

Thimun The Hague 2024

THIMUN



The Historical Security Council
Daan de Klein
President of the HSC

January 28, 1973

**Ending armed conflict and
establishing peace and security on
the Indochinese Peninsula following
the Paris Peace Accords.**

"Every victory is only the price of admission to a more difficult problem"

-Henry Kissinger

Definition of Key Terms

Colonialism

The policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. (Oxford Languages)

Indochina

A group of countries to the southeast of China, including Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Under French administration, this was called Cochinchina

Ho Chi Minh Trail

A network of routes was used by North Vietnam to smuggle people, materials, and arms into South Vietnam for use by the Viet Cong. The trails were subject to frequent carpet bombing by US forces to prevent smuggling across them.

Domino Theory

The theory predicted that the fall of one nation to communism would lead to the fall of another, just like a row of dominoes.

Vietnamization

The process of US withdrawal from Vietnam where responsibility and control was slowly handed to the South Vietnamese government. Also called the pacification program.

Background - *French Colonial Rule*

In the 1850s France's economy was changing from an agricultural economy to an industrial, manufacturing-based economy. In this change, France had seen Vietnam as a potential springboard to be able to export more manufactured goods to China and other Asian countries. In July 1857 Napoleon III, the emperor of France from 1852 to 1870, started the conquest of Vietnam. France captured Saigon in September 1859. After this, expansion was slow due to Vietnamese resistance. However, in 1862 the resistance could not keep up and a peace treaty was signed that ceded the three easternmost provinces to France. France was not done expanding, France gained territory along the Mekong and in the Franco-Chinese war gained control over Annam-Tongking in 1885. In 1887 war broke out between France and Vietnam, France crushed Vietnamese resistance due to their superior technology and solidified French control over the entire country.

Vietnam was placed under a Western-style administration, opening the country up for economic exploitation. Vietnam became a source of raw materials for France's Freycinet plan. The Freycinet plan was a large-scale public works program that built railroads, roads, ports, bridges, and canals in France. The French government did little to promote any kind of industry in Vietnam, shipping raw materials straight to continental France.

The Vietnamese people rarely benefitted from French rule. Even though France effectively quadrupled the area rice could be cultivated by irrigating the Mekong delta, this land was not sold to peasants, but to the highest bidder or French investors. This caused a system of feudal relations to be formed where classes of landless peasants had to pay sometimes up to 60% of their yield in rent. Landowning peasants did not have it much better, suffering from crippling interest rates, they often lost their land to big landowners. This caused around half of the land to be owned by only 3% of the people. It is no wonder that because of this economic exploitation an anticolonial, nationalist sentiment emerged.

Anti-colonial groups formed as soon as the French took power. Local officials refused to cooperate, and guerilla groups attacked French outposts. Initially, the leader of the anti-colonial movement, Phan Dinh Phung, wanted to set Vietnam back to pre-colonial times and reinstate the Nguyen Dy-

nasty under a new leader. However, Phan Dinh's goals did not resonate with the youths and his revolutionary Ideas dissipated after Dinh's in 1895.

Phung's death set the stage for a new leader to emerge: Phan Boic Chau. Chau wanted to rid the nation of traditional influences and accept Western - but not French - ideas. He called this Modern Nationalism. Phung wanted to free Vietnam from French rule with the help of Japan. In 1905, Chau smuggled hundreds of students to Japan where they were taught science and revolutionary warfare. Upon their return to Vietnam in 1907, the Free School of Tonkin was opened which immediately became an anti-French hotspot. Three years later, Chau traveled to China in 1910 where he was arrested by the French government, which had far-reaching influence and control in China due to unequal treaties that had been made with the Chinese government after the Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860) . Along with Phung's death came the end of his movement.

World War I caused the Vietnamese anti-colonial movement to grow. Some government officials tried to attain reforms through politics and collaboration with France. However, these efforts led to very little and caused the resurgence of revolutionary groups. One prominent group was founded by Ho Chi Minh, the future president of North Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh established the Revolutionary Youth League of Vietnam which became the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930. The Communist Party took advantage of the famine in the nation and started a peasant uprising that killed numerous landlords. This movement was crushed by the French in 1931, but because of Soviet aid, the Communists were quickly able to bounce back and take advantage of the French 1936 reforms granting Vietnam some political freedoms.

