Contents

Series Editors’ Preface x
Acknowledgements xii
Introduction xiii

Chapter 1 Colonialism, Nationalism, and Communism 1
1.1 Tam Lang, I Pulled a Rickshaw (1932) 1
1.2 The Trial Testimony of Phan Boi Chau (1925) 5
1.3 Ho Chi Minh, The Path which Led Me to Leninism (1960) 7
1.4 Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh), Appeal Made on the Occasion of the Founding of the Vietnamese Communist Party (1930) 9
1.5 Ho Chi Minh, The Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1945) 11

Chapter 2 The First Indochina War and the Origins of American Involvement 15
2.1 Oral History of Xuan Vu, Viet Minh War Reporter and Propagandist (1987) 15
2.2 US Department of State Airgram on French–Vietnamese Relations (1946) 20
2.3 Truong Chinh, “We Struggle for Independence and Democracy” (1948) 22
2.5 Robert Blum, Telegram on US Economic Aid to France in Indochina (1951) 29
vi  Contents

2.6 Memorandum of a Conversation with President Eisenhower about Dien Bien Phu (1954) 31
2.7 Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference (1954) 32

Chapter 3 The Two Vietnams 37
3.2 Ngo Dinh Diem, Message to the RVN National Assembly on the Foundations of the Constitution (1956) 46
3.3 Wolf Ladejinsky, A Visit with President Ngo Dinh Diem (1955) 49
3.4 Vietnam Workers’ Party Politburo, Directive Regarding Land Reform (1953) 52
3.5 Oral History of Han Vi, Musicologist and Communist Party Cadre 55

Chapter 4 The Rise of the “Viet Cong” 61
4.1 Le Duan, The Path to Revolution in the South (1956) 61
4.2 A Communist Party Account of the Situation in the Nam Bo Region of South Vietnam (1961) 69
4.3 A Poor Farmer’s Account of the 1960 “Concerted Uprising” in My Tho Province (1967) 72
4.4 Program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (1960) 75

Chapter 5 The Fall of Diem 81
5.1 The Caravelle Manifesto (1960) 81
5.3 The Self-Immolation of Thich Quang Duc (1963) 90
5.4 Transcript of a Phone Conversation between Ngo Dinh Diem and Henry Cabot Lodge (November 1, 1963) 92
5.5 John F. Kennedy, Comments on the Saigon Coup (November 4, 1963) 93

Chapter 6 Escalation 96
6.1 Resolution of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers’ Party: Strive to Struggle, Rush Forward to Win New Victories in the South (December 1963) 96
Contents

6.2 Recording of a Phone Conversation between Lyndon Johnson and Robert McNamara (April 30, 1964) 100
6.3 The Tonkin Gulf Resolution (August 1964) 103
6.4 US Senator Wayne Morse, Speech on the Tonkin Gulf Resolution (August 5, 1964) 104
6.5 George Ball, “A Compromise Solution for South Vietnam” (1965) 106
6.6 Notes of a Meeting at the White House (July 21, 1965) 110

Chapter 7 On the Battlefield 115
7.1 A South Vietnamese Account of the Battle of Ap Bac (1995) 115
7.2 Interrogation of a Captured NLF Fighter (1967) 120
7.4 Varnado Simpson, Testimony about the My Lai Massacre (1969) 132
7.6 A North Vietnamese soldier remembers the Bombing of North Vietnam (1970) 142
7.7 Kim Phuc and the Napalm Attack on Trang Bang Village (1972) 144

Chapter 8 The Tet Offensive 147
8.1 Resolution of the 14th Plenum of the VWP Central Committee (January 1968) 147
8.3 The Execution of Nguyen Van Lem 155
8.4 General Huynh Cong Than, “The General Offensive and Uprising in the Southern Sector of Saigon” (1994) 156
8.5 Walter Cronkite, Remarks on the Tet Offensive (February 1968) 163
8.6 Lyndon B. Johnson, Address to the Nation Announcing Steps to Limit the War in Vietnam (March 31, 1968) 165

Chapter 9 Home Fronts 172
9.1 Students for a Democratic Society, “Build, Not Burn” (1965) 172
9.2 Young Americans for Freedom, “Aid and Comfort to the Enemy” (1965) 174
Contents

9.3 Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Statement Against the War in Vietnam (1966) 176
9.4 Nicholas Garland, Cartoon of Lyndon Johnson (1966) 178
9.5 Pete Seeger, “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy” (1967) 179
9.6 Senator George McGovern, Speech in Support of the McGovern–Hatfield Amendment to End the War in Indochina (1970) 181
9.8 Terry Nelson and C-Company, “The Battle Hymn of Lt Calley” (1971) 190

Chapter 10 Pacification, Vietnamization, and “Fighting While Negotiating” 197
10.1 William Westmoreland, “The Refugee Problem” (1968) 197
10.3 A Communist Cadre Describes Pacification in My Tho Province During 1969–1970 204
10.4 Le Duc Tho and Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi Discuss the Paris Peace Talks (1968) 205
10.5 Henry Kissinger Negotiates with Le Duc Tho (1971) 207
10.6 Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger Discuss the Fate of South Vietnam (August 1972) 213

Chapter 11 Victory and Defeat 216
11.1 Jacques Leslie, A Visit to Viet Cong Territory (1995) 216
11.3 Nguyen Thi Hoa, “Mom, I’m leaving now. I will make you very proud of me.” 223

Chapter 12 Memories and Legacies 226
12.1 The POW/MIA Flag 226
12.2 Excerpt from Quang X. Pham, Excerpt from A Sense of Duty: Our Journey from Vietnam to America (2005) 227
## Contents

| 12.4  | A Letter Left at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial | 238  |
| 12.5  | George W. Bush, Speech at a Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention (2007) | 239  |
| 12.6  | Vo Van Kiet, “Healing the Wound” (2005) | 243  |

Index | 249