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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

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Reviewed by:
Date: 7/27 1978

SECRET/[redacted]

October 5, 1970

TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM: EA - Marshall Green

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Your Appointment with Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman Wednesday, October 7 at 3:15 p.m. - Briefing Memorandum

You have agreed to receive Foreign Minister Thanat at 3:15 p.m. on Wednesday, October 7. This appointment was requested by Thai Ambassador Sunthorn after your planned meeting with Thanat in New York early this month had to be cancelled. Thanat will be accompanied by Ambassador Sunthorn and by John Dexter, Country Director for Thailand and Burma.

Foreign Minister Thanat has been in the United States since September 15. Apart from his activities in UNGA, he has done some public speaking and has at least one further speaking engagement in this country, on October 8. The Thai Embassy has told us he expects to leave the U.S. about October 10, spending a few days in The Hague and Paris and arriving in Bangkok on October 16. However, it has recently been reported that he will accompany Prime Minister Thanom on an official visit to the U.K. in late October. If so, it is possible that Thanat may not return to Bangkok in the interim.

At Tabs A and B are Issues and Talking Points papers prepared for your previously planned appointment with Thanat in New York. Developments since those papers were prepared include congressional action on several amendments which limit our ability

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EA - Marshall Green

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to continue to support Thai forces outside Thailand, and Thanat's annual speech to the UNGA on September 23. In view of Thanat's extended stay in the United States and the comparatively short time you have to see him, you may wish to concentrate on these two items. Also noted below are some second thoughts on U.S. economic assistance to Thailand linked to Thai support of Cambodia, based on a continuing assessment on our part of the kind and degree of Thai assistance to its neighbor. We do not believe that Thanat is familiar with details of our discussions with Thai officials on economic aid.

Congressional Actions

The Fulbright Amendments to the 1971 Military Procurement Appropriations Act includes one which excludes "the use of any such funds to support Vietnamese or other free world forces in actions designed to provide military support and assistance to the Government of Cambodia or Laos." This amendment was approved by the Senate -- House conference committee and both houses have now approved the Committee's action. It awaits the President's signature to become law. Legal advisers in the interested Executive Agencies are reviewing the language, but it appears that it will preclude U.S. support from the DOD budget of Thai forces in Cambodia or Laos except for operations which persuasively could be said to be for the defense of Viet Nam. A second Fulbright amendment would restrict "any overseas allowance" paid by the U.S. to "any person serving with the free world forces in South Viet Nam" to the amount of hostile fire pay paid to members of the U.S. Armed Forces. However, the Conference Committee amended this restriction so that it would not apply to existing commitments.

Talking Points

--- The Vice President during his most recent visit to Thailand explained to Thanom, Thanat, and other Thai leaders some of the political difficulties facing the Administration.

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--- You should tell the Foreign Minister that a continuing and intensive review of the effect of legislative limitations is underway and that we will inform the Thai Government of our conclusions on the relevance of new limitations to Thai activities when this consideration is completed.

Thanat's UNGA Speech

1. Thanat's most significant remarks on Southeast Asia were:

a. The "power stalemate" that prevails in Europe and Middle East has not developed in Southeast Asia; hence the Communists keep pushing for a military solution.

b. Because a military stalemate is unrealizable, one has to look for a "political stalemate".

c. The Djakarta Conference was a step in that direction of creating a political stalemate but it lacked the weight of powerful states which could have enhanced its possibilities and meaningfulness.

d. France and the U.K. should be urged to help resolve the Cambodian question.

e. The U.S. and USSR should try to find a basis for agreement ("a cease-fire could then be declared and negotiations started").

f. He expects no progress at the Paris talks since actually only one "sponsoring power" is at the conference table while the other side stays outside and continues to pull the strings.

Talking Points

--- You may wish to inquire whether Thanat contemplates any follow-up actions on the thoughts regarding SEA that he expressed in his UNGA speech.