France's defeat by the German army and the occupation of Vietnam by the Japanese in September 1940 brought an end to these freedoms. Vietnam became a major staging area for Japanese forces. In 1941 Ho Chi Minh formed a national alliance called the League of Independence of Vietnam (Viet Minh). After the defeat of Japan in 1945, the Viet Minh ordered a general uprising and seized power in Hanoi, declaring the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Emperor Bao Dai abdicated and swore loyalty to the DRV, becoming supreme advisor to Ho Chi Minh until 1946 when he fled to Hong Kong. France, however, did not give up on its claim to Vietnam, and together with British forces it occupied the south in 1947. Bai Dai signed the Ha Long Bay Treaty, which gave weak promises for Vietnamese independence, but in practical terms, little authority was given to Vietnam. The Viet Minh con-

demned the action, which led to building tension. This was compounded by Bao Dai's 1947 "Night Club Emperor" tour in Europe which led to similarly weak promises in the second Ha Long Bay Agreement. As fighting continued in Vietnam, Bao Dai went to Europe for a second time, which led to the signing of the Elysee Accords on the 9th of March 1949. The Elysee Accords created the State of Vietnam, with Bao Dai as head of state. The State of Vietnam was not autonomous though, its army and foreign relations were still under French control, and nationalists like Diem were refused important roles in the government. In 1950 Bao Dai expressed his discontent with the situation: "What they call a Bao Dai solution turned out to be just a French solution... the situation in Indochina is getting worse every day" (The Pentagon Papers. 1 59)

Background - *First Indochina War 1946-1954*

Discontent continued to mount due to the absence of progress regarding Vietnam's right to self-determination, the ineffective Ha Long Bay Treaties, and the heavy-handed French influence in all sectors of the state. The New State of Vietnam also took back Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina as part of the French Union, a rebrand of the French empire. France escalated the conflict in Vietnam in November 1946 when French naval forces started bombarding Haiphong, causing civilian deaths. The First Indochina War started when the Viet Minh started to fight French troops in Hanoi in December 1946.

In 1949 the declaration of the People's Republic of China on the first of October, and simmering tensions in Korea caused the United States to change its perspective on the war in Vietnam; now seeing it as an anti-communist war as opposed to a colonial war.

Aided by the Chinese government, the nationalist forces waged successful guerrilla warfare against the French, even though the French were receiving copious aid from the United States. The conflict came to an end when in May 1954 the Viet Minh achieved a major victory when the Dien Bien Phu garrison fell. Confronted by the realities on the ground, the French and Viet Minh entered into negotiations and a peace conference in Geneva was started which ultimately resulted in the partition of Vietnam.

Background - *The 1954 Geneva Agreement*

The 1954 Geneva Agreement aimed to cease hostilities in Indochina. It can be summarized as follows:

"Article 1

- Vietnam is to be divided into two states along the 17th Parallel. Forces must withdraw to their respective side and leave a five-kilometer demilitarized zone to prevent the resumption of hostilities.

Article 2

- The period within which the movement of all the forces of either party into its regrouping zone on either side of the provisional military demarcation line shall be completed shall not exceed three hundred (300) days from the date of the present Agreement's entry into force.

Article 6

- No person, military or civilian, shall be permitted to cross the provisional military demarcation line unless specifically authorized to do so by the Joint Commission.

