

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

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U.S. State Department
Central Files**

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1960–January 1963**

Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs

A UPA Collection

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1960–January 1963

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INTRODUCTION

Social, Economic, and Demographic Sketch

A landlocked nation in the center of the Southeast Asian peninsula, the country that is now the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR, or Laos) is bordered by Cambodia, China, Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam, neighbors that, to varying degrees, have influenced Laotian historical, cultural, and political development. Slightly smaller than the state of Oregon, Laos is largely mountainous and forested; only about 4 percent of its total land area is arable. The tropical monsoon climate is a major determining factor in agricultural productivity and transportation.

Ethnically diverse, Laos has more than forty ethnic groups. Lao is the distinction for some of the ethnic groups; Laotian is the term used to refer to all people of Laos, or the national population. The Lao, descendants of the Tai peoples who began migrating from China in the first millennium A.D., constitute approximately half the people of Laos. Government favoritism historically was extended toward the "lowland" Lao Loum and discrimination against the "midland" Lao Theung and "upland" Lao Sung. The ethnic minorities were underrepresented in the higher levels of government, the National Assembly, and bureaucracy.

Although the different ethnic groups have different residential patterns, agricultural practices, and religious beliefs, for all groups the village community has a kinship nexus, which may also differ in form. The mountainous topography, which has inhibited road-building and limited exchanges among villages and ethnic groups, has contributed to maintaining distinctions among ethnic groups.

Buddhism was the state religion of the Kingdom of Laos. Theravada Buddhism was predominant among the Lao Loum and some Lao Theung groups, and animist beliefs were widespread among the entire population. The "wat," the Buddhist temple or monastery complex, was a central fixture of village life and the site of major religious festivals, which occurred several times a year.

The population growth during this period was relatively stable; child and infant mortality was high and life expectancy was less than fifty years. Laos had a relatively low population density, with the vast majority of the population rural, living in small villages. Rural life was tied to the changing agricultural seasons. Of the urban areas, most people lived in the Mekong River valley towns and those of its tributaries. Vientiane, the capital and largest city, was also the center of a very limited industrial sector. The reach of economic modernization—and the changes and opportunities it offered—did not extend much beyond the Vientiane plain.

Education and social services were rudimentary during this time. Limited financial resources and a lack of trained teachers and teaching materials restricted universal educational opportunities. Western "health care" was confined to Vientiane, dictated in part by the difficulties of transportation. Similarly, improvements in health care were constrained by finances, the limited numbers of trained health care workers, and rural religious beliefs.

Laos was (and is) clearly one of the poorest countries in the world. A rural, subsistence, agricultural economy heavily influenced by weather—that is, conditions of drought or flood—Laos was not even self-sufficient in food production. The country needed to make great strides in infrastructure development, increase exports and reduce reliance on imports, and provide opportunities for labor skills to be realized. The almost constant civil war prevented these basic nation-building requirements from being fulfilled.

As elsewhere, foreign and economic relations were linked; for Laos, this was particularly true with regard to Thailand and Cambodia, its primary trading partners. Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand constantly negotiated a variety of political and economic issues, including clearer border demarcation, the status of exiled Lao politicians, and cross-border trade. Trade with Cambodia and also Vietnam was always dependent on Mekong River traffic.

Political and Military Historical Sketch

Laos, Geneva, and the North Vietnamese

It was as a fully sovereign country that Laos sent a delegation headed by its foreign minister, Phoui Sananikone, to the Geneva Conference on Indochina that put an end to the First Indochina War in July 1954. The armistice agreement for Laos, signed by a French general on behalf of French Union forces and a Viet Minh military official, provided for a cease-fire to take effect at 8:00 a.m. on August 6. Viet Minh forces were to be withdrawn from Laos to North Vietnam within 120 days. The Viet Minh delegation had brought Nouthak and another Pathet Lao member, Ma Khamphitay, with them to Geneva on Viet Minh passports, intending to have a Pathet Lao delegation seated, but they were not recognized by the conference. A provision in the armistice agreement for Laos was nevertheless inserted providing for the “fighting units of Pathet Lao” to be regrouped in Houaphan and Phong Saly Provinces pending a political settlement. The Royal Lao Government (RLG) pledged to take steps to integrate all Laotian citizens into the political life of the kingdom.

The representatives of the other powers at Geneva signed no conference documents but instead subscribed to the Final Declaration taking note of the armistice agreements. U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles lobbied hard to ensure that the Laotians made no unnecessary concessions to the Communists. At the final session, the U.S. delegation declared that it would refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb the armistice agreements and that it would view any violations of them as a threat to peace and security. Chinese premier Chou En-lai stressed the advisability of a coalition government to the Laotians, urging an early meeting between princes Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong. He seemed prepared to offer an exchange of diplomats, his main concern being that Laos be free of U.S. military bases.

Toward Neutrality: The First Coalition, Political Unity, and the Pathet Lao

After the elections, Souvanna Phouma signaled a renewed effort at negotiations when, presenting his new government to the National Assembly on March 20, 1956, he called the settlement of the Pathet Lao problem “the gravest and most urgent” question before the country. He opened negotiations in Vientiane in August; the Pathet Lao were represented by Souphanouvong. Two joint declarations issued shortly thereafter by the delegations pledged agreement on a foreign policy of

peaceful coexistence, a new cease-fire in the two northern provinces, exercise of democratic freedoms, authorization for the Pathet Lao's political party to operate, procedures for the RLG's administration in the two provinces, integration of Pathet Lao units into the Royal Lao Army, the formation of two mixed commissions to work out the above mentioned details, the holding of supplementary elections to an enlarged National Assembly, and the establishment of a coalition government. In preparation for engaging in the politics of the kingdom, the Pathet Lao had formed a front organization, the Lao Patriotic Front (LPF), in January 1956, with an innocuous-sounding platform. Souphanouvong and the other Pathet Lao delegates took the oath of allegiance to the king in the presence of Souvanna Phouma and Kou Abhay, president of the King's Council. This round of negotiations concluded in a further series of agreements covering a cease-fire, implementation of a policy of peace and neutrality, and measures guaranteeing civil rights and nondiscrimination against Pathet Lao followers.

In late August, Souvanna Phouma visited Beijing and Hanoi, where he was warmly received. Far from committing Laos to the Communist bloc as the U.S. Department of State feared, these visits formed part of Souvanna Phouma's strategy to neutralize the danger to Laotian independence posed by the Pathet Lao. It was obvious to him that Communism held little appeal to the inhabitants of Laos. Although there were Communists among the leaders of the Pathet Lao—and Souvanna Phouma refused to believe his half-brother was one of them—the Communists depended on the exercise, or at least the threat, of armed force to carry out their “revolution.” Souvanna Phouma's strategy was intended to separate the nationalists from the Communists in the Pathet Lao. He warned the Pathet Lao's foreign backers that if they provided sanctuary to armed resistance groups—once the Pathet Lao had been reintegrated into the kingdom's political life—they would be going back on their pledges of noninterference. At the same time, however, Souvanna Phouma's ideas for safeguarding Laotian independence differed radically from Dulles's. Dulles viewed the Pathet Lao as unacceptable coalition partners; in his view they were all simply Communists rather than a front comprising a number of nationalists. The U.S. ambassador in Vientiane, J. Graham Parsons, informed Souvanna Phouma that Washington was implacably opposed to a coalition government. The United States remained unmollified by a secret protocol attached to a November 2, 1956, agreement on a neutral foreign policy that proscribed the establishment of diplomatic relations with North Vietnam and China in the immediate future. On November 22, Parsons was instructed to inform the prime minister that the United States was unable to respond favorably to his appeal for support. Negotiations with the Pathet Lao resumed in February 1957 but were interrupted when Souvanna Phouma resigned in May over an unfavorable vote in the National Assembly. In the interim, Phetsarath had been persuaded to return from Thailand. Unbowed by age, but no longer keen on a role for himself in politics, he returned in March and took up residence in Luang Prabang where, in a gesture of royal reconciliation, he made his obeisance to the king and received back his old title of viceroy.

Souvanna Phouma returned as prime minister in August 1957 following a cabinet crisis and was charged by the king with forming a new government. He reopened negotiations, and on October 22, a final agreement was reached. This agreement called for reestablishing RLG administration over the two provinces, forming a coalition government, and holding supplementary elections to the National Assembly. The government set elections for May 1958. On November 18, Souphanouvong

symbolically returned to RLG authority, represented by Crown Prince Savang, the two provinces, together with all the troops, civil servants, and war material belonging to the Pathet Lao. An RLG governor was appointed in Houaphan and a Pathet Lao governor in Phong Saly, each with a deputy of the opposite camp. Mayoral and other provincial official positions were equally divided between the two parties. It was agreed that two Pathet Lao battalions, totaling 1,500 troops, would be integrated into the Royal Lao Army and the remainder would be demobilized and sent home. The National Assembly unanimously approved the coalition government. Souphanouvong became minister of planning, reconstruction, and urbanism, and Phoumi Vongvichit became minister of culture and fine arts.

Souvanna Phouma visited Washington in January 1958 hoping to persuade U.S. policymakers, who worried about his having accepted Pathet Lao participation in the government in advance of elections, that his strategy for dealing with the Pathet Lao was the best course. He left Washington, however, without gaining unqualified support for his strategy.

U.S. aid failed to blunt the effects of Pathet Lao propaganda and indoctrination in the villages. The Pathet Lao were masters of political persuasion, exploiting popular themes of nationalism, anticorruption, and “anti-big family.” There were exceptions, however, to the general negative perception of U.S. aid. (Tom Dooley, an American physician, brought health care to the people who needed it most, those in remote villages. Another American, an Indiana farmer named Edgar “Pop” Buell, devoted the last years of his life to helping the Hmong, including training the first Hmong nurses and opening Hmong schools.)

The 1958 Elections and the North Vietnamese Invasion

The stunning success of the LPF and its allies in winning thirteen of the twenty-one seats contested in the May 4, 1958, elections to the National Assembly changed the political atmosphere in Vientiane. This success had less to do with the LPF’s adroitness than with the ineptness of the old-line nationalists, more intent on advancing their personal interests than on meeting the challenge from the LPF. The two largest parties, the Progressive Party and the Independent Party, could not agree on a list of common candidates in spite of repeated prodding by the U.S. embassy and so split their votes among dozens of candidates. The LPF and the Peace (Santiphab) Party carefully worked out a strategy of mutual support, which succeeded in winning nearly two-thirds of the seats with barely one-third of the votes cast. Souphanouvong garnered the most votes and became chairman of the National Assembly. The Progressive Party and the Independent Party tardily merged to become the Rally of the Lao People (Lao Rouam Lao).

In the wake of the election fiasco, Washington concentrated on finding alternatives to Souvanna Phouma’s strategy of winning over the Pathet Lao and on building up the Royal Lao Army as the only cohesive nationalist force capable of dealing with the Communists’ united front tactics. On June 10, 1958, a new political grouping called the Committee for the Defense of the National Interests (CDNI) made its appearance. Formed mainly of a younger generation not tied to the big families and as yet untainted by corruption, it announced a program for revitalizing the economy, forming an anti-Communist front that excluded the Pathet Lao, suppressing corruption, and creating a national mystique.

Washington, which was paying the entire salary cost of the Royal Lao Army, was enthusiastic about the “young turks” of the CDNI. This enthusiasm was not altogether shared by U.S. Ambassador Horace H. Smith, who asked what right a group untested by any election had to set its sights on cabinet appointments. Whereas Souvanna Phouma tried and failed to form a government, creating a drawn-out cabinet crisis, Phoui Sananikone eventually succeeded and included four CDNI members and Phoumi Nosavan in a subcabinet post.

In foreign and domestic affairs, the atmosphere changed in the summer of 1958. Souvanna Phouma announced that with the holding of elections the RLG had fulfilled the political obligations it had assumed at Geneva, and the International Control Commission (ICC) adjourned sine die. Phoui, less scrupulous about preserving Laos’s neutrality than his predecessor, angered Peking and Hanoi by admitting diplomats from Taipei and Saigon. China and North Vietnam, already upset by the departure of the ICC, which they had seen as a restraining influence, protested. The United States worked out an agreement with France that reduced the role of the French military mission and enlarged that of the PEO, which embarked on a major strengthening of its staff and functions.

The occupation by North Vietnamese security forces in December 1958 of several villages in Xépôn District near the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) between North Vietnam and South Vietnam was an ominous development. The RLG immediately protested the flying of the North Vietnamese flag on Laotian territory. Hanoi claimed the villages had historically been part of Vietnam. With regard to precedent, this was a decidedly modest claim; nonetheless, it represented a unilateral reinterpretation of the French map used by the Truong Gia Armistice Commission in the summer of 1954 to draw the DMZ and, backed by force of arms, constituted nothing less than aggression. Phoui received extraordinary powers from the National Assembly to deal with the crisis. But the failure to regain their lost territory rankled the Laotian nationalists, who were hoping for a greater degree of U.S. support.

One of Washington’s major preoccupations was the danger that the Royal Lao Army would integrate the Pathet Lao troops without the safeguard of “screening and reindoctrinating” them. The embassy was instructed to tell the government that it would be difficult to obtain congressional approval of aid to Laos with Communists in the Royal Lao Army. Before the final integration of 1,500 Pathet Lao troops into the Royal Lao Army could take place as planned in May 1959, the Pathet Lao used a quibble about officer ranks to delay the final ceremony. As monsoon rains swept over the Plaine des Jarres one night, one of the two battalions slipped away, followed soon after by the other, near Luang Prabang. The event signaled a resumption of hostilities. In July Phoui’s government, after protracted cabinet deliberations, ordered the arrest of the LPF deputies in Vientiane—Souphanouvong, Nouhak, Phoumi Vongvichit, Phoun Sipaseut, Sithon Kommadan, Singkapo, and others. Tiao Souk Vongsak evaded arrest.

Fighting broke out all along the border with North Vietnam. North Vietnamese regular army units participated in attacks on July 28–31, 1959. These operations established a pattern of North Vietnamese forces leading the attack on a strong point, then falling back and letting the Pathet Lao remain in place once resistance to the advance had been broken. The tactic had the advantage of concealing from view the North Vietnamese presence. Rumors of North Vietnamese in the vicinity often had a terrifying effect, however. Among the men who heard such rumors in the mountains of Houaphan Province that summer was a young Royal Lao Army captain

named Kong Le. Kong Le had two companies of the Second Paratroop Battalion out on patrol almost on the North Vietnamese border. When they returned to Sam Neua without encountering the enemy, they found that the garrison had decamped, leaving the town undefended.

Direct North Vietnamese involvement in Laos began taking another form wherein aggression was difficult to prove. Two months after the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, the North Vietnamese established a small support group, known as Group 100, on the Thanh Hoa–Houaphan border at Ban Namèo. This unit provided logistical and other support to Pathet Lao forces. In view of the reversion to a fighting strategy, the North Vietnamese and Lao parties decided to establish an upgraded unit. The new unit, known as Group 959, headquartered at Na Kai, just inside the Houaphan border, began operating in September 1959. Its establishment coincided with a major effort to expand the hitherto small Pathet Lao forces. According to an official history published after the war, its mission was “serving as specialists for the Military Commission and Supreme Command of the Lao People’s Liberation Army, and organizing the supplying of Vietnamese material to the Laotian revolution and directly commanding the Vietnamese volunteer units operating in Sam Neua, Siangkhoang, and Viangchan.” These actions were in violation of the obligation Ho Chi Minh’s government had assumed as a participant in the 1954 Geneva Conference to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Laos.

