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FOOTNOTES

Page 1

1. For further descriptions of this period see Virginia Thompson, French Indochina, New York, 1942, pp. 68-90, 475-481; Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, Mouvements Nationaux et Lutte des Classes au Viet Nam, Paris, France, 1948, pp. 106-148; Nguyen van Que, Histoire des Pays de L'Union Indochinoise, Saigon, Indochina, 1932, pp. 190-195.

Page 2

1. Nguyen van Luyen, Le Viet-Nam, Une Cause de la Paix, Hanoi, Indochina, 1946.
2. Nguyen van Que, p. 193.
3. Ibid., p. 194.
4. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 34.
5. Ibid., p. 35.

Page 3

1. "Le Peril Rouge en Indochine," Revue des deux Mondes, April 1932, pp. 519-556.
2. Dang chan Lieu, "Annamese Nationalism," Pacific Affairs, XI:1 (March 1947), p. 62.
3. Louis Roubaud, Vietnam, Paris, France, pp. 229-232.
4. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 37.
5. Ibid., p. 37.

Page 4

1. Louis Roubaud, op. cit.
2. The Vietnam Cultural Association for National Liberation, Factual Records of the Vietnam August Revolution, Hanoi, Indochina, September 1946.
3. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 38.
4. La Republique, (Hanoi, Indochina), March 24, 1945.
5. Vietnam News Agency, "58th Birth Anniversary of Ho chi Minh, Rangoon, Burma, May 19, 1948.
6. Henri Marc and Pierre Cony, Indochine Francaise, Paris, 1946.

Page 5

1. General Ardant du Picq, Histoire d'une Citadelle Annamite, Hanoi, Indochina, 1935; "Le Peril Rouge en Indochine," cited above.
2. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 35.
3. Henri Marc and Pierre Cony, p. 14.

Page 6

1. George Garros, Forceries Humaines, Paris, France, 1926, pp. 89-90.
2. Louis Roubaud, op. cit.
3. "Le Peril Rouge en Indochine," cited above.
4. Louis Roubaud, op. cit.
5. Henri Marc and Pierre Cony, p. 140.
6. Factual Records of the Vietnam August Revolution, p. 6.
7. Henri Marc and Pierre Cony, p. 145.

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Page 7

1. Virginia Thompson, op. cit.
2. Henri Marc and Pierre Cony, p. 147.
3. Ibid., p. 148.

Page 8

1. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 40.
2. Louis Roubaud, pp. 49-55.
3. Factual Records of the Vietnam August Revolution, p. 6.

Page 9

1. La Republique (Hanoi, Indochina), No. 21, March 24, 1946.

Page 10

1. The Saigon Council was established by the French in the period following World War I. It was primarily an advisory body, but it did include representatives of the Vietnamese population chosen on the basis of a limited franchise.

Page 12

1. George Garros, op. cit. The appendix contains documents outlining the program of the Constitutionalist Party.
2. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 40.

Page 13

1. Gouvernement General de l'Indochine, Le Tan Viet Cach Minh Dang -- Parti Revolutionnaire du Jeune Annam (1926-1930), Hanoi, 1933.

Page 14

1. Almost all of the political parties in France had counterparts in Indochina that contested for the seats allotted in the French Chamber of Deputies for French citizens in Indochina.
2. Justice, (Saigon, Indochina), October 28, 1945.
3. Ibid.
4. Gouvernement General de l'Indochine, Le Cao-daisme (1926-1934), Hanoi, 1934. This pamphlet prepared by the French Surete contains a good deal of information about the doctrine, background, and organization of Cao-Daism.
5. Ibid., p. 32.

Page 15

1. Ibid., pp. 100-102.
2. Ibid., p. 93.
3. Ibid., pp. 87 ff.

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Page 16

1. REF-323.259/AW 4896, April 26, 1944.
2. Ibid., Contains information on various sects and history.

Page 17

1. Le Tan Viet Cach Menh Dang..., cited above. The material in this section was taken from the history of the organization as recorded by the French Surete.
2. The words "Hung Nam" have the same meaning as "Phuo Viet," i.e., Vietnam Restoration.

Page 18

1. This organization has no relation to the "Vietnam Revolutionary Party" formed in 1939 in Cochinchina (see below, p. 49) or to the Canton group that adopted the same name in 1928 (see below, p. 25).

Page 21

1. Gouvernement General de l'Indochine, Le Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang ou "Parti National Annamite" au Tonkin (1927-1932), Hanoi, Indochina, 1933. The material in this section on the organization is from this report by the French Surete.

Page 25

1. Gouvernement General de l'Indochine, Le Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang ou "Parti National Annamite" des Emigres en Chine (1930-1933), Hanoi, 1933. Details are cited from this report by the French Surete on the organization.
2. This organization should not be confused with organizations bearing the same name referred to above on p. 18 and below on p. 49.

Page 28

1. REF.-329.59/AA 3574, January 27, 1944.
2. This account of the early history of the Indochinese Communist Party is taken from the pamphlet of the French Surete, Gouvernement Generale d l'Indochine, Le "Dong Duong Cong San Dang" ou "Parti Communiste Indochinois" (1925-1933). All quotations are from this work unless otherwise indicated.
3. Various biographical accounts of Ho chi Minh have been published by agencies of the Vietnam Government. The Vietnam News Service in Burma, an agency of the Vietnam Government, has issued a brochure entitled 58th Birth Anniversary of Ho-chi-Minh, Rangoon, Burma, May 19, 1948. The Vietnam Information Service in Paris has issued French (May 1947) and English (November 1947) versions under the title Vietnam's President Ho-chi-Minh.

Page 29

1. While this organization itself developed into a moderate nationalist group in later years, the Vietnamese affiliate provided the first students to be chosen in 1925 to attend the Oriental Communists Workers' School in Moscow. These students were to play leading roles in the future Indochinese Communist Party in 1930.

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Page 29 (continued)

2. Nguyen ai Quoc, Le Proces de la Colonisation Francaise, republished in Hanoi, 1946, Anh Hong editions.

Page 32

1. Seventeen delegates attended the Hongkong Congress -- 3 from Cochinchina, 4 from Tonkin, 4 from Annam, 4 from the Central Committee in China, 2 from Thailand. (Anh Van and Jacqueline Roussel, op. cit.)

Page 33

1. Text of letter reproduced in document annexed to Surete report on the Indochinese Communist Party, cited above.

Page 36

1. The Surete report on the Indochinese Communist Party gives a breakdown of this membership in an annexed reproduced letter from Ho chi Minh.
2. Government Generale d l'Indochine, La Terreur Rouge en Annam (1930-1931), Hanoi, Indochina, 1934, a French Surete report.

Page 38

1. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 55.
2. The remainder of this section on the Communists is taken from additional reports of the French Surete on the activities of the Indochinese Communist Party except where otherwise noted. (D-2617, Bombay, India, February 18, 1946; REF-323,259/AN 4023, November-December, 1940.)

Page 39

1. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, pp. 55,56.

Page 41

1. The Cochinchina Colonial Council was another French-established advisory body of local government that afforded representation to the Vietnamese population on the basis of a limited franchise.
2. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 58.

