IV. B. 5.

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

The Overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem

May – November, 1963
UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS
1945 - 1967

IV. B. S.

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR
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FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid., p. 153.


6. HIE 53-63, op. cit.

7. CIA Current Intelligence Memorandum CCI 0521/63, April 9, 1963

8. Seigman msg 888, April 7, 1963 (S).

9. CIA Memorandum CCI 0521/63, op. cit.
FOOTNOTES

1. CIA Intelligence Memorandum No. 0211/66, 4 May 1966. This estimate is probably high. CIA refugee officials estimated about 800,000 Catholics among their charges; C.F. Dai Van Luang in Richard W. Lindholm, ed., Viet-Nam: (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1959.)

2. Saigon Airgram A-781, June 10, 1953 (C)

3. SNIE 53-2-63, 10 July 1953

4. CIA Current Intelligence Memorandum, OCI No. 2339/63, 14 Aug 63

5. Ibid.

6. Saigon msg 1035, May 10, 1953 (C)

7. Saigon msg 1050, May 22, 1953 (S)

8. State msg 1159, May 29, 1953 (S)

9. State msg 1171, June 3, 1953 (S)

10. Saigon msg 1109, June 4, 1953 (S)

11. Saigon msg 1135, June 9, 1953 (S)

12. State msg 1207, June 11, 1953 (S)

13. Saigon msg 1168, June 12, 1953 (S)

14. Saigon msg 185, July 15, 1953 (S)

15. State msg 160, August 5, 1953 (S); and State msg 178, August 8, 1953 (S)

16. Saigon msg 226, August 14, 1953 (S)

17. Saigon msg 229, August 14, 1953, (C)


27. Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation for the Record (Participants: the President, Ell, Harriman, McGeorge Bundy, Hillman and Perrestol), July 4, 1963 (15 EYES ONLY) (Attached in appendix).


29. Ibid.
III

FOOTNOTES


2. Text reported in Saigon msg 289, August 21, 1963 (U); other accounts credit him with the partial plan idea as well.


5. CIA Information Report, op.cit.


15. Saigon msg 316, Lodge to Hilsenrath, August 24, 1963 (TS), reports a conversation between Kattenburg (VI/62), who had accompanied Lodge from Nolculin, and Vo Van Pu, Diem's chief of staff; Saigon msg 32k, Lodge to State, August 24, 1963 (TS); reports Phillips' conversation with Secretary of State Nguyen Dinh Thuan.


17. Ibid.

18. The intelligence reports do not reflect an accurate picture of unit
actually transpired in the raids and martial law decrees until August 25. See Current Intelligence Memorandum CXI No. 23/35/63, August 26, 1963 (S); and Director, DIA, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, August 26, 1963 (S).

19. Their statement as reported in Saigon msg 328, op. cit.; Hilsman, To Have a Nation, op. cit., p. 489.

20. Hilsman, ibid.


22. Ibid.


24. Michael V. Forrestal, Memorandum for the President, August 25, 1963 (TS ONLY); direct quote from unavailable, unnumbered Saigon cable.


28. Ibid.

29. CAS Saigon msg 0429, Lodge to Harriman, August 26, 1963 (TS).


31. See Current Intelligence Memorandum, CXI No. 2339/63, August 14, 1963, and CXI No. 2341/63, August 21, 1963 (S).

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. CIA to State (no number), August 26, 1963 (TS).

36. CAS Saigon 0345, CIA to State, August 27, 1963 (TS).

37. CAS Saigon 0357, CIA to State, August 27, 1963 (S).
38. Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 490-21. For a similar account see Schlesinger, op.cit., p. 997. The virtual lack of official records for the NSC meetings in August, September, and October 1963 requires a major caveat on the part of the author with respect to the analysis of Washington policy deliberations for that period. Of necessity, the author has turned to the public sources (which are not without bias) in an effort to piece together the story of how decisions were reached, primarily Roger Hilsman, To Love a Nation, op.cit.; Arthur Schlesinger, A Thousand Days, op.cit.; and John Nechlin, Mission to Sempurn, op.cit.