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Support of Thai Assistance to Cambodia (See attached Issues Paper)

Since the Thai and Cambodian governments were unable to agree on command and support procedures for the 2,000 Thai/Khmer volunteers trained for service in Cambodia, they will not be sent to Cambodia. We are still interested in a possible increase in Thai combat air sorties in Cambodia, but there are limits on the extent to which the Thai Air Force can operate effectively in Cambodia. Under these circumstances the Thai, at least in the short run, are put to considerably less expense than we had anticipated earlier when we talked to them about possible compensating economic assistance (P.L. 480 and Supporting Assistance). The question of economic assistance "trade-offs" is being reviewed.

Attachments:

Tab A - Thailand - Issues paper
Tab B - Thailand - Talking Points
Tab C - Biographic Sketch

Clearances:

EA - Mr. Green
EA - Mr. Wilson
L/EA - Mr. Futterman

EA/TB;AEBergesen:JBDexter:fm
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THAILAND

Issues Paper

1. Thailand and Cambodia.

(a) Bilateral Relations - Diplomatic relations which had been severed between Cambodia and Thailand in 1962 have been resumed since Sihanouk's fall from power. A number of meetings between senior Thai and Cambodian officials seem to have re-established good relations and an exchange of ambassadors has taken place.

(b) Thai Aid - In response to the requests of the Cambodian Government, the Thai have agreed to a number of measures but have made no decision to provide regular Thai combat troops. The assistance which has been or is being provided includes:

--training of 3,000 Cambodian volunteers and of 2,000 Thai/Khmer volunteers for service in Cambodia;

--overhaul of Cambodian T-28 aircraft (and their temporary replacement by RTAF T-28);

--provision of small river patrol craft and quartermaster equipment for 50,000 troops; and

--reconnaissance and some combat flights by Thai aircraft over Cambodia. (The Thai air force has small ground control teams in Western Cambodia).

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In addition, the Thai Army has provided small medical and communication teams and some small reconnaissance units may be operating in Cambodia territory near the Thai border. While legislation precludes U.S. support for Thai troops in Cambodia, we have agreed to provide certain "trade-offs" for the Thai air force expenses in Cambodia and we are also financing a portion of the costs of Thai training of ethnic Khmer and Cambodian forces.

(c) Djakarta Conference - Thanat played an important role in the development of the Djakarta Conference on the Cambodian situation in May and the diplomatic moves which followed it. Since the Conference emissaries completed their post-Conference tour of world capitals, there has been no further follow-up but it is important that the concept of Asian initiative and cooperation on this type of thing be kept alive and that the Thai in particular continue to play an active role.

2. Withdrawal of Thai Troops from South Viet-Nam. Prime Minister Thanom announced on August 27 that his government had informed the South Vietnamese Government that it planned to withdraw its troops from that country. He said that Thailand needs "battle-tested" troops to defend its borders from Laos and Cambodia. In response to questioning at the noon press briefing on August 28, the Department's spokesman said that the United States had not expressed any objection to this withdrawal which is a matter of discussion between the Thai and the Cambodians. We understand that the Thai are planning to affect the redeployment in a gradual, phased manner.

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3. U.S. Assistance to Thailand. Despite the Thai inference that the Guam Doctrine means the U.S. will augment its assistance to countries facing externally-aggravated internal security problems, we must realistically anticipate a declining trend in U.S. aid to Thailand regardless of the threat. On the other hand, we are hopeful of short-term increases in both economic and military assistance to help the Thai overcome strains on their resources occasioned by their assistance to Cambodia.

Military assistance beginning with FY 1968 has been service-funded at a level of some $60 million per year (in 1968 and 1969 there was a $15 million add-on to provide assistance related to the dispatch of Thai troops to Viet-Nam). It is likely that the military assistance program will be transferred to MAP by FY 1972, in which case it will be difficult to maintain the assistance levels of recent years and some degree of flexibility will be lost. At present adjustments reflecting the burden of Thai assistance to Cambodia are under consideration. These include a proposed $20 million P.L. 480 program. In the Congressional presentation, the overall economic aid level for FY 1971 has been set at $34 million. We had not initially expected that Thai programs would be able to absorb more than perhaps $20 million of this amount but new Thai requirements resulting from their aid to Cambodia may now justify the full $34 million and we have so indicated to the Thais.

