST ONE ADDITIONAL THOUGHT. WE MUST AVOID CHARGES OF STATE DEPARTMENT CENSORSHIP WHICH INEVITABLY WILL ARISE AMONG CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PRESS IN COVERAGE OF THE CANCELLATION. THE ISSUE ON THE CANCELLATION OF THE PRESS REVIEW FOR THE ARCHEOLOGICAL EXHIBIT WAS "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS". STANDING FIRM MEANT STANDING UP FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. ON THIS QUESTION THE ISSUE IS DIFFERENT; AND THE PRC, IF CLEVER, CAN BE AGAINST "CENSORSHIP" IN THE U.S. AND PICK UP SUPPORT ON THAT QUESTION. THE PRESS RELEASE MUST SOMEHOW COUNTERACT THIS CHARGE. WE THINK IT WOULD BE MOST DESIRABLE TO MAKE THE POINT THAT WE ARE ASKING NO MORE THAN THE CHINESE REQUESTED AND WE AGREED TO DURING THE VISIT OF THE PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA. THE POINT SHOULD BE MADE PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT IN PEOPLE TO PEOPLE EXCHANGES MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION IS NECESSARY AND IT WAS NOT FORTHCOMING THIS TIME FROM THE PRC SIDE.

4. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY.
BUSH



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PAGE 01 PEKING 00522 250632Z

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INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3448

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 522

CONTROL: 7690Q

RECD: 3/25/75

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SCUL, CH
SUBJECT: CHINESE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE

REF: A) STATE 66717 B) PEKING 5-2 C) STATE 56173

1) REFS A AND B CROSSED. DISREGARD REF B.

2) IN REVIEWING CABLES THIS ISSUE WE NOTE APPARENT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DESCRIPTION REF C WHICH MENTIONS SONG SYNOPSIS SAYING "WE ARE DETERMINED TO LIBERATE TAIWAN, AND LET THE LIGHT OF THE SUN SHINE ON THE ISLAND" AND HAN'S DESCRIPTION REF A WHICH REFERS TO "PEOPLE OF TAIWAN, OUR BROTHERS" AND PUTS EMPHASIS ON LONGING FOR TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS.

3) WE WONDER IF IT POSSIBLE CHINESE HAVE SUBSTITUTED A LESS OFFENSIVE SONG ABOUT TAIWAN IN EFFORT TO SALVAGE THE TRIP. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ANY SONG ON THIS SUBJECT POSES PROBLEMS FOR US, BUT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO KNOW IF CHINESE ARE SHOWING SOME GIVE ON THIS ISSUE.
BUSH

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HR 5/14/01





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N00255

PAGE 01 PEKING 00506 240405Z

CONTROL: 7320Q

RECD : MARCH 23, 1975
11:51 p.m.

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

069172

O 240345Z MAR 75
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3438

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 506

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SCUL, CH
SUBJECT: TAIWAN SONG IN THE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE PROGRAM

REF: STATE 065461

1. USLO AGREES IN GENERAL WITH PRESS LINE LAID DOWN IN REPTTEL FOR USE IN EVENT THAT CHINESE DO NOT RESPOND FAVORABLY TO OUR REQUEST THAT TAIWAN SONG BE DELETED FROM PROGRAM.

2. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE, THOUGH, THAT "CENSORSHIP" ISSUE IS LIKELY TO CREATE A REAL PROBLEM UNLESS IT IS DEALT WITH FRONTALLY, AND WE WONDER IF A SIMPLE "NO" TO THE QUESTION POSED ON THIS ISSUE WILL WUFFICE. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING:

3. AFTER THE "NO" REPLY, ADD THE WORDS, "HOWEVER, AS I HAVE JUST POINTED OUT, WE CONCLUDED THAT THE HIGH POLITICAL CONTENT OF THE SONG MADE IT UNSUITABLE FOR INCLUSION IN A PURELY CULTURAL PRESENTATION, AND IN CASES OF THIS NATURE WE BELIEVE IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE FOR THE HOST COUNTRY TO SUGGEST CHANGES WHICH WOULD AVOID POLITICAL CONTROVERSY. THE CHINESE THEMSELVES EXERCISED SUCH CONTROL OVER THE PROGRAMS SUGGESTED BY THE PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA WHEN IT PLAYED IN CHINA IN SEPTEMBER 1973. A NUMBER OF PROGRAM CHANGES WERE REQUESTED BY THE CHINESE HOSTS, WITH WHICH THE PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA CHEERFULLY COMPLIED IN THE INTERESTS OF FURTHERING SINO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP."

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00000 240405Z

4. FOR DETAILS OF PROGRAM CHANGES SUGGESTED BY THE CHINESE AND PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA'S RESPONSE, SEE PEKING'S 0800 OF AUGUST 23, 1973, AND DEPTTEL 169189 OF AUGUST 25, 1973.
BUSH

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NOD399

PAGE 01 PEKING 00521 250325Z

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INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3447

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 521

CONTROL: 7672Q
RECD: 3/25/75

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SCUL, CH
SUBJECT: CHINESE PERFORMING ARTS TROUPE

REF: STATE 64013

1) URGENTLY REQUEST REPORT ON MARCH 24 MEETING WITH HAN HSU (REFTEL). IF CHINESE WERE TO AGREE TO DELETE "TAIWAN LIBERATION" SONG AND TRIP IS ON, WE HAVE OVER ONE HUNDRED VISAS TO ISSUE AND I WOULD LIKE TO ISSUE A SHORT NOTICE INVITATION FOR A PRE-DEPARTURE RECEPTION.

