

**Laos 1959-1961 -
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U. S. S. R. Mission to the U.N. - Press. Release

- On the intention to send a U.N.'s permanent commission to Laos.

(+ 2 Supplements)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

680 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Unofficial translation

October 30, 1959.

ON THE INTENTION TO SEND A UNITED NATIONS PERMANENT COMMISSION TO LAOS

In the recent days there appeared reports in the Western press that certain quarters are nurturing the idea of setting up a sort of a permanent United Nations mission in Laos. In doing so, some Western agencies, Reuter in particular, are spreading rumors that allegedly the Soviet Union is not going to object to sending such a mission to Laos.

In this connection the Soviet delegation to the XIV session of the UN General Assembly considers it necessary to state that there can be no question of the Soviet Union supporting or even tacitly agreeing to using the name of the United Nations to cover up such unlawful actions.

The position of the Soviet Union with regard to the recent developments in Laos was outlined in the corresponding Soviet documents of August 18 and September 14, 1959. (Supplements I and II to the present text).

The tension that has arisen in Laos must and can be removed only on the basis and within the framework of the Geneva agreements of 1954, which are the foundation for the peace and security in Indo-China. Meanwhile such steps as the setting up, in violation of the UN Charter, of the so-called subcommittee on Laos or the sending of some United Nations permanent missions to Laos signify the undermining of the Geneva agreements and thereby lead to the destruction of the main and only legal basis for the maintenance of peace in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The sponsors of such steps should not forget about the consequences, grave to the cause of peace in South East Asia and throughout the world, to which such course of actions may lead.

Supplement I

STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
OF AUGUST 18, 1959

The Soviet Government which is the participant and one of the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, has invariably stood and stands for strict observance of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This consistent policy of the Soviet Government is motivated by its deep concern for strengthening universal peace and security, by the desire not to allow seats of tension to appear in any area of the world, including Indo-China. In this connection the Soviet Government has timely drawn attention to the aggravation of the situation in Laos, which was increasing lately, and, along with the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has spoken in favour of taking urgent measures in respect to the fulfilment of the Geneva agreements in that country and, particularly, in favour of the International Commission of Supervision and Control in Laos resuming its activities. The same position is adhered to by the Government of India, whose representatives are chairmen of International Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and also by the Government of the Polish People's Republic which participates in the said Commissions as one of the three members. The proposal to renew the activities of the International Commission met with support in wide circles of the world public, as well as in all strata of the Laotian population which justly regard the strict observance of the Geneva and the Vientiane agreements as guarantee of peaceful and independent development of Laos.

Now armed clashes between the royal troops and the former Pathet Lao units are taking place in Laos. Laos is overshadowed by a serious threat of civil war with all its dangerous consequences for the cause of peace in Indo-China and in South East Asia. The responsibility for such development of events rests with the present Laotian Government headed by Mr. Phoui Sananikone since the main reason of the situation obtained now in that country is the violation by that Govern-

ment of the Geneva agreements of 1954 and the Vientiane agreements of 1956-1957, which set forth concrete measures for political settlement in Laos.

Right after its coming to power in August 1958 the Phoui Sananikone Government, in violation of the Geneva agreements, organized a wide campaign of reprisals and persecutions of the former members of the national liberation movement of Pathet Lao. Thousands of them were arrested, tortured, thrown into prisons, many of them were killed. Thus, that Government grossly violated obligations of the Laotian Government, provided for by the Geneva agreements, to integrate without discrimination the former participants of the Pathet Lao movement in the national community.

Taking advantage of the recess, which the International Commission decided to make in its work, the Phoui Sananikone Government up to now prevents the resumption of its activities. Meanwhile the Geneva agreements on Laos, provisions defining the activities of the International Commission being their inseparable part, envisage that the Laotian Government should cooperate with it until the Commission itself, with her members expressing unanimous opinion, considers its functions in Laos terminated.

Evading obligatory control by the international Commission, established by the Geneva agreements, over the bringing into the country of arms and ammunition, as well as of foreign military personnel, the Phoui Sananikone Government started to bring into Laos in ever growing quantities various war materials and military equipment and flooded the country with the US military personnel.

Furthermore, the Laotian Government, contrary to its obligations under the Geneva agreements, concluded a treaty which openly legalizes the presence of the US military personnel in Laos and the passing of the Laotian army under their control. Under the supervision of the US military personnel various military preparations are intensively carried out on the territory of Laos and, in particular, airfields and landing strips are being built.

