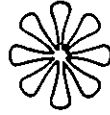


IV. A. 1

NATO AND SEATO: A COMPARISON

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# UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS

## 1945 - 1967

IV.A.1

NATO AND SEATO: A COMPARISON

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FOOTNOTES

1. Winston Churchill, "Alliance of English-Speaking People," Vital Speeches of the Day, Vol. 12 (March 15, 1946). Speech was delivered in Fulton, Missouri.
2. By "X," "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 25 (July, 1947), 566-82.
3. U.S. Department of State Bulletin, Vol. 16 (March 23, 1947), 536.
4. Ibid., (June 15, 1947), 1159-1160.
5. Committee of European Economic Cooperation, General Report, Vol. 1 (U.S. Department of State Publication 2930, 1947), 13.
6. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 446. H. C. DEB 5 S Col. 396-397 (January 22, 1948).
7. U.S. Department of State Bulletin, Vol. 18 (March 28, 1948), 419.
8. John Foster Dulles, War or Peace (1950), 95-96.
9. Congressional Record, Vol. 94, Part VI, 80th Congress, 2d Session, 7791.
10. North Atlantic Treaty, Hearings Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress, 1st Session, Part I, 237.
11. Charles Wolf, Jr., Foreign Aid: Theory and Practice in Southern Asia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 40-52.
12. Ibid., 53-54
13. Documents on American Foreign Relations, 1949, 626.
14. U.S. Congress, Hearings on Executive K, 83d Congress, 2d Session, Part I (November 11, 1954).
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. "should 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.

16. U.S. Congress, House, Hearings to Amend the ECA Act of 1948 as Amended, 1950, Part I, 33-35.
17. Report of NSC 192d meeting, 6 Apr 1954 (TOP SECRET), 3.
18. NSC 5405-2, Bonesteel Memorandum, NSC Policy Board (TOP SECRET), May 13, 1954.
19. U.S. Congress, House, Hearings on East-West Trade Before the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 83d Congress, 2d Session (GPO, 1954), 292-293.
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.
21. NSC 5405-2, Bonesteel Memorandum, NSC Policy Board (TOP SECRET), May 13, 1954.
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, Wado 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."
24. Memorandum to SecDef, "Report on the Manila Conference" (SECRET), 14 Sep 1954, p. 1 (hereafter referred to as "Manila Report").
25. John R. Beal, John Foster Dulles (New York: Harper, 1957), 222; reported in Roscoe Robinson, SEATO: An Appraisal (University of Pittsburgh Marter's Thesis, 1964). Cf., also Hearings, 83d Congress, 2d Session, Part I, 1954.
26. Memorandum to SecDef, "Report on the Manila Conference" (SECRET), 14 Sep 1954, 3; A.S.B. Olver, SEATO: The Manila Treaty and Western Policy in Southeast Asia. (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1956), p. 12.
27. Manila Report (SECRET), 2.
28. New York Times, September 8, 1954

29. Manila Report (SECRET), 1.
30. Ibid., 3.
31. Ibid., 4.
32. Ibid., 3.; TOSEC 25 (Sep 3, 54)
33. Ibid., 4.
34. Memorandum to SecDef from Herman Phleger, Subject: "Geneva Armistice Agreement Restrictions on Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam," dated July 27, 1954 (SECRET).
35. U.S. Congress, "Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam, July 20, 1954," in Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam (Committee Print, 89th Congress, 2d Session), 43.
36. Phleger, op. cit., (SECRET), 5.
37. Manila Report (SECRET), 4.
38. Ibid., (SECRET), 5.
39. Lord Ismay, NATO: The First Five Years. (Utrecht: Bosch, 1952) passim.
40. NATO Information Service, The NATO Handbook. (Utrecht: Bosch, 1953), 62
41. U.S. Congress, Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam, op. cit., 70-74.
42. DoD (ISA) Memorandum, Subject: "Analysis of Possible Implications of the Bangkok Conference," January 31, 1955 (TOP SECRET), File #71325 in NSC 5405-2, 3.
43. SecDef Memorandum for JCS, Subject: "Concept and Plans for the Implementation, if Necessary, of Article IV, 1, of the Manila Pact," dated January 6, 1955 (TOP SECRET).
44. Memorandum, Subject: "Department of Defense Contribution to and Participation in the Bangkok Conference," dated March 29, 1955 (TOP SECRET).
45. Ibid., (TOP SECRET)
46. JCS Memorandum CM-171-55, Subject: "Summary of Report of Military Staff Planners Conference...Baguio, Philippines, April-May 1955," dated July 1, 1955, (TOP SECRET).
47. Ibid.

48. JCS Memorandum, Subject: "Report of Military Staff Planners Conference, Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, Manila, Philippines, April-May 1955," dated June 2, 1955 (Appendix "A") (TOP SECRET).
49. Defense Memorandum, "U.S. Support of SEATO Military Activities," (TOP SECRET), 1., in NSC 5405-3.
50. Ibid., (TOP SECRET), 3.
51. Defense Memorandum to SecNav, Subject: "Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (SEATO) Staff Organization," dated December 16, 1955 (SECRET).
52. CINCPAC Message to OSD, 222208Z March 1956, (TOP SECRET).
53. JCS Memorandum for SecDef, Subject: "Force Availabilities and Command Relations for the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)," dated March 23, 1959, (SECRET), 1.
54. Ibid., (SECRET), 2.
55. JCS Memorandum for SecDef, Subject: "Proposal for Reorganization of the SEATO Military Planning Office," dated September 8, 1959, (SECRET), 1
56. Appendix to the Congressional Record, A4475 (1960).
57. State Department Memorandum of Conversation #8857, Subject: "Laos," dated 29 April 1961 (TOP SECRET), covering meeting of SecState, SecDef, Atty Gen., JCS, and 8 others.
58. Memorandum for SecDef, dated October 5, 1961, "Alternative Plans for Southeast Asia," (TOP SECRET)
59. 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.
60. Study for SecDef from Asst SecDef (ISA) recommending U.S. troop list for SEATO plans 4 and 6, dated 22 September 1961, (TOP SECRET).
61. Memorandum for SecDef, Subject: "Alternative Plans for Southeast Asia," (TOP SECRET), dated 5 October 1961.

62. ISA Study of 8 September 1961, cited in Note 60, (TOP SECRET).
63. Ibid., (TOP SECRET).
64. JCS Memorandum 661-61 to SecDef, Subject: "Plan for Military Intervention in Laos," dated 20 September 1961, (TOP SECRET).
65. Ibid., (TOP SECRET)
66. JCS Memorandum 704-61 to SecDef, Subject: "Planning for Southeast Asia," dated 5 October 1961, (TOP SECRET).
67. Memorandum from SecDef to JCS, Subject: "Planning for Southeast Asia," dated 5 October 1961, (SECRET).
68. JCS Memorandum 716-61 to SecDef, Subject: "Concept of Use of SEATO Forces in South Vietnam," dated 9 October 1961, (TOP SECRET).
69. The New York Times, 15 May 1962.
70. Figures from OASD/PA Vietnam Desk.