IV. B. 5.

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

The Overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem

May - November, 1963

#283

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1945 - 1967

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FOOTNOTES

1. Robert Shaplen, The Lost Revolution (New York: Harper & Row: 1966) p. 189

2. Ibid., p. 153

3. NIE 53-63 "Prospects in South Vietnam," April 17, 1963

4. Briefing paper, "Highlights of the Current Situation" for the Secretary of Defense, Honolulu Conference, May 6, 1963.

5. Sir R. G. K. Thompson, "The Situation in South Vietnam, March 1963," March 11, 1963.

6. NIE 53-63, op. cit.

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

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

9. CIA Memorandum OCI 0521/63, op. cit.

II

FOOTNOTES

1. CIA Intelligence Memorandum No. 0811/66, 4 May 1966. This estimate is probably high. GVN refugee officials estimated about 800,000 Catholics among their charges; Cf. Bui Van Luong in Richard W. Lindholm, ed., Viet-Nam (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1959.)

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

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

4. CIA Current Intelligence Memorandum, OCI 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 226, August 14, 1963 (S)

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

18. New York Herald Tribune, August 15, 1963.

19. State msg 204, August 15, 1963.

20. SNIE 53-2-63, July 10, 1963.

21. Charles von Luttichau, The US Army Role in the Conflict in Vietnam, Office of the Chief of Military History (Draft), [illegible]

22. SecDef Statement to Press, July 19, 1963.

23. SNIE 53-2-63, July 10, 1963.

24. See David Halberstam, The Making of a Quagmire, (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 136-193.

25. David Halberstam, "Vietnamese Reds Gain in Key Area," New York Times, August 15, 1963.

26. Major General V. H. Krulak, JCS, SACSA, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, August 16, 1963 (S).

27. Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation for the Record (Participants: the President, Ball, Harriman, McGeorge Bundy, Hilsman and Forrestal), July 4, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY). (attached in appendix).

28. Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation, July 5, 1963 (S). (Attached in appendix).

29. Ibid.

FOOTNOTES

1. CIA Information Report, TDCS DB-3/655,252, August 24, 1963 (C)

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

3. As reported by General Le Van Kim in an interview with Rufus Phillips (USOM) August 23, 1963, Saigon msg 320, Lodge to State, August 24, 1963 (TS).

4. David Halberstam, The Making of A Quagmire, op.cit., pp. 231-232.

5. CIA Information Report, op.cit.

6. Halberstam, op.cit., p. 236.

7. John McKlin, Mission in Torment (New York: Doubleday, 1965), p. 181.

8. State msg 226, August 21, 1963 (LOU).

9. Director, Defense Intelligence Agency, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, S-18, 548/P-3, Subject: (S) Martial Law in South Viet-Nam, August 21, 1963.

10. Roger Hilsman, To Move a Nation, (New York: Doubleday, 1967), pp. 481-3.

11. State msg 235, Hilsman to Lodge (TS), August 22, 1963.

12. Saigon msg 314, Lodge to State, August 23, 1963 (TS).

13. CIA Information Report, op.cit.

14. Saigon msg 320, Lodge to State, August 24, 1963 (TS).

15. Saigon msg 316, Lodge to Hilsman, August 24, 1963 (TS), reports a conversation between Kattenburg (VN/WG), who had accompanied Lodge from Honolulu, and Vo Van Hai, Diem's chief de cabinet; Saigon msg 324, Lodge to State, August 24, 1963 (TS), reports Phillips' conversation with Secretary of State Nguyen Dinh Thuan.

16. Saigon msg 329, Lodge to Hilsman, August 24, 1963 (S).

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 26. See Current Intelligence Memorandum OCI No. 2343/63, August 26, 1963 (S); and Director, DIA, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, August 26, 1963 (S).

19. Thuan statement as reported in Saigon msg 324, op. cit.; Hilsman, To Move a Nation, op.cit., p. 485.

20. Hilsman, ibid.

21. State msg 243, State to Lodge, August 24, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

22. Ibid.

23. Arthur Schlesinger, A Thousand Days, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 994; for a more positive view of these events, see Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 483-9.

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

25. Hilsman, op.cit., p. 488.

26. CAS Saigon msg 0292, August 25, 1963 (TS).

27. Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 488-9.

28. Ibid.

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

30. See Mecklin, op.cit., pp. 183-4 and 197-8.

31. See Current Intelligence Memoranda, OCI No. 2339/63, August 14, 1963, and OCI 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 0346, CIA to State, August 27, 1963 (TS).

37. CAS Saigon 0357, CIA to State, August 27, 1963 (S).

38. Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 490-91. For a similar account see Schlesinger, op.cit., p. 994. 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 Move a Nation, op.cit.; Arthur Schlesinger, A Thousand Days, op.cit.; and John Mecklin, Mission in Torment, op.cit.

