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#14 Cable	State Conf. Embtel 81 from Taipei 3 p	05/16/61	A
#21 Cable	State Secret Embtel 134 from Taipei 5 p	05/16/61	A
#22 Notes	State Secret 3 p Conversation Between Chiang Kai-Shek and VP Johnson	05/14/61	A
#24 Cable	State Secret Embtel NIACT10 from Bangkok 4 p	05/21/61	A
#24c Speech	State Conf. VP Johnson Speech 3 p	05/17/61	A
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#29 Cable	State Secret <i>State ltr. 12/17/76</i> Embtel NIACT from New Delhi 1 p	05/22/61	A
#30 Cable	State Secret <i>State ltr. 12/17/76</i> Embtel NIACT 1951 from Athens 1 p	05/22/61	A
#35 Cable	State Secret <i>State ltr. 12/17/76</i> Embtel NIACT 01 from Karachi 2 p	05/22/61	A
#36 MemCon	State Top Secret 6 p <i>open 8.6.09</i> Meeting between VP Johnson, Smith, Busby, Smith, Rountree and President Ayub, Burki, Qadir, Shoaib, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, & Dehlavi <i>Smith ltr. State ltr 12/17/76</i> 40	05/20/61	A

FILE LOCATION

Vice-Presidential File, VP Travel
[VP Johnson's Trip-Far East, May 1961]

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

OUTGOING

AmEmbassy SAIGON

2

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Classification

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C/A

Date: May 12, 1961
1250

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON 1724 NIAC

FOR ALEX JOHNSON FROM NOLTING.

This document consists of 2 pages
copy of 15 copies, series A

Vice President has asked me to convey to you quick report his
visit to date to Viet-Nam. This document consists of 2 pages

Number 5 of 15 copies, Series A

Vice President's discussions with President Diem this morning,
based on President Kennedy's letter, resulted in real meeting of minds
on about fifteen points. There was established a mutual feeling of
real confidence which can result in rapid conclusions on specifics
of program. President Diem readily agreed to dispatch of US financial
and economic experts to help resolve promptly questions regarding
financing increased GVN armed forces. Other points agreed will be
spelled out in fuller cable to follow.

On public relations, Vice President's enthusiastic welcome at
airport, on streets, at National Assembly, and elsewhere attests basic
friendship people of Viet-Nam towards America, which greatly increased
by Vice President Johnson's outgoing approach.

In summary, believe this visit so far has done a great deal to
establish basis for increased and successful effort undertaken in

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Authority State Dec 12/3/76

By mmg, NARS, Date 6/14/77

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

OUTGOING

Charge:

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Classification

Control: 5-206A
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Date: May 12, 1961
1250

mutual confidence. Further conversations between President Diem and Vice President Johnson will be held today and tomorrow morning before Vice President's departure.

This telegram has not been seen by Vice President Johnson but I believe it reflects his estimate.

NOTING

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

3

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Classification

Control: 2228

Recd: MAY 15, 1961
12:00 Midnight

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Authority State for 12/3/76
By mg, NARS, Date 6/14/77

FROM: SAIGON

NUMBER: 92 May 15, 1961 7 PM PRIORITY

SENT DEPT PRITY 1748 RPTD INFO HONG KONG PRITY 92 BANGKOK PRITY 474 GENEVA 9
CINCPAC POLAD 482

GENEVA FOR FECON

CODEL JOHNSON

Interim assessment of visit.

Vice President Johnson's visit to Viet-Nam had two purposes as we understand it: (1) to reassure Diem we are standing behind him; and (2) to reassure Vietnamese people that despite Laos and Cuba US will continue to stand firmly with them in crisis with Communist world. Second purpose is perhaps even more important than first since Diem as profoundly and irrevocably committed anti-Communist has no place else to go except to stick with US but Vietnamese people could conceivably trim their sails toward neutralism if they began to feel US abandoning Southeast Asia. We believe, however, both purposes of Vice President's visit have been excellently served and results are all that could have been hoped for.

Diem's reaction.

We are convinced Diem's confidence in US has been greatly increased by visit. That he was most highly pleased with unfolding and outcome of visit is shown by general atmosphere surrounding his contacts with Vice President Johnson, warmth of GVN press release on visit, ready GVN agreement to joint communique and despatch of his brother Nhu to airport to say farewell to Vice President.

Though Vice President avoided any commitments beyond those in President Kennedy's letter to Diem and repeatedly stressed necessity of having adequate evidence to convince Congress it should vote additional aid funds especially in economic field, we believe general expectation left with Diem is that additional aid will be forthcoming. We believe also that he probably has general feeling that his word on what is needed to defeat Communists in Viet-Nam will be given greater weight in US decisions than heretofore. Despite Vice President's stress on economic and social measures to accompany military action, we think Diem will be inclined to put main stress on military side. (In discussing paragraph four of President Kennedy's letter to Diem dated May 8, particularly sentence "parallel political and economic action is of equal importance". Diem stated

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Control: 2228

Recd:

page 2 of Saigon's 92 May 15, 1961

that he could accept this provided it was understood to be "in context of a country under attack and underdeveloped." In negotiating joint communique, he insisted on watering down language which called for more rapid social, political, and economic-liberalization measures.) Diem will probably also be insistent upon governing in his own manner despite criticism from members of government (including VP Tho), army and many other influential Vietnamese of his methods of organization and operation.

Popular reaction.

Reaction of influential Vietnamese to Vice President's speech to National Assembly (sent to Dept via USIS signal) has been widely enthusiastic. This was true both initially and after passage of three days. Cabinet Ministers, generals, members National Assembly, press, businessmen and diplomats have unanimously told us about deep impression speech made on them. As one VN PRESSE reporter commented to Embassy Officer, speech contained "every assurance possible" that US will stick by Viet-Nam and all influential circles are interpreting speech in that manner. Prominent Vietnamese businessman told Embassy Officer speech removed doubts about US intentions which had recently arisen in Vietnamese minds and had restored confidence in both political and economic yamone***. Speech thus highly successful in achieving its objective.

Conclusion.

In general popular atmosphere created by visit and speech to National Assembly, Laos situation was pushed aside in popular thinking but it was by no means forgotten by Diem as shown by his talk with Vice President on Laos (our 1743). With Geneva conference on Laos now in session it is important that US handle itself at conference on such issues as international control system and coalition government in manner which will maintain confidence in US generated by Vice President's visit. Otherwise impact of Vice President's visit to Viet-Nam will inevitably be lessened.

NOLTING

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ACTION: CODEL (2 info)
INFO: POLITICAL

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SAIGON PRESS SUMMARY

Nearly all papers headlines Johnson - Diem joint communique following departure Vice President. Leading stressed Johnson warmly received by Vietnamese people because of modest attitude. "Saigon Mai" said this outstanding, modest statesman has won hearts Vietnamese people. Johnson's many contacts with common people widely displayed in comment and photos. His mingling with crowds brought unanimous press praise. "Dan Viet" said Johnson won over people not with flowery speech but with sincere, popular, youthful attitude. Press noted with favor all his unconventional (by Vietnamese standards) behavior such as sitting on edge of platforms while his wife talked. "Dong Nai" (whose editor is young, not prominent, national Assemblyman) wrote commentary entitled "a significant handshake." Editor recounted his conversation with sugar cane vendor. "To date, no important personage had ever cordially greeted me but today American Vice President shook my hand as he would do with friend. I must confess I don't know where U.S. is or who is Mr. Johnson, but I know him now. From what I gather from Mr. Johnson's attitude, I think American people must be even more democratic than he, so I am glad to be friend of American people." Press stressed no other statesman has ever befriended and mingled with local people like Johnson has.

Seen as showing complete equality among freedom and peace-loving people, confirmation disinterested character American aid, his interests shows that even more necessary than military strength is need solidarity free world among governments and people to win population from communism. Johnson's tactics provoked press advice to local "so-called public servants" to get out and meet the people. "Cach Mang" wrote, "Communist dangers, danger all mankind. To avoid this danger, free countries must achieve social revolution. To date, this effort made by individual countries themselves. Now, thanks to rapid scientific progress and its wealth of resources, U.S. has achieved many exemplary successes in work of social reconstruction. President Kennedy has called for cooperation and help from many countries to achieve social revolution. Vice President Johnson's statements about similarity purpose between U.S. and Viet Nam at National Assembly make Vietnamese people happy because of complete meeting of minds between our two peoples.

Saigon press gave Johnson big play day of departure. All statements played up U.S. to stand by Viet Nam in face grave situation. National Assembly speech widely quoted in press, especially points enumerated. Johnson urged take advantage get complete picture. U.S. support must be efficient, realistic, proper, timely, says "Saigon Mai." "Ckh Mang": "Everyone expecting new atmosphere confidence and sincerity. Johnson's statements modest, sincere, full goodwill of U.S. Government in building up, defending, free world. For nearly a century it is first time Vietnamese people hear sincere, earnest words from important leader of world power. Vietnamese people understand friendship between free countries and doubts have been dispelled. Johnson has made us believe

in the ultimate victory those dedicated freedom, brotherhood. "Tieng Chuong": Johnson's statements prove U.S. has adopted serious, logical policy to dispell misunderstanding not only in Viet Nam but in all other countries which need active support U.S. Once again freedom-loving people wish Vice President great success on historic tour."

Saigon's daily newspapers have extended elaborate welcome to visit of Vice President Johnson. "Ngon Luan": "In eyes of Vietnamese people, Vice President Johnson is Ambassador of freedom and promoter of noble, unparalleled friendship. This feeling is all more noble at a time when Viet-Nam facing serious danger."

"Saigon Mon": Not only will visit help strengthen bonds friendship between two countries, and also give eloquent expression to new era sincere and effective cooperation between United States and Viet-Nam in common struggle against their sworn enemy, the Communists, but also for realization freedom and peace for mankind. U.S. Government and people are greatly helped Viet-Nam and other countries in Defense their freedom during past few years; their assistance to Viet-Nam at this juncture is all more important and badly needed. In other words visit is another expression desire American people and Government help Viet-Nam weather dangers ahead."

"Le Song" after discussing recent statement United States administration and congressional leaders in support Viet-Nam's struggle for survival in large scale Communist onslaught, said: "We can be sure that from now on US and other free world countries will stand close by US in our struggle against Communist expansionism, in particular, and for cause of freedom ingeneral. It is also against this background that we believe Johnson's visit to Saigon will further stimulate morale Vietnamese people in their struggle against Communist aggressors."

"Saigon Mai": "By sending here as high a government leader as Vice President Johnson United States Government has not only realized full well the eagerness and determination Vietnamese people first for their survival and seriousness of increasingly deteriorating situation this part of world, but also wanted to show its foes and friends that the US is most reliable ally which never backs away from its commitments to defend world peace and security its allies at any cost."



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**Joint Communique issued by the Republic of Viet-Nam
and the United of American following U. S. President
Johnson's visit to Viet-Nam.**

Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President of the United States, has just completed a visit to the Republic of Viet-Nam, on behalf of President Kennedy and on invitation of President Ngo Dinh Diem.

The enthusiastic welcome he received in Viet-Nam reflected a deep sense of common cause in the fight for freedom in Southeast Asia and around the world.

This recognition of mutual objectives resulted in concrete understandings between the Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States.

It is clear to the Government and the People of Viet-Nam and to the United States that the independence and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam are being brutally and systematically violated by Communist agents and forces from the north.

It is also clear to both governments that action must be strengthened and accelerated to protect the legitimate rights and aspirations of the people of free Viet-Nam to choose their own way of life.

The two governments agreed that this is the basic principle upon which their understandings rest.

The United States, for its part, is conscious of the determination, energy and sacrifices which the Vietnamese people, under the dedicated leadership of President Ngo Dinh Diem, have brought to the defense of freedom in their land.

The United States is also conscious of its responsibility and duty, in its own self-interest as well as in the interest of other free peoples, to assist a brave country in the defense of its liberties against unprovoked subversion and Communist terror. It has no other motive than the defense of freedom.

The U. S. recognizes that the President of the Republic of Viet-Nam Ngo Dinh Diem, who was recently reelected to office by an overwhelming majority of his countrymen despite bitter Communist opposition, is in the vanguard of those leaders who stand for freedom on the periphery of the Communist empire in Asia.

Free Viet-Nam cannot alone withstand the pressure which the Communist empire is exerting against it. Under these circumstances the need of free Viet-Nam for increased and accelerated emergency assistance and the will and determination of the U. S. too provide such assistance to those willing to fight for their liberties. It is natural that a large measure of agreement on the means to accomplish the joint purpose was found in high-level conversations between the two governments.

Both governments recognize that under the circumstances of guerilla warfare now existing in free Viet-Nam, it is necessary to give high priority to the restoration of a sense of security to the people of free Viet-Nam. This priority, however, in no way diminishes the necessity, in policies and programs of both governments, to pursue vigorously appropriate measures in other fields to achieve a prosperous and happy society.

The following measures, agreed in principle and subject to prompt finalization and implementation, represent an increase and acceleration of U. S. assistance to the Republic of Vietnam. These may be followed by more far-reaching measures if the situation, in the opinion of both governments, warrants.

First, it was agreed by the two governments to extend and build upon existing programs of military and economic aid and to infuse into their joint actions a high sense of urgency and dedication.

Second, it was agreed that regular armed forces of the Republic of Viet-Nam should be increased, and that the United States would extend its military assistance programs to include support for an additional number of regular Vietnamese armed forces.

Third, it was agreed that the United States would provide military assistance program support for the entire Vietnamese civil guard force.

Fourth, it was agreed that two governments should collaborate in the use of military specialists to assist and work with Vietnamese armed forces in health, welfare and public works activities in the villages of free Viet-Nam.

Fifth, it was agreed that the assistance of other free governments to the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam in its trouble against Communist guerrilla forces would be welcome.

Sixth, it was agreed that, to achieve the best possible use of available resources, the Vietnamese and the United States, in prosecution of their joint effort against communist attacks in Viet-Nam, a group of highly qualified economic and fiscal experts would meet in Viet-Nam to work out a financial plan on which joint efforts should be based.

Seventh, it was agreed that the United States and the Republic of Viet-Nam would discuss new economic and social measures to be undertaken in rural areas, to accompany the anti-guerrilla effort, in order that the people of Viet-Nam should benefit promptly from the restoration of law and order in their villages and provinces.

Eighth, it was agreed that, in addition to measures to deal with the immediate Viet-Nam guerrilla problem, the two governments would work together toward a longer range economic development program, including further progress in the fields of agriculture, health, education, fisheries, highways, public administration, and industrial development.

These longer range plans and programs would be developed in detail after further consideration and discussion.

Their goal would be a Viet-Nam capable of a self-sustained economic growth.

President Ngo Dinh Diem and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, on behalf of President Kennedy, established a sense of mutual confidence and respect which both believe essential to fulfillment of their objectives.

