

## HIS 4720E: The Vietnam Wars: Between Decolonization and the Cold War



**Department of History  
The University of Western Ontario  
2013-2014**

**Mondays 6:00 – 8:00  
Room 3166 Stevenson Hall**



**Instructor:** Geoffrey Stewart  
**Office Hours:** TBA  
**Phone:** 519-661-2111 ext. 89268

**e-mail:** [gstewa4@uwo.ca](mailto:gstewa4@uwo.ca)  
**Office:** 2238 Lawson Hall

Scholarship on the Vietnam War has long been dominated by an American-centered body of literature that is inclined to view the conflict in Southeast Asia as the product of misapplied Cold War policies. Such a view tends to diminish the indigenous aspect of the various wars that were waged in Vietnam over that country's future. This upper level seminar addresses this shortcoming by exploring the Vietnam Wars from both a Vietnamese and western perspective, and considers these conflicts in the light of the two great forces that shaped the international system at the mid-point of the twentieth century: Decolonization and the Cold War.

The bulk of the students' grade will be derived from a major research papers students will write throughout the course of the year. Students will write a historiography paper in the first term which will assess the major literature on their essay topic. In the second term, students will focus on writing their research papers. In the last half of the second term, seminars will be devoted to student presentations on their paper in order to receive feedback from their peers. The final papers will be due in the last class.

**Outcomes:**

Upon completing the course, students will be able to:

- Identify and describe key figures, events and trends in Vietnam's Wars
- Identify and engage the main arguments in the historiography of the Vietnam War
- Place the events that have defined modern Vietnamese history in an international context
- Analyze and evaluate primary sources and place them in their historical context

**Required Textbooks:**

Mark Philip Bradley, *Vietnam at War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ISBN: 978-0-19-280349-8

**Course Requirements:**

Participation:	20%
Reading Assignments:	16%
Paper Outline:	4%
Historiography Paper:	20%
Research Paper:	40%

**Participation:**

Each week one student will lead the discussion on the readings for the week. That student should come to class prepared to spend 5 to 10 minutes introducing the readings. The introduction should identify the authors of the readings and topics for discussion such as the arguments and the major themes that are addressed in the readings. To facilitate the discussion each presenter is encouraged to come with a list of initial questions or talking points. The introduction **should not be** a reiteration or summary of the readings. The assumption is that all students will have done the readings, because the remaining students are expected to come prepared to discuss the assigned readings in a thoughtful and critical manner, relating each reading to some of the larger themes of the course.

Beginning **March 3** students will give a presentation on the work done on their papers to date. The rest of the class will offer constructive feedback.

The textbook will be available at the University of Western Ontario Bookstore and the additional course readings will be available either on reserve at the Weldon Library or through Owl.

**Reading Assignment:**

Students are expected to provide a brief (2 to 3 double-spaced page) précis of the readings that briefly summarizes their main points and argument, and, offers any critique the student may have. Students are required to hand in a minimum of 4 assignments. If students choose to complete more than 4 assignments only the best 4 grades will be recorded. **Assignments are only to be handed-in in class.**

**The Final Reading Assignment will be assigned on February 10 and is due on February 24. Late assignments will not be accepted.**

**Research Paper and Outline**

Students will write a 30 page, double-spaced research paper on a topic of their choosing that is relevant to the course. Students are expected to pass in a brief outline on **October 21**; after this date students will not be able to change their essay topics. The **outline** should be at least one page in length (excluding the preliminary bibliography) and contain a brief description of the essay topic, a **potential** thesis statement, what they intend to explore and how they intend to explore it followed by a preliminary bibliography on the following page(s). The **paper** should draw upon a minimum of 20 secondary sources **in addition to** primary source material. **The Research Paper is due in class on April 7.**

**Historiography Paper**

Students will write an 8-10 page historiography paper assessing the literature on their topic. The historiography paper should draw upon a minimum of 15 secondary sources. It is due in class on **December 2.**

**Statement on Plagiarism:**

*It shall be an offence for a student to commit plagiarism.*

Plagiarism: “The act or an instance of copying or stealing another’s words or ideas and attributing them as one’s own.” Excerpted from Black’s Law Dictionary, West Group, 1999, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., p. 1170. (*From the Academic Handbook*)

