National Security Study Memorandum 152

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

SUBJECT: Cambodia Assessment

The President has directed the preparation of an assessment of the current situation in Cambodia, prospects for the next 18 months, and actions we might take to advance our objectives in Cambodia.

The first part of this study, dealing with political aspects, should cover but need not necessarily be confined to:

-- The prospects for political stability of change and the implications for the military situation.

-- An assessment of problems and prospects for GKR-GVN relations and ways in which we can contribute to their improvement.

This part of the study should be prepared by an inter-agency Ad Hoc Group chaired by a representative of the Secretary of State. It should be completed by April 22, 1972.

The second part of the study dealing with military aspects should cover:

-- The military situation in Cambodia, including FANK capability to deal with a reasonable range of enemy threats.

-- The determinants of FANK effectiveness and the actions that could be expected to improve it. This should examine the appropriateness of FANK strategy, tactics, and leadership as well as the level and
composition of our assistance programs and such issues as improving the personnel and logistics systems. Development of Cambodian air support in relation to reductions in available U.S. air should be covered.

-- The alternative approaches to obtaining a more effective FANK. This should consider actions which could be taken by the GKR alone as well as by the U.S. and/or ARVN.

-- The importance in military terms to Vietnamization of various Cambodia contributions including denial of supply through a Cambodian port, allied air operations against supply routes in Eastern Cambodia, cooperation with ARVN in cross border operations against logistics and training areas, and diversion of NVA and VC combat forces away from Vietnam.

This part of the study should be prepared by an inter-agency Ad Hoc Group chaired by the representative of the Secretary of Defense. It should also be completed by April 22, 1972.

These studies also should take into account earlier studies of the same issues and should take into account alternative future U.S. assistance levels.

The VSSG Working Group should provide general direction for both studies and incorporate the two studies into a single issues paper for consideration by the Senior Review Group late in April.

This study should also serve as a major input and basis for the FY 74 Country Programming Memorandum on Cambodia required by NSDM 112. The due date for the Cambodian CPM is postponed to June 30.

Henry A. Kissinger

cc: The Director, Office of Management and Budget