EUF-157

TEXT: JOHNSON'S ADDRESS TO VIETNAMESE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1,450)

SAIGON MAY 12 - - - FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HERE:

I STAND BEFORE YOU WITH A FEELING OF CLOSE FELLOWSHIP AND COMMON PURPOSE. YOUR COUNTRY AND MIND STAND TOGETHER IN FREEDOM. YOUR PEOPLE AND MINE ARE DEVOTED TO A COMMON CAUSE. EACH OF YOU AND MYSELF HAVE ANOTHER HAPPY KINSHIP. LIKE YOU, I HAVE BEEN A NATIONAL LEGISLATOR. I SERVED IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR 24 YEARS BEFORE BEING ELECTED TO THE VICE PRESIDENCY. I AM PROUD OF THAT SERVICE AS I KNOW YOU ARE PROUD OF YOURS. MEN HAVE NO GREATER PRIVILEGE IN LIFE THAN TO REPRESENT THEIR OWN COUNTRYMEN.

IN RECENT YEARS MY PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITIES HAVE TAKEN ME TO MANY COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. NEVER HAVE I BEEN MORE WARMLY RECEIVED OR TREATED WITH MORE FRIENDLINESS THAN UPON MY ARRIVAL IN SAIGON LAST EVENING. FOR THIS I AM PERSONALLY GRATEFUL AND MY COUNTRYMEN WILL EVER REMEMBER IT.

WE PRIZE THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN YOUR COUNTRY AND OURS, WE ADMIRE YOUR VALOR AND YOUR STRENGTH OF PURPOSE. THIS COUNTRY OWES ITS EXISTENCE TO THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE, AS OTHER HAVE, HELD FAST AGAINST THE ADVANCE OF TOTALIARIANISM IN ASIA.

WE SALUTE THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION YOU ARE PURSUING WITH VIGOR. THE GOAL OF THAT REVOLUTION IS TO INSURE EVERY INDIVIDUAL THE DIGNITY TO WHICH HE IS ENTITLED. THIS SAME GOAL IS AMERICA'S GOAL. THIS WORK IS WORK AMERICANS STILL PROUDLY PURSUE- FOR THE YOUNG AND THE OLD, FOR THE FARMER AND THE WORKINGMAN, AND THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN AND ALL OF OUR PEOPLE.

WE HAVE A STRONG BOND OF COMMON PURPOSE WITH YOU. WE SHARE DEEPLY YOUR CONCERN THAT YOUR PROGRESS IS THREATENED BY THE TACTICS OF COMMUNIST TERRORISTS.

I KNOW THAT EACH NIGHT BRINGS EVENTS THAT CAUSE ANGUISH AND DISTRESS AMONG YOUR PEOPLE, BUT I BELIEVE, AS YOU BELIEVE, I WORK AS YOU WORK TO BRING THE DAY WHEN THIS TERROR IS NO MORE.

I AM CONFIDENT WE CAN BRING THAT DAY IF WE WORK TOGETHER. NO ONE NEED TELL THE LEADERS OR THE PEOPLE OF VIET-NAM ABOUT THE PURPOSES OF COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. I DO NOT COME TO DO SO BUT I DO COME TO SAY THAT THESE ARE NO TIMES FOR DESPAIR, NO TIMES FOR FUTILITY, NO TIMES FOR DOUBT OF OUR ULTIMATE SUCCESS.

THE FREE WORLD IS A STRONG -- WITH GREAT STRENGTH AT ITS COMMAND. OUR CHALLENGE AND RESPONSIBILITY IS TO UNITE ALL THAT STRENGTH -- SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY -- AND BRING IT TO BEAR IN SUPPORT OF FREEDOM.

HISTORY HAS MANY INSTANCES WHERE TYRANTS SET FORTH TO CONQUER THE WORLD. THESE TACTICS HAVE SOMETIMES WON A MEASURE OF BRIEF SUCCESS. BUT LET ME MAKE THIS POINT: IN EACH CENTURY AGGRESSORS HAVE STARTED DOWN THE ROAD TO WORLD CONQUEST, BUT NONE HAS COMPLETED HIS VAIN AND VICIOUS JOURNEY.

ASIA HAS SEEN SUCH TYRANNIES BEFORE. EUROPE HAS KNOWN THEM. AFRICA HAS KNOWN THEM, BUT NO SUCH AGGRESSOR HAS EVER YET SUCCEEDED AND NONE EVER WILL.

THE LONG TIDES OF HISTORY DO NOT RUN WITH THE AGGRESSOR. FREE MEN CAN -- AND MUST -- RECOGNIZE THAT THE FUTURE IS THEIRS IF THEY STAND TOGETHER.

WHY DO I SPEAK WITH SUCH CONFIDENCE? BECAUSE THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LEADERS LIKE YOU AND THE TYRANTS WHO OPPOSE YOU. YOU REFLECT THE WILL AND THE CONSENT OF THOSE GOVERNED. THE TYRANTS HAVE NO MANDATE. THEY RULE ONLY BY TERROR AND OPPRESSION.

LEST I BE MISUNDERSTOOD, LET ME EMPHASIZE ONE THING: WE DO NOT BELIEVE TYRANTS AUTOMATICALLY PASS AWAY. GOD HELPS THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES. LIBERTY COMES ONLY TO THOSE WHO ARE WILLING TO PAY THE PRICE FREEDOM DEMANDS.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID IN HIS ANAUGURAL ADDRESS: 'LET EVERY NATION KNOW WHETHER IT WISHES US WELL OR ILL, THAT WE SHALL PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, MEET ANY HARDSHIP, SUPPORT ANY FRIEND, OPPOSE ANY FOE TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY.'

I ASSURE YOU THESE WERE NOT IDLE WORDS. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SEEN FREEDOM CHALLENGED BEFORE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS MET THE TEST, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ALWAYS WILL.

AT THE REQUEST OF MY PRESIDENT I HAVE COME TO VIET-NAM IN A SPIRIT OF RESPONSIBLE AND DEDICATED PURPOSE TO MEET WITH YOUR PRESIDENT, WITH YOU, WITH THE PEOPLE OF VIET-NAM.

I INFORMED YOUR PRESIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO ASSIST IN MEETING THE GRAVE SITUATION WHICH CONFRONTS YOU, I HAVE GONE INTO DETAIL WITH YOUR PRESIDENT.

I HAVE JUST LEFT YOUR INSPIRING PRESIDENT. AND ALTHOUGH I DID NOT COME SEEKING GIFTS, I ASKED HIM TO PLEASE PERMIT ME TO RETURN TO MY COUNTRY WITH THE BEAUTIFUL WELCOME SIGNS THAT ADORNED YOUR STREETS LAST EVENING, BECAUSE BY COUNTRYMEN WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER WITH GRATITUDE THE SMILING CHILDREN, WARM HANDSHAKES OF THEIR PARENTS, AND THE FEELING OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH WAS EVERYWHERE ALL EVENING LONG.

BACK IN THE HILLS OF TEXAS, WHERE I WAS BORN, WE HAVE A MOUNTAIN EXPRESSION WHICH SAYS, YOU CAN LOOK INTO EYES OF PERSON AND TELL WHAT IS IN HIS HEART. AND LAST NIGHT AND TODAY, AS I LOOK INTO THE EYES OF YOUR PEOPLE, I THINK I CAN UNDERSTAND WHAT IS IN YOUR HEART, AND I HOPE THAT AS YOU SEE ME HERE TODAY YOU CAN LOOK INTO MY EYES AND SEE WHAT IS IN HEART OF MY COUNTRY.

5. WE WILL PRESS FORWARD WITH YOU TO MEET THE NEEDS OF YOUR PEOPLE IN EDUCATION, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, NEW INDUSTRY AND LONG-RANGE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

WE MAKE THESE PROPOSALS OUT OF A DESIRE TO WORK WITH YOU IN COMMON CAUSE AT THIS CRITICAL TIME. I KNOW YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL WANT TO GIVE THESE PROPOSALS CAREFUL CONSIDERATION AND TO ADVANCE ITS OWN IDEAS.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR NEW AMBASSADOR WILL BE ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER TO DEVELOP AN AGREEMENT WHICH BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES CAN PURSUE WITH VIGOR AND DECISION.

YOU HAVE SHOWN THE WILL TO DEFEND YOUR HOMES, YOUR FAMILIES AND YOUR INSTITUTIONS. WE ADMIRE AND RESPECT AND HONOR YOU FOR YOUR VALOR AND FORTITUDE. WE ARE PLEASED BY THE ONDATE YOUR/^{RECENT}ELECTIONS GAVE YOUR GOVERNMENT. WE KNOW, AND THE WORLD KNOWS, THAT COMMUNISM HAS NO MANDATE HERE. WE HAVE FAITH -- A GROWING FAITH -- IN VIET-NAM AND THE STRENGTH YOU CAN BUILD HERE.

WE WANT TO WORK BESIDE YOU IN THE GREAT WORKS OF THE FUTURE FOR YOUR PEOPLE. I WOULD SAY TO YOU: FIND AMONG YOURSELVES THOSE DEDICATED MEN AND WOMEN WHO WANT TO HEAL THE SICK, THOSE CITIZENS WHO WOULD BRIDGE THE RIVERS AND ERECT THE DAMS, THOSE PATRIOTS WHO WOULD BRING YOUR NATION TOGETHER WITH ROADS, THOSE CITIZENS WHO WOULD ESTABLISH THE FACTORIES OF MODERN INDUSTRY, THOSE COUNTRYMEN WHO WOULD PUT BRAIN AND HAND TO YOUR GOOD EARTH IN ORDER THAT IT MAY BE MORE FRUITFUL.

FIND THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO, UNAFRAID, WILL DEDICATE THEIR LIVES TO THE BUILDING OF A FREE AND PROSPEROUS VIET-NAM. WHEN YOU FIND THESE CITIZENS, ENCOURAGE AND HONOR THEM. AGAINST THE PROMISES OF POWER-SEEKERS, MATCH THE LIVING WORKS OF FREE MEN. WE THEN SHALL SEE THE TRIUMPH OF LIBERTY IN ALL VIET-NAM.

WE SHALL BACK YOUR EFFORTS. WE SHALL STAND WITH YOU. WE WILL STAND WITH YOU BECAUSE OF OUR RESPECT, AFFECTION AND TRUST FOR YOU, BUT IN THE HIGHEST SENSE,

WE WILL STAND WITH YOU BECAUSE OF OUR PROFOUND SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE CAUSE OF UNIVERSAL FREEDOM.

I CAN SEE THE DAY WHEN THE GENIUS AND SKILLS OF YOUR INCREASING NUMBERS OF SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICIANS WILL JOIN WITH THOSE IN OUR NATION AND OTHER NATIONS TO HELP MEN LIFT THEIR SIGHT HIGHER TOWARDS THE STARS.

AMERICA IS MOVING FORWARD IN THE GREAT ADVENTURE OF OUTER SPACE. LAST WEEK I SAT WITH FREEDOM'S FIRST MAN IN SPACE, A YOUNG AMERICAN, ALAN SHEPARD. I WAS THRILLED AND PROUD OF THE GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENT BY OUR STRONG AND DETERMINED NATION, BUT AMERICA'S GOAL IN SPACE IS NOT GLORY FOR OURSELVES. OUR GOAL IS GAIN FOR ALL MANKIND.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO LEADERSHIP IN DEVELOPING THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL MEN ON EARTH. OUR PROGRAM IS AN OPEN PROGRAM. WE ARE NOT AFRAID FOR THE WORLD TO SEE OUR EFFORTS BECAUSE WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR ABILITY TO SUCCEED. WE WANT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ON ALL CONTINENTS TO JOIN WITH US IN THIS WORK SO THAT ALL MANKIND WILL SHARE THE GAINS.

I CAN SEE A DAY WHEN A STRONG, STABLE VIET-NAM WILL STAND AS ONE OF THE PROSPEROUS AND PROMISING STRONG POINTS OF FREEDOM IN AN ASIA AT PEACE.

I CAN SEE A DAY WHEN MORE OF OUR YOUNG WILL STUDY TOGETHER, LEARN TOGETHER AND WORK TOGETHER.

OUT OF VIETNAMESE SWEAT AND TOIL, YOUR BASIC PRODUCTION HAS BEEN RESTORED,. OUT OF YOUR SACRIFICES EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY HAS BECOME A REALITY, OUT OF YOUR VISION AND DETERMINATION YOU HAVE BEGUN TO TURN THE DESOLATE HIGHLANDS INTO THRIVING GARDENS.

BY YOUR SKILLS AND LABOR, YOU HAVE ONCE AGAIN LINKED YOUR CITIES BY RAIL AND RODS. IN ALL THESE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS YOU HAVE SHOWN THE WAY. THE UNITED STATES IS PROUD AND HAPPY TO HAVE WORKED WITH YOU.

WE ENTER THIS ERA AHEAD WITH STRONG CONFIDENCE IN YOU. LET US REASON TOGETHER WISELY AND WORK TOGETHER VIGOROUSLY. FOR THE SAKE OF YOUR PEOPLE, FOR THE BENEFIT OF ASIA AND FOR THE PROGRESS OF ALL MANKIND HUMAN LIBERTY MUST BE, AND WILL BE, PRESERVED. FREE MEN WILL WIN THE ULTIMATE VICTORY.
(END TEXT)

ITEM

8
May 12, 1961

Speech given by Vice President Johnson at Independence Palace in Saigon at a Farewell Dinner given in his honor by President Ngo Dinh Diem.

Mr. President, and my friends, I envy you. Mr. President, I'm really very ashamed that I cannot say to you what is in my heart in your language as you have said to me what is in your heart so well. You have been very gracious and generous with me, and I am grateful and my countrymen will long remember the hospitality of you people and your country. We live in a very difficult period in history when the best that is in any man is challenged. And as I said in your presence today of more than three hours, I left with both inspiration and stimulation. I recognize, as you recognize, and all here know, that there is an evil force loose in the world. Its purpose is to get what we've got if it can. Another way to put it, as we would in my native hill country, is the fox is loose, Mr. President, he's after the chickens and you live in the chicken house. So we recognize the danger. If a bully is loose in the world, and can come in and run you off your lawn today, he'll be back tomorrow to drive you from your porch.

President Kennedy has an intense interest in this part of the world. He is a determined and dedicated man. He is dedicated to the principles of freedom which brought our nation into existence. He is determined that no single individual anywhere in the world will be brought into the communist orbit and be shackled and put into the straight jacket if he can help avoid it. He will be pleased to note what your ideas are because he is of the opinion that too often my countrymen have been too free with their own opinions and not anxious enough to receive the opinions of their brother and neighbor.

I came here to listen and to learn, and I'm fearful I'm talking too much, but I have listened and I've learned, and I know my President will be pleased with your ideas, your suggestions and your convictions. And I think he will do something about it, because frankly, Mr. President, these are dangerous times for you and for us, and we are all in this thing together.

This morning on behalf of my President I presented you some books that give the history of our country. This afternoon as I went among your people on your farms and the villages, in the street corners, I talked about you and your work. And I heard from the little and the large, and it seemed to me that you are the man that the times call for. When America was born, it was the vision of George Washington, the first President of our country, that led us to independence and that

preserved us as a nation when apparently everything was going wrong. It was division in Washington that brought us into existence, but it was the courage of Andrew Jackson that let every world power know that the United States of America meant what it said. It was the wisdom of Woodrow Wilson and the astuteness of Franklin Roosevelt that stopped the dictators in their tracks after the Lusitania had been sunk, after they'd marched through the low countries, after we'd lost many battles both in Asia and in Europe, and the sky was dark. Nevertheless the wisdom of men like Wilson and Roosevelt preserved our freedom.

