
Page 2

3. Ibid., p. 194.
5. Ibid., p. 55.

Page 3

5. Ibid., p. 37.

Page 4

1. Louis Boubaud, op. cit.
3. Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, p. 58.
4. La Republique, (Hanoi, Indochina), March 24, 1946.

Page 5


Page 6

2. Louis Boubaud, op. cit.
4. Louis Boubaud, op. cit.
Page 7
1. Virginia Thompson, op. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 148.

Page 8
2. Louis Roubaud, pp. 49-55.

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.

Page 13

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.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 32.

Page 15
1. Ibid., pp. 100-102.
2. Ibid., p. 93.
3. Ibid., pp. 87 ff.
1. REF-323.259/AW 4896, April 26, 1944.
2. Ibid., Contains information on various sects and history.

Page 17
1. Le "Dan Viet Cach Mau Hoang"... cited above. The material in this section was taken from the history of the organization as recorded by the French Surete.
2. The words "Hue Nam" have the same meaning as "Phuoc 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. 26).

Page 21
1. Gouvernement General de l'Indochine, Le Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang ou "Parti National Annamite" au Tonkin (1927-1933), Hanoi, Indochna, 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 Emigrés 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-323.59/AA 3574, January 27, 1944.
2. This account of the early history of the Indochnese Communist Party is taken from the pamphlet of the French Surete, Government Generale d' l'Indochine, Le"Dong Duong Cong San Dang" ou "Parti Communiste Indochnois" (1925-1933). All quotations are from this work unless otherwise indicated.

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 Indochnese Communist Party in 1930.
Page 22 (continued)


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


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.

Page 38

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-2817, Bombay, India, February 15, 1946; REZ-323.259/AN 4028, 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.

Page 44


Page 47

2. DX-6869, July 30, 1947.
Page 48

1. Ibid.
2. ANN-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, pp. 54-56.
3. REF.-323,259/AN 4088, n.d.

Page 49

1. D-2617, cited above.
2. REF.-323,259/AN 4023, n.d.

Page 50

1. REF.-XL 82056, June 3, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. DX-16929, September 15, 1944.
4. REF.-323,259/AV 4697, August 23, 1944.

Page 51

1. REF.-329,56/AA 5574, January 27, 1944.
2. DX-16929, September 15, 1944.

Page 52

1. OIM-1346,95, February 12, 1945.

Page 53

1. DX-6579, November 17, 1945.
2. REF-89978, July 16, 1944.
3. DX-4758, December 11, 1944.

Page 54

4. Ibid.

Page 55

1. Tim Dien (Saigon, Indochina), February 26, 26, 27, and 28, 1946.
2. PCN, July 30, 1946.
1. Membership of the cabinet included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minister of Interior</th>
<th>Pham Quynh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Finance</td>
<td>Ho dao Khai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Justice</td>
<td>Bui bang Dean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Rites</td>
<td>Ung Uy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Education</td>
<td>Tran thinh Dat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Economy</td>
<td>Truong nhu Dinh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of the Imperial Cabinet</td>
<td>Tran linh Tung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of the Civil Cabinet</td>
<td>Vo Chuan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Principal source: DX-58338A, June 23, 1945)

2. Premier

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Minister</th>
<th>Tran trong Kim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Interior</td>
<td>Tran dinh Nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Finance</td>
<td>Tran van Chuong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Supply</td>
<td>Vu van Hien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Education</td>
<td>Ho va Khanh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Justice</td>
<td>Trinh dinh Thao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Communications</td>
<td>Luu van Lang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Security</td>
<td>Nguyen ngo Canh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Youth</td>
<td>Pham Anh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Economy</td>
<td>Nguyen bao Thi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Principal source: REF-XL 51460, November 20, 1945)

3. REF-XL 51460, November 20, 1945.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Huynh thu Xu Kang</th>
<th>Ho van Giang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho va Khanh</td>
<td>Bui tri Ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tran van Lai</td>
<td>Ho va Hua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang thai Moi</td>
<td>Nguyen van Canh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nguyen van Khanh</td>
<td>Ung Ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho hun Tuong</td>
<td>Nguyen ngo Cung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoang xuan Han</td>
<td>Ho da Khai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta quang Buu</td>
<td>Hoang dai Chi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Principal source: GIX-3358, October 25, 1945)

1. Tin Dien, issues cited above.
RESTRICTED

Page 60

2. RL-2546, October 17, 1945.
4. REF-329.59/AN 4089, n.d.

Page 61

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

Page 62

1. REF-329.59/AN 4089, n.d. The bulk of the following account is taken from this source.
2. Q-1-0, December 12, 1947, Program of Action of the National Union Front, dated February 1947, RESTRICTED.