The Vietnamese party’s strategy was by now decided with regard to South Vietnam. At the same time, the party outlined a role for the Lao People’s Party (LPP) that was supportive of North Vietnam, in addition to the LPP’s role as leader of the revolution in Laos. Hanoi’s southern strategy opened the first tracks through the extremely rugged terrain of Sêpôn District in mid-1959 of what was to become the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

Phetsarath and Sisavang Vong, viceroy and king, died within two weeks of each other in October 1959. Sisavang Vong reigned over Laos for fifty-four turbulent years as a man of honor, and, after his death, his memory was so venerated that when the Communists came to power in Vientiane they left his statue standing. His successor, Savang Vatthana, lacked both his father’s hold on his people and Phetsarath’s charisma. A deeply fatalistic man who foresaw he would be the last king of Laos, Savang Vatthana remained uncrowned for the rest of his reign because a propitious date for the coronation ceremony could not be found.

The Army Enters Politics and the Attempt to Restore Neutrality

With the LPF’s deputies in prison, the political scene became increasingly chaotic, even lawless. When Phoui’s mandate ended in December 1959, Phoumi Nosavan and his CDNI supporters began their move to force the king to grant them power by announcing that the supreme command of the armed forces was “handling current affairs.” Their move, however, was too bold and caused the Western ambassadors in Vientiane to present a united front to the king in support of constitutionality. An interim government headed by Kou Abhay was charged with preparing for new elections. Phoumi, temporarily rebuffed, bided his time as minister of defense. The army had entered politics but not quite in the manner Washington had hoped.

In the April 24, 1960, elections, Phoumi found his revenge. By exerting considerable pressure, he had changes made in the electoral law. With financial support from Marshal Sarit Thanarat of Thailand, Phoumi bought off strong or

inconvenient candidates and enlisted civil servants as his campaign workers. Election balloting was fraudulent, and the results, giving rightist candidates large majorities, were totally unbelievable. A new government was formed on June 3, ostensibly headed by Somsanith but in fact controlled by Phoumi acting as minister of defense under the aegis of his new political party, the Social Party (Paxa Sangkhom). Souvanna Phouma, elected without fraud, became the president of the National Assembly. The imprisoned LPF deputies had not been allowed to run for the assembly, but they sent word to LPF supporters to vote for any LPF candidates who had dared run or else to vote for Peace Party candidates. On May 23, however, under darkness and with the cooperation of personnel at their prison, the LPF deputies escaped and disappeared into the countryside.

On August 9, Captain Kong Le led the Second Paratroop Battalion in a virtually bloodless coup d'état that changed the history of modern Laos. In taking over Vientiane, the paratroopers had unwittingly chosen a moment when the entire cabinet was in Luang Prabang conferring with the king. They informed their compatriots and the outside world by broadcasting their communiqués on the radio. In a rally at the city football stadium on August 11, Kong Le expanded on his goals: end the fighting in Laos, stem corruption, and establish a policy of peace and neutrality. Recalling the experience of the first coalition when the country was temporarily at peace, Kong Le asked for the nomination of Souvanna Phouma as prime minister.

On August 11, General Ouan Ratikoun, as the cabinet's envoy, arrived in Vientiane from Luang Prabang. After negotiations with Kong Le and Souvanna Phouma as president of the National Assembly, Ouan returned to Luang Prabang with a document in which the coup leaders requested the cabinet to return. They agreed to withdraw their forces to specified points in the city and stipulated that these steps would lead to negotiations on the government's future. Two days later, however, when Ouan returned alone, it became evident that the cabinet was reluctant to return to Vientiane. Once this news spread, demonstrators gathered outside the Presidency of the Council of Ministers demanding Somsanith's immediate resignation; they next marched on the National Assembly, where Souvanna Phouma met them and, startled by their vehemence, attempted to moderate their demands. Inside, the forty-one deputies present voted unanimously to censure the Somsanith government. On August 14, a delegation of the assembly carried the news of this vote to Luang Prabang and asked the king to name Souvanna Phouma to form a new government. Fearing violence in Vientiane, Somsanith resigned, and the king named Souvanna Phouma prime minister. The new government was invested by thirty-four deputies on August 16. The next day, Kong Le declared his coup d'état over and vacated the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

On receiving word of the coup, Phoumi flew from Luang Prabang to Ubol, where he informed Thai and U.S. officials of his intention to "straighten things out" in Laos and from where he sent emissaries to Savannakhét and Pakxé. In Bangkok the following day, Phoumi met with Sarit, U.S. embassy counselor Leonard Unger, and the chief of the U.S. military mission in Thailand. He outlined plans for a parachute drop to recapture the Vientiane airport and ferry in additional forces by air to oust the rebels. He requested that Thailand and the United States provide air transport, fuel, salaries for his troops, and two radio broadcasting units. He also asked for a secure channel of communication between his new headquarters at Savannakhét and Bangkok.

These steps, taken in secrecy, received immediate approval in Washington. Orders went out to designate a senior PEO officer as liaison to Phoumi, and a PEO channel was established between Savannakhét and the U.S. military mission in Bangkok, bypassing the embassy in Vientiane. Aircraft of Civil Air Transport, a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) front, were made available to Phoumi, and Laotian troops training at bases in Thailand were to be returned as soon as possible to Savannakhét.

Sarit, Pibul's minister of defense who had come to power in a coup in October 1958, had invested heavily in Phoumi and was not about to let him go. The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, for their part, saw aid to Phoumi as preserving at least part of the anti-Communist forces in Laos from the effects of the split in the royal army. But from this point on, much as U.S. officials tried to separate the two issues, aid to the anti-Communists in Laos was inseparable from Sarit's personal commitment to Phoumi. The U.S. embassy in Bangkok was also alarmed by the possibility that inadequate support for Phoumi might lead Sarit to intervene unilaterally in Laos because he had already imposed a blockade on Vientiane.

A Deepening Split

Phoumi enlisted the support of the commanders of four of Laos's five military regions. He also began immediately broadcasting propaganda denouncing Kong Le as a Communist and on August 15 proclaimed the establishment of a Counter Coup d'État Committee. He appealed to all military personnel to rally behind him, guaranteed their salaries, and proclaimed his intention to liberate Vientiane from Communist hands. Forces loyal to Phoumi seized Pakxan.

The United States considered Souvanna Phouma's return to office bad news. A State Department cable stated that the United States sought "to bring about an acceptable power balance of non-communist elements which would eliminate Kong Le and restore authority and stability."

Souvanna Phouma, wanting to avoid civil war, with Phoumi's concurrence convoked the National Assembly in Luang Prabang on August 29. A new government with Souvanna Phouma as prime minister and Phoumi as deputy prime minister and minister of interior was sworn in on August 31. Phoumi announced the dissolution of his Counter Coup d'État Committee. This might have defused the crisis, but the same day, Kong Le made a radio broadcast protesting the presence of Phoumi in the cabinet. Souvanna Phouma convinced him to change his mind, which he did "for the sake of peace and reconciliation" on September 1. Phoumi returned to Savannakhét and waited.

On September 10, Prince Boun Oum, speaking from Savannakhét in the name of the new Revolutionary Committee, announced that the constitution had been abolished, and he and Phoumi were assuming power. In mid-September, two companies of Kong Le's paratroopers routed the two battalions of Phoumi's advance guard from their position at Pakxan and installed a defensive line on the north bank of the Nam Kading. Phoumi made no move to organize his paratroop drop on Vientiane, in spite of the considerable means at his disposal. On the evening of September 21, Sarit made a speech in which he hinted at Thai armed intervention in Laos.

Kong Le's reputation as a giant slayer had by now spread from the capital to the far corners of the kingdom. On September 28, when he dropped a handful of paratroopers near Sam Neua in order to explain the situation to the 1,500-person

garrison that in principle was loyal to Souvanna Phouma, rumors that the garrison's officers, some of whom had been in contact with Phoumi, might be cashiered created a panic. The garrison abandoned the town to the Pathet Lao, who were accompanied by their North Vietnamese advisers from Group 959. The withdrawing column surrendered its arms to the Pathet Lao near Muang Peun on October 2.

The Pathet Lao now claimed to be supporting Souvanna Phouma. The coup and Phoumi's resistance with foreign assistance, which the United States and Thailand had difficulty camouflaging, gave the still-secret LPP an unprecedented opportunity to burrow more deeply behind the nationalist mantle, and it lost no time in seizing the occasion. Many Laotians came to see the Pathet Lao as acting to defend the country against U.S.– and Thai-backed aggression. Even in Vientiane, there was growing resentment of the Thai blockade, which caused a shortage of consumer goods and rising prices. Foreseeing an opening for the Pathet Lao to negotiate with the new government, Radio Hanoi and Radio Beijing broadcast support for Souvanna Phouma.

Although Souvanna Phouma's government was accepted as the legal government of Laos by Britain, France, and the United States, this did not prevent the United States from broadening its support to Phoumi's forces on the grounds that they were fighting the Pathet Lao. In fact, there is no record of their taking any offensive action against the Pathet Lao. Phoumi had ordered the pullback from Sam Neua. Winthrop G. Brown, the new U.S. ambassador, reported instances where Phoumi refused help to engage the Pathet Lao because it was offered by Vientiane. The only offensive actions taken by Royal Lao Army troops against the Pathet Lao between August and December 1960 were those taken by troops loyal to Souvanna Phouma in Phong Saly and elsewhere.

The “compromise” worked out by the embassy with Souvanna Phouma, in which the prime minister would not object to direct U.S. military aid to Phoumi as long as this aid was not used against his government, was a sham. Whenever the embassy tried to persuade Phoumi to give up his plan and return to Vientiane, Phoumi pleaded fear for his safety and escalated his demands. In Luang Prabang, King Savang Vatthana temporized, hoping to bring the military leaders together at least in a united stand against the Communists and putting off a political solution until later. Failing to achieve his aim, he retreated, saying he was disgusted with all concerned. Brown felt he was waiting for Phoumi's capture of Vientiane to get him off the hook and avoid the necessity of his taking any categorical action.

Brown cabled Washington on October 5 that in the continued absence of an agreement between Phoumi and Souvanna Phouma, U.S. support of Phoumi would lead to “further disintegration” of the anti-Communist forces and would involve the United States in actions that risked internationalizing the conflict in Laos.

At a meeting on October 11 with a visiting U.S. delegation made up of Parsons, Assistant Secretary of Defense John N. Irwin II, and Vice Admiral Herbert D. Riley, chief of staff to the Commander in Chief Pacific, Souvanna Phouma gave an indictment of the provocative errors committed by his successors after formation of the first coalition. He warned that the only course for Laos was to implement the 1957 agreements before the Pathet Lao—with whom he was in touch and intended to resume negotiations—presented even more far-reaching demands. The first Soviet ambassador to Laos, Aleksandr N. Abramov, arrived as Parsons was leaving.

After conferring with the king, the Parsons-Irwin-Riley team proceeded to Bangkok. On October 17, Irwin and Riley met with Phoumi in Ubol. Although the

State Department at that point was under the impression that U.S. policy required that Phoumi dissolve the Revolutionary Committee, both as a gesture of good faith toward Souvanna Phouma in preserving the unity of anti-Communist forces in Laos and, more practically, in order to avoid the growing impression abroad that the United States was illegally aiding a rebel movement, no mention of this point was made either in Parsons' instructions to his two colleagues or at the October 17 meeting.

Following the formal conversation, Riley took Phoumi aside and told him that the United States had completely lost confidence in Souvanna Phouma and was backing Phoumi to go back and clean up the situation. Irwin similarly told Phoumi that the United States was only supporting him in building up his defenses for the moment; in the long run, the United States was supporting him all the way. The message was not lost on Phoumi. The effect of these unauthorized remarks was to undercut both Souvanna Phouma's efforts to negotiate a compromise solution with Phoumi and Brown's bona fides with Souvanna Phouma, already strained by the continuing U.S. aid flowing into Savannakhét in the absence of any matching military action against the Pathet Lao. Phoumi's intransigence in turn led the State Department to make ever-increasing demands on Souvanna Phouma in the interest of "compromise," beginning with the charge that the prime minister was not exercising sufficient control over Kong Le, the demand that he take appropriate precautions to prevent Kong Le from launching an attack on Savannakhét, and so forth.

Souvanna Phouma began negotiations with the Pathet Lao on October 18. His position was much weaker, however, than in 1957 when he faced the same set of Pathet Lao demands. Although nothing substantive would come from these negotiations, they provided fuel for Phoumi's anti-Communist propaganda and heightened nervousness in Washington and Bangkok.

Next, Phoumi forced the commander of the Luang Prabang garrison to declare for the Revolutionary Committee. This was an important move, for it placed the king within Phoumi's territory. In Bangkok, Sarit's first reaction on hearing the news was to ask the U.S. ambassador, U. Alexis Johnson, whether now would be a good time for the Revolutionary Committee to "establish itself as a government." General Ouan Ratikoun quickly defected to Savannakhét. Phoumi captured another general, Amkha Soukhavong, at Siangkhoang and gained the support of General Sing Ratanassamay. Phoumi's troops had been paid without Brown's having been consulted. Ambassador Johnson, without consulting Brown, assured Sarit that the United States would pay Phoumi's troops, an action that Brown protested.

When Phoumi finally launched his offensive on the Nam Kading on November 21, Souvanna Phouma vainly attempted to contact him. With badly needed supplies to Vientiane, especially fuel, still cut off by the Thai blockade, Souvanna Phouma's forced acceptance of a Soviet offer of aid lent Phoumi's imminent attack "to drive out the communists" a semblance of legitimacy. On December 11, Phoumi led the forty National Assembly deputies who had gathered in Savannakhét over the preceding weeks to vote no confidence in Souvanna Phouma's government. The king accepted the vote as legal the next day when he signed Royal Ordinance No. 282, dismissing Souvanna Phouma's government and giving powers provisionally to the Revolutionary Committee. Royal Ordinance No. 283, approving a provisional government formed by Prince Boun Oum, who acted as front man for Phoumi—the king had scruples about naming a general to be prime minister—was signed on December 14. The State Department notified its acceptance of the new regime and said it was acting to meet its requests for assistance "to restore peace to the

country.” At this time, neither the deputies nor the court were free agents—and Souvanna Phouma had not resigned.

The capital braced for Phoumi’s attack. A last-minute and temporary switch of sides by Colonel Kouprasith Abhay, commander of the Vientiane military region headquartered at Camp Chinaimo on the eastern outskirts, was quickly neutralized by Kong Le, but tension heightened. The Pathet Lao delegation hurriedly left town. More of Souvanna Phouma’s ministers disappeared and reappeared. The situation was becoming ungovernable. Souvanna Phouma viewed battle as inevitable and, accompanied by his ministers Boun Om (Boun Oum’s nephew), Tiao Sisoumang Sisaleumsak, and Inpeng Suriyadhay, flew to Phnom Penh on December 9, having delegated his powers to the military. The following morning Quinim Pholsena, the minister of information whom Souvanna Phouma had left behind, flew to Hanoi accompanied by Phoumi Vongvichit, the chief Pathet Lao negotiator, and Lieutenant Deuane Sunnalath, Kong Le’s deputy, on a mission to seek Soviet and North Vietnamese military aid, which began arriving the following day on Soviet aircraft.