Article 11

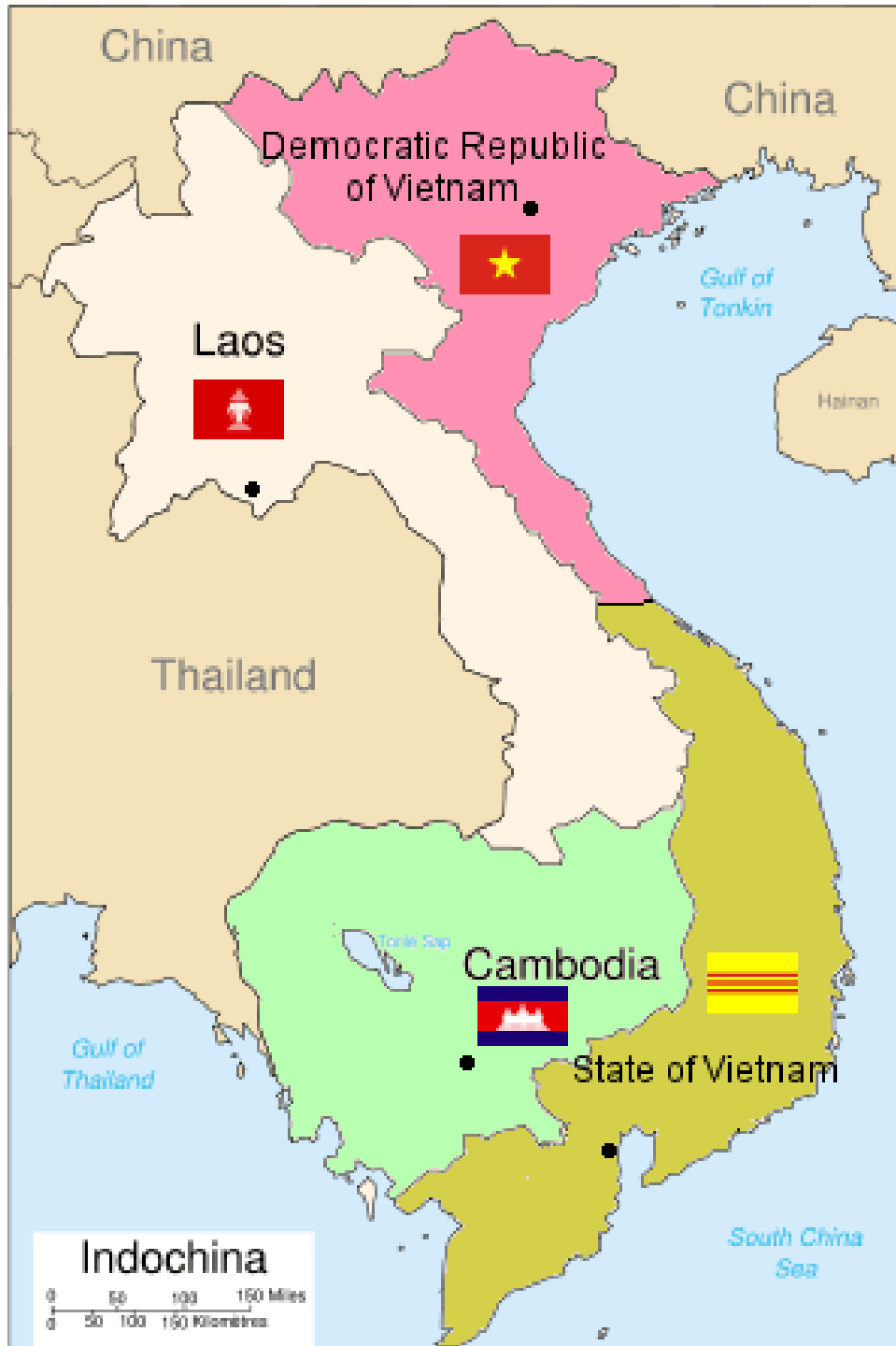
- In accordance with the principle of a simultaneous cease-fire throughout Indo-China, the cessation of hostilities shall be simultaneous throughout all parts of Vietnam, in all areas of hostilities, and for all the forces of the two parties.

Article 16

- With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, the introduction into Viet-Nam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel is prohibited.

Article 19

- With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, no military base under the control of a foreign State may be established in the re-grouping zone of either party; the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy." (Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet-Nam 20 July 1954)



Background - *The Second Indochina War 1955-*

The Geneva Accords left Vietnam divided into two states: the communist north and the republican south. The fate of the nation would be decided by elections that would determine a permanent leader. Elections that the Viet Minh were certain to win. South Vietnam and its key ally, the United States also saw this, and refused to sign the Geneva Accords, meaning no elections were ever held.

