

PART I

I. An Over-all Perspective on Viet-Nam

- A. How, when, and why we became involved. Should we have become involved?
- B. The rise and fall of the Diem Regime--why it fell
- C. The problem of the political vacuum
- D. The Lost Revolution--Nov. 1963 - Feb. 1964--The VN reaction
- E. US intervention in force--1965
- F. The Thieu-Ky Regime
 - 1. More stable now than when he took office
 - 2. The Thieu-Ky rivalry
 - 3. The beginnings of a broadened political base--
National Assembly and Judiciary

II. The Turning Points of the War

- A. The Tet Offensive--Jan. 1968
- B. President Johnson's decision not to run again

III. Proper Strategy for VN

- A. Gradual withdrawal--keep the monkey on the VN back
- B. Vietnamization
- C. Filling the political vacuum

PART IIPostmortem--Where we went wrong in Viet-Nam and what can be learned from
our experienceI. Miscalculations at the Time of our Initial Involvement

- A. Overestimation of viability of pro-French elements or non-communist nationalists.
- B. Overestimation of our ability, as foreigners, to do something about it.

II. The Blank Check

Commitment not tied to performance.

III. The Failure to Support the VN Revolution of 1963 after it OccurredIV. Failure of Attitude, Approach, and Methodology

- A. Failure to take VN seriously.
 - 1. Failure to really study the problem and achieve a *texte de base*. Lack of intellectual humility.
 - 2. Failure to explain our presence in VN either to Vietnamese or Americans. (Example: no handouts for troops, etc.)
 - 3. Failure to train personnel for duty in VN.
 - 4. The one-year tour.
 - 5. Improper civil/military balance. Default of the political authority.
 - 6. Failure to place priority on the Vietnamese Personnel question.

V. Lessons to be Learned from VN

- A. Assess local viabilities before making commitments.
- B. Make commitments conditional on adequate self-help.
- C. Train personnel before implementing programs.
- D. Keep political authority paramount and tighten orchestration of country team. (Example: VN Major & talk with Dick Stilwell)
- E. Problems of the press--unsolved.

PART III

Recent Policy and Political Developments. (Mr. Rosenthal)