Page 63

1. REF-323.259/AN 4896, April 28, 1944.
2. Q-1-0, 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.

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)
Ghu van Tam (Viet Minh) 
Nguyen van Xuan (Viet Minh)
Duong duoc Hien (Democrat) 
Pham ngo Thach (Viet Minh)
Cu huy Can (Democrat) 
Nguyen luong Bang (Communist)
Nguyen dinh Tho (Viet Minh) 
Pham van Dung (Communist-Viet Minh)
(Sources: Cam Quoc (Hanoi, Indochina), August 24, 1945; DX-9656, December 6, 1947)

RESTRICTED
Page 67

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.
4. The members of this committee were:
   Tran van Giau (Communist)
   Nguyen van Tao (Communist)
   Pham ngoe Thach (Viet Minh)
   Duong bach Mai (Communist)
   Nguyen van Tay (Communist)
   Huynh van Tieng (Democrat)
   Huynh thi Camh (Independent)
   Ngo tan Nhun (National Independence Party)
   Pham van Bach (Independent)
   Hoang don Van (Labor unions-Viet Minh)
   (Sources: DRF/SA File 4, 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 Vietnamese 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 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 Quo), the Vietnamese National Party (Viet-Nam Quo Gia Dang), and now the United National Front.'

   RESTRICTED
**RESERVED**

Tran van Thanh (Trotskyst 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. Thanh. 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. Thanh'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. Thanh? I repeat that this Government is only a temporary one. Later on when we have the general elections, if he is capable, Mr. Thanh 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.'

Huynh 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 viewpoint 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?'}
"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."

1. Quatrieme Internationale, article cited above, p. 46.
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 ngoo Thao (Advance Guard Youth-Viet Minh)
5. Pham van Bach (Independent)
7. Phan van Hinh (Trotskyst "Struggle" Group)
8. Tu ba Hao (Independent)
9. Dr. Nguyen van Quang (Vist-Minh)
10. Nguyen van Thu (Independent)
11. Nguyen van Tao (Indochinese Communist Party)
12. Nguyen van Nghiem (Independent)
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, 1946; press extracts.)

3. Bulletin d'Information, Saigon, Indochina, September 10, 1946; press extracts. Members of this committee were:

Pham van Bach (Independent)
Tran van Giau (Indochinese Communist Party)
Pham ngoo Thao (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 ba Hao (Independent)
Nguyen van Nghiem (Independent)

Alternate Members

Phan van Hinh (Trotskyst "Struggle" group)
Tran van Nho (Independent)
Nguyen van Thu (Independent)


RESTRICTED
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

2. Ibid., September 8, 1945, copy of leaflet.

Page 74


Page 75

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
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Minister of Interior
Minister of Propaganda
Minister of National Defense
Minister of Youth
Minister of National Economy
Minister of Social Welfare
Minister of Justice
Minister of Health
Minister of Public Works & Communications
Minister of Labor
Minister of Finance
Minister of National Education
Minister without portfolio
Minister without portfolio

Ho chi Minh
Vo Nguyen Giap
Tran Huu Lieu
Chu Van Tan
Duong Duc Hien
Nguyen Manh Ha
Vu Trong Khanh
Pham Ngoc Thach
Trao Trong Kim
Le Van Hien
Pham Van Dong
Vu Dinh Hoe
Cu Huy Can
Nguyen Van Xuan

Communist-Viet Minh
Communist
Communist
Viet Minh
Democrat
Catholic
Non-Party
Democrat
Viet Minh
Communist-Viet Minh
Communist-Viet Minh
Communist
Democrat
Democrat
Viet Minh

(Sources: 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 76

1. Q-1-0, cited above.
2. La Republique, (Hanoi, Indochina), No. 5, October 25, 1945, 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.
5. The members of this government were reported in FBIB, Daily Report, March 6, 1946, as follows:

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

*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 thuc Khang (Independent) assumed the Ministry.