The Communist victory left the southern government in tatters. The Geneva Accords appointed Bao Dai as Head of state. Bao Dai continued his retreat from government and appointed Diem as the Prime Minister of Vietnam. Diem had his work cut out for him. He exercised little influence over the south due to the Viet Minh and religious sects control over most of the countryside and Saigon under the control of the Binh Xuyen gang. Diem started a fierce campaign against the Binh Xuyen and the religious sects to take back control of the south's most important areas. After this, the Popular Revolutionary Committee (Founded by Diem's Brother Ngo Dinh Nhu) set a referendum to remove Bao Dai from power. The referendum showed that 99% of voters agreed to create the new Republic of Vietnam on the 26th of October 1955.

In 1963 Diem's reign was abruptly ended by a coup by the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF or the Viet Cong). The NLF was close to succeeding until they were crushed by Diem's army. Both Diem and his brother were killed. The military seized control and a new government headed by Nguyen Cao Ky came to power in June 1965. The Ky Regime was ineffective in dealing with the Viet Cong and was repressive in nature.

At this point in the conflict, the United States was becoming ever more involved, employing over 17,000 military advisors and pilots to South Vietnam. However, this was not enough to crush the Viet Cong insurgency. In February 1965, President Johnson sanctioned the bombing of North Vietnam with Operation Rolling Thunder. Rolling Thunder aimed to prevent further arms and Viet Cong troops from being smuggled into South Vietnam. One month after the bombing of North Vietnam began, American troops landed in Vietnam. By July 1965, the number of US personnel reached 75,000 troops, and that escalated to over 500,000 by 1968. The 500,000 American soldiers were joined by 600,000 South Vietnamese counterparts.

Background - *United States Losses*

After the Chinese Communist Party Proclaimed the People's Republic of China on the first of October 1949. The United States succumbed to a colossal failure, as all of its efforts to support Chiang Kai Shek, the leader of the Chinese nationalists, had failed and the communists under Mao Zedong had prevailed. This feeling that the United States had "lost" China spread as did a wave of anti-communism sentiment that threatened the livelihood and reputations of many people engaged in politics, education, and the arts.

The President of the United States John F. Kennedy described the rise of communism in Asia as a domino effect. The domino effect describes each nation as a domino, if a domino falls it turns communist. Just like a line of dominoes, if one domino falls more will fall later. After the fall of China, the United States committed itself to preventing the fall of more dominoes by more direct intervention. This could be seen in the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam conflict.

The USA was not successful in winning over the communist regime in Vietnam. Henry Kissinger, President Richard Nixon's National Security Advisor, wrote in the January 1969 edition of Foreign Affairs that the United States was fighting a different way than the Communists in Vietnam. The American strategy came down to a war of attrition, where the constant bombing of Vietnam would destroy the guerrilla forces and bring with it a Southern victory. This was made difficult as Hanoi and the United States didn't have the same objectives for the war. Hanoi aimed to control the psychological aspect of the war and gain the trust of the people. The United States aimed to hold territory. Kissinger also said that US strategy was not effective against guerilla warfare: "The guerrilla wins if he does not lose. The conventional army loses if it does not win." (Kissinger 212) The result of this difference in objectives was that opposition forces only confronted one another when Hanoi decided they would. "The North Vietnamese used their main forces the way a bullfighter uses his cape, to keep us lunging in areas of marginal political importance" (Kissinger 212). America also had a lower tolerance for what it considered an "acceptable" loss of life. This hampered the United States from holding strategic positions.

Backround - *The Paris Agreement of January 27, 1973*

The United States faced turmoil at home because of its growing antiwar movement. Young people resisted military conscription. Recruiters' offices were burnt down and protests spread like wildfire. The antiwar movement also caused low morale in the troops abroad as they did not see the importance of the cause they were fighting for. The Kennedy administration pledged to withdraw in 1963, but this was put on the back burner after Lyndon B. Johnson took office after Kennedy's assassination on the 22nd of November 1963. Johnson increased the number of American troops in Vietnam from 75,000 troops to over 500,000 troops by 1968. This significantly decreased his popularity. Before the 1968 elections, Johnson also set into motion negotiations for peace in Paris. When Richard Nixon was inaugurated president in 1969, he tried to ask for a temporary ceasefire between the North and the South, but the North was not willing to make any concessions, and kept up a policy of "Negotiating While Fighting". The United States responded in kind with the brutal carpet-bombing campaigns Operation Menu, Linebacker, and Linebacker II which lasted from March 18th, 1969 to December 30th, 1972.

