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1960–January 1963
Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs

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LAOS
1960–January 1963

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Project Coordinator
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Guide Compiled by
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope and Content Note</td>
<td>xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source Note</td>
<td>xxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of the U.S. Department of State Decimal Filing System</td>
<td>xxix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerical List of Country Numbers</td>
<td>xxxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym List</td>
<td>xli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reel Index</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reels 1–26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Political and National Defense Affairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.00 Political Affairs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reel 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.00 Political Affairs cont.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.001 Political Affairs: Communism</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.02 Political Affairs: Government</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reel 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.02 Political Affairs: Government cont.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.03 Political Affairs: Constitution</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.04 Political Affairs: Flag</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.1 Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reel 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.2 Political Affairs: Legislative Branch of Government</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.3 Political Affairs: Judicial Branch of Government</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.5 National Defense Affairs</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reel 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751J.5 National Defense Affairs cont.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Reel 31
**Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>751J.5</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs cont.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Reel 32
**Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>851J.00</td>
<td>Economic Matters</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>851J.10</td>
<td>Financial Matters</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Reel 33
**Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>851J.10</td>
<td>Financial Matters cont.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>851J.20</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>851J.3</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>851J.40</td>
<td>Social Matters</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Reel 34
**Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>851J.40</td>
<td>Social Matters cont.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>851J.50</td>
<td>Public Order, Safety, and Health; Charities</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Communications; Transportation; Science**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>951J.00</td>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951J.10</td>
<td>Postal</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951J.20</td>
<td>Telegraph</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951J.40</td>
<td>Radio; Radiobroadcasting</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951J.60</td>
<td>Public Press</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951J.70</td>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951J.80</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Reel 35
**International Political Relations; Bilateral Treaties—Laos**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>651J.00</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Other Countries</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.51K</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Vietnam</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.55</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Belgium</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.60</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Eastern Continental Europe</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.61</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and the USSR</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.62</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Germany</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.62A</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and West Germany</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.62B</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and East Germany</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.64</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Hungary</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651J.68</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Yugoslavia</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reel 36

International Political Relations; Bilateral Treaties—Laos cont.

651J.93  Political Relations between Laos and China ............................. 60
651J.93C Political Relations between Laos and Outer Mongolia ............. 61
651J.94  Political Relations between Laos and Japan ............................ 61
651J.95  Political Relations between Laos and Korea ............................ 61
651J.95A Political Relations between Laos and North Korea ................. 61
651J.95B Political Relations between Laos and South Korea .................... 61
651J.96  Political Relations between Laos and the Philippines ............... 61
651J.97  Political Relations between Laos and Malaya .......................... 61

International Political Relations; Bilateral Treaties—U.S.–Laos

611.51J  Political Relations between the United States and Laos ............. 61

Subject Index.................................................................................................. 65
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 Nouhak 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. Phouï, 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. Phouï 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 Phouï'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 Sépôn 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 categoric 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 Savannakhêt 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 Savannakhêt, 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 Savannakhêt. 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 Savannakhêt 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 Phônsavan 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 Vangvieng 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 cochairs 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 Sépôn, 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**

**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 7: Internal Political and National Defense Affairs.

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

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

Class of Records—Internal Political and National Defense Affairs

751J.13/6-162

Document Date—June 1, 1962

Country Number—Laos

Subject—Executive Branch of Government—Cabinet; Ministry

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

Class of Records—Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs

851J.411/1-460

Document Date—January 4, 1960

Country Number—Laos

Subject—Social Matters: People—Refugees

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

CLASS 6. Example, 611.51J/12-260

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00</td>
<td>THE WORLD (Universe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Outer Space (Aerosphere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01a</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Antarctic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Arctic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Hawaii (Ocean or Kuré Islands and Palmyra Island)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>U.S. Possessions in the Pacific Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>Guam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11e</td>
<td>American Samoa (Tutuila, Manua Islands, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11f</td>
<td>Canal Zone (Panama Canal Zone), Perido, Naos, Culebra, and Flamenco Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11g</td>
<td>Virgin Islands of the U.S. (St. Croix, St. John, and St. Thomas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11h</td>
<td>Wake Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>CENTRAL AMERICA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Panama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA (South of the Rio Grande River)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ecuador (Galapagos Islands)</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Peru</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Chile</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 (Hadramaut, 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 Islands
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 Principe
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
Trust Territory of Somaliland
Tanganyika Territory (Ruanda-Urundi), formerly German East Africa
West African states (includes 45j and 70b)

NEAR EAST
Greece
Crete
Samos
Turkey
Syria (see 86b)
Lebanon (Levant States)
Palestine
Israel
Jordan (Hashemite Jordan Kingdom) (formerly Trans-Jordan)
Arabia (Arab League) (United Arab states, includes 86b and 86h)
Saudi Arabia (Kingdom of Hejas and Nejd)
United Arab Republic (includes 74 and 83)
Kuwait
Muscat and Oman
Qatar
Trucial Sheikhs
Yemen
Iraq (Mesopotamia)
Iran (Persia)
Afghanistan

FAR EAST (including all of Asia)
Bhutan
Burma
Nepal
Pakistan (Baluchistan)
India
Thailand (Siam)
China
Manchuria
Tibet
Outer Mongolia
Japan
Formosa (Taiwan)
Sakhalin Island (Japanese portion)
Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), Nampo Islands (Bonin, Volcano, and Marcus)
Korea
North Korea
South Korea
Philippine Republic
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)
Republic of Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes)
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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYM</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDNI</td>
<td>Committee for the Defense of the National Interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DMZ</td>
<td>Demilitarized Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Control Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPF</td>
<td>Lao Patriotic Front (Communist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPP</td>
<td>Lao People’s Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLHX</td>
<td>The National Patriotic Front Party (Neo Lao Hak Xat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POWs</td>
<td>prisoners of war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RLG</td>
<td>Royal Lao Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEATO</td>
<td>Southeast Asia Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAR</td>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USIS</td>
<td>United States Information Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## REEL INDEX

### Reel 1

**Internal Political and National Defense Affairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>751J.00</td>
<td>Political Affairs [General] [Laotian Civil War]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001</td>
<td>January 1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0301</td>
<td>February 1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Election law; Laotian position on coexistence with North Vietnam; UN economic and technical assistance; preparations for April elections.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>0375</td>
<td>March 1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Election law; UN role in Laos; preparations for April elections; proposal for release of imprisoned NLHX leaders; refugees; Communist propaganda.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0539</td>
<td>April 1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0779</td>
<td>May 1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reel 2

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
0001 June 1960
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]
0001 September 1960 cont.
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
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
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'état at Luang Prabang; military operations; proposed meeting between Phoumi 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 Soumphon 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.

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-
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 Savannakhet.
Reel 7

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
0001 January 1961 cont.

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]
0001 February 1961 cont.

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
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 Souphanuvong calling for end to foreign intervention in Laos.

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 Souphanuvong 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]
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
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.
Reel 11

**Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.**

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

0001 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.**

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

0001 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
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.
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 communiqué 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 communiqué 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;
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.

Reel 16

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 program 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.
Reel 17

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00  Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
0001  August 1961 cont.
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]
0001  September 1961 cont.
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
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; Phoumi 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.

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.
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| 0292  |      | November 1961  
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; Phou Sanaikone 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. |
| 0962  |      | December 1961  
Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; U.S. efforts to influence Phoumi Nosavan and Souvanna Phouma; ICC operations in Laos; Phou Sanaikone’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. |

**Reel 20**

**Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.**

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

0001  
December 1961 cont.  
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
and propaganda; refugee relief problem; British and French views on Laotian situation; breakdown of three princes' talks in Vientiane.

0519 January 1962
Propsals 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.

Reel 21

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

751J.00 Political Affairs [General] cont.
[Laotian Civil War]
0001 January 1962 cont.
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
Nosavan and threat to break with him if he fails to negotiate in good faith; military operations by Boun Oum regime.

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.

Reel 22

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

Political Affairs [General] cont.

Laotian Civil War

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 communiques; Soviet policy regarding Laos.

March 1962

Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Laotian neutrality declaration; Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures; ICC operations in Laos; refusal of
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 communiques; Souvanna Phouma’s decision to return to Paris.

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 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.

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 Interior ministries.
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 Phoumi Sananikone and to encourage him to join reorganized Laotian coalition government; PRC propaganda.

Reel 24

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
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.
Reel 26

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

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

0051 September 1962
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.

0477 October 1962
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
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.

Reel 27
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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 Souphauvong at Ban Hin Heup. |
| 0576  |      | November 1961 |
| 0595  |      | December 1961 |
| 0612  |      | January 1962 |
| 0626  |      | February 1962  
Pathet Lao attack on Nam Tha. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0645</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0663</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 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.01| Political Affairs: Communism                                             |
|       | 751J.02| Political Affairs: Government                                            |
| 0863  |        | 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. |
<p>| 0956  |        | June 1960                                                               |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0957  |            | August 1960  
|       |            | Appointment of Souvanna Phouma as prime minister following Kong Le coup; list of Souvanna Phouma cabinet ministers.                     |
| 0969  |            | September 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.                                                                                                       |

**Reel 28**

**Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0001</td>
<td>751J.02A</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Government—Advisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0008</td>
<td>751J.022</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Government— Territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0043</td>
<td>751J.03</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0054</td>
<td>751J.04</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Flag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|       | 751J.11    | Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Chief Executive; King  
|       |            | January 1960                                                                                                                           |
| 0058  |            | February 1960  
|       |            | Funeral arrangements for King Sisavang Vong.                                                                                           |
| 0065  |            | March 1960                                                                                                                            |
| 0072  |            | April 1960  
<p>|       |            | Visit of King Sri Savang Vatthana to provinces of Nam Tha and Phongsaly.                                                                 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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 Savannakhet; 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 |
July 1961

U.S. efforts to influence Souvanna Phouma.

September 1961

Phoumi Nosavan’s plan to have king form new coalition government with the king as prime minister.

January 1962

Meeting of Boun Oum, Souvanna Phouma, and Souphanouvong in Geneva, Switzerland; biographical data on Souvanna Phouma.

February 1962

Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.

March 1962

Proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.

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.

May 1962

Malcolm McDonald’s audience with King Sri Savang Vatthana regarding the Geneva Conference.

June 1962

Possible movement of U.S. forces into Laos.

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.

August 1962

Marriage of Crown Prince Vong Savang.
September 1962
Plans for visits by Souvanna Phouma and King Sri Savang Vatthana to the capitals of all nations that signed the Geneva Agreements.

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.

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.

December 1962
Vong Savang officially designated as crown prince of Laos.

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.

Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Chief Executive: Provincial Governors

Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Cabinet; Ministry

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.

March 1960
Illness of Deputy Prime Minister Nhoub Abhay.

April 1960
Inefficiency of Laotian agriculture services; election of Tiao Somsanith as prime minister.

May 1960
Phoumi Nosavan's views on Laotian situation; Tiao Somsanith requested to form cabinet by king.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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 Insisiengmay 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. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0836</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1961\nProposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0838</td>
<td></td>
<td>November 1961\nEfforts by Boun Oum regime to broaden base of government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0839</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1962\nBoun Oum invited to meet with Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong at Geneva; assessment of Souvanna Phouma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0845</td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1962\nProposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; Souvanna Phouma’s tentative cabinet proposals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0852</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1962\nProposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0871</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0873</td>
<td></td>
<td>June 1962\nProposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; appointment of Quinim Pholsena as foreign minister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0879</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1962\nProposals 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0883</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1962\nU.S. discussions with Minister of Information, Propaganda, and Tourism Phoumi Vongvichit; Phoumi Nosavan’s views on Laotian situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0892</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0894</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0900</td>
<td></td>
<td>December 1962\nSouvanna Phouma’s plans for cabinet reorganization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0901</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1963\nSouvanna Phouma’s plans for cabinet reorganization; possible removal of Quinim Pholsena as foreign minister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0902</td>
<td>751J.14</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Executive Branch of Government—Civil Service\nJune 1960\nPossible strike by Government Employees Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>0906</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Civil Servants Union National Congress in Vientiane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0953</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Political position and activities of Laotian civil servants in Vientiane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0967</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0968</td>
<td></td>
<td>December 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statistics on distribution of civil servants in Laos; UN study of civil service in Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0993</td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Annual meeting of Laotian Civil Servants Union.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reel 29**

**Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0001</td>
<td>751J.2</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Legislative Branch of Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0054</td>
<td>751J.21</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Legislative Branch of Government—Proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0077</td>
<td>751J.34</td>
<td>Political Affairs: Judicial Branch of Government—Laws; Statutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>751J.5</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs [General]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[U.S. military aid; Laotian Civil War]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0083</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0108</td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franco–U.S. joint military training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0115</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franco–U.S. joint military training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0148</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franco–U.S. joint military training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0155</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assessment of Defense Minister Phoumi Nosavan; Franco–U.S. joint military training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0163</td>
<td></td>
<td>June 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franco–U.S. joint military training program; Laotian army intelligence capabilities; consolidation of Laotian civil, police, and military budgets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0195</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franco–U.S. joint military training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 0265  |      | August 1960  
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. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0547  |      | November 1961  
      |      | 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. |
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.

