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. Saigon msg 829, April 7, 1963 (S).

9. CIA Memorandum CCI 0521/63, op. cit.
1. CIA Intelligence Memorandum No. 0611/65, 4 May 1965. This estimate is probably high. GVN refugee officials estimated about 800,000 Catholics among their charges; Cf. Dui Van Luong in Richard W. Linchak, ed., Viet-Minh (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1959.)

2. Saigon Airgram A-781, June 10, 1963 (C)

3. SNT 53-2-63, 10 July 1963

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

5. Ibid.

6. Saigon msg 1038, May 18, 1963 (C)

7. Saigon msg 1050, May 22, 1963 (S)

8. State msg 1159, May 29, 1963 (S)

9. State msg 1171, June 3, 1963 (S)

10. Saigon msg 1100, June 4, 1963 (S)

11. Saigon msg 1136, June 9, 1963 (S)

12. State msg 1207, June 11, 1963 (S)

13. Saigon msg 1168, June 12, 1963 (S)

14. Saigon msg 85, July 15, 1963 (S)

15. State msg 160, August 5, 1963 (S), and State msg 178, August 8, 1963 (S)

16. Saigon msg 225, August 14, 1963 (S)

17. Saigon msg 229, August 14, 1963, (C)


27. Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation for the Record (Participants: the President, Ells, Enright, McGeorge Bundy, McNamara and Forrestal), July 4, 1963 (TE EYES ONLY). (Attached in appendix).


29. Ibid.
1. CIA Information Report, TRCS PB-3/655,252, August 24, 1963 (C)

2. Text reported in Saigon msg 280, August 21, 1963 (U); other accounts credit Kim with the partial idea as well.


5. CIA Information Report, op.cit.


15. Saigon msg 315, Lodge to Hilsman, August 24, 1963 (TS), reports a conversation between Kattenburg (W/ID), who had accompanied Lodge from Honolulu, and Vo Van Phu, Diem's chief of cabinet; Saigon msg 321, 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 what
actually transpired in the raids and martial law decree until August 28. See Current Intelligence Memorandum CCI No. 2343/63, August 26, 1963 (S); and Director, DIA, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, August 28, 1963 (S).


20. Hilsman, *ibid*.


22. *Ibid*.


29. CAS Saigon msg 0329, Lodge to Harriman, August 26, 1963 (TS).


31. See Current Intelligence Memoranda, CCI No. 2339/63, August 14, 1963, and CCI 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 0557, CIA to State, August 27, 1963 (S).
38. Hilman, op.cit., pp. 490-91. For a similar account see Schlesinger, op.cit., p. 907. 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 Hilman, To Have and To Hold, op.cit.; Arthur Schlesinger, A Thousand Days, op.cit.; and John McFarlin, Mission in Vietnam, op.cit.


40. Saigon msg 264, Lodge to State, August 28, 1963 (TS).

41. MACV msg 1544, Harkins to Taylor and Felt (TS, MTS ONLY), August 28, 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 28, 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 0437, August 29, 1963 (TS).


52. MACV msg 1556, Harkins to Taylor, August 29, 1963 (TS).


54. State msg 279, Hark 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 0483, CIA to State, August 30, 1963 (TS).

58. MACV msg 1583, Harkins to Taylor, August 31, 1963 (TS).
59. CAS Saigon msg 0469, CIA to State, August 31, 1963 (S); and Saigon
    msg 391, Lodge to State, August 31, 1963 (TS).

60. Saigon msg 391, op.cit.

61. Ibid.

62. Major General V. G. 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.

69. "Transcript of broadcast with Walter Cronkite inaugurating a CBS
    Television new program, September 2, 1963," in Public Papers of the
    pp. 651-2, emphasis added (attached in appendix).

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 454, Lodge to State, September 7, 1963 (TS).

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


78. State msg 388, State to Lodge, September 6, 1963 (TS).

83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
85. Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 905; Hillsman, op. cit., pp. 502-505; and Mecklin, op. cit., p. 205 give parallel accounts of this meeting.
86. Schlesinger, ibid.
87. Mecklin, op. cit., pp. 210-211.
90. Hillsman, op. cit., p. 505.
94. Saigon msg 478, Lodge to State, September 11, 1963 (TS). Saigon msg 483, Lodge and Brent to State, on the same day, took the opposite view and requested permission to approve pending aid programs. This cable probably reflects Brent's view, in which Lodge concurred to avoid revealing the content of his earlier cable.
95. Saigon mgs 499-477, 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 1649,FKinans to Taylor, September 9, 1963 (TS); MACV msg 1679,FKinans to Taylor, September 12, 1963 (TS); and John A. McCone, Director CIA, memorandum, September 13, 1963 (TS).
99. MACV msg 7536, Harris to Tyler, September 18, 1963.

100. "Summary of Mr. Sheldon's Analysis of Vietnam Situation," September 11, 1963 (S EYES ONLY), in SecDef Briefing Book.

101. Saigon msg 530, Lodge to State, September 16, 1963 (c).

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

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

104. Ibid.

105. Saigon msg 544, Lodge to State for President only, September 19, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix); and Saigon msg 550, to the President from Lodge, September 19, 1963 (TS).