Phoumi began his attack on December 13. From his command post near the airport, Kong Le had positioned his men at key points on the outskirts, intending merely to fight a delaying action to allow the safe evacuation to the north of his men and their equipment. The regional command post of the Pathet Lao, situated at Na Khang, sixty kilometers north of the capital, disposed of three guerrilla groups but did not take part in the battle of Vientiane. A massive display of firepower by Phoumi’s troops resulted in the deaths of 400 to 500 civilians in the town, mostly Vietnamese residents, and the wounding of another 1,000 to 1,500 civilians. Kong Le’s troops only lost seventeen killed. Phoumi’s armor rolled into town on December 16.

Kong Le retreated slowly northward toward Luang Prabang, while Soviet aircraft parachuted badly needed supplies—rice, salt, sugar, blankets, light arms, ammunition, and radios. With new recruits, his ranks had swelled from 800 to 1,200 men. On December 23, at Phôn Hông, about sixty kilometers north of the capital, Kong Le was visited by Kaysone, who had come to settle the details of distribution of Soviet aid and coordination of Neutralist and Pathet Lao troops in future operations. On January 1, Kong Le’s troops took control of the Plaine des Jarres and Khang Khay after skirmishing with some of the 9,000 Phoumist troops and an equal number of Hmong guerrillas in the vicinity and recovered large quantities of supplies. The following day, the Neutralists occupied Siangkhoang, and U.S. advisers and Phoumist troops were evacuated from the Muang Phôn-savan airfield.

Quinim and Tiao Sisaleumsak established themselves at Khang Khay and urged Souvanna Phouma, who was in Cambodia, to join them. Souvanna Phouma said that he was still legally prime minister but would resign at once if Phoumi’s government were validated in accordance with the constitution. Souvanna Phouma argued that the National Assembly’s vote of no confidence on December 11 was not valid because it had taken place in neither the royal capital nor the administrative capital. He regarded the king’s dealings with the Revolutionary Committee as beyond the king’s authority. When the National Assembly met in Vientiane and voted confidence in the Boun Oum government on January 4, Souvanna Phouma ignored the action.

The Widening War, International Pressure and the Advent of the Second Coalition

The Soviet airlift, which continued despite U.S. protests to Moscow, transformed the Plaine des Jarres into a vast armed camp, fully resupplying Kong Le. For the first time, the Pathet Lao were equipped with heavy weapons, allowing them to play a major role in their military alliance with Kong Le's troops in support of Souvanna Phouma's government. There was, moreover, another and more important factor: the commitment of significant numbers of North Vietnamese troops to the fighting, exactly what Souvanna Phouma and Brown had feared. Kong Le requested four battalions of North Vietnamese troops on January 7. Two of these linked up with his forces on Route 7 and down Route 13. The third was engaged in military action at Tha Thom, a key defense point south of the Plaine des Jarres. The fourth took up position north of the plain.

In Siangkhoang, the Hmong once again blew up the bridges on Route 7 in a desperate effort to interfere with North Vietnamese truck convoys rolling westward. The Royal Lao Army had been quietly supplying arms to the Hmong since at least March 1957 to enable them to resist the Pathet Lao, but the North Vietnamese influx created a sudden need for arms far in excess of what the Laotians could supply, even with the help of Thailand. The Hmong, under their military leader Vang Pao, had taken up positions in the mountains surrounding the Plaine des Jarres and asked to talk to U.S. officials. Vang Pao requested quick delivery of arms, but U.S. officials were concerned that the Hmong would not fight, and the arms might fall into Communist hands. Vang Pao said all 7,000 volunteers would fight, but they needed the arms in three days or they would have to fall back to less exposed positions. U.S. airdrops of arms from stocks in Okinawa began three days later, signaling the beginning of a heroic Hmong resistance.

Souvanna Phouma reaffirmed his position that his was the legal government of Laos. In an interview, he spoke bitterly about his nemesis, Parsons, and said that "the Savannakhét group" was committed to the policy of military confrontation that had failed in the past. He believed Laos should conserve its ancient traditions and monarchy and urged a political settlement along the lines negotiated in 1957.

Phoumi's failure to advance on the Plaine des Jarres made a deep impression on the new administration of President John F. Kennedy. If Phoumi had his difficulties with Kong Le's outnumbered battalion, he was no match for the North Vietnamese. The North Vietnamese-Pathet Lao counteroffensive that opened in January drove Phoumi's poorly motivated troops and their U.S. military advisers back—a retreat that irrevocably changed the balance of forces in Laos.

The U.S. embassy in Vientiane had accurate intelligence of the numbers and movements of North Vietnamese military units in Laos, as opposed to the alarming reports emanating from Phoumi's headquarters. Central Laos and the entire length of the road from the Sala Phou Khoun junction south to Vangviang was in North Vietnamese-Pathet Lao hands by mid-March.

Contact between emissaries of the two sides was finally made by officers under a truce flag at the village of Ban Hin Heup on the Vientiane-Luang Prabang road. Tripartite truce talks opened in the nearby village of Ban Namone, with the ICC, reconvened by the cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, Britain, and the Soviet Union present. The three negotiators were Nouhak, Pheng Phongsavan, and General Sing Ratanassamay. A cease-fire declared on May 3 did not prevent the Pathet Lao from capturing Sêpôn, an important crossroads on the Ho Chi Minh Trail,

or put an end to the fighting in the Hmong country. As part of the plan to find a settlement, an enlarged Geneva Conference convened on May 16.

There were thus two rival royal governments in Laos from the beginning of 1961, the Boun Oum–Phoumi Nosavan government at Vientiane and the Souvanna Phouma government at Khang Khay. The Pathet Lao, protected by the presence of thousands of North Vietnamese troops, constituted a third faction in what became a rightist-Neutralist-leftist division.

The idea of neutralism had been expressed by Kong Le in his earliest speeches in Vientiane, which described the goals of his coup d'état as stopping the fighting among the Laotians and enacting a policy of friendship with all foreign countries, especially Laos's neighbors. At Khang Khay, Soviet diplomats mingled with officials of missions from Beijing and Hanoi, with which relations had been established on May 5. Kong Le's troops readily adopted the unofficial name Neutralist Armed Forces. Souvanna Phouma seized the opportunity of having a sizeable number of adherents on hand at Khang Khay, including many Lao students returned from abroad, to form the Neutralist Party. He was confident the party would outpoll the Pathet Lao's LPF in a free election.

Although publicly deferring to Souvanna Phouma on matters of government policy, the Pathet Lao secretly extended their influence at the grassroots level, using their proven methods of propaganda and organization. In villages under their control, the Pathet Lao installed their own personnel alongside the existing administration. Access to the Pathet Lao-administered areas was forbidden to outsiders, even after the formation of the coalition government.

A hierarchy of politico-military participation and responsibility tied the villagers to a chain of command. All resources in villages under Pathet Lao control were mobilized into both a horizontal and a vertical structure that included organizations of women, youth, and monks. Villagers were easily susceptible to Pathet Lao control, making a Pathet Lao village a world unto itself. Children acted as couriers and lookouts; young people joined the village self-defense units, the lowest level of guerrilla organization; adults acted as porters for the regular guerrilla units; and women made clothing, prepared food, and looked after the sick and wounded.

At the reconvened Geneva Conference, the Neutralists were represented by Quinim, the rightists by Phoui Sananikone, and the Pathet Lao by Phoumi Vongvichit. The separate delegations served until they agreed on forming a unified government to sign the final agreement. All Laos's neighbors were represented, as were the three ICC member countries and their co-chairmen, and the United States and France.

The summit meeting between John F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna on June 3–4, 1961, coincided with the crisis over the North Vietnamese–Pathet Lao cease-fire violations at the besieged Hmong outpost of Padong. The Hmong abandoned Padong in early June and established a new base at Long Chieng. Kennedy protested North Vietnam's involvement to Khrushchev and pointed out that the United States was supporting Laos's neutrality. Both leaders agreed that the conflict in Laos should not bring their two countries into confrontation. The idea of neutralizing Laos had been suggested to Kennedy as early as January.

For the next year, an enormous effort of persuasion involving all the great powers went into getting the Laotian parties to agree to form a coalition government. The effort included meetings among princes Souvanna Phouma, Boun Oum, and Souphanouvong in Zurich and Vientiane and protracted diplomatic consultations in Vientiane, Siangkhoang, Rangoon, Moscow, Paris, and Geneva.

Phoumi finally had to be disabused of the notion that he could count on unqualified U.S. and Thai support. Sarit favored supporting the negotiation policy. Phoumi favored peace but felt that Souvanna Phouma was the wrong choice to lead a new government. W. Averell Harriman, the intermediary, and a U.S. delegation held a tense and acrimonious meeting with Phoumi and his cabinet at the general's office in Vientiane. Phoumi repeated his opposition to Souvanna Phouma, and Harriman warned him he was leading his country to disaster. The meeting ended inconclusively. Phoumi further demonstrated his intransigence by building up his forces at Nam Tha, a town in northwestern Laos without strategic importance, thereby inviting attack. When the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao attacked, camouflaging their violation of the cease-fire with the usual propaganda about mutinies in the opposing ranks, the defenders fled toward the Mekong, leaving most of their weapons behind. Phoumi may have hoped the debacle would precipitate Thai or U.S. armed intervention, but it did not. In the end, he agreed to the coalition.

Souvanna Phouma's new government took office on June 23, 1962, the second coalition in Laos's modern history. In accordance with the principle of tripartism, seven cabinet seats were allocated to the Neutralists, four seats each to the rightists and Pathet Lao, and four to nonparty people. The rapprochement between Souvanna Phouma and Kennedy was manifested by the former's visit to Washington in July at the conclusion of the Geneva Conference. Unlike in 1954, representatives of each of the fourteen participating nations signed the final document, the "Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos" and its Protocol.

The strains imposed on the Neutralists by their alliance of convenience with the Pathet Lao were now manifested. In addition, the presence of the North Vietnamese army that this alliance implied did nothing to support neutralism. As if to confirm their doubts, the Neutralists were subjected to Communist propaganda. Deuane Sunnalath, Kong Le's subordinate, allowed himself to be subverted by this political influence and started publishing his own newspaper, *Khao Pathan Van* (Daily News), full of anti-United States propaganda. Most of Kong Le's followers remained fiercely loyal, however, and the dissidents, who called themselves Patriotic Neutralists, remained a minority.

Less than a year after the Geneva agreement, following a series of incidents in which one of Kong Le's closest aides was assassinated and a U.S. plane on a supply flight to Kong Le authorized by Souvanna Phouma was shot down by Deuane's troops, fighting broke out in the Neutralist camp. Kong Le pulled his men back from Khang Khay and set up a new command post at Muang Souy on the western edge of the Plaine des Jarres. Kong Le was running short of supplies, however, because the Soviet airlift had ended, and the North Vietnamese were in a position to block supplies by road.

An estimated 10,000 North Vietnamese were still present in Laos, despite the stipulation their government had signed at Geneva that withdrawal of all foreign troops be completed by October 7. In preparation for a massive escalation of the conflict in South Vietnam, North Vietnam had expanded the Ho Chi Minh Trail through eastern Laos and garrisoned it with support troops. North Vietnamese troops also were present in northern Laos, where they were engaged almost continuously in pressuring the Hmong guerrillas. All U.S. military advisers had been withdrawn by the deadline, but clandestine operations continued, and supply and reconnaissance flights still were conducted over such heavily contested areas as the Plaine des

Jarres. Antiaircraft fire took its toll on such flights, and as a result, the planes began attacking targets on the ground in Laos.

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Time Line

October 22, 1953

Franco-Lao Treaty of Amity and Association transfers remaining French powers to RLG—while retaining control of military affairs—and completes independence of Laos.

May–July 1954

Laos participates in Geneva Conference on Indochina; under armistice agreements signed by French and Viet Minh on July 20, Viet Minh agree to withdraw from Laos, and Phong Saly and Houaphan provinces are designated regroupment areas for Pathet Lao; RLG pledges to integrate Pathet Lao fighters; International Control Commission established to implement agreements.

March 1955

Phak Pasason Lao (LPP, Pathet Lao) established.

December 14, 1955

Laos admitted to the United Nations (UN).

1956–1957

Negotiations between RLG and Pathet Lao.

January 1956

Pathet Lao congress establishes LPF.

September 1956

Constitution amended to allow formation of a coalition government.

November 1957

First coalition government formed.

May 1958

LPF and allies win partial elections for National Assembly.

July 1958

Souvanna Phouma government resigns following cabinet crisis caused by rightists.

August 1958

Rightist government of Phoui Sananikone formed, excluding LPF.

July–August 1959

Fighting breaks out in northern Laos; UN subcommittee investigates charges of North Vietnam's involvement; LPF deputies arrested.

October 1959

King Sisavang Vong dies; Savang Vatthana succeeds to the throne, rules until 1975.

January 1960

Kou Abhay forms provisional government following coup attempt by army.

April 1960

Elections for National Assembly believed rigged.

August 9, 1960

Kong Le carries out successful Neutralist coup d'état against rightist government of Prince Somsanith; General Phoumi Nosavan forms countercoup committee in Savannakhét and declares martial law; Kong Le hands over power to Souvanna Phouma's third government.

December 1960

Phoumi Nosavan captures Vientiane; Soviet airlift begins to Kong Le and Pathet Lao troops.

January 1961

Souvanna Phouma government recognized by Communist bloc; Prince Boun Oum's Vientiane government recognized by West; heavy fighting breaks out; North Vietnamese troops involved.

May 1961–June 1962

Second Geneva Conference on Laos; agreements among Neutralist, Pathet Lao, and rightist factions prepare way for second coalition government.

July 1962

Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and its Protocol signed in Geneva.

1963–May 1964

Laos increasingly linked with developments in Vietnam; North Vietnamese troops fail to withdraw; Ho Chi Minh Trail expanded; second coalition government collapses; Pathet Lao offensive against Neutralists on Plaine des Jarres; ICC proves ineffective; bombing by United States begins.

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, 1960–January 1963

The U.S. State Department Central Files are the definitive source of American diplomatic reporting on political, military, social, and economic developments throughout the world in the twentieth century. Surpassing the scope of the State Department's *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)* series, the Central Files provide extensive coverage of all political, military, social, and economic matters relating to a particular country and/or world event.

The State Department Central Files for 1960–January 1963 cover a crucial period in U.S. and world history. Each part of the 1960–1966 series contains a wide range of primary materials: special reports and observations on political and military affairs; studies and statistics on socioeconomic matters; interviews and minutes of meetings with U.S. and foreign government officials and leaders; legal and claims documentation; full texts of important letters and cables sent and received by U.S. diplomats and embassy personnel; reports, news clippings, and translations from journals and newspapers; and countless high-level/head of state government documents, including speeches, memoranda, official reports, *aide-mémoire*, and transcripts of political meetings and assemblies.