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.

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.

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.

Reel 30

Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.

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.

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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. |
| 751J.5MSP |      | National Defense Affairs: Mutual Security Program  
<p>|        |      | [U.S. military aid] |
| 0196  |      | 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 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0997</td>
<td></td>
<td>June 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1008</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1961</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reel 31**

**Internal Political and National Defense Affairs cont.**

  - 0001 July 1961 cont.
- 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
- 0122 751J.54 National Defense Affairs: Maneuvers; Troop Movements
  - March 1960
- 0123 April 1961
- 0124 May 1961
  - Military situation reports.
- 0129 June 1961
  - Military situation reports.
- 0148 July 1961
  - Military situation reports.
- 0200 August 1961
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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                                                                 |
| 0257  | 751J.5411 | National Defense Affairs: Troop Movements; Overflights—by the United States                                                                 |
| 0260  |        | September 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.                                                  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0345</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 1961&lt;br&gt;U.S. efforts to obtain release of Major Lawrence Bailey from Pathet Lao.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0356</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1961&lt;br&gt;U.S. reconnaissance flights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0358</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 1961&lt;br&gt;U.S. reconnaissance flights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0361</td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1962&lt;br&gt;U.S. naval operations off the coast of South Vietnam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0363</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 1962&lt;br&gt;U.S. naval operations in the Gulf of Siam; deployment of U.S. troops in Thailand near Laotian border.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0367</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1962&lt;br&gt;U.S. reconnaissance flights; Pathet Lao shoot down U.S. jet over Khang Khay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0403</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0404</td>
<td>751J.5451H</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Overflights—by Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0410</td>
<td>751J.5461</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Overflights—by USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0412</td>
<td>751J.5493</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Overflights—by China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0419</td>
<td>751J.55</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0426</td>
<td>751J.551</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Organization—Personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0441</td>
<td>751J.56</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0485</td>
<td>751J.5621</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies—Ships: Naval Vessels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0493</td>
<td>751J.5622</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies—Aircraft: Military Aircraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0547</td>
<td>751J.56351</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Equipment and Supplies—Bases: France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0578</td>
<td>751J.58</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0591</td>
<td>751J.5811</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Missions—U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0616</td>
<td>751J.5851</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Missions—France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0657</td>
<td>751J.5851K</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Missions—Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0658</td>
<td>751J.5862B</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Missions—Democratic Republic of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0659</td>
<td>751J.5894</td>
<td>National Defense Affairs: Missions—Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0661</td>
<td>751J.61</td>
<td>Public Press: Newspapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0662</td>
<td>751J.724</td>
<td>Transportation: Air Transportation—Airports</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>851J.00</th>
<th>Economic Matters [General] [Economic reviews and assessments]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0666</td>
<td>January 1960 UN economic plan for Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0686</td>
<td>February 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0693</td>
<td>March 1960 UN report on economic conditions in Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0705</td>
<td>April 1960 Laotian budget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0729</td>
<td>May 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0738</td>
<td>June 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0750</td>
<td>July 1960 Rural development program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0767</td>
<td>August 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0769</td>
<td>November 1960 Laotian financial and economic problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0784</td>
<td>December 1960 Soviet economic aid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0790</td>
<td>January 1961 Rural development program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0796</td>
<td>February 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>File</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0808</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0809</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 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 |

**Reel 32**

**Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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 |

40
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0131  |      | September 1962  
|       |      | 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.005Year | Economic Matters: Five Year Plan |
| 0263  | 851J.00PC | Economic Matters: Peace Corps |
| 0265  | 851J.0000 | Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Other Countries  
|       |      | 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  
<p>|       |      | Decision of Souvanna Phouma government to accept economic aid from all friendly countries. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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
| 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.                                                                                                                      |
<p>| 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                                                                                 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0520</td>
<td>851J.0094</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0543</td>
<td>851J.0095A</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and North Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0544</td>
<td>851J.0095B</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and South Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0545</td>
<td>851J.0096</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and the Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0546</td>
<td>851J.0097</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Economic Relations between Laos and Malaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0550</td>
<td>851J.01</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Cost of Living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0556</td>
<td>851J.02</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0558</td>
<td>851J.03</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Food Conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0561</td>
<td>851J.0511</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Capital—Investments: U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0563</td>
<td>851J.053</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Capital—Corporations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0564</td>
<td>851J.062</td>
<td>Economic Matters: Labor—Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>851J.10</td>
<td>Financial Matters [General]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0609</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laotian economic and financial program and the role of foreign aid;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laotian budget; balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0651</td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; Laotian budget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0668</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; police training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0680</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laotian budget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0685</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Price stabilization; Revaluation Fund; balance sheets for Laotian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>commercial banks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0695</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; stability of Laotian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>currency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 0719  |      | August 1960  
|       |      | Laotian budget. |
| 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  
<p>|       |      | 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. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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. |
Reel 33

Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs cont.

  - January 1963
    - Laotian budget.

- 851J.10A Financial Matters: Advisers

- 851J.11 Financial Matters: Taxation
  - February 1960
    - Taxation and registration of radios.

- 851J.13 Financial Matters: Monetary System
  - February 1960
    - Monetary statistics.

  - March 1960
    - Gold movements from Europe to Laos.

  - April 1960
    - Gold imports and exports.

  - May 1960
    - Gold imports.

  - June 1960
    - Gold imports.

  - July 1960
    - Gold movements from Europe to Laos.

  - August 1960
    - Gold imports.

  - November 1960
    - Gold imports.

  - January 1961
    - Money supply and foreign exchange coverage.

  - February 1961
    - Gold imports.
March 1961
National Bank dollar sales to commercial banks; gold imports.

April 1961
National Bank dollar sales to commercial banks.

June 1961
Currency devaluation.

August 1961
Laotian government policy on release of gold import figures.

November 1961
Foreign exchange resources.

December 1961
New bank note issue; counterfeiting.

January 1962
U.S. surveillance of Laotian government transfers from Chase Manhattan Bank accounts; U.S. economic aid; Laotian suspension of foreign exchange sales.

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.

September 1962
Laotian National Bank loans to Laotian government.

November 1962

January 1963

Financial Matters: Monetary System—Foreign Exchange

Financial Matters: Monetary System—Counterfeiting

Financial Matters: Banks; Banking

March 1960
Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; money supply and foreign exchange coverage.

May 1960
Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks.

August 1960
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0425  |      | September 1960  
          Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks; Laotian National Bank annual report. |
| 0466  |      | January 1961  
| 0467  |      | February 1961  
          Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks. |
| 0487  |      | March 1961  
          Balance sheets for Laotian commercial banks. |
| 0494  |      | April 1961 |
| 0495  |      | January 1962  
          Dollar deposits in Laotian National Bank; Laotian suspension of foreign exchange sales. |
| 0502  |      | April 1962  
          Legal action to prevent withdrawal of Laotian National Bank deposits in London banks. |
| 0503  |      | May 1962  
          Legal action to prevent withdrawal of Laotian National Bank deposits in London banks. |
| 0506  |      | June 1962  
          Request by Laotian National Bank for letter of credit from Chase Manhattan Bank; legal action to prevent withdrawal of Laotian National Bank deposits in London banks. |
| 0518  |      | October 1962  
          Transfer of $2 million from U.S. Federal Reserve Bank to Laotian National Bank. |
<p>| 0521  |      | December 1962 |
| 0522  | 851J.1411 | Financial Matters: Banks; Banking—Branch Banks of the United States in Laos |
| 0523  | 851J.181 | Financial Matters: Immigration; Emigration—Foreign Visas; Foreign Exit Permits |
| 0533  | 851J.19 | Financial Matters: Industrial Matters |
| 0558  | 851J.191WA | Financial Matters: Industrial Matters—Expositions; Exhibitions: Wat Phu |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0565</td>
<td>851J.20</td>
<td>Agriculture [General]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0578</td>
<td>851J.2317</td>
<td>Agriculture: Field Crops—Grains: Rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0585</td>
<td>851J.2351</td>
<td>Agriculture: Field Crops—Sugar: Cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0588</td>
<td>851J.2391</td>
<td>Agriculture: Field Crops—Trees: Forestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0594</td>
<td>851J.25</td>
<td>Agriculture: Mines; Mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0605</td>
<td>851J.2553</td>
<td>Agriculture: Mines; Mining—Carbon: Petroleum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0687</td>
<td>851J.2612</td>
<td>Agriculture: Engineering—Public Works: Roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0734</td>
<td>851J.2614</td>
<td>Agriculture: Engineering—Public Works: Utilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0771</td>
<td>851J.312</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing: Foods—Poultry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0773</td>
<td>851J.323</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing: Animal and Vegetable Products, Inedible—Tobacco Manufactures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0775</td>
<td>851J.3331</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing: Iron and Steel and Related Industries—Transportation Equipment: Automobiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0776</td>
<td>851J.343</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing: Household Furnishings—Appliances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0778</td>
<td>851J.391</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing: Other Manufactures—Wood Products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0782</td>
<td>851J.3932</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing: Other Manufactures—Non-Metallic Minerals: Fuels and Petroleum Products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0783</td>
<td>851J.3971</td>
<td>Manufacturers; Manufacturing: Other Manufactures—Chemicals: Medicines and Pharmaceuticals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0786</td>
<td>851J.401</td>
<td>Social Matters: Census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1960 Census figures for the provinces of Xieng Khouang, Champassak, Saravane, Attopeu, and Savannakhét.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0920</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1960 Census figures for the provinces of Khammouane and Sayaboury; census of Laotian civil service and government employees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1012</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1962 Official Laotian population estimate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1020</td>
<td>851J.41</td>
<td>Social Matters: People</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reel 34

Internal Economic, Industrial, and Social Affairs cont.

0001 851J.424 Social Matters: History—Commemorative Celebrations
0022 851J.43 Social Matters: Education
0039 851J.431 Social Matters: Education—Elementary and Secondary
0041 851J.45 Social Matters: Amusements; Sports
0043 851J.46 Social Matters: Societies
0052 851J.4613 Social Matters: Societies—Better Citizenship Organizations: Military and Veteran’s Organizations
0056 851J.47411 Social Matters: Etiquette—Ceremonial Communications: with the United States
0077 851J.481 Social Matters: Entertainment—by the Country or Its Officials
0079 851J.49 Social Matters: Disasters; Relief Measures
  August 1960
    Mekong River flooding.
0088
  December 1960
    Request for American Red Cross aid; Thai medical assistance; U.S. disaster relief program.
0104
  January 1961
    U.S. disaster relief program.
0110
  June 1961
    Refugee relief program.
0111
  July 1961
    Refugee relief program.
0120
  August 1961
    Refugee relief program.
0122
  September 1961
    Refugee relief program.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0125</td>
<td></td>
<td>November 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0130</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0131</td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0133</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0140</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0142</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0144</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mekong River flooding; contract between USAID and Air America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0147</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0151</td>
<td></td>
<td>December 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0154</td>
<td>851J.501</td>
<td>January 1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee relief program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0171</td>
<td>851J.501</td>
<td>March 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Order, Safety and Health: National Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0176</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police training program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0182</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Proposal for reorganization of Laotian national police force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0225</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Proposal for reorganization of Laotian national police force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0230</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police training program; French paper on Laotian gendarmerie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 0242  |        | November 1961  
Proposal for reorganization of Laotian national police force;  
French plan for Laotian gendarmerie; police training program. |
| 0256  |        | December 1961  
Laotian internal security forces; police training program;  
French plan for Laotian gendarmerie. |
| 0264  |        | January 1962  
Proposal for reorganization of Laotian national police force;  
Souvanna Phouma’s plans for Laotian police and gendarmerie. |
| 0268  |        | May 1962  
Proposal for reorganization of Laotian national police force. |
| 0272  |        | June 1962  
Proposal for reorganization of Laotian national police force. |
| 0275  |        | July 1962  
Proposal for reorganization of Laotian national police force. |
| 0276  |        | August 1962  
French military mission to Laos. |
| 0278  |        | November 1962  
Recruitment for Laotian civil police force. |
| 0281  |        | December 1962  
Integration of Laotian armed forces and police. |
| 0283  |        | January 1963  
Integration of Laotian armed forces and police. |
| 0291  | 851J.511 | Public Order, Safety, and Health: Municipal Government—Police Organization               |
| 0294  | 851J.53 | Public Order, Safety, and Health: Traffic in Narcotics                           |
| 0298  | 851J.55 | Public Order, Safety, and Health: Public Health                                    |
| 0304  | 851J.555 | Public Order, Safety, and Health: Public Health—Practice of Medicine             |
| 0309  | 851J.562 | Public Order, Safety, and Health: Charities; Philanthropic Organizations—Hospitals |
## Communications; Transportation; Science