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4. Withdrawal of U.S. Forces from Thailand. By July 1, 1970 approximately 6,000 U.S. military personnel were withdrawn from Thailand and the present approved level is about 42,000. Under the code-name "Banner Sun", another redeployment has been initiated involving the withdrawal of seven out of the fifteen tactical aircraft squadrons and an additional 10,000 military personnel during FY 1971. Discussions have been held in Bangkok with the Thai Government on the details of this redeployment and agreement was publicly announced on September 8. Thai officials have initially accepted this plan calmly but it may become another disquieting element to them in the long run. They may be apprehensive about the implications for the future U.S. presence and military capabilities in the area. In addition, reduced U.S. military spending will add to Thai economic difficulties while the virtual phasing out of our forces from the Thai air base at Takhli will create some local problems such as unemployment.

5. Congressional Criticism of U.S. Role in SEA and Legislative Restrictions. High Thai officials tend to regard senatorial and press criticism of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia as presaging or forcing a major shift in U.S. policy toward that area in general and toward Thailand in particular. Thanat has seen in Congressional criticism of the Southeast Asian policies of successive administrations a real threat that United States "constitutional processes" would preclude, or be used as an excuse to preclude, our coming to Thailand's rescue. In recent months, various legislative proposals, statements, and

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other actions on Capitol Hill have been having an increasingly disquieting effect on the Thai. These include the publication of the Symington Subcommittee Hearings on Thailand, (which have left the unfortunate "mercenary" label hanging over the Thai operations in SVN), the discussions revolving around the Cooper-Church Amendment, and the more recent legislative proposals to limit executive actions in Southeast Asia.

6. Thai Concern about U.S. Economic Policy. Thanat recently stated that one of two major issues for the UN meeting would be trade policy. He has expressed concern about a trend toward protectionism in the U.S. and may feel that the Mills Bill, if passed, could lead to a wave of restrictionism throughout the world.

The RTG has heretofore been chiefly concerned with the impact of U.S. PL-480 rice sales in Southeast Asia in view of the declining world rice market. Although a "Usual Marketing Requirement" is normally imposed to assure that normal trade patterns and world prices would not be affected, this has not been done in the cases of Viet-Nam and Indonesia because of the difficult economic situation faced by these countries.

Thailand has also been apprehensive about the possible effects of GSA disposals of excess stocks of strategic materials, especially rubber, tin, tungsten and fluorspar. Although disposal of a type of fluorspar different from that produced in Thailand are underway, no disposals of tin or

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tungsten have yet begun. Rubber disposals for September and October have been suspended because of the drop in prevailing market prices.

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THAILAND

Position on UN Issues

In general Thailand and the United States are in accord on major political issues before the UN. However, Thailand's position as an LDC makes it less likely to vote with us on issues where the line is drawn between the industrialized countries and the rest of the world. Although Thailand's UN Mission is headed by an active and able young ambassador, its influence in the UN is lessened by its reputation for being closely identified with the United States. It is highly unlikely Thanat will want to discuss UN matters with you and it is suggested that you not raise any UN issues.

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THAILAND

Summary of Fact Sheet

I. Treaties and Agreements

A. With US, Thailand is member of SEATO, has bilateral Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations, Agreement Respecting Military Assistance and Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement. (Latter two are basis for US bilateral assistance.)

B. With others, Thailand has no significant agreements bearing on US-Thai relations.

II. Security

A. Thailand's military has 175,000 men, annual budget of $176,680,000.

B. US Military Assistance totaled $864,300,000 during the period FY 1950-FY 1970 (including $107 million for aircraft and $351 million for ships).

C. The US military has 39,634 men in Thailand: 625 are MAAG and Attache personnel; the remainder are troops stationed at installations which include 5 Air bases and 2 other bases.

D. Thailand receives virtually all equipment from the US. Other nations providing technical assistance, training or other assistance are Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Japan and Israel (tentative).

III. Economic

A. Basic Facts

Thailand has a population of 36.5 million, with an annual growth rate of 3.3%. Its GNP is $6.5 billion, with an annual growth rate of 11.1% and per capita income of $166.

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B. Trade ($ thousands)

	1969	1970
1. Exports to:		
US	$ 92,200	$ 95,000
Japan	145,500	153,000
Singapore	56,000	54,000
Total exports	696,000	733,000

Comment: Principal exports to US are tin and rubber.