41. MACV msg 1541, Harkins to Taylor and Felt (TS, NTS ONLY), August 23, 1963, emphasis added.

42. MACV msg 1557, Harkins to Taylor, August 28, 1963 (TS).

43. CAS Saigon msg 0363, August 28, 1963 (TS).

44. Ibid.


46. Ibid.

47. State msg 269, President to Lodge, August 20, 1963 (TS); and JCS msg 3385, Taylor to Harkins, August 29, 1963 (TS).


49. CAS Saigon msg 0406, August 29, 1963 (TS).

50. CAS Saigon msg 0407, August 29, 1963 (TS).


52. MACV msg 1566, Harkins to Taylor, August 29, 1963 (TS).


54. State msg 279, Rusk to Lodge, August 29, 1963 (TS).

55. State msg 272, State to Lodge and Harkins, August 29, 1963 (TS).

56. Saigon msg 383, Lodge to State, August 30, 1963 (TS).

57. CAS Saigon msg 0425, CIA to State, August 30, 1963 (TS).

58. MACV msg 1582, Harkins to Taylor, August 31, 1963 (TS).
59. Saigon msg 0199, CIA to State, August 31, 1963 (TS); and Saigon msg 391, Lodge to State, August 31, 1963 (TS).

60. Ibid., op. cit.

61. Ibid.

62. Major General V. C. Krulak, Memorandum for the Record, Vietnam Meeting at the State Department, August 31, 1963 (TS SENSITIVE) (attached in appendix).

63. Ibid.

64. Hilsman, op. cit., p. 496.

65. Krulak, Memorandum for the Record, op. cit.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.


70. Ibid.

71. Hilsman, op. cit.

72. Saigon msg 346, Lodge to State, August 27, 1963 (TS).

73. Saigon msg 405, Lodge to State, September 2, 1963 (TS).

74. Saigon msg 388, Lodge to state, August 30, 1963 (TS); Saigon msg 391, Lodge to State, August 31, 1963 (TS).

75. Saigon msg 435, Lodge to State, September 7, 1963 (TS).

76. Saigon msg 446, Lodge to State, September 9, 1963 (TS).


78. State msg 348, State to Lodge, September 6, 1963 (TS).


83. Ibid.

84. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

85. Schlesinger, op.cit., p. 905; Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 502-505; and Hecklin, op.cit., p. 208 give parallel accounts of this meeting.

86. Schlesinger, ibid.

87. Hecklin, op.cit., pp. 210-211.


90. Hilsman, op.cit., p. 505.


94. Saigon msg 478, Lodge to State, September 11, 1963 (TS). Saigon msg 483, Lodge and Brunt to State, on the same day, took the opposite view and requested permission to approve funding aid programs. This cable probably reflects Brunt's view, in which Lodge concurred to avoid revealing the content of his earlier cable.

95. Saigon msgs 459-477, Lodge to State, September 12, 1963 (TS).

96. State msg 391, State to Lodge, September 12, 1963 (TS).

97. State msg 411, State to Lodge, September 14, 1963 (TS).

98. MACV msg 1692, Perkins to Taylor, September 9, 1963 (TS); MACV msg 1679, Perkins to Taylor, September 12, 1963 (TS); and John A. McCone, Director CIA, Memphis, September 13, 1963 (TS).
99. MACV msg 7535, En Bom to Taylor, September 18, 1963.


101. Saigen msg 530, Lodge to State, September 16, 1963 (C).

102. Robert Hillman, Memorandum to the Secretary of State, Subject: Viet-Nam, September 16, 1963 ([EYES ONLY]).

103. CAP msg 63516, White House to Lodge, September 17, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

104. Ibid.

105. Saigen msg 548, Lodge to State for President only, September 19, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix); and Saigen msg 546, to the President from Lodge, September 19, 1963 (TS).

106. CAP msg 63516, op. cit.

107. Saigen msg 536, Lodge to President, September 18, 1963 (TS).

108. State msg 431, President to Lodge, September 18, 1963 (TS); and Saigen msg 540, Lodge to President, September 18, 1963 (TS).

