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# Memorandum

of the Government of the Democratic  
Republic of Viet Nam on the expansion  
of the aggressive war in Laos by the U.S.  
imperialists and their most reactionary  
satellites in the S.E.A.T.O. military bloc

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**TO:**

SRV

- FOREIGN RELATIONS

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Democratic Republic of Viet Nam  
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The present situation in Laos is becoming more and more serious. The U. S. imperialists, the most reactionary U. S. satellites in the SEATO military bloc and South Viet Nam are actively working for the spreading of the aggressive war in Laos. The danger of a new war is seriously threatening peace in Indochina and South East Asia.

This is a matter of extreme urgency. The security of the peoples of Indochina and of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is greatly endangered. It is imperative to stay in time the bloody hands of the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys who are pushing the peoples in Indochina and South East Asia into the catastrophe of a devastating war, menacing the properties and lives of millions of people.

On December 21, 1960, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a memorandum exposing the aggressive acts of the U. S. imperialists, the Thai reactionaries, the South Viet Nam authorities and the Chiang Kai-shek clique against the Kingdom of Laos. In view of the present extremely dangerous situation, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam once more deems it necessary to continue to clearly expose to world public opinion the war plots of the U. S. imperialists and their satellites aimed at turning their aggressive war in Laos into a new war of a large scale in Indochina and in South East Asia. This memorandum lays open the acts of flagrant aggression of the U. S. imperialists and their satellites against the Kingdom of Laos since their invasion of Vientiane, capital of the Kingdom of Laos.

Since the U. S. imperialists, the Thai reactionaries, South Viet Nam, the Philippines, and the Chiang Kai-shek clique directly took part with the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels in encircling, attacking, destroying and occupying Vientiane, capital of the Kingdom of Laos, the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys have never ceased to increase military aid to the rebels in order to spread the war of aggression in Laos. At the General Headquarters of the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels after their occupation of Vientiane, one noticed the presence of over 100 U. S. military advisers.

Everyone knows that after the setting up of the so-called « Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum Government » and after the attack on and occupation of Vientiane by the rebels, on December 15, 1960, the U. S. State Department hurriedly declared its support to the rebels. On December 17, 1960, high-ranking political and military officials met at the State Department to discuss the plan for the continued extension of the war in Laos. On December 20, 1960, the U. S. State Department brazenly confirmed that the U. S. A. had decided to continue their military and economic aid to the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels. On December 21, 1960, Boun Oum, the self-elected « Premier » of the rebel « Government » created by the U. S., immediately after the SEATO bloc, under U. S. leadership, met in Bangkok on December 19, 1960 to discuss plans to bring in troops of the SEATO members into Laos for further intervention, unscrupulously declared that his government would join the SEATO military bloc if necessary.

It was the SEATO military bloc itself which openly organized an airlift with strings of aeroplanes landing incessantly on the Wattay airfield to supply food, as well as weapons, ammunition and other war materials to the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels after their occupation of Vientiane.

In the recent rebel military advances North of Vientiane, it was the U.S. air and military attaches themselves who personally flew the plane of the U.S. embassy in Vientiane for reconnaissance over Vang Vieng to direct the rebel troops in their attack against the Army of the legal Government of Laos under the command of Captain Kong Le.

In recent days, after the repeated victories of the Laotian legal Government Army and of the Pathet Lao armed forces in the Plain of Jars, Nong Het, Xieng Khoang and Phong Sa Ly, the U.S. imperialists and their satellites in the military SEATO bloc frantically intensified the extension of the civil war in Laos, prepared for armed intervention on a larger scale into Laos, aimed at starting a new war in this region.

On December 31, 1960, U.S. President Eisenhower called an urgent meeting of high government and military officials at the White House, among them Livingston Merchant, U.S. Under Secretary of State; James Douglas, Under Secretary for Defence; General Lemnitzer, General Chief-of-Staff; Allen Dulles, Director of the C. I. A.; and other high-ranking U.S. advisers, to discuss a large-scale armed intervention in Laos. A few hours after this meeting, the U.S. State Department blatantly declared that the U.S. would adopt an extremely severe attitude with regard to the situation in Laos.