2) AS POSSIBLE STRAW IN THE WIND, TWO MFA OFFICIALS JUST APPEARED AT USLO TO REQUEST THE WITHDRAWAL OF ONE RPT ONE TROUPE MEMBER'S PASSPORT. THEY ALSO COMPLAINED THAT REMAINDER OF VISAS NOT YET ISSUED.
BUSH

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NOD867

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 PEKING 00554 280444Z

CONTROL: 8673Q

RECD: 28 MAR 75

12:33AM

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

019125

O 280430Z MAR 75

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3468

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 554

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, CB, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO SIHANOUK

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BUSH

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FROM ME TO PRINCE SIHANOUK WHICH WAS DELIVERED AT 10:00 A.M. MARCH 28TH:

2. BEGIN QUOTE: YOUR EXCELLENCY: HIS EXCELLENCY AMB CLAUDE ARNAUD OF FRANCE GAVE ME YOUR LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD. THE MESSAGE WAS PROMPTLY SENT TO WASHINGTON, AND WE NOW HAVE A REPLY.

3. I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SEEK A PRIVATE MEETING WITH YOU IN ORDER TO CONVEY OUR RESPONSE. IN THIS REGARD, I AM TOTALLY AT YOUR SERVICE.

4. A REPLY TO THIS LETTER CAN BE MADE IN ANY MANNER YOU SEE FIT. POSSIBLE SUGGESTIONS WOULD BE (A) SIMPLY TO HAVE A DRIVER DELIVER A MESSAGE TO USLO; (B) CONVEY YOUR WISHES TO US BY CONTACTING MR. JOHN HOLDRIDGE, A TRUSTED CONFIDANT HERE AT USLO. MR. HOLDRIDGE CAN BE REACHED BY TELEPHONE: OFFICE 522-033, RESIDENCE 522-195 (AFTER 5:30 PM); (C) MR. HOLDRIDGE WOULD BE HAPPY TO PICK UP A WRITTEN RESPONSE AT YOUR RESIDENCE OR AT ANY OTHER PLACE DESIGNATED BY YOU, OR HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO MEET AN EMISSARY AT ANY PLACE OF MUTUAL CONVENIENCE. YOURS SINCERELY, GEORGE BUSH, CHIEF, U.S. LIAISON OFFICE. END QUOTE.

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BUSH

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*

STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02

BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03



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NOD871

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 PEKING 00555 280519Z

CONTROL: 8675Q

RECD : MARCH 28, 1975

1:05 A.M.

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

019561

O 280445Z MAR 75
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3469

~~SECRET~~ PEKING 555

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, CB, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO SIHANOUK

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BUSH

1. SINCE SIHANOUK MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN CONVEYED TO THE FRENCH BY SIHANOUK'S CHEF DU CABINET PHUNG PENG CHENG, I DECIDED THAT BEST WAY TO CONTACT THE PRINCE TO SEEK A MEETING WITH HIM WAS VIA THIS SAME CHANNEL. ACCORDINGLY, AT 10:00 A.M. ON MARCH 28 DC HOLDRIDGE MET WITH PHUNG IN OFFICE OF CHARLES MALO, FRENCH UCM, AND GAVE PHUNG SEALED LETTER TO CONVEY TO SIHANOUK FROM ME IN WHICH I REQUESTED THE MEETING AND SUGGESTED SEVERAL WAYS IN WHICH A REPLY COULD

BE CONVEYED TO US DIRECTLY WITHOUT GOING THROUGH THE FRENCH. MALO HAD ARRANGED TO BRING HOLDRIDGE AND PHUNG TOGETHER, BUT WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN THE LETTER WAS TRANSMITTED AND WAS NOT AWARE OF CONTENTS.

2. HOLDRIDGE-PHUNG MEETING WAS BRIEF BUT VERY CORDIAL. PHUNG EVIDENTLY HAD SOMETHING MORE IN MIND THAN SIHANOUK'S REQUEST FOR US ASSISTANCE IN RECOVERING CULTURAL FILMS AND RECORDS, FOR HE REMARKED THAT HE HOPED THAT THERE WOULD BE A QUICK SOLUTION IN CAMBODIA. HE ALSO SAID AS HOLDRIDGE DEPARTED THAT HE HOPED HE WOULD BE SEEING MORE OF HIM.

3. PRESUMABLY I WILL NOW BE HEARING FROM SIHANOUK SOON. HOWEVER,

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*

STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TD 9/23/02

BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03



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PAGE 02 PEKING 00555 280519Z

IT SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT SIHANOUK MAY WISH TO AVOID A DIRECT MEETING WITH ME AND KEEP THE CONTACT WITH US AT THE HOLDRIDGE-PHUNG LEVEL OR SOMETHING LIKE IT. YESTERDAY MORNING WHEN HOLDRIDGE ASKED MALO TO FACILITATE THE MEETING WITH PHUNG, MALO SAID THAT PHUNG HAD JUST CALLED ON HIM AT SIHANOUK'S BEHEST TO STRESS THAT THE MATTER OF SIHANOUK'S MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT WAS BETWEEN THE PRINCE AND

AMBASSADOR ARNAUD ONLY, AND THAT IN VIEW OF THE PRINCE'S "DELICATE POSITION" WITH THE "RED KHMER" HE DID NOT WANT TO MEET WITH ME. IT WAS THEREFORE SOMETHING OF A SURPRISE WHEN THE HOLDRIDGE-PHUNG CONTACT WAS AGREED TO. THIS CERTAINLY HAD SIHANOUK'S APPROVAL.