***This includes submitting a paper you have written or intend to write for another class.***

**Seminar Schedule:**

**TERM 1**

**September 9: Introduction to the Course**

**September 16: Colonial Vietnam and the Origins of Vietnamese Nationalism**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, Chapter 1 **Course Textbook**

Truong Buu Lam, "Vietnamese Nationalism: The Link with the Past," in *Patterns of Vietnamese Response to Foreign Intervention: 1858-1900* (New Haven, CN: Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University, 1967), 1-45. **Available on Owl**

William Duiker, "Pham Boi Chau: Asian Revolutionary in a Changing World" *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1971, 77-88 **Available on Owl**

David G. Marr, Chapter 7: "Harmony and Struggle," *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920-1945* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1981) **E-Book Available through Weldon Library Website**

**September 23: The Vietnamese Struggle for Independence**

Peter Zinoman, "Colonial Prisons and Anti-colonial Resistance in French Indochina: The Thai Nguyen Rebellion, 1917" *Modern Asian Studies* 34(1), 57-98 **Available on Owl**

William Duiker, "The Revolutionary Youth League in Vietnam," *The China Quarterly*, 1972, 475-499 **Available on Owl**

William Duiker, Chapter 4 "Prelude to Revolt" and Chapter 5 "The Days of August" in *The Communist Road to Power* 2d ed. (Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1996) **Course Reserve**

**September 30: Decolonization**

Odd Arne Westad, Chapter 3: “The Revolutionaries: Anticolonial Politics and Transformations,” *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) **Available on Owl**

Paul H. Kratoska, “Dimensions of Decolonization,” in *The Transformation of Southeast Asia: International Perspectives on Decolonization* (London: ME Sharpe, 2003) **Available on Owl**

Hugues Tertrais, “France and the Associated States of Indochina, 1945-1955,” in *The Transformation of Southeast Asia: International Perspectives on Decolonization* (London: ME Sharpe, 2003) **Available on Owl**

Stein Tonnessen, “National Divisions in Indochina’s Decolonization,” in *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then*, ed. Praenjit Duara, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 253-277 **E-Book Available through Weldon Library Website**

**October 7: America in the World**

Odd Arne Westad, Chapter 1: “The Empire of Liberty: American Ideology and Foreign Interventions,” *The Global Cold War* **Available on Owl**

Michael E. Latham, Chapter 2: “American Social Science, Modernization Theory, and the Cold War,” *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and “Nation Building” in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000) **Available on Owl**

Frank Schumacher, “The United States: Empire as a Way of Life?” in Robert Aldrich (ed.) *The Age of Empires* (London, 2007): 278-303 **Course Reserve**

**October 14: Thanksgiving – No Class**

**October 21: America Encounters Vietnam**

Odd Arne Westad, Chapter 4: “Creating the Third World: The United States Confronts Revolutions,” *The Global Cold War* **Available on Owl**

Mark Bradley, “Franklin Roosevelt, Trusteeship, and US Exceptionalism: Reconsidering the American Vision of Postcolonial Vietnam,” in *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, eds. Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002) **Course Reserve**

Anne Foster, “Before the War: Legacies from the Early Twentieth Century in United States-Vietnam Relations,” in *A Companion to the Vietnam War* **Course Reserve**

Andrew Rotter, Chapter 1: “The Domestic and Foreign Contexts of the United States’ Southeast Asian Policy, 1948-1949” in *Path to Vietnam: Origins of the American Commitment to Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987) **Available on Owl**

*Paper Outlines Due*

**October 28: The First Indochina War**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, Chapter 2 (pp.41-51) **Course Textbook**

Martin Thomas, “French Imperial reconstruction and the Development of the Indochina War, 1945-1950,” in *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*, eds. Fredrik Logevall and Mark Atwood Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007) **Available on Owl**

William Duiker, “Ho Chi Minh and the Strategy of People’s War” in *The First Vietnam War* **Available on Owl**

**November 4: The First Indochina War in an International Context**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, Chapter 2 (pp.51-74) **Course Textbook**

Mark Atwood Lawrence, “Explaining the Early Decisions: The United States and the French War, 1945-1954,” in *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars: Local, National, and Transnational Perspectives*, eds. Mark Philip Bradley and Marilyn B. Young (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) **Available on Owl**

Chen Jian, “China and the Indochina Settlement at the Geneva Conference of 1954,” in *The First Vietnam War* **Available on Owl**