The day after, on January 1, 1961, the U.S. Government ordered all U.S. air units stationed at U.S. bases such as Shaw, South Carolina, Stewart, near Nashville (Tennessee), Langley in Virginia, etc, to be on the alert, and at the ready to be sent to Laos by « giant » C. 130 military transport planes.

At the same time, a special air-navy-land task force stationed at Okinawa, equipped with atomic weapons, also received

orders to be at the ready for Laos. The U. S. 7th Fleet, stationed in the South China Sea over the past few months, was also alerted.

The aircraft-carrier Lexington, and an anti-U-boat-aircraft-carrier, 12 torpedo-boat-destroyers and other naval ships are deployed in the vicinity of the Indochina shores. Helicopters of this navy unit are ready to carry to Laos 1,400 US marines. The spokesman of this unit has declared provocatively that the U.S. 7th Fleet « stands at the ready round the clock ».

In its January 2, 1961 statement, the U.S. Defence Department also confirmed the above-mentioned war preparation activities of the United States in the Pacific. Moreover, the U.S. President has publicly given his approval to these provocative activities.

At the same time, Alexis Johnson, American Ambassador to Bangkok, was instructed to convene an « emergency » conference of the aggressive SEATO military bloc, to discuss ways and means of intensifying the SEATO military intervention in Laos.

On January 3, 1961, General Edward Lansdale of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency secretly came to South Viet Nam to work out a plan of aggression against Laos. Following this, on January 5, 1961, the Ngo Dinh Diem authorities alerted their troops in the 2nd Military Zone to be ready to intervene directly in Lower Laos and also to stage provocations on the 17th parallel demilitarized zone.

It is clear from the above that the U. S. flagrant provocations and aggressive actions have created a most serious situation in Laos endangering peace in South East Asia and the world.

Obedying U.S. orders, the Thai reactionaries also stepped up their aggressive activities against Laos. As everyone remembers, three battalions of the Thai regular Army, including artillery, took part in the rebel attack of Vientiane from December 13, 1960.

And again, from December 16 to December 20, 1960, Thai Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat came to Nong Khai, (a town

facing Vientiane) to meet the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels to discuss plans to carry their offensive in Laos further North.

The Thai Army Northern Command has ordered a number of their infantry and paratroop units to disguise as Lao rebel army men and take part in the rebel operations North of Vientiane. Airfields situated in Thai territory, such as those of Don Muong (Bangkok), Oudon, Oubon, are used for the transport of troops, ammunition and the war materials to help the Laotian rebels. The Thai reactionaries also repaired the Nong Khai aerodrome for the transport of reinforcements for the Phoumi Nosavan troops.

At present, more than 3,500 men and officers of the Thai Army organized into special squads are fighting against the Laotian Government forces. Thai military advisers are attached to the Phoumi Army from the Ministry of Defence down to army units. These, together with the U.S. military advisers form a Command of the Phoumi Army. This is an open «secret» in the Phoumi Army and among the Laotian people.

The presence of the Thai army men has been reported during the rebel campaigns North of Vientiane, at Luang Prabang, and in the rebel airborne attack South of Xieng Khoang.

The Thai reactionaries are actively seeking to recruit Lao-speaking Thais as «volunteers» to be dispatched to Laos to reinforce the Phoumi Nosavan rebels and to enlarge the aggression against Laos. Most of these «volunteers» have been concentrated in localities along the Mekong river (which constitutes the border between Thailand and Laos) like Nong Khai opposite to Vientiane. These «volunteers» are being trained by U.S., Thai and South Vietnamese officers.

Besides, the Thai reactionaries are training paratroopers for Phoumi at such places as Lopburi and Oudon. On December 22, 1960, the Thai Government declared the abolition of the demilitarized zone along the Laos — Thailand border in order to facilitate their aggressive military activities against Laos.

