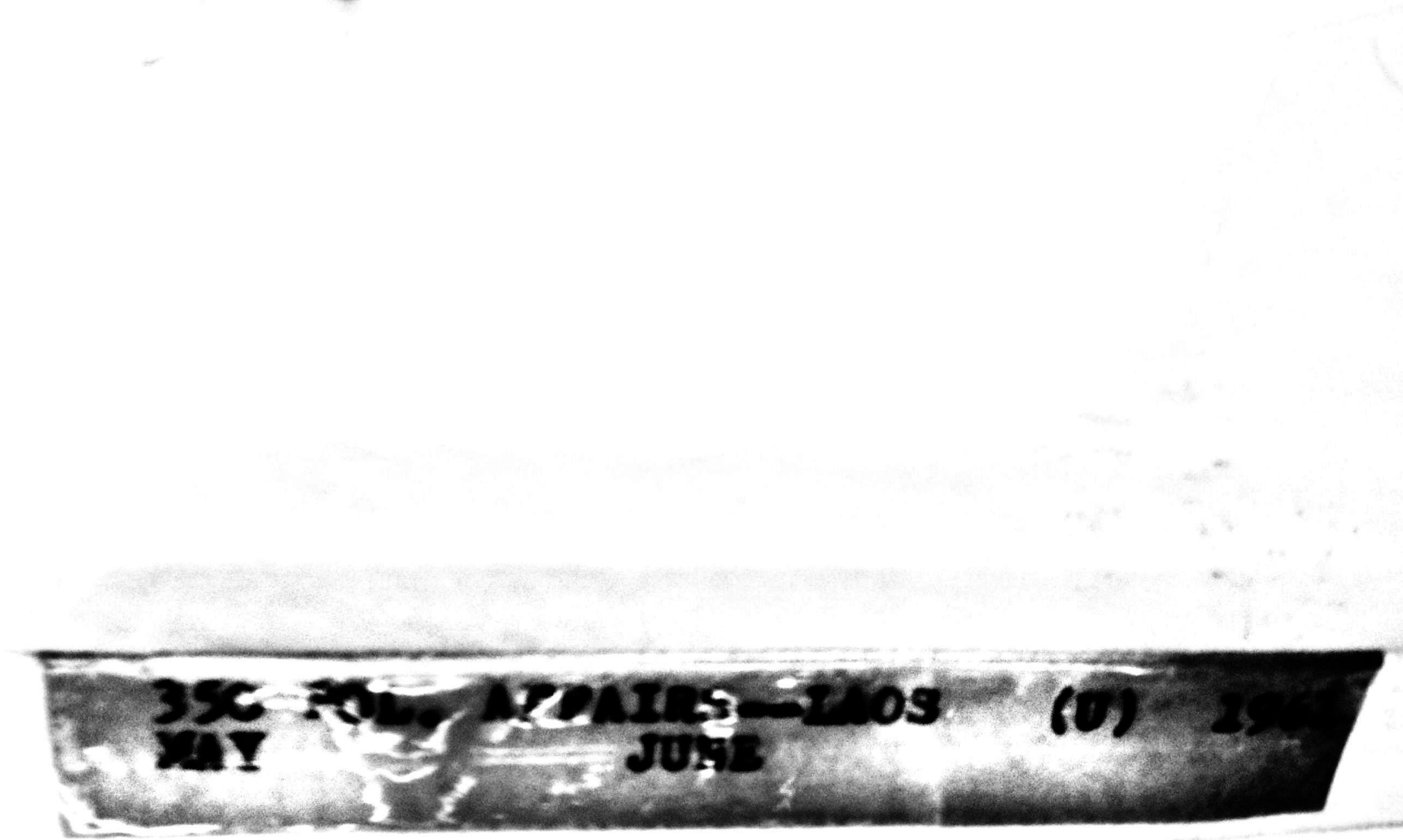

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Secstate 2343

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING Amembassy BANGKOK

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Charge: Embassy

UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

Control: ~~2313~~ 434

Date: June 23,1961

SENT TO : Secstate WASHINGTON 2313

RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA 66

Amembassy VIENTIANE 979

GENEVA FOR FECON

1. Following among points Primin Sarit made to press June 22:

a. Maybe West considers Berlin the big problem. Accordingly West may be inclined arrange exchange with Reds, giving up Laos in order not lose Berlin.