In addition, these records offer new insights into the evolution of American foreign policy toward both allies and adversaries and into the shaping of the policies of these countries toward the United States. Of even greater importance for the study of individual countries is the comprehensive manner in which the Central Files illuminate the internal affairs of foreign countries. There are thousands of pages arranged topically and chronologically on crucial subjects: political parties, unrest and revolution, human rights, government administration, fiscal and monetary issues, labor, housing, police and crime, public health and works, national defense, military equipment and supplies, foreign policy making, wars and alliances, education, religion, culture, trade, industry, and natural resources. On these subjects and more, the Central Files offer authoritative, in-depth, and timely documentation and analysis.

SOURCE NOTE

Microfilmed from the holdings of the National Archives, College Park, MD, Record Group 59: Records of the Department of State, Central Decimal Files, decimal numbers 751J, 851J, and 951J (Laos internal affairs) and decimal numbers 651J and 611.51J (Laos foreign affairs) for the period 1960–January 1963. All available original documents have been microfilmed.

ORGANIZATION OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE DECIMAL FILING SYSTEM

From 1910 to 1963 the Department of State used a decimal classification system to organize its Central Files. This system assembled and arranged individual documents according to their subject, with each subject having a specific decimal code. The decimal system from 1950 to January 1963 consists of ten primary classifications numbered 0 through 9, each covering a broad subject area.

CLASS 0: Miscellaneous.

CLASS 1: Administration of the United States Government.

CLASS 2: Protection of Interests (Persons and Property).

CLASS 3: International Conferences, Congresses, Meetings, and Organizations.

CLASS 4: International Trade and Commerce. Trade Relations. Customs Administration.

CLASS 5: International Informational and Educational Relations. Cultural Affairs. Psychological Warfare.

CLASS 6: International Political Relations. Bilateral Treaties.

CLASS 7: Internal Political and National Defense Affairs.

CLASS 8: Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs.

CLASS 9: Other Internal Affairs. Communications. Transportation. Science.

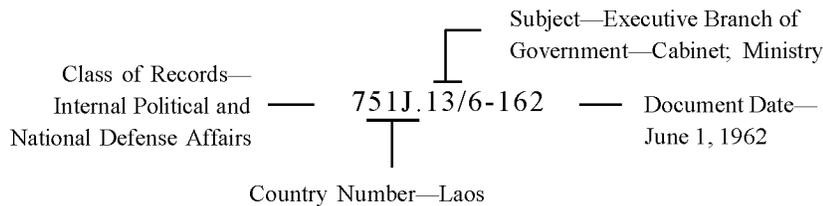
Internal Affairs

For this section of the U.S. State Department Central Files, University Publications of America (UPA) has microfilmed the documents contained in Classes 7, 8, and 9. Within these classes each subject is defined by a decimal file number. The decimal file number is followed by a slant mark (/). The number after the slant mark (/) refers to the date on which the document was generated. Documents within each decimal file number are arranged in chronological order. The entire decimal file number is stamped on the right side of the first page of every document.

These classes are concerned almost exclusively with the internal matters of individual countries. The class number (7, 8, or 9) is followed by the country number. The number following the decimal point indicates subtopics within the major classifications. The date after the slant mark (/) identifies the individual document.

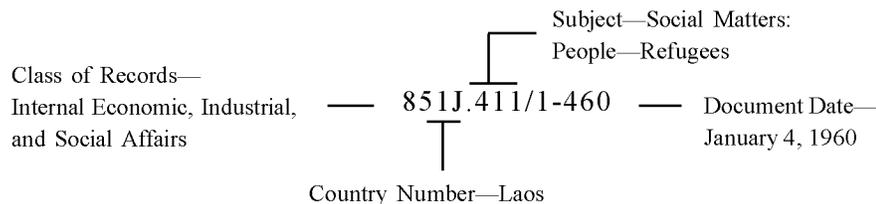
In a small number of instances, documents were assigned erroneous or incomplete decimal numbers. UPA has included, in brackets, corrected decimal entries. In addition, misfiled decimal number documents have also been included in brackets.

CLASS 7. Example, 751J.13/6-162



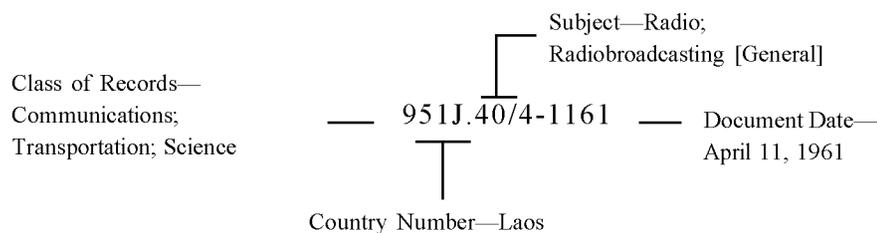
751J.13/6-162 indicates a document dated June 1, 1962, relating to the cabinet of the executive branch of government (13) in Laos (51J).

CLASS 8. Example, 851J.411/1-460



851J.411/1-460 indicates a document dated January 4, 1960, relating to refugees (411) in Laos (51J).

CLASS 9. Example, 951J.40/4-1161



951J.40/4-1161 indicates a document dated April 11, 1961, relating to radio (40) in Laos (51J).

Note: For the convenience of the researcher, wherever a specific classification number totals more than one hundred pages, a breakdown of the material by month and year is provided. Where applicable, major subjects have been included with the month and year breakdown.

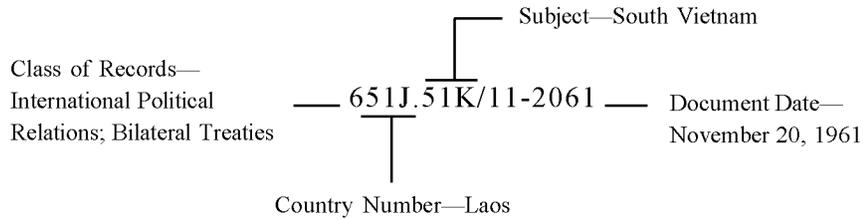
Foreign Affairs

For this section of the U.S. State Department Central Files, UPA has microfilmed the documents contained in Class 6. Within this class, each subject is defined by a decimal file number. The decimal file number is followed by a slant mark (/). The number after the slant mark (/) refers to the date on which the document was generated. Documents within each decimal file number are arranged in chronological order. The entire decimal file number is stamped on the right side of the first page of every document.

In this publication, records classified 651J deal with the foreign policy of Laos and its political relations with other nations. Due to the State Department's arrangement of these records, countries assigned numbers below 51J will not be found in this file. UPA, however, has included files dealing with the political relations between the United States (country number 11) and Laos (51J) in this publication. In order to find the political relations between Laos and countries other than the United States that have a number lower than 51J, the researcher should check the Class 6 records for that country. These records can be found either at the National Archives, College Park, Maryland, or, for many countries, in microform publications that UPA has made available for libraries.

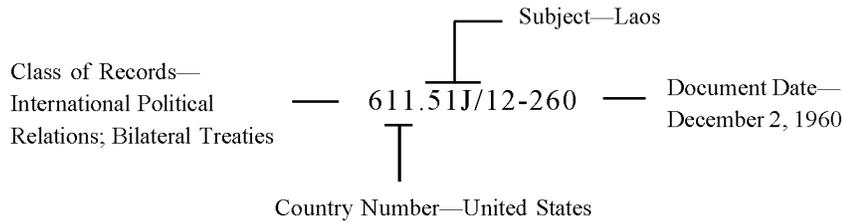
In a small number of instances, documents were assigned erroneous or incomplete decimal numbers. UPA has included, in brackets, corrected decimal entries. In addition, misfiled decimal number documents have also been included in brackets.

CLASS 6. Example, 651J.51K/11-2061



651J.51K/11-2061 indicates a document dated November 20, 1961, relating to the bilateral relations between Laos (51J) and South Vietnam (51K).

CLASS 6. Example, 611.51J/12-260



611.51J/12-260 indicates a document dated December 2, 1960, relating to the bilateral relations between the United States of America (11) and Laos (51J).

Note: For the convenience of the researcher, wherever a specific classification number totals more than one hundred pages, a breakdown of the material by month and year is provided. Where applicable, major subjects have been included with the month and year breakdown.

NUMERICAL LIST OF COUNTRY NUMBERS

- 00 THE WORLD (Universe)
- 01 Outer Space (Aerosphere)
- 01a Moon
- 02 Antarctic
- 03 Arctic
- 10 THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
- 11 United States
- 11a Hawaii (Ocean or Kuré Islands and Palmyra Island)
- 11b U.S. Possessions in the Pacific Ocean
- 11c Puerto Rico
- 11d Guam
- 11e American Samoa (Tutuila, Manua Islands, etc.)
- 11f Canal Zone (Panama Canal Zone), Perido, Naos, Culebra, and Flamenco Islands
- 11g Virgin Islands of the U.S. (St. Croix, St. John, and St. Thomas)
- 11h Wake Island
- 12 Mexico
- 13 CENTRAL AMERICA
- 14 Guatemala
- 15 Honduras
- 16 El Salvador
- 17 Nicaragua
- 18 Costa Rica
- 19 Panama
- 20 SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA (South of the Rio Grande River)
- 21 Colombia
- 22 Ecuador (Galapagos Islands)
- 23 Peru
- 24 Bolivia
- 25 Chile
- 31 Venezuela
- 32 Brazil
- 33 Uruguay
- 34 Paraguay

- 35 Argentina
- 36 WEST INDIAN REPUBLICS
- 37 Cuba, including Isle of Pines
- 38 Haiti
- 39 Dominican Republic
- 40 EUROPE
- 40a Ireland (Eire) (Irish Free State)
- 40b Iceland
- 41 Great Britain, United Kingdom
- 41a Northern Ireland
- 41b British possessions in the Western Hemisphere (except Canada)
- 41c British Honduras
- 41d British Guiana
- 41e British West Indies (includes 41f–41j)
- 41f The West Indies (Federation of British Colonies in the Caribbean)
- 41g Bahamas
- 41h Bermuda
- 41j Virgin Islands
- 41r Falkland Islands
- 41s South Orkney Islands (South Georgia, South Orkneys, and South Sandwich Islands)
- 41t South Shetland Islands
- 42 Canada (including Newfoundland and Labrador)
- 43 Australia
- 44 New Zealand (Cook Islands, Kermad Islands, and Union Islands [Tokela])
- 45 British Territories in Africa
- 45a Union of South Africa (Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal)
- 45b British South Africa (45c–45f)
- 45c Rhodesia (Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and Nyasaland Federation)
- 45d Basutoland
- 45e Bechuanaland
- 45f Swaziland
- 45g British West Africa
- 45h Nigeria (including that portion of the Cameroons under British Protectorate)
- 45j Ghana (*see* 79)
- 45m Sierra Leone
- 45n Gambia
- 45p British East Africa
- 45r Kenya Colony
- 45s Uganda
- 45t Zanzibar
- 45u Somaliland (protectorate)
- 45w Sudan
- 45x British Southwest Africa (formerly German Southwest Africa)
- 46 British territories in Asia
- 46a Andaman and Nicobar Islands

- 46b Laccadive Islands
- 46c Aden Colony and Protectorate (Hadhramaut, Kamaran, Perim, Socotra, Abdul Quiri, and Kuria Muria Islands)
- 46d Bahrein Islands
- 46e Ceylon
- 46f Singapore (Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean)
- 46g Hong Kong
- 46h British Borneo (North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak)
- 46j Republic of the Maldives
- 46k Fiji
- 46m Papua (formerly British New Guinea)
- 46n Pacific Islands, including Tonga (Friendly), Cocos (Isla de Cocos), Labuan, Solomon, Pitcairn, Gilbert Islands, Ellice Islands, and British interest in Christmas Island, Phoenix, and Keeling Islands
- 47 British territories in Mediterranean
- 47a Gibraltar
- 47b Malta
- 47c Cyprus
- 47d St. Helena and dependencies (Diego Alvarez, Gough, Inaccessible, and Nightingale Islands)
- 47e Tristan da Cunha
- 47f Ascension Island
- 47g Seychelles
- 47h Mauritius
- 48 Poland (including Danzig)
- 49 Czechoslovakia
- 50 WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE
- 50a Luxembourg
- 50b Monaco
- 50c Andorra
- 50d San Marino
- 50f Liechtenstein
- 50g Free Territory of Trieste (FTT)
- 51 France (including Corsica)
- 51a St. Pierre and Miquelon
- 51b Martinique
- 51c Guadeloupe and dependencies (Marie Galante, Les Saintes, Desirade, St. Barthelemy and St. Martin) (French West Indies, collectively)
- 51d French Guiana (Cayenne) Inini
- 51e French colonies in America
- 51f French India
- 51g Indochina
- 51h Cambodia
- 51j Laos
- 51k Vietnam
- 51m New Caledonia and dependencies (Isle of Pines, Loyalty Islands, Huon Islands, Chesterfield Islands, Wallis Archipelago)
- 51n Society Islands (Tahiti, Moorea-Morea; Leeward Island-Iles Sous-le-Vent)

- 51p Lesser groups (Tuamotu-Tumotu or Low Archipelago; Gambier Archipelago; Marquesas; Tubuai Archipelago-Austral Islands)
- 51r New Hebrides
- 51s Algeria
- 51t French West Africa and the Sahara (Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, French Sudan, Upper Senegal, and the Niger; Mauritania and Dakar), Togo
- 51u French Equatorial Africa (French Congo) (Gabun-Gabon; Middle Congo-Moyen Congo; Ubanga Shari-Oubangui Chari; and Chad-Tchad; Brazzaville); Cameroun
- 51v French Somali Coast and dependencies (Somali Coast); Djibouti, Issa-Somalis; Dankali, Adaels, Ouemas, and Debenehs
- 51w Madagascar
- 51x Other African Islands (Mayotte, Comoro, Reunion, Amsterdam, St. Paul Marion, Crozet, and Kerguelen)
- 51y French possessions and protectorates in Oceania and Eastern Pacific (Australasia and Oceania)
- 52 Spain
- 52a Canary Islands
- 52b Spanish possessions in Africa
- 52c Rio de Oro and Adrar (Western Sahara)
- 52d Rio Muni and Cape San Juan (Spanish Guinea)
- 52e Fernando Po, Annobon, Corisco, and Elobey Islands
- 52f Tetuan and Ceuta; Gomera, Alhucemas, Melilla
- 52g Balearic Islands
- 53 Portugal
- 53a Madeira
- 53b Azores
- 53c Mozambique
- 53d Portuguese India (Goa, Damao, Diu)
- 53e Macao (Macau)
- 53f Timor
- 53g Cape Verde Islands (Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Vicente, Fogo, Santiago, Boa Vista, Sal Santa, Luzia, Branco, Raso, Maio, Brava, Rei, and Rombo)
- 53h Portuguese Guinea (Guinea Coast), Bijagoz Islands, and Bolama Island
- 53k São Thomé (São Tomé) and Príncipe
- 53m Ladana and Cabinda
- 53n Angola (Portuguese West Africa), Congo, Loanda, Benguella, Mossamedes, Huilla, and Lunda
- 53p Portuguese East Africa
- 54 Switzerland
- 55 Belgium
- 55a Belgian Congo (Belgian Kongo)
- 56 Netherlands
- 56a Surinam (Netherlands Guiana)
- 56b Netherlands Antilles (formerly Netherlands West Indies) (Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Martin, St. Eustatius, Saba)