At the present moment, a number of Thai generals are taking part in the rebel High Command, and Thai military advisers are

specially attached to Phoumi Nosavan to assume the command of Thai forces operating side by side with the rebels.

The South Viet Nam authorities, on their part, sent their troops and officers to help the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels during their attack against Vientiane.

On November 30, 1960, the South Viet Nam authorities introduced into Laos twenty 75 and 105 guns. It was the South Viet Nam artillery men who manipulated those guns to shell on the Royal Army during the rebel attack of Vientiane. From December 10 to 13, 1960, military trucks transported South Vietnamese troops into Laos by Road number 9.

On December 15, 1960, Brigadier Nguyen Khanh, Chief of Staff of the South Viet Nam Army and Lieutenant-Colonel Quang Thong went to Savannakhet to discuss with Phoumi how to coordinate their military activities. On December 29, 1960, South Viet Nam Red Cross cars carried South Vietnamese soldiers, wounded during the Vientiane campaign, to Dong Ha (in South Viet Nam).

Following in the wake of the U.S.A., Filipino Minister of Defence, Alejo Santos, also declared that a unit of the Filipino Armed Forces has received special training to be dispatched to Laos. A Filipino Artillery Unit was trained at Nueva Ecija.

Under cover of technical aid, hundreds of Filipino army men, including whole artillery and engineers units, are helping the Laotian rebels. Santos also revealed that the Philippines' contribution to the SEATO forces had been decided at a SEATO military advisers' conference.

The above facts are irrefutable proof that armed forces of a number of members of the SEATO aggressive military bloc and of the South Viet Nam authorities have intervened and are actively intervening in Laos and are frantically preparing to extend the war of aggression against that country. These forces are operating under the supervision and command of the U.S. High Command.

In order to cover their aggressive acts, the U.S. imperialists and their satellites have tried by all means to give a legal figleaf to the « Government » of the rebels.

They incited the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum clique to force the King to go to Vientiane and recognize the puppet « Government » they had created. On January 3, 1961, a fabricated session of the « National Assembly » was called for formal approval by the « National Assembly » of that puppet « Government » and subsequently to force the King to recognize it.

But everybody knows that the so-called « Government » of the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels is illegal.

On November 12, 1960, Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of the legal Royal Government of Laos, declared in Vientiane that he would not accept any decision taken by the Laotian King under the pressure of the rebels. On December 15, 1960, Prince Souvanna Phouma declared in Phnom Penh once again, that the so-called « Government » of the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels was illegal.

On December 25, 1960, Mr Quinim Pholsena, a representative of the legal Laotian Government who remained in Laos, also declared: « Together with the attack of Vientiane, the rebels have created a so-called « Provisional Government » headed by Boun Oum. That « Government » immediately asked the U.S. for official military aid, and nobody was surprised at that appeal for help being urgently met. That is one of the numerous proofs which testify to the fact that this « Government » is only a tool used by a foreign power to bend the will for independence of the Laotian people and to divert them from the path of peace and neutrality which had been drawn by themselves.

The joint statement of Mr Quinim Pholsena, representing the legal Government of Laos; and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat Party, on December 26, 1960, states « The so-called « Provisional



Government » headed by Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan is only a puppet organization, a tool of the aggressors. That organization is wholly illegal, because the main personnel of that so-called « Provisional Government » are rebel elements outlawed by Royal Decrees. They have acted against the Constitution, brought pressure to bear on the King and forced him to recognize them. The Laotian people recognize only the legal Government with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister which enjoyed the confidence of the National Assembly and which has been constitutionally recognized by the King ».

On December 31, 1960, Prince Souvanna Phouma once again stated in Phnom Penh that he was still the legal Prime Minister of Laos.

On the other hand, in order to deceive world public opinion and to cover their aggressive actions, the U.S. imperialists and their satellites have incessantly spread slanderous rumours against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On order from the U.S., the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels have concocted groundless reports and false testimonies in order to slander the Viet Nam People's Army for supposedly having invaded Laos.