4. IF SIHANOUK'S SENSITIVITIES ABOUT THE "RED KHMER" ARE AS INDICATED, I WONDER IF THERE MAY NOT BE SOME PROBLEMS FOR HIM IN OUR INFORMING CHIAO KUAN-HUA. ON BALANCE I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE FOR US TO DO SO IF SIHANOUK AGREES TO A MEETING WITH ME (THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP FROM THE CHINESE IN ANY EVENT), BUT THE SAME CONDITIONS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY APPLY IN CASE OF THE HOLDRIDGE-PHUNG CONTACT. (EVEN IF THE CHINESE SUSPECTED ITS EXISTENCE THEY MIGHT CHOOSE TO IGNORE IT, WHICH THEY COULD NOT DO WITH RESPECT TO A MEETING BETWEEN SIHANOUK AND ME). WE WOULD CERTAINLY NOT WISH TO HAVE OUR EFFORTS TO OPEN COMMUNICATIONS WITH SIHANOUK RESULT IN PUTTING WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF HIS ENEMIES. WE WILL PROBABLY KNOW MORE ABOUT THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN WHICH WE ARE OPERATING WHEN WE RECEIVE SIHANOUK'S RESPONSE. WE HAVE GIVEN HIM THE OPTION OF REPLYING TO US DIRECTLY, BUT THE FRENCH CHANNEL IS OF COURSE STILL OPEN TO HIM. USE OF THE LATTER AT A LOWER LEVEL MIGHT SUGGEST A DESIRE TO LEAVE THINGS THE WAY THEY ARE WITH NO IMMEDIATE CHINESE INVOLVEMENT.

5. WHILE WE ARE STILL WAITING FOR A REPLY, I SUGGEST THAT INSTRUCTIONS BE SENT TO PHNOM PENH TO TAKE STEPS ALONG THE LINES OF SIHANOUK'S REQUEST. I BELIEVE IT WOULD PUT US IN A BETTER PSYCHOLOGICAL POSITION WITH THE PRINCE TO BE ABLE TO ASSURE HIM, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, THAT WE ARE ALREADY TAKING THE NECESSARY ACTION.

6. TEXT OF MY LETTER TO SIHANOUK FOLLOWS BY SEPTEL.

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CONTROL: 8987Q
RECD: MARCH 28 29, 1975

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, CB, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM SIHAMAUK

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BUSH

REF: PEKING 563

FOLLOWING IS TEXT SIHANOUK MESSAGE TO AMBASSADOR BUSH;

QUOTE:

MRM. GEORGE BUSH
CHIEF, U.S. LIAISON OFFICE

EXCELLENCE,

JE VOUS REMERCIE DE VOTRE LETTRE EN DATE DUE 27 MARS 1975.

VEUILLEZ M'EXCUSER DE NE POUVOIR VOUS RENCONTRER, CAR UNE
EVENTUELLE ENTREVUE ENTRE UNE PERSONNALITE AMERICAINE ET MOI
RISQUERAIT FORT D'ETRE INTERPRETEE PAR L'OPINION INTERNATIONALE COMME
UN DEBUT DE NEGOCIATIONS POLITIQUES, ALORS QUE LE PROBLEME SOULEVE DA
NS

LE CADRE DE MA LETTRE AU PRESIDENT GERALD FORD DES U.S.A., LETTRE EN

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 State Dept Review

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02
BY HL, NARA, DATE 2/6/03



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PAGE 02 PEKING 00564 291029Z

DATE

DU 25 MARS 1975, RELEVÉ DU SEUL DOMAINE CULTUEL.

VEUILLEZ AGREER, EXCELLENCE, L'ASSURANCE DE MA CONSIDERATION
DISTINGUEE. UNQTE.
BUSH

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00563 290953Z

3. ALTERNATIVELY, HOLDRIDGE COULD DELIVER A WRITTEN MESSAGE FROM ME TO SIHANOUK WHICH IN ADDITION TO MAKING THE POINTS OUTLINED IN PARA 2, ABOVE, WOULD ALSO INCLUDE THE ELEMENTS CONTAINED IN PARAS 4-7 OF REFTEL B. HOWEVER, THIS COURSE MIGHT BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE WITH RESPECT TO FURTHER CONTACTS, GIVEN SIHANOUK'S EVIDENT SENSITIVITY ABOUT POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS.

4. PLEASE ADVISE.
BUSH



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PAGE 02 PEKING 00581 010914Z

HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE FURTHER CONTACTS OF THE NATURE HE, PHUNG, AND HOLDRIDGE WERE HAVING. HE STATED HAT IN FACT HE HAD BEEN THINKING OF ASKING MAL O TO SET UP A LUNCHEON AT WHICH HE AND HOLDRIDGE COULD CONTINUE THIS SORT OF EXCHANGE.

4. PHUNG WENT ON TO VOLUNTEER THE THOUGHT "ON A CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL BASIS" THAT IT WOULD BE VERY BAD FOR CAMBODIA IF THE RED KHMER TOOK OVER THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENT IN CAMBODIA, SINCE THEY WERE "VERY DOCTRINAIRE". IT WOULD BE FAR BETTER "FOR THE FREE WORLD" IF PRINCE SIHANOUK, WHO HAD THE SUPPORT OF THE PEASANTS AND THE PEOPLE OF PHNOM PENH, COULD BE BROUGHT BACK TO CAMBODIA AND WITH THE BACKING OF THE SUPERPOWERS EXERCISE SOME BALANCE OVER THE OTHER FORCES. PHUNG INDICATED THAT HE HOPED THAT THE US COULD ASSIST IN BRINGING SIHANOUK BACK.

5. APROPOS OF SIHANOUK'S ROLE IN CAMBODIA, PHUNG PRODUCED THE PRINCE'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 31 ATTACKING THE DEPARTURE OF LON NOL FROM PHNOM PENH (REFTEL D), AND NOTED THAT WHAT THE PRINCE TOOK PARTICULAR OBJECTION TO WAS THE EVIDENT INTENTION DISPLAYED IN THE STATEMENT TO PRESERVE A REPUBLIC FORM OF GOVER SZNT IN CAMBODIA AND EXCLUDE A MONARCHY. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR SIHANOUK.

6. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH AN EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS ON PHUNG'S PART TO CONTINUE TO USE THIS CHANNEL IF HIS SIDE HAD ANYTHING TO CONVEY. HOLDRIDGE STATED THAT WE WOULD DO THE SAME, AS FOR EXAMPLE IN PASSING ON FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISPOSITION OF SIHANOUK'S FILMS.

