

WHITE PAPER ON VIETNAMESE  
AGGRESSIONS IN LAOS: 1954-1990

Vang Pobzeb

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### *About the Author*

Vang Pobzeb was graduated with a B.A. in Political Science and World History from Mount Senario College, Ladysmith, Wisconsin in May 1983. He received his M.A. in International and Comparative Politics from Western Illinois University in Macomb, Illinois in December 1984. He is a Ph.D. Candidate in World Politics, Global Human Rights, Chinese Politics, Southeast Asian Politics and Politics of the Developing Nations at the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver. Vang Pobzeb is the first Hmong American who will receive a Ph.D. in World Politics among many other Hmong educators in the United States.

He has been serving as a voluntary counselor and advisor for Hmong high school and college students in America since 1981. He founded and chaired the Hmong American United Students Association (HAUSA, Inc.) in Eau Claire, Wisconsin since April 1981.

In September 1986, founders and members of the board of directors of the eighteen clan systems of the Hmong Council, Inc. appointed Vang Pobzeb to form and chair the Hmong Council Education Committee. He is current chairman of the education committee. In March 1987, he and other Hmong intellectuals established the Hmong American Human Rights Committee. Vang Pobzeb is current chairman of the Hmong American Human Rights Committee in Denver, Colorado.

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## *Political History, and Problems of Laos*

"Laos: Human Rights in a Forgotten Country" is a controversial issue which the world community must not forget that Laos was a kingdom of a million of elephants. The current tragedies and bloodshed for the people in Laos, in December 1990, were the unsolved and legacies of political, military and social conflicts and wars from the 19th century to the 20th century. Historically, outside interventions created internal divisions within the society of Laos. Laotians, themselves, have taken the wrong approaches for many centuries because policy makers, leaders and kings struggled for political, social, economic and financial powers. Political corruptions created internal structural divisions. Economic and financial corruptions created poverty levels and social discontent. Social corruptions created political divisions. All Laotians have to recall what has gone wrong with the political history of the country. Political history does not always repeat itself. However, political history can tell that policy makers and citizens should learn from the past mistakes and wrong approaches in order to avoid the current and future mistakes again. Indeed, most world historians and politicians agreed on these arguments. All Laotians should ask themselves and for their country. The true Laotians should not set goals for the Vietnamese to kill the Laotian peoples.

In 1863, the French controlled Cambodia. In 1883, the French established a "protectorate" over Annam and Tonkin and ruled Cochinchina as a French colony in Southeast Asia. In 1887, the



French created "Indochinese Union," composed of Cochinchina, Annam, Tonkin, and Cambodia. In 1893, the French controlled Laos. Therefore, French Indochina began from 1863 to 1954. Franco-Vietminh war broke out from December 19, 1946 to May 7, 1954 which was called the First Indochina War. During these periods, Ho Chi Minh and leaders of the Communist Pathet Lao proclaimed socialist and communist ideologies against capitalism inside Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. In February 1930, Ho Chi Minh established the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) in Hong Kong. In November 1945, Ho Chi Minh dissolved the Indochina Communist Party. However, in February, 1951, the Indochinese Communist Party re-emerged as Dang Lao Dong Vietnam. Souphanouvong and other Communist Pathet Lao leaders and Cambodian Communist leaders attended the Second National Congress of the party which was conducted by Ho Chi Minh at Tuyen Quang in Vietnam between February 11, and 19, 1951. Consequently, the re-constitutes of the Indochinese Communist Party created three communist parties and movements in Indochina. These were: the Vietnamese Workers' Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. These movements unified strategies to drive the French out at the final battle at Dienbienphu on May 7, 1954. As a result, on May 8, the Geneva Conference on Indochina began.

***The Geneva Conference on Indochina: May 8 - July 21, 1954***

From May 8, to July 21, 1954, nine governments participated in the Geneva Conference on Indochina. They were: Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Hanoi), France, Great Britain, the

Kingdom of Laos, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the State of Vietnam (Saigon) and the United States of America.

The purposes of the documents of the Geneva conference were:

- (1) To divide one Vietnam into two Vietnams at the 17th parallel.
- (2) To end the French Indochina policies.
- (3) To grant self-independence to Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam.
- (4) To guarantee political neutralities to Cambodia and Laos.
- (5) The general free election in North Vietnam and South Vietnam scheduled to be held in July 1956.
- (6) India, Canada and Poland made up the International Control Commission (ICC).
- (7) To find peace and reconciliation to Indochina.

However, the Second Vietnam War or Indochina War broke out in February 1957 when the North Vietnamese first attacked South Vietnam. The war spread to Laos because the Communist Pathet Lao and Vietnamese troops attacked the forces of the Royal Lao Government.

#### ***The Vientiane Agreement on Laos of 1957***

On November 2, 1957, Prince Souphanouvong and Thao Tan Choulamontri, leaders of the Communist Pathet Lao and Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of the Royal Lao Government, Quan Rathikoun, president of the Military Delegation of the Royal Government and Chao Krom Manes, President of the Council of Ministers of the Royal Government signed the first Vientiane Agreement on peace and national reconciliation in Laos. However, the Communist Pathet Lao force first violated and broke the Vientiane Agreement following the general election of May 1958.

Hence, heavy fighting resumed between June 1958 and June 1959. The results of the war were caused by the interventions and aggression of North Vietnamese and the Pathet Lao forces. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China also provided military materials to the Communist Pathet Lao forces. As a result, the first coalition government between the Communist Pathet Lao and the Royal Lao Government collapsed.

### ***The Geneva Conference on Laos, July 23, 1962***

On July 23, 1962, fourteen nations signed the Geneva Agreement peace on Laos after several years of Laotian instability, chaos, war and discontentment because of threats to peace and security, especially, the Communist Pathet Lao and the North Vietnamese troops. The fourteen governments who participated and signed the Geneva Agreement were: Burma, Cambodia, Canada, the People's Republic of China, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, France, India, Laos, Poland, Thailand, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The purposes of the Geneva Agreement were to guarantee peace and political neutrality for the Kingdom of Laos and to end the fighting between the Royal Government and the Communist Pathet Lao. The governments of Canada, India, and Poland made up the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. Their main duties were to make sure that the North Vietnamese, the Communist Pathet Lao forces and the Royal Lao Government troops did not break the Geneva accord.

Prior to the conclusion of the Geneva Conference, three princes; Souvanna Phouma (representing the neutralist group), Boun Oun Na Champassak (the rightist group) and Souphanouvong (the leftist group and leader of the Communist Pathet Lao) formed the Second Coalition Government in June. Souvanna Phouma was prime minister while Boun Oun and Souphanouvong were deputy premiers and cabinet members. General Phoumi Nosavan also gained the post of the Vice Premier and Minister of Finance. Laotians and national ethnic groups hoped to see peace and national reconciliation throughout the country. Nevertheless, their hopes were opposite because Souphanouvong and Phoumi Vongvichit, leaders of the Communist Pathet Lao left the Second Coalition Government in Vientiane for North Vietnam in April 1963. As a result, the Laotian-Vietnamese war resumed because the Soviet Union and North Vietnam provided military materials and advice to the Communist Pathet Lao forces in causing war throughout Laos.