And I hope you will not think me too complimentary but I see in you the qualities of the father of our country, because in reality you are the father of your country. I see in you the courage and the stamina of Jackson standing up and saying "Don't cross this line." I see in your comments this morning the wisdom and the scholarliness of Wilson and the astuteness of Roosevelt - although he never could get 89% of the votes. But you embody the fine characteristics of all these men that make up the history that I give. And my President is going to be proud to know that we have a partner and a brother like you and your people, the little children, the grown-ups, the old men and the women. As I said today at lunch, and I want to repeat, we say that you can look into a man's eyes and see what's inside. And I looked into the eyes of the Vietnamese, and I think I know what's in their hearts. They are a liberty loving people who treasure their freedom and had the vision to get it and the courage to keep it. Will you join me in a toast to one of the great men of our times - the President of Vietnam.

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COMMUNIQUE FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM

Saigon, May 13, 1961

The government and the people of Vietnam are particularly appreciative of the honor paid to them by the Vice President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson in making their country the first stop in his current tour of Asia. They are especially touched by the significance of his visit at this particular moment in history, when Southeast Asia and Viet Nam are facing an extremely grave communist threat, made even more serious by aggression in Laos.

The Government and the People of Vietnam are equally pleased to welcome also Mrs. Jean Kennedy Smith, sister of the President of the United States, and her husband, Mr. Stephen Smith. Their presence here is a symbol of President Kennedy's personal feelings towards Vietnam and its people.

The enthusiastic and warm welcome which Vice President Johnson received upon his arrival here testifies as much to his role as an outstanding statesman as to his role as a representative of the friendly American people. He won the hearts of the population with his first acts and words. His sincere human touch established immediately a feeling of mutual confidence with the people which will strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two countries and reinforce their faith in our common future.

During his stay here, Vice President Johnson has had long talks with the President of the Republic and with members of the Vietnamese government. Together they have studied carefully the vital problems facing them, notably those concerning security, the economic and social development of Vietnam, and increases in American aid.

Vice President Johnson reaffirmed the total support which President Kennedy and the people of the United States extend to President Ngo Dinh Diem, and to the Vietnamese people to reinforce their means of fighting communist subversion and of attaining their economic and social objectives.

The total similarity of their views on these questions, bringing about significant and positive results, especially the reaffirmation of a common resolution to intensify the struggle against attempts at aggression can constitute an important stabilizing factor in this part of the world.

President Ngo Dinh Diem has been very gratified by this sincere exchange. He has been deeply touched that Vice President Johnson, in spite of his heavy responsibilities, has been so kind as to bring personally the assurance of the goodwill of the new American Administration toward the Vietnamese people.

Vice President Johnson has formally brought to the Vietnamese people the fraternal greetings of the American people at a solemn session of the National Assembly. He has with simple but forceful words, which highly impressed his audience, shown his awareness of problems caused by Communist aggression; he also has expressed his admiration for the courage of our people. He reaffirmed the ideals of liberty and of human dignity which bind our two peoples - and he observed that history shows that those who want to conquer the world can never achieve their aims.

Vice President Johnson then enumerated the areas which will benefit from increased aid from his country: army, civil guard, self-defense, militia, and social, industrial, and rural. development.

He ended his address to the Assembly by expressing his firm belief in the final victory of Vietnam as a victory for all free people. Vice President Johnson received an enthusiastic ovation from the members of the National Assembly.

Vice President Johnson leaves our country today with the assurance that he has successfully completed his mission vis-a-vis the government as well as the people. This success is the best token of the reinforcement of the bonds of friendship between the United States of America and Free Vietnam.

PHILIPPINES

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MANILA PRESS SUMMARY

Vice President Johnson visit successful, both as publicity and goodwill effort, and as gesture of reassurance to Philippines that the U.S. was not backing away from its Asian commitments. Press, with exception of Chronicle, and individual reactions, laudatory of Johnson and what he said with reservation that words were fine, but deeds better. This feeling applied particularly to Laos and SEATO. Editorial and columnar comment varied with Herald pointing out nothing new about the promises but "they were precisely the sort of assurances that the free peoples in this area of the world wanted to hear at this time from their great ally, the United States. The Filipino people, of course, look expectantly to the future acts and decisions of the American people for confirmation of Mr. Johnson's pledges and assurances."

The Times saw in the trip a longer range purpose than simply reassurance; in sum, that U. S. would press strongman regimes to initiate political and economic reforms. "Most of the old style strongmen upon whose regimes U.S. policy in SEA had been often based are still in power and much will depend on the extent of U.S. determination to get reforms going in its SEA client-states, and how wisely it uses the economic and political sanctions it holds over the strongmen regimes it backs." The Eve News found the Vice President's statements significant, but said that the words, if they are to have any effect, must be bolstered by action "concrete and positive."

Times columnist Jose Guevara was most sanguine with particular reference to speech to joint session of Congress: "Johnson made a big hit with Philippine lawmakers yesterday afternoon. Within the few hours which he was here, he has erased a few of the grave doubts assailing the minds of the Filipinos regarding the U.S.'s intentions in SEA in general and in the Philippines in particular."

Chronicle's Granada termed the visit a disappointment and asked: "Didn't he simply waste shoeleather?" Del Rosario called Johnson's promises a politician's promises and declared that America would fight to contain communism only when the

casus belli is directly American. Soliven, publisher and columnist of the Eve News found the Johnson press conference a flop; and of Johnson's reference to Kennedy's statements in response to questions, said that the newsmen should have stayed home and watched Kennedy on television to get the answers. Soliven also noted that Macapagal had been pushed into the background at the airport reception, and wondered at the wierd protocol which put the Philippine Vice President in the second row while Foreign Affairs Secretary Serrano delivered the welcome oration.

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**Joint Communique on the Johnson Philippine
Visit, May 14, 1961**

President Carlos P. Garcia of the Republic of the Philippines and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States of America met at Malacanang Palace at 7:35 AM today and informally discussed matters of interest to their two countries and the free world.

The meeting was cordial and friendly. The discussion was thorough, frank and specific. There was complete agreement on the seriousness of the situation in Southeast Asia. There was also complete agreement on the determination of the two nations to maintain effective strength against Communist encroachments in Asia. On this principle there is complete accord between the two nations.

Vice President Johnson stressed that he came at the request of President Kennedy to seek counsel and judgment and the views of President Garcia on the world situation.

Vice President Johnson presented to President Garcia a letter from President Kennedy.

The Vice President said he gained a greater understanding of the conditions in this part of the world and that when he returned he would present the viewpoints of President Garcia to President Kennedy. The Vice President told President Garcia that he had been deeply thrilled and moved by the enthusiastic welcome of the Philippine people.

He also expressed his admiration over the success of the Philippine reconstruction which he regarded as a tribute to the character and capacity of the Filipino people.

President Garcia congratulated Vice President Johnson for a very timely and heartwarming address before the Joint Session of Congress. The two leaders talked about problems which confront the governments of their two peoples. Among other things, they discussed sugar legislation in the United States; the additional war damage claims bill now pending in the United States Congress; the steps which could be taken together to develop vigorous science programs for the Philippines and United States; the possible peace corps projects which will be discussed later in the week with Mr. Shriver; possible legislation reenacting the pre-war coconut oil tax refund; and

legislation pending in the Philippine Congress on easing tobacco import restrictions. President Garcia is going to present to Vice President Johnson a memorandum on the possibilities of a more vigorous development program for Mindanao.

Vice President Johnson assured President Garcia of the United States desire to approach all these matters in a spirit of constructive understanding and that he will report fully through appropriate channels upon his return to Washington.

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Recd: May 16, 1961
2:30 A.M.

FROM TAIPEI

NO. 81 MAY 15, 1961 7:00 PM

PRIORITY

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
BANGKOK
MAY 16 1961
RECEIVED
(ADMIN DIVISION)

ACTION
A/COM 2

INFO

SENT DEPT 716 RPTD INFO HONG KONG 133 BANGKOK 81.

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Hong Kong for Vice President Johnson.

Vice President Johnson and party spent 24 action-packed hours in Taiwan. Visit was an unqualified success in all respects. Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and Mr. and Mrs. Smith received an overwhelmingly enthusiastic welcome and even warmer sendoff. Cheering crowds of citizens and students lined streets through which cavalcade passed. Especially noteworthy was turn out in rural areas along road to Tanyuan and in town of Tanyuan where VP visited land reform exhibition. VP made deep impression by innumerable stops when in cavalcade to mingle with ordinary citizens and students, shake hands and exchange remarks.

VP made formal statements on arrival at airport, at dinner in visiting party's honor and at convocation of several thousand students gathered in and around city hall. Texts have been transmitted separately. In all three statements VP stressed faith in freedom, faith in China's future and assurances of US support for China. In one formal and at least three informal press conferences VP took special pains to call attention to remarkable advances made by Taiwan in educational, health, social welfare, agricultural and economic areas and to remind listeners of tragic contrast to mainland China represents. VP stressed again and again US determination to support China along lines stated by Pres Kennedy in his communication to Pres Chiang. VP lauded Pres Kennedy as young but ardent and determined champion of freedom and said Pres Kennedy would make wise and timely decision in crisis now confronting mankind. VP was accompanied in virtually all his activities by China's Vice President Chen Chent, author of Taiwan's land reform program and a fine politician in his own right. However, Chen had to confess at press conference with Chinese newsmen that he would be reluctant to engage VP Johnson in election contest. Stephen Smith accompanied VP on all visits and also received plaudits of crowds.

Not to be outdone, Mrs Johnson and Mrs Smith followed separate, tiring, schedules. Escorted by Madame Chiang, they toured a modern orphanage and servicemen's homes. They also visited a girls school at which Mrs. Johnson

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spoke to students and a handicraft center. They also visited suburban areas.

Official talks between Pres Chiang, Vice Pres Chen and Formin on one side and VP and his assistants on other were originally scheduled to extend only an hour and a half. However, in end talks lasted period of six hours including some formal discussion at dinner and breakfast. After-dinner talks extended beyond midnight, constituting record for early-retiring Pres Chiang.

Official talks went very smoothly and can only be described as eminently successful. VP Johnson spoke frankly and plainly invited Chiang to take VP into his confidence. VP's capacity to listen, patience, and sympathy eventually drew from Chiang his candid views on general Asian situation and his broad formula for dealing with problems. In general, he expressed to VP much same views he set forth to Senator Dodd (EMBTEL 696). Substance of talks is subject of separate telegrams. Suffice it isto say here talks were general in scope and, except as relates to joint communique and Laos and Vietnam, dealt with no specific matters such as UN representation, outer Mongolia admission to UN, two Chinas, Etc.

VP Johnson concluded after first cnversation with Chiang that joint communique would be useful moral, spiritual and psychological vehicle in support of his visit there and prepared draft using Pres Kennedy's letter to Chiang as guide line. Much of post-dinner conversation was concerned with text of joint communique which Chiang accepted with obvious enthusiasm and with only one substantive addition and a few minor changes. After text was agreed Chiang remarked communique would be welcomed by Chinese everywhere as strong evidence of firm US suport of freedom and backing of GRC.

A notable feature of Johnson visit was joint press conference for American newsmen held at Presidential manison. Pres and Madame Chiang spoke in turn on their hopes and convictions and of progress made on Taiwan and Pres Chiang answered several questions put by correspondents. VP Johnson described to correspondents one after another concrete accomplishments registered on Taiwan and desirability and need of American public to understand facts of advances made here.

Johnson and Smith visit came precisely at time when lChinese and other Asian expectations in US firmness and capability to stem Communist onrush had undergone considerable erosion in view of Laos and Vietnam developments and suspicions here of trend in US toward two Chinas. Pres Kennedy's second letter to Chiang and Johnson's public statements and his private talks with Chiang, coupled with joint communique, should go conisiderable distance

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toward dissipating this unhealthy trend. If VP's visit to Asia is followed by firm and comprehensive actions in support of freedom against communist encroachment, a new era of hope and encouragement is almost certain to emerge, even though Laos may be beyond salvage.

Fact that Pres Kennedy sent sister and brother-in-law here was noted with utmost appreciation and is taken as sign President is keenly interested in destiny of GRC.

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REPUBLIC OF CHINA

TAIPEI PRESS SUMMARY

Press reaction to Taiwan visit of Vice President Johnson almost entirely one of satisfaction and relief. For several days before his arrival Chinese press reflected widespread fears that purpose of visit was to bring bad news about change in U.S. China policy or to bring concessions from Government of Republic of China (GRC). Typical example was independent Lien Ho Pao of May 8 which predicted that Johnson - Chiang talks sure to touch on problems of Outer Mongolia and UN China representation and wondered if Vice President intended urge GRC accept some form of "Two-Chinas." Paper said such attempts would make the trip "fruitless." Ta Hua Wan Pao of May 7 also interpreted trip as means of exchange of views on Outer Mongolia and UN and concluded that US policy not yet fixed on these points. English language China News of May 9th differed from Chinese language press, suggesting that "The Texan statesman is coming out to this part of the world to reassure some U.S. allies of its stand vis-a-vis communist aggression despite all the mistakes Washington has made in Laos" and concluded "Mission thus boils down to one of listening."

Before arrival of Vice President all papers took occasion to state their views of U.S. foreign policy and steps U.S. should take. Most papers saw U.S. still adhering to "Europe first" policy and deplored this when Asia the chief scene of communist activity and Chinese communists the chief instigators of present troubles. Hsin Sheng Pao of May 10 said U.S. China policy based on two fallacies: that communist rule on mainland unshakeable and unchangeable and that Peiping must be appeased to maintain peace in Far East. Paper said communist rule is shaky and can be overthrown without U.S. military action in Far East, particularly Laos, and urged that U.S. not be afraid to fight limited wars. English language China Post on morning of arrival very frankly set forth GRC viewpoint on series of issues, assuring Vice President that Chinese people remain true friends and GRC a dependable ally of U.S. but that "two Chinas" unacceptable, Taiwan inalienably part of China, offshores can never be abandoned and any recognition of Peiping or its admission to UN would be disastrous.

Change in tone of press noticeable by morning of 15th when all papers saw visit resulting in closed Sino-American friendship and cooperation, and speculated on what Vice President would report to Washington. Youth Warrior Daily of May 15 commented that visit, coming at this juncture serves as great encouragement to anti-aggression and anti-communist courage of Asian people," though Lien Ho Pao May 15 still felt "present American policy is ineffective for combating communism in this part of world. It is sincerely hoped that American Government, following Vice President Johnson's current Asian tour, will revamp its policy toward Asia." Official Central Daily of May 16 said that as result of visit "not only will Sino-US cooperation develop on even stronger foundation than before, but future Asian situation will be favorably affected." Paper quoted President Chiang as saying, "Vice Presidential visit to this country will also contribute to creation and maintenance of great stabilizing force in Asia," and editorial concluded "No praise for Vice President Johnson's visit can be more appropriate than this." Lien Ho Pao of May 16 regretted that joint communique failed to touch on problem of Outer Mongolia but that it nevertheless would "dispel the atmosphere of suspicion which has shrouded China policy for past few months." Paper said visit proved U.S. policy heading "from vacillation to firmness," and "This point alone is a great encouragement to U.S." May 15 Min Tsu Wan Pao said airport statement makes clear U.S. will not change policy toward China and that "in a certain sense" free China welcomed this statement, though it hoped that United States would "alter present policy of restraining U.S. from launching mainland counterattack and give us active moral support and material assistance." May 16 Hsin Sheng Pao also reiterated need for more positive U.S. policy. Tzu Li Wan Pao of May 15 remarked that Vice President did not inspect any military bases during visit, that few military officers present at dinner he attended, noted warmth of speech to students, and interpreted these as Vice Presidential hints that "anti-communism does not rely wholly on military force and that road of politics lies in getting along with the people." Ta Hua Wan Pao of May 15 contrasted democratic spirit of Vice President with aloofness of Chinese officials.