Page 46

1. Leon Trotsky, The Permanent Revolution, New York, 1931.
2. Leon Trotsky, Problems of the Chinese Revolution, New York, 1932; Harold R. Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, London, 1938.

Page 47

1. Quatrieme Internationale, No. 14-15, November-December 1938. Article entitled "Indochina -- The Construction of the Revolutionary Party" contains information on the early history of the Trotskyists in Indochina.
2. DX-6568, July 30, 1947.
3. Labor Action (New York), October 27, 1947.

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Page 48

1. Ibid.
2. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, pp. 54-58.
3. REF.-323.259/AN4088, n.d.
4. D-2617, Bombay, India, February 18, 1946, a Surete report on the Indochinese Communist Party.
5. Labor Action, (New York), October 27, 1947.

Page 49

1. D-2617, cited above.
2. REF.-323.259/AN4023, n.d.

Page 50

1. REF.-XL 82058, June 3, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. DX-16929, September 15, 1948.
4. REF.-323.259/AN 4897, August 28, 1944.

Page 51

1. REF-329.59/AA3574, January 27, 1944.
2. DX-16929, September 15, 1948.

Page 52

1. OIR-1346.93, February 12, 1945.

Page 53

1. DX-63739, November 17, 1945.
2. REF-89979, July 18, 1944.
3. DX-47581, December 11, 1944.

Page 54

1. Domei, March 15, 1945.
2. Domei News Service, March 17, 1945.
3. XL-31460, November 20, 1945.
4. Ibid.
5. Domei News Service, March 17, 1945.

Page 55

1. Tin Dien (Saigon, Indochina), February 25, 26, 27, and 28, 1948.
2. FCC, July 30, 1945.

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Page 56

1. Membership of the cabinet included:
Minister of Interior Pham Quynh
Minister of Finance Ho dao Khai
Minister of Justice Bui bang Doan
Minister of Rites Ung Uy
Minister of Education Tran thinh Dat
Minister of Economy Truong nhu Dinh
Director of the Imperial Cabinet Tran linh Tung
Director of the Civil Cabinet Vo Chuan
(Principal source: DX-68339A, June 23, 1945)

2. Premier Tran trong Kim
Minister of Interior Tran dinh Nam
Foreign Minister Tran van Chuong
Minister of Finance Vu van Hien
Minister of Supply Ho ta Khanh
Minister of Education Hoang xuan Han
Minister of Justice Trinh dinh Thao
Minister of Communications Luu van Lang
Minister of Security Nguyen ngoc Canh
Minister of Youth Phan Anh
Minister of Economy Nguyen huu Thi
(Principal source: REF-XL 31460, November 20, 1945)

3. REF-XL 31460, November 20, 1945.

4. Huynh thuc Khang Ho van Giang
Ho ta Khanh Bui tri Ho
Tran van Lai Ho van Hga
Dang thai Moi Nguyen van Canh
Nguyen van Khanh Ung Hoa
Ho hum Tuong Nguyen ngoc Tung
Hoang xuan Han Ho dao Khanh
Ta quang Bui Hoang dai Chi
(OIR-3338, October 25, 1945)

Page 57

1. Tin Dien, issues cited above.

Page 58

1. Factual Records of the Vietnam August Revolution, p. 9.

Page 59

1. Some sources give the date of formation of the Viet Minh as October 1942. This probably arises from confusing it with the Chinese-supported Vietnam Revolutionary League (Viet Nam Cach Menh Dong Minh Hoi). See below, p. 67.
2. Allied Labor News (New York), March 8, 1945.
3. This may be an organization established in May 1945 under the aegis of the Japanese. Domei announced that Ton quang Phiet was president of the Hue chapter formed in June 1945. (FCC, June 12, 1945)
4. This may be the youth organization of the Communist Party.

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Page 60

1. Allied Labor News (New York), March 8, 1945.
2. XL-25405, October 17, 1945.
3. Harold R. Isaacs, "Indochina: A Fight for Freedom," New Republic, February 3, 1947.
4. REF-329.69/AN 4089, n.d.

Page 61

1. Ibid.
2. REF-323.259/AW 4897, August 28, 1944.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Page 62

1. REF-329.69/AN 4089, n.d. The bulk of the following account is taken from this source.
2. Q-1-O, December 12, 1947, Program of Action of the National Union Front, dated February 1947, RESTRICTED.

Page 63

1. REF-323.259/AW 4896, April 28, 1944.
2. Q-1-O, cited above.

Page 64

1. Lucien, "Quelques Etapes de la Revolution au Nam-Bo du Viet-Nam," Quatrieme Internationale, September-October 1947, Paris France. The following information is extracted from this article unless otherwise indicated.

Page 65

1. Tin Dien, issues cited above.
2. Labor Action (New York), October 27, 1947.
3. Factual Records of the Vietnam August Revolution.

Page 66

1. Ibid.
2. The members of this committee were:

Ho chi Minh (Communist-Viet Minh)	Pham van Thach (Viet Minh)
Tran huy Lieu (Communist)	Nguyen huu Dang (Democrat)
Vo nguyen Giap (Communist)	Nguyen chi Thanh (Viet Minh)
Chu van Tan (Viet Minh)	Nguyen van Xuan (Viet Minh)
Duong duc Hien (Democrat)	Pham ngoc Thach (Viet Minh)
Cu huy Can (Democrat)	Nguyen luong Bang (Communist)
Nguyen dinh Thi (Viet Minh)	Pham van Dong (Communist-Viet Minh)

(Sources: Cau Quec (Hanoi, Indochina), August 24, 1945; DX-9668, December 4, 1947)

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Page 67

1. "Il y a deux ans, le Viet-Minh s'emparait du pouvoir," France-Asie (Saigon, Indochina), No. 19, October 15, 1947, pp. 1017 ff.
2. Ibid., p. 1025.
3. Ibid.
4. Quatrieme Internationale, article cited above, p. 48
5. Hung Viet (Saigon, Indochina), September 19, 1945.

Page 68

1. Tin Dien, issues cited above.
2. The Intellectual Group appears to have been a society uniting various professional workers, doctors, lawyers, writers, etc.
3. The Functionaries' Federation was an organization composed of the Vietnamese personnel in the administration of government.

Page 69

1. Tin Dien, issues cited above.
2. Leaflet published by Viet Minh, August 23, 1945.
3. Leaflet published by Indochinese Communist Party, August 17, 1945. A portion of this leaflet is cited in La Bibliotheque Francaise, La Verite Sur le Viet-Nam, Paris, 1948, p. 42.
4. The members of this committee were:

Tran van Giau (Communist)
Nguyen van Tao (Communist)
Pham ngoc Thach (Viet Minh)

Huynh van Tieng (Democrat)
Huynh thi Oanh (Independent)
Ngo tan Nhon (National Independence Party)

Duong bach Mai (Communist)
Nguyen van Tay (Communist)

Pham van Bach (Independent)
Hoang don Van (Labor unions-Viet Minh)

(Sources: DRF/SA Files, September 14, 1945; OIR-3336, October 25, 1945)

Page 70

1. Tin Dien, issues cited above. The following is the reported extract of the meeting:

"At the meeting of August 30, Tran van Giau, as Chairman of the Executive Council of the Nambo government, reported on the accomplishments of the Vietnam government during the first five days in power. Following the report, the various political leaders questioned him:

Huynh phu So (Hoa Hao leader) - 'Will Mr. Giau let us know what groups formerly secretly collaborated with the Viet Minh, and later publicly participated in it?'

