portfolios should go to the extreme leftists, Souvanna said he contemplated an 8-4-4 distribution of portfolios, with four each to the PL and Vientiane groups, and eight of the center group to be chosen from his own supporters. He agreed that the PL should not hold Foreign Affairs, Defense or Interior. Phoumi Nosavan might get a "Big Ministry of the Plan!" or possibly Foreign Affairs. Referring to the subject of elections, Souvanna said that they would not be held before January, but added that they would take place when he was "ready."

2. **ICC**

Souvanna agreed that the ICC should have its own equipment and facilities. Furthermore, he stated that although the ICC would have to obtain permission from the Lao Government to carry out its investigations, this permission would never be withheld.

3. **Army**

The Laotian Prince agreed on the need for general demobilization and for the evolution of the armed forces into a simple "police force." The mechanics of demobilization, he said, would be worked out by a three-party committee.

4. **French Military Presence.**

Souvanna assented to continued French military presence in Laos and indicated that the PL would also agree.

On the following day, in a message to Secretary Rusk, Ambassador Brown commented on the Falaize-Souvanna interview. He characterized Souvanna's responses as "profoundly discouraging," "unsatisfactorily vague," "naive," "not satisfactory. It was Brown's feeling that Souvanna should be pressed more explicitly on the subjects which had been covered in the Xieng Khouang interview.
Secretary Rusk, agreeing with Brown's analysis of Souvanna's statements, instructed the US Ambassador to immediately invite Souvanna to meet with him and Ambassador Harriman in Paris as soon as possible in order that the US-UK-French foreign ministers' conditions for support of Souvanna as Prime Minister of a neutral Lao government might be discussed in detail.


29 Aug 61 At a meeting on Southeast Asia, the President approved the following actions:

1. "An intensification of the diplomatic effort to achieve agreement to the Paris proposals on the part of Souvanna, especially by direct conversations between Ambassador Harriman and Souvanna, with an emphasis not only upon the interlocking importance of the Paris proposals, but also upon US support of Souvanna in the event that he accepts the Paris plan." (See item 15-17 September 1961.)

2. "Authorization to undertake conversations with SEATO allies both bilaterally and with the SEATO Council, exploring the possibility of an enlargement of the concept of SEATO Plan 5" (see items 2 and 6 September 1961). It would be made clear to the SEATO Allies that this exploration was in the nature of contingency planning and did not represent a flat commitment of the United States to participate in such an enlarged enterprise.

3. "An immediate increase in mobile training teams in Laos to include advisers down to the level of the company, to a total US strength in this area of 500, Thais"
The JCS, believing that 1,000 advisers would be the minimum requirement for encadrement of the FAL - see item 26 August 1961 - had agreed on 25 August to seek governmental approval for the US to provide one-half of the number (See items 2 September and 11 October 1961.)

4. "An immediate increase of 2,000 in the number of Meos being supported to bring the total to a level of 11,000." (See item 24 October 1961.)

5. (See item 5 September 1961.)

(On 1 September, the Secretary of Defense assigned to the JCS the responsibility for follow-up on the actions set forth in paragraphs 3 and 5 above.)

(S) NSAM No. 80, 29 Aug 61, att to JCS 2339/18, 30 Aug 61; (S) Memo, SecDef to SecArmy, et al., 1 Sep 61, att to JCS 2339/19. All in JMF 9150/3100 (29 Aug 61).

29 Aug 61 CHMAAG Laos, in response to the JCS query of 26 August (see item), provided CINCPAC with the views of the MAAG on the best manner for encadrement of the FAL.

Further, CHMAAG believed encadrement by US personnel of the volunteer and ADC units of the FAL would be of "low value" given the dispersion, employment, and non-conformity to US standards of these units. Therefore, CHMAAG said
said, the encadrement should be organized as follows:

1. All special forces detachments should transfer their attention to organizing, training, and guiding volunteer and ADC units in counter-guerrilla and guerrilla operations.

2. Cadres should be provided only to those elements of the FAL whose functions conformed generally to the functions of US and Thai conventional forces.

3. Above the GM level, the MAAG was already amply manned to influence properly FAL command and staff actions; a notable exception, however, was in MAAG influence upon logistical support.

(See item 7 September 1961.)

29 Aug 61 CHMAAG Laos pointed out to CINCPAC, the JCS, the Secretary of Defense, and others, that the French had "for all intents and purposes" denied the use of Seno airfield to the US and RLG since the cease-fire. In the event hostilities resumed, CHMAAG
CHMAAG said, it would be "vital" that the US have unrestricted use of Seno; the nearby Savannakhet field would be completely inadequate. CHMAAG urged that negotiation with the French be undertaken immediately to insure that Seno would be available if needed.

