Bao Dai Solution and the Formation of the “National Government of Vietnam” During the Indochina War (1945-1954)

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Abstract

After World War II, Vietnam declared independence from France and Japan following the victory of the resistance movement for independence led by the Viet Minh. However, with the regulations at the Yalta conference, France returned to wage war to force Vietnam and the entire Indochina peninsula to fall under French rule as before. In Vietnam, France refused to cooperate with Viet Minh because it believed that this organization was Communist. France tried every way to set up a “puppet” government and they turned to Bao Dai, an Emperor who had just been overthrown in August 1945. The Bao Dai solution was proposed by France to maintain colonialism in Vietnam. This solution aims to establish a “National Government of Vietnam” under French influence, maintaining French interests and influence. This research article aims to clarify the puppet nature of the “National Government of Vietnam” and show that it had an important influence on the situation in Vietnam during the Indochina War (1945-1954). Methods of exploiting historical documents, logical methods and international relations research methods are used to clarify the content of the research article.

Keywords: Vietnam, France, colonialism, Bao Dai solution, National Government of Vietnam

1. Introduction

In 1858, France invaded Vietnam, and in 1884 completed the invasion and forced Vietnam to sign the Patenotre peace treaty. Since then, Vietnam has become a French colony, and the Nguyen Dynasty in Vietnam has become a “puppet” to enforce French power in Vietnam (Cooper, 2001). The Vietnamese people over many generations have repeatedly organized resistance wars against the French colonialists. By World War II, the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Viet Minh led by Ho Chi Minh gained independence and declared the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. However, soon after, on September 23, 1945, the French colonialists returned to attack Vietnam with the ambition to reestablish their rule in Indochina and Vietnam. The Indochina War broke out, this war mainly took place in Vietnam with the main participants being the Viet Minh and
the French army. The war was fierce and the French government planned to establish a “puppet”
government through which it could control Vietnam.

France turned to a king who resigned in August 1945, Bao Dai, to find a political solution, also
known as the “Bao Dai Solution”. This solution aims to establish the "National Government of

The history of the Indochina war cannot mention this issue, it is an important content that
demonstrates France's ambition in Vietnam. The consequence of this French policy also left behind a
persistent problem, which was the division of Vietnam, contributing to the Vietnam War (1954-1975)
between Vietnam and the United States, one of the the fiercest war of the twentieth century.

2. Literature Review

The “Bao Dai Solution” and the formation of the “National Government of Vietnam” were an
important content in the French colonial war in Indochina. Historical issues and international
relations in this historical content have made the study of Vietnamese history during this period truly
complex but also fascinating. It has been mentioned in prominent research articles by (Baechler,
1971); (Cooper, 2001); (Cuc, D T T & D T Ng Quang & D Q Hai, 2017); (Herring, 2004); (Hess, 1978),
(LePage, J. M., & Tenenbaum, 2011); (Jian, 1993); Waite, 2012). Studies directly related to this content
can be mentioned as (Tue & Hoang, 2013); (Varga, 2009); (Szalontai, 2018). These studies show that
diverse aspects of research content have received necessary attention over a long period of time. The
authors have provided initial comments on the impacts of this historical issue on the historical
process of Indochina. It also refers to the “legitimacy” of this government in the context of the
existence of another government controlled by Viet Minh in Viet Bac.

Therefore, additional research to clarify issu es related to the "Bao Dai Solution" and the
formation of a pro-French government in the period from 1945 to 1954 will be really useful for
research about Vietnamese history and contribute historical information and useful comments to the
history of international relations in Indochina during a turbulent historical period.

3. Methodology

The paper aims to study Bao Dai solution and the formation of the “National Government of
Vietnam” during the Indochina War (1945-1954). To accomplish this objective, the paper uses
research methods in international relations to analyze problems of research paper. In addition to
reviewing the studies and evaluations of previous scholars, the authors use a comparative approach to
evaluate the practical interaction between theory and data. The authors believe that the data is an
important basis for accurately assessing the situation and context of Bao Dai Solution and the
formation of the “National Government of Vietnam” during the Indochina War (1945-1954)