Tran van Giau - 'In Nambo (Cochinchina) during the underground stage, these were the parties in the Viet Minh Front: the Indochinese Communist Party, the New Vietnam Democratic Party (Tan Dan Chu Dang), the Youth for National Liberation (Thanh-Nien Cuu Quoc), the Officials for National Liberation (Quan-nhan Cuu Quoc), the Vietnam National Party (Viet-Nam Quoc Gia Dang), and now the United National Front.'

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Tran van Thach (Trotskyist La Lutte leader) - 'When was the Executive Committee established and who chose it? Will Front policy be followed and will there be communication with the Front? And since this assembly is held today, would the Government act in line with the Assembly, or is this the only meeting to be held?'

Tran van Giau - 'Now, I will answer Mr. Thach. The establishment of the Executive Committee was not my sole decision. It was established some time ago in order to take over the government. The Executive Committee is only a temporary one, pending the national election. In the interim, no one is willing to take power or obey orders. Although Mr. Thach's question was not fully explained, I can tell what is in his mind. He would like to ask why a man like himself did not have a position in the government. Isn't that so, Mr. Thach? I repeat that this Government is only a temporary one. Later on when we have the general elections, if he is capable, Mr. Thach needn't worry about not having a seat in the Government. As for the work of the parties, between you and me, we will meet again.'

Huyzn van Phuong (Intellectual Group) - 'Due to the circumstances that now face us, the United National Front felt that there should not be two fronts in the country. For this reason, the United National Front called all parties and groups to meet together and selected Phan van Hum, as its representative, to negotiate with the Viet Minh in order to fuse the two fronts into one.'

'After negotiating, Mr. Hum returned and reported that the Viet Minh has refused to dissolve into the United National Front. They state that the Viet Minh is already a consolidated front in the eyes of the nation and has fought against Japanese imperialism. Today, in order to unite our strength, the United National Front has to affiliate with the Viet Minh.'

'Since the Viet Minh view point was sound, after hearing Mr. Hum's views, the United National Front affiliated with the Viet Minh.'

'However, since the United National Front includes many parties, Mr. Ngo tan Nhon can speak only as the representative of the National Independence Party (Viet-Nam Quoc Gia Doc Lap Dang) and not as the representative of the United National Front.'

Tran van Giau - 'The Viet Minh does not wish to race for power. If a man is able, no one will stand in his way. The United National Front represents many parties and groups which are affiliated to the Viet Minh, but it isn't built up by cells so that Mr. Ngo tan Nhon cannot represent the United National Front.'

Mr. Phan van Hum, after indicating the difference between the parties, said: 'Frankly, we of the United National Front are to be blamed. When the Viet-Minh called for representatives of the United National Front, why didn't we call a meeting and select representatives to the Executive Committee?'

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"After Mr. Ho vinh Ky (Intellectual Group), Mr. Ngo tan Nhon (National Independence Party) and Mr. Nguyen van Nguyen (Indochinese Communist Party) expressed their views, the Assembly adjourned without reaching a decision."

Page 71

1. Quatrieme Internationale, article cited above, p. 45.
2. Those attending were:

1. Nguyen van Huong (Democrat)
2. Tran van Giau (Indochinese Communist Party)
3. Huynh phu So (Hoa Hao, Vietnam Democratic Socialist Party)
4. Pham ngoc Thach (Advance Guard Youth-Viet Minh)
5. Pham van Bach (Independent)
6. Ngo tan Nhon (Vietnam National Independence Party)
7. Phan van Hum (Trotskyist "Struggle" Group)
8. Tu ba Hoa (Independent)
9. Dr. Nguyen van Quang (Viet-Minh)
10. Nguyen van Thu (Independent)
11. Nguyen van Tao (Indochinese Communist Party)
12. Nguyen van Nghiem (Independent)
13. Duong van Giao (Vietnam National Independence Party)
14. Hoang don Van (Vietnam Confederation of Labor)
15. Huynh van Tieng (Democratic Party)
16. Kha van Can (National Independence Party)
17. Tran van The (Independent)
18. Ho van Nga (National Independence Party)
19. Pham van Hoi (Independent)
20. Huynh tan Phat (Independent)
21. Phan luong Bau (Independent)
22. Van vo Van (Independent)
23. Nguyen hao Ca (Independent)

(Bulletin d'Information, Saigon, Indochina, September 10, 1945; press extracts.)

3. Bulletin d'Information, Saigon, Indochina, September 10, 1945; press extracts. Members of this committee were:

- Pham van Bach (Independent)
Tran van Giau (Indochinese Communist Party)
Pham ngoc Thach (Advance Guard Youth-Viet Minh)
Huynh van Tieng (Democratic Party)
Ngo tan Nhon (National Independence Party)
Nguyen van Tao (Indochinese Communist Party)
Hoang don Van (Vietnam Confederation of Labor)
Huynh phu So (Hoa Hao-Vietnam Democratic Socialist Party)
Tu bao Hoa (Independent)
Nguyen van Nghiem (Independent)

Alternate Members

- Phan van Hum (Trotskyist "Struggle" group)
Tran van Nho (Independent)
Nguyen van Thu (Independent)

4. Bulletin d'Information, Saigon, Indochina, September 10, 1945.

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Page 72

1. Leaflet issued September 7, 1946; La Verite Sur Le Viet Nam, p. 44.
2. Quatrieme Internationale, September - October 1947; article cited above.

Page 73

1. Bulletin d'Information, Saigon, Indochina, September 10, 1946.
2. Ibid., September 8, 1946, copy of leaflet.
3. Ministere De La France D'outre-Mer, Bulletin d'Information, Paris, No. 106, July 28, 1947.

Page 74

1. Memorandum of the Southern Executive Committee of Vietnam, October 1946, cited in DX-63973.

Page 76

1. The text of this declaration may be found in Documents, published by the Provisional Government of the Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, Indochina, 1946.
2. The members of this government were.

President	Ho chi Minh	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ho chi Minh	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of Interior	Vo nguyen Giap	Communist
Minister of Propaganda	Tran huy Lieu	Communist
Minister of National Defense	Chu van Tan	Viet Minh
Minister of Youth	Duong duo Hien	Democrat
Minister of National Economy	Nguyen manh Ha	Catholic
Minister of Social Welfare	Nguyen van To	Non-Party
Minister of Justice	Vu Trong Khanh	Democrat
Minister of Health	Pham ngoc Thach	Viet Minh
Minister of Public Works & Communications	Dao trong Kim	Non-Party
Minister of Labor	Le van Hien	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of Finance	Pham van Dong	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of National Education	Vu dinh Hoe	Democrat
Minister without portfolio	Cu huy Can	Democrat
Minister without portfolio	Nguyen van Xuan	Viet Minh

(Source: Cuu Quoc (Hanoi, Indochina), The party affiliations have been added for identification purposes.)

