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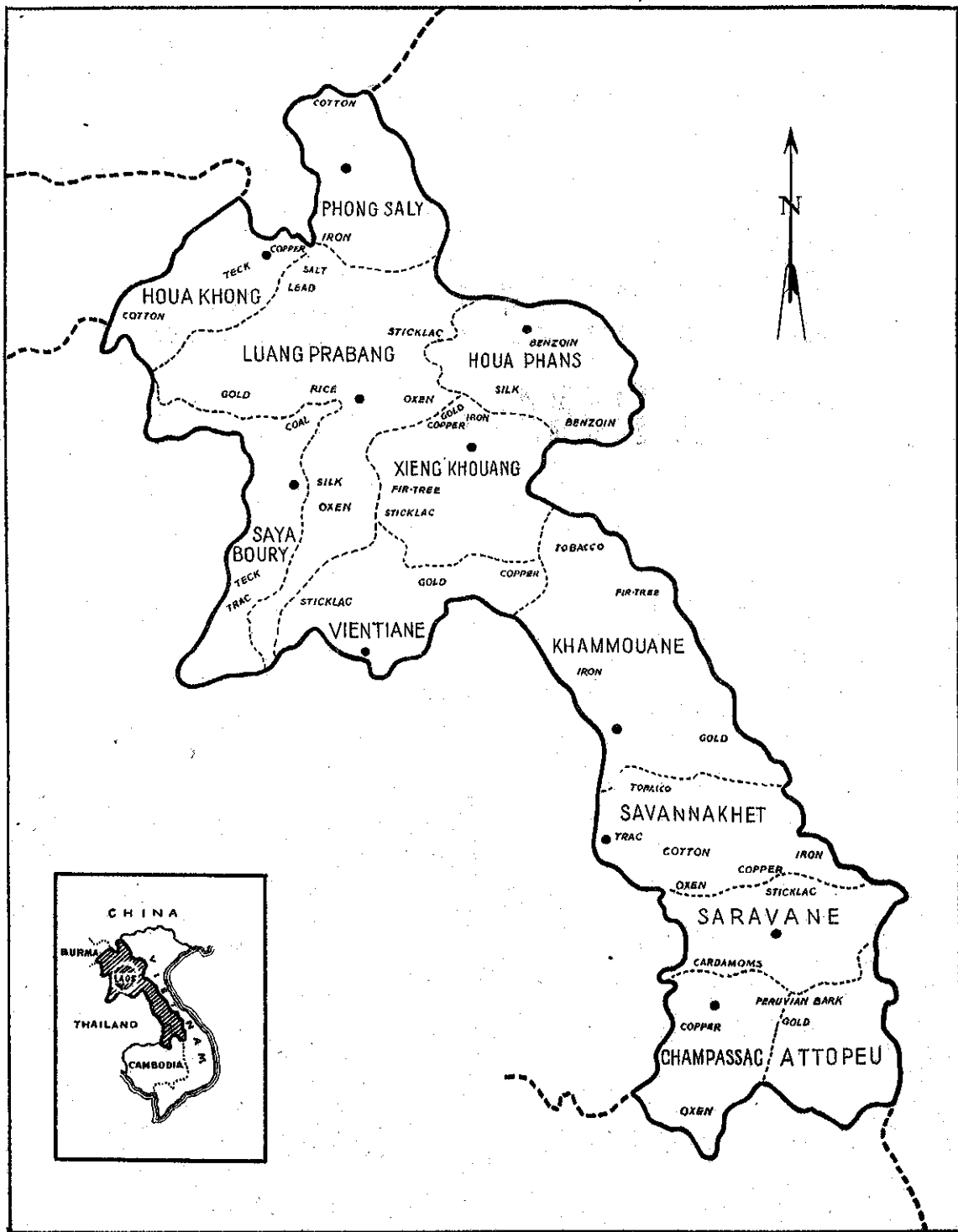


**20 YEARS**  
**OF LAO PEOPLE'S**  
**R EVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE**

# **20 YEARS OF LAO PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE**

**NEO LAO HAKSAT PUBLICATIONS**

**1966**



## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

*"The Laotian", a colonialist man of letters wrote, "is gentle, shy and flabby. He has this respect for discipline which prevents him from rising against even the worst treatments." But contrary to all psycho-sociological prediction of this kind, the Lao has risen up. And the neo-colonialists shed tears of compassion on the misfortunes of this people "torn by subversion" and on its Shangri-la that the "free world" will lose for ever, with its strategic bases, its tin and its teak forests...*

*Times are over when the slaves could not escape from bondage. Over Asia, Africa and Latin America blows a revolutionary maelstrom which disintegrates and sweeps away the most solid empires.*

*Twenty years have elapsed since the days of October 1945 when the Lao people, heir to a long-standing tradition of struggle against invaders, has risen up to proclaim its independence. Twenty years, as this booklet shows it, of a fierce, hard and victorious combat against the French colonialists, and since then against the U.S. imperialists who are trying to turn Laos into a new-type colony and a base for aggression. Closely united within the Neo Lao Haksat led by Prince Souphanouvong, our people jealously defends its aspirations for independence, peace, neutrality, democracy and national concord. By so doing, it contributes to the defence of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.*

NEO LAO HAKSAT PUBLICATIONS

## A SHORT SKETCH OF THE COUNTRY

**S**ITUATED in the Indochinese peninsula, Laos borders on China, Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand. With an area of 231,000 sq. km., it stretches on a length of over 1,000 km. between 14° and 22°5 North latitude.

Laos' strategic importance has not escaped the French, Japanese or as at present, the American imperialists. They have wanted to turn it into a spring-board for aggression from which they might threaten China, Cambodia and Vietnam. The Americans have even compared it to a sword thrust into the heart of Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Laos is a country of mountains and forests. Its highest peak, the Phoubia (2,850m) towers to the southwest of Xiengkhouang. The Saiphuluong, the Indochinese Cordillera, the natural frontier between Vietnam and Laos, extends over 2,000 km. Its western side slopes down gently toward Laos and forms vast plateaux such as Boloven, Muong-phouen, Houaphan of an average altitude from 700 to 1,200 m. Many plains stretch from the valleys along the Mekong and between the great river's tributaries.

Laos has many rivers. The Mekong crosses it from North to South. Many rivers, running from Northeast to Southwest, pour their waters in this "mother

river": Namtha, Nambeng, Namou, Nam-suong, Namkhane, Namngum, Namnghiep, Namsane, Namkading, Sebang-fai, Sebanghien, Sedon, Sekong... The Mekong and its affluents which furrow the country constitute a huge communication network running from East to West and from North to South. Distributors of life, these waterways and the Mekong in particular, fill up many extremely fertile basins with their alluvion. On the banks of these big fish preserves and inexhaustible sources of hydro-electric power, towns and urban districts are built: Vientiane, the capital, Luangprabang, Thakhek, Savannakhet, Pakse.

Laos is a tropical country lying in the monsoon zone of Asia, and has a hot and damp climate. Rains, from May to November, often create floods destroying crops and checking communications. However, the plains lack water during the dry season, from November to April. One can enjoy some coolness on the Boloven and Xiengkhouang plateaux.

Laos is rich in ores: tin (Khammouane), lead and coal (Xiengkhouang, Vientiane, Samneua), copper (Xiengkhouang, Khammouane), gold (Luangprabang, Xiengkhouang, Vientiane, Khammouane, Tchepone, Attopeu), lead

and rock-salt (Muongsing, Phongsaly, Vientiane, Saravane). Apart from tin (Phonthiou and Boneng) most of them are not yet exploited.

The flora is luxuriant. The forests covering two thirds of the country contain precious products particularly teak wood, and many other things as valuable; cardamom, amome, benzoin and many kinds of Bengal hemsps, bamboo, rattan, and indigo. Pine forests cover the plateaux (Xiengkhouang) and the Sai-phuluong foothills.

The inhabitants of the plains are mostly employed in agriculture, cattle-breeding and fishing. Besides rice, they grow cotton, mulberries, tobacco, coffee, quinine, vegetables and fruit. Those in the plateaux and mountain regions cultivate on burnt-out clearings and go in for hunting.

Laos abounds in elephants. Cattle-breeding flourishes in the plateaux and plains bordering the Mekong.

It was in 1353 that Prince Fa Ngoum founded the Lanxang or the Million-Elephant country which comprised besides the present Lao territory, a number of vassal principdoms on the Mekong's right bank.

In the old Lao feudal society the economy was autarchic, backward and dependent. Rice-growing technique was primitive and farm implements, rudimentary. Commerce was little developed and handicrafts, based on the family.

Agriculture is dependent on natural conditions and, for want of irrigation, vast fertile lands are allowed to lie fallow.

The feudal lords, the holders of all political rights, were masters of the country's economy. Meadows and rice-fields, rivers and forests, all belonged to them. And they took advantage of this situation to bleed the people white.

