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~~SECRET~~

AUGUST, 1965

August 9

HCL memo of instructions to Lansdale -- designating him HCL's "executive agent, responsible for getting an effective political-social program moving in Viet Nam...;" or "...tactfully and persuasively braiding together the separate economic, social, information, military, and other programs as necessary to its success..." without altering the existing U. S. military command. Authorizes EGL "... to act in an advisory capacity to Vietnamese and American personnel at all echelons necessary to achieve the major aims of having the people adhere to the Government...;" to have a staff selected by EGL and approved by HCL, responsible only to HCL.

Last half of month

Announcements in press that Henry Cabot Lodge will take Lansdale plus a small team to Viet Nam.

Organizational meeting at Bohannon's house.

Meeting of team with Bill Bundy.

August 29

Lansdale arrived in Viet Nam.

Arrival statement about being members of Great Vietnamese Family stirred "heart-warming emotional acceptance among wide circle Vietnamese."

August 30

EGL designated as Chairman of the U. S. Mission Liaison Group. (Inactive for a period of months previously.)

Team members and Initial Assignments:

General Lansdale

Joseph F. Baker
Charles T. Bohannan

Executive Officer
Handyman and Counterinsurgency and
Chieu Hoi expert

Charles Choate

Rule of Law

(B)(1) OSD

2.

Michael J. Deutch	Economic Dynamics
Daniel Ellsberg	Politico/Military
Colonel Samuen N. Karrick	Liaison with U. S. Military
George Melvin	Rural Affairs and Sects
Henry L. Miller	JUSPAO Liaison
Rufus C. Phillips	Trouble Shooter
Joseph P. Redick	Personal Assistant
Napoleon D. Valeriano	Liaison with Vietnamese Military and National Police
Bernard Yoh	(Associate) Unconventional Operations

Team began arriving in Saigon August 29, 1965. All were on board in the first few days of September except for Deutch (16 September), Melvin (late September), Choate (late September), and []

OSD
(B)(1)

Phillips departed around mid-October, returned for six weeks in August 1966.

SEPTEMBER, 1965

(B)(1) (a)(5) *state*

Sept. 7, 8 Rufe learned from [] details of
persecution of [] (B)(1) (a)(5) *state*

Sept. 12 Supper for Minister of Rural Construction, Nguyen
tat Ung and members of the top working staffs of
Agriculture, Rural Credit, Rural Construction,
Public Health. Ung killed few days later in plane crash.

Sept. 14 Graduation of First Political Warfare Officers Course.
Music by Pham Duy and Steve Addis.

Sept. 18 Team dinner with HCL and Ambassador Porter.

Sept. 21 EGL meeting with Ky, 1730-1900. Discussed
refugees, speech to celebrate his first 100 days
as Prime Minister, Rural Construction, Lodge's
letter to Americans about relations with Vietnamese,
help for the poor.



3.

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Sept. 21 EGL dinner with Tran van Do to meet General Nguyen van Thieu. Also present: Bui Diem, General Cao van Vien (III Corps), General Le Nguyen Khang (CMD). Discussed Bui Diem's boyhood pranks, Trinh minh The, veterans' problems, Luigi, drafting of a Constitution.

Thieu said he was trying to get roots down to the people for the government, starting with forming a National Council, based mostly on the elected Provincial Councils, as a consultative body. Hopefully such a Council would be tasked with drafting a Constitution.

Sept. 21 Hank Miller (with Bernie Yoh, Sam Karrick) luncheon meeting with Pham Duy [] to support the war effort. (b)(1) (a)(5) state

EGL toured Hop Tac area with HCL.

Sept. 22 At MLG meeting USOM took over action on refugees.

Sept. 25 Bui Diem asked EGL for ideas to be included in speech to be given by Prime Minister Ky October 1 marking his first 100 days in office.

Sept. 27 Proposed text approved by Ambassador Lodge and given to Ky (text in Saigon 1061, Sept. 27). (b)(1) (a)(5) state

Sept. 28, 29 []

x

Sept. 29 EGL (and part of MLG - Collins, Wilson, Freund, Hess, Bohannan) had five-hour meeting with Ky on pacification planning. Ky asked that the same group meet him the morning of October 2 with suggested comments on pacification in selected areas and on formulation of pacification cadres.

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4.

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OCTOBER, 1965

Oct. 1

Prime Minister Ky delivered his "100 Days" speech based in large part on Team suggestions (text in Saigon 1133, October 1).

The MLG approved an EGL talking paper for use in discussions with Prime Minister Ky, a MACV paper recommending concepts for pacification and priority areas, and a USOM paper on strengthening cadre, subject to OK by the Ambassador. These to be used at a meeting with Ky 0900, October 2.

Oct. 2

EGL, General Collins, General Freund, Dick Holbrooke, Len Maynard, Mark Huss, [] Bohannan met with Ky. Prime Minister and his staff receptive to ideas submitted. (B)(1) OSD

Oct. 6

Bohannan headed a committee of the MLG to pull together ideas for Ky to use in his 11 October speech on pacification at the two-day seminar on Rural Construction, Refugees, and Public Administration. Seminar to be attended by one member of each elected Provincial Council (the first meeting of elected representatives in Saigon since Dalat).

(B)(1) OSD

Oct. 8

EGL [] met for two hours with Chief of State Nguyen van Thieu discussing political problems. Thieu said he was still doing hard planning on how best to create a representative council to draft a Constitution -- that he would observe the behavior of the representatives of the elected Provincial Councils at the 11, 12 October seminar -- that he would probably delay convening a Constitutional Council until December, 1965. X

Oct. 11

Ky made his speech to the seminar.

NOTE: About this time Lansdale Group renamed Senior Liaison Office.

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5. 5.

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Oct. 14 MLG held a joint meeting with General Thang and his staff. Thang asked for MLG help in joint staffing to plan the organizing, training, and deploying of cadres and the making of a preliminary 1966 Rural Construction plan.

