UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS
1945 - 1967

I

VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES
1940 - 1950
I. A.

FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid. Included in the Documentary History..., op. cit., is a Memorandum of Conversation between Roosevelt and Stalin, Teheran, November 28, 1943 (SECRET). The President is said to have then considered that a twenty-to thirty-year period would be necessary before the Indochinese peoples would be ready for independence.


9. Ibid., A-16.


13. In March 1945, the President remarked to Gen. Wedemeyer, then commanding officer for U.S. forces in China, "that he must watch carefully to prevent British and French political activities in the area and that he should give only such support to the British and French as would be required in direct operations against the Japanese." U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers: The Conference of Berlin (the Potsdam Conference), 1945, I, 917.

15. Leahy, I Was There, op. cit., pp. 338-339. On the basis of research into the Air Force archives, Bernard Fall wrote in Street Without Joy (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 1967, 4th ed.) note, p. 25, that General Claire Chennault, commander of the 14th Air Force, "...Did indeed fly support missions in behalf of the retreating French forces." [After the Japanese take-over in March.] In his The Two Viet-Nams, moreover, Fall cited the memoirs of General Lionel-Max Chassin, commander of the French Far East Air Force, to the effect that the 14th Air Force provided supplies and even fighter support to the French until at least April 26, 1945. (New York: Praeger, 1967, 2nd revised ed.) n. 10, pp. 466-469. In both books, however, Fall presents a strong case for the paucity of U.S. aid to the French in the 1945-1946 period. See also U.S. Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation by Assistant Secretary of State Dunn, 19 March 1945, and telegram to Paris 1576 of 19 April 1945.


23. U.S. Department of State, Memorandum by the Director of the Office of European Affairs (Matthews) to the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, May 23, 1945. The proposal for a division of responsibility between Chinese Nationalist and British forces was first made by General Marshall, head of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, on July 18, 1945. After some negotiation with Chiang Kai-shek over the precise dividing line, the British accepted the 16th parallel; Truman and Churchill formally agreed to the arrangement on July 24. See Foreign Relations of the United States (Potsdam), op. cit., I, 83 377, 922; and II, 1313, 1319, 1465.
24. As for the O.S.S., the ranking American official in northern Vietnam in 1945, Brigadier General Philip E. Gallagher, has attested: "...throughout the months before the Japanese capitulation, O.S.S. officers and men operated behind Japanese lines, to arm, lead and train native guerrillas who were organized by the Vietminh." (A situation report, undated, in the Gallagher Papers, quoted in Bert Cooper, John Killigrew, and Norman LaCharite, Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare: Vietnam 1941-1954 [Washington, D.C.: Special Operations Research Office, The American University, 1967, p. 107.) Other sources conclude, however, that O.S.S. assistance to the Viet Minh-led guerrillas was extremely limited, although it gave the Viet Minh the opportunity to proclaim that they were part of the Allied effort against the Japanese. (See Fall, Le Viet-Minh: La République Démocratique du Viet-Nam [Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1962], p. 34; Cooper, Killigrew, and LaCharite, op. cit.)


27. U.S. Department of State, Documentary History..., op. cit., B-4, B-6, B-9.


33. U.S. Department of State, Indochina Since 1939: A Factual Survey Office of Intelligence Research, No. 3602, 25 March 1946), Appendix A. Appended to the Accords of 6 March were a series of supplementary agreements, among which was a plan for withdrawing all French troops within five years.

34. Ibid., 7, 11.

A-65
35. In a note to the French Ambassador, of 10 April 1946, the Department of State confirmed that: "...the Franco-Chinese agreement completes the reversion of all of Indo-China to French control..." and that the Combined Chiefs of Staff "offer no objection" to the arrangement.

36. U.S. Department of State, Documentary History..., op. cit., B-9, B-6. The Department of State files contain at least 6 communications from Ho in the period September, 1945, to February, 1946, addressed to the U.S. Government in his capacity as "President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam" or as President and Foreign Minister of the "Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam": (1) Letter to President Truman, September 29, 1945 (confidential; file 8516.00/10-1845). (2) Letter to the Secretary of State, October 22, 1945 (from Kunming, desp. 38, October 24, 1945, confidential; file 8516.00/10-2445). (3) Letter to Secretary of State, November 1, 1945 (from Chungking, desp. 890, November 26, 1945, unclassified). (4) Letter to President Truman, undated (from Chungking, tel. 1946, November 8, 1945, confidential; file 8516.00/11.845). (5) Letter to President Truman, January 18, 1946 (from Chungking, tel. 281, February 13, 1946, confidential; file 740.00119 Ph/2-1346). (6) Letter to President Truman, February 16, 1946 (unclassified file 8516.10/2-2046).

37. Ibid.

38. U.S. Department of State, telegram to Saigon 305, December 5, 1946.


40. Ibid., p. 186; Buttinger, op. cit., II, pp. 676-678.


42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p. 186.