Meanwhile, India, Canada, and Poland could not stop the war even though they had been designated by the ICC to be peace keepers. The Communist Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese troops violated the Geneva Agreement first because North Vietnam sent many thousands of troops to support the Pathet Lao forces inside Laos. As a result, a Laotian-Vietnamese war broke out, and the United States government increased its military and economic aid to the Royal Lao Government. The Soviet Union, North Vietnam and the People's Republic of China increase military materials and modern weapons to the Communist Pathet Lao forces. On August 7, 1964, the

U.S. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution to give war powers to the president of the United States to take "all necessary steps, including the use of armed force" in Southeast Asia. Hence, from 1957 to 1973, the Second Indochina War spread throughout North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The war was caused by the struggles between the East and the West, communism versus communism and struggles for powers inside Indochina itself. Souphanouvong and Souvanna Phouma led Laotians to kill each other without justification.

*The Paris Peace Agreement on Vietnam and Indochina, January 27, 1973*

After four years of peace negotiations in Paris, and while the bombing in Laos, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and Cambodia continued, the Paris Peace Agreement for Vietnam and Indochina was signed by four parties on January 27, 1973. These parties were the United States, North Vietnam, South Vietnam and the Communist Vietcong of South Vietnam. The main points of the Paris accord were an "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam" and throughout Indochina. The agreement included that all foreign troops shall withdraw out of South Vietnam. Article 4 of the agreement which said that "the United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam." Article 15 guaranteed that North Vietnam and South Vietnam would be reunited without the used of force. This article contained the following important points:

The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Vietnam, without

coercion or annexation by either party, and without foreign interference. The time for reunification will be agreed upon by North and South Vietnam.

North and South Vietnam shall not join any military alliance or military bloc and shall not allow foreign powers to maintain military bases, troops, military advisers, and military personnel on their respective territories, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

Article 20 is concerned with Cambodia and Laos. This article contained that Cambodia and Laos should be neutral states as had been decided at the Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos. This article contained the following points:

- (a) The parties participating in the Paris conference on Vietnam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Cambodia and the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, which recognized the Cambodian and Lao people's fundamental national rights, i.e., the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of these countries. The parties shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos.

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam undertake to refrain from using the territory of Cambodia and the territory of Laos to encroach on the sovereignty and security of one another and of other countries.

- (b) Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries, troops, military advisors and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material.
- (c) The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference.
- (d) The problems existing between the Indochinese countries shall be settled by the Indochinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Consequently, the definition of all foreign troops and advisors shall withdraw completely out of Cambodia and Laos included the North Vietnamese troops and Soviet and American advisors in Laos. All foreign countries referred to all foreign governments which sent military personnel, advisers, technicians and military equipment and civilians to Cambodia and Laos.

*Paris International Conference on Vietnam and Indochina: February 26 - March 2, 1973*

In order to enforce the Paris Peace Agreement on Vietnam and Indochina of January 27, 1973, the United Nations and twelve nations signed the set of the International conference on Vietnam on March 2, 1973 in Paris. These countries were: the United States, France, Communist Vietcong, Hungary, Indonesia, Poland, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, Canada and the People's Republic of China. The purposes of the Act of International Conference on Vietnam were to enforce, approve and support the "Paris Agreement on Ending War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam," signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, and the four protocols to the agreement signed on the same date. Accordingly, these two agreements were international agreements which the parties to the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam and Indochina must comply to the agreement. The United Nations also sent representatives to the conference. Therefore, the parties participating in the conference must conform according to the peace charter of the United Nations. Article 1 of the Charter of the U.N. states that "the purposes of the United Nations are to maintain international peace and security and to that end: to take

effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression."

***The Vientiane Peace Agreement on Laos: February 21, 1973***

The consequences of the Paris Peace Agreement on Vietnam and Indochina caused the signing of the Vientiane Peace Agreement on Laos on February 21, 1973. This agreement was signed by two parties: Phagna Pheng Phongsavan, Special Plenipotentiary Representative of the Vientiane government and Phagna Phoumi Vongvichit, Representative of the Communist Pathet Lao forces. The agreement is composed of 14 articles. The purposes of the agreement were the "restoration of peace" and national "reconciliation" in Laos. Article one contained that peace and national reconciliation shall base on the Geneva Agreement on Laos of 1954 and 1962. Section D of Article one guaranteed political, economic and social freedom to the people after the formation of the Third Coalition Government. This article guaranteed that:

To preserve national independence and sovereignty, promoted national reconciliation and reunite the country, it is necessary to carefully observe the rights and freedoms of the people, such as: individual liberty, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom to form political parties and associations, freedom to vote and to run for office, freedom of travel, freedom of residence, freedom of trade, and freedom to own personal property; all laws, regulations and organizations prohibiting the above-mentioned rights must be abolished.

Article two of the Vientiane Peace Agreement contained that all foreign troops and advisers shall pull out completely in Laos.

This article specifically included:



- A. Foreign countries will cease completely and permanently the bombing of all Lao territory, will cease intervention and aggression in Laos, and will cease all military involvement in Laos.
- B. All foreign armed forces will completely and permanently cease all military activities in Laos.
- C. All armed forces of all Lao factions will cease completely all military activities that constitute hostilities toward one another, both on the ground and in the air.

Article 4 states that the provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Consultative Council shall establish within a period of 60 days. Article 5 referred that "both Lao sides will return to each other all persons regardless of nationality that were captured, and those imprisoned for cooperating with the other side, during the war." Consequently, Article 5 guaranteed that all prisoners of both sides shall be released. Article 6 contained that "general elections shall be held in accordance with the principles of freedom and democracy in order to elect a National Assembly and establish a Government of National Union, which will truly represent all the people of all nationalities throughout Laos." Article seven referred to the cabinet members of the Third Coalition Government. This article contained that "the new provisional Government of National Union will consist of representatives of the Vientiane government side and of the Patriotic Force side in equal number." Article eight referred that the joint National Political Council shall compose of equal representation. Article eleven contained that "the two sides will immediately set up a commission to implement the agreement with an equal number of representatives from each side." And,

Article twelve contained that India, Poland and Canada, which was set up by the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, shall continue to be the International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICC).