	1969	1970
2. Imports from:		
US	$147,700	140,000
Japan	397,800	452,500
W. Germany	115,500	124,000
Total imports	1,224,000	1,272,000

Comment: Principal imports from US are machinery and transportation equipment.

C. Assistance from: ($ thousands)

	Cumulative 1946-1970	FY 1970	FY 1971
US (Cumulative 1946-1969 only)	$598,400	$32,545	$34,100*
W. Germany	62,340	--	1,250
Japan	77,070	--	28,792
Int'l Organizations	433,100	56,500	49,100
Total Non-US Assistance	589,670	56,500	85,992

Comment: Of US assistance, 1946-1969, $456 million were AID grants.

D. Direct Investment ($ thousands)

	Total
1. From US	$125,000
2. From Japan	200,000

Comment: Principal US investments are in manufacturing. The Republic of China has sizable but unmeasured investments in Thailand.

** AID economic assistance only.

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E. Debts: ($ thousands)

	Total	Repayments FY 1970
1. To US Government	$ 28,843	$ 4,266
2. To Third Countries	55,723	5,426
3. To Int'l Organizations	216,011	19,754

Comment: Thailand's total debt repayments due in FY 1970 ($29.4 million) nearly equalled total US economic assistance ($32.5 million) in that year.

IV. Cultural and Scientific

A. US products increasingly dominate Thai media.

B. USIS has large program (38 US personnel, FY 1970 expenditures $3,038,382, 15 installations).

C. In 1969, there were 248 Thais studying in US universities funded by the US and 3,338 funded by other sources.

D. Extensive cooperation in scientific and technical programs.

V. UN Relations

Agree on most major political issues other than those involving developed versus developing countries.

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TAB-B

THAILAND

Talking Points

Issues We Should Raise:

1. Thai Assistance to Cambodia - Thailand has already provided substantial assistance to the Cambodian Government and participated in the Djakarta Conference on Cambodia in an attempt to bring Asian political initiatives to focus on the crisis in that country. You should:

--ask how the Thai Government presently views the situation in Cambodia.

--state that the United States has been pleased with the support the RTG has provided to the Cambodians, which is fully in line with our view that the nations of SEA must work closely together to resolve their security problems.

--indicate our hope that the Thai Government understands the limitations on the extent and nature of the support we can give the Thai in their efforts to help Cambodia.

--ask about the prospects of an eventual political resolution of the conflict in Cambodia. In this context, comment that Thailand's activity (and Thanat's efforts in particular) in stimulating and cooperating in the Djakarta Conference and the follow-on diplomatic moves was statesmanlike and wise.

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2. The Withdrawal of Thai Troops from SVN - The Thai Government has announced that it plans to withdraw its troops from South Viet-Nam. You should:

--ask what is the current state of planning on the withdrawal of Thai troops from South Viet-Nam.

--express the United States gratification with the valuable contribution made by the Thai troops in our common efforts in SVN.

Issues They May Raise:

1. U.S. Commitments and Assistance to Thailand - The Thai Government, especially Thanat, has indicated continuing concern that American support for Thailand is evaporating in response to pressures to withdraw from Viet-Nam. If Thanat expresses concern about the continuing role of the U.S. in Southeast Asia and its support for Thailand, you should:

--state that the U.S. stands firmly behind its SEATO commitment and the Rusk-Thanat communique.

--explain that the reduction of U.S. expenditures and a more strict definition of U.S. commitments are necessary to retain public support for the essentials of the U.S. role and that this is the essence of the Nixon Doctrine.

--acknowledge that the Administration has been limited by the mood of Congress and the public in its flexibility in offering support for RTG assistance to Cambodia. Explain that these limitations do not reflect any lack of appreciation for that assistance.

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--state that we are hopeful that we can make adjustments in the existing military and economic assistance programs to Thailand to take into account the Thai assistance to Cambodia.

2. Withdrawal of U.S. Forces from Thailand - The Thai may view the withdrawal of additional U.S. military from Thailand with apprehension and if Thanat mentions the present plan to withdraw 10,000 men and seven aircraft squadrons in FY 1971, you should:

--point out that it is logical to continue a carefully planned withdrawal of U.S. forces from Thailand as the ability of the ARVN to contend successfully with the VC/NVA increases.