109. Press release, September 21, 1963, 12:05 p.m.


114. State msg 476, EYES ONLY for Ambassador Lodge and Secretary McNamara, September 24, 1963 (TS); and Saigen msg 505, EYES ONLY for President, September 25, 1963 (TS).


116. MACV msg 401, 7C17 from En Bom to Taylor, October 1, 1963 (S).

117. Saigen msg 613, Lodge to State, September 30, 1963 (TS).
118. Commander USAFR, "Transcript ...", 2244, p. 76c.

119. Saigon msg 602, Lodge to State, DTIS ONLY, September 27, 1963 (T3).
120. Saigon msg 609, Lodge to State, DTIS ONLY, September 27, 1963 (T3); Joseph Kent, Director USAFR, Memorandum for the Ambassador, September 30, 1963 (S-LIMIDS).

121. USAID Briefing Paper, "Listing of Possible Economic Aid Suspensions with Estimated Impact," no date (S-LIMIDS).


123. Ibid.

124. Ibid., p. 5.

125. Ibid.

126. The 1,000 man withdrawal plan is dealt with in detail in another Task Force paper, "Planned Withdrawal of US Forces 1962-1965".

127. Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the President, OP-017.


129. NSC, No. 263, October 11, 1963 (T3 DTIS ONLY), emphasis added (attached in appendix).

130. State msg 537, October 5, 1963 (T3) (attached in appendix).

131. Ibid.
FOOTNOTES

1. CAS msg NAV 9750, to State from Saigon, October 9, 1967 (S); CAS msg NAV 9753, to State from Saigon, October 9, 1967 (S); and Saigon msg 616, Lodge to State, October 10, 1967 (TS).

2. Saigon msg 637, to State from Lodge, October 5, 1963 (S).


4. Saigon msg 642, to State from Lodge, October 6, 1963 (TS EXIS ONLY).

5. Ibid.


7. Saigon msg 617, to State from Lodge, October 7, 1963 (TS).

8. State msg 576, to Lodge from the President, October 14, 1963 (TS EXIS ONLY).


10. Saigon msg 715, October 16, 1963 (S); and Saigon msg 732, October 18, 1963 (TS).

11. CIA Current Intelligence Memorandum, CCI 2370/63, October 19, 1963 (S).

12. Saigon msg 731, October 18, 1963 (S).

13. MACV msg JOI 8250, for General Taylor and Admiral Felt from Homans, October 17, 1963 (TS).

14. MACV msg 2056, October 26, 1963 (TS).

15. CIA Current Intelligence Memorandum CCI 2370/63, op.cit.


19. State msg 528, October 4, 1963 (S).

20. Saigon msg 766, to Secretary of State, October 23, 1963 (TS).

22. Saigon msg 805, October 29, 1963 (?).

23. Ibid.


26. State msg 576, to Lodge from the President, October 14, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY); and CAS Saigon msg 11428, Lodge to the President, October 15, 1963 (TS).

27. Saigon msg 11428, OP.CIT.


29. CAS Saigon msg 1145, to State from Lodge, October 5, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

30. CAS Saigon msg 34065, to State from Lodge, October 5, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY FOR SECONDARY USE).