- 56c Miscellaneous Islands (Riau-Lingga Archipelago, Bangka-Banca; Billiton, Molucca, Timor Archipelago, Bai and Lombok, Netherlands New Guinea, or Western New Guinea)
- 56d Indonesia
- 56f Sumatra
- 57 Norway
- 57a Scandinavia (57, 58, 59, 60e)
- 57b Spitsbergen (Spitzbergen)
- 57c Lapland (Parts of 57, 58, 60e, 61)
- 58 Sweden
- 59 Denmark
- 59a Greenland
- 59b Faeroe (Faroe) or Sheep Islands
- 60 EASTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE (including Balkans, 67, 68, 69, 81, and European part of 82)
- 60a Baltic States
- 60b Esthonia
- 60c Latvia
- 60d Lithuania
- 60e Finland (Aland Islands)
- 61 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- 61a Bessarabia
- 61b Ukraine
- 61c Sakhalin Island (Russian portion)
- 62 Germany
- 62a Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) (Saar)
- 62b Russian Zone (East Germany)
- 62c Polish Administration
- 63 Austria
- 64 Hungary
- 65 Italy
- 65a Vatican City
- 66 Rumania (Roumania)
- 67 Albania
- 68 Yugoslavia
- 69 Bulgaria
- 70 AFRICA (For Belgian possessions, *see* 55a) (For British possessions, *see* 45) (For French possessions, *see* 51s, etc.)
- 70a Mediterranean countries (General)
- 70b Republic of Guinea (*see* 79)
- 70g Congo Republic
- 70x Republic of South Africa
- 71 Morocco
- 72 Tunisia
- 73 Tripoli (Libya or Libia), Barca, Misurata, Benghazi, Derna, Cyrenaica
- 74 Egypt (*see* 86b)
- 75 Ethiopia (Hamara, Galla, and Harar)
- 75a Eritrea
- 76 Liberia

- 77 Trust Territory of Somaliland
- 78 Tanganyika Territory (Ruanda-Urundi), formerly German East Africa
- 79 West African states (includes 45j and 70b)
- 80 NEAR EAST
- 81 Greece
- 81a Crete
- 81b Samos
- 82 Turkey
- 83 Syria (*see* 86b)
- 83a Lebanon (Levant States)
- 84 Palestine
- 84a Israel
- 85 Jordan (Hashemite Jordan Kingdom) (formerly Trans-Jordan)
- 86 Arabia (Arab League) (United Arab states, includes 86b and 86h)
- 86a Saudia Arabia (Kingdom of Hejas and Nejd)
- 86b United Arab Republic (includes 74 and 83)
- 86d Kuwait
- 86e Muscat and Oman
- 86f Qatar
- 86g Trucial Sheikhs
- 86h Yemen
- 87 Iraq (Mesopotamia)
- 88 Iran (Persia)
- 89 Afghanistan
- 90 FAR EAST (including all of Asia)
- 90a Bhutan
- 90b Burma
- 90c Nepal
- 90d Pakistan (Baluchistan)
- 91 India
- 92 Thailand (Siam)
- 93 China
- 93a Manchuria
- 93b Tibet
- 93c Outer Mongolia
- 94 Japan
- 94a Formosa (Taiwan)
- 94b Sakhalin Island (Japanese portion)
- 94c Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), Nampo Islands (Bonin, Volcano, and Marcus)
- 95 Korea
- 95a North Korea
- 95b South Korea
- 96 Philippine Republic
- 97 Malaya (Federation of Malaya comprises the states Pahang, Perak, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu, and the settlements Malacca and Penang) (includes Province of Wellesley)

- 98 Republic of Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes)
99 Pacific Islands (Mandated), New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago,
Solomon Islands (Bougainville, Baku), Marshall Islands, Nauru,
Caroline Islands, Pelew (Palau) Islands, Marianna Islands (Ladrone
Islands), Samoa (Samoan Islands, Western Samoa), Savaii, Upolu

ACRONYMLIST

CDNI	Committee for the Defense of the National Interests
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
ICC	International Control Commission
LPF	Lao Patriotic Front (Communist)
LPP	Lao People's Party
NLHX	The National Patriotic Front Party (Neo Lao Hak Xat)
POWs	prisoners of war
PRC	People's Republic of China
RLG	Royal Lao Government
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
UAR	United Arab Republic
U.K.	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USIS	United States Information Service
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

REEL INDEX

Reel 1

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0001	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] [Laotian Civil War] January 1960 Resignation of Prime Minister He Phoui Sananikone; appointment of CDNI provisional government; rumors of military coup; North Vietnamese allegations of U.S. violations of Geneva Agreements on Laos; Royal Laotian Army takes control of government; posts of regional high commissioners abolished; North Vietnamese propaganda; U.S., British, French, and Australian ambassadors meet with King Sri Savang Vatthana; conference of village-level leaders; UN technical assistance.
0301		February 1960 Election law; Laotian position on coexistence with North Vietnam; UN economic and technical assistance; preparations for April elections.
0375		March 1960 Election law; UN role in Laos; preparations for April elections; proposal for release of imprisoned NLHX leaders; refugees; Communist propaganda.
0539		April 1960 Proposed release of imprisoned NLHX leaders; trial of NLHX leaders; National Assembly elections; National War College briefing on U.S. policy problems and programs in Laos; Communist propaganda; allegations of election fraud.
0779		May 1960 Allegations of election fraud; U.S. position on trial of NLHX leaders; Communist propaganda; proposal for National Union government of all anti-Communist elements; escape of NLHX leaders from custody.

Frame *File* *Subject*

Reel 2

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] June 1960
0001	Escape of NLHX leaders from custody; runoff elections; proposed creation of a national union government; Prime Minister Tiao Somsanith's program; Communist propaganda; proposal to try escaped NLHX leaders in absentia; Pathet Lao rebel activities.
0164	July 1960 Pathet Lao activities; French military training teams; British policy regarding Laos; Third General Meeting of NLHX Party.
0232	August 1960 Corruption among Laotian officials; General Assembly of Lao National Union Party; military coup; appointment of Prince Souvanna Phouma as prime minister; French and British positions on Laotian coup; proposed negotiations between coup leaders and Pathet Lao; United States announces support for Tiao Somsanith government; King Sri Savang Vatthana accepts resignation of Somsanith cabinet; plans by General Phoumi Nosavan for countercoup; Souvanna Phouma convenes National Assembly and names new cabinet; Souvanna Phouma government adopts neutralist position; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan; U.S. concern regarding preservation of integrity of Laotian army; Pathet Lao activities.
0957	September 1960 U.S. concern over Kong Le influence in Laotian government; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan; swearing in of Souvanna Phouma government.

Reel 3

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] September 1960 cont.
0001	Negotiations between Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan; rumors of possible assassination attempt against Phoumi; U.S. concern over Kong Le influence in Laotian government; British and French views on Souvanna Phouma government; Pathet Lao activities; Prince Boun Oum issues statement abolishing government and suspending constitution; Phoumi Nosavan revolts against Souvanna

Frame

File

Subject

Phouma government; General Ouan Rathikone ordered to use military force to restore peace and order; Phoumi dismissed from cabinet and declared a rebel; king calls on Souvanna Phouma to resign if he cannot maintain order; Souvanna Phouma appeals to UN; U.S. Ambassador Horace Smith's departure from Laos; allegations that Thailand is being used as a base of operations against Laos; Youth Party demonstration in Vientiane; U.S. demarche to Prince Boun Oum and General Phoumi; Ambassador Smith's discussions with Souvanna Phouma.

0600

October 1960

Military operations in Sam Neua Province; Souvanna Phouma's dismissal of General Phoumi Nosavan and other insurgent officers; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma and Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan; U.S. concern over Kong Le influence in Laotian government; Pathet Lao activities; U.S. suspension of military aid; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma government and Pathet Lao; proposed transfer of Laotian government from Vientiane to Luang Prabang; British and French views on Souvanna Phouma government; U.S. Assistant Secretary of State J. Graham Parsons' talks with Souvanna Phouma; Phouma; United States announces support for all forces resisting the Pathet Lao, including General Phoumi; Souvanna Phouma requests special financial powers from National Assembly; Souvanna Phouma requests UN military observers.

Reel 4

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00

Political Affairs [General] cont.

[Laotian Civil War]

0001

October 1960 cont.

Negotiations between Souvanna Phouma government and Pathet Lao; U.S. military support to General Phoumi for use against Pathet Lao; military operations; Parsons' mission; proposed transfer of Laotian government from Vientiane to Luang Prabang; U.S. negotiations with General Phoumi Nosavan and Prince Boun Oum; United States plots against Souvanna Phouma; proposal to strengthen Souvanna Phouma cabinet by including right-wing ministers; Pathet Lao activities; Souvanna Phouma's proposal to include Pathet Lao in government.

0197

November 1960

Laotian government's neutralist policy; Pathet Lao activities; U.S. plots to install Phoui Sananikone as prime minister; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma government and

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		Pathet Lao; Soviet offer of economic aid; refusal of General Phoumi to submit to Souvanna Phouma; U.S. support for General Phoumi Nosavan; proposal to include Pathet Lao in government; proposed transfer of Laotian government from Vientiane to Luang Prabang; U.S. plots against Souvanna Phouma; National Neutrality and Unity Committee; Souvanna Phouma's negotiations with Phoumi Nosavan; military coup d'etat at Luang Prabang; military operations; proposed meeting between Phoui Sananikone, Souvanna Phouma, and Phoumi Nosavan in Luang Prabang; British and French views of Laotian situation; agreement between Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong on coalition government; Souvanna Phouma demands that United States halt all aid to rebel forces.

0735	December 1960	U.S. plots against Souvanna Phouma; British and French views on Laotian situation; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma government and Pathet Lao; proposed inclusion of Pathet Lao in coalition government; U.S. support for General Phoumi Nosavan; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma government and Phoumi Nosavan; military operations; military coup in Vientiane by Colonel Kouprasith Abhay; Pathet Lao activities; forces under Kong Le retake Vientiane; Souvanna Phouma departs for Phnom Penh in Cambodia after transferring governmental powers to the army; General Sounthone Pathammavong and Supreme Committee of the National Army take control of Laotian government; Soviet military aid; National Assembly reports vote of no confidence in Souvanna Phouma government; military transfers governmental powers to pro-Communist cabinet minister, Quinim Pholsena; General Phoumi Nosavan's plans to attack Vientiane.
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Reel 5

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001		December 1960 cont. Status of Souvanna Phouma; U.S. support of General Phoumi Nosavan; complaints regarding U.S. intervention in Laotian internal affairs; British and French views of Laotian situation; General Phoumi's attack on Vientiane; king requests that Phoumi Nosavan and Boun Oum form provisional government; Pathet Lao announces support for Souvanna Phouma; Pathet Lao activities; Boun Oum appointed prime minister; India suggests UN intervention in Laos; Souvanna Phouma calls for negotiations for a cease-

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		fire in Laos; Soviet military aid to Pathet Lao; U.S. efforts to ensure constitutional legality of Boun Oum regime; Communist intentions in Laos; proposal for reactivation of ICC in Laos; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; proposals by Souvanna Phouma and Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia calling for neutralization of Laos and Cambodia; North Vietnamese incursions into Laos.
0737		January 1961 British and French views of Laotian situation; U.S. efforts to ensure constitutional legality of Boun Oum regime; North Vietnamese incursions into Laos; complaints regarding Soviet intervention in Laotian internal affairs; proposal for reactivation of the ICC in Laos; Pathet Lao activities; Souvanna Phouma and Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia call for neutralization of Laos and Cambodia.

Reel 6

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001		January 1961 cont. U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; British and French views on Laotian situation; proposal for reactivation of the ICC in Laos; Soviet military aid to Pathet Lao; Pathet Lao activities; North Vietnamese incursions into Laos; U.S. efforts to ensure constitutional legality of Boun Oum regime; military operations; PRC policy regarding Laos; Soviet support for Souvanna Phouma regime; Souvanna Phouma refuses to return to Laos unless broad-based coalition government is created; Laotian National Assembly recognizes Boun Oum government; Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia calls for international conference on Laos; U.S. proposal for a neutral mediation committee on Laos; Soviet policy regarding Laos; efforts to broaden base of Boun Oum government; Laotian-Cambodian border clashes; Phoui Sananikone's views on Laotian political situation; U.S. proposals for reunification of Laos; report on Battle of Vientiane, December 13–16, 1960; Boun Oum regime appeals to UN and SEATO regarding Soviet intervention; transfer of Laotian government functions from Vientiane to Savannakhét.

Frame File Subject

Reel 7

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] January 1961 cont.
0001	British and French views on Laotian situation; proposal for reactivation of ICC in Laos; Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia calls for international conference on Laos; Soviet policy regarding Laos and military aid to Pathet Lao; military operations; U.S. proposal for a neutral mediation committee on Laos; Boun Oum regime appeals to UN and SEATO regarding Soviet intervention; North Vietnamese incursions into Laos; Pathet Lao activities; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Laotian National Assembly recognizes Boun Oum regime; Boun Oum government propaganda; efforts to broaden base of Boun Oum government; U.S. training of Laotian military units; proposal to include Souvanna Phouma in Boun Oum government; U.S. proposals for reunification of Laos; list of members of Boun Oum government.
0405	February 1961 U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia calls for an international conference on Laos; Laotian security problems; proposal for reactivation of ICC in Laos; British and French views on Laotian situation; military operations; proposal to include Souvanna Phouma in Boun Oum government; Boun Oum government propaganda; report on legality of former Souvanna Phouma government; Quinim Pholsena names opposition cabinet members; PRC policy regarding Laos; operations of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; Pathet Lao activities; Souvanna Phouma calls for broad-based coalition government including Pathet Lao; North Vietnamese incursions into Laos; U.S. proposal for Neutral Nations Commission on Laos; draft Laotian declaration of neutrality; efforts to broaden base of Boun Oum government; corruption in Boun Oum government; U.S. proposal for neutralization of Laos; meeting between King Sri Savang Vatthana and U.S. Ambassador Winthrop Brown.

Reel 8

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] February 1961 cont.
0001	U.S. proposal for neutralization of Laos; U.S. proposal for Neutral Nations Commission on Laos; U.S. efforts to persuade King Sri Savang Vatthana to issue declaration of

Frame

File

Subject

Laotian neutrality; British and French views on Laotian situation; efforts to persuade Souvanna Phouma to join Boun Oum government; Seno base dispute with France; proposed meeting between Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan; proposed composition of Neutral Nations Commission on Laos; Pathet Lao activities; king issues declaration of neutrality; efforts to broaden base of Boun Oum government; operations of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; military operations; reduction of French military mission; Cambodia refuses to participate in Neutral Nations Commission; proposal for reactivation of ICC in Laos; PRC policy regarding Laos; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Burma refuses to participate in Neutral Nations Commission; joint statement by Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong calling for end to foreign intervention in Laos.