Since the end of the 19th century, French colonial exploitation intensified the condition of feudalism and semi-slavery. Hoarding of raw materials, monopoly in foreign trade, heavy taxation, the rush for colonial super-profits, all this and other factors completed the ruin of the country.

Heavy industry was non-existent and light industry, scarcely started during the years 1946-1954 mostly for war purposes.

The people's standard of living was very low. The lack of prophylactics and the ruthless exploitation of the people accounted for a high death rate.

This is still the plight of the regions controlled by the Americans and their lackeys.

Over 60 nationalities living on our land form a total population of about 3 million inhabitants. By their ethnic origin and their mode of life, they can be classified in three main groupings commonly called Lao Loum, Lao Soung and Lao Theung. The first settled in the plains, along the waterways and main roads, the second, at the outskirts of the forests and on the mountain slopes. The last occupy the high mountain tops.

An appreciable difference can be noted in their stages of development. The Lao Loums have attained the feudal stage while the Lao Soungs and Lao Theungs, in a general way, are still tribesmen. These can be divided again into smaller groupings with a tribal character: Khmou, Ko (Upper Laos), So, Sek (Middle Laos), Laven, Alek, Oi, Taoi, Nhaheun, Nghe, Lave... (Lower Laos). The Lao Soungs include the Meo, Yao, Ho, Mouseu, Lanten minorities.

By their system of exploitation and oppression, the Lao feudalists and French colonialists drove many tribes to the remotest mountain regions. Some groups were threatened with extinction. Both

feudalists and colonialists exploited the dissensions between the various groups in pursuit of their traditional policy: "divide and rule".

Buddhism is held in honour in Laos: the great majority of the population practise this religion. Catholicism introduced since the conquest of the country by the French, has few adherents, which is also true of Protestantism recently brought to Laos by the U.S.

For a long time our people have had their own script. They are proud of their old culture and a brilliant civilization which took shape during centuries of struggle and labour. This culture with a marked national character is expressed in many kinds of folk songs: lam, khap, teui, long, and dances: lamvong, fonlai, seungbangfay. The Lao people are fond of song and music. The most common musical instruments are the "khène", a kind of flute made of an assembling of seven pairs of little bamboos, the khoy (flute), the so (a two-string violin), the kachapi (banjo), the lanat (xylophone), and many kinds of drums which play an important role in concerts and festivals. In the towns as well as in the countryside, the traditional feasts — the New Year's Day, the Bounphavet, the Bounbangfay (Fire-work-festival), the Bounxuonghua (Water-festival), the

Bounkhoupkhao (Crop-festival) — are always accompanied by songs and dances.

Many popular literary works tell of our people's love for labour, freedom and peace. Architectural vestiges are scattered over the country: the Cheuang jars in Xiengkhouang, the Vatphou temple in Champassak, the Thatinghang in Savannakhet, the Thatluong — the great shrine of the Kingdom — in Vientiane, the Phonsi, Vatmay, Vatvisoun, Pakou, Sisaket, Ongteu and Phakeo pagodas.

The French colonialists and their lackeys did their utmost to check and deprave this culture. By their obscurantist policy, by systematically spreading alcohol, opium, lechery and pornographic films they wanted to lull the people and corrupt the youth, 95 per cent of the population were illiterate. In certain regions, 75 per cent of the inhabitants were addicted to opium. Social diseases which proliferated slowed down increase in population.

Only the liberation of the whole country from the yoke of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will open the way to Laos' economic and cultural development for the interests of its people, which also will bring its full contribution to the progress of mankind.

## A LONG-STANDING TRADITION OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISTS

**F**OLLOWING the occupation of the Nambo Eastern provinces in Vietnam in 1862 and of Cambodia in 1863, the French imperialists sent missions of exploration to Laos, among which the most important were Doudart de Lagrée's (1866) and Pavie's (1883-1889). In 1893, having brought Cambodia and Vietnam under their rule, they invaded Laos.

The country annexed, they organized a local administration to serve their interests. For form's sake they kept the king of Luangprabang and the prince of Champassak (Lower Laos). But the whole of Laos was really under their direct administration.

However, the Lao people were never subdued. Since the first days of the occupation, tribes and entire regions rose up. The most striking insurrections were:

- that of Lao Loums under the guidance of Pho Ka Douat. Launched in 1901 in Savannakhet province and in Lower Laos where the French had great manoeuvrability, it was crushed after a few years;

- that of Lao Theungs in 1901 under Ong Keo's direction. After the murder of the latter by the French, the struggle went on under the leadership of Koma-

dam until 1937, when the French sent elephants, artillery and planes against the patriots' base at Phoulouang.

- that of Lao Soungs from 1919 to 1922 led by Chao Pa Fachay who had succeeded in uniting the populations of Samneua, Luangprabang and Xiengkhouang. The French could only put an end to the movement after its leader had been murdered in a cowardly fashion.

These uprisings drowned in blood testified to the indomitability of the Lao people.

In 1941, the Japanese landed in Indochina. The French colonialists who were ruthless towards the Lao people did not offer them any resistance. They even helped the occupying forces to repress the Lao revolution.

In August 1945, the irresistible advance of the Soviet army in Manchuria led to the surrender of the Japanese on all fronts. The Lao people rose up to seize power from the latter's hands. The movement launched in Vientiane rapidly spread over the country. In October 1945, the revolutionary forces were already masters of the country. On October 12, a provisional government proclaimed the independence of Laos before the world. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs and for



National Defence were confided to Prince Souphanouvong who also kept the High Command of the armed forces.

But the French imperialists had not given up their dream of reconquering the country. Besides they wanted to spare themselves a spring-board against Vietnam.

On March 21, 1946, their troops attacked Thakhek (Khammouane province) and drowned it in fire and blood.

The small and poorly equipped revolutionary armed forces had to withdraw to the other bank of the Mekong. The provisional government emigrated to Thailand.

In the occupied regions, the French colonialists under cover of a sham independence, gathered their lackeys and set up a puppet government to which they pretended, many a time, to surrender the independence of Laos (the 1st time in 1947, the 2nd time in 1949, the 3rd time in 1953), but in fact they continued militarily to occupy the country and strictly to control this "government".

While multiplying raiding operations, the French colonialists intensified demagogic manoeuvres. Illiteracy was general. Religion became, in their hands, a soporific and a means of dissuasion. The imperialists played off one ethnic grouping against another and stirred up discord between the Lao, Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples.

Mercenary groups were set up and enrolled in the French Union's armed forces. With many military posts, airfields and strategic roads, Laos and particularly its Northern part were turned into an important strategic base in Southeast Asia. The Lao people were subjected to harsh exploitation.

The French colonialists organized the blockade and sabotage of the Resistance economy.

From 1946 to 1950, the Lao Resistance members underwent hard trials. Not only

were they facing enormous difficulties to preserve their forces but were also increasing them. The leaders concentrated on the masses and organized Resistance bases.

From 1947, many of these were created in almost all provinces from the north to the south of the country. People's organizations for national salvation, and military and paramilitary forces were formed under the name of Lao Itsala.

To co-ordinate the Resistance movement and give it a new impulse, the Lao National Congress held in August 1950, elected the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Itsala, a national united front, and agreed on a twelve-point political programme. A new Resistance government was set up under Prince Souphanouvong which enjoyed great authority in Upper Laos as well as in Middle and Lower Laos. After that people's regional bases expanded rapidly and armed struggle was intensified.

In April 1953, the Pathet Lao army launched the Upper Laos campaign and succeeded in liberating Samneua and a part of the Xiengkhouang and Luangprabang provinces. The liberated zones could now communicate with one another. Guerilla warfare developed in the enemy's rear.

The French colonialists hurried to perform a new manoeuvre. A treaty was signed with the puppet administration on October 22, 1953 recognizing the "complete independence" of Laos. But article I of the appendix of the agreement compelled Laos to put all its potential in the service of the defence of the member countries of the French Union, and specified that France had the sole command of military operations.

In November 1953, French ground and air forces starting from Lao bases occupied Dienbienphu in Vietnam. The Middle Laos campaign led in co-ordination with the Vietnamese volunteers, liberated Thakhek province and part of

Savannakhet province. Other campaigns followed suit: one from Samneua liberated the Namou basin and Phongsaly up to the Luangprabang surroundings, while another liberated Attapeu and Laongam in Lower Laos. Half of the territory was now free. Guerilla warfare extended unprecedentedly. During the Dienbienphu battle, the French colonialists regarded Laos as an important supply base for this entrenched camp. But many columns of French reinforcements were intercepted by the Pathet Lao army acting in co-operation with the guerillas.

The signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreement restored peace in Indochina.