The Vice Ministries were divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of Interior</td>
<td>Hoang minh Giam</td>
<td>Socialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of National Defense</td>
<td>Ta hung Bua</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of Justice</td>
<td>Nguyen van Huong</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of Public Works &amp; Communications</td>
<td>Dang phuc Thong</td>
<td>Viet Minh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of Finance</td>
<td>Trinh van Binh</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of National Education</td>
<td>Do duas Duc</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of Agriculture</td>
<td>Bo xuan Luat</td>
<td>Dong Minh Hoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of Social Welfare</td>
<td>Do Tiep</td>
<td>Dong Minh Hoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>Nghiem ke To</td>
<td>Vietnam Nationalist Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Vu 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'Assemblee Nationale Constituante Vietnamiennes, cited above; D-7, Hanoi, November 13, 1946)

RESTRICTED
1. The agreement 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.


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 Dong
   Vo nguyen Giap
   Ngo tu Ha
   Vu dinh Hoe
   Vu van Hien

   Duong duong Hien
   Nguyen van Huyen
   Vu khong Khanh
   Huynh thuoc Khang
   Tran huy Lieu
   Nguyen tuoc Long
   Dang thai Mai
   Ho chi Minh
   Duong bach Mai

   Y Ngong
   Ton quang Phist
   Chu ba Phuong
   Nguyen tuoc Tam
   Nguyen van To
   Mme Phan Thanh
   Ho duoc Thanh
   Pham ngoo Thach
   Ton duoc Thang


6. Q-1-0, cited above.

Page 79

2. D-88, Canton, China, April 15, 1946.

Page 80

2. Discours de M. Pham van Dong, President de la Delegation Vietnamienne, prononces a l'ouverture de la session inaugurale a Fontainebleau le 3 Juillet 1946, Conference Franco-Vietnamiens, 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 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 Duo
   1st Division - Commanding Officer, Truong Van Giau
   2nd Division - Commanding Officer, Vu Tam Anh
   3rd Division - Commanding Officers, Pham huu duo and Tran van lam
(the resisting part, not followers of Nguyen hoa Hiep)

4th Division - Commanding Officer, Nguyen thanh Long

Allied resistance of: Tay-Minh, Trang Bang, Dac Hoa, Hao Mon,
Bao Dinh, Ba Queo, Ton son Nhut, Tham Luong, Son Cang, Thu
Duo, Binh Xuyen, Saigon Cholon, Mytho, Tan An, Ben Tre.
The forces of Cao Daiists, of Hoa Hao, of the Workers' Union,
of Buddhists, of Tinh Do Chai.
5th army-espionage and counter espionage groups and small forces
of guerrillas throughout Nam Bo.

Permanent Central Committee of Front of National Union.

Page 81

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 Indoehinoise, 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 “500 deputies.” (Les Elections Generales,...,
cited above, p. 13.) A Vietnam News Service Special Release (No. 6, July
30, 1946), from Bangkok, Thailand indicates “the distribution of seats in
the National Assembly is as follows”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marxists</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam Nationalist Party</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viet Minh</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
580 elected members including those from Nam Bo, only 291 were present.”
(REP-364,596, Bangkok, Thailand, November 16, 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 Ho) with the help
of the Chinese Occupation troops,” citing the Vietnam Democratic Republic’s

RESTRICTED
1. The composition of this government was:

President
Ho chi Minh
Communist-Viet Minh

Vice-President
Ho chi Minh
Communist-Viet Minh

Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ho chi Minh
Communist-Viet Minh

Minister of Interior
Buynh 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 tich Tri
Independent

Minister of Social Welfare
Chu ba Phuong
Vietnam Nationalist Party

Minister without Portfolio
Nguyen van To
Independent

Supreme Councillor
Bo xuan Luat
Independent

Nguyen vinh Thuy (Bao Dai)

Vice Ministers were as follows:

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Hoang minh Gian
Socialist

Vice Minister of Interior
Hoang huu Nam
Communist-Viet Minh

Vice Minister of National Defense
Ta quang Suu
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 ong 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 phuo Thong
Socialist

Vice Minister of Health
Vacant

Vice Minister of Labor
Vacant

Vice Minister of Social Welfare
Vacant
(Source: Le Journal de Saigon, November 6, 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 ngo 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)
**Pham Anh (Socialist) was appointed Minister of National Economy on
January 28, 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)

Page 84

Page 85
1. Ibid., December 30, 1946.
2. T-497, Saigon, December 27, 1946, RESTRICTED.
4. Ibid. (European Section), January 2, 1947.