The Third Lao Coalition Government was formed by three political factions on April 5, 1974. Prince Souvanna Phouma continued to be the prime minister. His half brother, Prince Souphanouvong was president of the National Consultative Political Council. Phoumi Vongvichit was designated to the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. There were twelve cabinet posts which were divided so that each political faction should have equal posts. The neutralist political party gained two cabinet posts: Minister of Justice and Minister of Post and Telegraphs. The Communist Pathet Lao side gained five cabinet posts and one deputy premier post. The royal side gained five cabinet post and one deputy premier. There were twelve secretaries of state. There were forty two members of the Consultative Political Council. Prince Souphanouvong was the chairman. Khamsouk Keola and Prince Sisoumang Sisaleumsak were vice chairmen. National political council adopted an 18-point political programme. Twelve points were on domestic politics and six points regarded foreign policy and relations. On July 11, 1974, the Third Coalition Government approved the programme. In domestic policies, the political programme included the unity of all nationalities in Laos, guarantee equal rights in the political, economic, cultural and social fields, democratic rights, individual rights and freedom, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press,

freedom of assembly, freedom to form political parties and organizations, freedom to vote and freedom to run for election and office, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of enterprise and rights of private ownership. Consequently, these principles included human rights for the people. In foreign policy, the six points contained that the United States, Thailand, and other foreign countries shall pull out of Laos. However, Chairman Souphanouvong and other Communist Pathet Lao leaders omitted the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops out of Laos out of the context of the foreign policy programme and guidelines. In foreign relations, the programme contained that Laos would conduct foreign relations and policy based upon the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" which were adopted by the twenty-nine Asian and African delegations who met together in the West Java City of Bandung, Indonesia from April 18 to April 24, 1955. These principles were: "Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."

### ***The Communist Pathet Lao Violated the Vientiane Peace Agreement***

Two years following the Paris Peace Agreement on Vietnam and Indochina and the Vientiane Peace Agreement on Laos, war broke out throughout Indochina; Cambodia, South Vietnam and Laos. The United States and Thailand compiled the two agreements and the Charter of the United Nations. So they withdrew all advisers and troops out of Indochina. On the contrary, the North Vietnamese and the

Russians did not comply to the two agreements because they did not withdraw their troops and advisers out of Laos and North-South Vietnamese borders. They increase more troops and advisers to replace the American troops. On April 17, 1975, the Red Khmer Rouge troops, with the support of China, captured Phnon Penh, Cambodia. On April 30, 1975, more than 350,000 North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops captured and occupied South Vietnam. The Lon Nol and the Nguyen Van Thieu governments collapsed to the communist governments, one by one. Between March and April 1975, there was heavy fighting in the Sala Phou Khoun area, about 92 miles from the capital, Vientiane. Between May 9 and May 15, over 50,000 Vietnamese and Pathet Lao troops invaded and occupied Sala Phou Khoun area and many other provinces in Laos. As a result, the "domino theory" was correct in predicting that as soon as the U.S. withdrew its troops from Indochina, then those countries would fall, one by one to the communist nations. Unfortunately, the United States and the United Nations did nothing to condemn the invasions and aggressions. Consequently, the North Vietnamese invasion and occupation of South Vietnam by armed forces directly violated the Paris Peace Agreement of January 27, 1973 and the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam and Indochina on March 2, 1973. The Soviet Union and North Vietnam supported, assisted and advised the Communist Pathet Lao armed forces to invade and to occupy Laos by force were direct violations of the Paris Peace Agreement and the Vientiane Peace Agreement on Laos. The invasions

and aggressions were the violations of the 18-point political programme in Laos.

***U.N. Definition on Aggression and the North Vietnamese Invasion of Laos***

On December 14, 1974, the U.N. General Assembly adopted eight articles entitled "Definition of Aggression." The United Nations called that states which violate the declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" are the committees of aggression. Articles 1 and 3 defined "aggression" as follows:

Article 1

Aggression is the use of armed force by a state against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, as set out in this definition.

Article 3

Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, shall subject to and in accordance with the provisions of Article 2, qualify as an act of aggression:

- (a) The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a state of the territory of another state, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another state or part thereof;
- (b) Bombardment by the armed forces of a state against the territory of another state or the use of any weapons by a state against the territory of another state;
- (c) The blockade of the posts or coasts of a state by the armed forces of another state;

- (d) An attack by the armed forces of a state on the land, sea or air force, or marine and air fleets of another state;
- (e) The use of armed forces of one state which are within the territory of another state with the agreement of the receiving state, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement.
- (f) The action of a state in allowing its territory, which it has placed at the disposal of another state, to be used by that other state for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third state.
- (g) The sending by or on behalf of a state of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another state of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above or its substantial involvement thereon.

Consequently, the North Vietnamese Pathet Lao invasions and occupations and internal subversion in Laos consisted of the "Definition of Aggression" of the United Nations. The invasions were the direct violations of this definition and the Charter of the United Nations and "the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" of October 24, 1970. The declaration proclaimed that "the duty not to intervene matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the charter." As a matter of fact, if the more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia in December 1978 and 350,000 Iraqis invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990 were called aggressions against another state under international law and the U.N. Charter. Similarly, the North Vietnamese troops occupied and invaded Laos in May 1975 was also called aggression against another

state. The Vietnamese troops committed subversion with internal military machines in Cambodia. This case is the Vietnamese aggression against sovereignty state of Cambodia. Therefore, the North Vietnamese troops occupied Laos by invasion was also called aggressions against the Laotian people. As a result, the United States, the United Nations, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the world community must no longer ignore the Vietnamese aggressions, suppressions and oppressions against the Laotian people. Those invasions were direct violations of the U.N. Charter and international peace agreements.

#### *Lao People's Democratic Republic and Vietnam Relations*

The relations between the Communist Pathet Lao and Vietnamese Communist regime began in the 1930's. The Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) spread communist ideologies to Laos and Cambodia. The Pathet Lao and the Viet Minh unified political and military strategies to drive the French and American forces out of Laos from 1946 to 1975. Current Marxist-Leninist ideologies in Laos were influenced by Ho Chi Minh. And, the Pathet Lao leaders and thinkers were influenced by Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

On December 1-2, 1975, the Communist Pathet leaders forced King Savang Vatthana to abdicate and Premier of the Third Coalition Government, Souvanna Phouma to resign. They abolished a 600 year constitutional monarchy system in Laos. The Pathet Lao leaders, authorities, Vietnamese troops, advisers and Soviet advisers installed Kaysone Phomvihane to become the prime minister on

December 2, 1975. Biographically, Kaysone is not a true Laotian. He is a son of Vietnamese blood. His father was a Vietnamese who married a Laotian woman. Kaysone's father was a 100 percent Vietnamese who left Vietnam to settle in Laos. Kaysone was born on December 13, 1920 in Savannaket, Southern Laos. He received a law degree at Hanoi University. In 1949, Kaysone was a member of the Communist Party of Indochina. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Lao Liberation Front (Neo Lao Itsala) and appointed minister of defense in the Communist Pathet Lao movement at the First Congress of People's Representatives of the Communist Pathet Lao from August 13-15, 1950. On March 22, 1955, the First (constituent) Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) elected Kaysone to the post of General Secretary of its central committee.