b. If Laos becomes Communist not only Thailand but US too will be endangered. US will err if it thinks it loses nothing in losing Laos. Like error of Cuba: US feels it did not suffer big loss there, but Thai think otherwise.

c. (Answering question) Changing composition of SEATO may be one way make SEATO effective. There are other ways too. (He declined to elaborate.)

2. Following among points Fonmin Thanat made to Foreign Correspondents Club same day:

a. West lost advantage at beginning FECON, first by permitting two-headed chairmanship to dominate conference, secondly by permitting

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350 Rpt Vientiane-Geneva

6-23-61

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING

Charge: UNCLASSIFIED *Classification* Control:

 Date:

seating of PL who represent no one and thirdly by attending conference despite lack of effective ceasefire.

b. We (Free World) must pin Commies down not on words but on meaning of words. We can be sure for example that other side agrees with us on meaning of word "neutrality" only when it agrees to checks and controls to insure real neutrality.

c. Some of Free World representatives are overeager for compromise at any cost to end fighting, but they beginning be disappointed and see reality of situation.

d. We (perhaps meaning only Thailand) can no longer depend on pledges that will be broken. We want definite guarantee of true neutrality for Laos.

e. If Geneva fails we (Thailand?) have to think hard what comes next. Laos only stepping stone, not goal. We must use every bit of physical and mental energy to determine what the trend is after Laos.

YOUNG

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Authority NND 949832

POL:WWHitchcock:ls
June 23, 1961

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING AmEmbassy, Bangkok

Bangkok 2269

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Charge:

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Classification

Control: 311

Date: June 17, 1961

SENT TO: SecState, WASHINGTON 2269 ROUTINE

RPTD INFO: AmConsul, GENEVA 61 ROUTINE

Geneva for FECON

General SURACHIT CHARUSERENI, Thai Mil Adviser to SEATO and Deputy Chief of General Staff, made following points in press interview June 15, carried English and Thai press June 16 and 17.

A. Present Lao situation dangerous and may develop into large scale war should West take drastic action. If foreign troops cross Mekong "waves of humans" from Red China and North Vietnam will enter Laos immediately. Situation continues be dangerous now that Commies control most of Laos.

B. (In reply to question) SEATO forces can enter Laos only when RLG requests it. If SEATO forces enter Laos, major war will break out immediately. Thus, present role of SEATO only to follow developments closely and study situation. SEATO has no other role to play.

C. Thailand likely to suffer if SEATO forces stationed here.

350 Rel Lao-Laos

6-17-61

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D. Too late for SEATO do anything about Lao crisis. Too late for political solution. Remedial action should have been taken when KONG LE still in power.

E. Thailand worried that ICC may withdraw from Laos.

F. Thailand feels that West, and US particularly, more concerned about Berlin than Laos. If choice must be made between Europe and Asia, Europe will be chosen because it industrialized and has greater power. (BANGKOK WORLD quotes him as suggesting this choice in error: that because US already has big military buildup and powerful allies in Europe, while in Asia only Japan is powerful, this should answer question of which part of world should receive more US defense aid.)

UNGER

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AIRGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

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Classification

PAGE ___ OF ___ PAGES

DATE SENT June 15, 1961

Received E & C Sect 8:00 p.m
Date 27 JUN 1961
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AmEmbassy LONDON

Secretary of State
G-1668

AmEmbassies ~~SAIGON~~ G-32, PHNOM PENH G-29, VIENTIANE G-29, BANGKOK ~~G-39~~, NEW DELHI G-55, ~~WARSAW G-12~~, MOSCOW G-103 OTTAWA G-45, AmConGen GENEVA G-31, CINCPAC G-14 GENEVA for FECON; CINCPAC for POLAD.