7. SUBSEQUENT TO THE FOREGOING, AMBASSADOR TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED BY THE ALBERT/RHODES MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO-PING TO INFORM FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA ABOUT THE CONTACT. CHIAO APPEARED MUCH INTERESTED, AND THANKED AMBASSADOR BUSH FOR THE INFORMATION.

COMMENT: PHUNG DESCRIBED HIMSELF TO HOLDRIDGE AS BEING OPPOSED TO THE "RED KHMER", AND THE FRENCH HAVE ALSO SPOKEN OF PHUNG IN THESE SAME TERMS. HE APPEARS TO BE WELL-INTENTIONED, FRIENDLY, AND SINCERE. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHETHER HIS

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PAGE 03 PEKING 00561 010914Z

"CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL" COMMENTS WERE PURELY PERSONAL OR AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT REFLECTED SIHANOUK'S OWN OUTLOOK. WE SUSPECT THE FORMER, BUT AS WE ARE REPORTING SEPARATELY, SIHANOUK NOW APPEARS TO BE ENGAGING IN MANEUVERS OF HIS OWN TO OPEN UP LINES OF COMMUNICATION TO ARIOUS POWERS IN PEKING WITH THE INTENTION OF PLAYING THEM OFF AGAINST EACH OTHER--AND AGAINST KHIEU SAMPHANS FORCES-- WITH THE INTENTION OF BUILDING UP HIS POSITION IN POST-HOSTILITIES CAMBODIA.
BUSH

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3502

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NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, CB, US
SUBJECT: REQUEST FROM SIHANOUK

REF: A) PEKING 563; B) STATE 068735; C) 071721; D) PEKING 575

1. AT CANADIAN FILM SESSION YESTERDAY BOUSTANI, AMBASSADOR OF LEBANON, SAID TO ME: "I HEARD FROM THE HUNGARIAN AMB THAT YOU HAD SENT A LETTER TO SIHANOUK." I WAS COMPLETELY TAKEN BACK AND REPLIED, "NO". I TRIED TO SOFTEN THE ORIGINAL "NO" BY SAYING OUR POSITION HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR TO SIHANOUK PUBLICLY AND IN OTHER WAYS BUT THAT I NEVER WROTE HIM A LETTER ON THIS SUBJECT.

2. THE CHINESE DO NOT KNOW THAT I WROTE SIHANOUK A LETTER. THEY DO KNOW THAT HE CONTACTED US ON HIS RECORDS AND FILMS AND THEY DO KNOW THAT WE OBTAINED THESE FOR HIM.

3. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SIHANOUK LEAKED THIS INFORMATION TO THE HUNGARIANS OR OTHERS TO TRY TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT THE AMERICANS FELT HE WOULD HAVE A MAJOR ROLE IN A POST-LON NOL CAMBODIA.

4. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THE FRENCH LEAKED IT. THE FRENCH KNEW OF THE LETTER BUT NOT ITS CONTENTS.

5. TWO THINGS NOW CONCERN ME. THOUGH I TRIED TO AMELIORATE IT I LIED TO BOUSTANTI, AND WE MUST NOW CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02

BY LR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03



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PAGE 02 PEKING 00603 040252Z

THAT THERE WILL BE SOME FURTHER ATTENTION TO THIS MATTER NOT ONLY BY OTHER AMBASSADORS BUT BY THE PRESS. RUMORS AND INFORMATION TEAR THROUGH THIS DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY IN UNBELIEVABLE FASHION.

6. I WOULD LIKE TO CLARIFY MY STATEMENT TO BOUSTANI BY TELLING HIM: "I HAVE BEEN THINKING OF YOUR QUESTION AND I SHOULD HAVE REPLIED THAT I NEVER SENT ANY LETTER TO SIHANOUK RELATING TO OUR POSITION ON PEACE IN CAMBODIA." FROM THAT POINT ON I COULD DECLINE TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS OF HIS, ASKING HIS UNDERSTANDING WHICH I HOPED WOULD BE FORTHCOMING.

7. I WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE ON WHAT TO SAY TO OTHER AMBASSADORS AND THE PRESS. HOLDRIDGE AND I ARE ATTENDING HUNGARIAN RECEPTION TODAY AT 11:00 A.M. PEKING TIME.
BUSH

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FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3504

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NOD19

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OREP (ALBERT, CARL) (RHODES, JOHN)
SUBJECT: CAMBODIA

REF: STATE 75749

1. REPS ALBERT AND RHODES ARE NOW IN SHANGHAI. USLO OFFICER IS HAND-CARRYING MESSAGE TO THEM ON FIRST AVAILABLE FLIGHT. MESSAGE SHOULD REACH CONGRESSMEN APPROXIMATELY 2000 HOURS PEKING TIME, APRIL 4. AFTER OFFICER CONFIRMS DELIVERY, WE WILL INFORM DEPARTMENT BY NIACT IMMEDIATE CABLE.
BUSH

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HR 5/14/01



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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3511

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NODIS

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, CD, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO SIHANOUK

REF: PEKING 554, 555, 603

1. SINCE REFTEL 603 USLO HAS HAD PHONE CALLS FROM JOURNALISTS ASKING IF BUSH HAD OFFERED TO NEGOTIATE WITH SIHANOUK ON POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN CAMBODIA. DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY BUZZING WITH RUMORS.

2. THE FIRST CALL WAS FROM AUSTRALIAN JOURNALIST SAYING HE HEARD WE SENT SIHANOUK A LETTER OFFERING TO NEGOTIATE. BUSH TOLD HIM HE SIMPLY WOULD NOT COMMENT ON THE MATTER AND THAT HAD BEEN HIS POLICY RELATING TO POLICY QUESTION HERETOFORE.