OSD

(b)(1)

Oct. 18 First SLO party. Ambassador Lodge, []
Bernie.

(b)(1)(a)(5) state

Oct. 19 EGL met with []

Oct. 20 (b)(1) state
(a)(5) state [] General Thang, met with MLG on pacification and GVN/US contributions.

(b)(1)
(a)(5) state

NOTE: At this period, []

[] Ky and Thi. Thi and Vinh Loc refused to attend two cabinet meetings (26 October for one). Thang talked of the possibility of his being made Minister of Interior (25 October).

Oct. 21 EGL, Deutch, and Condon (Labor Attaché) spent the morning with Labor leader Buu on counter-insurgency and pacification.

Oct. 22 EGL at MLG meeting announced that Ky had tasked Thang with making show places out of four selected spots in Gia Dinh Province and desired MLG to assist.

Oct. 30 Thang told EGL Prime Minister Ky now wanted only two show places -- Phu Tho Hoa and District 8. Discussed work on cadres in Thang's staff, and in Bohannan committee. Thang agreed to intervene to prevent transfer of []

(b)(1)

(b)(1)(a)(5)

state

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6.

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NOVEMBER, 1965

Nov. 1 Tran quoc Buu (CVT) talked to Deutch and Condon about the liberation of village people from VC control.

Nov. 2 SLO paper on A National Council (based on the Concept of Revolutionary Villages) given Bui Diem.

Nov. 3 EGL memo on manpower requirements for pacification given to Mission Council.

Nov. 4 Dickey Chapelle killed near Chu Lai. X

Nov. 5 Joint US/GVN meeting on Rural Construction (attended by Lodge and Ky). Decree announced (as of 4th) creating Rural Construction Councils for each level of government. The Central RCC chaired by Ky, X
(b)(1) X
(a)(5) X
[] Thang as Secretary General. Members include Corps Commanders, National Police Commission selected cabinet members.

Nov. 8 EGL, Thang, plus others US and GVN visited Binh Dinh.

Nov. 10 Nguyen thi Hue blew the whistle on Bernie Yoh at Cong Ly.

Nov. 14 EGL, Buu, Deutch discussed CVT assistance in forming a popular anti-Communist front. X

Nov. 21 Bui Diem reported the Revolutionary Village concept being translated and studied, being treated as a Vietnamese concept.
(b)(1)(a)(5) X
[] Chieu Hoi discussed with Melvin winning the "swing element" among the VC. X

~~SECRET~~

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7.

Nov. 23 Thang reported he had turned down control of the refugee program.

Nov. 25 Thang and Pham Duy at Cong Ly for Thanksgiving dinner, leading to Pham Duy's agreeing to write songs for Rural Construction cadres, and to popularize Rural Construction operations among villagers. Thang listed five points for Pham Duy to keep in mind as cadre tasks: X

1. Eliminate VC infrastructure; provide security for the people.
2. Eliminate corruption at the grass roots level.
3. Permit free elections of hamlet authorities.
4. Develop a self-defense capability and desire, using weapons furnished by the GVN.
5. Self-help and economic development projects.

Nov. 27 Lt. Col. Chau took charge of cadre in Thang's office (formerly Chief of Kien Hoa Province).

Nov. 27 (Per Bui Diem, 29 November) The NLC agreed re:

1. An appointed Constitutional Committee to travel around Viet Nam, holding meetings with the people, to learn what they want in their Constitution.
2. Real democracy to be started through Revolutionary Villages.
3. A consultative National Council to be convened as advisory to the present government.

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8.

Nov. 29

EGL briefed Secretary of Defense McNamara on pacification. Also in a letter to SECDEF "It is fair to say that, aside from the heavy US-GVN effort in the Hop Tac area around Saigon, pacification work in Viet Nam has suffered from disastrous neglect by the GVN during the past two years."

EGL recommended to HCL he designate who in the Mission is to have the executive role in dealing with RC cadre (organization, recruitment, training, employment). ^{OD} []

(B) (1)



Nov. 30

Ky invited EGL to his office after breakfast.

1. Ky referred to his comment (the night before) to EGL, McNamara, Wheeler, that two years of hard work required before elections in Viet Nam. This estimate (he said) based on Thang's estimate that two years required for 51% of the population to be pacified.

2. Confirmed that the NLC thinking of a small Constitutional Committee to hold hearings throughout Viet Nam to ascertain the popular desires for provisions in a Constitution. At the insistence of Thieu, a council of about 70 to be constituted in early 1966.

3. Hoped EGL would contact religious and political groups (as he had with the CVT) as preliminaries to constructive meetings with them by Ky. Thinking of militant Catholics, Buddhist groups, Hoa Hao, Cao Dai, political parties. ^{On} message to State reporting above, HCL said Item 3 must be approached with "great caution.")

Nov. 30

EGL began reporting to Bundy by memo instead of electronically.

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9.

DECEMBER, 1965

Dec. 1 Hasan visited Bernie to talk about the situation in Indonesia.

EGL as Chairman of MLG, requested Mission Council to designate [] or USOM as executive agent for the cadre program. (b)(1) *state*
(a)(5)

Dec. 5 Bui Diem at Cong Ly for breakfast.

1. A Constitutional Committee to be formed "shortly" to meet in Saigon for about three months to draft an outline Constitution. Then it would visit each Provincial capital to meet with Provincial Councils and others to learn what the people want in the Constitution. Total time estimated at six months. By mid 1967 a Constitutional Referendum can be held.
2. Ky wants an operations room in the new Executive Building.

Dec. 7 HCL memo to EGL OK'd EGL's acceding to requests with regard to possible helpful action made by the CVT and Hoa Hao as to Rural Construction/pacification (only). On the 13th, this was amended to approve dealing with all the various groups "as they approach" EGL re Rural Construction.

Dec. 10 EGL alerted HCL that wives of political prisoners plan to go ahead with a petition to President Johnson.

EGL to HCL -- "Concept of Constructive Political Moves" -- re EGL contacts with Hoa Hao and other political groups.