39. State msg 255, State to Lodge, August 27, 1963 (TS).

40. Saigon msg 364, Lodge to State, August 28, 1963 (TS).

41. MACV msg 1544, Harkins to Taylor and Felt (TS, EYES 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.

45. Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 492-3.

46. Ibid.

47. State msg 269, President to Lodge, August 28, 1963 (TS); and JCS msg 3385, Taylor to Harkins, August 29, 1963 (TS).

48. State msg 268, State to Lodge, August 28, 1963 (TS).

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

50. CAS Saigon msg 0437, August 29, 1963 (TS).

51. Saigon msg 375, Lodge to State, August 29, 1963 (TS).

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

53. Hilsman, op.cit., p. 493.

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 0483, CIA to State, August 30, 1963 (TS).

58. MACV msg 1583, Harkins to Taylor, August 31, 1963 (TS).

59. CAS Saigon msg 0499, 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. 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.

69. "Transcript of broadcast with Walter Cronkite inaugurating a CBS Television news program, September 2, 1963," in Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy, (Washington: GPO, 1964), vol. III, 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 403, 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 434, Lodge to State, September 7, 1963 (TS)

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

77. Hilsman, op.cit., p. 500-501.

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

79. Hilsman, op.cit., p. 501.

80. Hilsman, op. cit., pp. 501-502.

81. State msg 353, State to Lodge, September 7, 1963 (TS).

82. Major General V. C. Krulak, "Visit to Vietnam, 7-10 September 1963" (TS), pp. 1-2.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

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

86. Schlesinger, ibid.

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

88. Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 504-505.

89. State msg 313, Joint State/AID msg to Lodge, September 3, 1963.

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

91. Mecklin, op.cit., p. 210.

92. Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate, Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam (3rd ed.) (Washington: GPO, July 1967), p. 13.

93. "Transcript of broadcast on NBC's 'Huntley-Brinkley Report', September 9, 1963", Public Papers of the Presidents, op.cit., p. 659.

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 msgs 469-477, 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, Harkins to Taylor, September 9, 1963 (TS); MACV msg 1675, Harkins to Taylor, September 12, 1963 (TS); and John A. McCone, Director CIA, Memorandum, September 13, 1963 (TS).

99. MACV msg 7536, Harkins to Taylor, 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. Rober Hilsman, Memorandum to the Secretary of State, Subject: Viet-Nam, September 16, 1963 (TS-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 545, to the President from Lodge, September 19, 1963 (TS).

106. CAP msg 63516, op.cit.

107. Saigon msg 536, 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).

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

110. President John F. Kennedy, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, September 21, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

111. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Remarks to the Press on Departure for Vietnam, Andrews AFB, Md., September 23, 1963.

112. Schlesinger, op.cit., pp. 907-908; Hilsman, op.cit., pp. 502-508.

113. Commander USMACV, "Transcript of Opening Conference with the Secretary of Defense, Ambassador and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the Status of the US Effort in Vietnam", 25 September 1963 (TS).

114. State msg 476, EYES ONLY for Ambassador Lodge and Secretary McNamara, September 24, 1963 (TS); and Saigon msg 593, EYES ONLY for President, September 25, 1963 (TS).

115. Saigon msg 612, Lodge to State, September 29, 1963 (TS).

116. MACV msg JOL 7847 from Harkins to Taylor, October 1, 1963 (S).

117. Saigon msg 633, Lodge to State, September 13, 1963 (TS).

118. Commander USMACV, "Transcript . . .," op.cit., pp. 74-84.

119. Saigon msg 602, Lodge to State, EYES ONLY, September 27, 1963 (TS).

120. Saigon msg 603, Lodge to State, EYES ONLY, September 27, 1963 (TS); Joseph Brent, Director USOM, Memorandum for the Ambassador, September 30, 1963 (S-LIMDIS).

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

122. Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the President, Subject: Report of the McNamara-Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, 2 October 1963 (S), p.2 (conclusions and recommendations attached in appendix).

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.

128. National Security Council Action, No. 2472, October 2, 1963 (TS); and "White House Statement following the Return of a Special Mission to Vietnam," October 2, 1963, in Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy - 1963, op.cit., pp. 757-760 (both attached in appendix).

129. NSAM, No. 263, October 11, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY), emphasis added (attached in appendix).

130. State msg 534, October 5, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

131. Ibid.

IV

FOOTNOTES

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

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

3. Saigon msg 654, to State from Lodge, October 7, 1963 (TS).

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

5. Ibid.

6. Saigon msg 652, to State from Lodge, October 7, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY).

7. Saigon msg 647, to State from Lodge, October 7, 1963 (TS).

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

9. Saigon msg 712, October 16, 1963 (TS).

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

11. CIA Current Intelligence Memorandum, OCI 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 Harkins, October 17, 1963 (TS).