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0318</td>
<td>951J.00</td>
<td>Communications [General]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0321</td>
<td>951J.104</td>
<td>Postal: Rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0325</td>
<td>951J.11</td>
<td>Public Press: Newspapers; Magazines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[951J.61</td>
<td>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0326</td>
<td>951J.1151K</td>
<td>Postal: Transportation of Mail between Laos and Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0327</td>
<td>951J.2151K</td>
<td>Telegraph: Communication between Laos and Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0328</td>
<td>951J.40</td>
<td>Radio; Radiobroadcasting [General]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0404</td>
<td>951J.42</td>
<td>Radio; Radiobroadcasting: Amateurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0406</td>
<td>951J.60</td>
<td>Public Press [General]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>951J.61</td>
<td>Public Press: Newspapers; Magazines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Laotian press coverage of major events]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March 1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0436</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0437</td>
<td></td>
<td>June 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0446</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0459</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0465</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0480</td>
<td></td>
<td>November 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0491</td>
<td></td>
<td>December 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0498</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0504</td>
<td></td>
<td>February 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0511</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0517</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0519</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0578</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0580</td>
<td></td>
<td>December 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0591</td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
February 1962
March 1962
April 1962
May 1962
October 1962
November 1962
January 1963

Public Press: Newsgathering Agencies
Public Press: Newsgathering Agencies—Other Countries
Public Press: Newsgathering Agencies—U.S.
Public Press: Newsgathering Agencies—France
Public Press: Newsgathering Agencies—Cambodia
Public Press: Censorship
Transportation: Land Transportation
Transportation: Land Transportation—Railroads: Rail Transportation between Laos and Thailand
Transportation: Land Transportation—Taxicabs
Transportation: Land Transportation—Motor Vehicles
Transportation: Air Transportation
July 1960
Civil aviation legislation.
January 1961
Air Laos operations suspended.
February 1961
Royal Air Laos operations.
March 1961
Royal Air Laos stockholders’ meeting.
August 1962
French aid to Laotian civil aviation.

September 1962
Proposed merger between Royal Air Laos and Air Laos.

October 1962

January 1963
U.S. aid to Laotian civil aviation; refugee relief program; Laotian air supply problem; U.S. report on Laotian civil aviation.

Transportation: Air Transportation—between Laos and Other Countries

Transportation: Air Transportation—Rates

Transportation: Air Transportation—Accidents

Transportation: Air Transportation—Airports

Transportation: Air Transportation—Sale; Purchase

Transportation: Air Transportation—between Laos and China

Science: Earth Sciences—Geophysics: Meteorology

Reel 35

International Political Relations; Bilateral Treaties—Laos

Political Relations between Laos and Other Countries

Political Relations between Laos and Other Countries: War; Hostilities—Declarations of Neutrality

Political Relations between Laos and Vietnam

January 1960
North Vietnamese kidnapping of Laotian citizens.

May 1960

July 1960

August 1960
Joint Laos–South Vietnam food and propaganda program; proposed South Vietnamese military aid; efforts to prevent Viet Cong from using Cambodia as sanctuary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0111  |      | September 1960  
          UN border control activities. |
| 0114  |      | November 1960  
          South Vietnamese government distrust of Souvanna Phouma. |
| 0118  |      | December 1960  
          Authorization of cross-border barter; South Vietnamese policy regarding Laos. |
| 0124  |      | January 1961  
          North Vietnamese infiltration of Laos; proposed South Vietnamese military aid. |
| 0141  |      | February 1961  
          North Vietnamese infiltration of Laos. |
| 0145  |      | March 1961  
          South Vietnamese counterinsurgency plan. |
| 0147  |      | May 1961  
          Proposed South Vietnamese military aid; Viet Minh military operations in Laos. |
| 0150  |      | July 1961  
          Viet Minh military operations in Laos. |
| 0155  |      | August 1961  
          Viet Minh military operations in Laos. |
| 0156  |      | September 1961  
          Plans for defense of South Vietnam's frontier with Laos and the DMZ. |
| 0159  |      | October 1961  
          North Vietnamese violations of Laotian neutrality. |
| 0160  |      | November 1961  
          South Vietnamese relations with Thailand and Cambodia. |
| 0164  |      | January 1962  
          Souvanna Phouma's proposal to recognize North Vietnam. |
| 0165  |      | May 1962  
          Fall of Nam Tha to Pathet Lao; Viet Minh attack on Saravane, Laos. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0168  |      | June 1962  
Souvanna Phouma’s proposal to recognize North Vietnam and PRC. |
| 0172  |      | July 1962  
Souvanna Phouma’s proposal to recognize North Vietnam, Democratic Republic of Germany, and PRC; efforts to reduce Viet Cong infiltration of South Vietnam via Laos. |
| 0186  |      | August 1962  
South Vietnamese diplomatic representation in Laos; efforts to reduce Viet Cong infiltration of South Vietnam via Laos. |
| 0202  |      | September 1962  
Laotian diplomatic recognition of Czechoslovakia, PRC, and North Vietnam; South Vietnamese diplomatic representation in Laos; South Vietnamese decision to withdraw diplomatic mission in Laos. |
| 0273  |      | October 1962  
Laotian diplomatic recognition of North Vietnam; South Vietnam breaks diplomatic relations with Laos; efforts to reduce Viet Cong infiltration of South Vietnam via Laos. |
| 0330  |      | November 1962  
South Vietnamese diplomatic representation in Laos; Laotian diplomatic recognition of North Vietnam; South Vietnam breaks diplomatic relations with Laos. |
| 0377  |      | December 1962  
South Vietnam breaks diplomatic relations with Laos; South Vietnamese diplomatic representation in Laos. |
| 0398  |      | January 1963  
South Vietnamese diplomatic representation in Laos; efforts to reduce Viet Cong infiltration of South Vietnam via Laos. |
<p>| 0430  | 651J.55 | Political Relations between Laos and Belgium |
| 0431  | 651J.60 | Political Relations between Laos and Eastern Continental Europe |
| 0433  | 651J.61 | Political Relations between Laos and the USSR |
| 0459  | 651J.613 [651J.615] | Political Relations between Laos and the USSR: Cultural Treaties and Agreements |
| 0462  | 651J.614 | Political Relations between Laos and the USSR: Economic Treaties and Agreements |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0463</td>
<td>651J.6141</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and the USSR: Economic Treaties and Agreements—Trade Agreements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0493</td>
<td>651J.62</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0498</td>
<td>651J.62A</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Federal Republic of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0516</td>
<td>651J.62B</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Democratic Republic of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0565</td>
<td>651J.64</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Hungary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0566</td>
<td>651J.68</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0571</td>
<td>651J.69</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Bulgaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0572</td>
<td>651J.70G</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0573</td>
<td>651J.84A</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0575</td>
<td>651J.90B</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Burma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0578</td>
<td>651J.90C</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Nepal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0579</td>
<td>651J.90D</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0580</td>
<td>651J.91</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0586</td>
<td>651J.92</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>January 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0587</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0591</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thai-Laotian border incident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0596</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thai allegations of Viet Minh troops in Vientiane; Thai-Cambodian talks at the UN; allegations of Thai interference in Laotian internal affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0620</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thai-Laotian border incidents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0634</td>
<td></td>
<td>November 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thai-Laotian border incidents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0645</td>
<td></td>
<td>December 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Allegations of Thai military intervention in Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 0657  |        | January 1961  
Allegations of Thai military intervention in Laos.                                                                                   |
| 0664  |        | March 1961    
Allegations of Thai military intervention in Laos.                                                                                     |
| 0667  |        | May 1961                                               |
| 0668  |        | October 1961                                                                                                                         |
| 0670  |        | December 1961                                                                                                                        |
| 0671  |        | January 1962  
Thai government opposition to Souvanna Phouma.                                                                                          |
| 0673  |        | February 1962                                                                                                                         |
| 0675  |        | March 1962  
Thai support for establishment of neutral coalition government in Laos; Thai financial aid to Phoumi Nosavan.                       |
| 0677  |        | April 1962    
Boun Oum regime goodwill mission to Thailand.                                                                                           |
| 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.                                                                                |
| 0703  |        | October 1962  
Proposals for Thai-Laotian cooperation.                                                                                                 |
| 0708  |        | January 1963  
Allegations of Thai financial assistance to Phoumi Nosavan.                                                                                |
<p>| 0710  | 651J.9221 | Political Relations between Laos and Thailand: War; Hostilities—Internment of Military Personnel                                 |
| 0716  | 651J.9231 | Political Relations between Laos and Thailand: Boundary Questions—Land Boundary                                                         |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0717</td>
<td>651J.929</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and Thailand: Other Relations; Bilateral Treaties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reel 36**

**International Political Relations; Bilateral Treaties—Laos cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0001</th>
<th>651J.93</th>
<th>Political Relations between Laos and China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese diplomatic representation in Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0002</td>
<td></td>
<td>October 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRC policy regarding Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0004</td>
<td></td>
<td>December 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist government recognizes Boun Oum regime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0005</td>
<td></td>
<td>April 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist government establishes diplomatic relations with Boun Oum regime in Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0006</td>
<td></td>
<td>May 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist government establishes diplomatic relations with Boun Oum regime in Laos; Chinese Nationalist position on Souvanna Phouma government in Laos; Boun Oum regime goodwill mission to Taiwan; PRC policy regarding Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0021</td>
<td></td>
<td>June 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boun Oum regime goodwill mission to Taiwan; Chinese Nationalist government recognizes Souvanna Phouma government in Laos; Souvanna Phouma’s proposal to recognize PRC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0031</td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laotian diplomatic recognition of PRC; Chinese Nationalist diplomatic representation in Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0072</td>
<td></td>
<td>August 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist diplomatic representation in Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0079</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist diplomatic representation in Laos; Laotian diplomatic recognition of PRC and North Vietnam; Chinese Nationalist government severs diplomatic relations with Laos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0103</td>
<td>651J.9321</td>
<td>Political Relations between Laos and China: War; Hostilities—Internment of Military Personnel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
International Political Relations; Bilateral Treaties—U.S.—Laos

611.51J  Political Relations between the United States and Laos

0166  February 1960

0167  April 1960

Operations Coordinating Board operations plan.

0169  May 1960

0170  June 1960

King Sri Savang Vatthana’s views on Laotian situation.

0179  August 1960

Kong Le coup; Souvanna Phouma’s appointment as prime minister.

0188  September 1960

0193  October 1960

0199  November 1960

Soviet economic aid to Laos.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0206  |      | December 1960  
Allegations of U.S. intervention in Laotian internal affairs;  
U.S. recognition of Boun Oum regime. |
| 0226  |      | January 1961  
Allegations of U.S. intervention in Laotian internal affairs. |
| 0245  |      | February 1961 |
| 0247  |      | March 1961  
North Vietnamese propaganda; proposals for SEATO military intervention in Laos. |
| 0252  |      | June 1961  
U.S. economic aid. |
| 0253  |      | August 1961  
Laotian cease-fire and verification procedures. |
| 0269  |      | October 1961 |
| 0270  |      | November 1961  
Divisions among U.S. diplomatic and military personnel in Laos. |
| 0274  |      | December 1961  
Divisions among U.S. diplomatic and military personnel in Laos. |
| 0277  |      | January 1962  
Souvanna Phouma invited to visit United States; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government. |
| 0314  |      | February 1962  
Refusal of Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government; divisions among U.S. diplomatic and military personnel in Laos. |
| 0340  |      | March 1962  
Withdrawal of U.S. economic aid; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government; refusal of Boun Oum and Phoumi Nosavan to give up demand for Defense and Interior ministries in new Souvanna Phouma government. |
| 0397  |      | April 1962  
William H. Sullivan’s trip to Khang Khay and meeting with Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong; Boun Oum regime goodwill missions. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>File</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0455  |        | May 1962  
Boun Oum regime goodwill missions to South Korea, South Vietnam, and the Philippines; CIA operations in Laos; withdrawal of U.S. support for Phoumi Nosavan; proposals for reorganized Laotian coalition government. |
| 0500  |        | June 1962  
Laotian National Assembly approves new Souvanna Phouma government.                                                                        |
| 0521  |        | July 1962  
Souvanna Phouma invited to visit United States; refugee relief program; U.S. negotiations for release of POWs held by Pathet Lao.       |
| 0529  |        | August 1962  
Souvanna Phouma’s visit to United States; Souvanna Phouma’s proposed diplomatic recognition of PRC and North Vietnam; U.S. economic aid; ICC operations in Laos. |
| 0580  |        | September 1962  
U.S. economic aid.                                                                                                                        |
| 0588  |        | October 1962  
U.S. opposition to Quinim Pholsena.                                                                                                       |
| 0606  |        | November 1962  
Senator Mike Mansfield’s mission to Laos; Phoumi Nosavan’s visit to USSR.                                                                  |
| 0619  |        | December 1962  
Rural development program; French military mission to Laos; Air America operations.                                                        |
| 0626  | 611.51J231 | Political Relations between the United States and Laos: War; Hostilities—Blocked Funds                                               |
| 0631  | 611.51J241 | Political Relations between the United States and Laos: War; Hostilities—Prisoners of War: U.S.                                      |
SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major topics in this microform publication. The first number after an entry refers to the reel, while the four-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which the subject begins. Hence, 4: 0735 directs the researcher to frame 0735 of Reel 4. By referring to the Reel Index, which constitutes the initial segment of this guide, the researcher will find topics arranged in the order in which they appear on the film.