EGL memo to HCL re Kitty Hay and Women's Affairs.
(b)(1) (a)(5) *state*

Dec. 15 [] [] George Melvin of a petition on behalf of political prisoners to be presented to HCL and the President.



10.

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Dec. 15 HCL to EGL on roles of U. S. agencies in phases of rural construction (drafted by SLO). Referred to EGL as principal coordinator for the Mission and principal contact point within the GVN in the fields of pacification and development. This was triggered by a note from Ambassador Porter to EGL asking for thoughts on roles. USOM and JUSPAO went to HCL later with memos restricting meaning re their agencies. MACV also rumored to have objected.

Dec. 18 SLO reception. Pham Duy, Filipinos, Chieu Hoi.

Dec. 21 EGL to D. C. for leave and Warrenton meetings. At time of EGL's departure, SLO planned teams to each priority area (I Corps II Corps - Charlie Choate; III Corps - Dan Ellsberg; IV Corps - George Melvin). (B)(1) .

OSD

Dec. 24 Val left for Manila to assist in inauguration of Marcos.

NOTE: During December the Mission was involved in planning for the January meetings at Warrenton.

JANUARY, 1966

State
(B)(1)(a)(5)

Jan. 3

with Melvin.

discussed the

plan

Jan. 7

General Thang planned use of the cadre song written by Pham Duy.

Jan. 8-11

Warrenton meeting.

~~SECRET~~



11.

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Jan. 17 Colonel Hoang van Lac told Melvin that his office had disapproved the Kien Ha plan on the Corps Commander's recommendation due to doubts about the adequacy of the engineering study and the stated security requirements. Lac planned to write the USOM Director.

Jan. 19 EGL, Val returned from Manila.

Jan. 26 EGL memo to HCL on "Status of Rural Construction."

Jan. 27 Porter attended his first MLG meeting, discussed results of Warrenton.

Jan. 29 EGL memo to Mann recommended expansion of the Chinese Agricultural Mission.

Jan. 29 At breakfast, Ky told EGL the NLC planned to meet on the 31st to decide the composition of the council to draft a Constitution.

Jan. 31 Mission tasked with studies from Warrenton.

FEBRUARY, 1966

Feb. 1, 3, 4. Briefings for HCL on Rural Construction by MACV and USOM. Honolulu X

9-13 (about) Visit by Vice President Humphrey. X

Feb. 12 Team meeting at Cong Ly to meet members of the Vice President's party and Jack Vallenti.

Feb. 16 Le khac Hoai told Joe Redick the present national X

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12.

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anthem was originally composed in 1944 by Luu
huu Phuoc as a marching song for students. The
words were written by Mai van Bo, then (Feb. 1966)
NVN's representative in Paris. With some revision
in wording it was designated as the national anthem
by the Japanese puppet government of Tran Trong Kim
established in March 1945. (Phuoc, Bo, and Hoai
were all students together at the University of Hanoi.)

Feb. 17

HCL released a statement that Deputy Ambassador
Porter designated "to take full charge, under my
direction, of all aspects of the work of the United
States in support of the Vietnamese Government's
programs of community building, presently described
as rural construction, to which the U. S. agreed at
the Honolulu Conference."

Colonel Lieu at Cong Ly discussed Vietnamese
feelings of being pressured in Honolulu.

Feb. 18

Thang told EGL of his concern about [redacted]

[redacted] (B)(1)(a)(5)
State

Feb. 24-27

Melvin visited An Giang and Phu Quoc with Fraleigh.

OSD

(B)(1) *

Feb. 28

EGL [redacted] departed for Quang Nam to talk
to General Thi.

(B)(1)(a)(5) State

[redacted] Amer. Co. [redacted] in Washington looking for a lawyer --
chose Jim Patton.

END FEB.

NOTES:

1. Much of this month busy with fall-out from the
Warrenton meetings in January and preparation for/participation in/
fall-out from the February meeting at Honolulu.

2. About the first of the month, the team had lost
Bernie Yoh, Charlie Choate, and Bohannan, and had picked up Ted
Heavner.

2/4

~~SECRET~~

13.

~~SECRET~~

MARCH, 1966

*OSD
(B)(1)*

March 1

EGL [] returned from Quang Nam. They had discussed problems of pacification with General Thi and III MAF; noticed no evidence of undue restiveness on Thi's part. They attended the investiture of the 4th (of 5 provinces) civilian Province Chief in I Corps (Quang Nam).

(B)(1)(a)(s) State

March 1-7

CBS filmed a story of Binh Dinh []

March 3.

EGL requested relief from responsibility for the MLG.

March 3

Melvin under attack for visits to the Delta (later resolved).

March 4

EGL memo on "Senior Liaison Office" dealing with how SLO should be used (copies to Lodge, Porter, Habib).

March 7

EGL talk with Thang re Vietnamese doing the work themselves and getting credit for it. (USAID/MACV placques in markets; kids begging candy; USAID prov rep emergency funds.) EGL chided Thang for not having taken action with the Rangers in Phuoc Tuy who shot chickens, moved into homes. Thang showed he was learning the value of contact with the people. X

March 10

Special meeting of Directorate concurred in relief of Thi from I Corps. Decision made public the 11th. General Chuan new Commander.

March 12

Buddhist Institute in Saigon issued four-point communique calling for:

1. reinstatement of generals and officers who had contributed to the Revolution.
2. officers at home and abroad return to purely military duties.



14.

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3. a national assembly and a government of national solidarity.
4. government implementation of its program for a social revolution.

March 13 General strike by the Struggle Committee in I Corps.

March 14 Unrest in Hue began.

March 16 Thi returned to DaNang and Hue for "good byes."

March 19 Large Buddhist crowds in Saigon.

March 19 Thang returned from visits to 43 provinces with ideas on Vietnamese needs (later circulated to Mission Council members by EGL).