4. Vietnam after September 2, 1945

After the event of Ho Chi Minh reading the “Declaration of Independence” on September 2, 1945 in
Vietnam, Vietnam declared itself an independent country, no longer a colony of the French
colonialists, but lacked recognition from international. At that time, south of the 16th parallel (South
of Vietnam), the situation became increasingly complicated as the French colonialists increasingly
revealed their intention to return to invade Vietnam. On August 17, 1945, the French National
Defense Committee decided to establish a French Expeditionary Force in Asia to send to Indochina.
General Leclerc was appointed General Commander of French forces in Asia, Admiral D’Argenlieu
was appointed High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the French Navy in Indochina, the
Action Committee for the Liberation of Indochina was reformed into the Committee for the
Liberation of Indochina. The Indochina Committee was chaired by General De Gaulle. Previously,
from August 13 to August 22, 1945, Messmer, in the name of Commissioner of the French Republic in
Tonkin, parachuted into the North of Vietnam to contact remnants of soldiers, prisoners of war, overseas French and other forces. The number of pro-French Vietnamese people aimed to restore the governing apparatus (LePage, J. M., & Tenenbaum, 2011).

On August 22, 1945, J.Sainteny along with a number of French officers from Kunming (China) followed the first delegation of the US Strategic Intelligence Agency (OSS) headed by A.Paggi to Hanoi. At this time, in the Northern Indochina region from the 16th parallel outward, there were nearly 30,000 French people, of whom 20,000 were arrested and concentrated by the Japanese army in Hanoi on March 9, 1945. After the Japanese army surrendered, the remaining French troops in Central Laos and Lower Laos were gathered and occupied a number of high points on roads 7, 8, 9, 12 and along the Vietnam - Laos border as a stepping stone to prepare for the North Central provinces of Vietnam.

In September 1945, France implemented a plan to rely on the British army to quickly occupy the South, using it as a springboard to conquer the remaining parts of Indochina, establishing the “Autonomous Cochinchina Government”, re-establishing French Indochina Federation. Besides, in the South of Vietnam, during this period, there were also other sects and parties established such as the Cao Dai religion, Hoa Hao religion and the Binh Xuyen military force.

On September 2, 1945, while the people of Saigon were rallying to celebrate Independence Day, some French soldiers hiding in Notre Dame Cathedral secretly shot at the crowd, killing 47 people and injuring many others. On September 4, 1945, General Gracey was the Commander of the 20th Division of the Royal British Army, at this time the Head of the Allied Military Mission, using the excuse that order in Saigon was not guaranteed, issue orders to the Japanese army (still in Vietnam and not yet back in Japan) transfer 7 military battalions from Southern provinces to Saigon.

On September 12, 1945, a Brigade of the 20th Division of the British Royal Army arrived in Vietnam with the mission of disarming the Japanese army. After that, British troops blatantly disarmed Japanese troops to equip French prisoners of war to replace Japanese troops guarding a number of positions in Saigon.

On September 14, General Gracey issued a notice banning Vietnamese people from carrying weapons and protesting. On September 15, Gracey again ordered the disarming of the Vietnamese armed forces. On September 19, the French side declared: “The Viet Minh does not represent the Vietnamese people and does not have the ability to maintain order, that the French army has the task of restoring order, and after stabilization will establish consistent with De Gaulle’s March 24, 1945 statement on the Indochina issue” (Cuc, D T T & D T Ng Quang & D Q Hai, 2017).

Thus, in the name of representing the Allied forces tasked with disarming the Japanese army south of the 16th parallel, the British army cleared the way for the French colonialists to return to invade Vietnam. Therefore, taking advantage of the above situation, figures such as Nguyen Van Xuan, Le Van Hoach, Nguyen Van Thinh... plotted against the revolutionary government and supported French plans in Vietnam.

5. Impacts from Major Powers on Vietnam’s Situation

The Yalta Conference took place from February 4 to February 12, 1945 with the participation of the Soviet Union, America, and Britain with leaders J.Stalin, F.Roosevelt and W.Churchill competing and dividing areas of influence in the world. In Europe, the Central and Eastern countries of Europe were within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, and the Western and Southern countries of Europe were within the sphere of influence of Britain and the United States.

Regarding Germany, the Soviet Union would occupy East Germany and East Berlin. American, British, and French troops occupied West Germany and West Berlin. Meanwhile, Austria and Finland will enjoy neutral status. In Asia, the Conference accepted the Soviet Union’s conditions for participating in the war to destroy the Japanese army, the terms stated:

1. Defend, maintain and recognize Mongolia’s independence.
2. Return to the Soviet Union the rights that Russia lost after the war between Russia and Japan
(1904 - 1905) such as returning the south of Xakhalin Island and the Curin Islands...