The Phoui Sananikone Government, by sending its military observers to sessions of the SEATO Council, to military excercises organized by this military bloc and to other activities, openly ignores both the obligation of Laos not to participate in military alliances and blocs and the obligation of the Laotian Government to adhere to a policy of peace and neutrality in international relations.

The Phoui Sananikone Government is also flouting the Vientiane agreements called for to ensure by peaceful means political settlement and unity in the country. As is known, during the elections in May, 1958, the candidates of the Patriotic party which has united the former participants of the Pathet Lao movement and of democratic parties and organizations aligned with it received the support of the broad masses of voters. Contrary to the will of the people expressed during the elections, the Laotian ruling circles did all they could in order not to admit a single representative of the Patriotic party in the new government. Thereby the cause of national unity in Laos the spirit of which permeates the Vientiane agreements was deliberately complicated.

In direct violation of these agreements the Phoui Sananikone Government removed from the posts it had provided earlier in the royal administration of the provinces all former participants of the Pathet Lao. For more than one and a half years, contrary to the agreement, it has been delaying under various pretexts the solution of the question regarding the integration of two battalions of former Pathet Lao combattants into the regular army, and kept them in the conditions which humiliated the honour and dignity of the officers and men of these battalions. All this, as it became clear from subsequent developments, was being done in order to deprive them in the long run, by means of using armed force, of their legitimate rights provided for by the Vientiane agreements. However, the provccation organized by the Phoui Sananikone Government against two battalions of the former Pathet Lao combattants did not achieve the desired

objective, but, on the contrary, gave rise to growing indignation and to spontaneous actions of the people against that Government. According to the reports received from Laos, the discontent of the population increased still more when the Phoui Sananikone Government, in violation of the Vientiane agreements and of the laws adopted in conformity with these agreements, first placed under house arrest and then threw into prison leaders of the Patriotic party, including its head, prince Souphanouvong. These Laotian patriots are now threatened with the danger of a severe reprisal.

Under these conditions one cannot fail to recognize as completely groundless the attempts of the Phoui Sananikone Government to present the indignation of the Laotian popular masses at its policy, contradicting the national interests of the country, as a result of some "interference" in the internal affairs of Laos on the part of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the People's Republic of China. However, as the given facts indisputably testify, the bringing of military equipment and war materials as well as of foreign military personnel into Laos is carried out not at all by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or the People's Republic of China but by the United States. The introduction of numerous American advisers into the royal army and the state apparatus of Laos clearly shows who really interferes in the internal affairs of Laos. In this light the statement made by the State Department of the United States regarding the interference of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries in the internal affairs of Laos represents a clumsy attempt to shift the blame where it does not belong.

The Soviet Government expresses deep concern over the development of events in Laos. Having thoroughly examined the present situation in Laos it continues to believe that the interests of normalizing the situation in that country would, in the first place, be served if the Government of Laos returns to the policy of observing the Geneva and Vientiane

agreements in cooperation with the International Commission for Supervision and Control. In this connection the Soviet Government expresses the hope that the present negotiations between the two Chairmen of the Geneva conference on Indo-China on measures for the normalization of the situation in Laos will have a positive result.

The Soviet Government is convinced that the serious aggravation of the situation in Laos cannot, naturally, fail to give rise to legitimate alarm and concern on the part of all those who are genuinely interested in preserving and strengthening peace in Indo-China and in South East Asia in general. Only by joint constructive efforts of the parties concerned, aimed at ensuring normal conditions for the resumption of the activities of the International Commission in Laos it will be possible to achieve full and appropriate fulfilment of the Geneva agreements in Laos.

STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
OF SEPTEMBER 14, 1959

On September 7, 1959, the representatives of the Western powers in the Security Council undertook unlawful actions designed to cover up their interference in Laotian affairs with the flag of the United Nations, Ten members of the Security Council, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Geneva agreements on Laos, voted for the establishment of a subcommittee composed of representatives of Argentina, Italy, Japan and Tunisia to study the statements concerning Laos made in the Security Council, to accept new statements and documents for consideration and to undertake such investigations as it would consider necessary, and also to report, as soon as possible, to the Security Council.

The Soviet Government cannot overlook these actions, inasmuch as they are fraught with grave consequences and are obviously designed to create obstacles to a successful enactment of the measures undertaken toward the relaxation of international tension.

A discussion of the establishment of a Security Council subcommittee and the voting of the ten members for the draft of the aforesaid resolution were a clear violation of the United Nations Charter and the Security Council's rules of procedure.