March 21 Melvin status report on Kien Ha:

23 November 1965; believed under
MORD.

March 22 EGL recommended to HCL that the Directorate appoint five civilians to its membership -- charging them with drawing up a Constitution and plans for a national election.

(B)(1) (a)(5) State

March 23

—

March 24 Ky told EGL that the Directorate had decided to hold Provincial Council elections in 1966 for one-third of the membership. He discussed a possible Constitutional Preparation Committee of appointees and members of Provincial and City Councils. EGL

15. ~~SECRET~~

suggested that Ky take his cabinet for visits to the national priority areas, meet with the people, hold cabinet meetings there to decide the GVN actions needed. Ky concerned over Hue and possible martial law. EGL warned it would give the Buddhists a rallying point.

March 24 EGL held a press background briefing on Revolutionary Development.

March 26 Demonstrations in Saigon.

March 30 EGL visited the POLWAR school at Dalat.

March 31 Chieu went to Hue to talk with Thi . Radio stations in Hue and DaNang in hands of Struggle Group.

NOTES:

1. During March SLO monitored a possible deal with Nungs on Phu Quoc.
2. EGL appointed to rank of Minister.
3. Deutch left the team about the 20th.
4. Pham Duy left for a three-month tour of the U. S.
5. Political scene dominated by firing of Thi, his return to Hue, and the Buddhist uprisings.
6. Heavner released to Political Section.

APRIL, 1966

April 1 Chieu taken in charge by 10,000 demonstrators to address the "people."

April 2 Chieu returned to Saigon.

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16.

~~SECRET~~

April 2

Memo to Lodge (Porter, Habib) on "Concepts for Action" in accordance with which Ky would fly to provincial capitals, meet with elected Provincial Councils, get their support of him and a newly created Citizens Emergency Committee formed to advise him. Starting in the most favorable provinces he should be able to attract leaders and groups away from the "Struggle Movement," isolating it. This proposal discussed at Mission Council meeting April 2.

April 3-9

Struggle Group demanded immediate elections for a National Assembly. GVN held out for a Constitutional Assembly first.

Struggle Group controlled Hue and Danang, active in most cities in I and II Corps.

April 4

The leader of possible Phu Quoc defectors died of gangrene in wounds.

Two battalions of VN Marines sent to Danang airfield.

April 5

Lodge talked to EGL about the draft message proposing the team be disbanded because of the prohibition against team members seeing Vietnamese leaders. Lodge removed all restrictions on the team (later modified in writing to require prior coordination with HCL, Porter, or Habib).

EGL (on political solutions) stated that events of the past two days (use of force in Saigon, sending Marines to Danang) made it too late for Ky to visit Provincial Councils -- but that Ky should now speak directly to the people at rallies in each provincial capital asking their views on elections of an Assembly or Council. Lodge had the idea EGL and the team wanted more publicity!

2,000 students rallied to discuss the situation of the nation. Schools closed by Thieu.

17.

Thang met with EGL; very concerned about the political situation and how to keep Revolutionary Development moving during the political crisis.

April 6

Ky by letter to Thich tam Chau indicated a Constitutional Convention could be convened within a maximum period of six months.

Kerrick team Executive Officer. Baker to leave for Paris (eventually).

Vietnamese rumors increased of imminent fall of Ky.

Porter and Komer met with Thang and EGL. Afterwards Thang told EGL of Co "captured" in I Corps, of Ky's refusal to let Loan use force in Danang.

Thieu had meeting with political, religious, and professional leaders.

April 7

EGL invited to visit Thieu. Discussed the political situation. Thieu said he had talked with leaders on the 6th about the GVN, and about the need for a National Political Congress. (Saigon 3834, 9 April)

April 8

General Dinh new I Corps Commander.

EGL memo to Komer on needed projects that can be undertaken by the Mission.

April 9

Thang met with EGL. Much concern about stability of the GVN. Thang agreed to concentrate on R. D. (He started frequent visits to III and IV Corps provinces.)

April 10-12

Marine battalions withdrawn from Danang.

April 11

National Political Congress convened, but not attended by Buddhists.



18.

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April 14 Thieu promulgated decree for elected Constitutional Assembly in three to five months.

April 15 Buddhist Institute accepted the decree agreeing that Ky government should stay on until elections held.
State
(b)(1)(a)(5)

Mid-April Episode of [] pointing out mortar position in Phu Tho Hoa used to shell Tan Son Nhut. *X*

April 20 EGL agreed to Porter's use of Ellsberg to chair a special committee looking into problems of RD cadre with PF. EGL pointed out that SLO limited to contacts with MORD -- which was the only ministry to continue functioning through the political crisis.

April 23 Preparatory committee convened to discuss foundation of conference on electoral laws and procedures. Concluded electoral commission to be established to draw up electoral laws and procedures, supervise elections.

April 29 Lodge left Saigon for U. S. So did Sam.

April 30 EGL met with two Cao Dai representatives from Tay Ninh (General Nguyen tan Manh []) [] accepted their invitation to visit Trinh minh The's grave in about a month.
(b)(1) State
(a)(5)

MAY 1966

May 4 Thang visited EGL - said:

1. RD programs in I Corps had kept going despite the Struggle demonstrations.

~~SECRET~~

19.

SECRET

2. Would try to get [] to his Ministry now that Vinh Loc []
[](b)(1)(a)(5) state

3. Most of Provinces would reach 75% of the short term goals set for them by June 1.

4. Worried about Vung Tau and too much U. S. influence there.

May 5

Election law drafting committee convened.

May 6-7

EGL at UCLA.

May 9

EGL in Washington.

May 14-15

Ky dispatched Marines to Danang. On 15 troops moved into city to get control. Corps Commander went to III MAF for asylum.

May 18

General Dinh (former Corps CG) joined the Struggle forces in Hue.

(B)(1)
(a)(5)
State

May 19

Militant Catholics alleged to be planning demonstrations against Lodge but pro-American otherwise.

May 20

Thang planning to send Lt. Colonel Chau to command Vung Tau, but expected Major Mai to resign if he did so.