POUCH:
SAIGON-5
PPENH
VIENTIANE
BANGKOK
NEWDELHI-3
WARSAW
MOSCOW
OTTAWA
GENEVA-4
CINCPAC

IB-2
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POL:N
POL:AE
POL:CN-2
CB-8

46/rd

The following interesting oral exchange concerning Laos in the House of Commons was reported in Hansard of June 12. Of particular interest is the Lord Privy Seal's comment that the Control Commission has been immobile and impotent "because the Pathet Lao were unwilling to allow the Commission to go into areas it controls for the purposes of inspecting the observance of a cease fire."

"Mr. P. Noel-Baker asked the Lord Privy Seal whether he will make a statement about a cease-fire in Laos, and about the proposed 14 nation Conference to be held in Geneva on 12th May.

"Mr. Healey asked the Lord Privy Seal if he will make a further statement on the current negotiations for a settlement in Laos.

"The Lord Privy Seal (Mr. Edward Heath): The Conference met this morning for the first time since 6th June. We and our friends had asked for a suspension of meetings in order to consider the situation arising from the Pathet Lao attack on the fortified Government position at Phadong.

"The Phadong attack raised, in acute form, the question of the observance of the cease-fire in Laos, about which the parties concerned exchanged statements of understanding on 13th May. We have for some time been trying to secure the agreement of the Soviet Government to the sending of new instructions to the International Control Commission, which would make clear its responsibility for investigating all suspected breaches of the cease-fire.

"My noble Friend went to Geneva yesterday and was able to get agreement that the Conference should meet today. This agreement followed a message from the Co-Chairman calling upon the parties in Laos to co-operate with the International

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Commission in its work of supervising the cease-fire.

"Mr. Noel-Baker: In view of the great obscurity of Press reports about what is actually happening in Laos, would the Lord Privy Seal consider asking the International Commission to make an interim report at once about what is happening so that the public may be properly informed on the matter?

"Mr. Heath: The Control Commission has made a number of reports to the two Co-Chairmen. I will see whether it is possible for any of that material to be published.

"Mr. Healey: While we appreciate the efforts of Her Majesty's Government to keep this Conference going, will the right hon. Gentleman convey to the Soviet Government, and other participants, the widespread feeling in this House and in the country that we must regard the success of this Conference as a test of the possibility of reaching general agreement with Communist Governments on the possibility of co-existence?

"Mr. Heath: I am sure that that is the case.

"Mr. A. Henderson: Would the Lord Privy Seal not agree that, according to the B.B.C.'s correspondent in Laos, the Cntrol Commission has been immobile and impotent? Is that because of the shortage of observers or because of obstacles which have been put in the way of the Commission in carrying out its responsibilities?

"Mr. Heath: The reason is entirely because the Pathet Lao were unwilling to allow the Commission to go into the areas it controls, for the purposes of inspecting the observance of the cease fire."

BRUCE

POL/F:LMPurnell:bh
June 14, 1961

Francis J. Galbraith

Clearance:
POL - Mr. O'Shaughnessy

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PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

Date Sent: June 9, 1961

FROM: Amembassy, BANGKOK

TO: Secstate, WASHINGTON

NO: G-395

RPTD INFO: Amembassy, NEW DELHI G-9

Amcongen, GENEVA [redacted] G-5

DIST

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Geneva for FECON

On his return from Geneva the Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman, remarked in passing that Krishna Menon had urged on him that Thailand leave SEATO and take a "neutral" position. Thanat did not indicate what reply he made.

