

CONCERNING
THE SITUATION
IN LAOS

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Publisher's Note

To enable foreign readers to understand the real situation in Laos and the approach of the Chinese Government and people to this question, we have collected in this book the recent materials in China concerning Laos.

It contains: a) Foreign Ministry statements on the Laotian situation; b) Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letters to the Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen; c) Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement on the Laotian question; d) Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speeches on the question of Laos; e) Editorials and commentaries on Laos from *Renmin Ribao*, in addition to news reports.

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**Statement of Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the People's Republic of China, on the
Refusal of the Government of the King-
dom of Laos to Continue to Implement
the Geneva Agreements**

(February 18, 1959)

The Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos, Phoui Sananikone, made a statement on February 11 expressing the view that the Kingdom of Laos had completely fulfilled the agreement on the cessation of hostilities as well as the other obligations assumed under the other agreements signed at the Geneva Conference by the Supreme Command of the French Union forces on behalf of the Royal Laotian Government, and that therefore the Royal Government was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements. He also opposed the resumption of the activities of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos and declared that the Kingdom of Laos would not recognize any international body other than the United Nations to act as arbiter. This statement of Prime Minister Sananikone constitutes a grave act of unscrupulous violation of the Geneva agreements and forms a part of the U.S. imperialist plot of aggression against Indo-China. Immediately after the statement of Prime Minister Sananikone was issued, the

spokesman of the U.S. Department of State indicated on February 12 that the United States supported the action taken by the Laotian Government in holding that the provisions of the Geneva accord of 1954 were no longer applicable. An official of the U.S. Department of State further expressed the view that the United States was now free to establish a military mission in Laos. This shows that it was under the direction and support of the United States that the Royal Laotian Government openly refused to continue to fulfil the duties and obligations it assumed under the Geneva agreements, and that the aim of the United States is precisely to drag the Kingdom of Laos further into the aggressive Manila bloc and turn Laos into an American military base.

It is noteworthy that even before this the U.S. Government had introduced large quantities of arms into Laos and had sent there a large batch of U.S. Air Force personnel of Philippine nationality. The Royal Laotian Government also sent a mission to take part in the U.S.-Thailand military manoeuvres held in northern Thailand from February 3 to 6. The Laotian Army Chief-of-Staff Rattakul openly declared Laos to be within the sphere of "defence" of the Manila military bloc. This series of grave events in violation of the Geneva agreements shows that U.S. military intervention in Laos is being stepped up. And this proves once more that in Laos the Geneva agreements are not only not completely fulfilled but are subjected to the crudest violation.

In these circumstances, it is all the more necessary for the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to continue to perform its duties. All the activities of the International Commission in Laos are aimed at supervising and controlling the implementation

of the Geneva agreements in Laos; they absolutely do not involve any interference in the internal affairs of Laos. Facts have proved that the continued existence and activity of the International Commission in Laos will be beneficial both to the peace of Indo-China and to the independence and peaceful unification of Laos. If they should in any way be called detrimental, that will only be to the U.S. military intervention and infiltration in Laos.

The Government of the People's Republic of China approves of and supports the views and suggestion put forward by the Soviet Union and Britain, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, in their letters dated January 31, 1959 to the Indian Government and to the International Commission in Laos, hoping that the commission may resume its activities in Laos so as to ensure the implementation of the Geneva agreements there and safeguard peace in Indo-China.

I am authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of China to declare solemnly: China, being a participant in the Geneva Conference and a neighbour of Laos, cannot but express grave concern over the fact that the United States is openly instigating and supporting the Royal Laotian Government to repudiate the Geneva agreements, creating tension in Laos and sabotaging the peace of Indo-China. The Royal Laotian Government is fully bound by the Geneva agreements. It has the duty and obligation of implementing seriously and completely the various decisions of the Geneva Conference concerning the Laotian question. The Chinese Government firmly opposes the unilateral tearing up of the Geneva agreements by the Royal Laotian Government. The Royal Laotian Government must bear all the consequences arising therefrom. The 1954 Geneva Conference and the

agreements reached at it have nothing to do with the United Nations. The schemes of the United States to sabotage the Geneva agreements and carry out military intervention in Laos are absolutely impermissible.