3. REUTERS MAN CALLED SAYING THAT HE HEARD WE HAD APPROACHED SIHANOUK OFFERING TO DISCUSS POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. BUSH TOLD HIM THERE HAVE BEEN ABSOLUTELY NO EFFORTS ON HIS PART TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CAMBODIA. BUSH

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STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, CB, US

SUBJECT: REQUEST FROM SIHANOUK

REF: (A) PEKING 603; (B) STATE 076346

1. I LEARNED TODAY IN CONVERSATION WITH SOVIET AMB TOLSTIKOV THAT, JUST AS I HAD SURMISED (REFTEL A, PARA 3) IT WAS SIHANOUK HIMSELF WHO LEAKED INFORMATION BOUT MY LETTER TO HIM. TOLSTIKOV TOLD ME THAT WHEN HE CALLED ON SIHANOUK TO INFORM THE PRINCE THAT THE SOVIETS HAD EXPELLED FROM MOSCOW THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GKR, SIHANOUK MENTIONED MY LETTER AND IN FACT EVEN SHOWED IT TO TOLSTIKOV (ALTHOUGH TOLSTIKOV WAS NOT ALLOWED TO READ IT), TOLSTIKOV ADDED THAT HE WAS NOT

THE ONLY ONE WHO HAD BEEN TOLD ABOUT THE LETTER BY SIHANOUK, AND I PRESUME THAT THE HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR MUST HAVE LEARNED ABOUT IT IN MUCH THE SAME WAY.

2. I FIND THIS BREACH OF CONFIDENCE BY SIHANOUK EXTREMELY ANNOYING AND REPREHENSIBLE. IF YOU CONCUR, I WOULD LIKE TO LET HIM KNOW THROUGH ONE OF OUR INTERMEDIARIES THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER SUCH CONDUCT HELPFUL. WE COULD ASK THE FRENCH, WHO ARE OF COURSE AWARE OF OUR CONTACT WITH SIHANOUK, TO PASS THE WORD WITHOUT GOING THROUGH PHUNG PENG CHENG (REFTEL B), PLEASE ADVISE.

BUSH

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 TO 9/27/02
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, CB, US
SUBJECT: AFP REPORT ON U.S. APPROACH TO SIHANOUK

REF: PEKING 613

1. AFP CORRESPONDENT RENE FLIPO CALLED AT USLO APRIL 9 TO REQUEST CONFIRMATION THAT I HAD SENT LETTER TO SIHANOUK PROPOSING A MEETING TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA. USLO OFFICER SAID HE HAD NO COMMENT ON ANY SUCH STORIES, AND FLIPO REPLIED THAT SINCE HIS SOURCE WAS VERY GOOD HE PLANNED TO FILE STORY. QUERIED ON SOURCE, HE SAID IT WAS THE RUSSIANS. DEPARTMENT LIKELY WILL RECEIVE QUERIES BASED ON AFP REPORT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE NO COMMENT HERE.
BUSH

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TO 9/27/02
BY LR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03

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AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH FLASH

CONTROL: 2715Q
RECD: APRIL 11, 1975

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E.O. 11652:GD3
TAGS: PFOR, CB
SUBJECT: CAMBODIA

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02
BY *HR* NARA, DATE *2/6/03*

REF: PHNOM PENH 6113, STATE 082747

1. HOLDRIDGE SAW PHUNG AT 5:35 P.M. PEKING TIME AND PASSED ALONG MESSAGE TO SIHANOUK. TO ASSURE FULL UNDERSTANDING OF MESSAGE INCLUDING URGENT TIME FACTOR HOLDRIDGE SHOWED HIM TEXT IN ENGLISH FROM WHICH PHUNG COPIED DOWN EACH POINT IN FRENCH. HOLDRIDGE THEN GAVE HIM GIST OF MEASURES SAUKHAM KHOY PLANNED TO TAKE, AND THESE WERE ALSO RECORDED POINT BY POINT BY PHUNG. DURING AND AFTER THIS PROCEDURE HOLDRIDGE SEVERAL TIMES STRESSED NEED FOR A RAPID REPLY AND SAID HE WOULD BE AVAILABLE AT HIS HOME (WHICH IS IN SAME COMPOUND AS THAT OF CHARLES MALO) THE ENTIRE EVENING. PHUNG SAID HE WOULD TRY TO GET MESSAGE TO SIHANOUK THIS EVENING.
2. PHUNG APPEARED HIGHLY PLEASED, AND SAID THAT MESSAGE WAS VERY IMPORTANT. HE ADDED THE PERSONAL COMMENTS THAT (A) APPOINTMENT OF CHAU SAU DID NOT SEEM TO HIM TO BE NECESSARY; AND (B) SIHANOUK WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO RETURN TO PHNOM PENH IN RESPONSE TO INVITATION FROM SAUKHAM KHOY ALONE BUT WOULD BE MUCH MORE ABLE TO DO SO IF HIS HAND WERE STRENGTHENED BY PUBLIC APPEAL FOR HIS RETURN BY THE TWO CHIEF RONZES, OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PRIESTHOOD, STUDENTS, ARMYMEN, PHNOM PENH RESIDENTS IN GENERAL, AND THE PEASANTS. PHUNG SUGGESTED

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00687 111116Z

THAT SAUKHAM KHUY TAKE STEPS TO ARRANGE FOR SUCH AN APPEAL. OTHERWISE, HE SAID, SIHANOUK WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO BALANCE OFF THE KHM ER ROUGE AND WOULD BE ABLE TO RETURN TO PHNOM PENH ONLY WITH THEM.

3. AT BEGINNING OF MEETING PHUNG CONVEYED SIHANOUK'S GREETINGS TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRINCE'S ASSURANCES THAT WITH THE REMOVAL OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR LON NOL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CAMBODIA WOULD BE CLOSE IN THE FUTURE.
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AMEMBASSY PHNUM PENH FLASH

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CB

SUBJECT: CAMBODIA

REF: PHNOM PENH 6113, DEPTTEL 802747

1. AS YOU KNOW WE HAVE BEEN WAITING ALL DAY FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH PHUNG, AND THE FRENCH HAVE NOT RPT NOT BEEN ABLE TO REACH HIM. THEY ARE STILL TRYING.