0470

March 1961

U.S. proposal for Neutral Nations Commission on Laos; efforts to broaden base of Boun Oum government; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Laotian declaration of neutrality; operations of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia calls for international conference on Laos; military operations; joint statement by Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong calling for end to foreign intervention in Laos; British and French views on Laotian situation; proposed meeting between Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan; Pathet Lao activities; Soviet and PRC policies regarding Laos; Soviet military aid to Pathet Lao; Soviet support for Souvanna Phouma; proposal for reactivation of ICC in Laos; report on the Geneva Accords of 1954 and the Vientiane agreements; Souvanna Phouma's position on Laotian situation; Souvanna Phouma–Phoumi Nosavan talks; efforts to remove or neutralize rival Souvanna Phouma government; International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question documents, draft agreements, procedures, and organization; chronology of events in Laos, 1945–1961.

Reel 9

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.

[Laotian Civil War]

0001

March 1961 cont.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia calls for international conference on Laos; Souvanna Phouma leaves on world tour; PRC policy regarding Laos; military situation reports; British and French views on Laotian situation; U.S. proposal for Neutral Nations Commission on Laos; Souvanna

Frame

File

Subject

Phouma–Phoumi Nosavan talks; Soviet policy regarding Laos; proposal for reactivation of ICC in Laos; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; Pathet Lao activities; Soviet military aid to Pathet Lao; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; U.S. threatens direct military intervention in order to halt Pathet Lao advances; calls for cease-fire in Laos; efforts to broaden base of Boun Oum government; U.S. refusal to accept Pathet Lao participation in any coalition government; *Time* magazine article on Laotian crisis; meeting between U.S. Ambassador Winthrop Brown and King Sri Savang Vatthana; U.S. contingency planning for possible UN consideration of the Laotian question; SEATO role in Laos.

0857

April 1961

Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; Soviet policy regarding Laos; proposal for reactivation of ICC in Laos; British and French views on Laotian situation; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; PRC policy regarding Laos; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question.

Reel 10

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]

0001

April 1961 cont.

Documents relating to Laotian National Assembly motion of no confidence in Souvanna Phouma government; PRC policy regarding Laos; International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; British and French views on Laotian situation; reactivation of ICC in Laos; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; Young Lao Movement; U.S. opposition to Pathet Lao participation in coalition government; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Pathet Lao activities; U.S. contingency planning for possible UN consideration of the Laotian question; proposal that King Sri Savang Vatthana head coalition government; Souvanna Phouma invited to visit United States; military situation reports; Soviet policy regarding Laos; Soviet military aid to Pathet Lao; Souvanna Phouma's world tour; SEATO role in Laos; fall of Vang Vieng to Pathet Lao forces.

Frame File Subject

Reel 11

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

0001	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] April 1961 cont. International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Soviet policy regarding Laos; U.S. economic aid proposals; fall of Muong Sai to Pathet Lao forces; PRC policy regarding Laos; Pathet Lao activities; military situation reports; British and French views on Laotian situation; ICC operations in Laos; operations of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; Pathet Lao shoot down U.S. C-47 aircraft; possible UN Security Council action on Laos; proposal for introduction of SEATO standing force in Thailand.
0457		May 1961 Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; British and French views on Laotian situation; Soviet policy regarding Laos; International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question arrangements; proposed federation solution to Laotian question; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; possible UN Security Council action on Laos; Pathet Lao activities; ICC operations in Laos; proposal for SEATO intervention in Laos; military situation reports; W. Averell Harriman's meetings with Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan and with King Sri Savang Vatthana; PRC policy regarding Laos; Laotian representation at international conference; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; position paper on Regional Economic Development Agency.

Reel 12

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

0001	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] May 1961 cont. International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; military situation reports; British and French views on Laotian situation; PRC policy regarding Laos; proposal for SEATO intervention in Laos; ICC operations in Laos; U.S. opposition to seating of Pathet Lao delegation at International Conference; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Laotian representation at International
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Frame *File* *Subject*

Conference; Soviet policy regarding Laos; operations of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; proposed joint talks between Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong; proposal for creation of Southeast Asian neutral zone made up of Laos, Cambodia, and Burma; declarations on the neutrality of Laos; U.S. contingency plans for possible breakup or withdrawal from Geneva Conference.

Reel 13

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001	May 1961 cont. Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; ICC operations in Laos; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; British, French, and Soviet views on Laotian situation; Laotian representation at International Conference; proposal for joint talks between Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong; Laotian declaration of neutrality; military situation reports; proposals for a reorganized Laotian coalition government; PRC policy regarding Laos; proposal for international control machinery to protect Laotian neutrality; U.S. plans for military intervention if cease-fire fails; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime.
0486	June 1961 Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; ICC operations in Laos; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; British and French views on Laotian situation; Soviet policy regarding Laos; military situation reports; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; U.S. troop deployments in Southeast Asia in response to continuing cease-fire violations; proposed SEATO military intervention in Laos; proposed joint talks between Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong; proposal for international control mechanism to protect Laotian neutrality; discussion regarding Laos during Kennedy-Khrushchev summit in Vienna; PRC policy regarding Laos; Pathet Lao demand for inclusion in coalition government; psychological warfare in Laos; future French role in Laos; Pathet Lao attack on and capture of Ban Pa Dong.

Frame File Subject

Reel 14

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
0001 June 1961 cont.
Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; ICC operations in Laos; proposed joint talks between Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong; future role of France in Laos; British and French views of Laotian situation; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; declaration on the organization of the Laotian army; military situation reports; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Soviet and PRC policies regarding Laos; proposals for international economic aid for Laos; proposed SEATO military intervention in Laos; proposal for international control mechanism to protect Laotian neutrality; draft agreement on withdrawal of foreign military forces from Laos; U.S. opposition to partition of Laos; joint communique issued by Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong regarding formation of national union government; Meo refugee situation; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma; Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan invited to visit United States; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation.

Reel 15

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
0001 July 1961
ICC operations in Laos; military situation reports; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; joint communique issued by Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong regarding formation of national union government; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma; proposal for international control mechanism to protect Laotian neutrality; future role of French military mission in Laos; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; Soviet policy regarding Laos; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; British and French views on Laotian situation; U.S. economic and military aid; refugee relief problem; Laotian declaration of neutrality;

Frame *File* *Subject*

proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces; U.S. contingency planning in event of unsatisfactory coalition government; U.S. opposition to partition of Laos; proposed meeting of Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong at Luang Prabang or Phnom Penh, Cambodia; efforts to amend Laotian constitution to install king as prime minister; efforts to secure release of U.S. prisoners from Pathet Lao.

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001	July 1961 cont. ICC operations in Laos; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian declaration of neutrality; efforts to secure release of U.S. prisoners from Pathet Lao; efforts to amend constitution to install king as prime minister; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; military situation reports; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; refugee relief problem proposed meeting of Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong in Phnom Penh, Cambodia; PRC demand for abolition of SEATO.
0147	August 1961 Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; proposed meeting of Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong in Phnom Penh, Cambodia; ICC operations in Laos; Laotian declaration of neutrality; refugee relief program; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma; efforts to amend constitution to install king as prime minister; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; future role of French military mission in Laos; military situation reports; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; British and French views on Laotian situation; Soviet policy regarding Laos; Falaize mission; proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces; conditions for Western acceptance of a coalition government headed by Souvanna Phouma.

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Reel 17

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] August 1961 cont.
0001	Interviews with Pathet Lao prisoners; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; Falaize mission; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces; ICC operations in Laos; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; proposals for reconstitution of Laotian army and dissolution of Pathet Lao irregular forces; Laotian declaration of neutrality; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma.
0373	September 1961 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; ICC operations in Laos; Laotian declaration of neutrality; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma; proposals for reconstitution of Laotian army and dissolution of Pathet Lao irregulars; U.S. contingency planning in event of renewal of civil war; Laotian attitudes toward Meo participation in civil war; USIS reports on conditions in southern Laos; proposed meeting between W. Averell Harriman and Souvanna Phouma; Communist propaganda; conditions for Western acceptance of coalition government headed by Souvanna Phouma; proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; possibility of partition of Laos; Harriman–Souvanna Phouma talks.

Reel 18

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War] September 1961 cont.
0001	Harriman–Souvanna Phouma talks; ICC operations in Laos; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; proposals for reconstitution of Laotian Army and dissolution of Pathet Lao irregulars; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; U.S. contingency planning in event of renewal of civil war; Harriman talks with King Sri Savang Vatthana and with Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan; plans

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for possible SEATO military intervention; future role of French military mission; possibility of partition of Laos; U.S. plans for possible replacement of Phoumi Nosavan with more compliant general; Phoumi Nosavan, Boun Oum, and Souvanna Phouma suggested as possible candidates for next prime minister; North Vietnamese propaganda; USIS report on conditions at Pak Lay; proposed meeting between Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong at Ban Hin Heup; refugee relief program.

0621

October 1961

Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Laotian declaration of neutrality; ICC operations in Laos; proposals for organization of Laotian police; meeting of Princes Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong at Ban Hin Heup; U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Phoui Sananikone's views on Laotian situation; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; refugee relief program; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; proposals for reconstitution of Laotian army and dissolution of Pathet Lao irregulars; Soviet policy regarding Laos; U.S. contingency planning in event of renewal of civil war; USIS report on conditions in Muong Sanakham; agreement that Souvanna Phouma will be the sole candidate suggested as new prime minister; SEATO's relationship to a neutral Laos; complaints regarding use of Laos for infiltration of South Vietnam.

Reel 19

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00

Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
October 1961 cont.

0001

Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; SEATO's relationship to a neutral Laos; agreement on nomination of Souvanna Phouma as new prime minister; ICC operations in Laos; proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces; meeting between Souvanna Phouma and the king; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; future of French military mission; proposals for reconstitution of Laotian army and dissolution of Pathet Lao irregulars; Laotian neutrality declaration; complaints regarding use of Laos for infiltration of South Vietnam; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0292		<p>November 1961</p> <p>Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; ICC operations in Laos; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; proposals for reconstitution of Laotian army and dissolution of Pathet Lao irregulars; SEATO's relationship to a neutral Laos; mortar attack on Xieng Khouang by Boun Oum forces; Phoui Sananikone and Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; alleged Pathet Lao-Viet Minh buildup on South Vietnamese border; Laotian neutrality declaration; proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces; proposed meeting of Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong at Plaine des Jarres; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and Souvanna Phouma; proposals for Laotian police organization; allegations of CIA support for Phoumi Nosavan; failure to reach agreement on security arrangements for proposed meeting of Laotian princes in Vientiane; Soviet policy regarding Laos.</p>
0962		<p>December 1961</p> <p>Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and Souvanna Phouma; ICC operations in Laos; Phoui Sananikone's views on Laotian situation, negotiations relating to meeting of three Laotian princes in Vientiane; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian neutrality declaration.</p>

Reel 20

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.00	<p>Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]</p>
0001		<p>December 1961 cont.</p> <p>Negotiations relating to meeting of three Laotian princes in Vientiane; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; UN study of public administration in Laos; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian neutrality declaration; ICC operations in Laos; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma; U.S. contingency planning in event of renewal of civil war; SEATO's relationship to a neutral Laos; proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces; meeting between Boun Oum and Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong at Plaine des Jarres; Phoumi Nosavan's plans to have king form new coalition government with king serving as prime minister; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; U.S. offer of economic aid; Pathet Lao activities</p>

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		and propaganda; refugee relief problem; British and French views on Laotian situation; breakdown of three princes' talks in Vientiane.
0519		<p>January 1962</p> <p>Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan; U.S. threatens to cut off military aid to Boun Oum regime; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; three Laotian princes invited to meet in Geneva, Switzerland; Laotian National Bank temporarily suspends sale of U.S. dollars and French francs; SEATO's relationship to a neutral Laos; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; ICC operations in Laos; refusal of Phoumi Nosavan and Boun Oum to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; U.S. contingency planning in event of renewal of civil war; British and French views on Laotian situation; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; Laotian neutrality declaration; possible U.S. military aid to a Souvanna Phouma government; report on accomplishments of Boun Oum regime; refugee relief program; Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan announce refusal to accept Souvanna Phouma as new prime minister; Soviet policy regarding Laos; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation.</p>

Reel 21

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001		<p>January 1962 cont.</p> <p>ICC operations in Laos; meeting of three Laotian princes in Geneva, Switzerland; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Laotian neutrality declaration; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; refusal of Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan announce refusal to accept Souvanna Phouma as new prime minister; Thai and U.S. military aid to Boun Oum regime; Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong agreement on composition of new Laotian coalition government; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; refugee relief problem; British and French views on Laotian situation; Pathet Lao attack on and capture of Nam Tha; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi</p>

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; military operations by Boun Oum regime.
0475		February 1962 Pathet Lao attack on Nam Tha; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; refugee relief program; USIS reports on conditions in southern Laos; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; military situation reports; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; refusal of Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; ICC operations in Laos; Soviet policy regarding Laos; possible request by Phoumi Nosavan for SEATO military intervention; U.S. decision to negotiate directly with Souvanna Phouma; Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan announce refusal to accept Souvanna Phouma as new prime minister; British and French views on Laotian situation; U.S. refusal to allow Phoumi Nosavan to reinforce Nam Tha; Laotian neutrality declaration; Souvanna Phouma's audience with the king at Luang Prabang; negotiations between Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan at Luang Prabang; Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; Souvanna Phouma admits inability to control Pathet Lao troops; tentative cabinet proposals by Souvanna Phouma; proposals for civic action programs.

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001		February 1962 cont. Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; tentative cabinet proposals by Souvanna Phouma; refusal of Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; Boun Oum regime military communiqués; Soviet policy regarding Laos.
0089		March 1962 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Laotian neutrality declaration; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; ICC operations in Laos; refusal of

Frame

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Subject

Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; tentative cabinet proposals by Souvanna Phouma and U.S. rejection of them as unacceptable; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; British, French, and Thai views on Laotian situation; Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan announce refusal to accept Souvanna Phouma as new prime minister; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; King Sri Savang Vatthana's support for Boun Oum regime; anti-United States propaganda by Boun Oum regime; U.S. withdrawal of financial aid for Boun Oum regime; refugee relief program; representatives of Boun Oum regime in Geneva ordered to return home; Pathet Lao attack on Nam Tha; military situation reports; proposed Harriman-Phoumi Nosavan meeting; king's opposition to Pathet Lao participation in coalition government; Boun Oum regime military communiqués; Souvanna Phouma's decision to return to Paris.

0613

April 1962

Souvanna Phouma's decision to return to Paris; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; military situation reports; ICC operations in Laos; refugee relief program; Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan announce refusal to accept Souvanna Phouma as new prime minister; proposal that National Assembly grant full powers to king and that king form coalition government; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; Thailand's views on Laotian situation; U.S. economic and military sanctions against Boun Oum regime; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; anti-United States propaganda by Boun Oum regime; USIS reports on conditions in southern Laos; Boun Oum regime's efforts to obtain foreign economic and military support; military situation reports; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; Boun Oum regime requests assurances from Souvanna Phouma if they yield on issue of Defense and Interior ministries.