English language China News of May 16 said "brilliant success of trip" reminiscent of Eisenhower visit of last year. "Mr. Johnson's visit has helped clear the horizon and lift the veil in war against communist menace in Asia. We know at least where the Americans stand in this global fight for the cause of democracy and freedom."

Comments by individual Chinese to Embassy officers all show highly favorable reaction. Practically unanimous was high praise for democratic attitude of Vice President in leaving car to shake hands, walking unguarded among crowds and talking with ordinary people. Vice President's comparison of per capita income in Taiwan with that in rural Texas in his youth, noting that with hard work latter had been increased ten times, reportedly had particularly great impact on students.

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Joint Communique issued by President Chiang Kai-shek
and U. S. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, May 15, 1961

The President of the Republic of China and the Vice President of the United States of America met Sunday at the President's residence and held extended discussions regarding the threat of Communist aggression against the free nations of Asia. The discussions were held in an atmosphere of friendly accord.

The President expressed his pleasure at the visit of the Vice President and the latter noted with deep gratitude the warmth of the welcome he received.

The Vice President wished to note particularly the opportunity he was afforded to greet, meet, and shake hands in friendship with so many Chinese people on the streets of Taipei and Taoyuan.

The Vice President wished to note particularly the opportunity he was afforded to greet, meet, and shake hands in friendship with so many Chinese people on the streets of Taipei and Taoyuan.

In the discussions, there was complete agreement on the common purpose of the Republic of China and the United States of America to maintain the integrity of Free Asia.

There was candid exploration and consideration of the strategies required to assure effective action.

Both the President and the Vice President affirmed, as a matter of principle, that all people who desire freedom and are working for freedom should have freedom. Freedom, they agreed, is not for ourselves alone but must be preserved and extended to all who desire it.

The Vice President, on behalf of President Kennedy assured President Chiang that:

The U. S. means to stand with her allies in the Asian area; the U. S. has no intention of recognizing the Peiping regime.

The U. S. opposes seating the Peiping regime at the United Nations and regards it as important that the position of the Republic of China in the UN should be maintained.

The United States will continue to work with the Republic of China in support of its accelerated growth program.

Discussions encompassed a far-ranging consideration of the international situation in Asia, with reference to the serious situation in Southeast Asia and particularly with regard to the Vice President's visit to Viet-Nam.

The Joint Communique issued at Saigon by President Ngo Dinh Diem and Vice President Johnson was noted with satisfaction.

The President and Vice President agreed that new measures of cooperation among the free nations of Asia, as well as with the United States and other countries, are necessary and desirable.

The President and the Vice President joined in expressing their common concern with the conditions of famine on the mainland of China and the mass suffering under Communist rule.

In the course of discussions, the President and the Vice President agreed that the political, social, agricultural and economic progress in Taiwan, which is the result of the combination of conditions of peace on the island, Chinese skills and industry and American aid, is an achievement worthy of note throughout all Asia and the world.

In conclusion, the President of the Republic of China and the Vice President of the United States expressed the high mutual regard and mutual respect in which the peoples of their two countries hold each other.

TEXT OF VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S REMARKS AT OFFICIAL DINNER, TAIPEI

MAY 14, 1961

President Chiang, Madame Chiang, distinguished guests:

Mr. President, first of all I should like to thank you for the warm sentiments you have just expressed toward my country and toward President Kennedy. Your remarks about me were more than kind. I accept them gratefully as one more bit of evidence of the open hearted hospitality extended by you, the Chinese people and their leaders since our arrival on this beautiful island.

There is a long history of friendly relations between our two peoples. Today more than ever we have realized how strong are those bonds of friendship. The warmth, enthusiasm and graciousness of your children especially touched our hearts. It adds resolve to America's faith that the future of China and all of Asia is your free youth. We shall both pray for and look toward the day when all the youth of Asia and the world will live and grow in peace under freedom and justice.

I want to thank you for giving me the opportunity to stay in a beautiful hotel in the midst of such graceful and hospitable surroundings.

I want particularly to congratulate you on the progress that is so evident among your people. Today we saw hundreds of people who wore leather shoes. Five years ago there were few. Today the people of Formosa have the highest caloric intake in Asia. This was far from the case a few years ago.

In 1945 you had a million cases of malaria a year; now you have almost none. You have almost completely eradicated cholera.

My state, Texas, has a per capita annual income of \$1,800, and Texas is regarded as among our richest states. I think it will interest you to know that only a quarter century or so ago per capita income in Texas was only what yours is today, about \$120.

Education is universal at lower levels here now. One has to know about these things to appreciate them, and I intend to do my utmost to see that the American people know of your achievements.

On more than one occasion our two peoples have stood together against a common danger. We do so again today. America stands firmly with her Chinese Allies and we shall continue to do so until freedom is secure...

1. We will honor our commitments to the Republic of China under our Mutual Defense Treaty.

2. We have no intention of recognizing Communist China.
3. We remain opposed to the seating of Communist China in the United Nations.
4. We feel that it is very important for the Republic of China to maintain its representation in the United Nations.
5. The Republic of China has made significant economic gains in recent years. We expect to continue to work closely with the Government of the Republic of China in promoting economic growth on Taiwan.

For me personally, this day I shall long remember for the opportunity to meet and consult with one of this century's great leaders, President Chiang Kai-Shek. Not only in the history of his own nation, but also in the wider history of free men's courage against tyranny everywhere, President Chiang's name will never be forgotten. Speaking for my wife, myself, the other American guests and our countrymen at home, it is a high privilege to ask all of you to join me in a toast to the future of China which I have faith will be secure and free: to the well-being of the wonderful Chinese people both here on this free island and everywhere; to our gracious hostess, herself an inspired leader of China; and to our host, China's indomitable President Chiang Kai-Shek. Ladies and Gentlemen, the President.

VICE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AT TAIPEI CITY HALL, May 15, 1961

I am never happier than when I am with young people.

That is one reason I am happy this morning -- happy ever since I arrived in your friendly city on this beautiful island. Along your streets, along the highways into the hills, everywhere I have gone, I have looked upon the future of Asia -- and that future is the young people like you.

You are the hope of tomorrow for Asia.

You are the light along the way to the future of freedom.

I am proud -- I am honored -- to have had this privilege of visiting with you and speaking to you. What I want to say to you this morning is this:

Your country is old, my country is young -- but so long as there has been an America, there has been a warm affection and friendship between the American people and the people of China. Today that friendship is stronger than ever. America stands with, stands behind and stands beside you in support of freedom for all those in Asia who want and are working for their freedom.

We believe that great gains can be made in your country and in all of Asia within the next decade under freedom. We want to help you make those gains.

Let me tell you a story -- a story of my own life. I was born -- not too long ago -- in the hill country of the state of Texas. I was born on a farm. My father and mother were poor. My first home was a small one-room wooden shack beside the Pedernales River. We didn't have brick for homes like you do.

I grew up working at many jobs: shining shoes, herding sheep, working as a farmhand picking fruit, working on construction crews building highways, doing the works with my own hands that your fathers and grandfathers have done in China. We didn't have much money. We didn't have enough food. But my mother -- like mothers everywhere -- was a wise and wonderful woman. However hard it was to keep my brothers and sisters in shoes for our feet, clothes for our back, and food in our stomachs, she kept me on the road to education.

That was the difference in my life.

When I reached the age of college, I studied at a small college near my home town of Johnson City -- as you do here. I studied to be a teacher -- and I was. Then America elected a great President -- Franklin D. Roosevelt. From the very beginning of his Administration as our President, I was in Washington, our capital. I heard Franklin Roosevelt tell free men what free men need to hear again today: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

Democracy came to life in America again. Men who had been despairing of the future began to believe in themselves and what they could do. Great works were performed throughout our land.

Dams were built across our great rivers. Electric lights were brought into the most humble homes of our farmers. Better jobs at better pay were created for our workers. Over the road of freedom America began marching proudly toward great strength and great responsibilities of leadership.

I was at the heart of much of this activity in those years. When I was only 25, I was made director of the National Youth Administration in my state of Texas by Franklin Roosevelt. At the age of 27, I was elected by my fellow Americans to the Congress of the United States. Every day of my life since, I have been engaged -- as have so many other Americans -- in the work of raising the standards by which free men live.

There is no greater work for men than the work of serving mankind through public service under freedom.

Why do I tell you this? There are those who will tell you America is rich -- and it is; that America is a land where men have many comforts -- and it is; that America is a land of greater strength than many other nations -- and it is. But what they often fail to tell you is that what America is today has come by hard work, by great effort, by great dedication.

I am proud of America -- not for what America is but for how it has become what it is. I am proud that under freedom a son of a poor farmer could -- by hard work and dedication -- come to be Vice President of the United States as I have done.

Freedom has done so much for me that I want to do all God will permit me to do for freedom in return -- for the freedom of my own two little girls, and for you and your brothers and sisters. That is why I am here -- because my President asked me to come, and I was glad to come, to work for the strength of freedom. Let me add: the man who is President of the United States today at the age of 43 is John F. Kennedy. That is a name you will remember -- free men ever where will remember -- alongside the name of Franklin Roosevelt, as a great American President.

But let me tell you what I want to tell you. Yesterday and today -- across this beautiful island -- I have seen the same dedication to freedom that made America strong. That dedication is making the Republic of China strong -- because you are working to make life better for the people.

Fifteen years ago, there were one million cases of malaria each year on Taiwan. Today there are very few.

Today I am told that the average income for your people on Taiwan is around \$120. In my own state of Texas, the average income per person is more than ten times greater. But this is what I want to tell you: when I was a boy -- not many years ago -- our average income in rural Texas was the same as yours today.

In America men have moved upward and forward with great leaps. You here on Taiwan are showing the energy, the drive, the dedication to do the same

yourself. You are setting an example for all of Asia -- and it is an example we want all Asians to be able to follow.

Communism's allies always have been -- and always will be -- poverty, illiteracy, and disease. Here you are proving that free men, working together under freedom and in peace, can win the battle against those oppressors and make freedom stronger than ever before.

This is your job. This is your challenge -- as young men and women in Asia. Asia can be prosperous. Asia can be healthful. Asia can move forward -- forward for the gain and good of all its people. Asia can drive Communism outside its borders, if, but only if, Asia's young men and women take up the challenge, train themselves under freedom, and work at their opportunities with the dedication of men and women passionately devoted to freedom.

You are the leaders of tomorrow. Your generation is the generation that has the greatest opportunity -- and the best hope -- of bringing peace to Asia, justice to Asia, freedom to Asia.

The Communists say to the youth of Asia -- and the world -- that young people should go into the streets as mobs, destroying order, undermining peace, attacking free institutions. But free men offer the youth of Asia a far different call -- it is a call to go into the fields and help the farmer improve his lot, go among the sick and tend the needs of the infants and the aged, go among the children and teach: These are the things which will ultimately assure our success and triumph over Communism.

These are the things for which China stands -- the things for which America stands. We must have strength. We must be prepared to defend our homes. But we must also go forth into the world -- among God's people -- and do the things that need doing to make life better among our fellow man.

America is proud of you. America is counting on you.

And I want you to know -- you can count on America.

You can count on America to stand behind you and work beside you -- and rejoice with you in the gains that we will make together for the cause of freedom.

**Foreign Service of the
United States of America**

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* This document contains 8
5 pages Number 3
6 copies Series.

Classification

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Recd: May 16, 1961
3:28 AM

NUMBER: 134 May 15, 1961 9 PM PRIORITY

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CODEL JOHNSON FOR CROCKETT

By mg, NARS, Date 6/14/27

Summary follows of conversation between Vice President Johnson and President Chiang on afternoon of May 14. As agreed with Vice President's party, Embassy will send detailed memorandum of conversation to Department under cover of limited distribution despatch stating that memorandum has not been reviewed by Vice President.

After initial exchange of greetings, Vice President handed President Chiang letter from President Kennedy. As is his usual custom, President Chiang did not ask for immediate translation of letter. Substance of letter was, however, covered fully by Vice President in subsequent discussions.

President Chiang expressed his pleasure over Vice President's visit to Taiwan and stated Vice President's trip has given Asian people great hope. Vice President stated that principal purpose of trip is to make clear firmness of US policy and to gain further understanding of situation in Asia. Vice President pointed out it is very important that United States Government and free Asian governments have accurate information concerning one another's intentions. President Chiang agreed.

Vice President said President Kennedy is man who believes in keeping commitments. President Chiang commented that with President Kennedy at head of free world he is confident concerning success of both general free world struggle and of China's own struggle in particular.

Vice President said he wished to make clear US has no intention whatsoever of recognising Communist China. Policy of present US administration is to love one's friends and to hate one's enemies.

President Chiang asked Vice President Johnson how he had found situation in South Vietnam. Vice President replied that he and President Diem had discussed number of positive proposals made in letter from President Kennedy to President Diem. President Chiang expressed opinion that as the result of Vice President's visit the situation in South Vietnam may become stabilized. Vice President observed that democratic system frequently makes slow start but then is hard to

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stop. Totalitarian governments, however, sometimes enjoy early successes. Recent Communist successes in Laos were reason for President Kennedy asking him to make present trip. President had also sent his brother-in-law and sister to take look at situation in Asia in which President is intensely interested.

Vice President explained that he had been sent on his current mission first to reassure allies who wish to stand up to Communism and second to try to strengthen existing programs or to create new programs which will help those allies to do so. By time trip has been completed, Vice President said, he expects President Diem will have sent representative to Washington with additional suggestions designed to increase military strength in South Vietnam. Also, he and members of his party will have greater understanding of the situation in Asia and he is confident program will be evolved that will make possible all out effort resist evil force of communism.

Vice President expressed his admiration for excellent job which Vice President Chen had told him is being done on Taiwan. He commented particularly on achievements in education, and on high living standard. He also commented favorably on sincere friendship of Chinese people for United States and on interest of Chinese leaders in development of science. In latter connection, President Chiang congratulated VP on space flight of Commander Shephard. President expressed skepticism concerning Soviet claims for its space flight. Vice President contrasted full television coverage of Commander Shephard's flight with limited information provided by Russians on their space venture.

Vice President said he believes President will soon recommend to Congress: (1) better coordinated, practical and more useful economic aid programs; (2) considerable increase in strength of United States conventional forces; and (3) all out effort in the space field.

Vice President mentioned recent visits of Adenauer and MacMillan to Washington and coming trip of President Kennedy to confer with President De Gaulle. Vice President said that President Kennedy is anxious United States consultations with friendly leaders not be limited to Europe or to either large or small countries. Vice President said that is why he is in Taipei. VP said that US has tried very hard to induce French and British to give greater support to this part of world but that they have been most reluctant to do so. VP said he hoped information obtained and objectives developed on trip would enable US government to be more persuasive with French and British than it has been thus far.