Page 86
1. T-126, Hanoi, November 29, 1946, RESTRICTED.

Page 87

Page 88
2. T-21, Hanoi, February 7, 1948, RESTRICTED.

Page 89
2. La Verite sur le Viet-Nam, p. 68.

Page 90
1. Ibid., August 8, 1949, p. EEE 1.
2. The composition of the Vietnam Government as of July 1949 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>Ho chi Minh</td>
<td>Communist-Viet Minh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice President</td>
<td>Pham van Dong</td>
<td>Communist-Viet Minh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>Hoang minh Giam</td>
<td>Socialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Interior</td>
<td>Pham ke Toai</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of National Defense</td>
<td>Vo Nguyen Giap</td>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of National Economy</td>
<td>Phan Anh</td>
<td>Socialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Justice</td>
<td>Vu Dinh Hoe</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Finance</td>
<td>Le Van Hien</td>
<td>Communist-Viet Minh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of National Education</td>
<td>Nguyen Van Huyen</td>
<td>Socialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Agriculture</td>
<td>Ngo Tan Nhon</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Communications &amp; Public Works</td>
<td>Tran Dang Khoa</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Labor</td>
<td>Nguyen Van Tao</td>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Health</td>
<td>Hoang Tich Tri</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Social Welfare</td>
<td>Chu Ba Phuong</td>
<td>Vietnam Nationalist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of War Veterans &amp; Invalids</td>
<td>Vu Dinh Tung</td>
<td>Independent (Catholic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister without Portfolio</td>
<td>Bo Xuan Luat</td>
<td>Dong Minh Hoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister without Portfolio</td>
<td>Dang Van Huong</td>
<td>Independent (Buddhist)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Yen             | Independent                       |
| 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 Communications & Public Works | Dang Phuo 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 & Invalids | Ngo Tu Ma                  | Independent (Catholic)            |

2. See above, footnote 2, p. 69. Le van Hien is a former member of the dissolved Indochinese Communist Party.

Page 92

2. Le Republique (Hanoi, Indochina), No. 7, November 18, 1945.
2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), March 4, 1949, p. BEE 1, RESTRICTED.

Page 94

1. DX-63739, October 1945.
2. Kung Min Jih Pao, Kwangchowan, China, May 20, 1943.
4. DX-63739, October 1945.
6. DX-63739, October 1945.
7. DX-88902, May 24, 1946.

Page 95

1. B-1, Hanoi, Indochina, September 17, 1946.
3. B-74, Saigon, August 29, 1946, UNCLASSIFIED.

Page 96

2. Ibid., December 18, 1946, p. CB 6.

Page 97

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

Page 99


Page 101

4. Ibid.
5. La Verite, (Paris), September 19, 1947, No. 188.

Page 102

Page 105

2. T-124, Hanoi, June 6, 1946, UNCLASSIFIED.

Page 106

1. Text of May 17, 1947 Proclamation of the National Union Front, as given in Journal de Saigon, May 21, 1946.
2. Ibid.
4. Q-1-C, cited above.

Page 107


Page 109

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

Page 110

1. Ibid., June 17, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED
2. Ibid., September 11, 1947.
3. Ibid., September 17, 1947, p. EEE 1.

Page 111

2. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), December 13, 1946, p. EEE 8, RESTRICTED
3. Ibid., December 10, 1946, p. EEE 3.
4. Ibid., April 26, 1949, p. EEE 4.

Page 112

2. Q-1-C, cited above.
5. Q-1-C, cited above.

Page 113

1. Ibid., February 5, 1948, p. EEE 1.

RESTRICTED
Page 114
1. Ibid.
2. Q-1-0, cited above.
4. Q-1-0, cited above.
5. DX-9014, July 1, 1947.

Page 115
2. Q-1-0, cited above.

Page 116
1. L'Echo du Vietnam, No. 84, October 3, 1947, carries statement by individuals
   Nguyen van Chi, Kha van Can, Diep ba, Tran van Nguyen, Ngo tan Khan, 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 policies of their own choice.
3. DX-5779, June 18, 1947.
4. Intellectuals' manifesto, Le Peuple (Hanoi, Indochina), April 11, 1946.
5. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
6. Ibid.

Page 117
5. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), June 25, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
8. Ibid., September 8, 1947.

Page 118
1. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
3. Q-1-0, cited above.
4. Ibid.