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
0001 May 1962

Boun Oum regime decision to reinforce Nam Tha; ICC operations in Laos; Boun Oum regime requests assurances from Souvanna Phouma if they yield on issue of Defense and

Frame File Subject

Interior ministries; U.S. efforts to reopen negotiations between Souvanna Phouma and Phoumi Nosavan; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; British and French views on Laotian situation; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; U.S. economic and military sanctions against Boun Oum regime; Nam Tha and Muong Sing fall to the Pathet Lao; king's views on Laotian situation; military situation reports; Soviet policy regarding Laos; President Kennedy orders elements of U.S. Seventh Fleet to Gulf of Thailand; Pathet Lao plans for military offensive; USIS reports on conditions in southern Laos; Pathet Lao attack on Ban Houei Sai and evacuation of town by Boun Oum forces; U.S. military deployment measures and contingency planning in response to Pathet Lao offensive; U.S. efforts to reestablish Laotian cease-fire; reorganization of Boun Oum regime military forces; U.S. efforts to force Phoumi Nosavan to resign as defense minister and deputy prime minister and return to status as full-time military commander; complaint to UN by Boun Oum regime regarding Pathet Lao offensive; reoccupation of Ban Houei Sai by Boun Oum forces; United States withdraws support for Phoumi Nosavan; refugee relief program; U.S. efforts to influence Phoui Sananikone and to encourage him to join reorganized Laotian coalition government; PRC propaganda.

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001	May 1962 cont. U.S. military deployment measures and contingency planning in response to Pathet Lao offensive; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Souvanna Phouma's return to Laos; U.S. withdrawal of support for Phoumi Nosavan; Pathet Lao and Viet Minh attack on Ban Houei Sai and military buildup against Saravane; ICC operations in Laos; military situation reports; Soviet policy regarding Laos; USIS report on conditions in southern Laos.
0193	June 1962 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; ICC operations in Laos; military situation reports; negotiations by three Laotian princes at Plaine des Jarres; U.S. refusal to restore economic aid until new Souvanna Phouma government installed; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma; U.S. contingency planning in event of breakdown in negotiations for new coalition government and resumption of

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File

Subject

hostilities; British and French views on Laotian situation; agreement on formation and composition of new coalition government of national union headed by Souvanna Phouma; U.S. opposition to designation of Quinim Pholsena as foreign minister in new government; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; United States resumes economic aid to new Souvanna Phouma government; U.S. negotiations for release of POWs held by Pathet Lao; Thailand's reservations regarding Souvanna Phouma government; Laotian neutrality declaration and cease-fire proclamation; Laotian National Assembly approves new Souvanna Phouma government; Boun Oum's resignation as prime minister; Communist propaganda; Souvanna Phouma's foreign and domestic policy programs; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; SEATO's relationship to a neutral Laos.

Reel 25

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001	June 1962 cont. Souvanna Phouma's foreign and domestic policy programs; Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; French military mission to Laos; installation of new Souvanna Phouma coalition government; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces.
0080	July 1962 Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; military situation reports; U.S. negotiations for release of POWs held by Pathet Lao; Laotian neutrality declaration; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; Souvanna Phouma's decision to recognize PRC and North Vietnam; SEATO's relationship to a neutral Laos; French military mission to Laos; proposals for UN economic aid programs; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; Soviet policy regarding Laos; ICC operations in Laos; USIS report on conditions in southern Laos; plans for withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces from Laos; signing of Geneva Agreements on Laos; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; Souvanna Phouma's visit to United States and discussions with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0693		<p>August 1962</p> <p>Proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces in Laos; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; Souvanna Phouma's visit to United States and discussions with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara; Soviet policy regarding Laos; military situation reports; British and French views on Laotian situation; withdrawal of U.S. and Thai military advisers; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; U.S. negotiations for release of POWs held by Pathet Lao; refugee relief problem; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; ICC operations in Laos; Souphanouvong's refusal to permit inspection teams from supervising Viet Minh withdrawal; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations.</p>

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.00	<p>Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]</p>
0001		<p>August 1962 cont.</p> <p>Withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces in Laos; French military mission to Laos; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations.</p>
0051		<p>September 1962</p> <p>Proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces in Laos; French military mission to Laos; ICC operations in Laos; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; USIS reports on conditions in southern Laos; military situation reports; U.S. evaluation of Souvanna Phouma government; U.S. study of Laotian election procedures; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; official report of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; Laotian neutrality declaration; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures.</p>
0477		<p>October 1962</p> <p>U.S. aid to Meo tribesmen in Laos; refugee relief problem; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces from Laos; ICC operations in Laos; withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; possibilities of modifying 1957 electoral law; U.S. project to identify and evaluate potential Laotian leaders; National Assembly votes full powers to Souvanna Phouma government for one year; investigations of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement; complaints</p>

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		regarding continued presence of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; comments of other delegations to the Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question; increasing Pathet Lao and neutralist opposition to Souvanna Phouma government.

0896	November 1962	Investigations of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; French military mission to Laos; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; Souvanna Phouma threatens to resign as prime minister if impasse over coalition government continues; U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; ICC operations in Laos; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma and Kong Le.
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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.00	Political Affairs [General] cont. [Laotian Civil War]
0001		November 1962 cont. Investigations of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement; Pathet Lao opposition to Souvanna Phouma government; ICC operations in Laos; French military mission to Laos; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; Phoumi Nosavan's visit to USSR; complaints regarding continued presence of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; proposals for recruitment of Laotian civil police force; U.S. military presence in Thailand; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma and Kong Le; shooting down of Air America plane by Pathet Lao at Plaine des Jarres; Mansfield mission to Laos; U.S. military aid to Kong Le neutralist military forces in Laos.
0134	December 1962	Shooting down of Air America plane by Pathet Lao at Plaine des Jarres; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian military forces; ICC operations in Laos; Pathet Lao cease-fire violations; French military mission to Laos; Deputy Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson's discussions with members of Souvanna Phouma government; investigations of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement; Souvanna Phouma's views on Laotian situation; tensions between Kong Le neutralist forces and Pathet Lao at Plaine des Jarres; Souvanna Phouma's plans for cabinet reorganization; U.S. military aid to Kong Le neutralist military forces in Laos.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0315		January 1963 Souvanna Phouma's plans for cabinet reorganization; possible removal of Quinim Pholsena as foreign minister; ICC operations in Laos; investigations of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; Laotian–South Vietnamese relations; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; French military mission to Laos; tensions between Kong Le's neutralist forces and Pathet Lao at Plaine des Jarres.
	751J.00(W)	Political Affairs: Weeka Reports [Weekly reports on Laotian political and military situation]
0454		January 1960 Overthrow of Phoui Sananikone government.
0467		February 1960
0470		March 1960
0479		April 1960
0487		May 1960
0495		June 1960 Appointment of Tiao Samsanith as prime minister.
0511		July 1960
0526		August 1960
0527		August 1961 Conditions for Western support of national union government headed by Souvanna Phouma; Falaize mission.
0543		September 1961 Harriman–Souvanna Phouma talks.
0557		October 1961 Meeting of Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphavong at Ban Hin Heup.
0576		November 1961
0595		December 1961
0612		January 1962
0626		February 1962 Pathet Lao attack on Nam Tha.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0645		March 1962
0663		April 1962
0682		May 1962 Fall of Nam Tha and Muong Sing to Pathet Lao.
0707		June 1962 Agreement on formation and composition of new coalition government of national union headed by Souvanna Phouma.
0719		July 1962
0743		August 1962 Proposals for withdrawal of foreign military forces.
0767		September 1962 Withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces in Laos.
0785		October 1962 Investigation of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement.
0799		November 1962
0810		December 1962 Shooting down of Air America plane by Pathet Lao at Plaine des Jarres.
0830		January 1963
0857	751J.001	Political Affairs: Communism
0863	751J.02	Political Affairs: Government January 1960
0866		May 1960 British and French views on Laotian situation; proposals for new Laotian coalition government; proposed appointment of Phoumi Nosavan as prime minister; escape of NLHX leaders from custody; Souvanna Phouma elected president of National Assembly.
0956		June 1960

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0957		August 1960 Appointment of Souvanna Phouma as prime minister following Kong Le coup; list of Souvanna Phouma cabinet ministers.
0969		September 1960
0971		December 1960 U.S. recognition of Boun Oum regime.
0989		January 1961 Laotian National Assembly recognizes Boun Oum regime.
1016		February 1961
1017		March 1961 Efforts to broaden base of Boun Oum government; Phoui Sananikone's views on Laotian situation.
1023		September 1961 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government under Souvanna Phouma.
1024		July 1962 Signing of Geneva Agreements on Laos.

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

0001	751J.02A	Political Affairs: Government—Advisers
0008	751J.022	Political Affairs: Government—Territory
0043	751J.03	Political Affairs: Constitution
0054	751J.04	Political Affairs: Flag
0058	751J.11	Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Chief Executive; King January 1960
0061		February 1960 Funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong.
0065		March 1960
0072		April 1960 Visit of King Sri Savang Vatthana to provinces of Nam Tha and Phongsaly.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0078		May 1960 Discussions between Lord Selkirk and King Sri Savang Vatthana.
0081		June 1960 Death of Prince Souvannarath.
0090		July 1960 Funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong.
0092		August 1960 Funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong.
0102		September 1960 Funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong.
0108		October 1960
0114		November 1960 Rumors that King Sri Savang Vatthana is being held under duress at Luang Prabang.
0116		December 1960 Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma flees the country.
0117		January 1961 Funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong; information regarding King Sri Savang Vatthana's children.
0132		February 1961 Souvanna Phouma returns to Laos.
0140		March 1961 Possible visit to United States by Souvanna Phouma; funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong; Souvanna Phouma's visit to UAR and discussions with Gamel Abdel Nasser.
0166		April 1961 King Sri Savang Vatthana's visit to Savannakhét; possible visit to United States by Souvanna Phouma; meeting between King Sri Savang Vatthana and U.S. Ambassador Winthrop Brown regarding possible SEATO military intervention in Laos; funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong.
0259		May 1961
0273		June 1961

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0276		July 1961
0279		August 1961 U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma.
0281		September 1961
0282		October 1961
0283		November 1961
0286		December 1961 Phoumi Nosavan's plan to have king form new coalition government with the king as prime minister.
0291		January 1962 Meeting of Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong in Geneva, Switzerland; biographical data on Souvanna Phouma.
0308		February 1962 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.
0311		March 1962 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.
0321		April 1962 Souvanna Phouma's demand that United States cut off military aid to the Boun Oum regime; Souvanna Phouma's views on the Laotian situation.
0333		May 1962 Malcolm McDonald's audience with King Sri Savang Vatthana regarding the Geneva Conference.
0345		June 1962 Possible movement of U.S. forces into Laos.
0354		July 1962 Souvanna Phouma's visit to United States; U.S. negotiations for release of POWs held by Pathet Lao; marriage of Crown Prince Vong Savang; Souvanna Phouma's meeting with President Kennedy.
0457		August 1962 Marriage of Crown Prince Vong Savang.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0472		September 1962 Plans for visits by Souvanna Phouma and King Sri Savang Vatthana to the capitals of all nations that signed the Geneva Agreements.
0484		October 1962 Thailand's views on the Laotian situation; Souvanna Phouma's visit to Bangkok; Laotian diplomatic recognition of North Vietnam; investigation of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement; plans for visits by Souvanna Phouma and King Sri Savang Vatthana to the capitals of all nations that signed the Geneva Agreements.
0503		November 1962 U.S. supplies to neutralist forces in Laos; plans for visits by Souvanna Phouma and King Sri Savang Vatthana to the capitals of all nations that signed the Geneva Agreements.
0522		December 1962 Vong Savang officially designated as crown prince of Laos.
0525		January 1963 Plans for visits by Souvanna Phouma and King Sri Savang Vatthana to the capitals of all nations that signed the Geneva Agreements; Vong Savang officially designated as crown prince of Laos; plans for King Sri Savang Vatthana's visit to Washington, D.C., in February 1963; Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong's views on the Laotian situation.
0624	751J.111	Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Chief Executive: Provincial Governors
	751J.13	Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Cabinet; Ministry
0626		January 1960 Resignation of Phoui Sananikone as prime minister; end of constitutional mandate for King's Council; proposals for new coalition government; Kou Abhay named provisional prime minister; U.S. economic aid.
0658		March 1960 Illness of Deputy Prime Minister Nhouy Abhay.
0663		April 1960 Inefficiency of Laotian agriculture services; election of Tiao Somsanith as prime minister.
0672		May 1960 Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; Tiao Somsanith requested to form cabinet by king.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0694		June 1960 Composition of Tiao Somsanith government; National Assembly gives vote of confidence to Somsanith government; Tiao Somsanith's investiture speech; Somsanith government financial and economic policies; assessment of Foreign Minister Khamphan Panya.
0734		August 1960 Kong Le coup; Souvanna Phouma appointed prime minister; assessment of Minister of the Interior Quinim Pholsena.
0749		September 1960 Royal ordinance excluding Phoumi Nosavan and Leuam Insiengmay from cabinet for failure to assume duties.
0756		October 1960 U.S. discussions with Minister of Planning, Public Works and National Economy Khamsing and Secretary of State for Rural Affairs Tiao Sisoumang.
0765		November 1960 U.S. discussions with Secretary of State for Rural Affairs Tiao Sisoumang.
0771		December 1960 Souvanna Phouma departs for Phnom Penh, Cambodia, after transferring authority to the army; composition of Boun Oum government; Boun Oum appointed prime minister.
0775		January 1961 Boun Oum appointed prime minister; composition of Boun Oum government.
0787		March 1961 Reorganization of Ministry of Finance; tabulation of membership in Laotian cabinets.
0823		April 1961 Souvanna Phouma's visit to USSR.
0826		June 1961 List of Laotian prime ministers since 1945; U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma.
0830		July 1961 Phoumi Nosavan's visit to United States.
0835		September 1961 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.
0836		October 1961

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.
0838		November 1961 Efforts by Boun Oum regime to broaden base of government.
0839		January 1962 Boun Oum invited to meet with Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong at Geneva; assessment of Souvanna Phouma.
0845		February 1962 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Souvanna Phouma's tentative cabinet proposals.
0852		March 1962 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.
0871		April 1962
0873		June 1962 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; appointment of Quinim Pholsena as foreign minister.
0879		July 1962 Proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; Phoumi Nosavan's views in Laotian situation; U.S. negotiations for release of POWs held by Pathet Lao.
0883		August 1962 U.S. discussions with Minister of Information, Propaganda, and Tourism Phoumi Vongvichit; Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation.
0892		September 1962
0894		October 1962
0900		December 1962 Souvanna Phouma's plans for cabinet reorganization.
0901		January 1963 Souvanna Phouma's plans for cabinet reorganization; possible removal of Quinim Pholsena as foreign minister.
0902	751J.14	Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Civil Service June 1960 Possible strike by Government Employees Association.
0906		July 1960 Civil Servants Union National Congress in Vientiane.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0953		October 1960 Political position and activities of Laotian civil servants in Vientiane.
0967		October 1961
0968		December 1961 Statistics on distribution of civil servants in Laos; UN study of civil service in Laos.
0993		February 1962 Annual meeting of Laotian Civil Servants Union.