(b)(1)(a)(5) State

May 23

James Corps. Commander.

HCL (and Sam) returned.



20. [REDACTED]

May 24 Order restored in Danang.

May 24 Ky and Thieu affirmed GVN intention to hold elections September 11.

May 26 USIS library in Hue burned.

May 27 Memo from EGL to HCL on "The SLO Role."

May 27 Some Americans evacuated from Hue.

~~SECRET~~

Page 21.

JUNE, 1966

1. Joe Baker left for duty in Paris.

Lt. Col. Chau appointed Director of the Vung Tau Training Center. about mid-June.

(B)(1)(a)(S) State

GVN announced that Directorate would be enlarged by addition of ten civilians to membership. Done on June 6. (2 Cao Dai, 2 Hoa Hao, 2 Catholics, and 2 Buddhists included.)

4. EGL memo to the Team outlining tasks in helping the Vietnamese gain their own political institutions. (Note: never really came to pass.)

6. Warnings to SLO through Vietnamese friends of violence in Saigon (Buddhist generated) in the next few days.

6-8 EGL talks with Dr. Phan huy Quat, former Prime Minister, on current political situation. Bui Diem nickname of "McGeorge Diem." (Bundy now out of White House.)

8. Thang to start a 20-day trip to provinces.

9. EGL with Nguyen xuan Oanh (Jack Owen). Oanh said Tri Quang initiated his Struggle Movement with anti-Thieu leaflets two days before Ky ousted Thi.

(B)(1)(a)(S) State

11. promising to continue it until Thieu and Ky resigned (with escape clauses).

13. 70,000 to 80,000 Catholics rallied and paraded in Saigon (Sunday).

15. EGL (with Filipino friends) gave support to site change of PHILCAP from Hau Nghia to Tay Ninh.

(B)(1)
(a)(S)
State

brought under control of Lt. Col. Chau.

Mid-June.

(B)(1)(a)(S) State

17. SLO Scout burned on streets. Joe Olan was driver.

18-19-20 June Buddhist Institute call for general strike failed.

~~SECRET~~

Page 22.

20. 31 USAID "Summer Interns" had an informal session with General Thang and EGL at Cong Ly. (B)(1)(a)(s) *State*

21. EGL visited [] in Tay Ninh.

(B)(1) *State* (a)(s) [] arrived in Saigon.

23. Reports that

GVN security forces entered Buddhist Institute when hard core failed to leave after blockade lifted. (A)(1) *OSD*

24. 0045 warning from Luigi that Lodge, Mann, [] EGL to be assassinated in coup later in the morning.

Late June. Deadline established of July 11 for first filing of lists of candidates.

[] (A)(1) *OSD*

27. EGL memo to HCL re a talk with [] surfaced a Chieu Hoi campaign to exploit September elections. (B)(1)(a)(s) *State*

29. Word received that Thang to become a Super-Minister.

Thang to EGL said he was considering getting Chinese agricultural technicians to work with his RD teams.

30. [] (B)(1)(a)(s) *State*

JULY, 1966

1. Ambassador Porter wanted Ellsberg for a survey of psywar in the provinces.

5. Binh Hung forces hurt in ambush. Capt. Harrington wounded.

[]

[] (B)(1)(a)(s)
State

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Page 23.

~~SECRET~~

5. Peoples-Army Council met for the first time. (20 military, 59 civilians.) It to be responsible for advising the GVN Cabinet in political, economic, social and cultural fields; to meet at least once a month. E
(B)(1)(a)(5) State
6. Ambassador approved POL's instructions on election reporting (which took the place of proposed Ambassadorial guidance submitted by SLO).
7. Special Priorities Task Force Report (Kline Report) completed. Dave served as a member of the task force.
(B)(1)(a)(5) State
10. [] After discussing of principles, such as set forth in the Preamble to the U. S. Constitution, Phuoc said the first principle for Viet Nam should be "to engender brotherly love." To this he coupled "and to establish justice."
11. First filing of candidates--over 600 for 108 seats.
(B)(1)(a)(5) State
13. Cabinet reshuffle. [] Thang responsible for Agriculture, Public Works, and Administration plus MORD.
15. U. S. planning underway re General Thi's trip to the U. S. "for sinus trouble." (To depart about July 23.)
18. Thang reported on the Vietnamese kid who told him "you speak good Vietnamese for an American."
- Thang at Cong Ly dinner with Kissinger. Spoke of five points for villager resistance to VC.
 1. Give the alarm.
 2. Put booby traps in the paths.
 3. Close up houses.
 4. Defenders know where to report.
 5. Say no to all VC questions.
20. Thoughts on Viet Nam series begun.
Thoughts on Viet Nam - Women.
Thoughts on Viet Nam - Bastards.

Page 24.

20. Thoughts on Viet Nam - Culture.
21. Thoughts on Viet Nam - Management.
22. Thang talked to EGL about RD in 1967 and the elections. Mentioned pushing Ky to get the decree for village and hamlet elections signed.

Ky had asked Thang to chair the GVN Inter-Ministerial Group responsible for the elections. Wanted EGL advice and support.

Father Hoa reported General Quang afraid he might be fired.

28. Message to State asking for Rufe as a consultant during the period before the elections.

Statement of election principles passed to Ky informally.

29. Gober with Pham Duy and Steve Addis.

30. Thang asked that Val work with him full-time on electoral matters. Reported Chau had left Vung Tau ("sick") [redacted] Thang heard the Gober tape on "Picture of a Man."

(b)(1) state
(a)(5)

End of July. MICH publicity campaign underway re elections.

(b)(1) state [redacted] still on hunger strike.
(a)(5)

Dr. Hue touring U. S. in July.

JULY NOTE: GVN officials assassinated or abducted by VC:

Jan - 76	May - 78
Feb - 91	Jun - 64
Mar - 59	Jul - 33 (II Corps figures missing)
Apr - 52	Total: 453

AUGUST, 1966

- 1-3 Election seminar for Province Chiefs conducted by Thang re honesty, free movement of candidates, getting out the vote, balloting and counting, reporting. Ky spoke, stressing importance of fair and free elections.