Vice President said any new approach to Southeast Asia should involve effort

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build maximum strength in Vietnam and perhaps also substantial SEATO assistance in Thailand. SEATO members might be asked to make substantially increased contributions. Thus when decision is made concerning Laos, we will know where we are going in Thailand and Vietnam and which area will be source of strength. Vice President said since present approach is not working it is very important to find new plan which will stop free world giving up and moving back. President Chiang commented that this was precisely his own view.

In summing up, Vice President said he had tried: (1) to express his appreciation of developments on Taiwan and to state attitude of US toward President Chiang and his government, toward Chinese Communists, toward issue of recognition of Chinese Communists and toward question of admission of Chinese Communists to United Nations; and (2) to give some ideas on how US is approaching program for Southeast Asia. Vice President said he would like President Chiang's opinion on latter subject. He had no doubt concerning his views on former subjects.

President Chiang expressed admiration for Vice President's statement concerning US position and his analysis of situation. President said he wished to speak very frankly as between allies and friends. Vice President encouraged him to do so.

President Chiang first thanked US govt and American people for their support which has enabled his government to consolidate Taiwan as base for carrying out fight against communism. President expressed regret time did not permit lengthy exchange of views and said he would state briefly points which he wished to make and would elaborate on them if Vice President wished.

President Chiang said his first point is that developments in Laos have proved that SEATO is not much more than empty shell. Reverses in Laos have weakened confidence of Asian members in SEATO and may also have affected their confidence in American leadership. He agreed with Vice President that something different must be done to save situation.

Complaint, President said, is that none of friendly Asian nations concerned will believe that Britain or France can be persuaded to take more positive stand in Southeast Asia. Suspicion exists, he said, that these two countries joined SEATO more to hinder than to help. Free Asian leaders recall colonial record of British and French and cannot believe that they have had change of heart. Also, presence of British and French in SEATO permits Communists to charge that SEATO is merely instrument to perpetuate Western colonial interests.

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President stated situation in Laos may be charged largely to British and French obstructionism. It is high time, he said, to give up hope that Britain and France will play active role in any anti-Communist alliance in Asia.

Turning to another point, President said that, despite United States bilateral security agreements with several Asian nations, united policy under positive leadership is lacking. He expressed hope that US would supply this policy and this leadership. United States, he said, has expended considerable effort in Asia but this effort does not add up to strength it should have produced. General reappraisal of United States policy is required. United States policy in Asia should be based on giving effective aid to nations involved in struggle against communism. President criticized US concept of maintaining fire brigade to rush here and there putting out fires. He said there is no need to supply US forces. Local Asian peoples can do job. President Chiang also urged that new positive policy in Asia apply to entire area. Effort to solve problems in one country, such as Laos, separately should be discontinued. Vice President asked President Chiang what US should have done in Laos that it has not done. Madame Chiang responded by asking whether it was true that US advisors in Laos had worn civilian clothes, had been responsible for only administrative aspects of aid, and had not been permitted to train Laotian forces. Vice President said she was correct and had put her finger on source of difficulty. Weak spot in Laos, he said, was failure of French to perform their job effectively. Vice President said United States government has made clear to French and other governments that US is concerned with freedom everywhere -- not just in some areas. We have told French, he said, that we cannot see why we must argue with them about Laos.

Vice President Chen said it is often asked why Pathet Lao can fight and troops of Lao government cannot although both are Laotian. Answer, he said, is very simple. Pathet Lao are supported by Russian airlift, Chinese Communist advisors, and North Vietnamese reinforcements. Lao government is in effect being attacked by several governments. To meet this free world forces must be organized in coordinated manner. We must have unified planning, execution, and command.

Vice President Johnson asked President Chiang whether he would favor sending Pakistan, Filipino, and American forces into Thailand or Vietnam as sign we mean business. President Chiang suggested that, if Thailand were willing, Thai troops be sent into Laos to defend key points along Mekong River such as Vientiane, Luang Prabang, and Tak Hek. US, he said, should give Thais logistical support, supply planes and train Thai pilots. Vice President commented Thais might be interested in this approach if men in US uniform were at their side

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which was what President Chiang said US should not do. President Chiang agreed and said he has been and still is of opinion that US policy in Asia should not be based on getting US forces involved.

Vice President expressed interest in continuing conversation during and after dinner that evening. President Chiang agreed.

(Notes on conversations between Vice President Johnson and President Chiang on evening of May 14 and morning of May 15 were taken by member of Vice President's party. Embassy understands party will report to Washington on those conversations).

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ACTION: CODEL (2 info)
INFO: POLITICAL

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May 14, 1961

22

Notes on/Conversation Between President Chiang Kai-Shek and
Vice-President Johnson

Vice-President Johnson recalling his afternoon discussions with President Chiang said that President Chiang was going to give his views on what he thought the United States could do in the way of an overall plan. President Chiang said he had a number of specific points to pass on. He favored a new policy for the United States centered on the two conceptions of: (1) concentrated leadership and (2) coordinated action. Chiang said that the United States should take three concrete steps: (1) an executive headquarters should be set up for direction of ~~the~~ combined planning by the free Asian nations with which the United States has bilateral defense arrangements. In response to a question from the Vice President on the combined planning function of the executive organization, President Chiang said that it was his idea for the United States to assume leadership of the executive organization and exercise this through a chain of command. The Vice President asked whether this would be a kind of NATO for Asia. President Chiang *signified that* ~~agreed that~~ this was the general idea.

(2) The second step that Chiang would have us take would be to organize anti-Communist Asian nations and other allies of the United States to a unified organization to direct *political* strategy. Vice President Johnson agreed that we should stop "single shooting" here and there. The Vice President again mentioned the idea of giving the Anti-Communist nations of Asia executive direction as in NATO and requiring each participant in the anti-Communist coalition to contribute according to its abilities.

President Chiang said each participating nation should set aside a certain number of divisions for emergencies. The Republic of China would contribute

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Authority *State Sec. 12/3/76*
By *pmg*, NARS, Date *6/14/77*

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three divisions. Thus there would be a force in being which would be ready for action.

(3) The third step recommended by President Chiang was the formation of an economic organization so that there would be coordinated economic cooperation among the anti-Communist/^{Asian}nations. Vice President Johnson (reverting to Chiang's second point) asked how many divisions might be made available by each participant. President Chiang said he could only speak for the Republic of China which would contribute three divisions. Vice President Johnson remarked that in his discussions with President Garcia the latter had said that the Philippines would contribute 20,000 men to SEATO. *if there were* We are really going *to* fight. President Chiang reiterated that it was his idea that the United States should not send any troops--all ground forces would be provided by the Asian participants.

Speaking further regarding the organization he was proposing, President Chiang said the first step would be to set up a unified military staff. It would not be necessary to have a treaty or agreement since we already have bilateral treaty arrangements. The participants could exchange views within this unified staff. The second step would be determination of what each participant could contribute in terms of men. The Vice President said the first item would be how much the United States was putting in in terms of defense support, DLF, and military aid and the second item would be how many men would the other participants put in. President Chiang said that it was unnecessary to put in more money and suggested that we could use existing MAAG's. The problem would be how to coordinate them. The Vice President said it would be like putting them on the Board of Directors, letting them discuss the question of man power.

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President Chiang observed that the United States spends so much money now but without any coordination. The Vice President agreed. Chiang again stressed the United States need not put in any ground forces; only air and naval forces.

President Chiang, turning to a new subject, said that during this tour of the Far East he hoped the Vice President would have time to look ~~up~~ into the China mainland situation where there was unprecedented famine and little known difficulties. Vice President Johnson said this was a very pertinent suggestion and he would explore it further but thought we should use the joint communique to contrast the positive achievements in the Republic of China to the unfavorable situation on the mainland. President Chiang agreed.

Speaking further about the joint communique, the Vice President said it should accentuate the positive and note the economic progress and educational progress etc. ^{in Taiwan} He suggested that the five points mentioned in President Kennedy's letter to President Chiang, including opposition to recognition of Communist China and opposition to its admission to the United Nations and reassurances to the GRC should be included in the communique.

/

Martin:hme

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

Control: 384

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Authority State Dec. 12/3/76
By smg, NARS, Date 6/14/77

Rec May 21 1961
0635

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Number 2 / copies, Series A

This is a true reading
of an encrypted telegram,
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ing of such telegrams.

FROM: BANGKOK

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FROM AMBASSADOR YOUNG

I believe the VP's timely and gallant enterprise of purpose accomplished the missions originally conceived in Washington. He reached the politicians, the administrators, and the people. Saigon, Manila, Taipei, and Bangkok will never be quite the same again, for a new chapter has opened in US relations with Southeast Asia. The friendliness and sincerity of the VP and Mrs. JOHNSON were felt and returned. They came, saw, and won over. We must now work to sustain this wave of good feeling and not let it recede.

A sound personal relationship has begun with DIEM, CHIAN and SARIT. The words of assurance and earnestness of discussion established that personal bond between men of power and authority so essential for effective dealing with Asian leaders. An earnest of cooperation Sarit has agreed to increase Thai defense budget by ten percent of our contribution, which Embassy considers symbolically significant and while Diem issued his own communique and directed quick preparation of positive reply to PRESIDENT KENNEDY's letter, which is promising. I feel greatly heartened that we have at last opened a two-way channel of confidence at the highest level with these three men. Later might have been too late.

The "VLP to the people program" also went over, notwithstanding the reserve and scepticism of the Orthodox and the old timers Asians and Americans. What impressed me in all four capitals was the eagerness of the younger generation, particularly the school children to reach him. This was especially significant in Bangkok. Young people gathered everywhere to greet American leader and spokesman for the President whose name was also often sounded by voices among the crowds. The leaders of tomorrow and the people of the future were with the VP. He reached them in a new kind of dialogue despite the reserve of the preceding generation. The VP dramatically carried the pedestal of power to the open places of the people far better than could long lectures or diplomatic

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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Recd: MAY 21, 1961
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FROM BANGKOK, NIACT 10, MAY 20, 9 PM

Page Two

notes. Witnessing an American VP mixing with the crowds and talking with them may serve to humanize political communications in Asia. It may jostle political leaders and their administrators out of their office sanctuaries, even if they are nettled by this typically American approach. Some officials felt challenged to go and do likewise; others betrayed their uneasiness over this intrusion into their supposedly well ordered and old-fashioned system of aristocratic aloofness.

This enterprise also succeeded psychologically. It boosted the badly-lagging morale of Asians and Americans out here. It pictured the new administration for Southeast Asians. It filled the newspapers and TV of America with Southeast Asia. Where our image has been blurred, the Mission sharpened the focus. Where our dialogue had been garbled, the mission has corrected the pitch and spoken clearly as well as eloquently.

However, we must not now just bask in the afterglow. The words of assurance must be followed by acts of support. Shrewd, tough leaders like DIEM, CHIANG, and particularly SARIT, are waiting to see if the US follows through quickly and vigorously with concrete actions. Owing to his deep concern over Laos and the vulnerability of his long frontier, Prime Min Sarit is waiting to see what material steps we now take in Southeast Asia. Neither he nor Thai public opinion were pleased that the US could give no specific assurances on Laos. The visit exposed but could not fill our gaping silence on Laos for understandable reasons. If the visits to Bangkok and Saigon do not result in more real support, we will look terrible in Southeast Asia. Neutralism will spread; Geneva might then turn into a Commie victory celebration. The follow-up of this visit is the heart of the matter now. Sarit, for example, took some material benefit from the US alliance to show his officers and people. In Vietnam will the government with our massive support take steps to ensure mac ol*acceptability? In Thailand can we stimulate political motivation among the armed forces and rural people to support a defense plan to secure the Mekong valley?

A significant outcome of this enterprise was the parallelism of views expressed by the four leaders we met, particularly Dien, Chiang and Sarit.

A) They felt Laos is most discouraging but still not lost. They are

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FROM BANGKOK, NIACT 10, MAY 20, 9 PM

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really apprehensive over US policies and the uncertainty and inaccuracy in their view of US attitudes on Laos. They say the Lao can and will fight if adequately trained and equipped, which they never have been. It is a mistake to write Laos off despite difficulties in dealing there. Diem, Chiang and Sarit stressed the urgency of maximum training for the FAL while there is a cease fire to anticipate any breakdown of the Geneva conference or any renewal of hostilities.

B) For the time being these three leaders are allergic to putting US soldiers into the area. Diem showed no appetite for American combat troops mixing among the Vietnamese people. He told me privately that we should be extremely careful about such a proposal, and pleaded with me that American military personnel - and all Americans - exercise tact and restraint in Vietnam in this critical and delicate period. Sarit also quickly backed away from taking up any suggestion of putting US troops in Thailand either under SEATO or otherwise. He was not so reluctant over Laos, where, if hostilities are resumed, he will wish to lend military support to RLG but only in company with US. I think we must be aware that this is a sensitive internal issue for these leaders while there is no major provocation such as the outbreak of large scale hostilities or infiltration. What they want is adequate equipment and training rapidly and efficiently provided to assure them success in their military missions.

C) These leaders responded genuinely to the Vice Pres's emphasis on economic progress and social justice to give the people a stake in the present and hope for the future. These famous figures even began to talk like "New Frontiersmen". Complimented by the VP's notice of their social and economic efforts, they seemed to accept the philosophy that a politico-social program soundest way to increase their popularity and protect their country, provided they have the military capability to deal with Comdie & guerrillas or divisions. The VP's private discussions, public speeches, and communiques highlighted the administration's emphasis on social justice. Southeast Asia needs this emphasis from Washington. The leaders and the people will now expect us to continue this dialogue on a two-way channel at all levels.

D) Each in his own version implied a need for a new political departure of some kind in East Asia. While nebulous, their individual ideas seemed to spring from their disregard and even hostility for the French and British. While Chiang was most specific, his other Asian colleagues

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also wanted unhhadered* American leadership in Asia. Chiang proposed some new organization. Sarit thought this was a good idea. Dien, at least in my private discussions, again treated Southeast Asia as a whole and not piecemeal.

In conclusion, the next step is to capitalize the assets of this visit and disregard some of the minor liabilities or irritants that inevitably follow in the wake of such an ambitious enterprise: 1) We must go all out to stamp out the Viet Cong in the delta area of Vietnam. To implement a comprehensive politico-military program the Pres and his brother promised me that they would reply positively and in detail to Pres KENNEDY's letter as the Vice Pres suggested. I urged Secretary THUAN carry the letter to Washington, but I would not be surprised if he were kept in Saigon where he is so needed. 2) We must draft a supplemental military program for Thailand and reverse the cutback for FY 62 USOM program which seems to contradict reality out here (a really good team of experts should be sent to help on fiscal planning and economic development. 3) We need to clarify our contingency thinking on Laos for the benefit of Dien and Sarit. 4) We must use the opportunities the visit gave us to mount military, economic, social, and ideological reinforcement of Thailand, Vietnam and as much of Laos as possible to strengthen our hand at Geneva. 5) In order to retain the value of this trip I would urge USIS to compile a booklet of the speeches, communique, speeches and schedules of this visit for circulation in this area to play up its progressive gains.