John Prados, “Assessing Dien Bien Phu,” in *The First Vietnam War* **Available on Owl**

**November 11: The Two Vietnams, Part 1: Ho Chi Minh's Democratic Republic of Vietnam**

Sophie Quinn-Judge, "Through a Glass Darkly: Reading the History of the Vietnamese Communist Party," in *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars* **Available on Owl**

William Duiker, Chapter 14: "Between Two Wars," in *Ho Chi Minh: A Life*, (New York: Theira, 2000), 462-514 **Available on Owl**

Pierre Asselin, "Le Duan and the Creation of an Independent Vietnamese State," *Journal of American East-Asian Relations* 10(1-2) (Spring-Summer 2001) **Available on Owl**

**November 18: The Two Vietnams, Part 2: Ngo Dinh Diem's Republic of Vietnam**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, Chapter 3 (pp.77-104) **Course Textbook**

Edward Miller, "Vision, Power and Agency: The Ascent of Ngo Dinh Diem," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 35(3), 2004, 433-458 **Available on Owl**

Geoffrey C. Stewart, "Hearts, Minds and Công Dân Vụ: The Special Commissariat for Civic Action and Nation-Building in Diem's Vietnam, 1955-1957," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 6(3) (Fall 2011) **Available on Owl**

David Anderson, Chapter 6: "The Substance and Subterfuge of Nation Building," in *Trapped by Success: The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam, 1953-1961* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991) **Available on Owl**

**November 25: Escalation**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, Chapter 3 (pp.104-113) **Course Textbook**

David H. Hunt, Chapter 1: "A Social History of the Vietnam War" and Chapter 3: "The Peasant Revolt of 1959-1960" in *Vietnam's Southern Revolution: From Peasant Insurrection to Total War*, (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008) **Available on Owl**

Ang Cheng Guan, "The Vietnam War, 1962-64: The Vietnamese Communist Perspective," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35(4), 601-618 **Available on Owl**

**December 2: Choosing War**

Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*, Chapter: 12 “Choosing War” (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999) **Available on Owl**

Gareth Porter, “Explaining the Vietnam War: Dominant and Contending Paradigms,” in *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars* **Available on Owl**

William J. Duiker, “Hanoi’s Response to American Policy, 1961-1965: Crossed Signals?” in *Vietnam: The Early Decisions*, eds. Lloyd C. Gardner and Ted Gittinger (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997) **Available on Owl**

*Historiography Papers Due*

**TERM 2**

**January 6: The American War**

Andrew Rotter, “Chronicle of a War Foretold,” in *The First Vietnam War* **Available on Owl**

George C. Herring, “On the Tiger’s Back: The United States at War, 1965-1967” in *America’s Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975* 3d ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1996) **Available on Owl**

**And one of:**

Lloyd C. Gardner, “The Last Casualty?: Richard Nixon and the End of the Vietnam War, 1969-75,” *Companion to the Vietnam War*, 229-259 **Course Reserve**

**or**

Carolyn Eisenberg, “Remembering Nixon’s War,” *Companion to the Vietnam War*, 260-282 **Course Reserve**



**January 13: Vietnam's War**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, Chapter 4 **Course Textbook**

Pierre Asselin, "Hanoi and the Americanization of the War in Vietnam: New Evidence from Vietnam," *Pacific Historical Review* 74(3) (August 2005), 427-439

**Available on Owl**

**And one of:**

Heonik Kwon, Co So Cach Mang and the Social Network of War, *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars* **Available on Owl**

**or**

David Hunt, Taking Notice of the Everyday, *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars* **Available on Owl**

**January 20: America's War at Home**

Daniel Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," *The Journal of Politics* 46(1), (February 1984), 2-24  
**Available on Owl**

Barbara Tischler, "The Antiwar Movement," *Companion to the Vietnam War*, 384-402  
**Course Reserve**

James Max Fendrich, "The Forgotten Movement: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement," *Sociological Inquiry* 73(3), (August 2003), 338-358 **Available on Owl**

Robert J. McMahon, "SHAFR Presidential Address: Contested Memory: The Vietnam War and American Society 1975-2001" *Diplomatic History* 26(2) (Spring 2002): 159-184  
**Available on Owl**

**January 27: America's "Allies"**

Jonathan Colman and J.J. Widén, "The Johnson Administration and the Recruitment of Allies in Vietnam, 1964-1968," *History* 94(316) (October 2009): 483-504 **Available on Owl**

Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, "In the Service of Pharaoh?: The United States and the Deployment of Korean Troops in Vietnam, 1965-1968," *Pacific Historical Review* 68(3) (August 1999): 425-449 **Available on Owl**

David McCraw, "Reluctant Ally: New Zealand's Entry into the Vietnam War," *New Zealand Journal of History* 15(1) (April 1981): 49-61 **Available on Owl**

Peter Edwards, "The Strategic Concerns of a Regional Power: Australia's Involvement in the Vietnam War," in Andreas W. Daum, Lloyd C. Gardner, Wilfried Mausbach (eds.) *America, the Vietnam War, and the World: Comparative and International Perspectives* (Cambridge 2003): 221-235 **Course Reserve**

**February 3: Ending the War**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, 5 **Course Textbook**

Lien T Hang, "Cold War Contradictions," in *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars* **Available on Owl**

William S. Turley, Chapter 7: "The Road to Paris," in *The Second Indochina War: A Concise Political and Military History*, 2d ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009) **E-Book Available through Weldon Library Website**

Lorenz M. Lüthi, "Beyond Betrayal: Beijing, Moscow, and the Paris Negotiations, 1971-1973." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 11:1 (Winter 2009), pp. 57-107 **Available on Owl**

**February 10: Casualties of War: Laos and Cambodia**

Seth Jacobs, "'No Place to Fight a War': Laos and the Evolution of U.S. Policy toward Vietnam, 1954-1963," in *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars* **Available on Owl**

Alfred W. McCoy, "America's Secret Wars in Laos, 1955-75," in *A Companion to the Vietnam War* **Available on Owl**

Ben Kiernan, "The Impact on Cambodia of the U.S. Intervention in Vietnam," in *The Vietnam War: Vietnamese and American Perspectives*, eds. Jayne S. Werner and Luu Doan Huynh (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1993) **Available on Owl**

R.B. Smith, "The International Setting of the Cambodia Crisis, 1969-1970," *The International History Review* 18(2) (May, 1996), 303-335 **Available on Owl**

***Final Reading Assignment Assigned***

**February 17: No Class - Reading Week**

**February 24: Peace with Honour?**

Bradley, *Vietnam at War*, Coda **Course Textbook**

Brigham, Chapter 7: “The Ceaseless Fire, 1973-1975” and Epilogue in *Guerrilla Diplomacy Available on Owl*

Ngo Vinh Long, “Post-Paris Agreement Struggles and the Fall of Saigon,” in *The Vietnam War Available on Owl*

William S. Turley, Chapter 8: “After the Americans,” in *The Second Indochina War E-Book Available through Weldon Library Website*

***Final Reading Assignment Due***

**March 3: Student Presentations**

**March 10: Student Presentations**

**March 17: Student Presentations**

**March 24: Student Presentations**

**March 31: Student Presentations**

**April 7: Papers Due**

## **SUPPORT SERVICES**

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western <http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

*Please contact the course instructor if you require material in an alternate format or if you require any other arrangements to make this course more accessible to you. You may also wish to contact Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) at 661-2111 x 82147 for any specific question regarding an accommodation.*

## THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

### PLAGIARISM

Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offense (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>).

The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of Publication and page number. Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writer's ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source; these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction, your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases, in their suspension from the University.

#### MEDICAL ACCOMMODATION

The University recognizes that a student's ability to meet his/her academic responsibilities may, on occasion, be impaired by medical illness. Please go to [https://studentservices.uwo.ca/secure/medical\\_accommodations\\_link\\_for\\_OOR.pdf](https://studentservices.uwo.ca/secure/medical_accommodations_link_for_OOR.pdf) to read about the University's policy on medical accommodation. Please go to <http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/medicalform.pdf> to download the necessary form. In the event of illness, you should contact Academic Counselling as soon as possible. The Academic Counsellors will determine, in consultation with the student, whether or not accommodation is warranted. They will subsequently contact the instructors in the relevant courses about the accommodation. Once a decision has been made about accommodation, the student should contact his/her instructors to determine a new due date for term tests, assignments, and exams.

If you have any further questions or concerns please contact, Rebecca Dashford, Undergraduate Program Advisor, Department of History, 519-661-2111 x84962 or [rdashfo@uwo.ca](mailto:rdashfo@uwo.ca)