Page 119
1. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Q-1-0, cited above.
RESTRICTED

Page 119 (continued)


Page 120

1. Ibid., No. 26, August 19, 1947, (French bulletin).
4. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), August 1, 1949, p. EEE 6, RESTRICTED.
6. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), January 30, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED

Page 121

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.

Page 122

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.
4. La Verite sur le Vietnam, p. 58.
5. Le Populaire d'Indochine (Saigon, Indochina), June 27, 1947.

Page 123

1. FBIB, Daily Report (FE), February 9, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
2. Ibid., January 30, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
3. DX-3084, July 8, 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.

Page 124

1. REF-329.59/W 2290, August 22, 1947. The information on this Buddhist group
is drawn from this document.
5. Ibid.
1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., cited above.
3. FBIS, Daily Report (European section), January 21, 1948, p. KK2, RESTRICTED.
4. Ibid., January 23, 1948, p. KK3, RESTRICTED.
8. D-364, Saigon, Indochina, October 7, 1947. The material on the Binh Xuyen is drawn from the above report.

Page 127

1. Le Populaire d'Indochine (Saigon, Indochina), December 24, 1947.
2. D-52, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
3. Ibid.

Page 128

1. Le Populaire d'Indochine, December 12, 1947.
2. Ibid., December 18, 1947.
3. Ibid., December 24, 1947.
7. Ibid.

Page 129

1. FBIS, 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.
5. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.
7. D-58, Canton, China, April 13, 1948.

Page 130

1. D-11E, Tokyo, June 17, 1947, UNCLASSIFIED.
2. Le Populaire, October 8, 1947.

Page 131

1. FBIS, Daily Report (FE), October 14, 1947, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
2. Ibid., December 22, 1947, p. EEE 5.
4. DX-16929, September 15, 1948.
5. South China Morning Post (Hongkong), June 11, 1948.
1. D-183, Saigon, Indochina, October 16, 1948; RESTRICTED.

Page 133

1. Journal Officiel de la Federation Indochinoise, 58th Year, No. 7, February 14, 1946, pp. 67, 68.

Page 134

1. FBIS, Daily Report, November 11, 1946; Ellen Hammer, p. 25.
4. Ibid., December 30, 1946, p. C64.

Page 135

1. FBIS, Daily Report (FE), March 24, 1947, RESTRICTED.
2. T-120, Saigon, April 22, 1947.

Page 136

1. DX-83613, April 19, 1946.
2. Ibid.
3. DX-83992, May 24, 1946.
4. Ibid.

Page 137

3. Ibid., February 12, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
5. Ibid., May 21, 1948, p. EEE 1, RESTRICTED.
## INDEX OF NAMES

### B

**Bao Dai (Nguyen vinh Thuy)**  

**Bay Vien**  
p. 127.

**Blum, Leon**  
pp. 85, 96, 134.

**Bo xuan Luat**  
pp. 77n, 83n, 90n, 100.

**Bollaert, Emile**  
pp. 85, 86, 104, 106, 110, 123, 125, 137.

**Borodin**  
p. 29.

**Bui bang Doan**  
pp. 56n, 77n, 78n.

**Bui quang Chieu**  
pp. 12, 16, 39.

**Bui tri Ho**  
p. 56n.

**Bui van Nhan**  
p. 121.

### C

**Cao trieu Phat**  
p. 120.

**Cao van Thinh**  
p. 77n.

**Chang Pa-kuei**  
pp. 81, 83.

**Chiang K'ai-shek**  
pp. 81, 82, 90, 130.

**Chieu, Gilbert**  
p. 5.

**Chu ba Phuong**  
pp. 77n, 78n, 83n, 90n, 100, 112.

**Chu van Tan**  
pp. 66n, 76n.

**Cu huy Can**  
pp. 66n, 76n, 78n, 83n, 88, 89, 90n, 96, 96.

**Cuong De (Nguyen cuong De)**  
pp. 3, 6, 16, 17, 27, 43, 50, 53, 55, 56, 57, 113, 121, 130, 131, 132.

**Dang minh Tru**  
p. 118n.

**Dang phuoc Thong**  
pp. 77n, 83n, 86, 90, 96, 98.

**Dang thai Mai**  
pp. 56n, 77n, 78n.

**Dang van Huong**  
pp. 89, 90n.

**Dao duy Phien**  
p. 49, 50.

**Dao trong Kim**  
p. 76n.

**Dao van Trunng**  
p. 80n.

**De Tham**  
see Hoang hoa Tham.

**Diep Ba**  
p. 118n.

**Do du Anh**  
p. 128.

**Do dua Dao**  
pp. 77n, 81, 95, 96.

**Do Tien**  
p. 77n.
Drapier (Bishop)  
pp. 125.

Duong bach Mai  
pp. 40, 41, 45, 69n, 78n.