The current human rights violations, political, social and economic troubles in Laos, in December 1990, are that Kaysone Phomvihane is Vietnamese blood. He was in the Soviet Union and Vietnam for many decades since he was a young communist boy. Indeed, the Laotian people did not know who he was until the Pathet Lao announced that Kaysone is the prime minister of Laos on December 2, 1975. At the same time, the Pathet Lao changed the name of Laos into Lao People's Democratic Republic (Saathiaranagroaot Prachhathippatay Prachhachhom Lao). Politically, the Vietnamese had planned to overthrow the constitutional monarchy system out of the Kingdom of Laos. These were objectives of the Indochinese Communist Party in the 1930's. The Declarations of



Communist Movements and Parties around the world of November 1957; December 1960 and of June 1969 pledged to overthrow democratic and capitalist systems around the Third World by internal subversions, revolutions and other propaganda techniques. In order to achieve communist revolutions, the communist movements created internal political parties and revolutionary groups for internal subversions, peaceful and war means. Laos was one of the goals Vietnamese and the Russians had during the Cold War period.

The U.S.-Soviet Detente and Peaceful Coexistence of May 1972 and the Sino-American Approachment of February 1972 changed global politics from confrontations to negotiations and cooperation. These changes created more advantages to the communist movements to seek internal subversions. Laos was one of the targets of North Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

On December 2, 1975, the Pathet Lao abolished the Third Coalition Government. All the above actions were the violations of the Vientiane Peace Agreement on Laos on February 21, 1973 and the eight-point political programs. The Ten-Point Program of April 10, 1964 and the Twelve-Point Political Program of November 1968, which adopted by the Neo Lao Hak Sat, that pledged to respect democracy, human rights, freedom of speech and freedom of the press and the constitutional monarchy system in Laos had lied because on December 2, 1975, the Pathet Lao abolished the Constitutional Monarchy system. In March 1977, the Communist Pathet Lao government arrested King Savang Vatthana and members of the Royal family. The communist government murdered and tortured the king and his family

members. In December 1989, Kaysone Phomvihane, Prime Minister of Laos, visited Paris; the puppet government of Vietnam and the Soviet Union officially admitted for the first time that King Savang Vatthana died at 69. However, Kaysone refused to say when, how and where the king died. Indeed, Kaysone authorized to murder and torture the king and his entire members of the royal family.

In 1980, Kaysone Phomvihane published his book entitled Revolution In Laos in Moscow. In this book, Kaysone admitted that the Communist Pathet Lao authorities forced the king to abdicate and forced Souvanna Phouma to give up the post of the prime minister of the Third Coalition Government. In addition, Kaysone also said in his book as follows:

The revolution in Laos is an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and throughout the world. The revolution in Laos and the revolutions in Vietnam and Kampuchea are related by historical and geographic factors as well as by deep feelings of revolutionary brotherhood.

Therefore, the internationalist policy of our party was directed first and foremost at strengthening the solidarity and unite in the struggle of the three countries of Indochina. (p., 146).

The militant cooperation of the revolutionary movement and people of Laos and Vietnam plays a vital role in the alliance, of the people of Indochina. (P., 147).

Our party is the party of the working class. Marxism-Leninism is its ideological foundation and the guiding principle of all its activity. (Kaysone, 1980: 229).

In page one hundred forty-nine, Kaysone also admitted that the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other communist countries in the world supported the Communist Pathet Lao armed forces to take over Laos. As a result, the Pathet Lao and Vietnamese armed forces invasion of

Laos in May 1975 was the act of war aggression. On December 1-2, 1975, Kaysone declared in his political report that the total victory of the Communist Pathet Lao armed forces was:

Because of the combat alliance among the Lao, Vietnamese and Cambodian people, who fought side by side against the common enemy during the past 30 years, together they scored victories and contributed to writing an important page in history. The victory of our nation cannot be separated from the vigorous support and assistance given by the fraternal socialist countries, first of all the USSR, the PRC and the people and progressive governments throughout the world. (FBIS-EAS: December 18, 1975).

***A 25-Year Peace Treaty between Vietnam and Laos:  
July 18, 1977***

Two years following the post-Indochina War period, on July 18, 1977, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic signed a 25-year Peace Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Cooperation in Vientiane. It is a defense treaty between the two countries. Indeed, Vietnam had the plans to form the "Indochina Federation" or Indochina Union" which will compose of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos into one federation. The treaty continued as follows:

Article 1

The two sides undertake to do their best to defend and develop the Laos-Vietnam special relationship, to constantly strengthen solidarity and mutual trust, long-term cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields in a spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Article 2

Proceeding from the principle that the defense of national independence and the maintenance of national security are the work of the people of each country, the two sides pledge themselves to wholeheartedly support and assist each other and carry out a close cooperation aimed at reinforcing the defense capacity, preserving independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and

defending the people's peaceful labor, against all schemes and acts of sabotage by imperialism and foreign reactionary forces.

#### Article 5

The two sides endeavor to strengthen the militant solidarity and the relations of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries; together, with the socialist countries and the international communist movement, positively contribute to strengthening solidarity and mutual support and assistance on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Consequently, the Treaty was clear evidence that Vietnam violated the Paris Peace Treaty of January 27, 1973, the Act of the International Conference on Indochina in Paris on March 2, 1973 and the Vientiane Peace Agreement on Laos on February 21, 1973. Militarily, the 25 year Vietnamese-Laotian Treaty of July 18, 1977 allowed more than 500,000 Vietnamese civilians and families of the army to station in Laos. There were about 100,000 Vietnamese troops in December 1988. In December 1990, there are still 60,000 Vietnamese troops, advisers and military personnel who are still inside Laos. In December 1988, the Communist Pathet Lao government announced that all the Vietnamese troops had withdrawn from Laos. In fact, that is a lie. This is because the Vietnamese troops changed their military uniforms into civilian uniforms. They are acting as civilian and farmers. Many thousands of Vietnamese troops are hidden in many locations between the Vietnamese-Laotian border. They put military materials into undergrounds. The Vietnamese government rotated many thousands of troops to fight the war in Cambodia. The Lao government also sent troops to support

the Vietnamese puppet government in Cambodia against the coalition government under the leadership of Norodom Sihanouk.

In Hanoi, the Soviet Union and Vietnam signed a 25-year Treaty of Friendship and cooperation on November 3, 1978. It is a military treaty and mutual cooperation between the two countries. Moscow sent military materials to Vientiane through Hanoi. This is to avoid world public opinion and condemnation against Moscow. Under international law, this was in violation of the Paris Peace Treaty of January 27, 1973 and the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam and throughout Indochina on March 2, 1973.

