

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect 3.5

NSC/Spubers to Smith, 09/06/2002

By GR Date 01/30/07

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 10, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

National Security Study Memorandum 38

TO: The Secretary of State  
The Secretary of Defense  
The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Post-Vietnam Asian Policy

The President has directed the preparation of a study of U.S. policy for East Asia and the Pacific following the Vietnam War.

This study should examine the principal strategic policy approaches to this region available to the United States in the 1970s, in the light of U.S. objectives and commitments, potential threats to our interests, and the role of other major countries in the area.

Two or three broad alternative outcomes to the Vietnam conflict should be assumed.

The study should explore the broad implications of each of the strategic alternatives for U.S. policies with regard to:

1. Current alliances and commitments in the region, both bilateral and multilateral (SEATO, ANZUS).
2. Regional organizations, both current and possible new arrangements.
3. Bilateral and multilateral diplomacy for and within the region.
4. Military forces and deployments of both nuclear and general purpose forces (the material in the NSSM 3 study should be drawn upon).
5. U.S. overseas bases and strategic mobility (the regional material in the world-wide base study should be drawn upon as well as the studies by the Political-Military Group directed by the Review Group).

CONFIDENTIAL

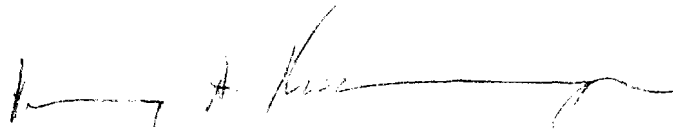
---

6. Military grant aids and sales.
7. Bilateral and multilateral economic assistance.
8. Budget and balance of payments costs of alternative strategies.

The President has requested that the Interdepartmental Group for East Asia and the Pacific undertake this study and submit it to the NSC Review Group by July 11, 1969. The Chairman of the Group may invite representatives of other agencies to participate in the study as appropriate.

Subsequent papers will be requested examining in detail the implications and implementation of the preferred strategic approach.

The President has requested, in preparation for the visit of Prime Minister Gorton, an interim analysis of U.S. objectives and interests in Southeast Asia, including alternatives. This study should also be prepared by the Interdepartmental Group for East Asia and the Pacific and submitted to the NSC Review Group by April 25.



Henry A. Kissinger

cc: The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff