Argenlieu, Thierry d’ (Admiral, High Commissioner for Indochina), 4, 107, 137
August General Uprising
dominant interpretation versus author’s interpretation, 38–39
parallel and intersecting mobilizations to seize power, 39, 43
violence of September 2, 1945, 51–52
August Revolution. See August General Uprising
Ba Cut (Hoa Hao militia leader), 236, 252, 271, 278
biography, 243–44
capture, trial, and execution, 275–76
Bao Dai (Emperor), 42, 44, 273
Bay Vinh, 278
Boyer de la Tour, Pierre (General), 222
approach to pacification, 197–201
Brazzaville Declaration (1944), 154
British military
intervention of 20th Indian Division in southern Vietnam, September, 1945, 52–53
Bui Quang Chiêu, 60
Buu Loc, Prince (Prime Minister), 267
Cambodia
claims over Mekong Delta, 23–24, 89–90, 157–58, 174
religious links to Mekong Delta, 29, 174
situation worsens in country, Summer-Fall 1945, 90–91
Vietnamese migration out of, 1945, 91
Vietnamese population, 1945, 28
Cao Dai, 43, 79, 80, 83, 108
conflicts with Viet Minh/Resistance, 87
internal conflicts in the Tay Ninh branch, 241
internal military challenges to Pham Cong Tac’s authority (1952), 266
large-scale purges by Resistance (1947), 123, 125
massacre of believers in Quang Ngai province (1945), 49–50
signing agreement to collaborate with French, 235
signing agreement to collaborate with French (1947), 110–13
strength of militia in 1945, 47
Cao Trieu Phat (Cao Dai leader), 206, 244, 277
Catholics, 80, 226
Cedille, Jean (Colonel), 53
Chanson, Charles (General), 197, 201, 203, 222
Chinese
ey early settlements in Mekong Delta, 23
population in Mekong Delta, 23
Dai Viet Party, 61, 79, 83, 200, 236, 245
Dap Chhuon (Khmer Issarak leader), 230
Democracy Party, 79
Democratic Republic of Vietnam/Socialist Republic of Vietnam
post-1975 repression of participants in the First Indochina War, 278–79
Diệp Ba, 46, 208
Economy
drop in Mekong Delta rice production, 190–91
economic crisis of 1944 and 1945, 33–36, 40
French economic blockade of Resistance zones, 222–23
of Cao Dai and Hoa Hao parastates and militias, 249–52
Resistance economic blockade of French-controlled parts of the Mekong Delta, 221–22
Index

Viet Minh food blockade of Saigon, 74, 222
Empire of Vietnam, 42, 160
Fanon, Frantz, 133–34
First Indochina War, 1945–54
argument of this book, 6–8
conventional view of, 3–4
death toll, 6–8
French military
ethnic and national background of regular recruits, 72–73
food denial as a strategy of war, 225
General Leclerc on blacks, 136
impact of Vichy on, 67–68
increased budget, 1949–51, 200
initial lack of preparation, training and supplies in Vietnam, 70–72
initial opposition to sending non-whites to Indochina, 135–37
intelligence collection, 200
massacre of Cao Đài believers, 97
national origin of recruits, 69–70
numbers of regular soldiers, 2–3
remaining forces leave Vietnam (1956), 276
renounces agreements with Cao Đài and Hòa Hào militias, 1954–55, 262
role of self-defense and paramilitary forces, 72–73
use of aerial bombing, 227–28
use of martial law, 163, 171–72
French Union, 159, 166
Geneva Accords (1954)
impact of Resistance weakness in South on, 264
Gracey, Douglas (General), 52, 53
Hòa Hào, 43, 79, 80, 83, 108
clash with Việt Minh, September 9, 1945, 84–85
Cluset-Trần Văn Soáí agreement for French-Hòa Hào collaboration (1947), 235
internal rivalries among different military strongmen, 244
mobilization of, 1945, 47
religious and social characteristics, 32–33
Hòa Hào Buddhism
religious and social beliefs, 85–86
Hoàng Quốc Việt, 61
Huỳnh Phú Sổ (Hòa Hào Buddhist leader), 47, 65, 83, 85, 109, 114, 236, 241
killing of (1947), 115–16
Indocheinese Communist Party (ICP), 38
building up Communist Party leadership, 206
domestic and international impact of dissolution of Party, 78
impact of communist weakness in South on Việt Minh strategy, 48–49
rivalry between Vanguard and Liberation factions, 44, 78
weakness in Mekong Delta, 1945, 77–78
Indocheinese Federation, 159
Institutions
collapse and reassemblage at end of war, 266–71
the impact of institutional collapse, 14–16
Japan
"independence" of Cochinchina under Japanese rule, 42
overthrow of French regime in Indochina, 40–41
weak authority in rural south, 1945, 49
Khmêr Issarak, 126, 229, 230, 231, 245
Khmêr Krom, 271
Khmêr Krom
interethnic alliance against Communists, 1946, 97
Khom Krom, 271
khmer-Vietnamese violence, 125
Khmer-Vietnamese violence, 125–27
competing Vietnamese and French arguments over, 103–4
French attacks as a catalyst, 97–101
meaning of "cap duon", 87
origins and pre-1945 conflicts, 88
outbreak of massacres, 1945–46, 95–103
priming of violence in Mekong Delta, 87
Lâm Thanh Nguyên (Hòa Hào militia leader), 242, 243, 270, 274
arrest of, 278
Lê Quang Vinh, 243
Lê Thị Giám (Hòa Hào Red Cross leader), 251
Lê Văn Viên. See Bây Viên
Leroy, Jean (Colonel), 75, 96, 163, 199, 225, 278
Lý Hoà Vinh, 79
Mai Chí Tho (communist cadre), 124, 146
Massu, Jacques (Colonel), 277
Mekong Delta
estimated population change of provinces, 190
geographic definition, 21
Index

Mekong Delta (cont.)
geographic, demographic,
and ethnic characteristics in 1945, 31–33
hunger and famine, 191–93
Vietnamese consolidation of control, eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, 23–26
Migration
estimate of migration out of Mekong Delta after 1945, 180–83
in-migration of Chinese and Vietnamese to Mekong Delta before 1945, 28
population fleeing Resistance zones, 225–28
Saigon triples in size during war, 183–84
within the delta, 187–89
Minh Mang. See Minh Mệnh
Minh Mệnh
policies on Cambodia and on Khmer of the Mekong Delta, 1820–41, 24–26
Năm Lũa. See Trần Văn Soái (Hoa Hao militia leader)
Narratives
problem with concept of colonial “hybridity”, 149–50
Problem with overuse of concept of “nationalism”, 4–5
National United Front, 50, 60
demonstration of August 21, 1945, 50
Nationalists
constitution of an anti-Việt Minh alliance, 114
Ngô Đình Diệm (Prime Minister)
consolidation of power, 1954–56, 273–76
Nguyễn Bình (General), 62, 87, 105, 108, 113, 223, 244, 277
assumes control of Việt Minh military forces in South, 80
Nguyễn Giác Ngọ (Hoa Hao militia leader), 121, 243, 245, 250, 270, 274
Nguyễn Hòa Hiệp, 70
Nguyễn Thành Phương (Cao Đài general), 274
Nguyễn Thanh Sơn (communist leader), 77, 78, 83, 85, 90, 105
Nguyễn Tôn Hảo (Dai Việt party leader), 165
Nguyễn Văn Hinh (General), 267
Nguyễn Văn Sâm (nationalist leader), 60, 80, 109, 114
Nguyễn Văn Tấn (Prime Minister), 59, 165, 169, 267
Nguyễn Văn Thánh (President), 106
Omens and prophecies, 143–44
Pach Chhoeun (Cambodian nationalist), 88, 89
Pacification
in practice, 203
reversal of French gains after mid-1953, 268
the South as exception to French strategic failure, 16–17
theory of, 197–98
Parastates, militias, and self-defense forces
definition of parastates, 245
distorted memory of their role in war, 277
estimated size and strength of Hòa Hao militias, 247
estimated size of Cao Đài forces, 246
impact on society, 246
statistics for Long Xuyên province, 1951, 254
Phạm Công Tắc (Cao Đài leader), 87, 110, 274, 278
attacked by DRV after 1975, 279
biography, 239–40
expulsion to Cambodia, 1956, 275
support for independence, 240–41
Phạm Hùng (communist leader), 113
Phạm Ngọc Thạch (communist leader), 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 63, 90, 277
Phạm Ngọc Thuần, 117
Phạm Văn Bách (communist leader), 46
Phúc Quốc Đòng Minh Hồi, 70
Pignon, Léon (high-ranking French colonial bureaucrat), 270, 274
Propaganda and propagandizing cannibalism, 133, 145–47
Kňmer Issarak use of, 233
on Nguyên Phú Sà, 143–44
on turning Vietnamese black by “cooking” them, 131–32
poisoning and rape, 145
practice of proselytization (Dich vân), 211–14
Race
Africans and “savages” as inferior, 140
e as ethnonationalist purity, 142
in terms of common descent, 138
prejudice against indigenous non-Vietnamese ethnic minorities, 141
Index

Social Darwinist influences, 138
Religion
importance of spiritually potent places, 254
revival of, 272
Resistance
difficulties, 1951–53, 264–66
four-pronged strategy to win, 1948, 205
mobilizing Chinese, Khmer, and Catholic allies, 208–11
premature and failed shift from guerrilla to conventional war, 225
purging non-communists from leadership, 206–7
situation after the “double fracture” of 1947, 203–5
strategic use of violence, 215–20
Revolutionary militias, 70