In Cambodia, Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea signed a 25-year Peace Treaty and Mutual Cooperation on February 18, 1979. The purposes of the treaty are to cooperate in the fields of defense, national security, social, cultural, economic, and political areas. The Soviet Union sends military materials to Cambodia through Vietnam. The treaty caused the outbreak of peace and war between China and Vietnam in February - March 1979. Consequently, the 75 years of peace treaties among Moscow and Hanoi, Hanoi and Vientiane and Hanoi and Phnon Penh are the foundation forces which cause political instability, tragedies, human rights violations, murders, bloodshed and the current Vietnamese-Cambodia war. In 1990, there are about 4,000 to 5,000 Soviet advisers, military personnel, civilians and family members who are in Laos.

### *The North Vietnamese Government Admitted its Aggression in Laos*

The United States, United Nations and the world community should not ignore the Vietnamese aggression and occupation in Laos. This is because the Vietnamese government publicly admitted on July 16, 1977 that the Vietnamese troops directly assisted and supported the Communist Pathet Lao forces to achieve internal revolution, subversions and war of aggression in Laos. Evidently, on July 16, Kaysone Phomvihane and Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of Vietnam, admitted the following cooperation during the cold war period:

Kaysone Phomvihane declared: "We will never forget the fraternal Vietnamese people's contribution in sending tens of thousands of their dear sons and daughters to directly help the Lao revolution. The special internationalist combatants of Vietnam working in Laos, implementing order from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and President Ho Chi Minh have shown a high degree of proletarian internationalism. They loved the Lao people as their own parents or brothers and sisters. They shared weal and woe with us, shared with us each grain of salt and each blade of vegetable and assumed difficult jobs while giving us advantages. They fought shoulder to shoulder, loved and died together with our soldiers and people in each trench and on battlefields throughout the country with exceptional heroism.

We can reaffirm that every success of the Lao revolution has been possible thanks to a direct contribution of the Vietnamese revolution on all the battlefields of our beloved fatherland, the flesh and blood of internationalist Vietnamese fighters have mingled with those of our fighters and people of all nationalities.

On July 16, 1977, Premier Pham Van Dong of Vietnam declared: "The people of our two countries are entering a new stage of the revolution in a more favorable international situation." "In relations between our two countries, we pledge ourselves to strictly observe the pure principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." (FBIS-EAS: 18 July 1977).

For this reason, the Vietnamese government sent troops and advisers to run the Communist Pathet Lao government in Laos. The world community should recognize that Laos is an independent country, but Laos does not have both internal and external policies to run its affairs. Political, social and economic policies of Laos are decided by the Vietnamese government in Hanoi. In fact, the Lao People's Democratic Republic does not have full self-determination and sovereignty. Politically, Laos is a colonial territory of Vietnam since December 2, 1975. The Kaysone government was not chosen by the Laotian people. This government was installed into power by the Vietnamese and the Russian governments on December 2, 1975. On December 14, 1960, the U.N. General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial countries and people which declared that all nations and territories shall have the right to self-determination and political independence. Human rights and fundamental freedom should be observed by all states. The Resolution 2625 of the U.N. General Assembly of October 24, 1970 which entitled "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations And Co-operation Among States In Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" proclaimed that rights and duties should be given to territories or states of the people. Vietnam ratified the International Bill of Human Rights on September 24, 1982. However, Vietnam did not comply to the conventions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Vietnam violated the United Nations Charter. Vietnam was a member state of the United Nations on September 20, 1977. The

violations and aggressions of the Vietnamese that they send troops and officials to run the government in Laos. Vietnam intervenes internal and external affairs of Laos. At the Third Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party from April 27, to April 30, 1982, Kaysone Phomvihane stated in his "political report" that both internal and external affairs of Laos are "to maintain a close alliance in arms with Vietnam and Kampuchea and rely on the assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries so as to enhance the combat ability of the armed forces and strengthen the country's defense potential." At the same time Kaysone declared that "Marxism-Leninism" or communism is the political, economic and social systems of Laos. The Lao People's Revolutionary Party is Marxist-Leninist Party of the whole country. In February 1979, the Lao Patriotic Front (Neo Lao Hak Xat-NLHX) was renamed to the Lao Front National Reconstruction. It adopted ten-point political programs which proclaimed that the purposes of the new front are to "build new socialist men" and communist men.

#### *Anniversary of Vietnam-Lao Friendship Treaty*

July 18, 1987 marked a tenth anniversary of the Vietnam-Lao Peace and Friendship Treaty. Both governments of Hanoi and Vietnam publicly addressed their past military and political cooperation and assistance during the Second Indochina War and the establishment of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

On July 12, 1987, the Vietnamese official sources in Hanoi contained that the "relations of friendship and cooperation between



the two armies of Vietnam and Laos" were the political and military objectives of both sides. The Vietnamese sources contained that "during more than 40 years of coordination in combat against the common enemy of two nations, the Vietnamese people's army has wholeheartedly provided the Lao people's army with prompt and effective assistance." (FBIS-EAS, July 24, 1987).

### ***Fourteen Evidences on Vietnamese Aggressions in Laos***

The following fourteen evidences are official sources which Vietnam has been committing aggression and occupation of Laos by internal and external subversions and interventions.

1. The Pathet Lao News Agency said on July 1, 1987 that:

Tens of thousands of Vietnamese have volunteered to help the Lao revolution, shared weal and woe with the Lao people, and sacrificed everything, even their life, for the independence and freedom of the multi-Lao ethnic people. In its relations with Laos, the Vietnamese side holds a lofty objective for the fulfillment of the Lao revolution. (FBIS-EAS, July 2, 1987).

2. Sali VongkhamSao, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic said on July 5, 1987 as follows:

The signing of the Laos-Vietnam Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation ten years ago was a historic and important event in the political life of the people of our two countries. This event marked a new development of the special solidarity and comprehensive cooperation long fostered by our two parties and states. The substantial achievements obtained in the execution of the treaty have been closely connected with the successes of the parties, states and people of our two countries in national development over the past ten years. (FBIS-EAS, July 16, 1987).

3. The Vietnamese official sources said on July 15, 1987 as follows:

Ten years ago, on July 18, 1977, the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed in Vientiane, Laos. This event marked a new step of development of the special friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Laos. It further affirmed the aspiration and determination of the people of the two countries to be shoulder to shoulder in the cause of national construction and defense. (FBIS-EAS July 16, 1987).

4. On July 16, 1987, the Vietnamese Ambassador to Laos, Nguyen Xuan, stated that:

The Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation is an important milestone marking a new step of qualitative development of the special relations between Vietnam and Laos in the new stage of the countries' revolutions. (FBIS-EAS, July 20, 1987).

5. On July 18, 1987, General Khamtai Siphandon, LPDR National Defense Minister, sent a message to General Le Duc Anh, SRV National Defense Minister, that:

We pledge to do our best to strengthen the militant solidarity, special relations, and all-round cooperation between Laos and Vietnam and among Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia and to develop them with each passing day and to last forever. (FBIS-EAS, July 20, 1987).

