IV. A. 1

NATO AND SEATO: A COMPARISON
UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS
1945 - 1967

IV.A.1

NATO AND SEATO: A COMPARISON
FOOTNOTES


4. Ibid., (June 15, 1947), 1159-1160.


8. John Foster Dulles, War or Peace (1950), 95-96.


12. Ibid., 53-54


15. NSC 48/2, 30 Dec 1949 (TOP SECRET) favors a regional association of non-Communist states in Southeast Asia, in which the U.S. "shall not take an active part in early stages."

NSC 48/3, 26 Apr 1951 (TOP SECRET) recommends that the U.S. "consider the desirability of security arrangements with other countries of Asia, either on a bilateral or multilateral basis." A NSC progress report (5 Aug 1953) on NSC 124/2 states that the U.S. will continue to maintain the position that regional defense pacts should be initiated by countries in the region. Cf., also note 23, below.


18. NSC 5405-2, Bonesteel Memorandum, NSC Policy Board (TOP SECRET), May 13, 1954.


20. Memorandum by Merchant (EUR) of conversation between Ambassadors Makin and Smith (U), and between Makin and Dulles, 18 Apr 1954 (SECRET); Tel DULTE 3, 22 Apr 1954, from Paris (TOP SECRET). Reported in State Department Research Project 370, 21-22.


22. Robert Cutler, in a White House Memorandum of May 7, 1954 (TOP SECRET), calls the 5-power Staff Agency a "white man's party," Cf., NSC File No. 5405.

23. NSC 5405-2, Policy Planning Board files, April, May, June (TOP SECRET), Paragraph 17 of NSC 5405 (TOP SECRET) states: "Take measures to promote the coordinated defense of Southeast Asia, recognizing that the initiative in regional defense measures must come from the governments of the area." ISA Memorandum, Wade to Bonesteel, 13 Apr 1954 (TOP SECRET) comments on this paragraph: "In view of what we are now trying to do toward organizing a regional group, the initiative is obviously with us."


A-33

30. Ibid., 3.

31. Ibid., 4.

32. Ibid., 3.; TOSEC 25 (Sep 3, 5h)

33. Ibid., 4.


38. Ibid., (SECRET), 5.


43. SecDef Memorandum for JCS, Subject: "Concept and Plan for the Implementation, if Necessary, of Article IV, 1, of the Manila Pact," dated January 6, 1955 (TOP SECRET).


45. Ibid., (TOP SECRET)


47. Ibid.

A-34

19. **Defense Memorandum, "U.S. Support of SEATO Military Activities," (TOP SECRET), 1., in NSC 5405-3.**

20. **Ibid., (TOP SECRET), 3.**

21. **Defense Memorandum to SecNav, Subject: "Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty (SEATO) Staff Organization," dated December 16, 1955 (SECRET).**

22. **CINCPAC Message to OSD, 222208Z March 1956, (TOP SECRET).**

23. **JCS Memorandum for SecDef, Subject: "Force Availability and Command Relations for the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)," dated March 23, 1959, (SECRET), 1.**

24. **Ibid., (SECRET), 2.**

25. **JCS Memorandum for SecDef, Subject: "Proposal for Reorganization of the SEATO Military Planning Office," dated September 8, 1959, (SECRET), 1.**

26. **Appendix to the Congressional Planning Record, A4475 (1960).**

27. **State Department Memorandum of Conversation #0857, Subject: "Leor," dated 29 April 1961 (TOP SECRET), covering meeting of SecState, SecDef, Atty Gen., JCS, and 8 others.**


29. **Memorandum for SecDef from Deputy Assistant SecDef, Subject: "Alternative Plans for Southeast Asia," (TOP SECRET), dated 5 October 1961. The plans, numbered 1 - 6, are not available; data on the plans had been obtained from cross-checking commentaries on them, and is incomplete. One plan ("5 plus"), an adoption of #5, is singled out as existing "only as a U.S. concept." Plan 5 has been "fully approved." Plans 4 and 6 are "being discussed this week at the SEATO MilAd Conference in Bangkok.**

30. **Study for SecDef from Asst SecDef (ISA) recommending U.S. troop list for SEATO plans 4 and 6, dated 22 September 1961, (TOP SECRET).**

31. **Memorandum for SecDef, Subject: "Alternative Plans for Southeast Asia," (TOP SECRET), dated 5 October 1961.**

63. Ibid., (TOP SECRET).


65. Ibid., (TOP SECRET)


70. Figures from OASD/PA Vietnam Desk.