The nine participants to the Geneva Conference, including France and the U.S.A., recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Laos. The Pathet Lao army, though victorious, agreed to regroup in the Samneua and Phongsaly provinces, for the sake of the nation. The Resistance government took charge of the administration of these two provinces until free general elections should give a national assembly and a national government.

The Lao people had before them the radiant prospects of a new life in peace, independence and national concord, which would have been realized but for U.S. aggression.

## AMERICAN MANŒUVRES AND FAILURES IN LAOS

**T**HE history of Laos during the last decade is marked by a series of machinations and aggressive acts by American imperialism. It is also that of the Lao people's courageous and resolute struggle for freedom, independence, unity, peace, neutrality, democracy and national concord.

As early as 1951, when in the Indo-chinese theatre of operations prospects of total failure loomed ahead for the French expeditionary force, the American imperialists began intervening in Laos. Over the heads of the French colonialists, they gave direct "aid" to the Lao puppet government. They intensified espionage activities there and helped the Thai government build strategic roads along the border between the two countries. Through Thailand, arms and ammunition were introduced into Laos. The American imperialists' aim was to hamper Lao resistance and to get ready, in case of French failure, to take over Laos, which would be turned into an American new-type colony and aggressive base in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

To prolong and extend the war, they strove to sabotage the Geneva Conference convened in 1954. But their efforts were to no avail. Foster Dulles, filled

with frustration, left the Conference and devoted his efforts to gathering allies and satellites into an aggressive military bloc — SEATO. Bedell Smith, his deputy, refused to initial the agreement. And if at the final session of the Conference he affirmed that the U.S. government pledged not to hamper its implementation through threat or use of force, this pledge was soon denied. The following day, U.S. President Eisenhower openly declared: "The U.S. is not a party to, and is not bound by, the decisions taken at the Conference."

In fact, the Americans have left no stone unturned to sabotage the execution of those agreements. One can distinguish two stages in their attempt: the first between the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Conference on Laos; the second from 1962 to the present time.

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During the first period, the Americans' sabotage activities consisted in introducing more military advisers, arms and war material, in intensifying their "aid" and in organizing the armed forces of their valets.

American strategists came in turn to Vientiane: General Collins in March 1955, Admiral Radford in July 1955, to name only the most prominent.

About American "aid", the French paper *La Tribune des Nations* of July 26, 1957, wrote: "The official amount of American aid to Laos is 74 million dollars per year. The breakdown is as follows: 7 million for State police and security service, 7 million for the administrative services, 50 million for a 25,000-strong army and finally 10 million for the upkeep of 250 American advisers and experts."

The American imperialists deliberately placed Laos together with Cambodia and South Vietnam in the "protection" area of SEATO. They urged their valets to take over by force the two provinces of Samneua and Phongsaly. The April 13, 1956 report of the International Commission for Control and Supervision to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference said: "To strengthen isolated posts in the two northern provinces (Phongsaly and Samneua) the national army has extended its control to the zone located between the two camps, and in the course of this operation it has created new posts in this perimeter and launched repeated attacks on the Pathet Lao." However, all those attacks launched by eleven puppet battalions, were foiled by the Pathet Lao with the support of the population.

The American imperialists sabotaged the negotiations conducted between the Neo Lao Haksat and the Royal government with a view to national reunification. But here also they failed. Under pressure from the popular masses, those negotiations resulted in the Vientiane accords of 1957, which provided the integration of the Neo Lao Haksat into the national community and the formation of a national union government. This success, accentuated by the triumph of the Neo Lao Haksat in the 1958 comple-

mentary elections, started a wide mass movement in the urban centres. These developments, which conformed to the wishes of the Lao people, were "a source of profound anguish for the United States, which closely follows the situation in this country" (AFP, Nov. 20 1958). Again American strategists succeeded one another in Vientiane: Charles Shuff, Under-Secretary of Defence (November 1958), Harry Felt, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific fleet (February 1959), and others...

Faced with growing opposition from the Lao people, the American imperialists and their Lao flunkies resorted to bloody repression and murder against former resistants and the civilian population. From late August to mid-September 1959 alone, in Xiengkhouang, 40 villages were burnt down, 17 people killed and 237 others arrested; 7,000 inhabitants of Samneua town, Luangprabang and Vientiane, were sent to concentration camps. In late October 1959, the pro-American reactionaries undertook to annihilate by force the two Pathet Lao battalions destined for integration, and carried cynicism to the point of arresting the main leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat, among them Prince Souphanouvong, President of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat, Deputy and Minister of Planning in the National Union government, and Phoumi Vongvichit, Deputy and Minister of Culture and Fine Arts. Thanks to popular support, the second battalion of the Neo Lao Haksat succeeded in breaking the encirclement and the Neo Lao Haksat leaders could escape to the liberated zone, together with their guards.

On August 9, 1960, a coup d'état was engineered against the pro-American faction, then in power, by Captain Kong Le, and gained a rapid success thanks to the support of the people, for it expressed the latter's deep aspirations for peace, genuine independence and the strict

implementation of the Geneva agreements. This proved that the political line of the Neo Lao Haksat was supported by the population of regions under the control of American stooges and even by a number of officers and men of the puppet army.

The coup d'état and the frank collaboration between the Neo Lao Haksat and the neutralist forces (the party of Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Committee of the Coup d'état headed by Captain Kong Le and Lieutenant Deuane) opened up prospects of peace, independence, and national concord. Those prospects the Americans strove to destroy: they incited the rightist faction of Boun Oum - Phoumi Nosavan to set up a "Committee against the Coup d'état", intensify its attacks on the patriotic forces, and sabotage the National Union government, which had been invested by the king and supported by the people.

However, the repeated failures they suffered in Vientiane, at Salaphoukhoun, Vanvieng, in the Plain of Jars... and their setbacks on the political plane in the whole country compelled them to accept a political solution in 1961. The three princes Souvanna Phouma, Souphanouvong and Boun Oum, representing the three political parties (neutralist, Neo Lao Haksat and rightist) met in Zurich in June 1961 and in the Plain of Jars in 1962, following the victory scored by the patriotic forces over the pro-American at Namtha in early 1962. A joint declaration laid down the principles for the formation of a tripartite national union government. It was agreed to appoint a common delegation to represent Laos at the fourteen-nation international conference in Geneva, which was to end on July 23, 1962.

This Conference ended with the signing of an accord reaffirming the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos. The Tripartite agreements and the Geneva

Protocol were a great success for the Lao people and the forces of peace and progress in the world, and at the same time a resounding failure for the American imperialists' policy of intervention and aggression in Laos.

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Like all other signatories of the 1962 Geneva accords on Laos, the United States pledged to abstain from all action or all participation in any action directly or indirectly harmful to the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos, from all recourse to the threat or use of force or all measures harmful to peace in Laos, and from all direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of this country.

But the American imperialists trampled under foot the 1962 Geneva accords, just as they did the 1954 Geneva agreements. Instead of withdrawing their military personnel from Laos, they have introduced there thousands of military advisers from the U.S. or from U.S. satellite countries to reinforce the USOM (United States Operation Mission), USIS (United States Information Service), Air America, etc. Tens of thousands of tons of weapons and war material have been brought in. To strengthen the war potential of the rightist faction, the army was raised from 30,000 to 70,000 men, equipped and paid by the U.S., trained and commanded by 2,000 U.S. advisers with the help of hundreds of Filipino, South Vietnamese, Thai, and Japanese specialists. This army of mercenaries, the main tool of American "special warfare" in Laos, is reinforced by Thai infantry and artillery battalions, and by South Vietnamese commando and signal units — all introduced with the greatest secrecy.

Under U.S. command, attacks have been launched on the liberated areas.

Airdropped commandos have been undertaking sabotage and brigandage activities there. *U.S. News and World Report* of June 5, 1964 revealed that "The U.S. will not only occupy the Laobao corridor but also operate in the Mekong valley on the Lao-Thai border". But like the campaigns dubbed "Three Arrows" (July 1964), and "Victorious Arrow" (September 1964) which each involved up to 10,000 men under the command of American, Thai and South Vietnamese advisers with artillery and air support, all those operations met with failure. In the course of the last three years, 17,000 puppet troops have been put out of action and 5,000 arms of various types seized.

In defiance of Lao sovereignty and the most elementary principles of international law, the American air force has been intervening in Laos. USIS reported on November 26, 1964 the following declaration by Sullivan, the American ambassador in Vientiane: "Defence Secretary McNamara said that our planes would undertake such actions as long as they proved necessary. We must do this in order to serve not only the Lao government, but other countries as well." U.S. aircraft taking off from bases in Thailand and South Vietnam and from Seventh Fleet carriers have been dropping bombs, showering rockets and even spraying toxic chemicals on the liberated zone, sowing ruin and mourning, not sparing even schools, hospitals and pagodas. The bombings of hospitals (Muongsay, Luangprabang on May 22, 1965; Samneua on June 11 and 12, 1965) and schools (Samneua, June 16, 1965) caused a great number of victims among the medical workers, patients and school-children. But this "destruction warfare" has also come to grief. The myth of "U.S. air supremacy" has been exploded. Between May 17, 1964 and December 2, 1965, 200 aircraft (among them Thunderchiefs, Skyraiders and Sabres) were

downed by anti-aircraft fire, quite often by infantry rifles and machine-guns of the Lao People's Liberation Army.