Comment: Krishna Menon's approach is not likely to have any effect on Thanat's or the Thai Government's thinking, except that it would probably bring a negative reaction considering the source. Menon's approach parallels Prince Sihanouk's recent efforts to bring Thailand into a neutral belt extending from India through Cambodia (See Embassy's G-392 to Dept for Prime Minister Sarit's reaction to this).

UNGER

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June 8, 1961

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AIRGRAM

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Foreign Service of the United States of America

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PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

Date Sent: June 7, 1961

FROM: Amembassy BANGKOK

TO: SecState WASHINGTON

NO: G-391

RPTD INFO: GENEVA G-03, VIENTIANE G-82.

350 Rel Laos - State

GENEVA FOR FECON.

English-language BANGKOK POST reported May 31 that PriMin Sarit told reporters that date, "We support sending of SEATO troops into Laos if Geneva conference fails, but we do not want troops based in our country." Paper said he was commenting on a report that U.S. Senator Dodd had urged SEATO troops be sent to Laos if Geneva conference fails. PriMin reportedly said that U.S. has been suggesting that troops be sent into Thailand, but "we do not agree because Thai people would not like it."

Thai press June 1 reported PriMin's interview essentially as above but with addition PriMin's reported assertion that approach to Thailand for stationing U.S. troops in Thailand made by Vice President Johnson (and others).

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POL:WWHitchcock:ls
June 6, 1961

6-7-61

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

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Classification

Charge: EMBASSY Control: 102

Date: June 5, 1961

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON 2199

RPTD. INFO: Amembassy GENEVA 50

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GENEVA FOR FECON.

According BANGKOK WORLD June 5 FonMin Thanat Khoman made following points on arrival Bangkok June 4 from Geneva:

a. Only thing Thailand could gain from conference is hearing policies of the two sides. Conference so far nothing but exchange of blame by two sides.

b. Commies won initial victory by having Pathet Lao seated. Thereafter Commies took uncompromising stand, revealing their desire win total control of Laos via conference. Commies also put up hostile front threatening take harsher action if Free World refused meet their terms.

c. Geneva meeting "full of danger." Thailand's part in conference still under consideration. He left meeting because he could not see for certain whether meeting would be success, only prolonged discussion / [redacted] or total failure.

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June 5, 1961

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

INCOMING

London 183

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Authority NND 944832

UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

Control: 983

Rec'd: May 27, 1961

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CHIENGMAI

ACTION WWH
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DATE 6/14
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FROM: LONDON

NO : 183, MAY 25,

ROUTINE

SENT DEPT 4810 RPTD INFO PHNOM PENH 101 SAIGON 210 BANGKOK 183 GENEVA 90

Geneva for FECON.

Daily telegraph May 25 published interview with Sihanouk by Michael Field in which Prince quoted as making following statement: "I believe there is one chance in thousand (to save Laos from communism) but we must try for it. I think we shall be able to reach an agreement about neutralizing Laos but that is not the end of the problem. It seems obvious to me that PL will eventually rule the country."

According to Field"(Sihanouk) rejected the idea of linking the whole or part of Laos to Cambodia. This would provoke the communists and be too great an economic burden for Cambodia. The Prince is also dubious about the possibility of preventing Vietminh penetration of Laos, even after neutralization agreement. 'but between the two alternatives of a generalized war and what amounts to the slow abandonment of Laos, I prefer the latter. The future of my country is also sombre'. He harbors no illusions about him for ultimate fate of even progressive monarchist like himself, when the inevitable day Chinese communist hegemony dawns over the area. The Prince said he was prepared to appear before a people's court and accept its verdict at some future date. 'I shall never leave Cambodia. I should prefer to take an unimportant job under the communists rather than go to a concentration camp.'"

Further extracts from Field's article quoted below:

"He thought American plan for effective independent control of neutrality was good one. But Cambodia could not support it and as it imposed too great limitation on national sovereignty and would create bad precedent. Only course now open to West was to take communists at their word and to apply neutralization agreement'to the letter'. To do this Americans ... should withdraw not only their military advisers from RLG armed forces but also their 'subversive and propaganda elements'. I understand this to be reference to role of CIA and USIA in Laos. This was only way to get Russians and North Vietnamese to end their intervention, Prince thought.