This subject index provides an entry under each of the topic names assigned by the State Department in its decimal number classification system for which documents appear in the collection. In order to avoid confusion, the term “Foreign relations” has been substituted for the State Department’s term “Political relations.” Additional terms have been supplied to provide more detailed topical access. Terminology and spellings are those used in the original documents. Researchers may consult the acronym list on page xli.

Accidents
  air transportation 34: 1009

Advisers
  economic 32: 0216, 0972
  financial 32: 0972; 33: 0005
  government 28: 0001
  military
    Thai 25: 0693
  see also Military aid
  see also Military aid, U.S.
  see also Military missions
  see also Military training

Agency for International Development, U.S. (USAID)
  contract with Air America 34: 0144
  see also Economic aid
  see also Financial aid

Agriculture
  field crops 33: 0578, 0585, 0588
  services 28: 0663

Air America
  aircraft loss 27: 0001, 0134, 0810; 30: 0057
  operations 29: 0601, 0938; 30: 0001–0132; 36: 0619
  USAID contract with 34: 0144

Aircraft
  Air America 27: 0001, 0134, 0810; 30: 0057
  military 31: 0493
  U.S. air attaché 31: 0263
  Vietnam, South 31: 0263

Air Laos
  34: 0874, 0887

Air navigation treaties
  Laos-China 36: 0104
  see also Air transportation

Air operations
  Air America 29: 0601, 0938; 30: 0001–0132; 36: 0619
  USSR 31: 0242

Airports
  31: 0662; 34: 1011

Air supply problems
  34: 0890
  see also Air operations

Air transportation
  accidents 34: 1009
  airports 31: 0662; 34: 1011
  general 34: 0758–0890
  between Laos and other countries
    34: 0976
  between Laos and PRC 34: 1034
  rates 34: 1005
  sale; purchase 34: 1028
American Red Cross
34: 0088
Amusements; sports
34: 0041
Armed forces
integration and demobilization proposals
29: 0501–0601, 0874–0938;
30: 0001–0187
integration of police and 34: 0281, 0283
see also Military personnel
see also National defense affairs
Automobiles
33: 0775; 34: 0754
see also Motor vehicles
Bailey, Lawrence
capture by Pathet Lao 31: 0263, 0307, 0345
Bangkok, Thailand
Souvanna Phouma’s visit to 28: 0484
Ban Hin Heup, Laos
18: 0001, 0621; 27: 0557
Ban Houei Sai, Laos
Pathet Lao and Viet Minh attacks on
23: 0001; 24: 0001; 29: 0737
Banks; banking
branch banks of the United States in Laos 33: 0522
Chase Manhattan Bank 33: 0258, 0506
commercial 32: 0609–0668, 0685, 0695, 0747, 0764; 33: 0233, 0241, 0390, 0405, 0425
general 33: 0390–0521
Laotian National Bank 20: 0519;
32: 0759, 0799, 0863, 0947;
33: 0233, 0241, 0258, 0276, 0425, 0466–0487, 0495, 0502–0506, 0518
Ban Pa Dong, Laos
Pathet Lao capture of 13: 0486
Barter
cross-border 35: 0118
Battles
Ban Houei Sai 23: 0001; 24: 0001; 29: 0737
Ban Pa Dong 13: 0486
Muong Sai 11: 0001
Muong Sing 23: 0001; 27: 0682; 29: 0737
Nam Tha 21: 0001, 0475; 22: 0089;
23: 0001; 27: 0626, 0682; 29: 0670, 0737; 35: 0165
Vang Vieng 10: 0001
see also Military operations; offensives
Belgium
foreign relations with Laos 35: 0430
Biographical data
general 31: 0105
on Souvanna Phouma 28: 0291
Blocked funds
in Japan 36: 0111
in the United States 36: 0626
Borders
incidents
Cambodia-Laos 6: 0001
Thailand-Laos 35: 0591, 0620, 0634, 0681
UN control activities 35: 0111
Vietnam, South—defense plans 35: 0156
Boundary questions
land—Laos-Thailand 35: 0716
Boun Oum
government of 3: 0001; 21: 0001;
27: 0707; 29: 0856
joint communiqué on formation of national union government 14: 0001;
15: 0001
meetings with
Harriman, W. Averell 11: 0457;
18: 0001
Souvanna Phouma 3: 0600
Souvanna Phouma and Souphanouvong 12: 0001;
13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001;
15: 0001; 16: 0001, 0147;
18: 00001, 0621; 19: 0001;
20: 0001; 21: 0001; 24: 0193;
27: 0557; 28: 0291, 0839
prime minister 5: 0001; 18: 0001;
24: 0193; 28: 0771, 0775
requested by king to form provisional government 5: 0001
and Souvanna Phouma government 20: 0519; 21: 0001, 0475; 22: 0001,
0089, 0613; 29: 0621, 0670;
36: 0314, 0340
U.S. negotiations with 3: 0001; 4: 0001
Brown, Winthrop
meeting with King Sri Savang Vatthana 7: 0405; 9: 0001; 28: 0166
Budget
defense 32: 0745, 0778, 0901
general 29: 0163; 31: 0705; 32: 0609, 0651, 0680, 0719, 0738, 0785, 0786, 0901, 0955–0978; 33: 0001

Bulgaria
foreign relations between Laos and 35: 0571

Burma
foreign relations between Laos and 35: 0575
Neutral Nations Commission participation 8: 0001

Cabinet; ministry
defense and interior 22: 0613; 23: 0001
finance 28: 0787
general 28: 0626–0901
Leuam Insisiengmay 28: 0749
Phoumi Nosavan 3: 0001, 0600;
Quinimum Pholsena 7: 0405
reorganization of 27: 0134, 0315;
28: 0900–0901
Souvanna Phouma 2: 0232; 21: 0475;
22: 0001, 0089; 27: 0134, 0315;
28: 0845, 0900–0901
Tiao Somsanith 2: 0232; 28: 0672

Cambodia
border clashes with Laos 6: 0001
foreign relations with South Vietnam 35: 0160
general 4: 0735; 31: 0263
neutralization of 5: 0001, 0737
Neutral Nations Commission participation 8: 0001
newsgathering agencies 34: 0729
overflights of Laos by 31: 0404
Phnom Penh 16: 0001, 0147
Three Princes’ meeting 16: 0001, 0147
Viet Cong sanctuary in 35: 0099

Canada
economic aid 32: 0265

Cash grants, U.S.
32: 0885
see also Economic aid
see also Financial aid

Cease-fire
general 23: 0001; 24: 0193
negotiations and verification procedures
5: 0001; 9: 0857; 10: 0001;
11: 0001, 0457; 12: 0001; 13: 0001;
violations by Pathet Lao 11: 0457;
12: 0001; 13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001;
15: 0001; 16: 0001, 0147; 17: 0373;
18: 0621; 20: 0519; 21: 0001, 0475;
22: 0613; 25: 0080, 0693; 26: 0001;
27: 0134

Celebrations
commemorative 34: 0001

Censorship
press 34: 0735

Census
33: 0786–1012

Charities; philanthropic organizations
hospitals 34: 0309

Chase Manhattan Bank
33: 0258, 0506

Chief executive
general 28: 0058–0525
provincial governors 28: 0624
see also Government

China
air navigation treaties with Laos 36: 0104
air transportation between Laos and 34: 1034
diplomatic representation in Laos 36: 0001
economic relations with Laos 32: 0503
foreign relations between Laos and 36: 0001–0079

China, People’s Republic of (PRC)
demand for abolition of SEATO 16: 0001
intelligence activities 31: 0120
Laotian diplomatic recognition of 25: 0080; 35: 0168, 0172, 0202;
36: 0021, 0031, 0079
overflights of Laos by 31: 0412
China, People’s Republic of (PRC) cont.
propaganda 23: 0001
China, Republic of
Boun Oum government goodwill mission to 36: 0006, 0021
diplomatic relations with Laos 36: 0079
diplomatic representation in Laos 36: 0031–0079
military personnel, internment of 36: 0103
position on Souvanna Phouma government 36: 0006
recognition of Laos government 36: 0004–0006, 0021
Chinese Nationalist irregulars
in Thailand 35: 0691
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
operations in Laos 36: 0455
Phoumi Nosavan 19: 0262
see also Air America
Civic action programs
21: 0475; 29: 0708, 0722
see also Rural development see also Rural security teams
Civil aviation
aid to
by France 34: 0881
by United States 34: 0890
legislation 34: 0758
see also Air Laos see also Royal Air Laos
Civil servants
general 28: 0953, 0968; 33: 0920
union 28: 0906, 0993 see also Civil service
Civil service
28: 0902–0993
Committee for the Defense of National Interests (CDNI)
appointment of provisional government 1: 0001
Commodity import program 32: 0167
Communications
ceremonial—with the United States 34: 0056
general 34: 0318
Communism; Communists
general 27: 0857
intentions in Laos 5: 0001
propaganda 1: 0375–0779; 2: 0001; 17: 0373; 24: 0193
see also The National Patriotic Front Party see also Pathet Lao see also Viet Cong see also Viet Minh
Congress, U.S.
see House of Representatives, U.S.
Constitution
efforts to amend 15: 0001; 16: 0001, 0147
general 28: 0043
Contingency planning, U.S.
Corporations 32: 0563
Corruption
2: 0232; 7: 0405
Cost of living 32: 0550
Counterfeiting 33: 0248
Counterinsurgency
plan for South Vietnam 35: 0145
policy, U.S., for Laos 29: 0737
see also Civic action programs see also Rural security teams
Cultural treaties and agreements
with USSR 35: 0459
Currency
devaluation 33: 0243
new bank note issue 33: 0248
stability of 32: 0695
U.S. dollars 33: 0271
see also Foreign exchange see also Monetary system
Czechoslovakia

diplomatic recognition by Laos 35: 0202

Demilitarized Zone (DMZ)

Vietnam, South—defense plan 35: 0156

Demonstrations

Youth Party in Vientiane 3: 0001

Development Assistance Committee

32: 0270

see also Economic development

see also Regional Economic Development Agency

see also Rural development

Diplomatic recognition

of Boun Oum regime by United States

27: 0971; 36: 0206

of Czechoslovakia 35: 0202

of Germany, Democratic Republic of

35: 0172

of PRC 25: 0080; 35: 0168, 0172, 0202;

36: 0021, 0031, 0079

of Vietnam, North 25: 0080; 28: 0484;

35: 0164, 0168, 0172, 0202–0330

Diplomatic representation

China, Republic of 36: 0031–0079

PRC 36: 0001

Vietnam, South 35: 0202, 0330–0398

Disasters; relief measures

general 34: 0079–0154

U.S. disaster relief program 34: 0088, 0104

see also Refugees

DMZ

see Demilitarized Zone

Economic aid

Canada 32: 0265

France 32: 0265, 0296–0391, 0931, 0947, 0972

general 32: 0290, 0293

international 14; 0001

U.K. 32: 0265, 0296–0375

UN 1: 0301; 25: 0080

U.S. 11: 0001; 15: 0001; 20: 0001;

24: 0193; 25: 0693; 26: 0051, 0896;