6. On July 17, 1987, Tran Tan, Member of the CPV Central Committee, Deputy Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee and Chairman of the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee declared that "the Vietnam-Lao cooperation has been expanded from the field of political and military struggle to that of economic and cultural cooperation." (FBIS-EAS, 20 July 1987).
7. On July 3, 1989, Do Muoi, political bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, declared that "We pledge to do our best to contribute to expanding and promoting the militant solidarity, great

friendship relations and comprehensive cooperation between our two parties, two states, and two peoples of Vietnam and Laos, and to keeping them beautiful forever." (FBIS-EAS, July 5, 1989).

8. On July 2, 1989, Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee declared in Vientiane that "Laos and Vietnam are close neighboring countries which share the common backbone of the majestic and heroic Truong Chinh Mountain, and have maintained the time-honored tradition of friendship, solidarity, and mutual assistance." (FBIS-EAS, July 5, 1989).
9. On July 4, 1989, Kaysone Phomvihane, Secretary General of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, officially admitted that the Vietnamese government runs the political, economic, social and military affairs in Laos. In Kaysone's statements, he declared that:  
  
During the past several decades, the Lao and Vietnamese people, under the leadership of their parties of the same origin, have shoulder to shoulder supported each other, sharing weal and woe, fighting the same enemies, adhering to the same ideology, and together grasping great victories of historical and epochal significance. (FBIS-EAS, July 6, 1989).
10. On July 2-4, 1989, Do Muoi led Vietnamese delegation to visit Laos. On July 4, Kaysone Phomvihane and Do Muoi issued a joint communique on Vietnam-Laos relations and cooperation. The joint communique proclaimed:  
  
The two general secretaries reaffirmed the Vietnamese and Lao parties' policy of constantly strengthening their solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

Considering this an important factor to ensure the success of each country's socialist construction and national defense. (FBIS-EAS, July 7, 1989).

11. After Prime Minister Do Muoi returned to Hanoi from Vientiane, on July 6, 1989, the Vietnamese leader stated that "the Vietnamese-Lao relations are part and parcel of the long-lasting traditions that uncle Ho and the two parties have built and developed during the whole process of the two peoples' revolutionary struggles." (FBIS-EAS, July 10, 1989).
12. On October 21, 1986, Kaysone Phomvihane stated that "let us strengthen the militant alliance and all-round cooperation among Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia and our solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, maintain a high sense of vigilance, and remain determined in the struggle against the schemes of creating rights employed by all hostile forces." (FBIS-EAS, December 3, 1986).
13. February 3, 1990 was the 60th anniversary of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) which was born on February 3, 1930. On February 3, 1990, the three communist parties of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos celebrated the 60th anniversary of the ICP. They proclaimed the original formation of the CPV was on February 3, 1930, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP), founded on June 28, 1951, and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, founded on March 22, 1955. These three communist parties pledged to continue the road of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism. (FBIS-EAS, February 8,

1990). The News Agency of the Pathet Lao emphasized that "the three parties, which share the same origin, and the three Indochinese peoples always stand shoulder to shoulder in the same trench in their struggle against all enemy aggressors." (FBIS-EAS, February 2, 1990).

14. Consequently, the above sources and documents are officially evidence that the Vietnamese troops and government have been committing aggressions which overthrew the constitutional monarch system and the Third Coalition Government out of Laos. In fact, the Communist Pathet Lao gained internal political powers by external subversion and controls of the government by force. Externally, the Vietnamese government and troops took over Laos in May 1975 by invasion and occupation.

#### ***Mutual Cooperation Among Three Indochinese States***

Since January 1980, heads of state or foreign ministers among the three Indochinese countries meet at least three or four times per year regarding political, military, social and economic issues and cooperation. They issued many joint communiques which pledged to gain cooperation in military, political and national security issues. For instance, on January 5, 1980, The Communique of Indochina Foreign Minister proclaimed that they would unify strategies together. Nguyen Ouy Trinh, Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; Hun Sen, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Phoun Sipaseut, Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic pledged the following commitments:

The three ministers firmly believe that with the strength of each country, with the great strength of the militant solidarity of the three countries, and with the assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the sympathy and support of progressive mankind, the people of the three countries will bring the national construction and defense of each country to complete victory, making a positive contribution to peace, stability and prosperity in Southeast Asia and peace in the world. (FBIS-EAS, January 9, 1980).

The 13th Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the PRK, the LPDR and the SRV was held in Hanoi on August 17-18, 1986. They issued joint communique by declaring that "the militant solidarity among the three Indochinese countries and between the three countries and the Soviet Union and other fraternal and friendly countries has unceasingly consolidated and strengthened." (FBIS-EAS, August 19, 1986. The Peace and Friendship Treaty between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic of July 18, 1977 directly caused the Communist Pathet Lao government to send over 15,000 troops to help the more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops to invade and occupy Cambodia in December 1978. The Peace and Friendship Treaty, between Vietnam and the Soviet Union of November 3, 1978, was the foundation force with which the Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia. Consequently, Vietnam and the Soviet Union had violated international law, international peace treaties and international Bill of Human Rights and peace agreements on Indochina. From March 20 to March 22, 1979, Souphanouvong, president of the Communist Pathet Lao, led a delegation to visit Phnom Penh, Cambodia. On March 22, 1979, Souphanouvong and Heng Samrin, President of the Kampuchean National

United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) signed a joint communique which they denounced the People's Republic of China and the government of Norodom Sihanouk and Pol Pot. The communique declared that "the two sides are determined to strengthen the militant solidarity and true and sincere great friendship among Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam." In addition, Sanan Soutthichak, Minister of Communications, public works and transportation of the Lao government and Mok Sakun, member of the KPRC in charge of the Ministry of Economy and People's Welfare, signed Lao-Cambodian Cooperation Agreement which composed of six articles. This agreement contained that Laos and Kampuchea would cooperate in political, military, social, economic and commercial fields. Souphanouvong granted over 400 million Kip (Laotian currency) to the government of Kampuchea. (FBIS-EAS, March 26, 1979).

Therefore, the Vietnamese aggressive foreign policies toward Laos and Kampuchea are attempting to colonize these two countries into the so-called "Indochina Federation" or "Indochina Union" which shall be under control by Vietnam. The original plans of the Communist Pathet Lao leaders and the North Vietnamese government were that they had attempted to invade Thailand. Souphanouvong, Kaysone Phomvihane, Nouhak Phoumsavan, Khamtai Siphandon, Phoumi Vongvichit, Phoun Sipaseut and Sali Vongkhamso, Sisavat Keobounphan and many other top officials of the Pathet Lao government and the Vietnamese government had planned to invade Thailand in order to take over sixteen provinces of the Thai Isan back.