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

0001	751J.2	Political Affairs: Legislative Branch of Government
0054	751J.21	Political Affairs: Legislative Branch of Government—Proceedings
0077	751J.34	Political Affairs: Judicial Branch of Government—Laws; Statutes
	751J.5	National Defense Affairs [General] [U.S. military aid; Laotian Civil War]
0083		January 1960
0108		February 1960 Franco–U.S. joint military training program.
0115		March 1960 Franco–U.S. joint military training program.
0148		April 1960 Franco–U.S. joint military training program.
0155		May 1960 Assessment of Defense Minister Phoumi Nosavan; Franco–U.S. joint military training program.
0163		June 1960 Franco–U.S. joint military training program; Laotian army intelligence capabilities; consolidation of Laotian civil, police, and military budgets.
0195		July 1960 Franco–U.S. joint military training program.
0265		August 1960

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		Franco–U.S. joint military training program; Laotian army rural security team activities; U.S. study on Laotian internal security.
0301		September 1960 Laotian army pay situation; Franco–U.S. joint military training program.
0307		October 1960 Contingency planning for possible U.S. military intervention.
0316		November 1960
0321		December 1960 Assistant Secretary of State J. Graham Parsons' briefing on Laos for the House Government Operations Subcommittee.
0338		January 1961 Status of U.S. military training teams in Laos.
0343		February 1961 Increase in size of Laotian army.
0344		March 1961 Effect of security conditions in Laos and Vietnam on Mekong River Project; Franco–U.S. joint military training program.
0352		April 1961 Proposals for organization of Laotian civil police force.
0360		May 1961 U.S. military training program.
0362		July 1961 Laotian military situation reports.
0377		August 1961 Laotian military situation reports.
0501		September 1961 Operations of Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Laos; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces.
0513		October 1961 Proposed changes in Laotian army force structure; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; French military mission to Laos.
0547		November 1961

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		Proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces.
0601		December 1961 Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; security conditions in southern Laos; Air America operations in Laos; proposals for organization of Laotian civil police force.
0621		January 1962 Refusal of Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; French military mission to Laos; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; U.S. economic and military sanctions against Boun Oum regime; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; Pathet Lao/Viet Minh military buildup.
0670		February 1962 Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; Pathet Lao attack on Nam Tha; rumors concerning opposition to U.S. government policies by U.S. officials in Laos; Phoumi Nosavan's decision to reinforce Nam Tha; refusal of Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith.
0708		March 1962 Military situation reports; civic action programs.
0722		April 1962 Proposed U.S. military sanctions against Boun Oum regime; civic action programs.
0737		May 1962 Phoumi Nosavan's decision to reinforce Nam Tha; U.S. counterinsurgency policy for Laos; withdrawal of U.S. economic aid; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; fall of Nam Tha and Muong Sing to Pathet Lao; U.S. withdrawal of support from Phoumi Nosavan; U.S. military deployment measures and contingency planning in response to Pathet Lao offensive; plans for organization of Laotian civil police force; Pathet Lao attack on Ban Houei Sai; improvement of capabilities of Laotian police forces.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0856		June 1962 Agreement on formation and composition of new coalition government of national union headed by Souvanna Phouma; withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; plans for organization of Laotian civil police force.
0874		July 1962 Laotian army force reductions; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; French military mission to Laos; withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces from Laos.
0886		August 1962 Souvanna Phouma's discussions with U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; proposals for organization of Laotian civil police force; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; French military mission to Laos; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces in Laos; withdrawal of U.S. military advisers.
0938		September 1962 Identification of Viet Minh POWs held by Phoumi Nosavan; French military mission to Laos; withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; Laotian army force levels; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces in Laos; Air America operations in Laos; police assistance programs.

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.5	National Defense Affairs [General] cont. [U.S. military aid; Laotian Civil War]
0001		October 1962 U.S. aid to Meo tribesmen in Laos; proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; withdrawal of U.S. military advisers; refugee relief program; proposals for withdrawal of Viet Minh forces in Laos; Air America operations in Laos; Laotian army force levels; U.S. military aid to Kong Le neutralist military forces in Laos; investigation of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement.
0057		November 1962 Proposals for integration and mobilization of Laotian armed forces; Air America operations in Laos; U.S. military aid to Kong Le neutralist military forces in Laos; shooting down of Air America plane by Pathet Lao at Plaine des Jarres.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0132		December 1962 Proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; U.S. military aid for Kong Le neutralist military forces in Laos; French military mission to Laos; Air America operations in Laos.
0187		January 1963 Proposals for integration and demobilization of Laotian armed forces; U.S. military aid to Kong Le neutralist military forces in Laos.
0196	751J.5MSP	National Defense Affairs: Mutual Security Program [U.S. military aid] January 1960
0217		February 1960
0246		March 1960
0315		April 1960
0370		May 1960
0404		June 1960
0474		July 1960
0520		August 1960
0547		September 1960
0562		October 1960
0689		November 1960
0751		December 1960
0816		January 1961
0847		February 1961
0870		March 1961
0881		April 1961
0974		May 1961

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0997		June 1961
1008		July 1961

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Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

	751J.5MSP	National Defense Affairs: Mutual Security Program cont. [U.S. military aid] July 1961 cont.
0001		
0015		August 1961
0053		September 1961
0068		October 1961
0085		December 1961
0091		March 1962
0093		May 1962
0095		July 1962
0096		August 1962
0105	751J.521	National Defense Affairs: Intelligence Activities—Biographical Data
0120	751J.5293	National Defense Affairs: Intelligence Activities of China in Laos
	751J.54	National Defense Affairs: Maneuvers; Troop Movements March 1960
0122		
0123		April 1961
0124		May 1961 Military situation reports.
0129		June 1961 Military situation reports.
0148		July 1961 Military situation reports.
0200		August 1961

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0201		January 1962 Military situation reports.
0213		February 1962 Military situation reports.
0222		March 1962 Military situation reports.
0229		April 1962 Military situation reports.
0235		May 1962 Military situation reports.
0238		June 1962 Report on Viet Minh and Pathet Lao military units in Laos.
0240		July 1962 Military situation reports.
0242		August 1962 Report on presence of Viet Minh, Russians, and Red Chinese in Laos; Soviet air activities in Laos.
0254		November 1962 Investigation of Viet Minh violations of troop withdrawal agreement.
0256	751J.5400	National Defense Affairs: Troop Movements; Overflights—by Other Countries
	751J.5411	National Defense Affairs: Troop Movements; Overflights—by the United States
0257		September 1960
0260		December 1960 U.S. reconnaissance flights.
0263		March 1961 Impounding of South Vietnamese aircraft by Cambodia; Pathet Lao attack on U.S. air attaché aircraft; capture of Major Lawrence Bailey by Pathet Lao.
0307		April 1961 Capture of Major Lawrence Bailey by Pathet Lao and U.S. efforts to obtain his release.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0345		May 1961 U.S. efforts to obtain release of Major Lawrence Bailey from Pathet Lao.
0356		August 1961 U.S. reconnaissance flights.
0358		September 1961 U.S. reconnaissance flights.
0361		February 1962 U.S. naval operations off the coast of South Vietnam.
0363		May 1962 U.S. naval operations in the Gulf of Siam; deployment of U.S. troops in Thailand near Laotian border.
0367		August 1962 U.S. reconnaissance flights; Pathet Lao shoot down U.S. jet over Khang Khay.
0403		October 1962
0404	751J.5451H	National Defense Affairs: Overflights—by Cambodia
0410	751J.5461	National Defense Affairs: Overflights—by USSR
0412	751J.5493	National Defense Affairs: Overflights—by China
0419	751J.55	National Defense Affairs: Organization
0426	751J.551	National Defense Affairs: Organization—Personnel
0440	751J.5512	National Defense Affairs: Organization—Personnel: Pay
0441	751J.56	National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies
0485	751J.5621	National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies—Ships: Naval Vessels
0493	751J.5622	National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies—Aircraft: Military Aircraft
0547	751J.56351	National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies—Bases: France
0578	751J.58	National Defense Affairs: Missions
0591	751J.5811	National Defense Affairs: Missions—U.S.
0616	751J.5851	National Defense Affairs: Missions—France

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0657	751J.5851K	National Defense Affairs: Missions—Vietnam
0658	751J.5862B	National Defense Affairs: Missions—Democratic Republic of Germany
0659	751J.5894	National Defense Affairs: Missions—Japan
0661	751J.61 [951J.61	Public Press: Newspapers]
0662	751J.724 [951J.724	Transportation: Air Transportation—Airports]

Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs

	851J.00	Economic Matters [General] [Economic reviews and assessments]
0666		January 1960 UN economic plan for Laos.
0686		February 1960
0693		March 1960 UN report on economic conditions in Laos.
0705		April 1960 Laotian budget.
0729		May 1960
0738		June 1960
0750		July 1960 Rural development program.
0767		August 1960
0769		November 1960 Laotian financial and economic problems.
0784		December 1960 Soviet economic aid.
0790		January 1961 Rural development program.
0796		February 1961
0808		March 1961

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0809		April 1961
0823		May 1961 Socioeconomic study of the Vientiane Plain.
0869		June 1961
0876		July 1961
0879		August 1961
0887		September 1961
0902		October 1961 French report on Laotian economy.
0955		November 1961
0961		December 1961
0966		January 1962 British financial and technical assistance.
0974		February 1962

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Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs cont.

	851J.00	Economic Matters [General] cont. [Economic reviews and assessments]
0001		February 1962 cont. Laotian views on rural development.
0046		March 1962
0054		April 1962 Recommendations for expansion of UN role in Laos; proposals for restoration of economic stability.
0092		May 1962
0102		June 1962
0109		July 1962
0117		August 1962
0131		September 1962

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
		Economic development plan.
0149		October 1962
0167		November 1962 Commodity import program.
0176		December 1962
0190		January 1963 Economic planning; refugee relief program.
0216	851J.00A	Economic Matters: Advisers
0219	851J.00Five Year	Economic Matters: Five Year Plan
0263	851J.00PC	Economic Matters: Peace Corps
	851J.0000	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Other Countries
0265		April 1960 U.S., French, British, Canadian, and Japanese economic aid.
0270		May 1960 Development Assistance Committee.
0271		July 1961 U.S. efforts not to attach political conditions to economic aid.
0274		December 1961 U.S. proposals for economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government.
0279		January 1962
0283		March 1962
0285		April 1962 Requests by Boun Oum regime for economic aid from countries other than the United States.
0290		June 1962 Decision of Souvanna Phouma government to accept economic aid from all friendly countries.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0293		July 1962 Decision by Souvanna Phouma government to accept economic aid from all friendly countries.
0296		August 1962 British and French economic aid.
0313		September 1962 French and British economic aid; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; U.S.–British–French tripartite talks on economic aid for Laos; Laotian economic plan.
0357		October 1962 British and French economic aid; U.S.–British–French tripartite talks on economic aid for Laos.
0375		November 1962 British and French economic aid; U.S.–British–French tripartite talks on economic aid for Laos.
0386		December 1962 French economic aid.
0391		January 1963 French economic aid.
0394	851J.0041	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Great Britain
0396	851J.0060	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Eastern Continental Europe
0428	851J.0061	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and the USSR
0456	851J.0062A	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and West Germany
0476	851J.0062B	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and East Germany
0480	851J.0090	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and the Far East
0491	851J.0092	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Thailand
0503	851J.0093	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and China
0520	851J.0094	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Japan

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0543	851J.0095A	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and North Korea
0544	851J.0095B	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and South Korea
0545	851J.0096	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and the Philippines
0546	851J.0097	Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Malaya
0550	851J.01	Economic Matters: Cost of Living
0556	851J.02	Economic Matters: Housing
0558	851J.03	Economic Matters: Food Conditions
0561	851J.05111	Economic Matters: Capital—Investments: U.S.
0563	851J.053	Economic Matters: Capital—Corporations
0564	851J.062	Economic Matters: Labor—Unions
0609	851J.10	Financial Matters [General] January 1960 Laotian economic and financial program and the role of foreign aid; Laotian budget; balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks.
0651		February 1960 Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; Laotian budget.
0668		March 1960 Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; police training program.
0680		April 1960 Laotian budget.
0685		May 1960 Price stabilization; Revaluation Fund; balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks.
0695		July 1960 Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; stability of Laotian currency.
0719		August 1960 Laotian budget.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0726		September 1960 Money supply and foreign exchange coverage.
0730		October 1960 Money supply and foreign exchange coverage; National Assembly law granting special financial powers to Laotian government.
0738		November 1960 Laotian budget.
0744		January 1961
0745		February 1961 Defense budget.
0747		March 1961 Money supply and foreign exchange coverage; balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks.
0759		April 1961 National Bank loans to Laotian government; money supply and foreign exchange coverage.
0764		August 1961 Balance sheets for Laotian National Bank and commercial banks.
0778		September 1961 Defense budget.
0785		October 1961 Laotian budget.
0786		November 1961 Deterioration of Laotian government financial position; U.S. military aid; Laotian budget.
0792		December 1961
0799		January 1962 Withdrawal of U.S. economic aid to Boun Oum regime; suspension of foreign exchange sales by Laotian National Bank; money supply and foreign exchange coverage.

<i>Frame</i>	<i>File</i>	<i>Subject</i>
0831		February 1962 Withdrawal of U.S. economic aid to Boun Oum regime.
0842		March 1962 U.S. financial policy in Laos; economic situation reports.
0863		April 1962 Reinstitution of foreign trade controls; requests for economic aid from countries other than the U.S.; economic situation reports; Laotian National Bank assets and foreign exchange holdings.
0885		May 1962 Effects of suspension of U.S. cash grants; economic situation reports.
0901		June 1962 Economic situation reports; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; defense budget; Laotian budget.
0924		July 1962 Economic situation reports; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government.
0931		August 1962 Proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; French economic aid; economic situation reports.
0947		September 1962 Laotian National Bank loans to the Laotian government; proposals for U.S. economic aid to Souvanna Phouma government; French economic aid.
0955		October 1962 Laotian budget; U.S.–British–French tripartite talks on economic aid for Laos.
0972		November 1962 Laotian budget; French economic aid; proposal to send U.S. economic and financial adviser to Laos.
0978		December 1962 Laotian budget; control of foreign exchange bank accounts.

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0020		June 1960 U.S. report on taxation in Laos.
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0246		November 1961 Foreign exchange resources.
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0258		January 1962 U.S. surveillance of Laotian government transfers from Chase Manhattan Bank accounts; U.S. economic aid; Laotian suspension of foreign exchange sales.
0271		March 1962 Use of U.S. dollars for purpose of supporting and guaranteeing the convertibility of the currencies of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam; Laotian government efforts to withdraw funds in London bank accounts.
0276		September 1962 Laotian National Bank loans to Laotian government.
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0286	851J.131	Financial Matters: Monetary System—Foreign Exchange
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0405		May 1960 Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks.
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0889		October 1962
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0681		May 1962 Boun Oum regime goodwill mission to Thailand; attacks on Thailand by Laotian neutralist newspapers and Souvanna Phouma; possible Thai border violations by Pathet Lao.
0691		June 1962 Allegations regarding Chinese Nationalist irregulars in Thailand and Laos; Thai refusal to sign Geneva Accords.
0694		August 1962 Souvanna Phouma's efforts to improve Thai-Laotian relations.
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0247		March 1961 North Vietnamese propoganda; proposals for SEATO military intervention in Laos.
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