(On 2 September, CINCPAC, commenting on CHMAAG's recommendation, pointed out that France had already agreed to the use of Seno by SEATO Plan 5 forces.) (See item 13 October 1961.)

(S) Msgs. CHMAAG Laos to CINCPAC et al., DA IN 144773, 29 Aug 61; CINCPAC to JCS, DA IN 146719, 3 Sep 61.

29 Aug 61 Relocating the Meo tribesmen of Xieng Khouang and Sam Neua provinces, if such a resettlement were to be considered. the mountain range along the Laos-Viet Nam border, where the Meo could harass the DRV; 2) Sayaboury province (west of Luang Prabang), where they could help secure the Laos-Thailand border; and 3) the Bolovens plateau in southern Laos.

29 Aug 61 The US Ambassador in Vientiane, CHMAAG Laos, USARMA Vientiane, submitted to the Secretary of State their joint proposal for regrouping Lao armed forces, creation of a new Lao national army, and dissolution of excess forces.

The US officials assumed for the purposes of this plan, that: 1) a neutral coalition government representing all parties had been formed; 2) all foreign forces except agreed advisory personnel had been withdrawn; 3) the Ministry of National Security
Security would be responsive to the government, and all armed forces would be responsive to the Ministry; 4) the organizational structure of the integrated force would be determined by the coalition government, but the force ceiling would be established by international agreement; 5) representation in the new army would be based on each faction's percentage of current troop strength in Laos; 6) the government, with ICC assistance, would be able to implement the regrouping, reorganizing, and disbanding of forces; and 7) amnesty would be granted to all demobilized forces. After lengthy discussion of the political and geographical hazards of any plan of this type and of the pro and con of several available alternative means, the US officials recommended that the reconstitution take the following shape:

1) The constitution of a new Lao army should be phased by first relocating the forces, second integrating Kong Le forces into the RLG forces and later the PL into the RLG-KL force, and third dissolving the excess forces.

2) Regroup the forces of each faction at holding points designated in each military region to facilitate control and supervision during integration and the period of disarmament of the excess forces.

3) Determine the strength of the various factions by actual count at the holding points and declare any other forces continuing to operate as outlaw forces.

4) Integrate by battalions and separate company as much as possible to isolate PL influence in the new army.

5) Disarm and disband the excess forces after integration so the new army can assist in the process of disarming and disbanding them.

6) Control entire operation with a central and regional military committees constituted on same percentage basis as fixed for basic integration and working under the authority of Min Sec and through the military chain of command.

(See item 20 October 1961.)
29 Aug 61 In response to a request for information by the Department of State, the Laos Country Team reviewed the progress and costs of FAL military civil action activities.

According to FAL reports, 414 civil affairs teams had been organized prior to August 1960 for the purpose of providing psychological indoctrination and civil assistance to villagers. Of this total, however, the Country Team estimate that only 10 to 15 per cent were actually employed by the FAL. Following the Kong Le coup, all of the ill-trained civil affairs teams were disbanded and the personnel recalled to combat units.

On 28 July 1961, Phoumi approved the re-establishment of military civil affairs teams capable of operating in areas denied to civilian teams by Pathet Lao activities. A school, supervised by the MAAG Civil Affairs Officer, was to be set up to train 20 operational 8-man teams by April 1962.

The RLG Director of National Coordination, to whom Phoumi had assigned responsibility for the program, agreed to organize a psychological services battalion with psychological warfare, troop information, and civil affairs companies. During August, a US civil affairs mobile training team arrived to establish the training school. The first Lao civil affairs team leaders were scheduled to complete their training by October.

According to the concept approved by the Director of National Coordination, the military civil affairs teams would follow combat units during clearing operations and, in addition to making surveys of public safety conditions, would provide the villagers with medical, agricultural, and educational assistance.
educational support and advice. Thus, the military civil affairs teams would complement the work of several other US and HIG civilian and paramilitary organizations which also were engaged in civil assistance activities.

These other organizations included: 1) the USOM, the primary US civil assistance group, which operated only in cleared areas; 2) the USIS, which offered a program of material assistance and psychological indoctrination, primarily to villagers dwelling in cleared areas; 3) Lao civil-military coordination committees, paramilitary organizations designed to offer, generally in cleared areas, both political indoctrination and some degree of civil assistance; and 4) White Star Mobile Training Teams, which would serve as contact points and overseers of civilian aid in the areas where they were operating. The Lao paramilitary program, however, was just getting underway, and the US program of utilizing White Star teams was still being prepared.