3. La Republique (Hanoi, Indochina), No. 7, November 18, 1946, contains text of statement.

Page 77

1. Q-1-0, cited above.
2. La Republique, (Hanoi, Indochina), No. 3, October 26, 1946, contains text of declaration of unity and statements.
3. An account of these elections may be found in Les Elections Generales et l'Assemblee Nationale Constituante Vietnamiennne, Editions de l'Office d'Information de la Republique Democratique du Viet Nam, Paris, 1946.

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- 4. FBIB, Daily Report, February 15, 1946.
- 5. The members of this government were reported in FBIB, Daily Report, March 6, 1946, as follows:

President	Ho chi Minh	Communist-Viet Minh
Vice-President	Nguyen hai Than	Dong Minh Hoi
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Nguyen tuong Tam	Vietnam Nationalist Party
Minister of Interior	Huynh thuc Khang	Independent
Minister of National Defense	Phan Anh	Socialist
Minister of National Economy	Chu ba Phuong	Vietnam Nationalist Party
Minister of Justice	Vu dinh Hoe	Democrat
Minister of National Education	Dang thai Mai	Viet Minh*
Minister of Agriculture	Bo xuan Luat	Dong Minh Hoi**
Minister of Social Welfare	Truong dinh Tri	Vietnam Nationalist Party
Minister of Finance	Le van Hien	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of Public Works & Communications	Tran dang Khoa	Democrat

*The post of Minister of National Education was held only temporarily by Dang thai Mai for Cao van Thinh (Independent).

**Bo xuan Luat became Vice Minister of Agriculture and Huynh thien Lee (Independent) assumed the Ministry.

The Vice Ministries were divided as follows:

Vice Minister of Interior	Hoang minh Giam	Socialist
Vice Minister of National Defense	Ta quang Bui	Independent
Vice Minister of Justice	Nguyen van Huong	Independent
Vice Minister of Public Works & Communications	Dang phuc Thong	Viet Minh
Vice Minister of Finance	Trinh van Binh	Independent
Vice Minister of National Education	Do due Due	Democrat
Vice Minister of Agriculture	Bo xuan Luat	Dong Minh Hoi
Vice Minister of Social Welfare	Do Tiep	Dong Minh Hoi
Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs	Nghiem ke To	Vietnam Nationalist Party

In addition, the following were elected: (1) a Consultative High Council headed by Nguyen vinh Thuy (ex-emperor Bao Dai); (2) a Supreme Council of National Defense with Vo nguyen Giap (Communist) as president and Vu khong Khanh (Nationalist Party) as vice-president; (3) the President of the National Assembly, Ngo tu Ha (Catholic); (4) the permanent Committee of the Assembly, headed by Bui bang Doan (Independent).

(Sources: Les Elections Generales et l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante Vietnamiennne, cited above, D-7, Hanoi, November 13, 1946)

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1. The agreement was signed by Ho chi Minh (Communist-Viet Minh) and Vu khong Khanh (Nationalist Party). Text of the agreement may be found in Roger Levy, L'Indochine et ses traites 1946, Paris, 1947.
2. Institut Franco-Suisse d'Etudes Coloniales, France et Vietnam, Le Conflit France-Vietnamien d'apres les documents officiels, Geneva, Switzerland, 1947, p. 26.
3. Nguyen n. Vy, The Rebirth of Vietnam, September 2, 1947, Singapore.
4. DX 14580, Basic Program of the "League for the National Union of Vietnam". The following signed the program:

Phan Anh
Nguyen luong Bang
Cu huy Can
Bui bang Doan
Pham van Deng
Vo nguyen Giap
Ngo tu Ha
Vu dinh Hoe
Vu van Hien

Duong duc Hien
Nguyen van Huyen
Vu khong Khanh
Huynh thue Khang
Tran huy Lieu
Nguyen tuong Long
Dang thai Mai
Ho chi Minh
Duong bach Mai

Y Ngong
Ton quang Phiet
Chu ba Phuong
Nguyen tuong Tam
Nguyen van To
Mme Phan Thanh
Ho duc Thanh
Pham ngoc Thach
Ton duc Thang

5. France et Vietnam..., cited above, p 25.
6. Q-1-0, cited above.

Page 79

1. Le Journal de Saigon, May 13, 1946.
2. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.

Page 80

1. Journal Officiel de la Federation Indochinoise, June 3, 1946, pp. 357, 363.
2. Discours de M. Pham van Dong, President de la Delegation Vietnamiennne, prononce a l'ouverture de la seance inaugurale a Fontainebleau le 6 juillet 1946, Conference Franco-Vietnamiennne, Paris, 1946.
3. DX-69344, Proclamation of the National Union Front, June 1946. This Front claimed to embrace the following:

"The religions for national welfare - Buddhist Hoa Hao (Phat Giao Hoa Hao), Cao Daists, Christians, Buddhists (Tinh Do Cu Si).

"Political parties: - National Independence of Vietnam (Viet Nam Quoc Gia Doc Lap), Vietnam Nationalist Party, Vietnam Youth (Jeunesse Viet Nam), Intellectual Party (Unioniste Viet Nam), National Party, Socialist Party, Social Democratic Party, New Democratic Party, Workers' Union, Viet Minh of Nam Bo, Federation of Transport, Employees' Federation, La Lutte, Federation of Merchants and Industrialists, League of Artists.

"Political bureau of the different sections and all the resistance organizations of Nam Bo -

Section VII (East) - Commanding Officer, Nguyen Binh
Section VIII (Bassac) - Commanding Officer, Dao van Truong
Section IX (West) - Commanding Officer, Vu van Duc
1st Division - Commanding Officer, Truong van Giau
2nd Division - Commanding Officer, Vu tam Anh
3rd Division - Commanding Officers, Pham huu Duc and Tran van Lam

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(the resisting part, not followers of Nguyen hoa Hiep)

4th Division - Commanding Officer, Nguyen thanh Long

Allied resistance of: Tay-Ninh, Trang Bang, Duc Hoa, Hoo Mon, Ba Diem, Ba Queo, Ton son Nhut, Tham Luong, Son Cang, Thu Duc, Binh Xuyen, Saigon Cholon, Mytho, Tan An, Ben Tre.

The forces of Cao Daists, of Hoa Hao, of the Workers' Union, of Buddhists, of Tinh Do Cu Si.

5th army-espionage and counter espionage groups and small forces of guerrillas throughout Nam Bo.

Permanent Central Committee of Front of National Union."