### *Current Politics in Laos in 1990*

In fact, the Communist Pathet Lao government has been committing political, social, economic, cultural and leadership corruptions in Laos in the past 15 years. The propaganda techniques of the government promised to the people that it will develop and build highways, hospitals, schools, bridges and economic systems. On the contrary, there are only propaganda techniques and lies to the people. Laos became one of the 42 poorest nations in the world since the Pathet Lao took over Laos in May 1975. The government has done nothing to help the people. The government takes and depends on properties and goods of the people. The majority of the people in Laos condemned that the Pathet Lao government is the government which "eats the people," not helping the people. since 1978, Laos received over \$2.34 billion in foreign aid. However, there are currently financial and political corruptions in the Pathet Lao government. For instance, evidently, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Phao Bounnaphon, admitted, officially in July 1990, that there were wastes in foreign aid because of the "sabotage" and "unskilled" cadres. In addition, on June 20, 1990, Kaysone Phomvihane addressed before the financial conference in Vientiane that there are economic crises and problems in Laos. Kaysone admitted as follows:

The finance, banking, and trading apparatuses and organizations are to obsolete and do not conform to the new development and complexity in the monetary, financial, and trading relations within the country and in the region. The standard of the economic and monetary management remains extremely weak. The mechanism for organizing and dividing the levels of management remains clumsy, slow and inefficient. The flow of economic



information is slow and lacks clarity. Account books lack unification and details. The finance inspection system lacks effectiveness. The comprehensive coordination among the various services, such as among the finance, banking, and trading sectors, remains confusing and does not conform to their respective roles. (FBIS-EAS, July 20, 1990).

Inflation increases more than 1,000 percent per year. Economic crisis is the most serious in the world. The national revenues of the government depend on foreign currencies and dollars of Laotian refugees who send from abroad to Lao banks. The government cuts off over 50 percent for governmental revenues.

Economic conditions of Laos are the least developed of countries. Laos belongs to the Fourth World, the poorest nation in the world under the Pathet Lao rule. Laos imports more than exports. In 1985, Lao trade deficit was about \$115.7 million and \$152 million in 1987. Global debt of the Third World and the Fourth World is over \$1.5 Trillion in 1990. In 1982, external debt of Laos was over \$340 million. Laos owes France over 102 million Francs. In 1987, external debt of Laos was increased to over \$736 million. In 1990, it is increased to about \$989 million. The First Five-Year Plan (1980-1988) and the Second Five-Year Plan, from 1986 to 1990, are only in the papers. There has been nothing done to improve the economic conditions. The legacy of the Pathet Lao government will cause all Laotian citizens to tie their belts and face difficult economic situations from now on.

### *Internal Politics in Laos*

Internal politics in Laos in 1990 is corruption. It is ruled by the principles of democratic centralism and dictatorship of the

proletariat which are called powers over the people. Jails, strings and guns are over the heads of the people. Jails and detention seminar camps are houses of the people. The political system is Marxism-Leninism and totalitarianism. The people have no freedom and rights, whatsoever. In 1988, the Pathet Lao government announced that there was opening for freedom. On the contrary, this was a lie. The law and order are still based on communism. Evidently, on February 9, 1990, Kaysone Phomvihane addressed before the Second Supreme People's Assembly's Third Plenary Session which held in Vientiane that democracy and freedom in the concept of the western world are not acceptable to the Communist Pathet Lao government. Therefore, Kaysone declared the following law and orders:

Our democracy is a system of democratic centralism. This means that it is centralized on a democratic basis and is under the leadership of the Centralism. Centralism without democracy will become bureaucratic centralism. In contract, democracy which is not under the centralized leadership will eventually become boundless democracy and will undermine unification. Finally, it will become an anarchy.

Boundless democracy is anarchy. Democracy must be under the party's leadership. (FBIS-EAS, March 2, 1990).

The concept of "democratic centralism" means that the government has absolute authority over the people. The original concept of "democratic centralism" was defined by Lenin. Lenin defined that democratic centralism meant the government was above the people. The people are subject under the government. As a result, the form of government under democratic centralism is ruled by the principles of "dictatorship of the proletariat" and communist

authorities over the people. In February 1990, Kaysone Phomvihane said that "Marxism-Leninism" is the political system of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. In his statement, Kaysone said that "the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) has been fruitfully applying Leninist principles in organization and control work and other additional lessons in socialist construction, drawn by fraternal socialist countries." (FBIS-EAS, February 22, 1990). As a result, the announcements of the Pathet Lao government to the outside world are only lies and propaganda techniques.

***Draft Constitution of the Lao People's Democratic Republic***

On June 4, 1990, the Communist Pathet Lao government announced and released that the draft constitution of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which was composed of 73 articles, had been completed. Nouhak Phoumsavan, member of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau and Chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, presented the draft constitution to the people. Politically, the constitution was completed on April 11, 1990. The Party Central Committee issued political order and Decree No. 21, dated April 30, 1990, that the constitution must be open to the public for final approvals. The Pathet Lao government campaigned to spread propaganda techniques to seek support from the general public into three phases: from May 15 to May 31, from June 1 to July 3, and from August 1 to August 15, 1990.

Article 1 of the draft constitution contained that "The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a popular democratic state under

the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP)." In Lao language, it is called Phak Pasason Pativat Lao. Article 6 proclaimed that "The Supreme People's Assembly, local people's councils, and other state organizations are established and function in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism." On the contrary, the draft constitution was not a democratic principle and the choices of the Laotian people. This is evident because the concepts of "a popular democratic state under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party" and functions under the principle of "democratic centralism" are Marxist-Leninist constitution. It is a communist constitution which public ownership the mean of production and properties. The real definition of the concept of "democratic centralism" means that there is no political, economic and social freedom. The concept of "democratic centralism is bound into the Soviet and Vietnamese constitutions. Article 3 of the new Soviet Constitution of 1977 proclaimed:

The organization and activity of the Soviet state are constructed in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism: the elective nature of all bodies of state power, from top to bottom, their accountability to the people, and the binding nature of the decisions of higher bodies on lower. Democratic centralism combines single leadership with local initiative and creative activeness, with the responsibility of every state agency and official for the assigned task.

The constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of December 18, 1960 which proclaimed in Article 2 that "the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a state of proletarian dictatorship." Articles 3 and 4 contained that "Marxism-Leninism" and democratic centralism are

the guiding force of the Vietnamese society. Similarly, Article 6 of the Soviet constitution of 1977 also contained that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society." As a result, according to Article 1 of the draft of the constitution of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) is the guiding and leading force of laotian society. The concept of society includes: political, economic, social and cultural elements.

On December 1-2, 1990, Kaysone Phomvihane declared at the 15th anniversary of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in Vientiane that Laotian people and government need foreign economic assistance, investments and commercial relations from the western world. However, Kaysone strongly maintained the political system of the state shall be under the principle of democratic centralism and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party -- communist leadership and party. As a result, there is no freedom and democracy under the concept of the western world in Laos. Indeed, there are currently leadership struggles and divisions within the Communist Pathet Lao government in 1990. The failures and corruptions of economic, social and political development in the past 15 years, created the keys to division.