In implementation of a programme of "rural development", the population has been herded into so-called "solidarity villages", "improvement zones", "refugee zones". But the Lao people have not let themselves be deceived by such labels. Every day, people penned up in those zones, among them youth and functionaries, leave them for the liberated areas where they join the ranks of the Resistance.

The American imperialists have sown discord in the neutralist party and dragged Prince Souvanna Phouma under their sway. They have sabotaged negotiations between the three parties and paralyzed the activities of the Tripartite National Union government.

In the areas under their control, round-ups, arrests and political murders have succeeded one another; the most outstanding episode was the murder in April 1963 of Quinim Pholsena, Foreign Minister and leader of the Party of Peace and Neutrality.

On April 19, 1964, a coup d'état was engineered by the reactionaries to put the National Union government under their control and drive out all patriotic elements, Prince Souvanna Phouma was moulded into nothing more than their mouthpiece.

This putsch, which completed the rupture with the signed accords, provoked the wrath of the whole country and was condemned by world public opinion. Everywhere, in the areas under the control of the Americans and their lackeys as well as in the liberated areas, meetings were held to protest against American policy and to support the just political line of the Neo Lao Haksat.

To deceive public opinion, "partial elections" were organized on July 18, 1965, and a "national assembly" rigged

up. Prince Souvanna Phouma was appointed Prime minister in the "reorganized" cabinet.

On August 17, 1965, Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the National Union government and his colleagues: Khamsook Keola, Minister of Health and acting Foreign Minister, Phoumi Vongvichit, Minister of Information, Propaganda and Tourism, Muon Mong Khonvilay, State Secretary for War Veterans, Chao Souk Vongsak, State Secretary for Public Works, Kham Pheuang Tunalom, State Secretary for Economy and Planning solemnly declared: "The so-called 'national assembly' sprung from those elections as well as the so-called 'government' sprung from it are, whatever form they may take, illegal and invalid... Once again we reaffirm that no dark reactionary force can abolish the Tripartite National Union government set up in accordance with a special procedure on the basis of the Zurich accords, and invested by the King. This government is the only legal government of the Kingdom of Laos, the only one that has powers to take decisions on all important affairs of State, including the holding of nation-wide general election."

This electoral farce condemned by Lao and world opinion was "a masquerade aimed at breaking completely with the Neo Lao Haksat and Colonel Deuang's neutralists... This electoral comedy fits in with the U.S. plan for the extension of aggression as revealed by the press... It is clear that this so-called 'government', as soon as it is invested by the 'national assembly', will hasten to ask for U.S. 'advisers' to help it 'pacify' the country..." (*La Dépêche du Cambodge*, July 17, 1965).

The American imperialists have instigated their Thai and Filipino puppets to interfere in Laos. On the other hand, urged by them, their Lao flunkys have

allied themselves with their South Vietnamese, Thai and Filipino counterparts to oppose the national liberation movement in Southeast Asia. Thus General Phoumi Nosavan, representing the rightist faction, had a tête-à-tête in Dalat on March 14, 1964 with South Vietnamese puppet Premier Nguyen Khanh, in which they discussed a common programme of action.

A memorandum of July 23, 1965, of the Neo Lao Haksat revealed that: "At the Honolulu conference in June 1964, American political and military personalities mapped out a military plan for the occupation of Lower Laos with a view to turning it into a base connected with those in Thailand and South Vietnam, so that a jumping-off ground might be set up from which to suppress the South Vietnam people's liberation movement, attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, sabotage the neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia."

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It is crystal-clear that American imperialism is at the source of the present tension in Laos. To put an end to this situation, the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat, in its above-mentioned memorandum, has proposed a solution which might be summed up in the following four points:

1. To withdraw all American and satellite armed forces, military personnel, camouflaged para-military organizations, weapons and war material illegally introduced into Laos.

2. To immediately stop using U.S. air force and pro-American troops to attack the liberated areas held by Neo Lao Haksat and patriotic neutralist forces; especially, to immediately stop using U.S. aircraft to bomb Lao territory.

3. To definitely cease using Thai and South Vietnamese territories for intervention in Laos; to end the collusion with Thai authorities for sending military supplies and infiltrating personnel into Laos; to put an end to SEATO's so-called "protection" of Laos, this "protection" having been rejected and condemned by the Geneva accords and by the Lao Tripartite National Union government and people.

4. To restore the National Union government in its structure and principle

of tripartite unanimity on the basis of the Zurich and Plain of Jars accords.

This is the only correct solution to the present Lao problem, the only one that conforms to the legitimate claims of the Lao people and other peace-loving peoples of the world.

Such is also the immutable stand of the Neo Lao Haksat, which has always respected and implemented the Geneva and Tripartite accords and carried out a resolute struggle to demand that the other interested parties do the same.



## IV

### THE LAO NATIONAL UNION BLOC

**I**N March 1946, the French colonialists engaged in the reconquest of Laos. The Lao people's resistance began immediately but had rather a sporadic character. Their bases, scattered in mountain regions, were not linked to one another. The fact that the struggle had no unified leadership seriously impeded the mobilization of the forces of the nation.

To improve this state of things, such militants and leaders as Prince Souphanouvong, Faydang, Sithone, Kaysone, Nou Hak, Phoumi Vongvichit, worked perseveringly and succeeded in convening a national congress on August 13, 1950 with the participation of the most varied representatives of the patriotic movement. The Congress decided to set up the Neo Lao Itsala (Free Laos Front) aimed at "uniting the entire people — all nationalities, all social strata, all religions, all patriotic political parties — for the national liberation struggle and the realization of democratic liberties on the basis of union between various sections of the population, mainly workers and peasants" (Political report to the Lao National Congress).

This event, unprecedented in the history of Laos, gave a strong fillip to the Lao people's struggle.

The Neo Lao Itsala presided over by Prince Souphanouvong fulfilled its historic mission of efficiently mobilizing the Lao people and armed forces in the struggle against the aggressors, thanks to a wise policy summed up in the following twelve points:

1. To fight the French colonialists and their lackeys, the Lao traitors to the Fatherland, and smash the schemes of aggression of other imperialists.

2. To establish an entirely independent and unified Laos.

3. To form a national coalition government, realize democratic freedoms, especially freedom of belief.

4. To confiscate the French colonialists' and Lao traitors' property and place it under the government's management, to nationalize the imperialists' enterprises.

5. To rescind the taxes established by the French colonialist regime; to create new taxes on an equitable basis; to liquidate the system of forced labour.

6. To develop national economy, especially agriculture and industry, improve cultural technique, raise the people's living standard.

7. To apply the eight-hour working day and safety precautions in factories, mines and plantations.

8. To wipe out illiteracy, develop national education and culture.

9. To expand people's war, officially establish the Lao National Army.

10. To realize equality between various nationalities.

11. To establish the Lao National United Front.

12. To unite with the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples, join the Lao-Vietnam-Khmer Front against the French colonialists and imperialist interventionists; to establish close relations with democratic countries, join the world bloc of peace and democracy.

After the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, the U.S. imperialists immediately sabotaged the hard-won peace. They wanted the puppet troops to occupy the two provinces of Pathet Lao regroupment (Samneua and Phongsaly) in order to extend their domination over the whole Lao territory and to turn this country into a new-type colony and base of aggression of the U.S. in Southeast Asia.

The Neo Lao Itsala has striven to lead the Lao people in the struggle for the implementation of the Geneva agreements. In face of more and more flagrant provocations and bellicose acts of the U.S., it was necessary to build up a broader and closer national unity.

The Lao National Congress was convened anew in January 1956. It unanimously took the decision to broaden the Neo Lao Itsala and set up the Neo Lao

Haksat (Lao Patriotic Front). This new organization has grown with ever increasing vigour with the important participation of the intelligentsia, religious notabilities and inhabitants of regions under control of the Americans and their lackeys.

Apart from a handful of traitors, the Lao people have closed their ranks within the Neo Lao Haksat to smash the U.S. manoeuvres. The Katay-Don Sasorit reactionary government was overthrown. The 1956-1957 Vientiane agreements provided for the integration of Pathet Lao in the national community and the formation of a national union government with the participation of Pathet Lao.

But U.S. imperialism again worked hard against the implementation of these agreements.