--explain that the plan has been carefully reviewed and we are convinced that it is militarily acceptable in relation to both U.S. and Thai interests.

3. Congressional and Press Criticism of the U.S. Role in SEA and of U.S. Policy Toward Thailand - High Thai officials, especially Thanat, have been extremely sensitive to Congressional and press criticism of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia particularly that relating to U.S.-Thai relations and they have too often responded with intemperate public remarks. If Thanat mentions this criticism, you should:

--explain that, while such criticism is given prominent play in the media, public opinion polls show continuing majority support for the Administration's SEA policy.

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--indicate that in general the criticism has been aimed at the means by which the previous Administration carried out its policy and that there is no serious pressure for abrogation of our treaty commitments or for complete U.S. withdrawal from SEA.

--suggest that Thai officials should be careful in their comments on individual senators and congressmen since intemperate comments could weaken support for the Administration's policies.

4. U.S. Trade Restrictions - Thanat has expressed his concern about indications of a tendency toward a more protectionist trade policy in the U.S. and its possible world impact in causing further restrictionism in other developed nations. If Thanat should mention this:

--say that, even if the Mills Bill should pass Congress, the effect on imports of Thai goods would be marginal.

--call attention to our proposal to the UNCTAD for generalized preferences for many exports of developing countries.

5. U.S. PL-480 Rice Sales - Thailand has repeatedly complained of alleged lost export markets because of U.S. concessionary sales of

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rice under PL-480, especially Viet-Nam and Indonesia. If Thanat raises the issue:

--say that the U.S. share of food aid within the framework of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia is vital to the stabilization program.

--say that our PL-480 program for Viet-Nam is in large part in the nature of a grant as part of our assistance program.

--say that the strengthening of these two friendly neighbors should be of economic as well as political benefit to Thailand.

6. GSA Strategic Material Disposals - Thailand has been concerned about possible effects on Thai exports of disposals of excess stocks of strategic materials. If Thanat brings up this question:

--say that the U.S. always consults with interested producing countries and is careful not to disrupt markets.

--mention that rubber sales were discontinued in September after the prevailing market price fell below the cut-off price agreed upon in consultations.

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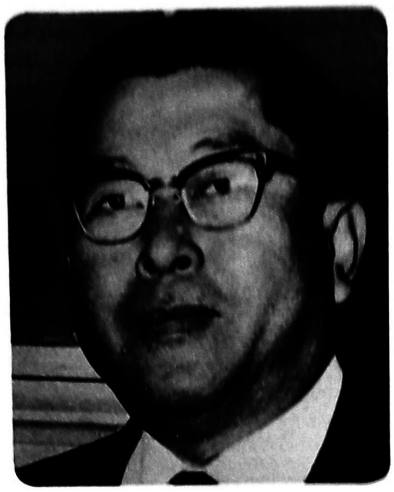
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THANAT KHOMAN
(Phonetic: tahnAHT)

THAILAND

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Addressed as:
Mr. Minister



Thanat Khoman, 56, Foreign Minister since 1959, is respected as one of Asia's most able and articulate statesmen. A firm advocate of regional cooperation, he has concentrated his efforts to forge a Southeast Asian consciousness and solidarity on political consultations and economic cooperation, rather than on military alliances.

His attitude toward the large Communist powers is complex and nuanced. He has said privately that an increase in Soviet influence in Southeast Asia would be preferable to Communist Chinese expansion in the area if the United States withdraws. But he has also made it clear he would accept both nations in a post-Vietnam "concert Asiatique" if they adopted more correct and nonaggressive attitudes. He would prefer some kind of Communist-Western accommodation to a US disengagement from Asian affairs.

Thanat is an excellent speaker and capable negotiator whose effectiveness has at times been diminished by displays of temper. Often difficult to get along with, he has been described as egotistical and overly emotional. He is especially sensitive on the subject of Thailand's dependence on the United States. Strongly resenting what he has considered unjustified criticism of Thailand by the US press and Congress, he has nevertheless worked closely with US officials on common goals.

Thanat's three children have studied in the United States. Thanat speaks English and French.

August 1970

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