2. AFTER RECEIVING THE TWO REFTELS WHICH ARRIVED ALMOST SIMULTANEOUSLY FIFTEEN MINUTES AGO I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO SPEAK PERSONALLY TO FRENCH AMBASSADOR ARNAUD ABOUT THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION. I HAVE JUST DONE SO, AND IMPRESSED ON HIM THE NEED TO GET THE MEETING WITH PHUNG SET UP AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY. HE ASSURED ME THAT THEY ARE DOING EVERYTHING THEY CAN.

BUSH

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03

State Dept Review

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AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH FLASH

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E.O. 11652: XGS-3

TAGS: PFOR, CB

SUBJECT: CONTACT WITH SIHANOUK

REF: STATE 082877

1. HOLDRIDGE MET WITH PHUNG IN MALO'S APARTMENT AT 6:15 A.M. PEKING TIME

(7:15A.M. PHNOM PENH TIME) AND CONVEYED TWO POINTS CONTAINED IN REFTEL. PHUNG WAS OBVIOUSLY DISAPPOINTED OVER U.S. EVACUATION, AND ESPECIALLY WHEN HE ASCERTAINED THAT AMBASSADOR DEAN WOULD BE LEAVING AS WELL. AS TO MAINTAINING COMMUNICATIONS WITH SIHANOUK, HE SAID HE WOULD CONVEY MESSAGE AND HOPED SOMETHING COULD BE SET UP LATER IN PHNOM PENH. IN MEANTIME HE PERSONALLY WOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE A LINK IN PEKING.

2. PHUNG THEN WENT ON TO NOTE THAT HE HAD MET WITH SIHANOUK AT 2:00 A.M. THAT SAME NIGHT TO DISCUSS THE MESSAGE WHICH HOLDRIDGE HAD PROVIDED HIM WITH EARLIER. ACCORDING TO PHUNG, SIHANOUK SAID THAT THE U.S. PLAN HAD COME TOO LATE, AND IN ADDITION HE, THE PRINCE, HAD NO CONTROL OVER THE KHMER ROUGE. SIHANOUK'S JUDGMENT WAS THAT HAVING COME THIS CLOSE TO MILITARY VICTORY, THE KHMER ROUGE WOULD NOT ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE NOW. PHUNG HAD BEEN TOLD BY SIHANOUK TO DELIVER THIS RESPONSE TO HOLDRIDGE IMMEDIATELY, BUT HAD NOT DONE SO OUT OF RELUCTANCE TO DISTURB MALO IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT.

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STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES 109/27/02

BY HR NARA, DATE 2/6/03



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PAGE 02 PEKING 00684 120007Z

3. PHUNG ADDED THAT SIHANOUK WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE TRAVELING TO PHNOM PENH FOR SOME TIME YET, CERTAINLY NOT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

THE RATIONALE PRESENTED BY PHUNG FOR THE DELAY WAS THAT SIHANOUK WOULD WANT TO ASSESS THE GENERAL SITUATION IN PHNOM PENH BEFORE RETURNING, BUT IT SEEMS EVIDENT THAT THE PRINCE'S INFLUENCE WITH THE KHMER ROUGE IS SO WEAK THAT HE MUST AWAIT THEIR INVITATION, WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE FORTHCOMING DEPENDING ON THEIR ASSESSMENT OF HIS USEFULNESS TO THEM.

4. PHUNG WAS GREATLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS ROLE AS A CONTACT WITH THE U.S. LEAKING OUT. HE CLAIMED THAT PHNOM PENH WAS FILLED WITH KHMER ROUGE SPIES, AND HOPED THAT HIS PART IN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS COULD BE KEPT QUIET. WE HERE CERTAINLY SYMPATHIZE WITH HIM ON THIS POINT, AND REQUEST THAT IF ANYTHING CAN BE DONE AT THIS LATE STAGE TO SAFEGUARD PHUNG, IT BE DONE SO IMMEDIATELY.
BUSH

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 PEKING 00685 120233Z

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INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3560

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EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CB

SUBJECT: NOTE FROM SIHANOUK

1. SUBSEQUENT TO HOLDRIDGE'S SESSION WITH PHUNG IN MALO'S APARTMENT, MALO GOT IN TOUCH WITH HOLDRIDGE TO ASK THAT THE LATTER CALL ON HIM AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY. WHEN HOLDRIDGE DID SO, MALO PRESENTED A HANDWRITTEN NOTE FROM SIHANOUK RESPONDING IN CONCRETE TERMS TO THE U.S. PLAN WHICH HAD BEEN FORWARDED TO HIM THE EVENING BEFORE. (NOTE IS BEING SENT TO DEPARTMENT VIA SEPTTEL). MALO EXPLAINED THAT DUE TO CAMBODIAN PECULIARITIES, SIHANOUK HAD SPECIFICALLY INSTRUCTED PHUNG NOT TO HAND OVER THE NOTE DIRECTLY BUT TO MAKE IT AVAILABLE THROUGH A THIRD PART, I.E.. MALO.

2. SIHANOUK'S NOTE DOES NOT ADD ANYTHING TO WHAT WE ALREADY KNOW, BUT IT MAKES IT ALL THE CLEARER THAT SIHANOUK HAS NO INFLUENCE OVER THE KHMER ROUGE AND CANNOT IN HIS JUDGMENT DO ANYTHING THAT WILL RUN CONTRARY TO THEIR WISHES AT A MOMENT WHEN THEY CONSIDER A MILITARY VICTORY IS WITHIN THEIR GRASP. IT DOES, HOWEVER,) HOLD OUT HOPE FOR A FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GRUNK AND THE U.S. ONCE THE U.S. SEVERS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE GKR, STOPS ALL AID TO THE GKR, AND EVACUATES US PERSONNEL FROM PHNOM PENH.