More, the very submission of this question to the Security Council was unlawful.

It will be recalled that on Sept. 4, 1959, the Foreign Minister of Laos sent to the United Nations Secretary General a telegram with a bald charge that the detachments from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had allegedly committed actions against garrisons of the Laotian Army.

Despite the fact that not a single member of the Security Council had asked that this question be considered by the Security Council, the representative of Italy, who was chairman of the Security Council in September, convened, with the active backing of the United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, a meeting of the Council and submitted for its consideration the

resolution on the establishment of a subcommittee advanced by the delegates of the United States, Britain and France.

It is noteworthy that furthering their unseemly ends, the Western representatives tried to prove, contrary to the United Nations Charter and the adopted procedure, that the proposals contained in the draft resolution of the United States, Great Britain and France were essentially procedural and their adoption did not require the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council.

However, this position of the Western Powers is groundless. This is easy to see if we turn to the United Nations Charter.

According to the charter all the questions to be considered by the Security Council are subdivided into two groups: essential and procedural questions.

To adopt decisions on questions of the first group it is necessary that no less than seven members of the Security Council should vote for them, including all the permanent members of the Council. Solution of questions related to the second group necessitates no less than seven votes of any Security Council member. In case a dispute arises over the group into which this or other questions should be included, it is settled by a vote, and the relegation of such a question to the procedural group requires the unanimity of all the permanent members of the Security Council.

The order of voting in the Security Council is clearly and distinctly laid down in the United Nations Charter and the declaration of June 7, 1945, published on behalf of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and China, and adopted by all the United Nations Foundation members.

The Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France, which are the sponsors of the draft resolution on the institution of a subcommittee, and also the Governments of Italy, Japan, Argentina, Panama, Canada and Tunisia, which voted for the resolution, disregarded the United Nations Charter and the declaration by declaring this resolution adopted when one of the permanent members of the Security Council voted against it.

Formerly there were cases in the practice of the Security Council's work when similar draft resolutions on the institution

of fact-finding organs were submitted for the Council consideration. In all these cases the principle of unanimity of all the permanent Security Council members was used during the voting.

Thus, for instance, when the Security Council considered the Greek question in 1946, it was moved to institute the commission for investigating facts related to incidents on the northern boundaries of Greece. This proposal was not adopted by the Security Council, because one of the permanent Council members voted against it. Is this case ^{not} absolutely similar to the Laotian question?

We could cite other cases like this in the Security Council, as, for instance, a consideration of the Indonesian (1947), Czechoslovak (1948), Chinese (1950) and other questions.

The provisions of the Charter and the declaration, and the procedure of the Security Council's work show that by including the Laotian question into the Security Council's agenda and by voting for the resolution to set up the subcommittee, the Western powers have obviously embarked upon the road of violating the United Nations Charter, which is fraught with serious consequences for peace and security.

By this step of theirs the Western powers undermine still further the foundations on which the United Nations organization rests.

It goes without saying that since gross violations of the United Nations Charter have been made during the consideration of this question, the aforesaid draft resolution cannot be regarded as adopted by the Security Council.

These actions of the Western powers in the Security Council reflect the attempts of definite quarters in these countries to poison the international climate at a time when obvious symptoms of relaxing international tension have appeared, when all mankind lives with the hope that the "cold war" will be ended, linking this hope with the impending exchange of visits by the heads of Government of the Soviet Union and the United States.

The bringing up of the provocative Laotian cavil at the Security Council these days shows that the emerging tendency to improve relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, a tendency which favorably influences the international climate, is obviously not to the liking of certain influential Western political quarters.

Fearing the further improvement of the international climate, they are undertaking various maneuvers to oppose the people's desire for reapproachment, for excluding both the cold and shooting wars from international relations.

Nothing else can explain the obvious fact that the Laotian "complaint" has been foisted on the Security Council and the Western representatives have accepted to ignore openly the United Nations Charter and hamstring the Geneva agreements on Laos.

The Geneva agreements on Laos provide for comprehensive measures to restore and safeguard peace in this country, to insure its peaceful and democratic development. They commit Laos not to participate in any aggressive policy and not to permit the use of Laotian territory for the furtherance of such a policy.

In accordance with these agreements Laos is not allowed to accept any foreign military personnel, and also to import arms, ammunition and military supplies, excepting a definite amount of specified armaments necessary for its defense. Moreover, the shipment of these arms to the country must be effected under the control of the International Commission for Laos.