On January 3, 1961, under U.S. instigation, the Phoumi Nosavan — Boun Oum rebels instructed Sisouk Na Champassak to lodge a protest against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam with the Security Council of the U.N.. The aim of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges cannot cover up their bellicose acts and schemes in Laos.

It is necessary to reiterate here that some months ago, the U.S. imperialists and their satellites also slanderously accused the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam of interfering in Laos. But the Government of the Kingdom of Laos has many times denied it and on September 8, 1960, issued a statement saying that there was not a single soldier of the Viet Nam People's Army in Laos.

With regard to the recent concoctions and slanders of the U.S. imperialists and their satellites, Mr. Quinn Pholsena stated on December 31, 1960: « The rebels in Vientiane have incessantly

clamoured that 5 Viet Minh battalions had attacked the posts in the frontier region of Xieng Khoang. Their aim is to cover their own war provocative actions and on that ground to appeal to the SEATO military bloc to intervene in Laos... I strongly deny the above-mentioned report concocted by Phoumi Nosa-van — Boun Oum ».

On January 2, 1960, Captain Kong Le also denied the news about the presence in Laos of troops of the Viet Nam People's Army and of the People's Republic of China.

Recently, the legal Government of Laos headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma also informed the U.N. that all demarches by Sisouk Na Champassak at the U.N. are illegal, since he is not accredited by the legal Laotian Government.

It is crystal clear that the statements slandering the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, fabricated by the U.S. imperialists and satellites, are those of « thief crying stop thief ». They are old-tunes harped upon time and again by the U.S. imperialists and their satellites.

One still recalls that the U.S. imperialists also tried to slander the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in September 1959, but the « U.N. fact-finding sub-committee » could not affirm that there was any intervention by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in Laos. All people of good-will in the world know well that the interventionists and aggressors in Laos are no other than the U.S. imperialists and their satellites.

### III

The above-mentioned facts clearly show that the present situation in Laos is extremely dangerous. The American imperialists and their most reactionary agents in the SEATO bloc are frantically making preparations to bring more foreign troops on a large scale into Laos, in order to increase intervention and extend the war of aggression, seriously threatening the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the peace in Indochina and South East Asia. The threat of a devastating war is hanging over this area.

Faced with this situation, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, a signatory to the Geneva Agreements on Laos and a neighbour of the Kingdom of Laos, cannot remain indifferent and unconcerned. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has consistently followed the policy of fully respecting the Geneva Agreements on Laos and the principles of the Bandung Conference, and has always supported the policy of peace, neutrality, national concord and unity of the Kingdom of Laos.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has repeatedly stated its position with regard to a solution to the Laos question. Most recently, in its January 3, 1961 statement, it restated its position as follows:

«...The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam energetically protests against the brazen acts of provocation by the U.S. imperialists, and sternly denounces these acts before world public opinion. The U.S. imperialists and the countries following them must bear full responsibility for the grave consequences of their actions.

«The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam once again reiterates that the present situation in Laos makes it imperative to call a conference of the countries which took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina; and to reactivate the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos. Pending the convening of such a conference, action should be taken to demand that the U.S. and the countries following it stop aiding the rebel clique in Laos and withdraw the military personnel and war materials from Laos. Any delay in carrying out the above-proposed measures would bring about extremely grave consequences».

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam deems it necessary to emphasize that, in order to reactivate the International Commission in Laos, the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the International Commission should enter into contact with the Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, which is the legal Government of the Kingdom of Laos.

With a view to finding a solution to the dangerous situation in Laos, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam also welcomes the recent proposal by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, to hold without delay in a neutral country a conference of the countries which took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference, those who are members of the International Supervisory and Control Commission and the neighbouring countries of Laos.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Government appeals to the peoples and governments of peace-loving countries the world over to make a common effort to find all urgent and effective measures with a view to stopping immediately the schemes and acts of war provocation and aggression by the U.S. imperialists and their agents, restoring peace in Laos and preserving peace in Indochina and South East Asia.

Hanoi, January 5, 1961