This enterprising visit did not help our adversaries. It will hurt them in this area if we follow through quickly. We should be ready for their counter actions at least in propaganda and political action somewhere.

So, trips results are summed up in comment volunteered by Bangkok taxi driver - "Your Vice President he good man. He talk people."

YOUNG

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Joint Communique issued by Vice President Johnson and Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat, Bangkok, May 18, 1961.

The Vice President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Thailand have completed a series of meetings during the Vice President's visit to Thailand over the past two days. Their discussions covered many subjects of common interest, and reflected mutual objectives and undertakings of both governments.

The Vice President stressed that the President of the United States had sent him on this mission to inform the Prime Minister personally and directly of the United States Government's complete understanding of Thailand's concern over the threats to peace and security in Southeast Asia, and conveyed the President's intense interest in the preservation of the independence and political integrity of Thailand and the other free countries of Southeast Asia.

Vice President Johnson also stressed that he had come at the personal request of President Kennedy to obtain the counsel of Prime Minister Sarit on what should be done in the immediate future to meet our common problems. Further, he stressed that he would report the views of the Prime Minister to President Kennedy.

The Vice President expressed his great appreciation for the amount of time, as well as the serious attention, which the Prime Minister and his colleagues devoted to these discussions.

He also expressed gratitude for the warmth of the reception of the people of Thailand.

The Vice President noted that Thailand has made great social and economic progress. He cited the advances of Thailand in the fields of education, health, finance, and economic development.

The Vice President expressed his interest in the challenge of the development of Northeast Thailand where opportunities for development are being sought under the leadership of the Prime Minister.

At the conclusion of their talks, the Prime Minister and the Vice President agreed to the release of a joint communique covering the following points:

(1) Both Governments found mutual understanding regarding the serious situation existing in parts of Southeast Asia. They reached full accord on Thai-United States objectives of peace and independence, and agreed that both Governments should work for these objectives.

(2) Both Governments recognize that the foundation of freedom rests on the adequate education of the young, the health of the people, and the improvement in the standards of livelihood of the people. Both Governments pledged their diligent efforts to the advance of education, health, communications, and other fields of modern progress in Thailand.

(3) The United States Government expressed its determination to honor its treaty commitments to support Thailand -- its ally and historic friend -- in defense against subversion and communist aggression.

(4) Both Governments recognize the utmost importance of preserving the integrity and independence of Thailand.

(5) Both Governments reiterated their determination to fulfill their Seato commitments and to go forward in steadfast partnership.

(6) Both Governments examined possible ways to strengthen Thai defense capabilities, agreed to explore ways in which this might be achieved through greater joint efforts and mutual sacrifices and the military assistance program involving the armed forces.

(7) Both Governments expressed approval of specific joint economic projects such as irrigation projects in the northeast and the new thermal power plant, which are being developed in Thailand, as well as the planning, the setting up of projects under the Peace Corps program.

The Vice President and the Prime Minister rededicated themselves to work for an honorable peace in Southeast Asia, and to intensify the efforts of their countries for the defense and progress of the free nations of this region.

Finally, they agreed on the desirability of regular consultation with as much frequency as may be practicable.

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24c

VICE-PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S SPEECH,
SENATE COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES'
MEETING, WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1961

DECLASSIFIED

Mr. Chairman,

Authority State br. 12/3/76

By pmg, NARS, Date 6/18/77

This is a moment of privilege for me and I am deeply in your debt for the honour you give me to sit here and exchange views with you about our future and the future of our children.

I have travelled across the ocean on a mission of purpose at the direction of my President and my Secretary of State to ascertain the conditions that exist, to determine, first hand, the problems that face us on the ground, and to attempt to solicit and get the evaluation of all the leaders of people who love freedom and who live in this area or have concerns here. In relation to the leaders, we are very stimulated and inspired by the reception we have received from the people; this is because no government can long endure who does not have as its first obligation the service of its people. Everywhere I have gone I have found people are disturbed. There is more distress than there is co-ordination. There is more concern that there is a programme and a plan to deal with it.

We, as little children at our mother's knee, read about Nero fiddling while Rome burned, and I think that we are approaching a moment of decision in the affairs of the free world. If a bully can come in uncollected and unprotested into Freedom's backyard, he will be back tomorrow on your front porch; and it may be your neighbour today and it may be you tomorrow.

In anticipation of the day when we would be faced with a decision on problems such as face us now, the imagination and ingenuity of man place faith in the Organization of which you are a part. That Organization was not a makeshift paper tiger. That Organization was created for the purpose of protecting certain fundamental principles and providing a medium of

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co-ordinated action where the maximum strength of people with the same will and the same purpose could be summoned and collected and applied when, and as, and if needed.

I shall not say to you wise men that this is a time for action, and I shall not try to specify the moment that we should summon all of our strength, but I do submit that every place I have been everyone that I have talked to earnestly and sincerely believes that the time is not far away when we are going to stand up and be counted on Freedom's side or on the totalitarian side. We have learned from the days preceding the two Great Wars that you cannot do business with dictators, and still preserve what we hold dear. We have learned that when you are willing to go the last mile and meet them more than half way, that that is frequently misunderstood and is interpreted as weakness instead of a desire to promote peace and avoid division. We are back again where we are utilizing all the resources at our command to appeal to reason, to ask for moderation, and to try to find a peaceful solution to these problems. We are faced with a barrage of propaganda, evil in conception and unworthy of respectable opinion in delivery.

There is no member of the SEATO group that has the blood of aggression on their hands. We have not gobbled up any helpless or hopeless people; we do not seek or covet one acre of territory that our flag does not fly over today, and when we have brought the dictators to their knees we have taken our reserves and called our people to make great sacrifices to restore their native land. When some of our enemies today were threatened, we were the first to extend the hand of help, and when, as a result of victory, we have acquired areas, we have immediately instituted programmes to promote self-government and total independence.

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It was a thrilling story to hear President Garcia tell about the advances that have been made in those beautiful islands of which he is the responsible officer, so I do not think that we have any need to explain or apologize to the world. We have no Hungarys. We seek only peace and prosperity. We are willing to pay any price short of our national honour, but we do think that every freedom-loving people, whatever their strength, whatever their location, ought to stop, look and listen, and determine what course best serves freedom and liberty. That is what we are here to determine, and I should be glad to have the counsel and judgment of some of our oldest and dearest friends, some of the spokesmen for nations who have answered our every call and who support our every need.

I do not know that the future can be judged by the past, but if there is anything to be gained from the experience and the knowledge acquired in our national history, it is that in unity there is strength, and strength is absolutely essential when you are dealing with people who want what you have got and are going to get it if they can. So, the end of procrastination and pussy-footing and passing the buck may not be far away. The course of wisdom has not been determined. If the decisions were all made there would be no need for our planning them; we could just execute them. But we like to think in America that our neighbour's, and each man's, opinion is as worthy of consideration as our own, and we found many times we have been saved great resources because we followed wise counsel. So we have got to get our heads together and determine where our respective national interests lie. It may be this or it may be that. I am not going to be arbitrary about the matter, but I am going to say we cannot be oblivious to the fact that our Organization is being challenged, our systems are being challenged, and it can happen here.

Thank you very much.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

~~TOP SECRET~~

Classification

Control: 5-981

Recd: May 20, 1961
9:45 AM

ST

CODEL
AMB

This document consists of 2 pages.
Copy 1 of 2. Series A.

FROM: BANGKOK

NO. : 184, May 19, 1961, 9 PM

NIACT

PRITY SENT DEPARTMENT 2096 REPEATED INFORMATION KARACHI NIACT 184
GENEVA PRITY 32 CINCPAC PRITY UNN

(SET ONE OF THREE)

CINCPAC FOR POLAD 687

DECLASSIFIED

Geneva for FECON

Authority

CODEL JOHNSON

By

NARS, Date

Vice President Johnson, accompanied by members of his party, Ambassador Young and members U S Mission Staff, and Prime Minister Sarit accompanied by Foreign Minister Thanat at all times, and through most meetings be met leading military staff members, met on three occasions during Vice President Johnson's visit, each lasting about two hours. First and second session, while devoted primarily to question capability Thai armed forces and possible U S and Thai measures to enhance capability, also touched on need for Thai and Lao representation at Geneva and possible Thai, U S and SEATO military action Laos in case resumption hostilities. Communique essentially agreed on at close second session. Third session expected to be largely formality releasing communique to press, but Sarit however held Vice President for extended discussion on question of what action U S prepared take if Commies violate cease-fire or if, following conference breakdown, Commies resume hostilities. Sarit obviously asking this question primarily for his own information but based question on his need respond to Phoumi's query reported Embassy Telegram 2061 to Department.

Discussion on readiness and capability Thais or CAS and need for expansion Thai defense budget and U S map program will be covered separate telegram.

During first meeting Vice President inquired about TG decision to participate Geneva Conference and stated this so essential he would even urge Prime Minister to go. He emphasized that there is dangerous conflagration in region spreading this way

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Control: 5-981

NIACT 184 FROM BANGKOK

-2-

Recd: May 20, 1961
9:45 AM

and it surely worth considerable effort on part TG if this will forestall thousands of men having to go to war. Prime Minister expressed doubt whether Geneva conference can lead to concrete and useful results. Vice President replied it probably will not if influential leaders don't go, leave the conference to Commies and fail to take this opportunity spotlight Commie tactics. It was President Kennedy's desire that Vice President discuss current emergency situation with leaders throughout Southeast Asia and urge that strong men be in Geneva "talking turkey". Essential that, if conference should break down, people all over world and in U S be convinced we have made best effort work out peaceful solution. Important world understand that leaders of stature of Prime Minister have no interest in aggressing on any one or in fighting if this can be avoided. Vice President urged Prime Minister also to speak to RIG in this vein so that they will also be represented. Prime Minister said he would do this but indicated RIG at this point quite discouraged. Vice President again alluded to public opinion particularly in U S; with Rusk in Geneva fighting it out there with Commies in words, RIG representatives ought to be standing by his side. Vice President acknowledged some doubt as to whether we will get peace we seek at Geneva but emphasized again that it must be made clear we have done everything possible in that forum. He stated again President's wish, expressed in his letter to the Prime Minister (Embassy telegram 2084) that Thailand be strongly represented at Geneva to help get peace we all desire. Much better to talk than fight as long as we don't have to give up any principles.

YOUNG

lg/20 1145

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9:45 AM

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FROM: BANGKOK

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CODEL
ANB

NO: NIACT 184, May 19, 9 PM

By mg, NARS, Date 6/14/76

PRITY SENT DEPT 2096 RPTD INFO KARACHI NIACT 184 GENEVA
PRITY 32 CINCPAC PRITY UNN

(SET TWO OF THREE)

Discussion with Prime Minister of Thai oil capabilities logically led to examination of missions which Thai armed forces might be expected perform and this in turn raised question of possible military action in Laos. VP asked, if there is violation of cease-fire or the conference breaks down, how many Thais are ready to move into Laos, ready and willing to go in with SEATO, tomorrow if it should be necessary. Prime Minister stated he would be ready to move one regimental combat team (more than 5,000 men) right now if US is also ready to move. Reference was made at this point to Thailand's SEATO commitment under plan five to provide two battalions, a total of about 3,000 men. VP inquired whether Prime Minister would be ready to increase these numbers if necessary, what would be maximum numbers ready to go if button is pushed, out of seventy thousand or more available army forces. Prime Minister said if US and SEATO are also ready to go and situation demands, then he is prepared to put in any number required.

VP asked Prime Minister whether he really believed it was wise to have Americans, white men, coming into Asia to fight in Laos, or should fighting on ground not better be done by Laotians and Vietnamese and Thais themselves. He asked in several ways whether, having psychological factors in mind, Prime Minister judged it wise to bring white men into this region to shoot Asians. Was it wiser for America instead to concentrate on every manner of aid and equipment that could be provided? Prime Minister reiterated that Thais have men and are ready to go if Americans also ready to go. He said probably question of fighting does not arise in present circumstances anyway since it would be role of Americans and other outsiders to takeover positions in Laos now in RLG hands (note: He presumably was referring to points along Mekong) in order to foreclose commies seizing

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Recd: May 20, 1961

these points.

VP noted that ChiComs might respond to such American action with some 500,000 troops. Russians would be delighted to see US tied down in Laos, leaving them a free hand to move on Berlin, Iran, Korea or elsewhere on next day. With whole world situation in mind, is this wise, or should US not confine itself to providing equipment, training and leadership? He again put to Prime Minister the choice of US sending in equipment and all manner of aid or sending in Marines, "rich Americans", with all the possible provocations of ChiComs and Russian reaction that this might imply. Prime Minister maintained his point that if Americans don't move, others will not. It is of course essential that US supply necessary equipment but if there is a flare-up of war, American must also come in. At present time, with lull in fighting, the job is to bring in aid and equipment to strengthen forces here. If and when fighting breaks out again, however, and if it is not possible to bring it peacefully to a stop, Americans forces should step in. Prime Minister said that nations in region look to US directly much more than they look to SEATO.

VP then referred to problems this question raises in US where Korea is fresh in people's minds. There would be serious problem at home in sending Americans to fight in Laos when there are sufficient numbers already in area to do job. Nevertheless, he asked Prime Minister whether he specifically recommends sending of US forces into Thailand and Laos now and if so what should be their mission. Sarit said at this moment he was not suggesting sending US troops to Thailand or Laos and emphasized that he was not asking for American troops for defense of Thailand but only equipment. Moreover he was of course sympathetic with US reluctance to send forces but said this is something it was hard for us to avoid as world leaders. Sometime earlier, when fighting was still going on, he strongly believed US and Thai forces (and perhaps others as well) should go into Laos to help out government forces. This is not appropriate right now but we should take opportunity we have now to talk together and decide about future action. It is most important that US intentions and decisions be known.

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Control: 5-981

-3-

Recd: May 20, 1961

(SET THREE OF THREE)

Sarit then referred to questions raised with him by General Phoumi about US plans and intentions (Embtel 2061). RLG is hard-pressed and in desperate situation and is prodding TG for advice as to whether they should keep on facing pressures bearing on them or give in. A crucial element in this is US intentions. VP said if conference fails, and we must be prepared for worst while hoping for best, he thought it essential countries in Southeast Asia get together and determine what they believe should be done and put a concrete proposition to US. He urged Sarit to take leadership with Vietnamese and Laotians and others and propose what US and SEATO and other should do, at same time stating unequivocally what Thailand is prepared to do if cease-fire blows up. On being pressed again by Prime Minister for more specific statement of US intentions, VP stated that because of present state of American public opinion it is not possible to speak with finality at this time. US Congress believes public is in no frame of mind to send American boys to fight in Laos, especially when Americans are not satisfied that Laos are fighting very hard themselves. He hopes President Kennedy will be able to formulate his position after VP's return and know what help can be provided if conference should fail. Of course first business at hand is work at Geneva to make clear to public opinion that peaceful effort is being made. If this fails we must call the roll and see what each one in region will do. US will also say what its part will be. NSC will have to find immediate answer in this case. Sarit made clear he also does not face with equanimity resort to force but said circumstances may compel us to this. In conclusion VP stated he could not say with finality what USG will do on this question. President Kennedy of course has great influence with Congress but his word is also not final. RLG should not throw in towel and should know we will remain alert to help but at this time we cannot say specifically what action we would take in light of subsequent developments.