Page 25.

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1 & 2 Screening of candidates completed at local level.
VIS began operating in support of elections, []
Dinh trinh Chinh as MICH.

(b)(1) (a)(5) State
2. EGL to Westmoreland recommending Gober be used for a singing tour of Viet Nam.

Thang asked EGL - get JUSPAO to fire up Tri in support of elections. Also surfaced possible need for U. S. helicopter support.

3. Bui Diem said Ky would use the election principles in a talk to the nation just before the elections.

4. EGL to HCL recommending joint NV-US police patrols, creation of Boys Clubs to help restore order in Saigon/Cholon.

EGL to HCL on use of women to support the elections. Hank talked with Mrs. Lodge.

(b)(1) (a)(5) State

5. Ambassador Vu van Thai lunch at Cong Ly.

EGL met with Dr. Le van Hoach at the home of Dr. Ho quan Phuoc. (Discovered Mrs. Phuoc's first two husbands also friends of EGL's.)

6. Nixon at Cong Ly for lunch.

8. Thang and EGL re RD staff, transportation support of elections, plans to visit provinces from 11th to end of August, part of the time with the Central Election Committee and talk to academy cadets, NIA students.

10. Rufe on board.

First formal committee meeting at Cong Ly on women's support of elections.

12. EGL to HCL on crystallizing the election climate, such as by justice for political prisoners [] and decrees for village/hamlet elections.

(b)(1) (a)(5) State

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Page 26.

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12. Work begun on SLO Dictionary.

Lac to Rufe on corruption.

Final lists of candidates posted. 542 for 104 Vietnamese and 4 Cambodian seats for direct election.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Seats</u>	<u>Lists</u>	<u>Candidates</u>
Saigon	16	23	120
Gia Dinh	10	14	70
I Corps	17		
	(16)	25	69
	(1)		3
II Corps	20		
	(10)		35
	(10)	14	34
			38
III Corps	15		
	(8)		
	(7)	15	36
IV Corps	30		
	(12)		65
	(18)	30	72
4 Khmer			17

From July 22 through August 11, 35 withdrawals and 59 net disqualifications (19 reinstated by Central Election Council).

13. EGL to Thang to extend the registration date for voters.

14. Sam, Reggie, Jim Patton, Father Hoa visited Binh Hung.

[(b)(1) OSD

15. [

60% of VN radio time until 9 September devoted to elections.

(b)(1)(a)(5) State

16. [(This was the Buddhist line also.)

17. EGL sent HCL a talking paper from Ambassador to the U. S. Advisory personnel in Viet Nam (not used).

GVN bind on transportation (JGS vs. MORD). [

(b)(1)
(a)(5) State

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Page 27.

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18. VC attack on An Phu Village (reported by Rufe).

First draft of Dictionary. X

19. EGL and Bui Diem.

- a. Establish an election center in Saigon.
- b. Kill the proposed decree imposing sanctions on those failing to vote.
- c. Extend time polls are open - past 1600.

JUSPAO working to get village and hamlet radios per EGL suggestion.

Thang to EGL. Possible harmful effects of decree imposing sanctions on those who boycott elections. Election preparations.

20. EGL with [] said September elections a useless exercise. (b)(1) (a)(5) *State*

22. Rufe reported VC tactic will be to pick up ID cards at the last moment (each voter required to show ID card as well as voter card in order to vote).

23. EGL to Westmoreland asking that Freund be a team associate member.

EGL talk with Ky at lunch. Discussed influence of U.S. advisors on Vietnamese generals re their public responsibilities; [] points to bring out in talk to the nation August 25 about elections; amnesty for political prisoners; decree for village/hamlet elections.

24. Zorthian found Sony radios suitable for use in hamlets.

SLO furnished Mission details of GVN airlift requirements for election instruction teams and suggested MACV help out.

25. Roles and Mission Study review by Mission Council.

NLC discussed political prisoner amnesty, agreed to release. (Note: not done.) Disapproved the boycott decree.

Ky in national address pledged that elections would be free--urged everyone to vote.

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Page 28.

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26. Two-week campaign period began. GVN made equal TV time available to candidates where sets are available, and equal radio time throughout the country.

Armed Forces Council (48 generals) met in Can Tho, resolved to guaranty security of elections, support fair elections.

29. Col. Lac showed Rufe outline of decree against election boycotts prepared at Thang's order.

31. Final formal meeting re women's support of the elections.

Anti-Election Boycott decree signed by Thieu (not used).

AUGUST NOTES:

1. Daily team meetings Monday through Friday starting August 11.
2. Dan worked on Roles and Missions Study all month.
3. [] (b)(1) state
(a)(5)

SEPTEMBER, 1966

1. Thang talked to General Vien (JGS) re security role of ARVN Divisions during the elections. Told EGL would like U. S. helicopter support to start September 5; asked for a land reform specialist to assist him.
2. HCL OK'd Rufe visit to Tri Quang same date. Tri Quang stated his resolve to die if U. S. did not change its policies (re election?) (backing Thieu and Ky?).
4. Thang told EGL an election operations center had been approved for the Dien Hong Hall.
7. SLO Dictionary published, sent to Mission Council members.

Rufe learned of fortune teller's prophecy given [] (b)(1) (a)(5) that 1966 had been bad but that fortune will take state a turn for the better September 12 and he would have ten more years of productive life as the result of a visit he had during the full phase of the moon (2-3 September).

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Page 29.

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9. Rufe departure.

EGL memo to HCL on Lessons Learned - Constitution (from experience in PI and VN).

11. Election Day. Ky's nephew, a candidate in Vung Tau, was not elected.

5,289,669 voters had registered for the elections (12.7% increase over registration for May 65 Provincial Council elections). 4,275,406 (80.8%) voted. Total eligible to register - 7,800,000; of these 56% voted.