By dint of patience and good will, the Neo Lao Haksat succeeded in allying itself with the patriotic neutralist forces made up of progressive politicians, functionaries and officers of the Royal government, which enabled the Committee for Peace, Neutrality, National Concord and Unity to be set up.

Parallel with military resistance, the political struggle waged by the Neo Lao Haksat has spread all over the country. The Lao pro-U.S. faction had to adopt a political settlement.

After the signing of the Geneva accords in 1962, the Neo Lao Haksat led the Lao people to defend their new conquests — strict implementation of these agreements and the tripartite accords, maintenance of a tripartite national union government and carrying out of its political programme, i.e. unification of administration, police, army... To reach these goals, the Neo Lao Haksat Second National Congress held in April 1964, adopted the Lao people's programme of action comprising ten

policies and five concrete tasks for pursuing the struggle against U.S. imperialism till final victory. It has also sanctioned the amended Statutes of the Front and elected a new central committee more representative of the various sections of the population.

The congress reaffirmed its endeavours to strengthen the union of the entire Lao people without distinction of social condition, sex, age, ethnic group, religion and political tendency. The monolithic national bloc embraces also representative personalities, royal family members, patriotic intellectuals, bonzes and other religious notabilities, who advocate peace and neutrality as well as all organizations and persons who, formerly coerced to follow the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, now stand for peace and neutrality; it strives to develop and consolidate the alliance and mutual assistance between the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces in order to make Laos "independent, democratic, unified and prosperous". The programme advocates a stubborn and persevering struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their placemen to oblige them to fully implement the Geneva agreements, the joint communiqués issued in Zurich and the Plain of Jars and other accords signed by the three parties. It upholds a policy of peace and neutrality and an independent foreign policy based on the peaceful co-existence principle. It aims at building an autonomous and independent economy, raising the people's living standard, establishing a national army and unified police force. It sees to the integral exercise of human rights and democratic liberties, equal rights for man and woman. It pledges itself to respect the throne, consolidate national unity, pursue a policy of concord and national unification. It lays the foundation for the

development of a progressive national culture and public health. It urges the entire Lao people to defend and consolidate the liberated zone, strengthen the Neo Lao Haksat in all fields, contribute to the consolidation of other patriotic forces and be ready to foil all the schemes of aggression against and encroachment upon the liberated zone.

The adoption by the Lao people of the lines and programme of the Neo Lao Haksat Second Congress has made it possible to thwart the brazen designs of the enemy, to seal national unity and defend the fruit of the revolution.

The twentieth anniversary of the Lao revolution in October 1965 was marked by a highly significant event — the National Political Conference between the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces which unified the views of all the patriotic forces on the present situation of the country, confirmed the political line on national unity for the settlement of the Lao problem and defined the major tasks of the Lao people.

In the liberated zone, the Neo Lao Haksat urges the population to increase production in order to raise their living standard, cater for the resistance and gradually abolish feudal exploitation. Thanks to these efforts, national culture has known an unprecedented revival and democratic liberties have been widely applied.

Relying on the Front, the people in the zone controlled by the U.S. and the pro-U.S. faction have closely united in the struggle for the improvement of their living standards and respect of democratic liberties and are doing all in their power to frustrate U.S. attempts to encroach upon the liberated zone.

The Neo Lao Haksat is very keen on realizing unity between the fraternal

nationalities which make up the Lao people. All the nationalities enjoy the same rights and are represented in the administration and Front committees at all levels. The Front helps the minorities in their endeavour to make good their cultural and economic lag and make progress like the rest of the Lao people. Some nationalities begin to have their own scripts. The contradictions between nationalities, maintained and fanned by the colonial and feudal policy of division, have in the main been liquidated.

Thus in the process of struggle against old and new colonialism, the Lao national union bloc has played a principal role. As Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Neo Lao Haksat declared on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the proclamation of independence (October 12, 1965), "thanks to the Neo Lao Haksat, the image of a unified Laos, our people's greatest aspiration since the founding of the country, an aspiration which was impossible to achieve through long feudal dynasties, begins to take shape".

## THE LAO REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES

**T**HE Lao people cherish peace by tradition; however they have been forced to take up arms for the defence of their national independence, opposing revolutionary violence to anti-revolutionary violence. The experiences of the first Resistance against the U.S.-propped French colonialists and the present Resistance against the U.S. imperialists, have shown them that there is no other alternative.

The first Lao revolutionary armed unit, the Latsavong group, came into existence since the beginning of the first Resistance (1946-1954). It numbered 22 men under Kaysone, now Vice-Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat. The propaganda armed units and the guerilla units (Latsavong, Sethathirat, Fa Ngum), the embryo of the Lao People's Liberation Army, assumed the task of winning over the masses to the patriotic cause, organizing guerilla warfare in the countryside, and helping the people to defend themselves with rudimentary weapons and those captured from the enemy. With the people's support, they developed rapidly and enlarged many guerilla zones which they built into guerilla bases.

During the battle in Upper Laos (August 1953) the Lao revolutionary

forces liberated the whole of Samneua province and part of Xiengkhouang and Luangprabang provinces. From December 1953, they launched a series of offensives, sweeping away French control from Khammouane province (former Thakhek province) and part of Savannakhet province in Middle Laos, the Namou basin, Phongsaly and the approaches of Luangprabang in Upper Laos, Attopeu province and Laongam district in Lower Laos. These successes together with those won on other battlefields in Indochina, especially at Dienbienphu, contributed to the restoration of peace in Indochina.

In implementation of the Geneva agreements (1954), the Lao people's forces regrouped in Phongsaly and Samneua provinces. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys tried to destroy them but to no avail. Supported by the people, they broke all the attacks by 11 battalions of Lao puppet troops on these provinces. The 1957 Vientiane agreement had to stipulate among other things, the integration of the Pathet Lao Army in the Lao Royal Army. Premier Souvanna Phouma publicly acknowledged the good will of the Pathet Lao, saying, "On behalf of the Royal government, I thank the delegation of the

Pathet Lao forces for having sincerely placed the interest of the Fatherland above everything" (Radio Vientiane, August 10, 1956).

Abiding by the Vientiane agreement, the two Pathet Lao battalions were stationed in the Plain of Jars awaiting integration. The pro-American faction plotted to disarm one battalion (Second Battalion) and arrest its officers in the course of the ceremony to deliver the badges of rank (1959). Courageously and cleverly, this unit broke the encirclement and, supported by the people wherever they went, succeeded in returning to the liberated zone.

The other battalion (First Battalion) which had been removed to Xiengngeun near Luangprabang met with the same fate but also managed to get back to the liberated zone at the cost of great efforts and sacrifices.

Thus the civil war broke out again due to the U.S. imperialists and their agents who wanted to destroy the Pathet Lao forces. At the end of 1960, the Lao people's forces inflicted bitter defeats upon the enemy, liberated Samneua, the important strategic base of Xiengkhouang and the Plain of Jars. They smashed all the enemy's attacks aimed at occupying Salaphoukhoun to advance towards the Plain of Jars, and finally shifted to counter-attacks, and routed the Lao, Thai and South Vietnamese puppet troops. These victories of the Pathet Lao armed forces compelled the enemy to sign a cease-fire, accept the settlement of the Lao question through negotiation, and sign a tripartite declaration at Zurich in June 1961. But it was not until they were defeated at Namtha early in 1962 that the U.S. imperialists and the Phoumi Nosavan clique put an end to their time-serving manoeuvres and consented to sign the tripartite accords of Zurich and of the Plain of Jars, and finally the 1962 Geneva accords on Laos.

But the signing of the Geneva accords and under its terms, the formation of the Tripartite National Union government was only a short truce. Due to their systematic sabotage by the U.S. imperialists hostilities flared up again.

The Neo Lao Haksat armed forces supported by the neutralist patriotic forces successfully defended the liberated zone against the repeated encroachments, commando raids and large-scale offensives of the puppet government troops and the ever heavier bombings by the U.S. Air Force.

The patriotic armed forces have not ceased to grow. In addition to politicians, patriotic government officials and all those upholding genuine neutralism, an increasing number of officers and whole units of the pro-American government's army joined the Neo Lao Haksat, for instance the neutralist patriotic forces of General Kham Ouane, Colonel Deuane, Lieutenant-colonel Cheng and Major Thiep who have been fighting with the Pathet Lao forces against the common enemy.

The 200 U.S. planes including the famous Thunderchiefs, Sabres, Phantoms shot down between May 17, 1964 and December 2, 1965 are also evidence of the growth of the Lao People's Liberation Army. The people's militia, armed only with rifles and light machine-guns has also effectually participated in the fight against the U.S. Air Force side by side with the regular anti-aircraft units, some of whose men did not even know to count exactly their ages before their enlistment in the army.