Henry Kissinger started negotiations in Paris in August 1964 when he met with Xuan Thuy, the North Vietnamese delegate to the Paris talks. Talks progressed and in June 1972 Hanoi presented a nine-point plan which was rejected by the USA as it had interpreted the proposal as a rejection of American proposals. This led to a stall in negotiations in October as the North focused more and more on the military track. In October 1972, Kissinger secretly met Le Duc Tho, Kissinger's primary interlocutor in Hanoi, to discuss another American proposal which was rejected, marking the end of a long series of secret negotiations between North Vietnam and the United States that started in May 1972. This again signaled a further move to the military track by North Vietnam when in November Hanoi canceled their meetings with the United States and offered no replacement date.

In December 1972, the United States received word from Saigon indicating a major Northern Vietnamese military buildup along South Vietnamese borders, indicating the preparation for a major offensive. This news caused the US to increase bombing with Operation Linebacker II running from December 12 to 29. No progress was made in peace talks in December and early January

forcing Nixon to go public with the October agreement, which led to resumed negotiations with Hanoi. The Revised agreement was signed on the 27th of January 1973.

"Chapter II: Ceasefire and Withdrawal of Troops

- Article 2: A ceasefire shall be observed throughout South Vietnam as of 2400 hours GMT on January 27, 1973. The United States will stop all its military activities against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by ground, air, and naval forces, wherever they may be based, and end the mining of the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
- Article 3: The United States forces and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and the Republic of Vietnam shall remain in place pending the implementation of the plan of troop withdrawal. The Four-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article 16 shall determine the modalities.
- Article 4: The armed forces of the two South Vietnamese parties shall remain in place. The Two-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article 17 shall determine the areas controlled by each party and the modalities of stationing.
- Article 5: The regular forces of all services and arms and the irregular forces of the parties in South Vietnam shall stop all offensive activities against each other and shall strictly abide by the following stipulations: all acts of force on the ground, in the air, and on the sea shall be prohibited; all hostile acts, terrorism, and reprisals by both sides will be banned.
- Article 6: The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.
- Article 7: Within sixty days of the signing of this Agreement, there will be a total withdrawal from South Vietnam of troops, military advisers, and military personnel, including technical military personnel and military personnel associated with the pacification program, armaments, munitions, and war material of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3

Article 8: The dismantlement of all military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 shall be completed within sixty days of the signing of this Agreement.