At later stage in their talks VP also threw out idea perhaps what was necessary was a Pacific NATO covering entire region from San Francisco westward. As in NATO there might be single command with a Norstad in charge with each national

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-4-

Recd: May 20, 1961

contributing its forces and ready to go when button is pressed. Sarit responded that this sounds like good idea and inquired whether this would put SEATO into deep freeze. VP explained he was simply examining a concept noting SEATO leaves many areas uncovered and excludes several firm allies. Likewise it does not provide for former in being.

YOUNG

ldc/20/20:45

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25

INDIA

TELEGRAM

OUTGOING

Foreign Service of the
United States of America
AMERICAN EMBASSY
NEW DELHI, INDIA.

26

Charge : BASIC

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Classification

Control : 588

Date : May 9, 1966
3 pm

TO: SECSTATE 2751

"This document consists of 2 pages
No. 11 of 13 copies, Series R"

Johnson trip here promises to be first rate success. Arrived somewhat late at airport yesterday to meet good assembly of Indian leaders and the Prime Minister who made an unexpected trip to airport to welcome the Vice President. Vice President's airport speech extremely well received. Afternoon conversations between Nehru and Johnson with MEA officials and the Ambassador, Crockett, Rowan, Smith present. Stressed role of economic aid, importance of land reform, education and making aid effective for lowest income sectors of the population of underdeveloped countries. The conversations formal but friendly and marked by exceptionally long statement by Nehru on Indian 5-year plan, problems to be faced in the field of education, village development and the like. In the evening small party including Johnsons, Smiths, Galbraiths with Desai-R. K. Nehru on Indian side gathered for informal dinner at Prime Minister's house. This was an excellent evening and following dinner Vice President and Prime Minister had a long exceedingly informal talk which was clearly much appreciated and enjoyed on both sides. It covered Indian support on Laos, our offer of large participation in space program, Congressional problems in voting aid-----

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By nmj 3/28/77
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-2-

legislation, our common interest in preventing Communist subversion in South Asia among other topics. Leaders were not separated despite efforts until unprecedented hour of 11:00 PM. At the conclusion, they agreed on a communique covering common interest in economic development, India's appreciation of American's efforts, Indian support for neutral and independent Laos, Peace Corps and other topics. Text now being discussed for release later today. In later afternoon trip through old Delhi, Johnson made highly agreeable impressions with informal speeches stressing common interest in bread and peace. Crowd response very warm and friendly. All newspapers this morning give favorable front page play to visit. Mrs. Smith believed also to have made exceptionally favorable impression on Prime Minister's two tiger cubs.

Foregoing read by Vice President.

GALBRAITH



JKGalbraith:mva

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28

Joint Communique Issued by Vice President Johnson and
Prime Minister Nehru, New Delhi, May 19, 1961.

The Vice President and the Prime Minister have had full and highly useful discussions covering a wide range of subjects of interest and concern to the two countries. At the outset, Vice President Johnson conveyed to Prime Minister Nehru the warm greetings of President Kennedy and told him of the President's admiration for the way in which India is waging its great battle against privation and poverty. He told of the President's interest in the Third Five Year Plan.

1. The Vice President said that while American assistance is dependent on the decisions of the Congress and also on parallel efforts by the other developed countries, it is the President's hope that American aid to the new Plan will be both substantial in amount and effective in form. The Prime Minister expressed his satisfaction at the President's interest in India's development plans.
2. The two leaders agreed that the common enemies of mankind, on which a major attack must now be mounted are ignorance, poverty and disease. The conquest of these everywhere is the first step to the assurance of peace and freedom.
3. The new American Administration agrees with

the Prime Minister that the benefits of economic advance must accrue to those who need help the most. The Prime Minister stressed the importance of effective land reform in many underdeveloped countries as a vital step toward greater social and economic equality. The Vice President agreed on the importance of such reform and noted that the United States was a strong believer in home ownership and in the distribution of the ownership of land, particularly by those who work it.

4. The Prime Minister mentioned to the Vice President the Indian programme for establishing universal free and compulsory education in the Third Five Year Plan. Both leaders agreed on the fundamental importance of education in economic development.
5. The Vice President told of President Kennedy's concern for assuring an effective cessation of hostilities in Laos and for getting a truly neutral and independent government which would be neither dominated nor threatened from any quarter. He expressed satisfaction and thanks for India's past assistance in obtaining a cease-fire. The Prime Minister expressed his full approval of the goal of a neutral and independent Laos and assured his continuing

assistance and support in achieving this end.

6. The Vice President, who has long been associated closely with developments in exploration and research in space in the United States, stressed American concern for peaceful and concerted effort by all nations in the great adventure into outer space. He told of the imminent prospects for the development of a communications satellite with its promise of a possible breakthrough in the field of mass education. He outlined also the prospects for, and potential value of, the weather satellite. These developments will be of benefit not alone to Americans but to all mankind. They will belong to all mankind. The expense of development has so far been a barrier to participation by the scientists and engineers of the less developed countries. The United States would like now to find ways to broaden interest and participation in these epoch-making activities. The Prime Minister expressed much interest on behalf of India and promised the matter his close attention.
7. There was discussion of the Peace Corps. The Prime Minister stressed the importance of voluntary workers being men and women of good training who are also otherwise well prepared for their new life and tasks. He expressed

satisfaction with his talks with the Director of the Peace Corps.

8. Early in their conversations the Prime Minister and the Vice President found a strong common interest in the field of electric power development. The Vice President was one of the pioneers in rural electrification in the United States, having, at President Roosevelt's request, participated in the establishment of the largest rural electrification project in the United States. The Prime Minister told of his longstanding conviction that electric light, and all that went with it, were the greatest gift of modern industrial society. Because of the high capital costs and the heavy demands for foreign exchange that are involved, the development of power generating capacity has been an especially important area of American aid. The Prime Minister noted with satisfaction the accomplishments which could be attributed to this aid in the Second Five Year Plan and the two leaders reviewed the large demands for power to be met in the Third Five Year Plan. The Vice President expressed his hope that during the Third Five Year Plan there would be particular success in

getting electricity to rural villages.

In concluding their talks, the Vice President and the Prime Minister returned again to hunger, illiteracy and disease which are basic problems of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. The battle against them will not easily be won; but neither can it be longer delayed. The Vice President stated that India's experience in dealing with these basic problems is of great value to the United States which wishes to use its resources for aiding the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. The Vice President and the Prime Minister expressed a desire for close and continuing consultation on these problems. The Prime Minister expressed his warm appreciation of Vice President Johnson's mission and the opportunity the visit gave for frank and friendly exchange of views and ideas.

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

Amconsul HAMILTON

29

~~SECRET~~

Classification

Control: NIACT

Recd: May 22, 1961

FROM: Amembassy NEW DELHI

CODEL JOHNSON

Attention Mr. LUSH

Re Deptel 3355 and 3364.

Following is Embtel. 2768 to Dept.

"NEHRU-JOHNSON exchanged on Laos did not go greatly beyond communique. Johnson stressed our concern for effective neutralization and need to make good on promise for economic and educational advance. Nehru agreed. Johnson and I urged Nehru to offer counsel and take more lead our sources to insure economic advance and social reform, and stability in area. Nehru said India seeking to avoid disfavor from telling other neighboring and perhaps jealous countries what they should do. I noted that this left press role and attendant disfavor to the United States and we would like to share both. In the end references to India's counsel and leadership in area omitted from communique.

Comment: Prime Minister has recently had a series of messages from the President delivered by HARRIMAN and me on Laos ceasefire as well as one just delivered by Johnson. There is great danger of deteriorating this currency in absence of crisis or information not evident here. There should certainly be no more repeat no more at least until I return to Washington. Nehru could think we are snowing him. Also note essential distinction between dialogue and one-way bombardment. This does not exclude informal comment and review of ceasefire and Geneva progress and our position which I might use as text for informal discussion prior to departure next Friday and which I would recommend."

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Authority State Ltr 12/17/76

By smg, NARS, Date 3/23/77

GALBRAITH

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TELEGRAM

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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Control: 248

Recd: May 22, 1951

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SENT SECSTATE WASHDC WIACT 1951

For BOWLES from ~~SECRET~~

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This is a true reading
of an encrypted telegram
and must be handled ac-
cording to the true read-
ing of such telegrams

Crux of JOHNSON-NEHRU discussions involved Johnson plea that Indian PM take greater leadership role in efforts to permit nations South and Southeast Asia to develop without Communist intervention and intimidation. In ~~xxx~~ private after-dinner talks, Johnson asked Nehru to speak out quote in stirring and ringing tones unquote against Communist tactics in Laos, South Vietnam. Johnson thanked Nehru for past actions re Laos and said any good coming from present discussions Laos likely to be result of moral force of India speaking out. Nehru said he understood U.S. desire that he do this, but made no direct commitment or promise of action. His pleasant attitude and friendliness beyond expectations left Johnson with real hope that India can be induced to provide leadership. JOHNSON.

BERGER

CTRowan/j11/5/22/61

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Authority State let 12/17/76
By rmg, NARS, Date 3/23/77

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Monday morning May 22 Karachi press continues give heavy publicity Vice President Johnson's visit with Johnson-Ayub press conference drawing headlines all papers. Dawn, country's leading English daily carried several front page articles including one "Johnson mum on Kashmir" which by implication critical of Johnson statement he "not authorized dispose of matter" and fact he "declined answer question whether he satisfied that immediate Kashmir solution vital for peace in this area." Dawn, morning news and vernacular papers headline Johnson-Ayub communique proposal for Asian heads of government meeting. Morning news and Jang highlighted Johnson promise convey to Kennedy Pakistan views on Kashmir as expressed by Ayub.

Press continues highlight Johnson's informality, "shirt sleeve diplomacy" and his "pleasant conduct and intimate contact with citizens of Karachi" (JANG). Dawn noted he made "great hit" with residents of Korangi public housing development in visit just prior departure for Athens. Dawn's reporter noted that Johnson's style "took everyone by surprise...The people, not habituated to this kind of behavior by dignitaries, were dazed for a few minutes..but then began the enthusiastic upsurge and warm response." Morning news coverage this aspect of visit appeared more critical, starting its first days coverage of the visit with "Americas most unusual Ambassador of goodwill, VP Lyndon Johnson, handshook his way yesterday into the hearts of many people, and achieved what else?"

Press also widely notes Johnson's humanitarian gesture contributing \$500 from self and members his party to Karachi Civil Hospital for Pakistani youth in memory son of accompanying American journalist who killed in America May 20.

Tone of editorial discussion of visit set before Johnson arrived in long dawn editorial May 20 called "from friend to friend." Editorial expounded at length on familiar Dawn thesis that recent US policy toward India and Pakistan not consistent with US alliance with Pakistan. Paper asked "what is the difference between being America's ally and not being one?"

Dawn answer is that on all counts India, not Pakistan, is benefiting from the advantages that should come only from an alliance and that the "biggest and most shameful letdown has been on Kashmir. We say to our distinguished visitor that Kashmir is America's test case."

This theme, which also predominant in welcome speech at official citizens reception, central one also in vernacular press editorials. Anjam said that "to give preferences to others pleasures over legitimate rights and interests of friends is a basic flaw in the policy of our esteemed ally." Imroze lamented America's entanglement in a "mesh of expedience" and said that so long as Kashmir remains unsettled the Americans wish to strengthen peace in this part of the world cannot be

fulfilled." Nai Raushni said: "If the present American regime does not make any distinction between countries which are its friends and which are neutrals it will be folly to expect good results."

Only editorial to appear May 22 after completion visit is in Jangjang, country's largest urdu paper. It states that Johnson assurance that US values Pakistan's friendship is mutual feeling but that Pakistan expects more evidence of friendship than shown to date. Even Johnson did not appreciate point that US cooperation is needed on Kashmir--a matter of life and death for Pakistan." Paper concludes that if American leaders go on turning "cold shoulder" to Pakistan, they will fail obtain PAK cooperation in places like Laos.

URDU Daily Anyam said it obvious that Johnson words quoted saturated with sincerity and truthfulness "instead of being usual diplomatic cliches Paper agrees with Johnson's remarks in citizens-reception speech that Southeast Asian countries threatened by subversion, sabotage and terrorism and says, "there is no better way of facing this dangerous situation than by absolute unity among countries which believe in social justice." Paper adds that this unity requires sincerity which makes it necessary "that we tell our American friends that American deeds have been the cause of shock to her friends" (The "deeds" being US support for India and failure support Kashmir liberation). "We wonder so often that our American friends sometimes contradict their professed high ideologies by their actions which is sad indeed."

Sindhi language daily Nawa-India-Sind comments that Johnson speech referred to above shows that American trusts Pakistan and attaches great importance to Pakistan in Southeast Asia. This paper found Johnson to be a "highly interesting man by nature informal and open-hearted, a mighty jolly fellow, fond of mixing with the people freely and enjoying their company." Country's largest Urdu daily Yang observed that "for the people of Pakistan this was the first practical experience of the liking of common men on the part of the new US regime."

Mohammed Ashir, News Editor of Dawn, largest English-language daily in Pakistan, told USIS officer Vice President Johnson personal contact with man in Karachi street a very effective device sound to spread word-of-mouth favorable attitude toward US among poorer classes. Ashir said pseudo-intelligentsia unimpressed because they feel such contact with poorer classes below dignity of national leader. He said Vice President's personal contact with people will have good impact and long-lasting effect.

508

KARACHI JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The President of Pakistan and the Vice President of the United States of America met Saturday, May 20, 1961, at the President's House for talks, which were conducted in a frank and friendly atmosphere reflecting the continuing close cooperation of Pakistan and the United States in pursuit of common objectives.

The Vice President expressed the friendly greetings and warm good wishes of President Kennedy and the American people for the President and the people of Pakistan. The Vice President noted that the United States anticipated with pleasure President Ayub's visit in November. In this connection, Vice President Johnson extended a personal invitation for President Ayub to visit the Vice President's ranch home in Texas during the stay in the United States. President Ayub recalled that he had previously visited Texas which reminded him of Pakistan and expressed pleasure in accepting the Vice President's invitation.

Vice President Johnson explained that he had come at the request of President Kennedy and presented to President Ayub a personal letter from the President of the United States. The Vice President said that President Kennedy wanted him to discuss with the leaders of Pakistan and other countries of South and Southeast Asia what might be done further to strengthen peace and freedom and to enhance the general welfare of the people. Vice President Johnson said the exchange in Karachi would be of great value toward a closer understanding of Pakistan and the views of Pakistan's leaders toward regional and world problems.

In the course of the conversations, President Ayub and Vice President Johnson noted with satisfaction the many common objectives and specific programs of cooperation that link the two countries. They welcomed continued cooperation in regional collective security arrangements, such as CENTO and SEATO, and the growing economic and social cooperation among the regional members of these alliances. They discussed measures to strengthen these alliances.

President Ayub and Vice President Johnson agreed that the long term security of the free world must be built on a foundation of progress assuring greater opportunity and a better life for the people.

Specifically:

1. President Ayub reviewed the objectives of Pakistan's Second Five Year Plan and progress in its implementation. The Vice President reaffirmed the United States' firm interest in supporting Pakistan's implementation of this far-sighted program.