Duong duong Hien  
pp. 66n, 78n, 85, 96.

Duong van Giao  
pp. 12, 15, 49, 50, 71n.

Duy Tan  
p. 6.

Ham Nhi  
p. 2.

Ho chi Minh  

Ho dao Khai  
p. 56n.

Ho dao Khanh  
p. 56n.

Ho duong Thanh  
p. 78n.

Ho huu Tuong  
pp. 47, 56n.

Ho nhut Tan (Pham oong Minh)  
p. 123.

Ho ta Khanh  
p. 56n.

Ho van Giang  
p. 56n.

Ho van Lai  
p. 116n.

Ho van Nga  
pp. 55, 56n, 71n.

Ho van Nhut  
p. 49.

Ho vinh Ky  
p. 70n.

Hoang dai Chi  
p. 56n.

Hoang don Van  
pp. 65n, 71n.

Hoang hao Tham (De Tham)  
pp. 2, 4, 5.

Hoang huu Nam  
pp. 63n, 88.

Hoang Luong  
pp. 50, 51.

Hoang minh Chau  
pp. 61, 99.

Hoang minh Giam  
pp. 77n, 83n, 88, 90n, 98.

Hoang nam Hung  
p. 131.

Hoang quoc Viet  
p. 91.

Hoang tich Tri  
pp. 68n, 90n.

Hoang xuan Nam  
p. 56n.

Huynh phu So  
pp. 56, 70n, 71n, 116, 117, 118, 122.

Huynh tan Phat  
p. 71n.

Huynh thi Oanh  
p. 69n.

Huynh thien Loo  
p. 77n.

Huynh thuoc Khang  
pp. 56n, 77n, 78n, 83n, 88.
Huynh van Phuong  
p. 70n.

Huynh van Tieng  
pp. 69n, 71n, 94.

Kha van Can  
pp. 71n, 116n, 128.

Khuat duy Tien  
p. 82.

Lam ngoc Duong (Nguyen van Hai)  
p. 116.

Lang (Commandant)  
p. 129.

Le Dung  
p. 89.

Le Huy  
p. 98.

Le huu Tu  
pp. 124, 125.

Le kim Ty  
pp. 15, 16, 116, 121.

Le Minh  
p. 114.

Le phu Hiep  
p. 27.

Le tan Truong  
p. 136.

Le van De  
p. 124.

Le van Hien  
pp. 76n, 77n, 83n, 90n, 91, 91n.

Le van Hoach  

Le van Kinh  
pp. 116, 117.

Le van Trung  
pp. 14, 16.

Lenh trach Dan  

Long, Maurice  
p. 7.

Lu Han  

Luu due Trang  
p. 118.

Luu van Lang  
p. 86n.

M.

M. W. Roy  
p. 30.

Merlin, Martial  
p. 8.

Moutet, Marius  
pp. 86, 134.

Mus, Paul  
p. 85.

Nam Lua  
see Tran van Xoai

Nghiem ke To  
pp. 62, 65, 77n, 114.

Nghiem xuan Yen  
pp. 69, 90n.

Ngo dinh Diem  
pp. 56, 67, 124, 125.

Ngo dinh Khoi  
pp. 67, 124.

Ngo tan Nhoan  
pp. 55, 69n, 70n, 71n, 85n, 90n, 116n.