166 acts of terror during election day. VC fire on ten district towns and three province capitals.

Over 500 foreign press covered election.

No evidence of GVN padding voter statistics or rigging the voting or counting.

12. (approx.) [

]
(b)(1) State
(a)(5)

18. Thang met John Cooper, USAID land reform expert, at Cong Ly.

21. Post-election party at Cong Ly for Prime Minister Ky. X

24. Meeting at Cong Ly - Thang with "young tigers" selected by Bert Fraleigh.

EGL gave Thang SNK's memo on MORD staffing requirements.

27. Constituent Assembly convened.

30. Black Patches party.

OCTOBER, 1966

3. "Future Plans" memo to HCL.

5. Thang to EGL re his concern over NEWSWEEK story that EGL so disappointed about RD he might leave Viet Nam.

Thang said that [

]
(b)(1)
(a)(5)
State

Page 30.

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8-16 Thang in Taiwan with General Vien.

9. EGL evaluation of RD given Koren for use in briefing McNamara.

11. CA began meeting to consider draft report of Rules Committee.

14. Ky's office announced to press that appropriate measures would be taken to speed up normalization of status of persons detained since the Diem Coup and those detained as a result of the "Struggle."

20. Thang discussed with EGL the draft of his briefing paper for the Manila Conference.

26. Former Chief of State Phan khac Suu elected permanent Chairman of C. A.

OCTOBER NOTES:

(B)(1) (g)(4) []
(a)(5) []
1. Unrest over possible resignation of six southern Cabinet members as result of arrest on Oct. 2 of Director of Cabinet of the Ministry of Health.
Others agreed to stay on until after the Manila Conference.

2. Small number of political prisoners released late in the month.

3. Dispute surfaced in CA over Directorate's right to modify articles of Constitution with which it does not agree (subject to overriding by two-thirds vote of CA).

NOVEMBER, 1966

1. National Day parade, and mortar attack. (14 rounds 75 at 0710, 14 at 0845. 1 U. S. killed, 4 U. S. wounded, 6 VN killed, 40 wounded. Cathedral, school, hospital damaged.)

6. Meeting at Cong Ly. Thang and officials of the Chinese Agriculture Technical Mission. Thang interested in getting 40 teams of five men each. 73 CATM then in VN, about half working in the provinces.

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Page 31.

8. Battleground 1967 paper by EGL.
9. EGL visit to PHILCAG in Tay Ninh, brought Tobias together with Provincial, District, Cao Dai, and Lien Minh leaders.
11. HCL asked SLO to help Sam Wilson in Long An.
12. Dang van Sung, Saigon delegate to CA, talked with EGL about work of the CA--made an opening for EGL to help with the Constitution (not Mission authorized).
15. [] to Long An. (b)(1) 1
OSD
17. Thang and EGL:
 1. Ky wanted Thang to become Chief of Staff of JGS, keeping RD.
 2. Quang might get Thang's Super-ministry minus RD.
 3. Thang's C-46 shot down that day (Thang not on board.)
18. Cabinet reshuffle: 4 of 7 dissidents resigned (Economy, Youth, Education, Social Welfare).

Ministry of Economy split into Commerce, Industry, and Finance ministries (couldn't find anyone qualified to handle it all).

General Dan van Quang relieved as IV Corps Commander, became Minister of Planning and Development. General Nguyen van Minh new commander. Major General Nguyen van Vy became Chief of Staff for the JGS.
19. EGL and Ky on current Vietnamese politics.
21. HCL announced formation of "Office of Operations" (later OCO) under Ambassador Porter, responsible for the Mission's civilian support of the Vietnamese RD effort and all U. S. civilian operations and personnel in regions and provinces.
22. EGL memo to HCL on Reorganization, Command, and Liaison dealing with a staff for HCL, use of SLO, recommending detailed planning for same by a small group headed by Jake Jacobson.

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Page 32.

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26. SNK visit to Pleiku and Kontum with Knowlton.
- CA completed work on "basic principles" of Constitution.
29. Porter asked for Dan Ellsberg as his personal assistant.
- HCL asked EGL to be the OCO Region Direction in II Corps.
(Declined on 30 November.)
30. CA voted approval in principle of what was in essence the Bill of Rights.
- GVN announced holiday truces for Christmas, New Year, and TET.

NOVEMBER NOTES:

1. Decree for village and hamlet elections reported "on Ky's desk."

DECEMBER, 1966

1. Thang and EGL:
 1. Letter to Porter 28 November asking for 200 Chinese agricultural technicians from Taiwan.
 2. Plea to EGL not to take job in II Corps.
 3. Lions Clubs proposal to adopt villages or hamlets.
2. HCL and EGL re SLO.
3. OCO Regional Directors names: I - Henry L. T. Koren; III - John Paul Vann; IV - Vincent Heyman. Director of Operations - L. Wade Lathram.
- 3-7 Bui Diem and Dinh trinh Chinh named as Ambassadors to the U. S. and Thailand.
7. Deputy Tran Van Van of CA assassinated in Saigon by two men. (One captured, admitted Viet Cong.) Local belief that GVN was behind the killing.

Saigon Mayon Van van Cua arrested by U. S. MPs on the docks.

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Page 33.

8-9 EGL, SNK, Val visited []

] (b)(1) OSD

11. SLO party at Cong Ly and, later, Prime Minister's residence, EGL plea re village/hamlet election decree.
12. EGL departed for USA.
15. SNK memo to Thang about An Giang alerting him to problems he would run into on his visit there.
19. Thang talked with the SLO staff (still in Saigon) at TSN VIP terminal. (Miller, SNK, Hudson, Val.) Village and hamlet election decree tentatively approved by Ky-- should be signed by the end of the year.
23. SNK memo to Thang on management within MORD.
24. GVN decrees 198 and 199 on village/hamlet elections signed by Ky. *
26. Saigon Port strike over employment at New Port. U. S. Army Port Battalions (2) began to work the port for military cargo only. Strike ended 31st.
27. CA Deputy Dr. Phan quang Dan slightly wounded (2 passers-by killed, 3 wounded) when bomb went off under his car.
29. Ky - directed Minister of Agriculture to study drafting a new law on land reform.