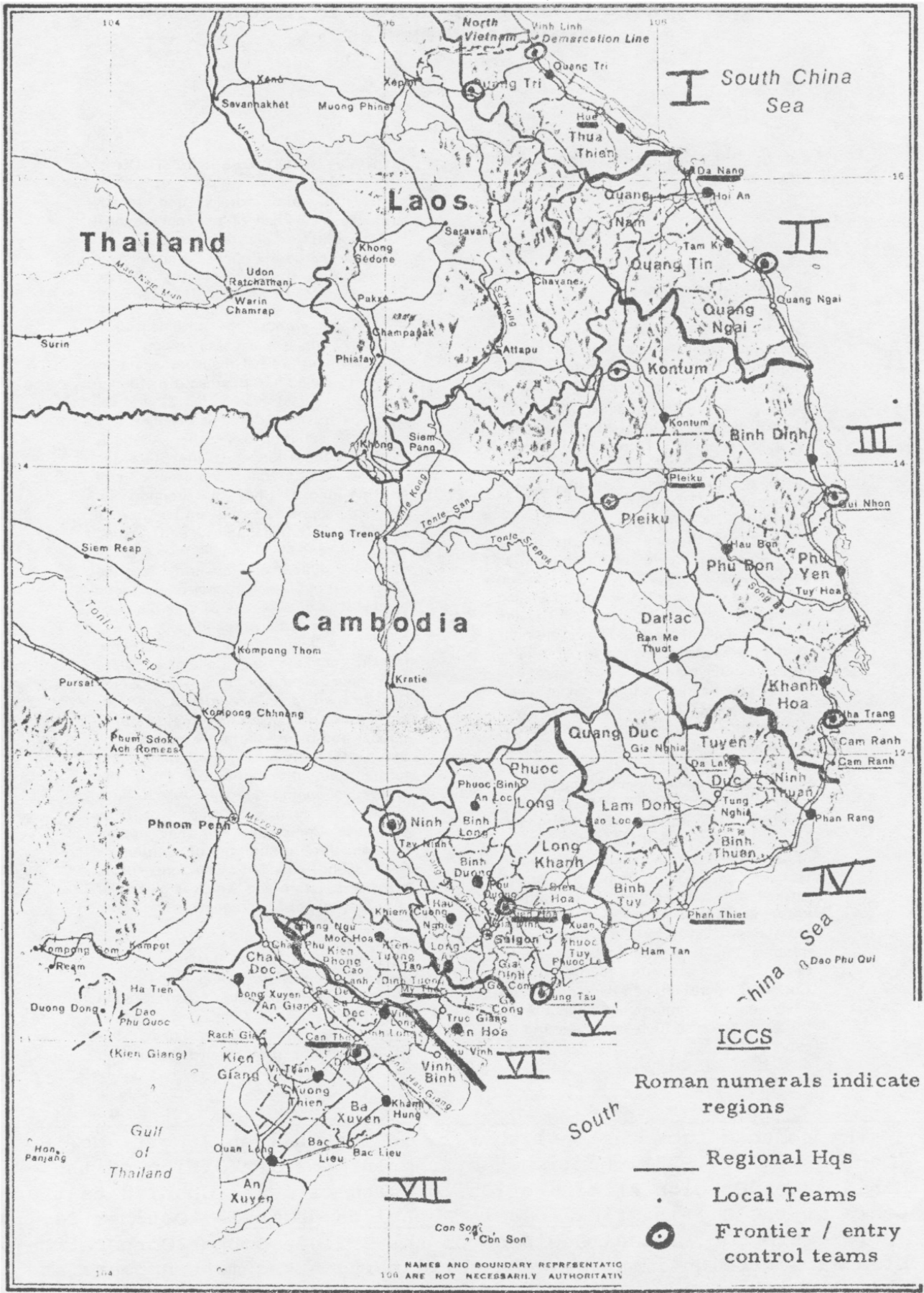
Chapter IV: The Exercise of the South Vietnamese People's Right to Self-Determination

- Article 9: The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam undertake to respect the following principles for the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination: The South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination is sacred, The South Vietnamese people shall decide political future of South Vietnam through free general elections under international supervision, foreign countries will not impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people.

Chapter V: The International Commission of Control and Supervision

- Article 11: The International Commission of Control and Supervision will be composed of representatives of the United States, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Vietnam, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam." ("United States–Democratic Republic of Vietnam–Republic of Vietnam–Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam")

Read the Full 1973 Agreement: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20691040>



Base 50037 5 72

The Current Situation

In Vietnam, the ceasefire would be implemented on the 28th of January 1973 at 08:00. The 08:00 deadline greatly favored the communist forces as they generally moved and attacked at night. In the hours before the ceasefire, the communists took control of numerous villages that had generally fallen under the control of Southern forces. The goal of the North in doing this was to take advantage of the freeze in conflict to gain control over more territory. The effect of this, if the conflict were to have frozen, would be that all major roads into Saigon would be blocked, even though the South has traditionally controlled them. In total, communist forces had taken control of over 400 towns that had traditionally fallen under Saigon's control. Before the 08:00 deadline, the communists' actions can be considered legal, however, they did violate the spirit of the agreement.

Not all of the land grabbing was done by the North, the South also participated, though to a lesser extent. In the hours leading up to the ceasefire, Saigon attempted to recapture positions along the Cua Viet River, located to the north of Vietnam, that the North had captured in the 1972 Easter Offensive. This battle resulted in heavy losses for Saigon and their forces eventually retreated.

Land Grabbing by the North caused the South to continue reclaiming the territory it had occupied on the 27th of January. The fighting failed to end after the 08:00 deadline with the North aiming to gain as much territory as possible, and the South aiming to revert to the previous status quo. This resulted in the South's continued bombing and shelling of Communist positions. One crucial factor in the continuation of fighting was that both sides held the idea that "if a clash occurred anywhere, it had the right to retaliate against the other side's bases, not just against its troops who were actually in violation of the truce" (Arnold 83). After the deadline for the ceasefire, one American advisor stated: "Ceasefire or no, operations are continuing much as before." "With the support of daily air strikes and heavy artillery barrages . . . they have finally begun to roll the VC back." "More VNAF [Vietnamese air force] [tactical airstrikes] strikes were flown in Lam Dong in the three days after the ceasefire that had been flown in the previous six months." "An unprecedented volume of artillery plus more VNAF support [than] ever witnessed in this area. . ."