350 Pol Cambodia - Laos

5-25-61

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FORM FS-501
2-21-59

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

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Control: 983

PAGE TWO - LONDON's 183

Recd: May 27, 1961

"For Sihanouk, true neutralism involves abstention all sides from propaganda activities ... He illustrated this in emphatic denunciation of American efforts to establish cultural relations institute in Cambodia.

"'If I authorize this, I will have to admit Russian and Chinese institutes too', he said. 'By insisting on this, Americans are trying open door I so far managed keep closely shut: the door to subversion under the label cultural relations'.

"Only neutrality possible for Laos was Austrian variety. He was skeptical whether Souvanna Phouma or anyAother Laotian statesman could administer similar neutrality.

'I sincerely hope that Souvanna Phouma will turn out to be Sihanouk of Laos', he said with humorous twinkle in eye.

Prince believes PL are real communists. He distinguished between them and Souvanna Phouma neutralists but doubts whether latter's neutrality more than 'veneer' on suface of Laotian affairs. Phn, he thinks, is 'a real force'.

"Sihanouk rejected outright any suggestion partitioning Laos between West and communists. 'It would solve nothing'. He pointed to constant communist undermining process in South Vietnam. This proof that a 'South Laos' would soon become similar problem. Prince also dubious about possibility preventing Vietminh penetration of Laos, even after neutralization agreement.

"While he is disturbed by refusal so far of three Laotian factions accept his mediation, he regards himself as only disinterested friend of Laotians. He feels present insistence by King and RLG on legality and constitutional punctilio is misplaced and unhelpful. He did not conceal his belief that refusal of Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong to come to Geneva indicated PL desire obtain still further gains in Laos before submitting to arbitration. About future of SEA in general and Cambodia in particular, he is also fundamentally pessimistic."

BRUCE

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FORM FS-501
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TELEGRAM

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UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

Charge: EMBASSY

Control: 350

Date: May 19, 1961

2089

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON UNCLAS PRIORITY

RPTD. INFO: Amembassy KARACHI 181 NIACT

ATHENS 6 PRIORITY

VIENTIANE 937 PRIORITY

Amconsul GENEVA 31 PRIORITY

CINCPAC FOR POLAD 684

KARACHI AND ATHENS FOR CODEL JOHNSON. GENEVA FOR FECON.

Press coverage of Vice Pres's visit so far generally favorable, noting approvingly informality and eagerness to talk with man-on-the-street. This new experience for Thai. (See separate telegram this subject.)

Only discordant note related to Vice Pres's handling of Lao issue. Press called Vice Pres "vague" on Lao issue, specifically for not providing guarantee that Laos would not be partitioned, or that coalition government including Communists would not be accepted. Vice Pres quoted as follows on this issue: "There is conference going on in Geneva. I don't know what good it will do at Geneva for issues to be decided in advance. I shall not attempt to speculate on what would happen and won't attempt to direct the conference from this faraway point."

PriMin reported in Thai-language press as having said discussions with Vice Pres on some matters satisfactory, but other matters will have to be discussed further. English-language POST under headline

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Date:

"Johnson Talks 'Partly Satisfy' Thai" quoted PriMin as saying "US gives us full guarantees. It is like this: We are a virgin, nobody is to touch us; But we wish have guarantees extended to Laos, which borders Thailand." English-language WORLD carried similar quote from PriMin over headline "No U.S. Guarantee of Undivided Laos Given by Johnson;" subheading"But Thailand's Integrity to be Assured by US."