Turning to the cost of civil assistance activities, the Country Team stated that during FY 1961 the FAL had been given almost $.3 million in defense support funds for "rural affairs." A portion of this sum was used; but, although the US continued its assistance, the FAL made no allocations for civil affairs activities after the Kong Le coup. A sum of about $.1 million in defense support funds was budgeted for civil assistance during FY 1962. Because the re-establishment of military civil affairs teams was just beginning, the first budget requirements probably would not arise until September 1961.

No allocation of MAP funds was made for civil assistance during FY 1961, but funds had been requested for the establishment during FY 1962 of a psychological services battalion that
that contained a civil affairs company. The 1962 budget, however, had not yet been approved.

The defense support budget for FY 1962 included funds for 300 6-man teams and for the purchase of medical supplies to be used in the civil assistance program. Because far fewer than 300 military civil affairs teams would be trained, CHMAA had requested CINCPAC to reduce the civil affairs portion of the defense support budget by some $73,000.

The Country Team now suggested a $40,000 increase in MAP funds for the procurement of medical supplies for the civil affairs program, in order to give the MAAG much better control over expenditures for such supplies and to insure "better supply at less cost."

(S) Msg, Vientiane to SecState, 344, 29 Aug 61.

On 29 August, CINCPAC requested that an additional 30 Filipino engineering equipment mechanics be authorized for Laos. These technicians would be in addition to the recently authorized augmentation of 76 (see item 24, 28 July 1961).

On 2 September, CINCPAC requested that 4 more Filipinos be authorized to operate the expanded radio transmissions that formed part of the growing RLG psychological warfare effort.

On 11 September, the Department of Defense approved both of these requests.

(C) Msgs, CINCPAC to JCS, 290023Z Aug 61; CINCPAC to JCS DA IN 145600, 2 Sep 61; OSD to CINCPAC, DEF 902367, 11 Sep 61

CINCPAC
30 Aug 61  CINCPAC suggested to the JCS that, against the contingency that the Communists resumed their offensive in Laos and the RLG appealed for US or SEATO intervention, four decisions were needed as guidance for the US or SEATO response, as follows:

1. The US and its Allies should decide "what plan of action" they would execute. The chosen plan should contain "an agreed concept for operations involving specific forces under a preplanned command arrangement"; SEATO Plan 5, CINCPAC noted, was the only plan that met these requirements.

2. A decision was needed on the military objectives to be attained by the intervention. CINCPAC suggested either a reaffirmation of the objectives as stated in Plan 5 or another statement of them. He hoped, however, that any new statement would call for more than restoration of the cease-fire line, for the achievement of such an objective would result in a de facto partition of Laos.

3. Rules of engagement or constraint should be developed. The military commander of the intervention should know the "level of violence" to be employed in carrying out his mission, and he should know what retaliation he could make against various possible DRV actions. Also, criteria should be established for possible use of nuclear weapons.

4. The US should ascertain which Allies would participate in the intervention, so that account could be taken of their attitudes and wishes in deciding the objectives and weaponry of the intervention force.

(TS) Msg, CINCPAC to JCS, 300410Z Aug 61.

31 Aug 61  The US Ambassador in Vientiane, in a message to the Secretary of State, offered the Laos Country Team's further considerations of the Ryan Plan (see item 21 August 1961) and
his own views on the subject. The Country Team had concluded that the plan itself appeared both technically sound and capable of providing the kind of police force necessary to the kingdom. Specifically, the plan would create a provincial police force able to insure the security of rural settlements, a task performed unsatisfactorily by military forces, and capable of maintaining the prestige and authority of the national government in the widest possible area of Laos.

Although in agreement concerning the plan, the Country Team could not agree on the timing of its implementation. Those who believed the plan should not go into effect at once argued that: 1) the cost, at a time when the Ministers of Defense and Finance were seeking additional US military and budgetary aid, might appear excessive; 2) since the army would have to provide men to augment the police force, competition for trained manpower would develop with possible harm to both organizations; 3) implementation of the Ryan Plan might provide a private army for Phoumi, who had made it clear that he intended to retain personal control over the police; 4) political uncertainties were too great; and 5) implementation of the plan would raise substantial administrative problems for USOM, would "tend to vitiate the USOM/Laos Task Force concept," and would subordinate the modest US program of economic aid to a program "frankly designed" to create a strong paramilitary force.