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1. A discussion of these relations may be found in Ellen Hammer, Emergence of Viet Nam, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1947.
2. Negotiations were held at Dalat, Indochina from April 19 to May 11, 1946 as a follow-up of the agreement of March 6, 1946. They were inconclusive and gave way to direct negotiations at Fontainebleau, France in June 1946.
3. On May 27, 1946 a federal ordinance promulgated by French High Commissioner D'Argenlieu set up a French Directing Committee for the mountain population of southern Annam. (Journal Officiel de la Federation Indochinoise, June 6, 1946) French troops captured principal cities in the area in June 1946.
4. The modus vivendi of September 14 was signed by Ho chi Minh after the Vietnamese delegation had left Paris. Its provisions may be found in Roger Levy, L'Indochine et ses traites, cited above.
5. Les Elections Generales et l'Assemblee Nationale Constituante Vietnamienne, cited above.
6. Ibid.
7. The actual size of the Vietnam National Assembly is obscured by conflicting reports. The official report issued by the Information Office of the Vietnam Democratic Republic refers to "300 deputies." (Les Elections Generales..., cited above, p. 13.) A Vietnam News Service Special Release (No. 5, July 30, 1946), from Bangkok, Thailand indicates "the distribution of seats in the National Assembly is as follows":

Marxists	10	Vietnam Nationalist Party	26
Socialists	27	Viet Minh	82
Democrats	45	Independents	90
Dong minh Hoi	22		

It is not stated whether this claim refers to the total membership of the National Assembly, the attendance at the first session in March 1946, or attendance at the second session in October 1946. It is probable that this is the breakdown of attendance at the first session in March 1946.

The report of the second session, cited in the text, states: "Of the 380 elected members including those from Nambo, only 291 were present." (REF-354.598, Bangkok, Thailand, November 15, 1946)

A French source states that the Vietnam National Assembly consisted of a total of "374 elected delegates and 70 delegates imposed by the opposition parties (50 Vietnam Nationalist Party and 20 Dong minh Hoi) with the help of the Chinese Occupation troops," citing the Vietnam Democratic Republic's

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Journal Officiel, No. 16, April 13, 1946, as the basis for this statement. This document was not available in preparing this report.

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1. REF-364.698, Bangkok, Thailand, November 16, 1946.
2. Ibid.
3. D-20, Hanoi, Indochina, May 5, 1947. An undated Special Release of the Vietnam-American Friendship Association, New York, contains text.

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1. The composition of this government was:

President	Ho chi Minh	Communist-Viet Minh
Vice-President	Vacant*	
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ho chi Minh	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of Interior	Huynh thuo Khang	Independent
Minister of National Defense	Vo nguyen Giap	Communist
Minister of National Economy	Vacant**	
Minister of Justice	Vu dinh Hoe	Democrat
Minister of Finance	Le van Hien	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of National Education	Nguyen van Huyen	Socialist
Minister of Agriculture	Ngo tan Nhon	Independent
Minister of Communications & Public Works	Tran dang Khoa	Democrat
Minister of Labor	Nguyen van Tao	Communist
Minister of Health	Hoang tinh Tri	Independent
Minister of Social Welfare	Chu ba Phuong	Vietnam Nationalist Party
Minister without Portfolio	Nguyen van To	Independent
Minister without Portfolio	Bo xuan Luat	Independent
Supreme Councillor	Nguyen vinh Thuy (Bao Dai)	

Vice Ministers were as follows:

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs	Hoang minh Giam	Socialist
Vice Minister of Interior	Hoang huu Nam	Communist-Viet Minh
Vice Minister of National Defense	Ta quang Buu	Independent
Vice Minister of National Economy	Pham van Dong	Communist-Viet Minh
Vice Minister of Agriculture	Cu huy Can	Democrat
Vice Minister of Justice	Tran cong Tuong	Democrat
Vice Minister of Finance	Trinh van Binh	Independent
Vice Minister of National Education	Nguyen khanh Toan	Communist
Vice Minister of Communication & Public Works	Dang phuc Thong	Socialist
Vice Minister of Health	Vacant***	
Vice Minister of Labor	Vacant	
Vice Minister of Social Welfare	Vacant	

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(Source: Le Journal de Saigon, November 5, 1946. Party designations are given in this source, but the party designations indicated here are based on other Vietnam Government sources and are believed to be more accurate.)

- *Pham ngoc Thach (Viet Minh) apparently acted as assistant to Ho chi Minh in the cabinet. (FBIB, Daily Report, December 3, 1946) The vice-presidency was not filled until July 1949, when Pham van Dong (Communist-Viet Minh) was given the post. (FBIB, Daily Report (FE), August, 1949, p. EEE1)
- **Phan Anh (Socialist) was appointed Minister of National Economy on January 26, 1947. (T-33, Hanoi, January 29, 1947)
- ***Nguyen Kinh Chi (Independent) was appointed to the Vice Ministry of Health. (A-4, Hanoi, May 7, 1947)

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1. FBIB, Daily Report, (European Section), January 6, 1947.
2. FBIB, Daily Report, January 7, 1947.

Page 85

1. Ibid., December 30, 1946.
2. T-497, Saigon, December 27, 1946, RESTRICTED.
3. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), December 27, and 30, 1946.
4. Ibid. (European Section), January 2, 1947.

Page 86

1. T-125, Hanoi, November 29, 1946, RESTRICTED.

Page 87

1. FBIB, Daily Report, European section, December 30, 1946, p. J4.

Page 88

1. New York Times, March 20, 1947.
2. T-21, Hanoi, February 7, 1948, RESTRICTED
3. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), May 5, 1947, p. EEE 1.

Page 89

1. Viet Nam Service d'Information, Paris, No. 2, August 19, 1947.
2. La Verite sur le Viet-Nam, p. 68.
3. L'Echo du Viet-Nam (Saigon, Indochina), May 28, 1948.
4. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), July 23, 1948, p. EEE 1.

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1. Ibid., August 8, 1949, p. EEE 1.
2. The composition of the Vietnam Government as of July 1949 was:

President	Ho chi Minh	Communist-Viet Minh
Vice President	Pham van Dong	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Hoang minh Giam	Socialist

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Minister of Interior	Phan ke Toai	Independent
Minister of National Defense	Vo nguyen Giap	Communist
Minister of National Economy	Phan Anh	Socialist
Minister of Justice	Vu dinh Hoe	Democrat
Minister of Finance	Le van Hien	Communist-Viet Minh
Minister of National Education	Nguyen van Huyen	Socialist
Minister of Agriculture	Ngo tan Nhon	Independent
Minister of Communications & Public Works	Tran dang Khoa	Democrat
Minister of Labor	Nguyen van Tao	Communist
Minister of Health	Hoang tinh Tri	Independent
Minister of Social Welfare	Chu ba Phuong	Vietnam Nationalist Party
Minister of War Veterans & Invalids	Vu dinh Tung	Independent (Catholic)
Minister without Portfolio	Bo xuan Lust	Dong Minh Hoi
Minister without Portfolio	Dang van Huong	Independent (Buddhist)

Vice Ministers were divided as follows:

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs	Vacant	
Vice Minister of Interior	Tran duy Hung	Independent
Vice Minister of National Defense	Ta quang Buu	Independent
Vice Minister of National Economy	Cu huy Can	Democrat
Vice Minister of Agriculture	Nghiem xuan Yem	Independent
Vice Minister of Justice	Tran oong Tuong	Democrat
Vice Minister of Finance	Trinh van Binh	Independent
Vice Minister of National Education	Nguyen khanh Toan	Communist
Vice Minister of Communications & Public Works	Dang phuc Thong	Socialist
Vice Minister of Health	Ton that Tung	Independent
Vice Minister of Labor	Vacant	
Vice Minister of Social Welfare	Vacant	
Vice Minister of War Veterans and Invalids	Ngo tu Ba	Independent (Catholic)

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1. Vietnam News Agency, Information Bulletin No. 23, July 26, 1947, Bangoon, Burma.
2. See above, footnote 2, p. 89. Le van Hien is a former member of the dissolved Indochinese Communist Party.
3. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 7, 1949, p. EEE 2.