(Arnold 79). It was also reported that South Vietnamese ammunition expenditures were higher than during the 1972 Spring Offensive (Arnold 79).

The Paris Peace Agreement set out the Four Party Joint Military Commission to enforce the Agreement. The Commission consisted of the United States, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and the Viet Cong. The Commission was ineffective in enforcing the ceasefire as it refused to take action until a clear demarcation could be made between regions under northern or southern control. But this demarcation could be delayed indefinitely making the body wholly ineffective in enforcing the ceasefire.

Major Parties Involved

Viet Cong

The Viet Cong, later known as National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF) was a South-based communist revolutionary force that worked closely with the northern government. The main goal of the Viet Cong was psychological control over South Vietnamese peasants, gaining control in villages, taxing the locals, and serving justice to its opponents. The Viet Cong never had any public leaders, with its operations being very secretive.

USSR

The USSR provided a large swath of aid in the form of a 70% increase in trade in 1959 and by 1969 became North Vietnam's most prolific funder. The USSR also supplied the North with strategic advice.

China

As a fellow communist nation, China provided essential aid to the communists in Vietnam. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) provided large portions of Chinese military resources to Hanoi in 1964 and 1965. However, this changed due to the cultural revolution (Mao Zedong's plan to renew the spirit of the communist revolution) wreaking havoc on the Chinese economy due to it alienating intellectuals and parts of the workforce. This led Chinese support for Vietnam to decrease in 1968 and 1969. The Chinese government also provided over 320mn Yuan and supplied guns and artillery to the North.

Timeline of Key Events

Date	Event
1859	France Starts its subjugation of Vietnam
May 19, 1941	Viet Minh Founded
October 1930	Indochinese Communist Party founded and Communist Rebellion
April 26, 1954	Geneva Peace Conference
1964	US Pacification Campaign Starts
1968	The total number of US troops in Vietnam reached 500000
January 20, 1969	Richard Nixon takes Office as President of the United States
October 1963	Kennedy proposes to withdraw from Vietnam
November 22, 1963	John F. Kennedy Assassinated
January 27, 1973	Paris Peace Treaty Signed

Possible Solutions

End the Northern Policy of Negotiating While Fighting

One of North Vietnam's main policies was that it would continue to fight during negotiations, this caused further tensions and made the value of northern promises worthless. A return to the negotiation table to iron out the kinks left in the Paris Agreements, where both sides hold a strict, internationally enforced ceasefire could bring hostilities to a peaceful end.

Peacekeepers

UN Peacekeepers could be brought onto the scene to observe territory held by both parties. However, the issue with using peacekeepers is that they are, as the name implies, peacekeepers, meaning for them to be effective, there must already be some form of peace. Another option could be the introduction of a foreign coalition under the United Nations flag that could enforce the Peace Accords. The issue with this is that it in essence violates the terms of the Paris Peace Agreement, as foreign troops would be reintroduced.

Supporting the South Vietnamese Government

Supporting the South within the terms of the Paris Accords could bolster a more equal balance of power between North and South Vietnam. This could prevent a further escalation of the conflict and establish a new equilibrium where peacekeeping operations could be implemented.