29: 0621, 0866, 0938; 32: 0265, 0271, 0274, 0313, 0799, 0831,

0901–0947; 33: 0258; 36: 0252, 0340, 0529, 0580

U.S.–British–French tripartite talks on

32: 0313–0375, 0955

USSR 4: 0197; 36: 0199

see also Financial aid

Economic conditions

31: 0693

Economic development

plan 32: 0131

see also Development Assistance Committee

see also Regional Economic Development Agency

see also Rural development

Economic matters

advisers 32: 0216

corporations 32: 0563

cost of living 32: 0550

five-year plan 32: 0219

food conditions 32: 0558

general 31: 0666–0974; 32: 0001–0190

housing 32: 0556

investments 32: 0561

labor 32: 0564

Peace Corps 32: 0263

Economic planning

five-year plan 32: 0219

general 32: 0190, 0313

UN 31: 0666

Economic program

32: 0609

Economic relations, Laos

with China 32: 0503

with Europe, Eastern 32: 0396

with the Far East 32: 0480

general 32: 0265–0391

with Germany, East 32: 0476

with Germany, West 32: 0456

with Japan 32: 0520

with Korea, North 32: 0543

with Korea, South 32: 0544

with Malaya 32: 0546

with the Philippines 32: 0545

with Thailand 32: 0491

with U.K. 32: 0394

with the USSR 32: 0428

Economic reviews and assessments

general 31: 0666–0974; 32: 0001–0190

situation reports 32: 0842, 0885–0931

Economic sanctions, U.S.

against Boun Oum regime 22: 0613;

23: 0001; 29: 0621
Economic stability
32: 0054
Economic treaties and agreements
with USSR 35: 0462
Education
elementary and secondary 34: 0039
general 34: 0022
Elections
April 1960 1: 0301, 0375; 2: 0001
fraud 1: 0539, 0779
laws governing 1: 0301, 0375; 26: 0477
procedures 26: 0051
Entertainment
34: 0077
Europe, Eastern
economic relations with Laos 32: 0396
foreign relations with Laos 35: 0431
gold movements to Laos from 33: 0135,
0203
Executive branch
 cabinet; ministry 21: 0475; 22: 0001,
0089; 27: 0134, 0315; 28: 0626–
0901
chief executive 28: 0058–0525, 0624
civil service 28: 0902–0993
see also Government
Exit permits
33: 0523
Exports
gold 33: 0162
Expositions; exhibitions
Wat Phu 33: 0558
Falaize Mission
16: 0147; 17: 0001; 27: 0527
see also Goodwill missions, Laos
see also Military missions
Far East
economic relations with Laos 32: 0480
Federation solution
proposal for 11: 0457
Field crops
forestry 33: 0588
rice 33: 0578
sugar 33: 0585
Financial aid
Thailand 35: 0675, 0708
U.K. 31: 0966
U.S. withdrawal 21: 0089; 29: 0737;
32: 0799, 0831, 0885; 36: 0340
see also Economic aid
Financial matters
advisers 33: 0005
general 32: 0609–0978; 33: 0001
monetary system 33: 0132–0286, 0369
taxation 33: 0012–0130
Financial policy, U.S.
32: 0842
Financial program
32: 0609
Five-year plan
32: 0219
Flag
28: 0054
Floods; flooding
Mekong River 29: 0344; 34: 0079, 0144
Food
conditions 32: 0558
poultry 33: 0771
program 35: 0099
Foreign exchange
bank accounts 32: 0978
coverage 32: 0726, 0730, 0747, 0759,
0799; 33: 0227, 0390
general 33: 0286
holdings 32: 0863
resources 33: 0246
sales, suspension of 20: 0519; 32: 0799;
33: 0258, 0495
see also Financial matters
Foreign relations, Laos
with Belgium 35: 0430
with Bulgaria 35: 0571
with Burma 35: 0575
with Europe, Eastern 35: 0431
general 35: 0001
with Germany (general) 35: 0493
with Germany, East 35: 0516
with Germany, West 35: 0498
with Ghana 35: 0572
with Hungary 35: 0565
with India 35: 0580
with Israel 35: 0573
with Japan 36: 0109
with Korea (general) 36: 0115
with Korea, North 36: 0124
with Korea, South 36: 0131
with Malaya 36: 0160
with Nepal 35: 0578
with Outer Mongolia 36: 0108
with Pakistan 35: 0579
with the Philippines 36: 0153
with PRC 36: 0001–0079
with Thailand 35: 0586–0708
with the United States 36: 0166–0619
with the USSR 35: 0433
with Vietnam 35: 0099–0398
with Yugoslavia 35: 0566

Foreign trade controls
reinstitution of 32: 0863

Forestry
33: 0588

France
civil aviation aid 34: 0881
economic aid 32: 0265, 0296–0391, 0931, 0947, 0972
gendarmerie plan for Laos 34: 0230, 0242, 0256
general 13: 0486; 14: 0001
on Kong Le coup d’état 2: 0232
on Laotian economy 31: 0902
on Laotian situation 4: 0197, 0735;
  5: 0001, 0737; 6: 0001; 7: 0001, 0405; 8: 0001, 0470; 9: 0001, 0857;
  25: 0693; 27: 0866
military bases in Laos 8: 0001; 31: 0547
military mission to Laos 2: 0164;
  8: 0001; 15: 0001; 16: 0147;
  18: 0001; 19: 0001, 25: 0001, 0080;
  26: 0001, 0051, 0896; 27: 0001–0315; 29: 0513, 0621, 0874–0938;
  30: 0132; 31: 0616; 34: 0276;
  36: 0619
newsgathering agencies 34: 0727
on Souvanna Phouma government
  3: 0001, 0600
tripartite talks on economic aid
  32: 0313–0375, 0955

Fuels and petroleum products
33: 0782

Gendarmerie
see Police

Geneva Accords of 1954
  1: 0001; 8: 0470

Geneva Agreements on Laos (1962)
  25: 0080; 27: 1024; 35: 0691

Geneva International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question
general 26: 0477
Laotian delegation at 11: 0457;
  12: 0001; 13: 0001; 21: 0089
negotiations 8: 0470; 9: 0857; 10: 0001;
  11: 0001, 0457; 12: 0001; 13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001; 15: 0001; 16: 0001,
  0147; 17: 0001, 0373; 18: 0001, 0621; 19: 0001–0962; 20: 0001,
Pathet Lao delegation 12: 0001
U.S. delegation 26: 0051

Germany (general)
foreign relations between Laos and
  35: 0493

Germany, Democratic Republic of (East)
economic relations with Laos 32: 0476
foreign relations between Laos and
  35: 0516
missions to Laos 31: 0658
Souvanna Phouma’s proposal to recognize 35: 0172

Germany, Federal Republic of (West)
economic relations with Laos 32: 0456
foreign relations between Laos and
  35: 0498

Ghana
foreign relations between Laos and
  35: 0572

Gold
exports 33: 0162
imports 33: 0162–0197, 0218, 0225, 0231, 0233, 0245
movements of, from Europe to Laos
  33: 0135, 0203

Goodwill missions, Laos
to China, Republic of 36: 0006, 0021
general 36: 0397
to Korea, South 36: 0455
to the Philippines 36: 0455
to Thailand 35: 0677, 0681
to Vietnam, South 36: 0455

Government
advisers 28: 0001
executive branch 28: 0058–0525, 0624–0993
general 27: 0863–1024
high commissioners 1: 0001
Government cont.
judicial branch 28: 0077
legislative branch 28: 0001; 29: 0054
Supreme Committee of the National
Army 4: 0735
territory 28: 0008
see also Government, coalition

Government, Boun Oum
accomplishments of 20: 0519
appeals to UN and SEATO regarding
Communists 6: 0001; 7: 0001;
23: 0001
composition of 7: 0001; 28: 0771, 0775
constitutional legality 5: 0001, 0737;
6: 0001
corruption in 7: 0405
Defense and Interior ministries
22: 0613; 23: 0001
diplomatic relations with Republic of
China 36: 0005, 0006
economic aid requests 32: 0285, 0863
financial aid, U.S. 21: 0089; 29: 0737;
32: 0799, 0831, 0885; 36: 0340
goodwill missions to 35: 0677, 0681;
36: 0006, 0021, 0397, 0455
King Sri Savang Vatthana’s support for
21: 0089
military aid to
from Thailand 21: 0001
from United States 5: 0001; 6: 0001;
7: 0001, 0405; 8: 0001, 0470;
9: 0001, 0857; 10: 0001;
11: 0001, 0457; 12: 0001;
13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001;
15: 0001; 18: 0621; 20: 0519;
21: 0001; 28: 0321
military communiques 21: 0001, 0089
military forces, reorganization of
23: 0001
military operations 21: 0001; 23: 0001;
29: 0670, 0737
Nam Tha, battle of 23: 0001; 29: 0670,
0737
National Assembly recognition of
6: 0001; 7: 0001; 27: 0989
Pathet Lao military offensive 23: 0001
propaganda 7: 0001, 0405; 21: 0089,
0613

recognition by
Republic of China 36: 0004
United States 27: 0971; 36: 0206
sanctions against, U.S. 22: 0613;
23: 0001; 29: 0621, 0722
on Souvanna Phouma 7: 0001, 0405; 8: 0001
support of 6: 0001; 7: 0001, 0405;
8: 0001, 0470; 21: 0089, 27: 1017;
28: 0838

Government, coalition
conditions for Western acceptance of
16: 0147
formation and composition of 24: 0193;
27: 0707; 29: 0856
Pathet Lao participation 13: 0486;
22: 0089
proposals for 1: 0779; 2: 0001; 9: 0857;
10: 0001; 12: 0001; 13: 0001, 0486;
14: 0001; 15: 0001; 16: 0001, 0147;
17: 0001, 0373; 18: 0001, 0621;
19: 0001–0962; 20: 0001, 0519;
21: 0001, 0475; 22: 0001–0613;
23: 0001; 24: 0001, 0193; 27: 0866,
1023; 28: 0308, 0311, 0626, 0835,
0836, 0845, 0852, 0873; 29: 0601,
0737; 36: 0277, 0340, 0455
Sri Savang Vatthana on 20: 0001;
22: 0089
Three Princes’ Agreement on 21: 0001

Government, Tiao Somsanith
composition of 28: 0694
financial and economic policies 28: 0694
National Assembly vote of confidence
28: 0694
U.S. support 2: 0232

Government, Souvanna Phouma
composition of 27: 0957
conditions for Western acceptance of
16: 0147; 17: 0373; 27: 0527
economic aid
general 32: 0290, 0293
U.S. 24: 0193; 25: 0693; 26: 0051,
0896; 29: 0621, 0886, 0938
general 4: 0001
Johnson, U. Alexis, on 27: 0134
legality of 7: 0405
National Assembly on 4: 0735;
10: 0001; 24: 0001; 26: 0477;
36: 0500
negotiations with Pathet Lao 3: 0600; 4: 0001–0735
neutralist position on 2: 0232; 4: 0197; 26: 0477
Pathet Lao opposition to 26: 0477; 27: 0001
Phoumi Nosavan’s revolt against 3: 0001
position of Republic of China on 36: 0006
prime minister 2: 0957; 25: 0001
recognition by Republic of China 36: 0021
Thailand on 24: 0193
U.K. and France views on 3: 0001, 0600
United States on 8: 0470; 26: 0051
USSR support for 6: 0001; 8: 0470

Government employees
census of 33: 0920

Government Employees’ Association
possible strike by 28: 0902

Government policies, U.S.
rumors of opposition to 29: 0670; 36: 0270, 0274, 0314

Governors
28: 0624

Gulf of Thailand
naval operations, U.S., in 23: 0001; 31: 0363

Harriman, W. Averell
meetings with
Boun Oum 11: 0457; 18: 0001
King Sri Savang Vatthana 11: 0457; 18: 0001
Phoumi Nosavan 11: 0457; 18: 0001; 22: 0089
Souvanna Phouma 17: 0373; 18: 0001; 27: 0543

High commissioners
regional 1: 0001

History
commemorative celebrations 34: 0001

Hospitals
34: 0309

House of Representatives, U.S.
Government Operations Subcommittee briefing on Laos 29: 0321

Housing
32: 0556

Hungary
foreign relations between Laos and 35: 0565

Imports
gold 33: 0162–0197, 0218, 0225, 0231, 0233, 0245

India
foreign relations between Laos and 35: 0580
suggests UN intervention in Laos 5: 0001

Industrial matters
expositions; exhibitions 33: 0558
general 33: 0533

Intelligence activities
biographical data 31: 0105, 0120
intelligence activities of PRC in Laos 31: 0120
Royal Laotian Army capabilities 29: 0163
see also Central Intelligence Agency

Internal security
U.S. study on 29: 0265

International Control Commission (ICC)
reactivation proposals 5: 0001, 0737; 6: 0001; 7: 0001, 0405; 8: 0001, 0470; 9: 0001, 0857; 10: 0001; 11: 0001

Investments, U.S.
32: 0561

Israel
foreign relations between Laos and 35: 0573

Japan
blocked funds, Laotian, in 36: 0111
economic aid 32: 0265
economic relations with Laos 32: 0520
foreign relations between Laos and 36: 0109
missions to Laos 31: 0659
trade agreements with Laos 36: 0114