Ngo tu Ha  
pp. 77n, 78n, 89, 90n.
Ngô Thị H. (p. 82)
Ngô Văn Hải (pp. 116, 117)
Nguyễn Ai Quôc (see Ho Chí Minh)
Nguyễn An Ninh (pp. 20, 22, 33)
Nguyễn Bá Tông (p. 16)
Nguyễn Bình (pp. 79, 80n)
Nguyễn Quốc Đặng (see Cuông Đặng)
Nguyễn Chí Thanh (p. 68n)
Nguyễn Đình Thị (pp. 66n, 81)
Nguyễn Đình Trí (p. 58)
Nguyễn Gia Trí (p. 118)
Nguyễn Gia Trưởng (p. 118)
Nguyễn Hải Thành (pp. 77n, 78, 99, 107, 109, 111, 112, 113)
Nguyễn Hảo C. (p. 71n)
Nguyễn Hòa Hiệp (pp. 79, 80n, 127)
Nguyễn H. Bích (Nguyễn бан Toan) (pp. 109, 116)
Nguyễn Hữu Dang (p. 56n)
Nguyễn Hữu Thị (p. 56n)
Nguyễn Khanh Toản (pp. 85n, 90n, 92)
Nguyễn Kinh Chí (pp. 83n, 89)
Nguyễn Lương Bằng (pp. 66n, 78n)
Nguyễn Mạnh H. (pp. 78n, 84, 88, 124)
Nguyễn Ngọc Cành (p. 56n)
Nguyễn Ngọc Trưởng (pp. 16, 16, 66n)
Nguyễn Phạm Trưởng (pp. 12, 16, 39, 110)
Nguyễn Phú Hậu (pp. 116, 117, 123)
Nguyễn Tân Cương (p. 136)
Nguyễn Thái H. (pp. 23, 24)
Nguyễn Thành Long (p. 80n)
Nguyễn Thế Nghiep (pp. 27, 29, 58)
Nguyễn Trọng Hạnh (p. 81)
Nguyễn Trưởng Bạch (p. 119)
Nguyễn Trưởng Lang (pp. 78n, 114)
Nguyễn Trưởng Tâm (pp. 28, 54, 77n, 78, 78n, 100, 107, 114, 115)
Nguyễn Văn Canh (p. 56n)
Nguyễn Văn Châu (p. 114)
Nguyễn Văn Chí (p. 116n)
Nguyễn Văn Hối (see Lam Ngọc Dương)
Nguyen van Huong  
pp. 71n, 77n.

Nguyen van Huyen  
pp. 76n, 83n, 90n, 98.

Nguyen van Khanh  
p. 56n.

Nguyen van Nghiem  
p. 71n.

Nguyen van Nguyen  
p. 70n.

Nguyen van Nha  
pp. 49, 50.

Nguyen van Quang  
p. 71n.

Nguyen van San  
pp. 55, 68, 69, 70, 107, 109, 110, 111, 116, 117, 126, 127.

Nguyen van Tai  
p. 16.

Nguyen van Tao  
pp. 38, 40, 41, 45, 61, 69n, 71, 71n, 82, 83n, 90n, 92.

Nguyen van Tay  
p. 69n.

Nguyen van Thinh  
pp. 15, 50, 134, 135.

Nguyen van Thoi  
pp. 49, 50.

Nguyen van Thu  
p. 71n.

Nguyen van To  
pp. 76n, 78n, 83n, 89.

Nguyen van Xuan (General)  
pp. 106, 118, 121, 129, 132, 135, 137.

Nguyen van Xuan (Viet Minh)  
pp. 66n, 78n.

Nguyen vinh Thuy  
see Bao Dai.

Nguyen Xuan  
pp. 81, 98.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Name</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phan dinh Phung</td>
<td>2, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan huy Dan</td>
<td>p. 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan ke Toal</td>
<td>pp. 58, 66, 86, 90m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan luong Bau</td>
<td>p. 71n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan Thanh (Miss.)</td>
<td>p. 78n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan Tran</td>
<td>p. 114.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan trong Doan</td>
<td>p. 131.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan tu Nghia</td>
<td>pp. 81, 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan van Dien</td>
<td>p. 124.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan van Huan</td>
<td>pp. 41, 45, 70m, 71n, 75.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phong Tan</td>
<td>p. 156.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarraut, Albert</td>
<td>p. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Yat-sen</td>
<td>pp. 21, 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta quang Bung</td>
<td>pp. 56n, 77n, 83n, 88, 89, 90m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta thu Thau</td>
<td>pp. 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 65, 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ton duong Thang</td>
<td>pp. 78n, 88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ton quang Phiet</td>
<td>pp. 78n, 81, 96.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RESTRICTED
Tran van Nguyen  
pp. 116n.

Tran van Nho  
pp. 71n.

Tran van Thach  
pp. 38, 41, 45, 70n, 73, 79.

Tran van The  
pp. 71n.

Tran van Tuyen (Tran Con)  
pp. 119.

Tran van Ty  
pp. 186.

Tran van Xoai (Nam Lua)  
pp. 113, 128.