The Lao young revolutionary army is proud to number heroes among its men, who will turn into legendary figures: Si Thoong, though seriously wounded, stayed at his C.P. and destroyed enemy armoured cars with hand-grenades, fighting to the last; Thao Tou, commander of the Second Battalion, broke

the enemy encirclement to join the revolutionary bases, carrying out guerilla warfare during the march of his unit; Thao Kong sacrificed his life in stopping a loop-hole for his group to storm an enemy position.

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The Lao revolutionary army is a people's army having all its characteristics.

Stemming from the people, it recruits its officers and men from among the people, and is fighting for the cause of the people. No wonder that the people have lavished all their solicitude upon it, encouraging their sons to join the regular troops or the guerilla forces to defend their villages. In the Resistance war against the French colonialists as at present against the U.S. imperialists, many a youth and public-servant has escaped from the enemy-controlled areas to join the liberated zone. The moving scenes of the first Resistance are being witnessed again today: columns of peasants carrying provisions and munitions to the front, mothers and sisters watching by the bedside of the wounded, mending soldiers' clothes, fighters sharing their rations with the inhabitants of a village burned down by the enemy and helping them rebuild their dwellings, whole units assisting their compatriots in reclaiming waste land or in harvesting.

The multinational character of Laos also reflects itself in the composition of the revolutionary army. In all units, from the biggest down to the smallest there are men of various nationalities enjoying complete equality of political and other rights. Each nationality has one or several famous names in the army: Si Thoong is of the Lao Loun nationality, Thao Tou of the Lao Soung, and Thao Kong of the Lao Theung.

The broadest democracy prevails among officers and men, and this is indicative of their unity and their affection for one another. All decisions are taken after discussion only. Of course, there is no question of physical punishment and rough treatment of any kind prejudicial to human dignity as is seen in the U.S.-puppet army.

As a tool of the national liberation revolution, the people's army pays great attention to ideological education. It endeavours to raise the revolutionary awareness of its men, inspire them with hatred for the enemy and love for the fatherland and the people, and readiness to endure all sacrifices to win final victory.

To vanquish a powerful and well-equipped imperialist enemy a small agricultural country like Laos must adopt the strategy and tactics of a people's war. It must mobilize the entire people for a long-term war in military, political and economic fields. The armed forces comprise the regular troops, the local troops and the village militia. The regular troops assume the task of training the local troops and the village militia who, in turn, give them effective assistance and store precious and inexhaustible reserves for them.

Within a period of twenty years, under the leadership of the Neo Lao Itsala and later on the Neo Lao Haksat, the Pathet Lao Army has kept on grown in every respect to become the Lao People's Liberation Army. It has proved capable of frustrating all the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their allies.

The uninterrupted growth of the revolutionary armed forces, beyond contest, constitutes a decisive factor in the struggle of the Lao people against aggressive imperialism for a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

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are accustomed to improved implements and new technique — deep ploughing, elaborate harrowing, intensive manuring... In some localities, the number of rice crops has increased on the same area; for instance, three communes of Muongsam district which in 1954 grew the summer rice on an experimental basis, harvested 3 tons of paddy more last year. Chronic famine which prevailed in some regions inhabited by national minorities, is being forestalled by the increase in the production of maize, sweet potatoes, and cassava roots.

Handicrafts, a number of branches of which have been rehabilitated, have made rapid progress. Workshops manufacturing farm implements and household articles, and overhauling motor-cars, weaving mills with dozens of semi-mechanized looms, forges, chemist shops, printing-houses, have made their appearance. Salt making, pottery and joinery have received a new impetus. More than 700 kilometres of motor-roads have been built, exceeding the road network built by the French in sixty years of colonization.

Commerce no longer depends on foreign countries and speculators. The regional administration organizes and manages trading companies and shops, while promoting local transactions, which makes it possible to raise the income and supplies of the population. The inhabitants sell farm and forest produce to public services which provide them at fair prices with primary commodities such as textiles, household utensils, salt, kerosene, paper, farm implements. Hamlets lying deep in the jungle or on mountain tops receive regular supplies.

Education is making remarkable headway. Before 1945, owing to the French colonialists' policy of obscurantism, Laos had only 11,400 primary school-children. At present in the liberated zone alone 36,000 children attend primary schools run by 1,300 teachers and hundreds of

pupils are enrolled in secondary schools. The typical case of Samneua is worthy of notice: the whole province had formerly only 19 primary schools with an attendance of 675 children taught by 27 teachers. Now, in 4 districts 9,500 primary school-children are taught in 264 schools. Samneua province has also a secondary school attended by 150 pupils and a teachers' training school with one hundred students. To meet the pressing need for cadres, vocational schools, middle agricultural schools and schools of medicine have been opened. Many reforms have a revolutionary character: education is given in the mother tongue, a number of national minorities have scripts of their own. Text-books are written in a national and scientific spirit.

Culture has known an unprecedented revival as it deliberately serves the people. In the present situation, it mobilizes the people to defend the country and improve their living conditions. Pathet Lao radio has proved to be a much appreciated medium of diffusion on account of its varied and instructive programme. Traditional art is being revived with a fresh vigour. Each army unit has its own cultural group. The Song and Dance Ensemble of the Neo Lao Haksat was warmly applauded during its friendly tour of the People's Republic of China, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Public health measures are in full swing. Under the colonial regime, hospital accommodation in Laos did not total more than 227 beds. Samneua which accounted for one doctor and 18 male-nurses, now takes pride in having a dozen doctors and hundreds of nurses. Hospitals and infirmaries in the liberated zone number more than fifty. Each district is provided with an infirmary run by a doctor and a prophylactic hygiene group. The Huakhang region inhabited

by the Meo minority people, has an infirmary under the responsibility of a Meo doctor.

Home-made medicines in the main meet the pressing needs of the population. Traditional recipes are studied in earnest and have given excellent results. Even people living at high altitude are beginning to be acquainted with modern medicine and are willing, in case of sickness, to be treated in the infirmary. The infant mortality rate has dropped sensibly.

Thanks to economic progress, the people's living standard is rising unceasingly. Opulence is not yet the question, but primary needs such as food, clothes, medicines, education are met. Prostitution, gambling and opium-smoking have been wiped out. Spiritual life is not neglected. Freedom of worship is res-

pected and the pagodas destroyed by the Yankees and their lackeys have been rebuilt. Many bonzes have joined the National Front to urge the believers to stubbornly struggle for the defence of the Fatherland.

The liberated zone is consolidated and developed day by day despite attempts at sabotage, destruction and encroachment by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

As the fruit of the Lao revolution, the liberated zone is a model and a loadstone attracting the population of enemy-occupied regions. After having visited it, a European journalist declared not without reason, "I am proud to have made friends with men who fight for a noble cause — that of serving their people and beyond that, the peace in this still restless part of the world".

## VII

### THE LAO PEOPLE ARE NOT ALONE IN THEIR STRUGGLE

**P**RINCE Souphanouvong declared to a foreign journalist: "We are working sincerely and strenuously to put an end to the sufferings of our people. This is the significance of our efforts, a legitimate right, and also, beyond doubt, an important obligation for all people of good will. We want peace and neutrality for Laos... The American imperialists must be aware that world public opinion is supporting us."

It is plain that the designs of the U.S. neo-colonialists on Laos are also threatening the sovereignty and independence of other states in Indochina. In their attempt at turning Laos into a base to check the national liberation movement, and attack the socialist countries, they have been sabotaging peace in Southeast Asia and the world over.

Therefore, in defending their independence and neutrality, the Lao people are also defending a greater cause than their own.

As an integral part of the national liberation movement which is blowing like a storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Lao Resistance is enjoying the sympathy and support of progressive mankind.

In application of a resolution of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America celebrated on March 15, 1961 a "Day of Solidarity with the Lao people" during which meetings, demonstrations and other mass activities were organized to denounce Yankee aggressive imperialism and support the Lao people.

Since 1963 several Lao people's delegations visiting socialist countries have been warmly welcomed.

The Government of the Soviet Union, Co-Chairman of the 1962 Geneva Conference in Laos, and the Governments of the People's Republic of China, People's Republic of Poland, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which were members of that Conference, have followed with attention and anxiety the development of the situation in Laos, denouncing the manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism and supporting the correct standpoint of Neo Lao Haksat.

The admission of Lao mass organizations (organizations of the youth, women, public servants and others) to their international counterparts is evidence of the sympathy of the world for the struggle of the Lao people and of the latter's

will to contribute to the defence of world peace and the consolidation of friendship among nations.

Having suffered together from the double French-Japanese yoke, Vietnam and Laos stand forth at the frontline in the fight against U.S. imperialism in Indochina. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam loyal to the agreements reached between her government and the Lao National Union government, has not spared her assistance to the Lao people, as is substantiated by the building of hospitals and dwelling houses, and the activity of a Vietnamese medical corps in Laos.