3. IT APPEARS OBVIOUS FROM SIHANOUK'S NOTE THAT HE WANTS TO KEEP THE DOOR OPEN FOR RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., AND THAT HIS RESPONSE TO

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*

STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02

BY LR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00685 120233Z

THE U.S. PLAN CONSTITUTES PART OF THE POLITICAL MANEUVERING IN PEKING IN WHICH THE PRINCE IS NOW ENGAGING IN ORDER TO BUILD UP HIS INFLUENCE VIS A VIS THE KHMER ROUGE. WITH RESPECT TO THIS MANEUVERING, MALO TOLD HOLDRIDGE WHEN PASSING ON SIHANOUK'S NOTE THAT DURING THE PRINCE'S DINNER WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR TOLSTIKOV THE LATTER HAD ASSURED THE PRINCE OF MOSCOW'S FULL DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY SUPPORT, AND HAD ALSO OFFERED A GIFT OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND LARGE QUANTITIES OF CLOTHING TO HIM PERSONALLY FOR DISTRIBUTION IN CAMBODIA. SIHANOUK ACCEPTED THE GIFT. IN MALO'S OPINION, DISTRIBUTION OF THESE SUPPLIES IN SIHANOUK'S NAME RATHER THAN IN THE NAME OF THE FUNK OR GRUNK WOULD PROBABLY ENHANCE SIHANOUK'S POSITION POLITICALLY.

4. INCIDENTALLY, IT HAS BECOME OBVIOUS IN HOLDRIDGE'S CONTACT WITH MALO THAT THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN KEPT FULLY INFORMED BY SIHANOUK AND PHUNG OF ALL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE U.S. CONTACT WITH SIHANOUK, INCLUDING THE DETAILS OF THE U.S. PLAN.
BUSH

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PAGE 01 PEKING 00686 120239Z

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 /001 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3561

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EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CB
SUBJECT: SIHANOUK APRIL 12 NOTE

1) FOLLOWING IS FRENCH TEXT OF HANDWRITTEN NOTE FROM SIHANOUK
PASSED TO DC HOLDRIDGE BY FRENCH DCM MALO ON APRIL 12. BEGIN QUOTE:

NORODOM SIHANOUK N'EST PAS EN MEASURE D'ACCEPTER LA PROPOSITION
DU GOUVERNEMENT DES USA CAR CETTE PROPOSITION SERAIT, A COUP SUR
REJETEE PAR LES KHMER ROUGES.

OR LA RESITANCE CAMBODGIENNE (FUNC-GRUNC-FAPLNC) EST COMPOSEE
EN PARTIE DE SIHANOUKISTES MAIS EN MAJORITE DE KHMERS ROUGES.

LES KHMERS ROUGES N'ACCEPTERONT JAMAIS UNE SOLUTION POLITIQUE DU
PROBLEM CAMBODGIEN QUI NE TIENNE PAS COMPTE DE LEUR VICTOIRE MILITAIRE
OU QUI, D'UNE FACON OU D'UNE AUTRE, LES FRUSTRE D'UN POUVOIR QU'ILS
SONT EN DROIT D'EXERCER DANS PHNOM PENH COMME DANS TOUT LE RESTE
DU PAYS (CAMBODGE).

NORDODOM SIHANOUK, CHEF DE L'ETAT DU CAMBODGE, N'EXERCERA PAS
LE POUVOIR GOUVERNMENTAL. PAR CONTRE, IL CANTINUERA A APPORTER AU
MONDE EXTERIEUR LE GRANTIE DU NON-ALIGNMENT DU CAMBODGE.

EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES RELATIONS FUTURES ENTRE LE CAMBODGE DU FUNC
ET LE GOUVERNEMENT DES USA, NORODOM SIHANOUK PENSE QU'ELLES POURRONT
SE NORMALISER SU LE PLAN INTERETATIQUE ET DIPLOMATIQUE, SI LES USA SE

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 *State Dept Review*
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES TD 9/27/02
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PAGE 02 PEKING 00686 120239Z

DESEGAIENT DES MAINTENANT DE LA SOI-DISANT "REPUBLIQUE KHMERE" CE
DESENGAGEMENT CONSISTERAIT EN: 1) LE DEPART DE TOUT LE PERSONNEL
U.S., DIPLOMATIQUE ET AUTRE (MILITAIRE, ETC...), DE PHNOM PENH
(PAR AVIONS). LE RUNWAY DE POCHENTONG AIRPORT EST EONCORE UTILSABLE.
2) LA CESSATION DES ENVOIS DES ARMES, MUNITIONS, EQUIPMENTS
MILITAIRES A L'ARMEE DE LA SOI-DISANT "REPUBLIQUE KHMERE".

PEKIN, LE 12 AVRIL 1975
(S) N. SIHANOUK

P.S. - NORODOM SIHANOUK EST UN HOMME D'HONNEUR. IL N'A JAMAIS TRAH
SA PATRIE OU SES AMIS OU ASSOCIES.

DANS LA RESISTANCE, NORODOM SIHANOUK A VOUE ALLIANCE AVEC LES KHMERS
ROUGES.

IL NE TRAHIRA JAMAIS LES KHMERS ROUGES SES ALLIES.