YOUNG

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POL:LGHickering/WWHitchcock/jfl

May 19, 1961

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G-370

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PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

Date Sent: May 17, 1961

FROM: Amembassy BANGKOK

TO: SecState WASHINGTON

NO: G-370

RPTD.INFO: GENEVA G-01, PHNOM PENH G-122, SAIGON G-111.

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GENEVA FOR FECON.

FonOff May 12 declined comment to press on NY Times story May 11 (?) that Thailand drifting toward neutralism and may leave SEATO. BANGKOK POST May 12 however quotes Interior Min Praphat as remarking "There no indication whatsoever that Thailand going neutral. Thai Gvt does not want use neutrality to bluff Americans."

DWB
UNGER

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Wmf
POL:WWHitchcock:jfl

May 15, 1961

350 Re Cables - Laos - Cambodia - Ceylon Laos

5-17-61

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Charge: EMBASSY

Control: 182

Date: May 11, 1961

SENT TO: SECSTATE WASHINGTON UNCLAS 2032

RPTD: AmEmbassy GENEVA (~~FOR USDEL LAO CONF~~) NINE

RPTD INFO: KUALA LUMPUR 50, SINGAPORE 93, DJAKARTA 66,
MANILA 333, KARACHI 170, LONDON 251,
CINCPAC FOR POLAD 671.

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Authority NND 94882

Geneva for USDEL LAO CONF.

Following is FonMin statement carried in BANGKOK WORLD May 11: (unnecessary words omitted): "With reference Foreign Ministry's statement on 28th last month re 14-nation conference at Geneva on Lao problem that ~~the~~ question whether Thailand will participate in conference depends on whether there ~~will~~ be ~~an~~ absolute cessation hostilities and ~~a~~ halt in delivery by Commie countries of war equipment, arms and mil personnel to pro-Commie rebels in Laos and a verified ceasefire which definitely ascertained, the Foreign Ministry wishes state further that Thai Gvt ~~is~~ continuously keeping close watch on attempts produce ~~a~~ ceasefire in Kingdom of Laos. As of now, there seemsbe no indications that ceasefire could possibly be established in next few days. However, it hoped that ICC able carry out instructions of co-chairman of Geneva Conference--UK and USSR--to function in Laos which will bring about ceasefire so that political negotiations may be effectively and peacefully undertaken.

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Secstate 2032 350 Rpt Djakarta - Tosec 5-11-61

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Date:

"As regards 14-nation conference Geneva, Thai Gvt glad participate if foregoing conditions fulfilled, and Thai Gvt will make every effort at conference toward re-establishment and maintenance of peace in Laos so as ensure prosperity, independence and sovereignty of Laos.

"Since Lao problem involves existence of various countries in Southeast Asia, Thailand is of opinion that, in solving Lao problem, the views of other countries Southeast Asia also be taken into account as broadly possible. It felt that countries in Southeast Asia which at present not invited participate but interested in well-being Laos, such as Malaya, Indonesia and others whose security affected by developments Laos, should also have opportunity participate in Geneva conference. If necessary, Thai Gvt will bring matter to attention of conference at appropriate time so invitations may be extended those countries to participate directly in conference."

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POLDNBatson/sra
May 11, 1961

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

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Charge: EMBASSY

Control: 183

Date: May 11, 1961

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SSENT TO: AMEMBASSY GENEVA UNCLAS TEN .

Fol tel sent Dept 2023 rptd you.

"2023, May 10.

"DEPCIRTEL 1668.

"Fol delegation to Laos Conf made public May 10 by PRD:

FONMIN Thanat Khoman, leader

Direk Chaiyanam, Thai Amb to Bonn

Konthi Suphamongkhon, Dir Gen, Intl Organizations Dept, FONOFF

Chitti Sutcharitkul, Thai Amb to Bern

Lt. Gen. Wallop Rojanawisut, Asst Chief of Staff for Intelligence, RTA

Col. Saiyud Kerdpon, Dep Dir of Operations, RTA

Anand Panyarachun, FONMIN's Secy.