Following the expansion of the U.S. aggressive war in Laos since 1964, the peace-loving people of the world are showing a growing sympathy for the Lao people.

The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization in its statement of June 9, 1964, reiterated its support for the just demands of the Neo Lao Haksat, that U.S. imperialism withdraws all its military personnel and disguised military organizations in Laos, immediately stops all intervention in the internal affairs of Laos and refrains from sending planes on reconnoitring, bombing and strafing missions against the Lao people. The Lao problem must be settled by the Lao people themselves.

On June 19, 1964, Professor J. Bernal, Chairman of the World Peace Council, declared, "The U.S. bombing of the Lao liberated areas is an open violation of the Geneva agreements on Laos and a serious threat to world peace."

Also in June 1964, the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association made the same condemnation and insisted that "a struggle must be waged against the acts of sabotage and intervention by U.S. imperialism in Laos".

Warm support to the Lao people has been expressed in meetings and declarations of the political organizations and mass organizations of the socialist countries, the Afro-Asian countries (Japan, Cambodia, Burma, etc.) and European countries (France, Britain, Belgium, etc.)

The world press, especially the press of the socialist countries and the Afro-Asian countries (Japan, Pakistan, Singapore, Cambodia, Indonesia, Ghana, United Arab Republic, Ceylon, Burma, etc.) has branded the U.S.A., as the author of the tension in Laos, and without hesitation backs the Lao people's cause.

Support for this just cause has resounded from the rostrum of many international gatherings.

On July 4, 1964, at the Conference of the Asian Buddhists held in Peking, the delegations of Laos, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, People's Republic of China, Ceylon, Republic of Indonesia, and of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation issued a joint declaration condemning U.S. imperialism and its agents for having bombed pagodas and massacred Lao bonzes and civilians.

In its resolution on the "Support to the peoples in struggle against imperialism and colonialism", the International Conference for Solidarity with the Vietnamese People Against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors, For the Defence of Peace, held in Hanoi, November 25-29, 1964, emphasized that the Conference energetically condemns the acts of armed aggression by U.S. imperialism and the pro-U.S. faction in Laos.

The Conference resolutely demanded that U.S. imperialism immediately stops its air raids against Laos and its acts of aggression and encroachment upon the liberated zone held by the Neo Lao

Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces, that the U.S.A. and the right-wing faction respect the order of ceasefire of June 24, 1962, that U.S. imperialism withdraws all its military personnel and armaments from Laos, ceases to intervene in the internal affairs of Laos or to use the territory of Laos for aggression against other countries.

The Conference supported the proposal by the Neo Lao Haksat and the genuine patriotic neutralist forces demanding the restoration of the Tripartite National Union government, and respect for the peace, neutrality, independence, democracy and unity of Laos.

The Indochinese Peoples' Conference held at the beginning of March 1965 in Phnom Penh noted that the present tension in Laos is created by the U.S. imperialists who have seriously violated the 1962 Geneva accords. In its resolution the Conference severely condemned the acts of aggression and interference of the U.S. imperialists and their allies, demanded an immediate withdrawal of all their armed forces, military personnel, weapons, ammunition and war material from Laos, an immediate end to the utilization of the territory of Laos for attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and strict and correct implementation of the 1962 Geneva accords on Laos.

The participation of a Lao delegation headed by Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of Neo Lao Haksat, Vice-Premier of the Tripartite National Union government, in the 10th anniversary of the First Afro-Asian Conference celebrated in Djakarta on April 19, 1965 heightened still more the prestige of the Neo Lao Haksat and Laos among Afro-Asian countries.

At its 4th session held in Winneba, May 9-16, 1965, the Conference for Soli-

darity with the Afro-Asian Peoples also solemnly stated in its general resolution its support to the Lao people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists' intervention and aggression.

In the name of the delegations of 50 countries of the world and 12 international delegations including the World Federation of Trade Unions and the All-Africa Trade Unions, the Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors held in Hanoi, June 2-7, 1965, extended its unreserved support to the just struggle of the Lao people for national salvation against the U.S. imperialists' intervention and aggression, and demanded that the U.S. imperialists and their allies strictly implement the 1962 Geneva accords on Laos, stop their aggression under any form against this country and let the Lao people settle their own affairs themselves.

Being a comrade-in-arms of the Lao people in the fight against aggressive U.S. imperialism in Indochina, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has many a time raised its voice to support the Lao people's just cause. In its June 1, 1965 Memorandum, it made it clear that "in strict observance of the principles of the Bandung Conference and international law, the South Vietnam N.F.L. supports entirely and unreservedly the struggle of the Lao people for the defence of the sovereignty, independence, peace, neutrality, Tripartite National Union government of Laos and the Geneva agreements".

In his telegram dated January 15, 1965, to Prince Souphanouvong, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, emphasized,

"Cambodia supports your November 13 Statement (condemning the attacks of the U.S. imperialists and their agents against the liberated areas of Khammouane and Savannakhet, Ed.). Like you, I also hold that the 1962 Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen should intervene to halt the U.S. military intervention in Laos in the framework of the extension of direct U.S. aggression in South Vietnam. The member countries of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva accords should realize the danger of the present situation and surrender to the Indochinese peoples the peace and independence which they desire and are entitled to."

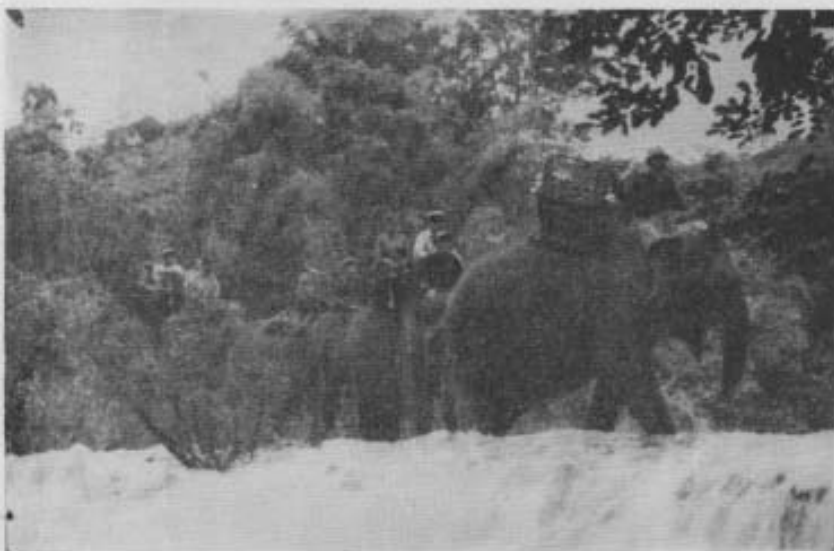
The World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament held in Helsinki in July this year and the Eleventh World Conference against A and H bombs in Japan one month later also raised their voices in defence of the just fight of the Lao people.

Strong with their traditions of struggle against invaders, with the sympathy and support of the peace-loving people of the world, the Lao people will frustrate the dark designs of the U.S. imperialists. A peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, reunified and prosperous Laos will presently emerge.



GLIMPSES OF LAOS  
A COUNTRY WITH  
STRONG TRADITIONS  
FOR PEACE

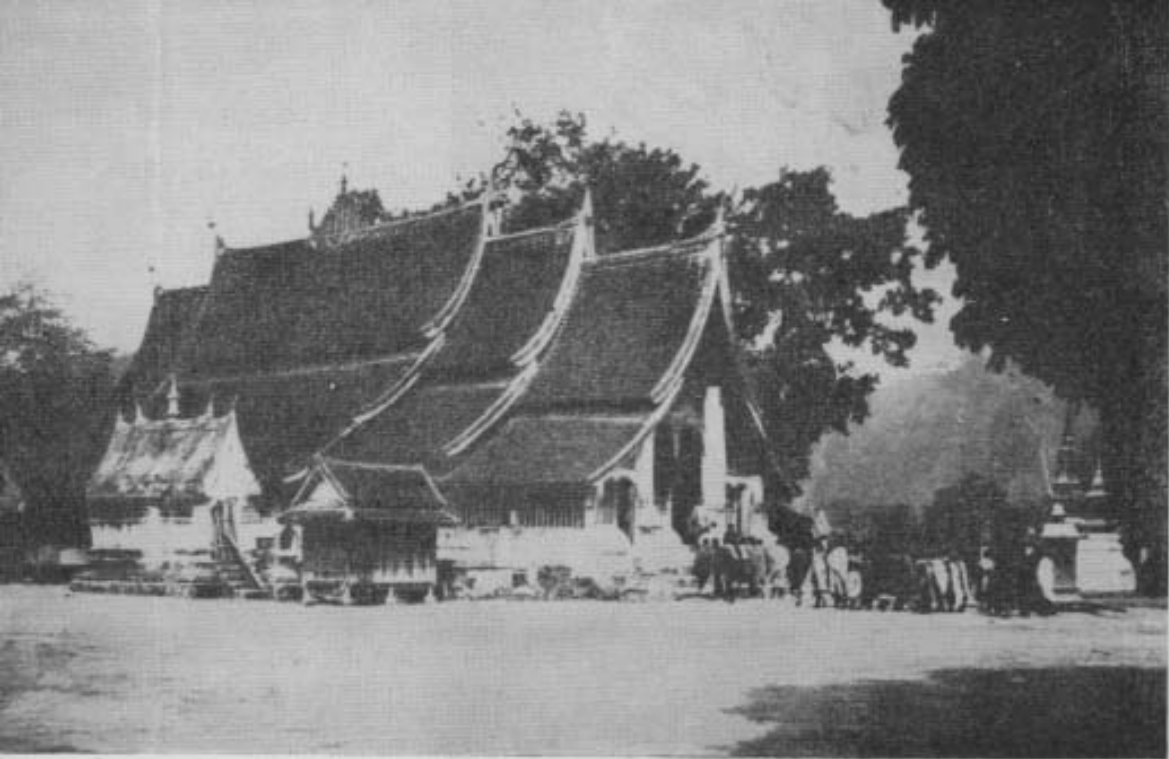
The majestic Mekong river, the  
soul and source of life of Laos