DECEMBER NOTES:

1. 101 incidents during Christmas cease fire.

JANUARY, 1967

3. Thang with SLO at Cong Ly (Miller, SNK, Redick).
 1. Hoi Chanh with RD teams.
 2. Reward system.
 3. Radio/TV show and magazine.
 4. 11 criteria expanded to 98 tasks.
 5. Given responsibility for village and hamlet elections.
 6. Thang JGS Deputy for Pacification with General Dzu as principal assistant.

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Page 34.

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6. EGL returned.
9. EGL visit to Ky in his new office.
 1. Hoped SLO would help in village elections.
 2. Co a problem.
 3. Vy and Lt. Col and corruption.
 4. Presidency
10. CA press conference tone indicated there would be no slow down with the GVN over Decree 21/66 (re changing the Constitution). Dr. Dan said "tacit compromise with GVN already exists." X
Thang. Lunch in office with EGL, Val, SNK.
 1. Aircraft accident on 9th at Vung Tau.
 2. RD contact teams each Corps.
 3. New meetings of RD Council.
 4. Story of Chinese agriculture worker at An Giang and farmer.
 5. OCO, and keeping it busy.
11. Draft Constitution released.
Manny Phuoc and possible return of U. S. prisoners.
(Followed up by MACV J2.)
John Steinbeck and Mrs. at Cong Ly with Pham Duy, Steve Addis.
12. EGL appointment with Thieu cancelled at direction of Ambassador Porter.
13. George's Kien Ha Study sent to Porter, MacDonald, Westmoreland.
14. EGL to Porter re possible removal of Co ("neither desirable nor necessary" per POL).
16. EGL and Thang prior to Thang's trip to Australia with Ky the 17th.
 1. Keep Cal Mehlert in An Giang.
 2. Central RD Council met that day in An Giang. To meet last Saturday of each month.
 3. Replacement as MORD after national elections.
 4. To start work on village/hamlet elections after trip.
 5. Politics. Constitution and Presidency.

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Page 35.

17. General Nguyen huu Co removed from Defense Ministry.
- 18-19 Rumors of coups vx. Ky in behalf of Co (Co in effect exiled).
19. CA began debate on draft Constitution article by article.
21. State query re releasing SNK. (B)(1)(c)(5) State
23. About midnight, a call to help [] U. S. doctor sent by helicopter to Tay Ninh.
24. EGL to HCL re releasing SNK with ploy about team role in VN.
25. EGL memo to HCL on devrees 198 and 199 stressing importance and recommending formation of a U. S. working group.
27. General Cao van Vien new Defense Minister, remaining also as Chief of JGS.
30. Thang lunch with SGL, SNK, Val at Val's apartment.
 1. Report on trip to Australia.
 2. Draft exemption for RD Cadre.
 3. Minister of Youth under Thang.
 4. Ky's desire to chair meetings of the RD Council.
 5. Village elections - inter-ministerial council CA delegates' help
 6. Personal security.
31. Thang surprise visit to Long An with EGL. Soldiers tore down house for building materials (Phuoc Ly). American sergeant.

JANUARY NOTES:

1. 168 incidents during New Year cease fire.
2. Series of behind the scenes meetings between GVN and CA to iron out disagreements on Constitution.

FEBRUARY, 1967

1. EGL meeting with Thieu (authorized by HCL); Political situation.



Page 36. ~~SECRET~~

4. General Vien promoted to 4 stars--only one now on active duty.

EGL talk to 30 IVS volunteers working on community development.

8. Mission Election Coordinating Committee held first meeting.

8-12 Tet.

9. Early morning, first day of the Year of the Goat, several Vietnamese callers came to Cong Ly (politicians, Directorate member, Province Chiefs, businessmen, civil servants, university staff, one revolutionary).

11. EGL meeting with Ky. RD, elections.

13. Thang formed inter-ministerial inspection teams (6) to visit provinces, inspect RD and ARVN support. Representation included JGS, MORD, MACV, OCO, technical ministries.

"Resolutions" memo to HCL.

Thang meeting with EGL at Cong Ly.

1. RD Council to meet on 14th without Ky who would be in Dalat (not normal meeting date).
2. Caution on RD monetary rewards.

11. Evening musical work session with Pham Duy, Steve Addis, Hank Radford and Vietnamese musicians at Cong Ly.

14. EGL memo on Philippine Sidelights sent to Amb. Blair.

16. Ky approved creation of an Interministerial Election Committee chaired by General Thang and including: Special Commissioner for Administration; Minister of Information; Minister of Youth; Minister of Agriculture; Minister of Public Works; Minister of Security; Chief of Staff, RVNAF; Director, Political Indoctrination, JGS; Delegate from CA (Nguyen huu Duc), member of Peoples-Army Council. Ky also approved Provincial Electoral Committees.

EGL instructed George Melvin to survey useful contacts re village/hamlet elections (confirmed in writing 21 Feb.).

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Page 37.

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(b)(1) (a)(5) *State*

18. SNK asked [initials]
[initials]

20. EGL "Resolutions II" memo to HCL.

21. EGL memo to HCL on SVN Presidency and "image" of current possible candidates (inspired by benevolent picture of Ho Chi Minh on cover of NEWSWEEK).
EGL memo to HCL on future plans and SLO staff needs (specifics).
EGL to HCL, draft memo to members of the U. S. Mission stressing the personal support each American should give to free and honest elections.

22. HCL talk to EGL (no memo for record).

23. EGL, Val, SNK--3½ hour working lunch with Thang and his family of subordinate Ministers (Administration, Agriculture, Public Works, Youth). Chuong My Boi Tinh, Second Class, to SNK.

24. HCL follow-up talk to EGL (no memo for record).

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