44. Ibid., p. 191.

45. Ibid., p. 192.

46. Ibid., p. 193.

47. Ibid., pp. 193-194.
48. Ibid., p. 195.
49. Ibid., p. 197.
50. Ibid., p. 195.
51. Ibid., p. 195.
52. Ibid., p. 207.
53. Ibid., p. 204.
54. Ibid., p. 199.
55. Ibid., p. 208.
57. Chart is based on contemporary publications of the U.S. Department of State, Office of Intelligence Research, together with Hammer, op. cit., and Buttinger, op. cit., passim.
58. U.S. Department of State telegram to Paris 6586 of 24 December 1946, CONFIDENTIAL.
60. U.S. Department of State memorandum for Mr. Acheson, dated 8 January 1947, subject "French Indochina."
61. Ibid. 
62. State Department telegram 431 to Embassy in Paris, 3 February 1947, SECRET.
64. U.S. Department of State telegram to Paris 1737, 13 May 1947.
69. U.S. Department of State telegram to Saigon 77, 10 May 1949.
70. U.S. Department of State telegram, Marshall 9741 to Nanking, 2 July 1948.
73. Ibid.
75. Congressional Record, Vol. 94, Part VI, 80th Congress, 2d Session, 7791.
77. Ibid., 53-54.
78. Documents on American Foreign Relations, 1949, 626.
80. A Report to the National Security Council by the Executive Secretary on "The Position of the United States with Respect to Asia" (NSC 48/1, December 23, 1949).
81. A report to the President by the National Security Council on "The Position of the United States with Respect to Asia" (NSC 48/2, December 30, 1949).
86. U.S. Department of State, Documentary History..., op. cit., B-43.

2. Ibid.

3. Data on Vietnamese political parties is drawn principally from U.S. Department of State, *Political Alignments of Vietnamese Nationalists* (Office of Intelligence Research, Report No. 3708, October 1, 1949), passim.

4. Ibid., 138 ff.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 31-32.

7. Ibid., 36

8. Ibid., 138 ff.


10. The Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed in August, 1939. On 26 September 1939, France outlawed the Communist Party. Ibid., and Buttinger, op. cit., I, 224-226.

11. Ibid., 236-250.

12. Ibid., 242-244.


14. Fall, ed., *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution*, op. cit., 133-134


20. Ibid.


22. Modelski, loc. cit., paraphrasing the official Vietnamese Communist Party history, Thirty Years of Struggle of the Party.


24. Modelski, op. cit., 189, quoting Thirty Years...


27. Some French authors have been prone to credit the U.S. for Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh; e.g., Lucien Bodard, The Quicksand War (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), 221-222. The ranking American official in northern Vietnam in 1945, Brigadier General Philip E. Gallagher, has attested: "... throughout the months before the Japanese capitulation, O.S.S. officers and men operated behind Japanese lines, to arm, lead and train native guerrillas who were organized by the Viet Minh." (A situation report, undated, in the Gallagher Papers, quoted in Bert Cooper, John Killigrew, and Norman La Charité, Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare: Vietnam 1941-1954 (Washington, D. C.: Special Operations Research Office, The American University, 1964), 107.) But O.S.S. assistance to the Viet Minh-led guerrillas was quite limited, although it gave the Viet Minh the opportunity to proclaim that they were part of the Allied effort against the Japanese. Cf., Fall, Le Viet-Minh: La République Démocratique du Viet-Nam (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1960), 34. Fall, Troc Viet-Nam, op. cit., 66-71, details the case for the postwar American aid and comfort to the Viet Minh, which adds up to a more substantial charge -- but similarly is without foundation in the record.

28. Quoted in ibid., 63.


30. Fall, ed., Ho Chi Minh on Revolution, op. cit., 141-142.

32. U.S. Dept of State, Political Alignments..., op. cit., 146-147.
35. Buttinger, op. cit., I, 325-327:
39. Hammer, op. cit., 117
40. Hammer, op. cit., 120.
41. Buttinger, op. cit., I, 337
42. Buttinger, op. cit., 351-354.
43. Ibid.
44. Buttinger, op. cit., 356, 634.
45. Ibid; Sacks, op. cit., 157; Fall, ed., Ho on Revolution, op. cit., 146.
46. Sacks, op. cit., 158.
47. Ibid.
48. U.S. Dept of State, Political Alignments..., 77-78.
49. Hammer, op. cit., 150.
53. U.S. Dept of State, Political Alignments..., op. cit., 81-82.
Pham Van Bong (presently Premier, then Vice President) announced in 1950 that promulgation of the 1946 Constitution had been postponed "because several of its provisions require for their application the cessation of the state of war," and in 1951, after Ho had openly aligned with the Sino-Soviet powers, the Viet Minh radio explained that "a gang of traitors" had been evolved in its formulation, and hence a "progressive character was lacking." During the "Rectification of Errors," in late 1956, after the peasant uprisings of that year, the DRV set up a constitutional reform committee. In December, 1958, Ho invited the public to submit recommendations on a new draft basic law, and the second Constitution was promulgated in 1960.


61. Ibid.
62. Fall, Ho on Revolution, op. cit., 206 ff.


4. Bernard B. Fall, Ho Chi Minh: On Revolution, Frederick A. Praeger, New York: 1967, p. 27. This is a collection of selected writings by Ho Chi Minh, 1920-1966. Hereafter reference will be made to this volume as Ho Chi Minh on Revolution.

5. Hammer, op. cit., p. 76.


7. Ibid., p. 42.


10. Ibid.; p. 32.

11. Ibid.; p. 34.

12. Fall, op. cit., p. 204.

13. Ibid., p. 205.


21. Ibid., p. 52; Shaplen also quotes Ho as saying in 1946 "To achieve a communist society, big industrial and agricultural production is necessary. I do not know when that will be realized in Vietnam where production is low. We are not yet in a position to meet the conditions." Ibid., pp. 48-49. Buttinger, op. cit., I, pp. 266-269, 637 ff., Fall, Two Viet-Nams, op. cit., p. 101.


29. Fall, ed., Ho on Revolution, p. 198

30. Ibid., pp. 199-200


33. Intelligence Files, OSD, Buttinger, op. cit., II, p. 699.


41. Ibid.
42. Department of State Bulletin (February 13, 1950), p. 244.