Those who favored implementing the plan at the present time maintained that: 1) however the admittedly vague political situation was resolved, the presence of a basically non-Communist police force would be to the advantage of the US; 2) a police force based on the Ryan Plan might survive the transition to a neutral government; 3) the proposed program
program, since it was directed in part at halting subversion in rural areas, should appeal to Phoumi and win his complete support; and 4) waiting would only permit Phoumi to retain the police within the FAL until the police force ceased to exist as an effective organization.

The Ambassador himself believed that the Ryan Plan was intrinsically sound and capable of meeting a basic need. He further believed it important to restore to the kingdom an independent police force under civilian control. Thus, the Ambassador recommended that the plan be speedily and favorably considered so that it could be presented to Phoumi and, provided he accepted the necessary conditions, put into effect (see item 8 October 1961).

(S) Msg, Vientiane to SecState, 371, 31 Aug 61.

31 Aug 61 The Secretary of State sent instructions to guide Ambassador Harriman in his forthcoming talks with Souvanna (see item 15-17 September 1961). These instructions dealt with the problem of integrating the various Laotian armed forces, the proposed line of discussion with Souvanna, and a list of issues considered crucial by the three foreign ministers at their Paris meeting (see item 7 August 1961). In addition, Ambassador Harriman was informed that Souvanna would raise no objection to the continued French presence and instructed to define and interpret for Souvanna any areas of disagreement between the US and the Prince.

The integration of Lao forces. Ambassador Harriman was informed that, because of differences of opinion among the US, UK, and France, he should seek "approval in substance" from the British and French of that portion of his instructions dealing with the integration of Lao forces. Subject to this
this condition, Ambassador Harriman was to seek agreement among the Laotian factions on a formula for the proportional integration of forces. There were, according to the Secretary of State, three possible methods of integrating the FAL, Kong Le, and Pathet Lao contingents. The troops presently under arms might: 1) remain in their present locations while agreed numbers were integrated and the remainder demobilized; 2) regroup in certain specified regions for integration and demobilization; or 3) assemble for these purposes at selected points in the various provinces. With respect to the integration machinery, the Secretary of State desired to know what system of regional administration was envisioned under the vague terms of the Zurich communique (see item 22 June 1961). Specifically, he wanted to know whether the Prime Minister would "run the whole country" or whether there would be "two sets of organs of administration that would each be in charge of a particular segment of the country."

Proposed line of discussion. The Secretary of State instructed Ambassador Harriman to emphasize that Souvanna was "one man who could, if he chose, bring about the transformation of the situation from dangerous and explosive stalemate to a condition where reunification of the country and progress toward stability were possible." Should Souvanna break with the Pathet Lao and seek the true neutrality and independence of Laos, the US would give him full support "including assistance for economic and social development." At this point, Ambassador Harriman was to warn that freedom from outside interference was the key to neutrality and that to maintain such freedom Laos would have to prevent the infiltration of Viet Minh troops through the kingdom. Since Souvanna would need all the "friendly international backing" he could get in sealing the borders, an "adequate"
"adequate" ICC was "vitally important." Finally, Souvanna was to be reminded of the disastrous results which would follow a Pathet Lao take-over and of the fact that the US would "have nothing to do" with a government that "knowingly or unwittingly" yielded to Communist domination.

Issues raised by the Foreign Ministers. Secretary Rusk observed that the three foreign ministers had agreed that, if a Souvanna coalition was to preserve the neutrality of Laos, the Prince would have to commit himself to satisfactory positions on certain crucial issues. Because of Souvanna's disappointing response to French questioning on these issues (see item 28 August 1961), Ambassador Harriman was to discuss with him: 1) the creation within the cabinet of a neutral center group made up of political moderates from throughout the kingdom; 2) the need to integrate Pathet Lao military forces and to organize a non-Communist political party before holding elections; 3) assurance that the Lao government would never interfere with ICC investigations; and 4) Souvanna's views on the integration and demobilization of factional armies.

(On 3 September, Ambassador Harriman obtained British consent to that portion of his instructions which dealt with the integration of factional armies. The French agreed on the next day.

During his conversation with the British, the question of contingency planning arose, and various military aspects of the Laotian situation were mentioned. Ambassador Harriman, on the basis of this brief discussion, reported to the Secretary of State that the UK was "agreeable without commitment to discuss contingency planning for expanding [SEATO] Plan 5." The subject of contingency planning was not mentioned to the French.)
(S) Msg, State to London, DEPTEL 1094, 31 Aug 61; (C) Msg, London to SecState, 916, 5 Sep 61.