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1. Harold E. Isaacs, No Peace for Asia, New York, 1947, pp. 173 ff.
2. La Republique (Hanoi, Indochina), No. 7, November 18, 1945.

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1. Ye Zhukov, "The Crisis of the Colonial System," Bolshevik, December 16, 1947.
2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 4, 1949, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
3. "The Ho Chi Minh Government and Communism," L'Union Francaise, (Saigon, Indochina), December 29, 1948.
4. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 2, 1949, p. EEE 1.

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1. DX-63739, October 1946.
2. Kung Min Jih Pao, Kwangshowan, China, May 20, 1943.
3. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), July 1, 1947, p. EEE 2.
4. DX-63739, October 1946.
5. A-22, Hanoi, Indochina, July 3, 1947, RESTRICTED.
6. DX-63739, October 1946.
7. DX-68992, May 24, 1946.

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1. R-1, Hanoi, Indochina, September 17, 1946.
2. A-22, Hanoi, Indochina, July 3, 1947, RESTRICTED.
3. R-74, Saigon, August 29, 1946, UNCLASSIFIED.

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1. FBIB, Daily Report, December 2, 1946.
2. Ibid., December 16, 1946, p. CB 5.

Page 97

1. Ibid., September 21, 1948, p. EEE 3.
2. R-74, Saigon, August 29, 1946, UNCLASSIFIED, "Foundation of Socialist Party." All quotations and all information given below are from this report unless otherwise specified.

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1. Viet Nam Service d'Information, Paris, No. 3, September 9, 1947.

Page 101

1. Bulletin d'Information, Paris, No. 106, July 28, 1947; Quatrieme Internationale, September - October, 1947, p. 48.
2. D-132, Saigon, December 6, 1946.
3. Labor Action, February 23, 1948.
4. Ibid.
5. La Verite, (Paris), September 19, 1947, No. 188.

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1. Quatrieme Internationale, September - October 1947, p. 68.
2. Labor Action, October 27, 1947.

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Page 105

1. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), January 29, 1948, p. EEE 1.
2. T-124, Hanoi, June 6, 1948, UNCLASSIFIED.

Page 106

1. Text of May 17, 1947 Proclamation of the National Union Front, as given in Journal de Saigon, May 21, 1948.
2. Ibid.
3. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), January 30, 1948, p. EEE 1.
4. Q-1-0, cited above.

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1. Journal de Saigon, May 21, 1948.

Page 109

1. New York Times, April 1, 1947.
2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), April 24, 1947, p. EEE 1
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., April 29, 1947, p. EEE 2.
5. Ibid., May 19, 1947, p. EEE 1.
6. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), June 3, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED

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1. Ibid., June 17, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED
2. Ibid., September 11, 1947.
3. Ibid., September 17, 1947, p. EEE 1.
4. Journal de Saigon, September 20, 1947.
5. L'Echo du Vietnam, September 22, 1947.

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1. New York Herald Tribune, October 12, 1947.
2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), December 13, 1948, p. EEE 8, RESTRICTED
3. Ibid., December 10, 1948, p. EEE 3.
4. Ibid., April 26, 1949, p. EEE 4.

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1. REF-329.59/W 2290, August 22, 1947.
2. Q-1-0, cited above.
3. REF-329.59/W 2290, August 22, 1947.
4. FBIB, Daily Report (European section), December 30, 1948, p. J 4.
5. Q-1-0, cited above.
6. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 29, 1948, p. EEE 1.
7. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), December 10, 1947, p. EEE 3.

Page 113

1. Ibid., February 6, 1948, p. EEE 1.
2. Ibid., November 15, 1948, p. EEE 6.
3. REF-329.59/W 2290, August 22, 1947.

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1. Ibid.
2. Q-1-O, cited above.
3. DX-22432, March 23, 1949.
4. Q-1-O, cited above.
5. DX-9014, July 1, 1947.
6. DX-22432, March 23, 1949.

Page 115

1. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), April 26, 1948, p. EEE 4.
2. Q-1-O, cited above.

Page 116

1. L'Echo du Vietnam, No. 94, October 3, 1947, carries statement by individuals Nguyen van Chi, Kha van Can, Diep ba, Tran van Nguyen, Ngo tan Nhan, Ho van Lai, Dang minh Tru in name of Central Executive Committee to effect that (1) no one has a right to speak in name of the party and (2) members are free to adopt politics of their own choice.
2. REF-329.697/Q 3674, April 14, 1947.
3. DX-5779, June 18, 1947.
4. Intellectuals' manifesto, Le Peuple (Hanoi, Indochina), April 11, 1948.
5. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
6. Ibid.
7. REF-329.697/Q 3674, April 14, 1947.
8. D-376, Saigon, Indochina, October 30, 1947.
9. REF-329.69/W 2290, August 22, 1947.

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1. D-376, Saigon, Indochina, October 30, 1947.
2. L'Echo du Vietnam, June 23, 1947.
3. Ibid., June 21, 1947.
4. Ibid., June 23, 1947.
5. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), June 25, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
6. Ibid., October 13, 1947, p. EEE 1.
7. L'Echo du Vietnam, September 3, 1947.
8. Ibid., September 8, 1947.

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1. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
2. L'Echo du Vietnam, January 4, 1948.
3. Q-1-O, cited above.
4. Ibid.

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1. Ibid.
2. REF-329.69/W 2290, August 22, 1947.
3. Ibid.
4. Q-1-O, cited above.

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5. Q-1-0, cited above; D-421, Saigon, Indochina, December 27, 1949.
6. Q-1-0, cited above.
7. Vietnam Service d'Information, Paris, No. 5, November 4, 1947, (English bulletin).

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1. Ibid., No. 26, August 19, 1947, (French bulletin).
2. D-421, Saigon, Indochina, December 27, 1947.
3. Q-1-0, cited above.
4. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), August 1, 1949, p. EEE 6, RESTRICTED.
5. REF-329.59/W 2290, August 22, 1947.
6. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), January 30, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED
7. Chronique d'Indochine, No. 6, February 22, 1948.

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1. Le Populaire d'Indochine, October 10, 1947.
2. L'Union Francaise (Saigon, Indochina), October 15, 1947.
3. Chronique D'Indochine (Saigon, Indochina), No. 6, February 22, 1948.
4. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), January 30, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED
5. Ibid., February 9, 1948, p. EEE 1.

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1. D-345, Saigon, Indochina, September 25, 1947, contains an account of this movement from which the following is extracted unless otherwise indicated.
2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), April 17, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED, La Verite sur Le Vietnam, cited above.
3. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), May 5, 1947, p. EEE 2.
4. La Verite sur Le Vietnam, p. 68.
5. Le Populaire d'Indochine (Saigon, Indochina), June 27, 1947.