73
Johnson, U. Alexis
discussions with members of Souvanna Phouma government 27: 0134

Judicial branch
laws; statutes 28: 0077

Kennedy, John F.
meeting with Souvanna Phouma 28: 0354
orders U.S. Seventh Fleet to Gulf of Thailand 23: 0001
Vienna Summit Conference discussions 13: 0486

Khamphan Panya
28: 0694

Khamsing
U.S. discussions with 28: 0756

Khang Khay, Laos
Sullivan, William H.—trip 36: 0397

Khrushchev, Nikita
Vienna Summit Conference discussions 13: 0486

Kidnapping
of Laotian citizens by North Vietnamese 35: 0090

King’s Council
end of constitutional mandate for 28: 0626

Kong Le
forces retake Vientiane 4: 0735
influence in Laotian government, U.S. concern over 2: 0957; 3: 0001, 0600
military coup 2: 0232; 28: 0734; 36: 0179
neutralist military forces 27: 0134, 0315
tensions with Pathet Lao at Plaine des Jarres 27: 0134, 0315
U.S. efforts to influence 26: 0896; 27: 0001

Korea (general)
foreign relations between Laos and 36: 0115

Korea, North
economic relations with Laos 32: 0543
foreign relations between Laos and 36: 0124

Korea, South
Boun Oum regime goodwill mission to 36: 0455
economic relations with Laos 32: 0544
foreign relations between Laos and 36: 0131

Kouprasith Abhay
military coup by 4: 0735

Labor unions and organizations
general 32: 0564
Government Employees’ Association 28: 0902

Land transportation
general 34: 0739
motor vehicles 33: 0775; 34: 0754–0757
railroads—rail transportation between Laos and Thailand 34: 0740

Laotian National Union Party
2: 0232

Laotian National Bank
annual report 33: 0425
assets 32: 0863
balance sheets for 33: 0466–0487
deposits dollars 33: 0495
in London banks 33: 0502–0506
dollar sales to commercial banks 33: 0233, 0241
foreign exchange holdings 32: 0863
suspension of sales 20: 0519; 32: 0799; 33: 0258, 0495
letter of credit from Chase Manhattan Bank 33: 0506
loans 32: 0759, 0947; 33: 0276
transfer of $2 million from U.S. Federal Reserve Bank to 33: 0518

Laws; statutes
civil aviation 34: 0758
election 1: 0301, 0375
general 29: 0077
granting special financial powers to the government 32: 0730

Legislative branch
general 28: 0001
proceedings 29: 0054

see also National Assembly

Leuam Insisiengmay
exclusion from cabinet 28: 0749
Luang Prabang, Laos
military coup at 4: 0197
proposed transfer of Laotian
government from Vientiane to
3: 0600; 4: 0001, 0197

Malaya
economic relations with Laos 32: 0546
foreign relations between Laos and
36: 0160

Mansfield Mission
27: 0001; 36: 0606

Manufacturers; manufacturing
appliances 33: 0776
foods 33: 0771
fuels and petroleum products 33: 0782
medicines and pharmaceuticals
33: 0783
tobacco manufactures 33: 0773
transportation equipment 33: 0775
wood products 33: 0778

Marriage; divorce
Crown Prince Vong Savang 28: 0354,
0457

McDonald, Malcolm
audience with King Sri Savang Vatthanathana
28: 0333

McNamara, Robert S.
discussions with Souvanna Phouma
25: 0080, 0693; 29: 0886

Medicine
practice of 34: 0304

Medicines and pharmaceuticals
33: 0783
see also Narcotics

Mekong River
flooding 34: 0079, 0144
project 29: 0344

Meo
participation in civil war 17: 0373
refugee situation 14: 0001
U.S. aid for 26: 0477; 30: 0001

Meteorology
34: 1038

Military advisers
Thailand 25: 0693
U.S. withdrawal of 25: 0080, 0693;
26: 0001–0477; 27: 0767; 29: 0856–
0938; 30: 0001
see also Military mission, France
see also Military missions

Military aid
South Vietnam 35: 0099, 0124, 0147
Thailand 21: 0001
USSR 4: 0735; 5: 0001; 6: 0001;
7: 0001; 8: 0470; 9: 0001; 10: 0001
see also Mutual Security Program

Military aid, U.S.
to Boun Oum regime 5: 0001; 6: 0001;
7: 0001, 0405; 8: 0001, 0470;
9: 0001, 0857; 10: 0001; 11: 0001,
0457; 12: 0001; 13: 0001, 0486;
14: 0001; 15: 0001; 18: 0621;
20: 0519; 28: 0321; 29: 0083–0938;
30: 0001–1008; 31: 0001–0096;
32: 0786
to Kong Le neutralist military forces
27: 0001, 0134; 28: 0503; 30: 0001–
0187
to Souvanna Phouma government
20: 0519
suspension of 3: 0600
see also Mutual Security Program

Military and veterans organizations
34: 0052

Military bases
France in Laos 31: 0547
Seno dispute 8: 0001

Military command and control
Supreme Committee of the National
Army 4: 0735

Military communiques
Boun Oum regime 21: 0001, 0089

Military coups d’etat
by Kong Le 2: 0232; 4: 0735; 28: 0734;
36: 0179
by Kouprasith Abhay 4: 0735
at Luang Prabang 4: 0197
rumors of 1: 0001

Military deployments
troop withdrawal agreement violations
and Viet Minh 26: 0477, 0896;
27: 0001–0315, 0785; 28: 0484;
30: 0001; 31: 0254

Military deployments, U.S.
in response to Pathet Lao offensive
23: 0001; 24: 0001; 28: 0345;
29: 0737; 31: 0363
in Southeast Asia 13: 0486
in Thailand 31: 0363
Military forces
general 23: 0001
Kong Le neutralist 27: 0001, 0134, 0315; 28: 0503; 30: 0001
Meo 17: 0373; 26: 0477; 30: 0001
Royal Laotian Army 1: 0001; 2: 0232; 14: 0001; 17: 0001, 0373; 18: 0001, 0621; 19: 0001, 0292; 29: 0265, 0343, 0513, 0874, 0938; 30: 0001
SEATO 11: 0001
U.S. 28: 0345
see also Pathet Lao
Military intervention
SEATO proposals for 11: 0457;
  12: 0001; 13: 0486; 14: 0001;
  18: 0001; 21: 0475; 28: 0166;
  36: 0247
Thailand, in Laos 35: 0645–0664
U.S., in Laos 9: 0001; 13: 0001;
  36: 0206, 0226
see also Communism; Communists
see also Vietnam, North
Military mission, France
general 2: 0164; 25: 0001, 0080;
  26: 0001, 0051, 0896; 26: 0001–0315; 29: 0513, 0621, 0874–0938;
  30: 0132; 31: 0616; 36: 0619
reduction of 8: 0001
role of 15: 0001; 16: 0147; 18: 0001; 19: 0001
Military missions
general 31: 0578
Germany, East 31: 0658
Japan 31: 0659
U.S. 31: 0591
Vietnam 31: 0657
Military operations; offensives
by Boun Oum regime 21: 0001
Pathet Lao 23: 0001; 24: 0001;
  27: 0134, 0315; 29: 0737
in Sam Neua Province 3: 0600
situation reports 4: 0001–0735; 6: 0001;
  7: 0001, 0405; 8: 0001, 0470;
  9: 0001; 10: 0001; 11: 0001, 0457;
  12: 0001; 13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001;
  15: 0001; 16: 0001, 0147; 21: 0475;
  22: 0001, 0613; 23: 0001; 24: 0001,
  0193; 25: 0080, 0693; 26: 0051;
  29: 0362, 0377, 0722; 31: 0124–0148, 0201–0235, 0240
Viet Minh, in Laos 35: 0147–0155
see also Battles
Military pay
29: 0301; 31: 0440
Military personnel
buildup 19: 0292; 24: 0001; 29: 0621
force levels 14: 0001; 29: 0343, 0513, 0874, 0938; 30: 0001
general 31: 0426
internment 35: 0710; 36: 0103
organization 14: 0001
UN observers 3: 0600
see also Military deployments
see also Military deployments, U.S.
Military sanctions, U.S.
against Boun Oum regime 22: 0613;
  23: 0001; 29: 0621, 0722
Military training
French military mission 2: 0164;
  8: 0001; 15: 0001; 16: 0147;
  18: 0001; 19: 0001; 25: 0001, 0080;
  26: 0001, 0051, 0896; 27: 0001–0315; 29: 0513, 0621, 0874–0938;
  30: 0132; 36: 0619
programs
France–U.S. 29: 0108–0301, 0344
U.S. 29: 0338, 0360
of Royal Laotian Army 7: 0001
Mines; mining
general 33: 0594
petroleum 33: 0605
Ministries
Defense and Interior 22: 0613; 23: 0001
finance—reorganization of 28: 0787
see also Cabinet; ministry
Monetary system
counterfeiting 33: 0248, 0369
foreign exchange 33: 0286
general 33: 0132–0285
statistics 33: 0132
Money supply
32: 0726, 0730, 0747, 0759, 0799;
  33: 0227, 0390
see also Currency
Motor vehicles
34: 0757
see also Automobiles
Muong Sai, Laos
Pathet occupation Lao forces 11: 0001

Muong Sanakham, Laos
conditions in 18: 0621

Muong Sing, Laos
Pathet Lao occupation 23: 0001;
   27: 0682; 29: 0737

Mutual Security Program
30: 0196–1008; 31: 0001–0096
see also Military aid, U.S.

Nam Tha, Battle of
Boun Oum regime decision to reinforce
23: 0001; 29: 0670, 0737
Pathet Lao attack 21: 0001, 0475;
   22: 0089; 23: 0001; 27: 0626, 0682,
   0737; 29: 0670; 35: 0165
U.S. refusal to allow Phoumi Nosavan to
reinforce 21: 0475

Narcotics
traffic in 34: 0294

Nasser, Gamel Abdel
discussions with Souvanna Phouma
28: 0140

National Assembly
elections 1: 0539
law granting special financial powers to
government 32: 0730
proposal to grant full powers to king
22: 0613
recognition of Boun Oum regime by
   6: 0001; 7: 0001; 27: 0989
and Souvanna Phouma
   general 3: 0600; 27: 0866
government of 4: 0735; 10: 0001;
   24: 0193; 26: 0477; 36: 0500
on Tiao Somsanith government 28: 0694

National defense affairs
equipment and supplies 31: 0441–0547
general 29: 0083–0938; 30: 0001–0187
intelligence activities 31: 0105, 0120
military missions 31: 0578–0659
Mutual Security Program 30: 0196–
   1008; 31: 0001–0187
organization 31: 0419–0440
troop movements 31: 0122–0254
see also Armed forces
see also Overflights

National Neutrality and Unity Committee
4: 0197

The National Patriotic Front Party (NLHX)
leaders 1: 0375, 0539, 0779; 2: 0001;
   27: 0866
Third General Meeting 2: 0164
see also Pathet Lao
see also Viet Minh

National War College, U.S.
U.S. policy problems and programs in
Laos 1: 0539

Naval forces, U.S.
   Seventh Fleet 23: 0001

Naval operations, U.S.
in the Gulf of Thailand 23: 0001;
   31: 0363
South Vietnam coast 31: 0361

Naval vessels
31: 0485

Nepal
foreign relations between Laos and
   35: 0578

Neutralists
opposition to Souvanna Phouma
government 26: 0477

Neutrality, Laos
declarations 7: 0405, 8: 0001, 0470;
   12: 0001; 13: 0001; 15: 0001;
   16: 0001, 0147; 17: 0001, 0373;
   19: 0001–0962; 20: 0001, 0475;
   22: 0089; 24: 0193; 25: 0080;
   26: 0051; 35: 0083
international control mechanism
   13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001; 15: 0001
U.S. proposals 7: 0405; 8: 0001
violations by North Vietnam 35: 0159, 0159
see also International Control
   Commission

Neutral mediation committee
U.S. call for 6: 0001; 7: 0001
see also International Control
   Commission

Neutral Nations Commission on Laos
Burma refusal to participate in 8: 0001
Cambodia refusal to participate in
   8: 0001
composition of 8: 0001
U.S. proposal 7: 0405; 8: 0001, 0470;
   9: 0001
see also International Control
   Commission
Newsgathering agencies
- Cambodia 34: 0729
- France 34: 0727
- general 34: 0672, 0674
- U.S. 34: 0678

Newspapers; magazines
- 31: 0661; 34: 0325, 0436–0667
  see also Press

Nhouy Abhay
- 28: 0658

Operations Coordinating Board
- operations plan for Laos 36: 0167

Ouan Rathikone
- 3: 0001

Outer Mongolia
- foreign relations between Laos and
  36: 0108

Overflights
- by Cambodia 31: 0404
- by China 31: 0412
- general 31: 0256
- by the United States 31: 0257–0403
- by the USSR 31: 0410