In view of the gravity of the situation in Laos, the Government of the People's Republic of China calls on the participants in the Geneva Conference, first of all the Soviet Union and Britain, Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the member states of the International Commissions in Indo-China, and all the countries and peoples which are interested in and seek to preserve peace in Southeast Asia to come forward to oppose and check firmly the scheme of the United States to instigate the Royal Laotian Government to repudiate the Geneva agreements, so that the International Commission in Laos may continue its activities, the tension in Laos may be eased and the peace of Indo-China preserved and consolidated.

The Geneva Agreements Must Not Be Scrapped

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(February 19, 1959)

The Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos, Phoui Sananikone, made a statement on February 11 unilaterally declaring that the Kingdom of Laos had completely fulfilled its obligations under the Geneva agreements and that therefore the Royal Laotian Government was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements. He also opposed the resumption of the activities of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos and declared that the Kingdom of Laos would not recognize any international body other than the United Nations as arbiter. This constitutes a serious and unscrupulous violation of the Geneva agreements by Laos, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, in an attempt to wreck the section of the agreements concerning Laos. Peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia is being threatened. China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi issued a statement on February 18 solemnly stating the attitude of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic on this question.

Sananikone's assertion that his country has fulfilled all its obligations under the Geneva agreements has no basis in fact. It is well known that a political settlement as provided for by Article 14 of the "Agreement on the

Cessation of Hostilities in Laos" has not yet been realized; neither have steps been taken as stipulated by Article 15 to see that no acts of reprisal and no discriminative measures are used against former members of the resistance, whose freedom and democratic rights must be ensured.

The Royal Laotian Government has not completely fulfilled its obligations under the above-mentioned provisions of the Geneva agreements and, what is more, is constantly sabotaging numerous provisions of the agreements. In fact, it is still intensifying its reprisals and discrimination against former members of the resistance, and even persecuting them by various cruel means. This is an open violation of Article 15 of the Geneva agreements. Articles 4 and 5 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference clearly stipulate that the Government of Laos shall not receive foreign aid, whether in war material, personnel or instructors, and shall not join in any military alliance or establish military bases on Laotian territory for any foreign power. In its declaration at the Geneva Conference, the Royal Laotian Government stated: "The Royal Government of Laos is resolved never to pursue a policy of aggression and will never permit the territory of Laos to be used in furtherance of such a policy."

The Royal Laotian Government, however, is repudiating its obligations under the Geneva agreements and has readily agreed to the series of U.S. moves constituting military intervention in the country. This has led to serious obstruction and sabotage of the full implementation of the Geneva agreements.

The fact is, therefore, not that the Royal Laotian Government has completely fulfilled its obligations

under the Geneva agreements, but that in many respects the agreements have been constantly obstructed and rudely sabotaged by it; not that the Royal Laotian Government is no longer bound by the Geneva agreements but that it must faithfully fulfil its obligations under them.

The action of the Royal Laotian Government is inseparable from the schemes of U.S. imperialism to tear up the Geneva agreements. Recently, U.S. military intervention in Laos has become more open and frequent.

According to Western agency reports, the U.S. interventionists openly sent 82 Filipinos employed by the U.S. Government on the Clark air base in the Philippines to Laos to strengthen the U.S. air base there, and illegally supplied the Laotian Government with large quantities of arms and ammunition. In Laos, the United States also stepped up the construction of strategic highways and airfields for the use of American military planes. As a pretext to draw the armed forces of SEATO into Laos, the Laotian Army Chief-of-Staff Rattakul at U.S. instigation openly clamoured that Laos came within the "defence" sphere of the SEATO aggressive bloc and demanded that that bloc intervene in the border conflict between Viet-nam and Laos. Between February 3 and 6 when the United States and Thailand held military manoeuvres in northern Thailand, the Royal Laotian Government sent a delegation to attend them together with Taiwan, south Viet-nam and south Korea. Admiral Harry D. Felt, Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Forces in the Pacific, recently went to Laos to carry on activities. This series of U.S. moves openly violating its own pledges on the Geneva agreements and carrying out military inter-

vention in Laos with the collusion of the Laotian authorities has created a new tension in Indo-China. On February 12, the day following Sananikone's statement scrapping the Geneva agreements, the U.S. State Department immediately issued a statement to support Sananikone. The State Department openly declared that Washington may now "freely" establish a military mission in Laos. This shows even more clearly that the grave action taken by the Royal Laotian Government in flagrantly sabotaging the Geneva agreements and openly refusing to fulfil its international obligations is inspired and supported by the United States. It is part of the latest U.S. conspiracy to intensify its military intervention and whip up tension in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