3. After the Japanese army surrendered, the Allied army (mainly the US army) would occupy and manage Japan.

4. China will reclaim Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and Manchuria previously occupied by Japan. The Kuomintang of China and the Communist Party of China will conduct consultations to establish a coalition government. The Soviet Union and the United States have mutual interests in China.

5. The Korean Peninsula will be controlled by Soviet and American troops north and south of the 38th parallel. After liberation, it will become an independent, unified country.

6. The rest of Asia (Southeast Asia, West Asia, South Asia...) still falls under the traditional sphere of influence of Western countries such as England, France...

This is also the reason why the French colonialists used the excuse to return to invade Vietnam on September 23, 1945, because according to the content of the Yalta Conference, the rest of Asia included Southeast Asia, West Asia, South Asia... still belong to the traditional sphere of influence of Western countries (Baechler, J. 1971). Therefore, the Yalta Conference allowed France to still have certain benefits and influences on Indochina in general and Vietnam in particular.


Bao Dai was the 13th king of the Nguyen Dynasty in Vietnam. On August 30, 1945, he abdicated, ending the existence of the monarchy for thousands of years in Vietnam. During the resignation ceremony, he said, “I want to be a citizen of an independent country, rather than the King of a slave country” (Bao Dai, 1990). After resigning, Bao Dai agreed to go to Hanoi to become a senior advisor to the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. From a king, he became an effective assistant to Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Viet Minh and head of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

After going to Hanoi to take office, on September 7, 1945, journalists came to interview Bao Dai at his home. He spoke very honestly and confidently: “At first when attending the ceremony, I was worried. But after seeing the special treatment from government representatives, I no longer have to worry and I am also happy to see that my resignation as Emperor is also beneficial for the country. After handing over power, I also wanted to immediately leave the Royal Palace to avoid any suspicion” (Bao Dai, 1990).

On March 7, 1946, one day after signing the "Preliminary Agreement" between Vietnam and France, Bao Dai was always next to President Ho Chi Minh to officially receive French delegate J. Sainteny and pay a diplomatic visit to Mr. J. Sainteny at the headquarters of the French army.

On March 8, 1946, Ho Chi Minh decided to send a mission to Chongqing (China) and at the same time send a friendly delegation to France. On March 11, 1946, Ho Chi Minh assigned Bao Dai to lead the Vietnamese delegation to Chongqing (China). But unexpectedly, Bao Dai stayed in Kunming, then on September 15, 1946, Bao Dai flew to Hong Kong and stayed there, betraying Ho Chi Minh's government (Jian, 1993).

On June 1, 1946, France established in Saigon the "Government of the Republic of Cochinchina", separating the South of Vietnam from the unified Vietnam, in order to create a fait accompli before the Fontainebleau Conference between France and The Democratic Republic of Vietnam opened to discuss the unification of Vietnam.

During the Fontainebleau Conference, Admiral D’Argenlieu convened the "Indochina Congress" (from August 1 to August 13, 1946) including delegations from Cambodia, Laos, Cochinchina and Central Highlands minorities to created the "Indochina Federation", in which Cochinchina was an "autonomous country". Therefore, the above actions clearly led to the breakdown of the Fontainebleau Conference and the cancellation of the Vietnam-France negotiations.

Although the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam took concessional steps through the "Preliminary Agreement" on March 6, 1946 and the "Temporary Agreement" on
September 14, 1946, the French colonialists still wanted to cause war to reestablish colonial rule in Vietnam. On December 19, 1946, Vietnam went to war with France. President Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "We would rather sacrifice everything than lose our country, definitely refuse to be slaves".

In the first half of 1947, the French army could not resolve the war with the Viet Minh. The French side recalled Admiral D'Argenlieu to replace Bollaer to find a political solution in addition to continuing to attack militarily. On April 1, 1947, Bollaert arrived in Saigon. He immediately sent his personal advisor, Paul Mus (Professor of Indochina University), to poll President Ho Chi Minh's opinion. On May 12, 1947, Paul Mus was received by President Ho Chi Minh and Minister Hoang Minh Giam in Thai Nguyen. Next, Paul Mus read the conditions of the French government:

1. Immediately stop all acts of war, terrorism and propaganda against France
2. Surrender weapons.
3. Accept freedom of movement for French troops throughout the territory under Viet Minh control
4. Return prisoners of war

And of course the Viet Minh side did not agree to Paul Mus's unreasonable terms. That reality has caused Bollaert to accelerate the implementation of the "Bao Dai solution". Therefore, under the pretext of not being able to convince the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to accept France's conditions, on September 10, Bollaert gave an important speech in Ha Dong, stating France's stance on the issue of "Reconciliation" in Vietnam. Peace can only be restored if it is the work of a single political party", implying the opening of negotiations with non-communist political forces (collectively referred to as the "National" group) whose political choice Bao Dai was then in Hong Kong.