Bibliography

- Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet-Nam 20 July 1954. United States Governemnt Printing Office, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/KH-LA-VN_540720_GenevaAgreements.pdf. American Foreign Policy 1950-1955 Basic Documents Volumes I and II Department of State Publication 6446 General Foreign Policy Series 117. Accessed 30 Nov. 2023.
- Brötzel, Dieter. "French Economic Imperialism in China 1885-1904/1906." *Itinerario*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1999, pp. 52-61, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115300005428>.
- Clapson, Mark. "American Bombing of Civilians since 1945." *The Blitz Companion*, University of Westminster Press, 2019, pp. 147-72. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvvggx2r2.13>.
- Czyzak, John J., and Carl F. Salans. "The International Conference on Laos and the Geneva Agreement of 1962." *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1966, pp. 27-47.
- Devillers, Philippe. "The Paris Negotiations on Vietnam." *The World Today*, vol. 25, no. 8, 1969, pp. 339-50.
- Erskine, Hazel. "The Polls: Is War a Mistake?" *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 1, 1970, pp. 134-50.
- Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Volume I, Vietnam, 1964 - Office of the Historian. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v01/d209>. Accessed 15 Nov. 2023.
- Gaiduk, Ilya V. "Soviet Policy towards US Participation in the Vietnam War." *History*, vol. 81, no. 261, 1996, pp. 40-54.
- Grinter, Laurence E. "How They Lost: Doctrines, Strategies and Outcomes of the Vietnam War." *Asian Survey*, vol. 15, no. 12, 1975, pp. 1114-32. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643587>.
- Hirschman, Charles, et al. "Vietnamese Casualties During the American War: A New Estimate." *Population and Development Review*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1995, pp. 783-812. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2137774>.
- Isaacs, Arnold R. *Without Honor: Defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Jian, Chen. "China's Involvement in the Vietnam War, 1964-69." *The China Quarterly*, no. 142, 1995, pp. 356-87.
- Katz, Andrew Z. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Nixon Administration and the Pursuit of Peace with Honor in Vietnam." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1997, pp. 496-513.

Kimball, Jeffrey. "Russia's Vietnam War." *Reviews in American History*, edited by Ilya V. Gaiduk, vol. 25, no. 1, 1997, pp. 157-62.

Kissinger, Henry A. "The Viet Nam Negotiations." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 47, no. 2, 1969, pp. 211-34. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20039369>.

Marsot, Alain-Gerard. "The Crucial Year: Indochina 1946." *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1984, pp. 337-54.

Meng, Ng Shui, and Huynh Kim Khanh. "Vietnam: A Year of Peace." *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1976, pp. 423-44.

Opper, Marc. "The Vietnam War, 1960-1975." *People's Wars in China, Malaya, and Vietnam*, University of Michigan Press, 2020, pp. 205-34. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.11413902.13>.

---. "The Vietnam War, 1960-1975." *People's Wars in China, Malaya, and Vietnam*, University of Michigan Press, 2020, pp. 205-34. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.11413902.13>.

Rinaldo, Leandro. *A Summary of the Vietnam War (1957-1973)*. Text, 6 Nov. 2023.

Rolph, Hammond M. "The Viet Cong: Politics at Gunpoint." *Communist Affairs*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1966, pp. 3-13.

Sauvageot, Jean. "A Peace Denied: The United States, Vietnam and the Paris Agreements: Review Article." *Naval War College Review*, edited by Gareth Porter, vol. 29, no. 3, 1977, pp. 30-40.

Szulc, Tad. "How Kissinger Did It: Behind the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement." *Foreign Policy*, no. 15, 1974, pp. 21-69. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1147928>.

The Pentagon Papers. 1. Bacon Press, 1971.

Thornton, Richard C. "Soviet Strategy and the Vietnam War." *Asian Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1974, pp. 205-28.

"United States-Democratic Republic of Vietnam-Republic of Vietnam-Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam: Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam." *International Legal Materials*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1973, pp. 48-97.

Vietnam - French Colonization, Indochina, Unification | Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Vietnam/The-conquest-of-Vietnam-by-France>. Accessed 5 Dec. 2023.

"Vietnam War Timeline." HISTORY, 29 Mar. 2023, <https://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-timeline>.

Walli, R. L. "Vietnam: Prelude to Peace or Interlude in War?" *Social Scientist*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1973, pp. 3-12. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3516278>.

Walton, Jennifer. "The Tet Offensive: The Turning Point of the Vietnam

War." OAH Magazine of History, vol. 18, no. 5, 2004, pp. 45-51.

Watt, Alan. "The Geneva Agreements 1954 in Relation to Vietnam." The Australian Quarterly, vol. 39, no. 2, 1967, pp. 7-23. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20634125>.

Wikipedia Contributors. "Bao Ðai." Wikipedia, 5 Dec. 2023. Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=B%E1%BA%A3o_%C4%90%E1%BA%A1i&oldid=1188521210#Return_to_power_and_Indochina_War.