Sihanouk, Norodom (King of Cambodia), 89, 174
Social-Democrat Party, 86, 120, 121, 236, 241, 242
founding of, 109
Việt Minh announces disbanding of, 1947, 118
Son Ngoc Minh (Cambodian Resistance leader), 88
Son Ngoc Thanh (Cambodian leader), 88, 89, 90, 91, 173
arrest, death in Chí Hòa prison, 1977, 278

Soeverignty
assemblage and disassemblage of the state, 154–55
Cambodian claims over Cochinchina. See Cambodia
citizenship and ethnic minorities, 176–78
citizenship of Chinese and Minh hrung, 176–77
complexity of de facto territorial control, 252–58
concept of “superspace” in French Indochina, 28
disassemblage of French Indochina, 172–74
French language games over the term “independence”, 159–62
French Union, 9
from localities to the level of empire, 8–11
impact of French martial law on, 163
implications of French conquest on Mekong Delta in mid-nineteenth century, 27–28

“legal bricolage” in nineteenth century French experiments in colonization, 156–57
porous Cambodia-Vietnam border after 1949, 175
Provisional Central Government of Vietnam, 164
sham independence of the Autonomous Republic of Cochinchina, 161–62
significance of the South’s legal autonomy, 167–68
territorialization, 9
two long “partitions” of French Indochina, 154
view that French grant of “independence” in 1949 was a sham, 164–66

Terauchi, Hisaichi (General), 48
Thái Văn Lung, 45
Trần Bạch Đằng (communist cadre), 1, 2
Trần Đức Thao, 151
Trần Quang Vinh (Cao Đài leader), 47, 86, 87, 110, 181
arrested and presumed dead, 1975, 278
Trần Văn Giâu (communist leader), 37, 45, 46, 48, 61, 63, 87, 277
launches insurrection and is recalled to Hanoi, September 1945, 61–62
Trần Văn Hậu (Prime Minister), 165, 267
Trần Văn Sơ (Hoa Hào militia leader), 84, 109, 121, 122, 236, 252, 266, 278
assassination of monks Đạo Nôm and Minh Đàng Quang, 273
biography, 238–39
failed assassination attempt on, 1953, 270
Trần Văn Trà (General), 75, 105, 279
Trịnh Minh Thể (Cao Đài militia leader), 236, 241, 245, 274, 277
Trotzkists, 37, 44–45, 46–47, 50, 53, 63, 79, 81
killing of, 59–60, 81
Ung Văn Khiêm, 119, 123
Unités Mobiles de Défense de la Chrétienté (UMDC), 163, 196, 199, 215, 229, 254, 279
French relieve Colonel Leroy of his command, 271

Vanguard Youth, 50, 56
expansion into a mass organization, 1945, 47
Index

Vanguard Youth (cont.)
founding of, 1945, 44–45

Việt Minh
assassination of “traitors”, 80–81
demonstrations of August 25
and September 2, 1945, 50
detention system, 82–83
different scenarios for killing of Huỳnh Phú Sổ, 117–20
every crackdown on Hòa Hao, 114–15
failure to unify military forces in South, 108–9
fracture with the Cao Đài, 1947, 113
legal aspects of the hunt for perceived traitors, 81–82
orders arrest, trial, and/or elimination of Social-Democrat Party members, 119
responsibility for Khmer-Vietnamese violence, 102

Vietnam (State of), 168, 262
as an “Associated State” of the French Union, 166–67
attempt to re-establish dominance of traditional rural elite, 269
failure to co-opt parastates and militias, 269–70
France confers full independence on, 1954, 263
integration of paramilitary forces into Vietnamese National Army, 271
transfer of functions from French colonial state to Vietnamese successor, 168–71

Vietnamese Nationalist Party, 44, 60

Violence
against minorities, 58
armed gangs in countryside, 1945, 74–75
assassination of Việt Minh rivals, 59–60
Cité Hérault massacre, Saigon, September 24–25, 1945, 57–58
explanation of the concept of the “double fracture”, 66–67
French military routinization of torture, rape, and brutality, 76
impact of double fracture on rest of war, 128
in civil war, 12–13
lack of statistics on areas under paramilitary control, 249
limits to seeing all violence as strategic, 220–21
outbreak of massive violence between Hòa Hao and Việt Minh, 1947, 120–21
priming of the double fracture, 1945–46, 94
role of institutions, 14–16
role of race, 134–35
role of uncertainty in, 13–14
targeted and indiscriminate, 186–87
Vu Tam Anh, 79

War (general characteristics)
as a situational logic of alliance and opposition, 235–36
militarization of Mekong Delta society, 236–37

Yuvan Kampucherath (Khmer youth group), 92