Therefore, at this time, Bao Dai was chosen by France and found every way to have Bao Dai side with France to quickly build the "National Government of Vietnam" within the French "Bao Dai solution" strategy. It can be seen that "Before and after, France still chose Bao Dai as a political card because it thought he could be the "glue" that tied the forces in non-communist Vietnam into a unified bloc, serving the interests of France. France always kept in touch with Bao Dai in Hong Kong and coordinated activities to create a fake "government" and "national front". From there, negotiations were conducted with Bao Dai on Vietnam's sovereignty and independence".

Receiving a signal from the French side, Vietnamese reactionary forces in China hastily gathered the “United National Front” to speak out in support of the "Bao Dai Solution". Bollaert sent Ambassador Cousseau, who was working at the Hong Kong Consulate, to meet, explore and persuade Bao Dai. At first, Bao Dai was hesitant and hesitant, but eventually leaned towards the French. Because Bao Dai lived for more than half a year in the capital Hanoi, he clearly knew the determination to protect the independence and freedom of the Viet Minh, the true representatives of Vietnam. But for Bao Dai, the only choice was to accept the status of a “puppet” king under the French colonialists "receiving personal benefits and large subsidies" (Tue, C N & Hoang, 2013).

On July 5, 1947, Bao Dai replied to Union Francaise newspaper: “If all Vietnamese people trust me, my presence can contribute to bringing about the relationship between the Vietnamese people and the French, I will happily return to my country. I neither support the Viet Minh nor am I against the Viet Minh. I don't follow any party. Peace will come quickly, if the French people understand that our national spirit is now the same as it was ten years ago” (Bao Dai, 1990). After that, Bao Dai sent Tran Van Tuyen back to the country to survey public opinion. On September 18, Bao Dai announced from Hong Kong that he was "ready to contact France".

On December 6, 1947, after a period of mutual exploration, Bao Dai met Bollaert on the cruiser Duguay-Trouin in Ha Long Bay. Bao Dai initialed the "Joint Communiqué" prepared by France but refused to sign the Institutional Regulations because, according to Bao Dai: "the implemented institutional version is unacceptable and restrictive to Vietnam's sovereignty" (Bao Dai, 1990). After that, Bao Dai left for Geneva. Here, Bao Dai met Bollaert at the Bergues Hotel in Geneva (Switzerland), then the two met at Saint-Germain in the suburbs of Paris (France). On May 23, 1948, France accepted Bao Dai's proposal to establish the "Provisional Central Government of Vietnam"
with Nguyen Van Xuan as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense.

**Ha Long Agreement**

On June 5, 1948, the second meeting in Ha Long Bay led to the signing of a Joint Declaration between Bollaert and Nguyen Van Xuan in the presence of Bao Dai. The content of the Ha Long Agreement states: “France recognizes the independence of Vietnam and the right of this country to freely carry out its unification; Vietnam joins the French Union as an associated country; Vietnam respects the rights and interests of French citizens [...]”.

Regarding the Ha Long Bay Agreement signed on June 5, 1948, Bao Dai said: “I am quite satisfied. Of course, there is no such thing as complete satisfaction and in fact there is no such thing as forever. But I achieved what the Viet Minh were denied. The consistent things were noted. Furthermore, the Nguyen Van Xuan government is laying the foundation for implementation. I have eliminated a burden of completion, and kept the freedom of action, saving it for the future” (Bao Dai, 1990).

However, the Ha Long Joint Declaration met negative reactions in both Paris and Saigon. French Foreign Minister Paul Coste Floret told the National Assembly a warning: “Bollaert has left Cochinchina, which is part of France, and is forced to keep diplomacy and defense issues for the entire Union, according to the French Association, Vietnam’s armed forces are only focused on police forces to maintain internal security and there can be no changes in the regulations of Cochinchina without a decision of the French National Assembly” (Varga, 2009).