The Geneva agreements also make it binding on the Laotian Government to include without discrimination all the Pathet Lao participants in the national commonwealth and insure them equality and untrammelled exercise of civil rights.

The agreement on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, comprised of representatives of India, Poland and Canada, which is an inseparable part of the Geneva agreements on Laos, make superfluous the "care" taken to send some other observers to Laos, if only this "care" does not pursue provocative ends.

If the Western powers really want to normalize the recently aggravated situation in Laos why not instruct the International Commission for Laos, which functions on the strength of the Geneva agreements, which have been signed by these Western Powers, to resume its work urgently and to work out hand in hand with the Laotian Government measures for the speedy normalization of the situation in this country?

However, this obvious and most effective way to liquidate the seat of tension created in Laos apparently conforms least of all to the purposes of the mentioned Western political quarters, and in view of this the Laotian cavil was brought before such an international forum as the Security Council and a resolution on the establishment of a subcommittee for Laos has been unlawfully pressed through. This committee is reportedly already sending its "observers" to Laos.

These actions signify the hamstringing of agreements on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos dealing a heavy blow at the Geneva agreements on Laos and all the system of Geneva agreements on Indochina.

The Soviet Government cannot but note that responsibility for this rests wholly and completely with the Governments of the United States, Britain and France, the sponsors of this resolution and that it may lead to far-reaching consequences for the peace and security of Indochina. In this connection, we cannot disregard the bellicose statements of American generals and SEATO leaders about their readiness to use immediately the armed forces of the SEATO countries, above all the armed forces of the United States, for a broad military intervention in Laos.

The actions of the Western powers put it beyond doubt that by this move of theirs they want to absolve the Phoui Sananikone Government from the responsibility for the present situation in Laos and at the same time mislead world public opinion by a clamorous fuss around its provocative allegations concerning some invasion of Laos by troops from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

One cannot fail to notice the unseemly role being played in this respect by the State Department of the United States, which has resorted to its habitual tactics of proclaiming the latest events in Laos to be a result of "foreign Communist intervention". There is nothing new about these tactics. The State Department uses them whenever it wants to cover up the United States' active interference in the internal affairs of other countries, with respect to Laos, this interference is being carried through by means of detailing American military advisers and instructors

and by bringing arms and all kinds of military material and other things into that country.

But whatever concoctions the Phoui Sananikone government and its patrons may resort to, they will not get away from the fact that it is this Government . . . that has gone back on the Geneva and, subsequently the Vientiane, agreements on Laos, that has used armed strength against the former military units of Pathet Lao which should have been integrated in the regular army of Laos, arrested Prince Souphanouvong and other leaders of the patriotic party of Laos, and is carrying on a campaign of terror and reprisals against the former members of the Pathet Lao movement. in the determination to suppress the democratic forces which are pressing for Laos to pursue a policy of peace and neutrality and for members of the National Liberation Movement being drawn into the public life of Laos. And if today Laos is in a state of national disarray and the public's resentment of the actions of the Phoui Sananikone Government has taken the form of armed action, the responsibility for this lies fairly and squarely on the Phoui Sananikone Government and on those who are egging it on to violating the Geneva agreements.

Is this not proved also by the fact that all that the patriotic forces of Laos want is, in fact, to see the Phoui Sananikone Government return to the policy of observing and further implementing the Geneva and Vientiane agreements?

It is the Soviet Government's conviction that the tension which has arisen in Laos can and must be removed only on the basis and within the framework of the Geneva agreements, which provide the foundations of peace and security in Indochina. It greatly regrets the fact that the Western powers have not stopped short of using the Security Council for wrecking these agreements and encouraging action aimed at scrapping them.

The Soviet Government considers it its imperative duty to come out in defense of the Geneva agreements on Indochina, since their annulment would mean destroying the only legal basis for the maintenance of peace in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In this context the Soviet Government fully understands and shares the concern and alarm expressed over the development in

Laos by the governments of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Kingdom of Cambodia, the People's Republic of China, the Republic of India and other nations which want peace and security to be preserved and consolidated.

With a view to settling the Laotian question and normalizing the situation in that area, the Soviet Government believes it necessary for a conference to be called without delay by the countries which attended the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina to consider the Laos situation. In the Soviet Government's opinion, the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos will have to report to this conference on the results of its work and on its recommendations regarding steps to be taken towards normalizing the situation in Laos.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that this proposal will be supported by the governments of the countries which participated in the Geneva conference on Indochina.