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1. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), February 9, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
2. Ibid., January 30, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
3. DX-6084, July 6, 1947.
4. REF-329.59/W 2290, August 22, 1947.
5. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), July 29, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
6. Le Journal d'Extreme Orient (Saigon, Indochina), March 17, 1949; FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 4, 1949, p. EEE 3, RESTRICTED.

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1. REF-329.59/W 2290, August 22, 1947. The information on this Buddhist group is drawn from this document.
2. D-9576, Paris, September 8, 1947.
3. L'Echo du Vietnam, July 10, 1948.
4. D-9576, Paris, September 8, 1947.
5. Ibid.

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1. Ibid.
2. Q-1-0, cited above.
3. FBIB, Daily Report (European section), January 21, 1948, p. KK2, RESTRICTED.
4. Ibid., January 23, 1948, p. KK3, RESTRICTED.
5. L'Echo du Vietnam, July 10, 1948.
6. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), February 18, 1948, p. EEE 2.
7. L'Echo du Vietnam, June 16, 1949.
8. D-364, Saigon, Indochina, October 7, 1947. The material on the Binh Xuyen is drawn from the above report.

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1. Le Populaire d'Indochine (Saigon, Indochina), December 24, 1947.
2. D-52, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
3. Ibid.
4. L'Echo du Vietnam, June 18, 1949.
5. Saigon Presse, June 16, 1949.

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1. Le Populaire d'Indochine, December 12, 1947.
2. Ibid., December 18, 1947.
3. Ibid., December 24, 1947.
4. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), December 29, 1947, p. EEE 1.
5. D-72, Saigon, Indochina, May 29, 1948.
6. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
7. Ibid.

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1. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), February 4, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
2. Ibid., March 5, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
3. Ibid., December 13, 1948, p. EEE 8, RESTRICTED.
4. L'Echo du Vietnam, May 12, 1949.
5. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
6. L'Echo du Vietnam, February 28, 1949.
7. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
8. L'Echo du Vietnam, February 28, 1949.

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1. D-115, Tokyo, June 17, 1947, UNCLASSIFIED.
2. Le Populaire, October 8, 1947.

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1. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), October 14, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
2. Ibid., December 22, 1947, p. EEE 3.
3. D-309, Tokyo, May 28, 1948.
4. DX-16929, September 15, 1948.
5. South China Morning Post (Hongkong), June 11, 1948.

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1. D-183, Saigon, Indochina, October 18, 1948, RESTRICTED.
2. New York Times, March 20, 1949.
3. Indo-Clim (Paris), April 2, 1949.
4. L'Echo du Vietnam, July 4, 1949.

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1. Journal Officiel de la Federation Indochinoise, 58th Year, No. 7, February 14, 1946, pp. 67, 68.
2. FBIB, Daily Report, June 12, 1947, p. EEE 1.

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1. FBIB, Daily Report, November 11, 1946; Ellen Hammer, p. 23.
2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), December 10, 1946, p. G1.
3. Ibid., December 27, 1946, p. C81.
4. Ibid., December 30, 1946., p. C84.
5. Ibid., January 2, 1947, p. J3.
6. New York Herald Tribune, January 18, 1947.
7. Journal Officiel, 59 Year, No. 7, February 12, 1947, pp. 216, 217.
8. T-61, Saigon, February 16, 1947; T-78, Saigon, February 26, 1947.

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1. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 24, 1947, RESTRICTED.
2. T-120, Saigon, April 22, 1947.
3. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), August 21, 1947.
4. L'Echo du Vietnam, September 29, 1947.
5. L'Echo du Vietnam, October 11, 1947.
6. Bulletin d'Information, Paris, No. 114, November 17, 1947.
7. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), October 31, 1947, p. EEE 1; Bulletin d'Information, Paris, No. 114, November 17, 1947.
8. New York Times, November 12, 1947.
9. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), October 7, 1947, p. EEE 1.

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1. DX-68513, April 19, 1946.
2. Ibid.
3. DX-58992, May 24, 1946.
4. Ibid.
5. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), May 20, 1947, p. EEE 1.

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1. L'Echo du Vietnam, October 13, 1947.
2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 2, 1948, p. EEE 2.
3. Ibid., February 12, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
4. Ibid., May 6, 1948, p. EEE 1.
5. Ibid., May 21, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.

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CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

- 931 Vietnamese achieve independence from Chinese domination.
- 1802 French install Gia-Long as emperor of all Vietnamese peoples, i.e., of Annam, Tonkin, and Cochinchina.
- 1858 Franco-Spanish expedition at Tourane, Annam.
- 1859 French expedition at Saigon, Cochinchina.
- 1863 Cochinchina annexed as colony by Napoleon III.
- 1883 French establish protectorate over Tonkin and Annam. The Scholars' Party is formed.
- 1885 Royalist plot to overthrow French rule fails. Regent Ton that Thuyet flees with young emperor, Ham Nghi. General revolt in Tonkin and Annam.
- 1888 Capture and exile of Emperor Ham Nghi; execution of his subordinates. Phan dinh Phung continues struggle in Tonkin.
- 1900 De Tham conducts guerrilla warfare against French in northern Tonkin, establishing independent administration in Thai Nguyen Province, Tonkin.
- 1904 Formation of Vietnam Modernisation League by Phan boi Chau.
- 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War.
- 1906 Phan boi Chau and Prince Cuong De go into exile in Japan.
- 1907 Emperor Thanh Thai is exiled by the French. The "Tonkin Free School" movement is created.
- 1908 The Tonkin Free School movement is suppressed by the French. The "Hair Cutters" movement to reform Vietnamese customs is transformed into an anti-poll tax movement and suppressed. A movement of intellectuals led by Phan chu Trinh and Huynh thuo Hang participates in demonstrations throughout Annam. Phan chu Trinh is deported to France. Gilbert Chieu conspiracy in Cochinchina. Attempt to poison the French garrison at Hanoi. Insurrection in upper Tonkin.
- 1911 Chinese Revolution overthrows monarchy and creates Republic.
- 1912 The Vietnam Restoration League is formed at Canton.
- 1913 The Vietnam Restoration League attempts insurrection at Hanoi.
- 1914 Terrorist attempts at Thai Binh and Hanoi, Tonkin. Miting of Annamese prisoners on Poulo Condore Island. Armed attacks against French posts in Bac Giang and Yen Bay Provinces, Tonkin.