***The Arrest and Imprisonment of Thongsouk Saysangkhy on October 8, 1990***

On August 26, 1990, Thongsouk Saysangkhy, Minister of Science and Technology of the Lao People's Democratic Republic submitted his resignation letter to Kaysone Phomvihane because he could no

longer stand human rights violations and corruptions which have been imposed by the government for fifteen years. In Thongsouk's letter, he wrote as follows:

The present is the same as the past. Because I took the thoughtful counsel of you, the central committee, and the state to heart. I put forth my very best efforts at fighting corruption, and suppression by the authoritarian power of individual groups. These have become the engine that runs the party and the state. Therefore, I now call for fair elections, the implementation of personal freedoms and liberties as promised by the party; and for the creation of genuine democratic institution. I must denounce the communist monarchy and the dynasty of Politburo.

The history of human development has taught us that a one-party system, rooted in violence, lies and deception can never bring happiness and prosperity to the people...Ideological suppression will not stop the development of human history; darkness can never conquer light.

The Bangkok Post of October 20, and 23, 1990 reported that Thongsouk called for free election and "the establishment of a multi-party democracy" in Laos. However, the Kaysone government opposed the proposals of Thongsouk. On October 8, 1990, the authorities of the government arrested and imprisoned Thongsouk and many officials who were associated with Thongsouk. Many other peoples also were arrested and jailed by the government. Their life is darkness. The government, most likely, will give life sentences and political executions to those individuals who love peace, democracy, human rights, justice and liberty of the people. The experiences in the past fifteen years tell that many thousands of people who were arrested and imprisoned by the Pathet Lao authorities were never returned and alive. The Kaysone government never hesitates to kill and torture anyone since the government

tortured and killed King Savang Vatthana and his family members. The Communist Pathet Lao government is the first government in the world which murdered the king without announcing to the world community to attend the funeral. The murders and tortures of the king were the commitments of "crimes against humanity and crimes against peace" and crime of genocide. The Bangkok Post of April 27, 1990 reported that the Pathet Lao government massacred more than 35 Laotians who attended the "democracy rallies" in the provinces of Xieng Khouang, Sayaboury, Champassak and Bolikhamsai on March 11-13, 1990. consequently, the murders and massacres of those individuals, men, women and children were the crimes of genocide and crimes against peace.

***Laotian Students in Eastern Europe and the Pathet Lao Government: July-August 1990***

Since 1975, the Communist Pathet Lao government sent many thousands of Laotian students to study in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. Those students are not only learning in the fields of science, mathematics and technologies to modernize Laos, but they also learn about the real communism. After they know about the real world of Marxism-Leninism, well. They believe that socialism and communism are the wrong choices for Laos. As a result, those students and educators denounced the Communist Pathet system at home. Between July and August 1990, many thousands of Laotian students in Czechoslovakia, France, Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe demonstrated against the Kaysone government at home. Politically, those students demanded three political objectives at home:

1. To call on for the total withdrawal of the more than 70,000 Vietnamese troops and advisers out of Laos.
2. To call on for freedom and free election in Laos.
3. To call on for political democracy and multi-political party systems in Laos.

Consequently, these three demands are justification and proper calls. In December 1989, the "collapse of communism" in Eastern Europe created models to the Laotian students to demand political reforms at home. Hence, the demands of those Laotian students were similar to the demands of Thongsouk Saysangkhy, Minister of Science and Technology; Rasmy Khamphouy, a vice minister of agriculture and one director of the Justice Department. As a result, socialism and communism are not acceptable to the Laotian people. Socialism and communism had collapsed in Easter Europe. So, it will also collapse in Laos and Vietnam in the future. The "new thinking" of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev declared clearly that communism does not work well in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. So does in Laos. Indeed, socialism and communism are not suitable to the Laotian society. As a result, most Laotians do not want this kind of political, economic and social system. Nevertheless, guns, strings and hammers are over the heads of the people. Whoever oppose the communist authorities shall be put to death. Therefore, the people have not opportunities to change the political system. In the past decade, there were many thousands of citizens who committed suicide because they hated the communist government and system.



### *The First Parliamentary Elections, March 26, 1989*

The first national parliamentary elections in Laos were held on March 26, 1989. There were 121 candidates who ran for the 79 seats of the National Assembly, about 70 percent of these candidates were members of the Central Committee and of the Communist Party. No outside candidates and political parties were allowed to run for the seats. Politically, the election was propaganda machine. It was not a free election because the people did not have the right to nominate candidates as they wished. The government mandated the people to vote under the principles of "democratic centralism" and dictatorship of the proletariat. On April 12, 1989, the government announced the final results of the March 26 elections. It confirmed that of the 79 seats: five females won the seats, Lao Loun received 66 seats; Lao Theuang received nine seats, Lao Soung ethnic groups received four seats and the communist party members won 65 seats. Nevertheless, the Laotian people, farmers, villagers and students were not happy about the results of the elections because the communist party controlled the boxes of the ballots. So, the communist party could cheat the people on the votes. Consequently, this was one of the reasons for those Laotian educators in, France and Eastern Europe to demonstrate in July-August 1990 against the Communist Pathet Lao government at home. If there are true elections, the communist party leaders would have lost the election because the people did not want them.

### *Conclusions and Summary*

The United States, the United Nations and the world community must recognize that the Vietnamese government has been committing war of aggression and internal subversions in Laos in the past several decades. The Vietnamese government and Soviet government instructed and supported the Communist Pathet Lao leaders and troops to achieve internal subversions and aggressions in Laos.

The world community must recognize that the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the Communist Pathet violated the Paris Peace Treaty on Vietnam and Indochina of January 27, 1973 and March 2, 1973 and the Vientiane Peace Agreement on Laos on February 21, 1973. Politically, the Communist Pathet Lao authorities could not take over Laos without assistance, cooperation, equipment and advice of Hanoi and Moscow. According to the Charter of the United Nations and U.N. Definition on Aggression, the Vietnamese government has been committing aggressions in Laos. If the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia in December 1978; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, in December 1979, and the Iraqi troops invasions of Kuwait, in August 1990, are called invasions and aggressions against other states, similarly, the Vietnamese invasions of Laos in May 1975 also consisted of the definition of aggression.

Therefore, the United States, France, Great Britain, People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union must recognize and look at the current political and military situations in Laos with the questions of peace and war in Kampuchea. There can be no permanent peace and stability in Kampuchea unless there is peace in Laos. On

November 21, 1990, leaders of 34 European governments and North American governments signed the Charter of Paris by declaring that the "cold war is over." However, the cold war is not over for Hmongs and Laotians because they are still fighting for freedom, human rights, democracy, peace justice, liberty and equality. The world community must recognize the crying and dying for peace and democracy in Laos.