2. The two leaders discussed the great problems arising from the loss of agricultural lands in Pakistan due to water-logging and salinization. The President outlined the energetic program planned to cope with this problem, and the Vice President received documentation for use in considering further means by which the United States might assist.
3. The importance of education was emphasized. President Ayub described the substantial educational programs of his country to which both government and private assistance is being extended from the United States. Means of further cooperation in this field were considered.
4. It was recognized that the provision of adequate housing is an essential primary need of any community or nation. In this context, assistance being extended by the United States to supplement Pakistan's housing programs was reviewed.
5. The provision of greater health facilities was discussed at length.
6. Plans for the assignment to Pakistan of members of the American Peace Corps were discussed, and President Ayub expressed particular interest in the assignment of Peace Corps members to work on projects in such fields as health, education and agriculture.
7. President Ayub discussed Pakistan's land reform programs in which millions of acres have been re-distributed, giving new ownership to hundreds of thousands of people who work the lands.
8. Vice President Johnson said that the United States has high expectations that international cooperation in scientific developments will be of great benefit to countries on every continent. He mentioned in particular possibilities from weather, communication, navigational and mapping uses of space vehicles.
9. The President and Vice President discussed the possible advantages of a meeting to be held in the near future of heads of nations of Asia and the Pacific area to review their common aspirations, objectives and problems and to seek means of greater cooperation among themselves.

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

Amconsul HAMILTON

35

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Control: NIACT 01

Recd: May 22, 1961

FROM: Amembassy KARACHI, May 22, 1961, 5 P. M.

SENT TO: Department 2023

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RPTD INFO: HAMILTON NIACT 01

Authority State Ltr 12/17/76
By smg, NARS, Date 3/23/77

NIACT ONLY FOR HAMILTON.

Supplementing Embtel. 2019, there summarized below several points of particular interest bilateral US-Pakistan relations in connection with which there may be specific expectations Pakistan side:

(1) AYUB made very strong point of Kashmir and again urged US use its influence with NEHRU to bring about solution this problem. Histhesis generally that cooperation with India impossibler in absence of settlement, yet security of sub-continent depends upon ability of countries to work together. He set forth military, economic, political and social reasons why issue must be settled. He said Nehru heavily dependent upon us and substantial American aid to India provided effective leverage for us to insist that Nehru talk with Pakistanies about Kashmir. Responding to Vice President's statement that Ayub attributed to us a capacity to influence Nehru on matter which Vice President was not sure we had, Ayub said he knew Nehru would not listen if he did not feel compelled to. That did not mean that he should not listen, nor that US did not have ((omission - correction to * (see bottom page 2 follow)) with pressure from Chinese Communists, India relied even more heavily upon US; in fact, it had no alternative. Vice President made no commitments in talks with Ayub. When question raised by reporter at press conference, Vice President said he had no authority to deal with matters beyond those covered by his instructions from President KENNEDY. He said President Ayub had, however, stated at length his views on Kashmir question and Vice President had carefully listened to those views which he would report to President Kennedy and Secretary RUSK upon his return. In context Kashmir question, he emphasized importance of meeting and talking together about problems. It was for this reason that he was in Pakistan and President Kennedy was going to meet DE GAULLE and KHRUSHCHEV. Press has taken Vice President's visit as peg for very strong Kashmir campaign which directed primarily against US failure take affirmative action to help bring about

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TELEGRAM

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settlement. In absence some favorable development this likely to increase.

(2) VP showed particular interest in problem of water-logging and salinity was given GOP report which Finance Minister SHOAIIB is bring to Washington. He expressed hope US would be able support program which covers 10-year period costing approximately \$110 million per year. GOP no doubt expects Vice President's interest to be reflected in connection Shoaib's visit.

(3) VP showed special interest in educational problem and discussed with Ayub and others possibility of using TV as important supplement school facilities. He said urgent thought should be given to US assistance in establishing TV transmitter Karachi, with receiving sets installed in key locations throughout area. Substantial time would be allotted for school instruction, beginning with first grade and being expanded as rapidly as feasible. Transmitter could be used for other constructive purposes of nation-building character. His thought was that Pakistanis would be brought to US for training in operating system and mass educational methods. It would of course involve substantial US help, including possible assistance by TV manufacturers in providing receiving sets. Pakistanis highly receptive to idea and appreciative of Vice President's interest.

(4) Communique summarizes other particular aspects Pakistan development program discussed with Ayub. In addition, Ayub emphasized need for maintenance of strong and mobile defense force in Pakistan which capable of making substantial contribution to free world security. Although ##garble## Vice President was generally sympathetic to need for effective Pakistani military strength.

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* "listen, nor that US did not have power to influence him.
With pressure from...

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

May 20, 12:30 p.m., President's House, Karachi

United States: Vice President Johnson
Mr. Stephen Smith
Mr. Busby
Ambassador Horace Smith
Ambassador Rountree

Pakistan: President Ayub
General Burki, Minister of Health, Welfare and
Social Affairs
Mr. Manzur Qadir, Minister of External Affairs
Mr. Mohammed Shoaib, Minister of Finance
Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of Information
Mr. Dehlavi, Foreign Secretary.

Vice President Johnson began by stating that Pakistan was held in very high regard by the United States, which greatly valued its friendship. He mentioned in the context of his public life his interest in international affairs, and the various trips abroad which he had made on official missions since he assumed office as the Vice President. He described President Kennedy as a young and extremely vigorous man, hopeful and very confident. The Vice President fully shared President Kennedy's philosophy. President Kennedy had wanted him to visit nations of Asia, particularly allies, to talk about problems of common interest and to share views of how the strength of the free world might be increased. The United States was anxious to do everything it could to contribute to the strength of Asian nations, particularly in the fostering of economic progress upon which strength could be based. It felt that impoverished nations must be helped; in helping them we were in fact helping ourselves since those more fortunate must share the burden of improving the lot of the poorer if even the rich were to be secure. Continuing, the Vice President said United States had a particular fondness for Pakistan and President Ayub. Pakistan had convictions which it was willing to express. It was willing to support SEATO, including the contribution of forces in connection with the Laos problem, and we appreciated that commitment. The Vice President observed that he did not know where recent events in Laos left us. He wanted to exchange views with President Ayub on this subject.

The Vice President said that President Kennedy was eagerly looking forward to President Ayub's visit, during which many matters could be discussed; however, there was substantial business which would have to take place before the visit. (In this context he handed President Ayub a letter from President Kennedy.)

The Vice President said that in his visits to several countries of Asia he had found them all aware of the current danger and anxious

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4
NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Guidelines
By abw/jc, NARA, Date 2-26-09

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to do their best to meet it. All the leaders believed they had inadequate means for accomplishing what they considered necessary. We were anxious to do everything that we reasonably could to help them. We recognized the need for additional defensive strength, but even more the need for economic strength.

Referring to Laos, the Vice President said we were prepared for the worst but hoped for the best. He would like to have President Ayub's view as to what would be the best course to follow. There were various alternatives. The United States could, for example, "go back to San Francisco," but we did not want to do that. On the other hand, our people did not want to get killed in unnecessary and fruitless fighting. He said we had relied on our allies to help train Laotians. This had not worked out well, and the other side seemed far more willing to fight than ours. In Viet Nam 150,000 friendly forces were confronting 10,000 enemy. Yet they needed even more men and equipment to cope with the problem. In Thailand there were similar difficulties. The problem of the defense of free forces in South Asia would of course be far greater if the Chinese should come in. Yet Diem had said that if we gave him help he would stand up, and Sarit said he needed not nine but 15 divisions.

The Vice President said he would like to be able to inform President Kennedy of what we could expect from our allies if the United States was ready to do thus and so for the area. The United States did not want anything for itself beyond the preservation of the independence of the states of the region. The question was what would be necessary to prevent the communists from gobbling up the weaker nations. It was possible that we could equip them and help them fight properly. If they were not helped, they would be lost. It would be one or the other.

President Ayub responded that he agreed with the Vice President's summary of the problem. He said he would like to outline at length his views on the world situation, but in view of the shortage of time he thought it best for the Vice President simply to read his assessment which had been prepared in summary form for the purposes of the meeting. He handed to the Vice President his notes, which are attached.

The Vice President agreed generally with President Ayub's views, but commented upon his remarks about American policy by saying that we sometimes might be "kindhearted but not wise." We did, however, know who stood up, and the difference between strong friends and neutrals. Regarding possible influence by the United States on India to bring about a solution of the Kashmir problem, he thought President Ayub attributed to us a capacity which the Vice President was not sure we had. We had tried some of these things, but had had little influence with

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Nehru on the question.

President Ayub responded that he knew Nehru would not listen if he did not feel compelled to. That did not mean that he should not listen, nor that the United States did not have the power to influence him. India's flexibility today was gone. With the pressure from the Chinese communists, India relied even more heavily upon the United States. In fact, it had no alternative.

Continuing, the President said the United States was Pakistan's friend and anything going wrong with the United States hurt Pakistan. In Cuba, for example, a situation had been created which greatly damaged not only the United States, but also its allies, including Pakistan. He mentioned the conversation which he had had with Ambassador Rountree on the Cuban situation and the message which he had sent through the Ambassador to President Kennedy on the subject. Pakistan did not want the United States to fail. It wanted it to win against the Soviets. Its battle was Pakistan's battle. If the United States did not use its power, it hurt Pakistan. The power of the United States was much greater than at times the Americans seemed to think. Its power to influence Nehru was very great indeed. Unless there were peace with India which would permit cooperation in the defense of South Asia, there would be a very great threat within a few years and that threat derived from the fact that the communists wanted to control the entire subcontinent. The Soviets were pressing Pakistan and would like to take over the country, but their interest was not in Pakistan itself but in the entire region. Thus, the threat to India was very great, both from the Soviets and from the Chinese Communists, and the Indians must come to realize that. The United States was spending a terrific amount of money in India. It was doing it because it sought Indian security. It could not, however, say that India really was secure. The Indians must do far more to achieve real security and this involved the creation of a situation in which good relations between Pakistan and India could be maintained. American diffidence about Nehru bothered the Pakistani. The United States should help India; but by the same token it should demand that Nehru help create security in the area around India. Thus India should make peace and cooperation with Pakistan possible.

The President was disturbed by the fact that the communists gave support to any friend regardless of the merits of the case, but they assured themselves that the countries helped would not operate against their global policies or their world position. Failure of the United States to support its friends created a one-sided proposition that Americans seemed not to realize. Nehru only wanted American economic assistance, and the assurance of help if he should get into difficulties with the Chinese. He would never help the United States. His policies were in fact extremely harmful to the United States; yet America had not used its leverage to bring about a change in those policies, despite Nehru's very heavy reliance upon it.

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The Vice President responded again that President Ayub attributed to us the capacity for greater influence with Nehru than we in fact possessed. He did not in fact think that Nehru would listen to us on the Kashmir question.

President Ayub remarked that he would listen if the United States should say that it would not otherwise give him all the help he asked. The Vice President remarked that President Ayub was suggesting the "quid pro quo" approach, to which President Ayub responded that he thought it would be a very good idea when dealing with that type of person. He said again that the United States had very great power and that it should use it. It should not be bluffed by Khrushchev; it should do in a straightforward manner what was necessary for the American and free world position.

Responding to the Vice President's question about what should be done about Viet Nam and other Asian trouble spots, President Ayub said that if the present leadership in those countries could not run their affairs, they should get someone able to do so. It must be seen to that they were operated properly. If the leaders could not get the bulk of the people to resist communism, the United States should see to it that key people were in the right places to do so. He thought the situation in Laos was extremely bad. Militarily, it was a nightmare. The Thais were beginning to get the jitters. He thought American military people in Thailand, Laos and Viet Nam should be in a position to assume command responsibilities.

President Ayub thought the Tibetan situation would have a considerable influence in India. Through Tibet, the Chinese communists were already penetrating India, not physically but in influence, particularly in the Calcutta area. Fortunately the large communist party in India was presently split over the Chinese situation. If this were not so the problem would be even greater than it was today. Responding to the Vice President's question, President Ayub said that China's current economic problems were not substantially lessening Chinese activities in other countries. They were in fact even more aggressive in Africa than the Soviets. The Chinese were not likely, due to their own internal difficulties, to concentrate on a single part of the world, such as Laos, to the exclusion of others.

Responding to the Vice President's question about SEATO, President Ayub said no one seemed to want to fight "except us." The Vice President remarked that we appreciated Pakistan's

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willingness to contribute forces, to which President Ayub responded, jokingly, that he thought however that the United States should come along with them. The Vice President observed that it still had not yet been decided what would be necessary in Laos. Considering what other countries were prepared to do and contribute, he doubted that much of a fight could be put up there. President Ayub thought that any sort of a fight by the Royal Laotians would mean that the army must be directly commanded by United States officers; otherwise they simply would not fight.

The President remarked that Thailand was relatively easier to defend, to which the Vice President responded that he thought we would have to make a stand much before Thailand was attacked.

President Ayub described the size and disposition of the Pakistani forces, in reply to the Vice President's question. He said that Pakistan had an excellent army but that it needed more equipment and more mobility. These needs had been described to the American authorities and he hoped that it would be possible for them to be met in light of the tremendous advantages to the United States and the free world of Pakistan having a strong military force capable of real help in meeting the threat in this part of the world.

The Vice President thought it would be an excellent idea if President Ayub could visit the leaders of other Asian nations and talk with them about some of these problems. The President remarked that he recently had visited several countries. He was, however, very busy at the moment and did not see how it would be possible for him to undertake other visits.

Turning to another subject, President Ayub and the Vice President discussed economic problems and development of Pakistan. The President and Finance Minister Shoaib described the magnitude of the five-year program and its general content. Replying to the Vice President's question, they said the annual deficit in foreign exchange financing would be in the neighborhood of 500 million dollars, which it hoped could be financed through contributions by the nations soon to meet in the consortium group under the auspices of the International Bank.

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The President expressed an interest in the Peace Corps and said he hoped that projects could be worked out so that specialists could be sent, particularly in the fields of health, education and agriculture.

The problem of water logging and salinity was discussed at some length. President Ayub handed to the Vice President copies of the Pakistan Program for Water Logging and Salinity Control in the Irrigated Areas of West Pakistan. The Vice President expressed a keen interest in the problem, and said he thought every consideration should be given as to what assistance the United States could render. The President said that Finance Minister Shoaib was leaving almost immediately for Washington and was taking copies of the report with him. He earnestly hoped the United States could provide substantial assistance in this matter. The ~~program-~~ covered ~~all 10-year~~ period and would involve the annual expenditure of 110 million dollars.

Before proceeding to lunch (during which the talks were continued), President Ayub described on the map in his office the military problems confronting Pakistan and the necessary disposition of Pakistani forces related to the dispute with India over Kashmir. Settlement of the Kashmir problem would permit these forces to concentrate entirely upon defense against possible communist aggression. Another Pakistani interest in Kashmir was described by the President as being the need for controlling the headwaters of rivers flowing into Pakistan upon which Pakistan depended for its very existence. These were practical and immediate reasons why Pakistan must find a solution to these problems. There were other reasons, of course, relating to the desires of the people concerned in Kashmir and of a historical nature.

Enclosure

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May 20, 1961

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