106. CAP msg 63516, op.cit.

107. Saigon msg 535, Lodge to President, September 18, 1963 (TS).

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

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


114. State msg 476, EYES ONLY for Ambassador Lodge and Secretary McNamara, September 28, 1963 (TS); and Saigon msg 593, EYES ONLY for President, September 29, 1963 (TS).


116. MACV msg 7667 from Harris to Tyler, October 1, 1963 (S).

117. Saigon msg 613, Lodge to State, September 23, 1963 (TS).
118. Commander USAEC, "Transcript ...", op.cit., p. 74, et seq.

119. Saigon msg 602, Lodge to State, DLYS ONLY, September 27, 1963 (23).

120. Saigon msg 603, Lodge to State, DLYS ONLY, September 27, 1963 (15); Joseph Brent, Director USDA, Memorandum for the Ambassador, September 30, 1963 (S-LIMS).

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


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, "Phased Withdrawal of US Forces 1962-1964".

127. Secretary of Defense, memorandum for the President, op.cit.


129. NSC, No. 253, October 11, 1963 (TS DLYS ONLY), emphasis added (attached in appendix).

130. State msg 531, October 5, 1963 (13) (attached in appendix).

131. Ibid.
IV

FOOTNOTES

1. CAS msg FVS 9750, to State from Saigon, October 9, 1967 (E); CAS msg FVS 9753, to State from Saigon, October 9, 1967 (E); and Saigon msg 676, Lodge to State, October 10, 1967 (TS).

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


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

5. Ibid.


7. Saigon msg 657, to State from Lodge, October 7, 1963 (TS).

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


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

11. CIA Current Intelligence Memorandum, CII 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 Parke, October 17, 1963 (TS).


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

16. Department of State, IHR Research Memorandum EAMS 0, October 22, 1963 (S).

17. Filson, op. cit., p. 515.


20. Saigon msg 768, 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 (E).
27. Saigon msg 11428, op.cit.
29. CAS Saigon msg 11445, to State from Lodge, October 5, 1963 (E) (attached in appendix).
30. CAS Saigon msg 34026, to State from Lodge, October 5, 1963 (E) (EYES ONLY FOR SECONDARY N.X.K).
31. Ibid.
32. CAP msg 63560 via CAS channel, October 5, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).
33. CAP msg 74238, October 6, 1963 (E) (attached in appendix).
35. USAF/A Saigon msg 199, from Jones, USAF/A, Saigon, to McNamara, October 21, 1963 (TS).
36. CAS Saigon msg 1826, October 23, 1963 (TS).
37. CAS Saigon 1826, to State from Lodge, October 23, 1963 (TS).
38. MACV msg 1921, Hawkins to Taylor, October 24, 1963 (TS).
39. Ibid.
40. CAS msg 77878, to Lodge, October 24, 1963 (TS); and CAS msg 70143, McNamara to Saigon, October 24, 1963 (IS).
41. CAS Saigon msg 1925, October 24, 1963 (TS).
42. MACV msg 1925, Hawkins to Taylor, 121055Z October 1963 (TS).
43. JCS msg 6150-63, 241055Z October 1963 (TS).
44. CAS Saigon msg 47370, October 25, 1963 (TS).

45. CAS Saigon msg 1951, Lodge to McGeege Bundy, October 25, 1963 (TS)
(attached in appendix).

46. Ibid.

47. CAP msg 63590, McGeege 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 2940, Lodge to State, October 29, 1963 (TS).

51. Ibid.

52. JCS msg 3301, Taylor to Felt, October 29, 1963 (TS).

53. JCS msg 4183-63, Taylor to Harkins, October 29, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY).

54. Ibid.

55. CAS Washington msg 79102, McGeege 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).

59. CAS Washington msg 79102, op. cit.

60. CAS Washington msg 79126, CIA to White House, October 30, 1963 (TS).

61. CAS Saigon msg 2040, op. cit.

62. CAS Washington msg 79102, op. cit.

63. CAS Saigon msg 2043, 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 intriques 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 counterplotting, and the one on which this narrative has most heavily relied, is that of Robert Shaplen 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 860, 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 663, November 1, 1963, 8:57 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, ex.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 975, Lodge to State, November 8, 1963 (S).
35. For a general assessment of the political situation, see CIA Saigon
   msg 2423, 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 TOAI 1016, November 7, 1963 (C).
39. Saigon msg 975, op.cit.
40. CIMPAAC msg to JCS 1205043 63 (S).
41. Saigon msg 985, Lodge to State, November 9, 1963 (S), Highlights
42. Saigon msg 917, op.cit.

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44. Ibid.
45. State msg 694, Rusk to Lodge, November 2, 1963 (3).
46. State msg 785, State to Lodge, November 13, 1963 (3).
47. Defense msg 94356, to CINCPAC, MACV, Lodge, November 9, 1963 (3).
48. Saigon msg 920, Lodge to State, November 11, 1963 (3).
50. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
51. Ibid., p. 12.
52. Ibid., pp. 3-5, 6-7.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.