(S) N. SIHANOUK. UNQUOTE BUSH

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PAGE 01 PEKING 00687 121510Z

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EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CB, US
SUBJECT: SIHANOUK

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR BUSH

1. I HAVE JUST LEARNED THAT SIHANOUK CALLED IN THE PRESS THIS EVENING PEKING TIME AND GAVE THEM A DISTORTED VERSION OF THE PLAN WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO HIM YESTERDAY. I HAVE NOT YET SEEN A FULL VERSION OF WHAT HE SAID, BUT AS I UNDERSTAND IT HE STATED THAT WE HAD ASKED HIM TO RETURN TO PHNOM PENH AND HE HAD REFUSED; HE ALSO ADDED THAT EVACUATION OF ALL U.S. PERSONNEL FROM PHNOM PENH HAD BEEN ONE OF HIS CONDITIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE GRUNK AND THAT OUR EVACUATION HAD THEREFORE BEEN INSPIRED BY THIS CONDITION. HE MENTIONED ME AS THE LINK BETWEEN HIMSELF AND WASHINGTON, BUT EVIDENTLY DID NOT GO INTO SPECIFICS ON OUR COMMUNICATIONS CHANNEL.
2. THE PRESS HAS OF COURSE BEEN ALL OVER ME, AND I AM RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS WITH A STRAIGHT NO COMMENT.
3. GIVEN SIHANOUK'S PATENT EFFORTS IN RECENT DAYS TO BUILD UP HIS OWN POLITICAL ROLE INDEPENDENT OF THE KHMER ROUGE, I AM AFRAID THAT THIS IS THE KIND OF BEHAVIOR WHICH CAN BE EXPECTED OF HIM.
BUSH

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

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BY HR, NARA, DATE 2/6/03



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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3574

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PEKING 699

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CB, DS
SUBJECT: SIHANOUK

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB FROM AMBASSADOR BUSH

1. I HAVE LEARNED FROM AMBASSADOR OGAWA HERE THAT MIYAZAWA WAS RATHER THOROUGHLY BRIEFED ON CAMBODIA WHILE IN WASHINGTON. QUITE CLEARLY OGAWA HAS BEEN CLUED IN.
2. SINCE LEAD STORY IN BLUE NEWS ON APRIL 13 HOLDRIDGE AND I HAVE BEEN BESIEGED WITH INQUIRIES FROM FRIENDS. WE HAVE BEEN NO COMMENTING.
3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING SOME LATITUDE IN THIS MATTER ALTHOUGH WE REALIZE THE SENSITIVITY.
4. SIHANOUK WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO DISTORT EVENTS TO HELP HIS OWN POSITION AND WE DO NOT WANT TO DO ANYTHING TO WEAKEN HIS ALREADY SHAKY POSITION. WE DO HAVE TO LIVE WITH THESE DIPLOMATS AND IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF WE COULD GIVE SOME OF THEM AT LEAST SOME BRIEFING.
5. I LEAVE FOR CANTON TOMORROW, THEN HONG KONG, THEN BACK TO CANTON MONDAY. RETURN TO PEKING APRIL 24.
BUSH

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HR 5/14/01





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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CB, US
SUBJECT: SIHANOUK'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 16

REF: PEKING 669; (NOTAL) PEKING 719

HONG KONG FOR AMBASSADOR BUSH, BANGKOK FOR AMBASSADOR DEAN

1. ADDRESSEES WILL BY NOW HAVE SEEN SIHANOUK'S APRIL 16 STATEMENT ABOUT THE US APPROACH TO HIM IN WHICH HE ACCUSES DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN ANDERSON OF LYING ON QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THE US EVACUATION OF PHNOM PENH CAME AS A RESULT OF SIHANOUK'S EARLIER NOTE.

2. A CHECK OF THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS INDICATES THAT SIHANOUK MAY ACTUALLY BELIEVE THAT THE US EVACUATION OF PHNOM PENH RESULTED FROM HIS NOTE. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT HE DIRECTED HIS CHIEF DU CABINET PHUNG PENG CHEN TO DELIVER THE NOTE (IN WHICH HE CALLED FOR A US DISENGAGEMENT) AT AROUND 2:00 A.M. APRIL 12 PEKING TIME, AND THAT PHUNG FAILED TO DO SO OUT OF RELUCTANCE TO WAKE OUR INTERMEDIARY AT THAT TIME OF NIGHT. WHEN HOLDRIUGE MET PHUNG ABOUT 6:15 A.M. APRIL 12 TO PASS THE WORD OF THE US EVACUATION, PHUNG HAD STILL NOT DELIVERED THE NOTE TO US NOR DID HE DO SO UNTIL SOME TIME LATER. IF PHUNG DID NOT INFORM THE PRINCE, OF HIS FAILURE TO DELIVER SIHANOUK'S NOTE AT THE ORIGINAL TIME, SIHANOUK COULD THEN HAVE BEEN LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US LEARNED OF HIS

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00725 170841Z

POSITION ON EVACUATION BEFORE IT ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE, AND DRAW THE
CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS INDEED A CONNECTION.
HOLDRIUGE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3667

S E C R E T PEKING 827

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CH US

SUBJECT: PNG OF CHINESE DIPLOMAT IN CANADA

FOR HABIB FROM BUSH

I HAVE HEARD HERE IN PEKING THAT THE CHINESE PRESS ATTACHE WHOM THE CANADIANS ARE THROWING OUT OF CANADA WAS IN SOME WAY INVOLVED WITH FUNNELING MONEY FROM THE USA TO INSURGENT GROUPS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

ALSO THAT A GRAND JURY IN THE USA IS ABOUT TO HAND DOWN SOME CHARGES RELATING TO THIS CASE. WOULD APPRECIATE AS MUCH INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE ON THIS. CANADA IS SPECULATING THAT PRC MAY WELL TAKE ACTION AGAINST SOMEONE IN THEIR EMBASSY HERE WITH AN EQUIVALENT SECOND SECRETARY RANK.

IF THERE IS US GRAND JURY ACTION ARE WE APT TO BE PLACED IN A POSITION OF POSSIBLE RETALIATION VS USLO. PLEASE ADVISE.
BUSH

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AUTHORITY state dept sup rev 7/5/06

BY dal NARA DATE 11/14/13



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