A typical view of Lan Xang or  
the Million - Elephant Country,  
which has, besides pretty valleys,  
many bushy plateaux



The Plain of Jars bears  
prehistoric traces



An old Lao pagoda, a specimen of original religious architecture



The Lao people endowed with a century-old culture is fond of music and dance



THE LAO PEOPLE JEALOUSLY DEFENDS THEIR INDEPENDENCE



*After a hard nine-year resistance against the French colonialists backed by the U.S. interventionists, the Lao people conquered, at the 1954 Geneva Conference, the rights of their country to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.*

Members of the national Resistance government led by Prince Souphanouvong (in the middle)

A unit of the Pathet Lao 2nd Battalion which has recorded many exploits during the resistance against the French colonialists





*Sabotaging the 1954 Geneva agreements the U.S. imperialists have armed the Lao reactionaries to launch them against the patriotic forces. Their attempts having failed, they have been again compelled to accept a political solution.*

From right to left: princes Souphanouvong, Souvanna Phouma and Boun Oum, representing the three political parties of Laos (Neo Lao Haksat, Neutralist and Right), signing a joint communiqué

July 1962: The Geneva Conference reaffirmed the sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos.





The U.S. imperialists keep on sabotaging the 1962 Geneva accords

A U.S. airman taken prisoner during a raid on the Lao territory

Lao bonzes signing a resolution demanding an end to American intervention in Laos

Demonstrations of the youth of Phonsavan against the U.S. imperialists

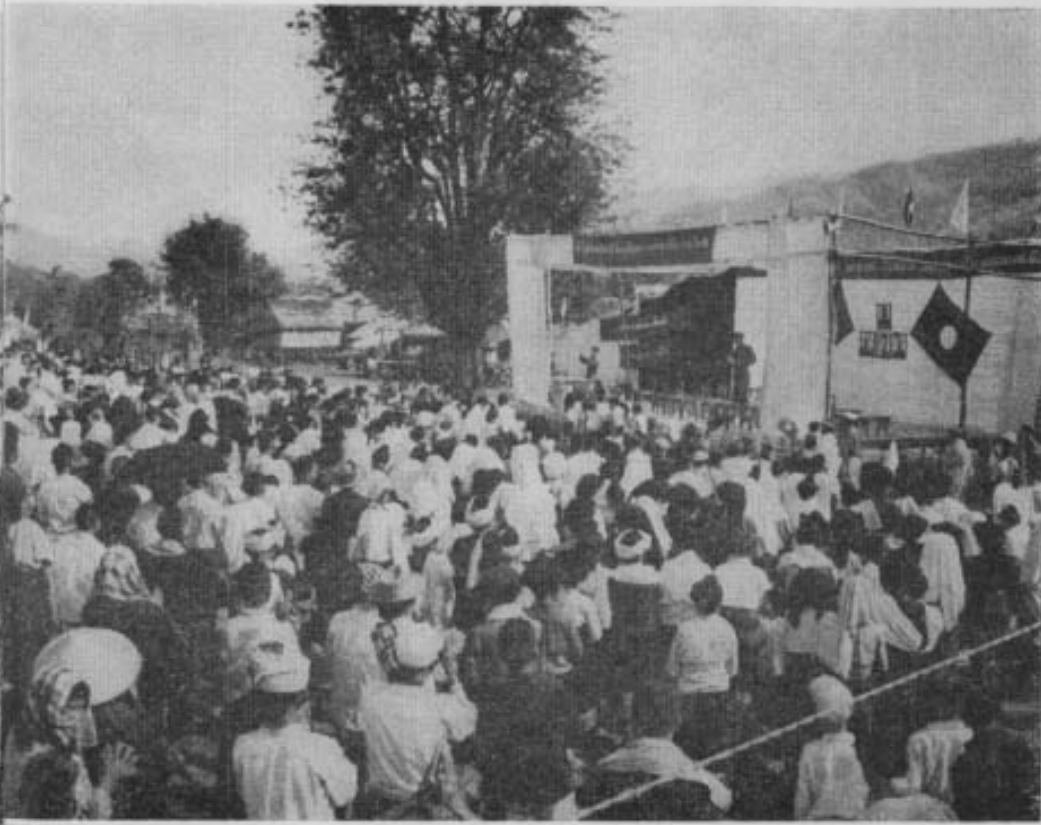




*The 2nd Congress of the Neo Lao Haksat Front held in April 1964 passed important decisions on the struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation.*

**Right photo :** A view of the Presidium (from left to right : Sithone Komadam, Prince Souphanouvong and Faydang, respectively representing the national groups Lao Theung, Lao Loum and Lao Soung)

Mass meeting in Samneua to support the 2nd Neo Lao Haksat Congress' decisions





An anti-aircraft gun of the Lao People's Liberation Army (from May 17, 1964 to December 2, 1965, 200 U.S. planes were downed by the Lao people's armed forces)



Lao guerillas setting up a trap

Soldiers of the Lao People's Liberation Army and patriotic neutralist forces exchanging experiences

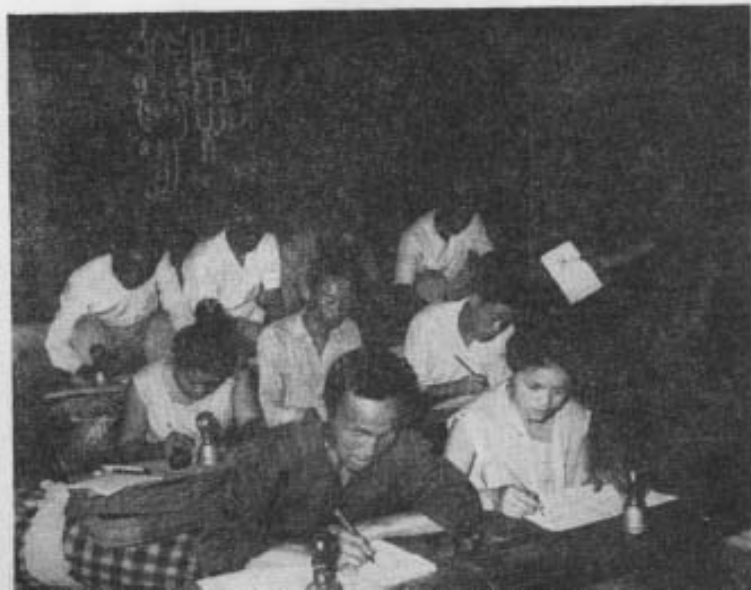




A NEW LIFE IS BEING BUILT  
IN THE LAO LIBERATED ZONE



The army and people clearing the forest to develop agricultural production



An evening class for adults



Medical groups working in remotest hamlets

The cultural life is developing despite the enemy's incessant attacks  
The army and people performing a folk dance





THE LAO PEOPLE ARE NOT ALONE IN THEIR STRUGGLE



General Phoun Sipaseut, the Lao head delegate, was warmly hailed by the delegations from fifty countries and twelve international organizations to the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam Against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors, For the Defence of Peace, held in Hanoi from November 25 to November 29, 1964



The Indochinese People's Conference held in Phnom Penh in March 1965 urged :  
"the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. imperialists' and their lackeys' armed forces,  
military personnel, weapons, munitions and war material from Laos"

**In the photo :** Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia,  
at the rostrum

TWENTY YEARS OF LAO PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE



NEO LAO HAKSAT PUBLICATIONS

1966

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