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- 1915 Deportation of 140,000 Annamese laborers to aid French war effort in Europe. Attacks against French post in Cao Bang Province, Tonkin. Prisoners mutiny at Lao Bao, Laos.
- 1916 Emperor Duy Tan is exiled following plot to overthrow French rule. Phan Dich Long plot in Saigon to attempt attack on the Central Prison.
- 1917 Insurrection at Thai Nguyen, Tonkin under leadership of Trinh van Can and Luong ngoc Quyen.
- 1917-19 Liberal regime of Governor Albert Sarraut is instrumental in creating friendly atmosphere between Vietnamese and French.
- 1919 Ho chi Minh addresses appeals to League of Nations from Paris calling for the liberation of Indochina.
- 1920 Increased influence of democratic ideas. Organization of both legal and illegal parties and the appearance of the clandestine press. Phan chu Trinh personifies liberal democratic tendency among the Vietnamese. Mutiny of political prisoners at Thai Nguyen, Tonkin.
- 1921 Intercolonial Union is created in Paris, embracing colonial subjects of French empire, with a special Annamese section.
- 1923 Formation of the Constitutionalist Party in Cochinchina by Bui quang Chieu and Nguyen phan Long.
- 1924 Attempt on the life of Governor General Merlin at Canton, China by Pham hong Thai.
- 1925 Phan boi Chau arrested; nation-wide demonstrations are staged to demand his release. Ho chi Minh sets up Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League at Canton, China. The Vietnam Restoration League is reorganized in Vietnam.
- 1926 After his return to Indochina, Phanchu Trinh dies at Saigon. Memorial services throughout country lead to school strikes and demonstrations. The Vietnam People's Progressive Party is formed in Annam by Pham Quynh. The New Vietnam Party is formed. The Vietnam Revolutionary Party is formed. Demonstrations in Cochinchina. Arrest of Nguyen an Ninh, prominent Cochinchina revolutionary nationalist. Saigon shipyard worker strike. Student strikes.
- 1927 The Vietnam Nationalist Party is founded by Nguyen thai Hoc. Nguyen an Ninh Association is formed in Cochinchina. Formation of South Seas Communist Party, including a Vietnamese section.
- 1928 Strike activity.
- 1929 Attempt to murder Governor General Pierre Pasquier. Basin, head of French labor bureau, killed. Strikes in the Tonkin coal mines. Formation of the Indochinese Communist Party.

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- 1930 Fusion of various Communist and revolutionary nationalist groups into the Vietnam Communist Party at Hongkong Congress in March. Name changed to Indochinese Communist Party at Hongkong in October. Mutiny at Yen Bay, followed by violent outbreaks throughout Indochina under the leadership of the Vietnam Nationalist Party. Nguyen Thai Hoc is arrested and executed. Insurrection in Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces in Annam leads to setting up of "Soviets" under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party. Suppression by the French Foreign Legion.
- 1931 Arrest of Ho Chi Minh in Hongkong by the British. Suppression of the Indochinese Communist Party by the French police.
- 1932 Formation of the Trotskyist organization by Ta Thu Thau.
- 1933 The Vietnam Nationalist Party organization is destroyed within Indochina, but continues in exile. Legal revolutionary movement, "The Struggle" (La Lutte), is created at Saigon; some candidates of "The Struggle" group are elected to the Saigon municipal council.
- 1936 Popular Front comes to power in France. A Democratic Front is created in Cochinchina. Commission of Inquiry from Paris receives demands from nationalist organizations.
- 1939 World War II, September. Communist organizations suppressed in Cochinchina. The Vietnam Revolutionary Party is founded.
- 1940 France is occupied by Germany. Revolts at Dong Dang and Bao Son, Tonkin. Japanese enter northern Indochina on September 22 and reach agreement with French colonial regime. Attempted revolts in Cochinchina suppressed.
- 1941 Vichy government gives Indochina "dominion status" and tariff autonomy. The Vietnam Independence League, popularly known as the Viet Minh, is formed. Insurrection at Do Luong, Nghe An Province.
- 1942 The Vietnam Revolutionary League is formed.
- 1944 The Vietnam Democratic Party is formed.
- 1945 March 9 - Japanese take over direct administration from French.
March 10 - Annam is proclaimed independent under Emperor Bao Dai. Tonkin and Cochinchina subsequently join the new state.
March 25 - French Committee of National Liberation issues statement promising new status for Vietnamese.
August 15 - Japanese surrender.
August 26 - Bao Dai abdicates.
September 2 - Independence of Vietnam Democratic Republic proclaimed at Hanoi. Provisional government established.
September 23 - French take control of Saigon.
October 9 - British-French pact giving full recognition to French rights in Indochina is signed in London.
November 11 - Indochinese Communist Party dissolved. Marxist Study Groups formed.

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- 1946 January British yield control of Saigon. Elections for Vietnam National Assembly.
- February 14 French High Commissioner establishes Provisional Consultative Council for Cochinchina.
- February 28 French-Chinese agreement reached.
- March 2 Vietnam National Assembly convenes.
- March 6 French sign agreement with Vietnam Republic.
- March 14 M. Moutet, Minister of Overseas France, announces "free constitution to be granted to Cochinchina."
- April 19 Dalat Conference between French and Vietnam Republic to implement agreement of March 6; ends May 11, 1946.
- May 27 League for National Union of Vietnam is founded.
- 1946 June 1 Cochinchina Provisional Government is established.
- July Fontainebleau conference held to continue negotiations; suspended without result. Vietnam Socialist Party founded.
- August 1 Second Dalat Conference convoked by French colonial authorities without Vietnam participation.
- September 14 Modus vivendi between France and Vietnam signed at Paris.
- October 26-31 Second meeting of Vietnam National Assembly.
- November Fighting between French and Vietnamese at Haiphong and Langson. Nguyen van Thinh, President of Cochinchina Provisional Government, commits suicide.
- December 6 New Cochinchina President, Le van Hoach, is installed in office.
- December 19 General warfare and complete breakdown of relations between French and Vietnamese.
- 1947 February Cochinchina given complete autonomy. National Union Front founded.
- March-April Vietnam Government reshuffled.
- May French establish administrative committees in Tonkin and Annam to rule areas under control of their troops.
- October Nguyen van Xuan elected new president of Cochinchina Government; name of government changed to Provisional Government of South Vietnam.
- December Bao Dai holds conferences of nationalists in Hongkong. The Vietnam National Rally is formed.

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- 1948 June 5 Bao Dai, Emile Bollaert, and Nguyen van Xuan sign protocol.
June 6 Provisional Central Vietnam Government formed by General Nguyen van Xuan installed at Hanoi.
- 1949 March 8 Bao Dai and Emile Bollaert reach agreements on status of Vietnam.
June 14 Bao Dai exchanges letters with High Commissioner putting March 8 agreements into effect.
July 1 Bao Dai announces formation of a cabinet.

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Information on Vietnamese political movements is sparse, scattered, and in large part of doubtful reliability. The illegal status of the nationalist movements forced them to secrecy in the period before World War II. Since the end of the war, Vietnam has been isolated from foreign contacts. Both the French and the Vietnamese have publicized only information that they considered helpful to their own interests. And, except in France and China, the nationalist movement has attracted little outside attention. The amount of printed material available is thus at a minimum.

The major sources of information about the nationalist movement are French police reports gathered and published in Indochina. In addition, a number of French writers have dealt with various aspects of the political situation in Indochina. The only other information extant is that provided in the postwar period by Vietnamese sources, who have been concerned mainly with establishing the long-term character of their resistance to the French. Material published by the Vietnam Government for internal consumption undoubtedly throws light on the political tendencies operating at present in the Vietnamese community, but such material, although known to be abundant, is practically unavailable. Vietnamese sources are, therefore, limited to broadcast material and printed matter prepared for foreign consumption.

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