Pakistan
- foreign relations between Laos and
  35: 0579

Pak Lay, Laos
- conditions in 18: 0001

Parsons, J. Graham
- briefing on Laos for House Government
  Operations Subcommittee 29: 0321
- talks with Souvanna Phouma 3: 0600;
  4: 0001

Partition
- possibility of 17: 0373; 18: 0001
- U.S. opposition to 14: 0001; 15: 0001
  see also Reunification

Pathet Lao
- activities 2: 0001–0232; 3: 0001, 0600;
  4: 0001–0735; 5: 0001, 0737;
  6: 0001; 7: 0001, 0405; 8: 0001,
  0470; 9: 0001; 10: 0001; 11: 0001,
  0457; 20: 0001
- aircraft, U.S., attacks on 11: 0001;
  27: 0001, 0134, 0810; 30: 0057;
  31: 0263, 0367
- capture of Major Lawrence Bailey
  31: 0263, 0307
- cease-fire violations 11: 0457; 12: 0001;
  13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001; 15: 0001;
  16: 0001, 0147; 17: 0373; 18: 0621;
  20: 0519; 21: 0001, 0475; 22: 0613;
  25: 0080, 0693; 26: 0001; 27: 0134
- coalition government participation
  4: 0001–0735; 7: 0405; 10: 0001;
  13: 0486; 22: 0089
- Geneva Accords 35: 0691
- Geneva Conference delegation 12: 0001
- irregular forces 17: 0001, 0373;
  18: 0001, 0621; 19: 0001, 0292
- and Kong Le neutralist military forces
  27: 0134, 0315
- military buildup 19: 0292; 24: 0001;
  29: 0621
- military offensive 23: 0001; 24: 0001;
  29: 0737
- military units 31: 0238
- negotiations with
  - Kong Le coup d’état leaders 2: 0232
  - Souvanna Phouma government
    3: 0600; 4: 0001–0735
- opposition to Souvanna Phouma
  government 26: 0477; 27: 0001

POWs
- general 17: 0001
- U.S. negotiations for release of
  15: 0001; 16: 0001; 24: 0193;
  25: 0080, 0693; 28: 0354, 0879;
  31: 0307, 0345; 36: 0521
- propaganda 20: 0001
- support for Souvanna Phouma 5: 0001
- Thailand border violations by 35: 0691
  see also Battles
  see also Military operations; offensives
  see also Viet Minh

Peace Corps
- 32: 0263

People
- 33: 1020

Petroleum, oil, and lubricants
- 33: 0605

Philanthropic organizations
- see Charities; philanthropic organizations

Philippines
- Boun Oum regime goodwill mission to
  36: 0455
- economic relations with Laos 32: 0545
- foreign relations between Laos and
  36: 0153
Phnom Penh, Cambodia
general 16: 0001; 0475; 22: 0001–0613; 23: 0001; 24: 0001; 29: 0621, 0670, 0737; 36: 0455
Phoumi Nosavan
assassination attempt against 3: 0001
CIA support for 19: 0262
coalition government plan 5: 0001; 20: 0001; 28: 0286
counter–coup d’etat plans by 2: 0232; 4: 0735; 5: 0001
financial aid to, from Thailand 35: 0675, 0708
meetings with
Harriman, W. Averell 11: 0457; 18: 0001; 22: 0089
Phoumi Sananikone 4: 0197
Souvanna Phouma 8: 0001, 0470; 9: 0001
negotiations with Souvanna Phouma
2: 0232, 0957; 3: 0600; 4: 0197, 0735; 21: 0475; 23: 0001
as prime minister 18: 0001; 27: 0866
request for SEATO military intervention
21: 0475
revolt against Souvanna Phouma
government 3: 0001
on Souvanna Phouma as prime minister
U.S. refusal to reinforce Nam Tha
21: 0475
visit of
Souvanna Phouma
2: 0232; 5: 0001
Souvanna Phouma 8: 0001, 0470; 9: 0001
negotiations with Souvanna Phouma
2: 0232, 0957; 3: 0600; 4: 0197, 0735; 21: 0475; 23: 0001
as prime minister 18: 0001; 27: 0866
request for SEATO military intervention
21: 0475
revolt against Souvanna Phouma
government 3: 0001
on Souvanna Phouma as prime minister
Phoumi Vongvichit
U.S. discussions with 28: 0883
Plaine des Jarres
shooting down of Air America plane by Pathet Lao at 27: 0001, 0134, 0810; 30: 0057
tensions between Kong Le neutralist forces and Pathet Lao at 27: 0134, 0315
Three Princes’ meeting at 19: 0292; 20: 0001; 24: 0193
Police
assistance programs 29: 0938
budget 29: 0163
capabilities 29: 0737
French plan for 34: 0230, 0242, 0256
integration of armed forces and
national 34: 0171–0283
organization 18: 0621; 19: 0262; 29: 0352, 0601, 0737, 0856, 0886; 34: 0182, 0225, 0242, 0264–0275, 0291
recruitment 27: 0001; 34: 0278
and Souvanna Phouma 34: 0264
training program 32: 0668; 34: 0171, 0176, 0230–0256
Political affairs
Communism 27: 0857
constitution 28: 0043
flag 28: 0054
Political affairs cont.

general 1: 0001–0779; 2: 0001–0957;
3: 0001–0600; 4: 0001–0735;
5: 0001–0737; 6: 0001; 7: 0001–
0405; 8: 0001–0470; 9: 0001–0857;
10: 0001; 11: 0001–0457; 12: 0001;
13: 0001–0486; 14: 0001; 15: 0001;
16: 0001–0147; 17: 0001–0373;
18: 0001–0621; 19: 0001–0962;
20: 0001–0519; 21: 0001–0475;
22: 0001–0613; 23: 0001; 24: 0001–
0193; 25: 0001–0693; 26: 0001–
0896; 27: 0001–0315

Weeka reports 27: 0454–0830

see also Government

Population
33: 1012
see also Census

Postal
rates 34: 0321
transportation of mail between Laos and
Vietnam 34: 0326

Poultry
33: 0771

Press
attacks on Thailand government
35: 0681
censorship 34: 0735
general 34: 0406
newsgathering agencies 34: 0672–0729
newspapers; magazines 31: 0661;
34: 0325, 0436–0667

Prices
32: 0685

Prisoners of war (POWs)
Pathet Lao, interviews with 17: 0001

Prisoners of war, U.S.
Bailey, Lawrence 31: 0307, 0345
general 36: 0631
negotiations with Pathet Lao 15: 0001;
16: 0001; 24: 0193; 25: 0080, 0693;
28: 0354, 0879; 31: 0307, 0345;
36: 0521

Propaganda
by Boun Oum regime 7: 0001, 0405;
21: 0089, 0613
Communist 1: 0375–0779; 2: 0001;
17: 0373; 24: 0193

joint Laos–South Vietnam program
35: 0099

Pathet Lao 20: 0001
PRC 23: 0001
Vietnam, North 1: 0001; 18: 0001;
36: 0247

see also Press
see also Psychological warfare

Provinces
Attopeu 33: 0786
Champassak 33: 0786
Khammouane 33: 0920
Nam Tha 28: 0072
Phongsaly 28: 0072
Sam Neua 3: 0600
Saravane 33: 0786
Savannakhét 33: 0786
Sayaboury 33: 0920
Xieng Khouang 33: 0786

Psychological warfare
13: 0486

Public administration
UN study on 20: 0001
see also Government

Public health
general 34: 0298
practice of medicine 34: 0304

Public order, safety, and health
charities; philanthropic organizations
34: 0309
municipal government 34: 0291
narcotics traffic 34: 0294
national police 34: 0171–0283
public health 34: 0298–0304

Public works
roads 33: 0687
utilities 33: 0734

Quinim Pholsena
as foreign minister 24: 0193; 27: 0315;
28: 0873, 0901
as interior minister 28: 0734
military transfers governmental powers
to 4: 0735
opposition cabinet members 7: 0405
U.S. opposition to 36: 0588

Radio; radiobroadcasting
amateurs 34: 0404
general 34: 0328
registration 33: 0012

Railroads
transportation between Laos and
Thailand 34: 0740
Rates
air transportation 34: 1005

Reconnaissance flights, U.S.
31: 0263, 0356, 0358, 0367
see also Air America
see also Overflights

Refugees
general 33: 1022
Meo 14: 0001
relief program 1: 0375; 15: 0001;
16: 0001, 0147; 18: 0001, 0621;
20: 0001, 0519; 21: 0001, 0475;
22: 0089, 0613; 23: 0001; 25: 0693;
26: 0477; 30: 0001; 32: 0190;
34: 0110–0142, 0147–0154, 0890;
36: 0521
see also Civic action programs

Regional Economic Development Agency
11: 0457
see also Development Assistance
Committee
see also Economic development
see also Rural development

Religion
33: 1037

Reunification
U.S. proposals 6: 0001; 7: 0001
see also Partition

Revaluation Fund
32: 0685

Rice
33: 0578

Rivers
Mekong 29: 0344; 34: 0079, 0144

Roads
33: 0687

Royal Air Laos
operations 34: 0876
proposed merger with Air Laos 34: 0887
stockholders’ meeting 34: 0880
see also Air Laos

Rural development
general 32: 0001
program 31: 0750, 0790; 36: 0619
see also Civic action programs
see also Regional Economic
Development Agency

Rural security teams
activities of 29: 0265
see also Civic action programs

Rusk, Dean
discussions with Souvanna Phouma
25: 0080, 0693

Saravane, Laos
Pathet Lao and Viet Minh military attack
24: 0001; 35: 0165

Savannakhet, Laos
transfer of Laotian government functions
to 6: 0001
visit of King Sri Savang Vatthana 28: 0166

Security, internal
conditions 29: 0344, 0601
general 7: 0405; 29: 0265
see also Rural security teams

Selkirk, Lord
discussions with King Sri Savang
Vatthana 28: 0078

Seno base dispute
8: 0001

Sihanouk, Norodom
calls for international conference on
Laos 6: 0001; 7: 0001, 0405;
8: 0470; 9: 0001
on neutralization of Laos and Cambodia
5: 0001, 0737

Sisavang Vong (king of Laos)
funeral arrangements for 28: 0061,
0090–0102, 0117, 0140, 0166

Smith, Horace
departure from Laos 3: 0001
discussions with Souvanna Phouma
3: 0001

Social matters
amusements; sports 34: 0041
census 33: 0786–1012
disasters; relief measures 34: 0079–0154
education 34: 0022–0039
entertainment 34: 0077
etiquette 34: 0056
history 34: 0001
people 33: 1020–1037
societies 34: 0043–0052

