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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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AIRGRAM

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TO : Department of State

INFO : TOKYO, TAIPEI, HONG KONG, USUN, MOSCOW, NEW DELHI, ISLAMABAD

FROM : Amembassy BANGKOK

DATE : AUGUST 17, 1971

SUBJECT : Views of Foreign Minister Thanat

REF :

Attached is a report provided by a Japanese Embassy officer (protect) of Foreign Minister Thanat's remarks to the Japanese Ambassador on the occasion of their meeting on August 17.

Highlights of Thanat's remarks are the following:

A. Thanat now believes that the PRC will not come into the UN this year even if the dual representation resolution is passed with explicit mention of the Security Council seat.

B. He is considering recommending repeal of the ban on trade with the PRC as a significant political gesture indicating Thailands "peaceful posture" toward the PRC. (Bangkok's A-328 August 10, 1970 NOTAL).

C. He sees the recent treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and India as foreshadowing a polarization of Asian countries around the Soviet Union and the PRC respectively, and to arrest this tendency he favors establishment of a "third group" of Asian nations comprising the ASPAC and ASEAN countries plus India. The Japanese believe that he has contacted the Indians concerning this idea and that India has shown interest.

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Conversation between Japanese Ambassador and Foreign Minister Thanat August 23, 1971.

The Japanese Ambassador had asked for this meeting prior to his return to Tokyo for the meeting of Japanese Chiefs of Mission in the Asian region.

Chinese Representation

Foreign Minister Thanat took the view that the Peoples Republic of China would not join the United Nations this year even if the dual representation resolution were adopted. He believes this would be true whether or not the Security Council aspect was mentioned in the resolution. He added that he thinks it is not possible for an understanding to be reached between the United States and the PRC in the future on the basis of this kind of resolution. (It was not clear what "understanding" he had in mind, i.e., whether he was referring only to the UN issue or to a more general detente between Washington and Peking).

Thanat said the Ukranian formula was not applicable because of the vastly different circumstances surrounding the two cases.

He observed that the Republic of China would have no alternative but to "swallow" the dual representation resolution with the Security Council seat specifically mentioned, but this did not mean that they would go as far as [redacted] sovereignty of the PRC over Taiwan. (Presumably this means the ROC would not accept anything which would lend color to PRC claims in principle.) He made it clear that the question of the Republic of China's attitude on the dual representation resolution had not been made known to him directly but that what he had just said was his own interpretation.

Thanat believes that this year will not see much concrete development on this front, i.e., he believes Taipei will continue to sit in the UN and the PRC will not come in.

The Foreign Minister believes that there may have been a tacit understanding between Chou En-lai and Kissinger on the Chirep question, with agreement that "they" (not clear whether both sides or only PRC) would not push too far on the Formosa problem at this time. In this context, Thanat said it is significant to note what Chou told Reston about the Chirep question, i.e., that China can afford to wait for another year for a "just resolution".

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Thanat said the Thai government had not yet reached any conclusion on the Chinese representation problem, specifically on whether to cast an affirmative vote or abstain "on the Albanian resolution" because of the divergent views on this question within the government. (Although this is the Japanese Ambassador's record of what was said, it would appear that Thanat meant to say "dual representation" rather than "Albanian" resolution.)

Question of Recognition of PRC; the Chinese Community in Thailand

Thanat said with regard to the argument that Thailand should refrain from recognizing the PRC even if the PRC is admitted to the UN, because of the Chinese community problem in this country, he admits that this is a very serious problem. However, he noted that much progress had been made in assimilating the Chinese into Thai society and therefore there would be less difficulty in Thailand than in Malaysia. So he suggested that this should not be taken as too serious an impediment to recognition.

He doubted whether Thailand could continue to avoid establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC indefinitely just because of the Chinese community problem while other neighboring Asian countries were establishing relations with the PRC.

He said a primary consideration in Thailand's decision whether or not to recognize would be a commitment by the PRC that they would discontinue encouraging and supporting the insurgents in Thailand.

He said repealing the ban on trade with the PRC would be a significant political gesture indicating Thailand's peaceful posture toward the PRC. (It was not clear whether he was suggesting this as a proposed unilateral move on Thailand's part, or whether he saw it as part of a broader settlement).

Treaty Between Soviet Union and India

Thanat believes that the new treaty was clearly a counter-measure to the rapprochement between the U.S. and PRC. He fears that because of this development Asian countries will become polarized into two groups under the influence of

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the Russians and the PRC respectively. To arrest this tendency, he thinks it would be proper to develop or nurture a third group of Asian countries, comprising the ASPAC and ASEAN countries plus the Indians. He feels that it would be impossible to include Pakistan.

He said it is his understanding that India had been so hard pressed that she decided to conclude the treaty but only as a "second best measure". He believes they would have preferred something else and that they are aware of the risks that may be involved in concluding such a treaty. Therefore he said India has shown interest in the idea of setting up such a "third group" of nations. (The Japanese believe that this indicates that Thanat has been in contact with the Indians on this point.) Thanat said a group including Japan, India, Australia and New Zealand would be a "respectable" group which would constitute an "independent orbit" and command a "big voice".

He said the group should not be so rigid as to require formal treaties or commitments. He said no secretariat would be required but the group could simply meet as required. The important thing would be to develop a spirit of solidarity.

He said it was planned to call a meeting to start the process of forming this new group at the forthcoming UNGA.

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