Trinh dinh Thao  
pp. 13, 16, 56n, 116.

Trinh van Binh  
pp. 77n, 85n, 90n.

Truong anh Nghia  
pp. 131.

Truong dinh Tri  
pp. 77n, 115, 137.

Truong nhu Dinh  
pp. 56n.

Truong van Giau  
pp. 80n.

Tu be Hoa  
pp. 71n.

Ung Hoa  
pp. 56n.

Ung Uy  
pp. 56n.

V arenne, Alexandre  
pp. 9.

Vo Chuan  
pp. 56n.
951 Vietnamese achieve independence from Chinese domination.
1802 French install Gia-Long as emperor of all Vietnamese peoples, i.e., of Annam, Tonkin, and Cochinichina.
1858 Franco-Spanish expedition at Tourane, Annam.
1859 French expedition at Saigon, Cochinichina.
1863 Cochinichina annexed as colony by Napoleon III.
1863 French establish protectorate over Tonkin and Annam. The Scholars' Party is formed.
1865 Royalist plot to overthrow French rule fails. Regent Tam that Thuyet flees with young emperor, Ham Nghi. General revolt in Tonkin and Annam.
1868 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 Modernization League by Phan boi Chau.
1904-5 Russo-Japanese War.
1906 Phan boi Chau and Prince Guong 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 khu Trinh and Huynh thuoc Hang participates in demonstrations throughout Annam. Phan khu Trinh is deported to France. Gilbert Chateau conspiracy in Cochinichina. 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. Massacre of Annamese prisoners on Poulo Condore Island. Armed attacks against French posts in Bac Giang and Ton Vinh Provinces, Tonkin.
1915 Importation 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.

1915 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 ngo 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.


1921 Intercolonial Union is created in Paris, embracing colonial subjects of French empire, with a special Annamese section.


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.


1927 The Vietnam Nationalist Party is founded by Nguyen thai Hoo. Nguyen an Minh Association is formed in Cochinhina. Formation of South Seas Communist Party, including a Vietnamese section.

1928 Strike activity.


RESTRICTED
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 Ton Bay, followed by violent outbreaks throughout Indochina under the leadership of the Vietnam Nationalist Party. Nguyen Thai Hoo 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.


1932 Formation of the Trotskyist organisation by Ta thu Thau.

1933 The Vietnam Nationalist Party organisation 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.

1933 Popular Front comes to power in France. A Democratic Front is created in Cochinchina. Commission of Inquiry from Paris receives demands from nationalist organisations.

1939 World War II, September. Communist organisations 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 13 - Japanese surrender.
August 26 - Bao Dai abdicates.
September 2 - Independence of Vietnam Democratic Republic proclaimed at Hanoi. Provisional government established.
September 25 - 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.

RESTRICTED

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.


October 26-31 Second meeting of Vietnam National Assembly.

November Fighting between French and Vietnamese at Haiphong and Langson. Nguyen van Thin, President of Cochinchina Provisional Government, commits suicide.

December 6 New Cochinchina President, Le van Hoa, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 5, 1949</td>
<td>Bao Dai, Emile Bollaert, and Nguyen van Xuan sign protocol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 6, 1949</td>
<td>Provisional Central Vietnam Government formed by General Nguyen van Xuan installed at Hanoi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 14, 1949</td>
<td>Bao Dai exchanges letters with High Commissioner putting March 8 agreements into effect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1949</td>
<td>Bao Dai announces formation of a cabinet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

The sources listed below were of the greatest value for the history of the nationalist movement up to the time of World War II -- and were generally in substantial agreement concerning facts. For the postwar period, sources are cited in detail in the footnotes.


9. Published reports of the Gouvernement General de L'Indoc. .a, Direction des Affaires Politiques et de la Surete Generales:
   B. Le Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dang or "Parti National Annamite" au Tonkin (1927-1932, Hanoi, 1933. A study of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, whose program was similar to that of the Chinese Kuomintang Party.
   D. Le "Dong Duong Cong San Dang" ou "Parti Communiste Indoohinois" (1925-1933), A study of the origin and growth of the Communist Party of Indochina.
   E. La Terreur Rouge en Annam (1930-1931), Hanoi, 1934. A study of the events and trials associated with the revolutionary period of 1930-31 in Indochina.


15. L'Asie Francaise, #281,282. An article on the tactics and organization of secret political organization in Indochina in the 1930's.