31. Ibid.

32. CAP msg 63550 via CAS channel, October 5, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

33. CAP msg 74228, October 6, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix). 


35. USAFR Saigon msg 192, from Jones, USAFR, Saigon, to McNamara, October 21, 1963 (TS).

36. CAS Saigon msg 1826, October 23, 1963 (TS).


39. Ibid.

40. CAS msg 77078, to Lodge, October 24, 1963 (TS); and CAS msg 70341, Runkin to Saigon, October 24, 1963 (TS).

41. CAS Saigon msg 1927, October 24, 1963 (TS).

42. MACV msg 1993, Runkin to Taylor, 211055Z October 1963 (TS).

43. JCS msg 1157-63, McNamara October 1963 (TS).
44. CAS Saigon msg 47370, October 25, 1963 (TS).
45. CAS Saigon msg 1054, Lodge to McGeorge Bundy, October 25, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
46. Ibid.
47. CAP msg 63500, McGeorge Bundy to Lodge, October 25, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
49. CAS Saigon msg 2023, Lodge to State, October 29, 1963 (TS).
50. CAS Saigon 2040, Lodge to State, October 29, 1963 (TS).
51. Ibid.
52. JCS msg 3301, Taylor to Felt, October 29, 1963 (TS).
53. JCS msg 4183-65, Taylor to Harkins, October 29, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY).
54. Ibid.
55. CAS Washington msg 79109, McGeorge Bundy to Lodge, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
56. MACV msg 2033, Harkins to Taylor, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
57. MACV msg 2034, Harkins to Taylor, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
58. MACV msg 2038, Harkins to Taylor, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
60. CAS Washington msg 79128, CIA to White House, October 30, 1963 (TS).
61. CAS Saigon msg 2040, OP-7.
63. CAS Saigon msg 2053, Lodge to State, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
64. CAS Washington msg 79107, Bundy to Lodge, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
FOOTNOTES

1. CAS Saigon msg 2114, Lodge to State, October 31, 1963 (TS).

2. CAS Saigon 2023, op. cit.

3. It is extremely difficult to piece together from classified sources the story of the complex intrigues that culminated in the coup itself. In view of his extensive contacts among U.S. and Vietnamese officials in Saigon, as well as among the generals, the most plausible and detailed account of the plotting and counter-plotting, and the one on which this narrative has most heavily relied, is that of Robert Sherden in his Lost Revolution, op. cit., pp. 201-212.


5. CAS Saigon msg 1925; op. cit.


7. Saigon msg 854, Lodge to State, November 1, 1963 (S).

8. CIA (MACV) CRITIC 8, November 1, 1963 (S).


11. Saigon msg 660, Lodge to State, November 1, 1963 (?).

12. Whatever, if anything, transpired between Washington and Amb. Saigon on November 1, can only be ascertained through interviews.


16. CIA Saigon CRITIC msg 18 to Director NSA, November 2, 1963 (S).

17. CIA Saigon CRITIC msg 19 to Director NSA, November 2, 1963 (S).

18. See Saigon msg 888, Lodge to State, November 2, 1963, 6:45 a.m. (S), for the conflicting versions of the coup.


20. State msg 685, November 1, 1963, 8:47 p.m. (S EYES ONLY).

22. State msg 685, November 2, 1963 (S).
27. Saigon msg 900, Lodge to State, November 3, 1963 (S).
28. State msg 704, State to Lodge, November 3, 1963 (S); and Saigon msg 917, Lodge to State, November 4, 1963 (S).
29. Saigon msg 917, op. cit.
30. Saigon msg 927, Lodge to State, November 5, 1963 (U).
32. Saigon msg 944, Lodge to State, November 6, 1963 (U).
33. State msg 742, State to Lodge, November 6, 1963 (S); State msg 749, State to Lodge, November 7, 1963 (C).
34. Saigon msg 976, Lodge to State, November 8, 1963 (S).
35. For a general assessment of the political situation, see CIA Saigon msg 2428, November 14, 1963 (S, eyes only).
36. State msg 701, State to Lodge, November 2, 1963 (S).
37. Saigon msg 975, Lodge to State, November 8, 1963 (S).
38. Saigon msg TORD 1016, November 7, 1963 (C).
39. Saigon msg 975, op. cit.
40. CINCPAC msg to JCS 120504Z 63 (S).
42. Saigon msg 917, op. cit.
44. Ibid.

45. State msg 694, Hush to Lodge, November 2, 1963 (S).

46. State msg 785, State to Lodge, November 13, 1963 (S).

47. Defense msg 2259, to CINCPAC, USCY, Lodge, November 9, 1963 (S).

48. Saigon msg 920, Lodge to State, November 11, 1963 (S).


50. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

51. Ibid., p. 12.

52. Ibid., pp. 3-5, 6-7.


55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.