Announcement stated Direk Chayanam to act as leader pending FONMIN's arrival. No mention made of del's departure date.

Bio previously submitted on all but military, which will submit soonest. ~~Singed~~ Signed Unger"

UNGER

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Per Mr. Batson/mjj

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350 Rel Laos - Geneva

5-11-61

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

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UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

Charge: EMBASSY

Control: 168

Date: May 10, 1961

SENT TO: SECSTATE WASHINGTON 2023

Depcirtel 1668.

Following delegation to Laos Conference made public May 10 by PRD:

Fonmin Thanat Khoman, leader

Direk Chaiyanam, Thai Amb to Bonn

Konthi Suphamongkhon, Director General, International Organizations Dept, Fonoff

Chitti Sutcharitkul, Thai Amb to Bern

Lt. Gen. Wallop Rojanawisut, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, RTA

Col Saiyud Kerdpon, Deputy Director of Operations, RTA

Anand Panyarachun, Fonmin's Secretary.

Announcement stated Direk Chayanam to act as leader pending Fonmin's arrival. No mention made of del's departure date.

Bio previously submitted on all but military, which will submit soonest.

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May 10, 1961

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330 PR Laos - Thai

5-10-61

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Date: May 5, 1961

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Following is summary Ambassador Harriman's Bangkok press ~~conference~~ conference held 1430 May 4:

After describing briefly nature and purpose his mission, Amb noted UPI Vientiane reports indicating PL ~~disregarding~~ disregarding cease-fire call. Said couldn't confirm, but even if cease fire effective that only beginning offering opportunity for negotiations for truly neutral Laos. Noted we have Khruschev word he will work to establish Laos as ~~neutral~~ neutral similar to Austria, which we ~~consider~~ consider very good example from our standpoint because Austria well-established neutral unhandicapped

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by interference from anyone.

Reported talks with Primin Sarit showed RTG approach in general agreement with USG, but declined further comment saying must report to President first, and, if President so desired, would make fuller press statement afterward.

Amb noted had met Souvanna briefly at Phnom Penh airport but no chance for political talk as latter delayed in arriving. Sihanouk had arranged meeting between Amb, Souvanna and Sihanouk, but Amb Trimble would have to attend for him. Amb stressed meeting Souvanna as individual, US recognizes present RLG as legitimate government Laos, but Souvanna important political factor and will probably have some influence on development of neutrality in Laos. Asked whether Souvanna going Washington, Amb replied not that he knew of, he did not speak to Souvanna about it.

Re Sihanouk announcement withdrawal from 14-nation conference, Amb said did not discuss this directly with him. Asked whether conference could go on without Cambodian representative, Amb replied certainly, that although originally proposed by Sihanouk it part of program developed between UK and USSR and agreed to by number of nations including US. Added did

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discuss Laos generally with Sihanouk, who also interested in having neutral Laos, said Sihanouk doesn't want Communists on his border any more than anyone else.

Reported Diem also agreed Laos should be neutral, truly neutral so it cannot be used to infiltrate Communist activity. Told questioner assumed GVN would attend conference but everyone agreed could be no conference until there was ceasefire.

Re talks with King of Laos, said King spoke of desire for cease fire and determination through 14-nation conference to get recognition of Laos' right to neutrality.

Asked who at fault in delaying ceasefire, said not fault of RLG, who did everything they could to bring it about, so was caused by group who using Pathet Lao as front. Added latter's operations indicated skilled leadership not know [redacted] among Pathet Lao before, no question they supported not only with equipment but also with personnel. Asked whether Laos would be partitioned, Amb said there has been no suggestion of it, no serious proposal for it.

On question of Thai feeling representation at conference will be weighted against Free World, Amb avoided comment on RTG statements,

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but noted that agreement at conference would not be based on majority vote. Asked if cease fire failed and Thailand threatened would US come to Thailand's aid, replied we have treaty obligations with Thailand which no doubt would be respected.

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