14. MACV msg 2006, October 26, 1963 (TS).

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

16. Department of State, INR Research Memorandum RFE90, October 22, 1963 (S).

17. Hilsman, op.cit., p. 515.

18. Washington Daily News, October 2, 1963; also Halberstam story, New York Times, October 4, 1963.

19. State msg 599, October 4, 1963 (S).

20. Saigon msg 768, to Secretary of State, October 23, 1963 (TS).

21. State msg 647, October 25, 1963 (TS).

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

23. Ibid.

24. Saigon msg 804, October 28, 1963 (S).

25. Saigon msg 816, October 30, 1963 (S).

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.

28. CAS Saigon msg 1385, October 3, 1963 (S).

29. CAS Saigon msg 1445, to State from Lodge, October 5, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

30. CAS Saigon msg 34026, to State from Lodge, October 5, 1963 (TS EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY RUSK).

31. Ibid.

32. CAP msg 63560 via CAS channel, October 5, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

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

34. Shaplen, op.cit., pp. 203-4.

35. USARMA Saigon msg 199, from Jones, USARMA, Saigon, to McNamara, October 21, 1963 (TS).

36. CAS Saigon msg 1896, October 23, 1963 (TS).

37. CAS Saigon 1906, to State from Lodge, October 23, 1963 (TS).

38. MACV msg 1991, Harkins to Taylor, October 24, 1963 (TS).

39. Ibid.

40. CAS msg 77878, to Lodge, October 24, 1963 (TS); and CAS msg 70141, McCone to Saigon, October 24, 1963 (TS).

41. CAS Saigon msg 1925, October 24, 1963 (TS).

42. MACV msg 1993, Harkins to Taylor, 241055Z October 1963 (TS).

43. JCS msg 4137-63, 242246 October 1963 (TS).

44. CAS Saigon msg 47370, October 25, 1963 (TS).

45. CAS Saigon msg 1964, Lodge to McGeorge Bundy, October 25, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

46. Ibid.

47. CAP msg 63590, McGeorge Bundy to Lodge, October 25, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

48. CAS Saigon msg 2003, Lodge to State, October 28, 1963 (TS).

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 4183-63, 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 2028, Harkins to Taylor, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

59. CAS Washington msg 79109, 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 79109, op.cit.

63. CAS Saigon msg 2063, Lodge to State, October 30, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

64. CAS Washington msg 79407, 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 Shaplen in The Lost Revolution, op.cit., pp. 201-212.

4. Shaplen, op.cit., p. 205.

5. CAS Saigon msg 1925, op.cit.

6. Shaplen, op.cit., p. 206.

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

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

9. Saigon msg 859, Lodge to State, November 1, 1963 (U).

10. Shaplen, op.cit., p. 208.

11. Saigon msg 860, Lodge to State, November 1, 1963 (?).

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

13. Mecklin, op.cit., pp. 262-3.

14. Saigon msg 913, Lodge to State, November 4, 1963 (S).

15. Shaplen, op.cit., p. 208.

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, 8:45 a.m. (S), for the conflicting versions of the murder.

19. State msg 673, Rusk to Lodge, November 1, 1963 (S).

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

21. Saigon msg 875, November 1, 1963, 11:59 p.m. (S).

22. State msg 688, November 2, 1963 (S).

23. Schlesinger, op.cit., p. 909.

24. Saigon msg 900, Lodge to State, November 3, 1963 (S).

25. Hilsman, op.cit., p. 521.

26. Saigon msgs 885 and 886, Lodge to State, November 2, 1963 (U).

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).

31. Saigon msg 929, 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 TOAID 1016, November 7, 1963 (C).

39. Saigon msg 975, op.cit.

40. CINCPAC msg to JCS 120604Z 63 (S).

41. Saigon msg 986, Lodge to State, November 9, 1963 (S), Highlights TF/Saigon's Weekly Progress Report.

42. Saigon msg 917, op.cit.

43. Douglas Pike, Viet Cong, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966), pp. 353-354.

44. Ibid.

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

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

47. Defense msg 944589, to CINCPAC, MACV, Lodge, November 9, 1963 (S).

48. Saigon msg 990, Lodge to State, November 11, 1963 (S).

49. "Summary of Special Meeting on the Republic of Vietnam," CINCPAC Headquarters, 20 November 1963 (TS), pp. 1-3.

50. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

51. Ibid., p. 12.

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

53. Press release following the Honolulu Conference, November 20, 1963.

54. National Security Action Memorandum No. 273, November 26, 1963 (TS) (attached in appendix).

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.