Societies
general 34: 0043
military and veterans organizations
34: 0052

Sounthone Pathammavong
4: 0735
Souphanouvong
agreement with Souvanna Phouma on coalition government 4: 0197
29: 0856
meetings with
Souvanna Phouma and Boun Oum
12: 0001; 13: 0001, 0486;
14: 0001; 15: 0001; 16: 00001,
0147; 18: 0621; 19: 0292;
20: 0001; 21: 0001; 24: 0193;
27: 0557; 28: 0291, 0839
Sullivan, William H. 36: 0397
statement on foreign intervention in Laos 8: 0001, 0470
on supervision of Viet Minh withdrawal
25: 0693
views on Laotian situation 28: 0525
see also The National Patriotic Front Party
see also Viet Minh
Southeast Asia
neutral zone 12: 0001
U.S. troop deployments in 13: 0486
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)
Boun Oum regime appeal to, regarding Soviet intervention 6: 0001; 7: 0001
military intervention in Laos proposal
11: 0457; 12: 0001; 13: 0486;
14: 0001; 18: 0001; 21: 0475;
28: 0166
PRC demand for abolition of 16: 0001
relationship to a neutral Laos 18: 0621;
19: 0001, 0292; 20: 0001, 0519;
24: 0193; 25: 0080
role in Laos 9: 0001; 10: 0001
standing military force in Thailand 11: 0001
Souvanna Phouma
appeals to UN 3: 0001
biographical information 28: 0291
and Boun Oum government 7: 0001,
0405; 8: 0001; 28: 0321
and cabinet 2: 0232; 21: 0475; 22: 0001,
0089; 27: 0134, 0315; 28: 0845,
0900, 0901
cease-fire negotiations 5: 0001
coalition government 4: 0001–0735,
0197; 6: 0001; 7: 0405; 21: 0001;
27: 0707; 29: 0856
decision to recognize
Germany, East 35: 0172
PRC 25: 0080; 35: 0168, 0172,
0202; 36: 0021
Vietnam, North 25: 0080; 35: 0164,
0168, 0172
demands halt of U.S. aid to
Boun Oum regime 28: 0321
rebel forces 4: 0197
dismissal of Phoumi Nosavan and other insurgent officers 3: 0600
exile to Phnom Penh, Cambodia 4: 0735; 28: 0116, 0771
foreign and domestic policy programs
24: 0193; 25: 0001
foreign relations with Thailand 35: 0694
inability to control Pathet Lao troops
21: 0475
joint communiqué on formation of national union government 14: 0001;
15: 0001
joint statement calling for end to foreign intervention in Laos 8: 0001, 0470
and King Sri Savang Vatthana 3: 0001;
19: 0001; 21: 0475
meetings with
Boun Oum 3: 0600; 12: 0001;
13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001;
15: 0001; 16: 0001, 0147;
18: 0001, 0621; 19: 0292;
20: 0001; 21: 0001; 24: 0193;
27: 0557; 28: 0291, 0839
Harriman, W. Averell 17: 0373;
18: 0001; 27: 0543
Kennedy, John F. 28: 0354
King Sri Savang Vatthana 19: 0001
McNamara, Robert 25: 0080;
29: 0886
Nasser, Gamel Abdel 28: 0140
Parsons, J. Graham 3: 0600;
4: 0001
Phoumi Sananikone 4: 0197
Phoumi Nosavan 2: 0232, 0957;
3: 0001, 0600; 4: 0197, 0735;
8: 0001, 0470; 9: 0001;
21: 0475; 23: 0001
Rusk, Dean 25: 0080
Smith, Horace 3: 0001
Sullivan, William H. 36: 0397
and National Assembly 2: 0232; 3: 0600; 27: 0866
on neutralization of Laos and Cambodia 5: 0001, 0737
Pathet Lao support 4: 0001–0735; 5: 0001
on Phoumi Nosavan 3: 0600; 4: 0197
police and gendarmerie plans 34: 0264
as prime minister 2: 0232; 18: 0001, 0621; 19: 0001; 26: 0896; 27: 0957; 28: 0734
requests UN military observers 3: 0600
return to Laos 24: 0001; 28: 0132
status of 5: 0001
Vietnam, South, distrust of 35: 0114
Thailand government opposition to 35: 0671
U.S.
  efforts to influence 14: 0001;
plots against 4: 0001–0735
visits to
capitals of all nations that signed Geneva Agreements 28: 0472–0503, 0525
Paris 22: 0089, 0613
Thailand 28: 0484
UAR 28: 0140
United States 10: 0001; 14: 0001; 25: 0080, 0693; 28: 0140, 0166, 0354; 36: 0277, 0521, 0529
USSR 28: 0823
world tour 9: 0001; 10: 0001

Souvannarath
death of 28: 0081

Sri Savang Vatthana (king of Laos)
accepts resignation of Tiao Somsanith cabinet 2: 0232
calls on Souvanna Phouma to resign 3: 0001
children 28: 0117
declaration of neutrality 8: 0001
held under duress at Luang Prabang 28: 0114
meetings with
  Brown, Winthrop 7: 0405; 9: 0001; 28: 0166
  Harriman, W. Averell 11: 0457; 18: 0001
  McDonald, Malcolm 28: 0333
  Selkirk, Lord 28: 0078
  Souvanna Phouma 19: 0001; 21: 0475
  U.S., British, French, and Australian ambassadors 1: 0001
National Assembly powers proposal 22: 0613
opposition to Pathet Lao 22: 0089
request for provisional government 5: 0001
on Souvanna Phouma 3: 0001; 19: 0001; 21: 0475
support for Boun Oum regime 5: 0001
21: 0089
views on Laotian situation 23: 0001; 36: 0170
visits to
capitals of all nations that signed Geneva Agreements 28: 0472–0503, 0525
Nam Tha Province 28: 0072
Phongsaly Province 28: 0072
Savannakhét 28: 0166
Washington, D.C. 28: 0525

Statistics
on distribution of civil servants 28: 0968
monetary 33: 0132
Strikes
by Government Employees' Association
28: 0902
see also Demonstrations
Sugar
33: 0585
Sullivan, William H.
meeting with Souvanna Phouma and
Souphanouvong 36: 0397
trip to Khang Khay 36: 0397
Supreme Committee of the National Army
takes control of Laotian government
4: 0735
Taxation
general 33: 0012–0130
U.S. report on 33: 0020
Taxicabs
34: 0754
Technical assistance
U.K. 31: 0966
UN 1: 0001, 0301
see also Advisers
see also Military training
Telegraph
communications between Laos and
Vietnam 34: 0327
Territory
28: 0008
Thailand
Bangkok 28: 0484
border incidents with Laos 3: 0001;
35: 0591, 0620, 0634, 0681
Boun Oum goodwill mission to 35: 0677,
0681
Chinese Nationalist irregulars in 35: 0691
economic relations with Laos 32: 0491
financial aid to Phoumi Nosavan
35: 0675, 0708
foreign relations with
general 35: 0717
Laos 35: 0586–0708
Vietnam, South 35: 0160
interference in Laotian internal affairs
35: 0596
internment of Laotian military personnel
35: 0710
land boundary with Laos 35: 0716
military advisers 25: 0693
military aid to Boun Oum regime
21: 0001
military intervention in Laos 35: 0645–
0664
newspaper attacks on 35: 0681
opposition to Souvanna Phouma
24: 0193; 35: 0671, 0694
rail transportation between Laos and
34: 0740
SEATO standing force proposal
11: 0001
support for establishment of neutral
Laotian coalition government
35: 0675
talks with Cambodia at UN 35: 0596
U.S. military presence in 27: 0001
Viet Minh troops in Vientiane, Laos
35: 0596
views on Laotian situation 21: 0089,
0613; 28: 0484
Three Princes’ meeting
20: 0519; 21: 0001; 28: 0291
Tiao Sisoumang
U.S. discussions with 28: 0756, 0765
Tiao Somsoanith
as prime minister 2: 0001; 27: 0495;
28: 0663, 0694
requested to form cabinet by king
28: 0672
Time (magazine)
Laotian crisis—article on 9: 0001
Tobacco
manufactures 33: 0773
Trade agreements
with Japan 36: 0114
with USSR 35: 0463
Trade controls
reinstitution of 32: 0863
Transportation
air 31: 0662; 34: 0758–1034
equipment 33: 0775
land 34: 0739–0757
Troop deployments
see Military personnel
Troop withdrawal agreement
Viet Minh violations of 26: 0477, 0896;
27: 0001–0315. 0785; 28: 0484;
30: 0001; 31: 0254
United Arab Republic (UAR)
Souvanna Phouma’s visit to 28: 0410
United Kingdom (U.K.)
- economic aid 32: 0265, 0296–0375, 0955
- economic relations with Laos 32: 0394
- financial and technical assistance 31: 0966
- foreign policy on Laos 2: 0164
- on Kong Le coup 2: 0232
- Laotian bank accounts in 33: 0271, 0502–0506
- on Laotian situation 4: 0197, 0735;
  5: 0001, 0737; 6: 0001; 7: 0001, 0405;
  8: 0001, 0470; 9: 0001, 0857;
  10: 0001; 11: 0001, 0457; 12: 0001;
  13: 0001, 0486; 14: 0001; 15: 0001;
  16: 0147; 20: 0001, 0519; 21: 0001,
  0475; 22: 0089; 23: 0001; 24: 0193;
  25: 0693; 27: 0866
- on Souvanna Phouma government 3: 0001, 0600
- tripartite talks with France and United States 32: 0313–0375, 0955

United Nations (UN)
- border control activities between Laos and Vietnam 35: 0111
- Boun Oum regime appeal regarding Soviet intervention 6: 0001; 7: 0001
- Boun Oum regime complaint regarding Pathet Lao military offensive 23: 0001
- economic aid 1: 0301; 25: 0080
- economic conditions in Laos 31: 0693
- economic plan for Laos 31: 0666
- India suggests intervention in Laos by 5: 0001
- military observers request 3: 0600
- public administration in Laos study 20: 0001
- role in Laos 1: 0375; 32: 0054
- Security Council action on Laos 11: 0001, 0457
- Souvanna Phouma’s appeals to 3: 0001, 0600
- technical assistance 1: 0001, 0301
- Thailand-Cambodia talks 35: 0596

U.S. Information Service (USIS)
- report on conditions in
  - Muong Sanakham 18: 0621
  - Pak Lay 18: 0001
- southern Laos 17: 0373; 21: 0475;
  22: 0613; 23: 0001; 24: 0001;
  25: 0080; 26: 0051

USSR
- air operations in Laos 31: 0242
- cultural treaties and agreements with Laos 35: 0459
- economic aid 4: 0197; 36: 0199
- economic relations with Laos 32: 0428
- economic treaties and agreements with Laos 35: 0462
- foreign policy on Laos 6: 0001; 7: 0001;
  8: 0470; 9: 0001, 0857; 10: 0001;
  11: 0001, 0457; 12: 0001; 13: 0001,
  0486; 14: 0001; 15: 0001; 16: 0147;
  18: 0621; 19: 0262; 20: 0519;
  21: 0475; 22: 0001; 23: 0001;
  24: 0001; 25: 0080, 0693
- foreign relations with Laos 35: 0433
- intervention in Laotian internal affairs 5: 0737; 6: 0001; 7: 0001
- military aid 4: 0735; 5: 0001; 6: 0001;
  7: 0001; 8: 0470; 9: 0001; 10: 0001
- overflights of Laos by 31: 0410
- on Souvanna Phouma 6: 0001; 8: 0470;
  35: 0114
- trade agreements with Laos 35: 0463
- visit to
  - by Phoumi Nosavan 26: 0001;
    28: 0823; 36: 0606
  - by Souvanna Phouma 28: 0823

Utilities
- 33: 0734

Vang Vieng, Laos
- fall to Pathet Lao forces 10: 0001

Vienna Summit Conference
- discussions regarding Laos during 13: 0486

Vientiane Agreements (1954)
- report on 8: 0470
- see also Geneva Accords of 1954

Vientiane, Laos
- battle report 6: 0001
- military coup in, by Kouprasith Abhay 4: 0735
- Phoumi Nosavan’s plans for attack on 4: 0735; 5: 0001
- proposed transfer of Laotian government from, to Luang Prabang
  - 3: 0600; 4: 0001, 0197
Vientiane, Laos cont.
retaken by Kong Le forces 4: 0735
Three Princes’ meeting in 19: 0262, 0962; 20: 0001
transfer of government functions to Savannakhet from 6: 0001
Viet Minh troops in 35: 0596
Youth Party demonstration in 3: 0001

Vientiane Plain
socioeconomic study of 31: 0823

Viet Cong
efforts to prevent use of Cambodia as a sanctuary by 35: 0099
efforts to reduce infiltration of South Vietnam via Laos 35: 0172, 0186, 0273, 0398
see also Communism; Communists
see also Pathet Lao

Viet Minh
battles
Ban Houei Sai 24: 0001
Saravane 35: 0165
military buildup 19: 0292; 24: 0001; 29: 0621
military forces 25: 0080, 0693;
military operations in Laos 35: 0147–0155
military units 31: 0238
troop withdrawal agreement 26: 0477, 0896; 27: 0001–0315, 0785;
28: 0484; 30: 0001; 31: 0254
see also Communism; Communists
see also The National Patriotic Front Party
see also Pathet Lao
see also Vietnam, North

Vietnam
foreign relations with Laos 35: 0090–0398
telegraph communications between Laos and 34: 0327
transportation of mail between Laos and 34: 0326

Vietnam, South
aircraft impounding by Cambodia 31: 0263
Boun Oum regime goodwill mission to 36: 0455
counterinsurgency plan 35: 0145
diplomatic relations with Laos 35: 0202–0377
diplomatic representation in Laos 35: 0202, 0330–0398
foreign policy regarding Laos 35: 0118
foreign relations with Cambodia 35: 0160
Laos 27: 0315; 35: 0090–0398
frontier defense plans 35: 0156
joint food and propaganda program with Laos 35: 0099
military aid for Laos 35: 0099, 0124, 0147
military buildup by Pathet Lao–Viet Minh along Laotian border 19: 0292
military mission to Laos 31: 0657
naval operations, U.S., off the coast of
31: 0361
Viet Cong infiltration of, via Laos 18: 0621: 19: 0001; 35: 0172, 0186, 0273, 0398

Village-level leaders
conference of 1: 0001
see also Rural development
see also Rural security teams

Visas
33: 0523

Vong Savang
marriage of 28: 0354, 0457
officially designated crown prince of Laos 28: 0522, 0525

Wat Phu, Laos
expositions; exhibitions 33: 0558

Weeka reports
27: 0454–0830
Wood products
    33: 0778
Xieng Khouang
    attack on, by Boun Oum forces 19: 0292
Young Lao Movement
    10: 0001

Youth Party
    demonstration by, in Vientiane 3: 0001
Yugoslavia
    foreign relations between Laos and
    35: 0566
Asian Studies
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