In order to sabotage and completely repudiate the Geneva agreements, Sananikone openly opposes the reactivation of the International Commission in Laos. But he can provide no legal justification for this whatsoever. On the contrary, on January 31, shortly before Sananikone's statement, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union and Britain, in a communication to the Indian Government, clearly affirmed the legal status of the International Commission in Laos and its terms of reference in carrying out the tasks and functions under the Geneva agreements. The two chairmen agreed that the cessation of the commission's activities at present was based on the commission's resolution which was merely a procedural decision taken to adjourn *sine die* and that no question of abrogating any of the articles of the "Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos" relating to the International Commission was involved. The commission's legal functions and authority to super-

wise the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos are, therefore, indisputable

Now that the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos is being gravely threatened and sabotaged, it is even more necessary and urgent for the International Commission to resume its functions. The activities of the commission are confined to supervising the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos and the question of interference in internal affairs does not even arise. Sananikone's allegation that the commission was interfering in the domestic affairs of Laos is a misrepresentation of the facts.

While attempting to overthrow the Geneva agreements and deny the existence of the International Commission, Sananikone drags the United Nations into his statement. This makes it even clearer that he merely wants to pave the way for further U.S. intervention in Laos and other parts of Indo-China through the United Nations.

As everyone knows, the Geneva agreements are solemn international agreements reached by the nations concerned outside the United Nations, and under circumstances in which the United Nations, due to U.S. manipulation, was incapable of solving the problem of peace in Indo-China in a fair and just manner. The nine signatory states to the Geneva agreements are responsible for supervising the complete implementation of the agreements which have nothing to do with the United Nations.

It must be pointed out that the recent situation indicates that the remnant forces of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are active within Burma and Laos are stirring up trouble in collusion with the United States and Royal Laotian Government. U.S. aircraft have repeatedly

dropped provisions and arms to the remnant Chiang Kai-shek troops in this area and thus have repeatedly violated China's territorial air. In addition the Royal Laotian Government has concluded a secret agreement with the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and agreed that a consulate of that clique be set up in Vientiane. This is a most unfriendly act of deliberate provocation by the Royal Laotian Government against the Chinese people.

The facts show clearly that the U.S. and Laotian Governments are trying to obstruct and sabotage the implementation of the Geneva agreements under the pretext that Laos has fulfilled the Geneva agreements. This also serves to facilitate open U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Laos and the enslavement of the Laotian people as well as the turning of Laos into a U.S. base so as to carry out military provocations against China, Viet-nam and other Southeast Asian countries and to create tension in Indo-China and Asia.

This situation is extremely dangerous. This reprehensible step of the Laotian authorities is in no way advantageous to the Laotian people or the Kingdom of Laos. Instead it gravely endangers the national independence, internal unity and peaceful life of Laos, and seriously menaces the peace and security of various Southeast Asian countries, first and foremost the Indo-Chinese countries.

The Geneva agreements are the foundation of peace and security for Indo-China. The implementation of the Geneva agreements as they affect Laos concerns not only the peace, unification and independence of Laos but also the peace and security of all Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Peoples of all countries who desire peace in Indo-

China and in Southeast Asia cannot ignore this aggressive scheme, and interference on the part of the United States. In a statement released on February 15, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam pointed out that the Kingdom of Laos has the obligation to carry out the Geneva agreements. This statement won the support of all countries and peoples who want to see peace and security in this area.

China was a participant in the Geneva Conference and is also a neighbour of Laos. The Chinese people have to express their deep concern over U.S. imperialists' open instigation and support of the Royal Laotian Government's attempt to tear up the Geneva agreements, create tension in Laos and wreck the peace in Indo-China. The Chinese people firmly hold that the Geneva agreements must be fully implemented and not allowed to be wrecked or abolished. The Royal Laotian Government is fully bound by the Geneva agreements. It has the full and inescapable duty and obligation to seriously and satisfactorily implement the various decisions of the Geneva agreements concerning Laos.

The present situation in Laos is grave. All people interested in peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia should take necessary action. As the Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi said in his statement, the participants in the Geneva Conference, first of all, the Soviet Union and Britain, Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the member states of the international commissions in Indo-China, and all countries and peoples which are interested in and seek to preserve peace in Southeast Asia should take immediate action to uphold the Geneva agreements and firmly oppose and check the schemes of the United States in carrying out military intervention in Laos and