Therefore, the above statement by Paul Coste Floret means that France still advocates not returning Bao Dai’s Cochinchina lands and diplomatic and military rights. Bao Dai lamented: “When that declaration reached Saigon, it was a disaster. We no longer have the position of 1945, but return to the treaty of 1884...” (Bao Dai, 1990) that is, returning to the treaty establishing French protection rights in Vietnam - the Patenotre Treaty.

In addition, US intelligence officer L.A. Patti commented on this event as follows: “This time the agreement has been "supplemented" and France "solemnly recognized Vietnam's independence" but especially “They only retain control of foreign affairs and the military, and the transfer of other Government functions will be resolved in later negotiations. In fact, Vietnamese people are not given any power” (Hess, G. R, 1978). Therefore, this proves that France still does not want to give up Vietnam, the recognition of "independence" in the Ha Long Bay Agreement is still ambiguous and France tries to delay to keep Bao Dai as "compensator" to implement the "Bao Dai solution” plan.

As for President Ho Chi Minh, he declared: “Our government and people hope that (Vinh Thuy) Bao Dai will not take actions contrary to his oath before the nation and the people of Vietnam, contrary to his wishes.” hopes of the Vietnamese people. And warned Bao Dai, “If he is willing to sell the country, he will be accused of betraying the country” (Cuc, D T T & D T Ng Quang & D Q Hai, 2017).

Thus, the ratification of the Ha Long Bay Agreement also encountered difficulties, it was not resolved until August 1948 because France did not want to implement the signed terms, especially the terms on unification of Vietnam. France’s important goal is to have Bao Dai head the Government to dictate the so-called "National Government of Vietnam”. Therefore, France wants to move faster so that Bao Dai can quickly return home to carry out his duties of implementing the "National Government of Vietnam". It is said to be independent, but the French army is still occupying and ruling. It is said to be unified, but Cochinchina has not yet been returned to Vietnam, so Bao Dai still does not agree to return home to implement the Ha Long Bay Agreement.

**6.1 Elysee Agreement**

Due to the failure to persuade Bao Dai to return to Indochina without further concessions, Bollaert was recalled to France and Léon Pignon was sent to Indochina on October 20, 1948. After taking office, Léon Pignon went to Cannes to meet Bao Dai but could not convince Bao Dai. The French government could not make concessions, so Léon Pignon could do nothing else. A few days later, Bao Dai was invited by French President Vincent Auriol to visit the Élysée Palace and attend a party at the Rambouillet Palace. The conversation between Vincent Auriol and Bao Dai took place and Vincent
Auriol's side wanted Bao Dai to quickly return to Vietnam to carry out his duties. Bao Dai continued to refuse "I will return to Vietnam when I think at the most opportune time, at any rate not before France has returned unity to my country" (Bao Dai, 1990).

In 1948 - 1949, the world situation changed and changed very quickly. The resistance war of the Vietnamese people led by the Viet Minh has developed strongly on all fronts, including in areas occupied by the enemy. The victory of the campaign to protect the resistance base in Viet Bac marked an important turning point in the war. Meanwhile, with the birth of the People's Republic of China (October 1, 1949) led by Mao Zedong's leadership made America fear the influence of communism in the Asian region (Yang, 2002).

At this time, the "Cold War" situation took place clearly. The formation of the two regions of Eastern Europe and Western Europe, East Germany and West Germany, the emergence of the two states of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, the two governments of the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party in China. Even the war in Vietnam could not escape this general spiral.

Therefore, the US did not stand aside from the initial "neutrality" policy, it switched to agreeing with and supporting France. The US urged and sought to force France to increase Bao Dai's rights and at the same step by step intervene deeply into Indochina.

In Indochina, the battlefield situation became increasingly fierce. The French government is increasingly under heavier pressure from the US.

Therefore, after a period of negotiations, the French Government had to lower the conditions and the two sides finally came to an Agreement signed by French President Vincent Auriol with Bao Dai at the Élysée Palace on March 8, 1949, called the "Élysée Agreement".

According to this Agreement, France solemnly recognizes Vietnam's independence and commits to recognizing Vietnam's unity when the referendum is carried out.

The Élysée Agreement includes three main documents: Letter from French President Vincent Auriol to Bao Dai on the Regulations for Vietnam, Letter from Bao Dai agreeing to the contents of the Regulations proposed by France and Reply letter from the President of France.

Thus, it can be seen that from the Ha Long Agreement to the Élysée Agreement, France "respectfully confirms the independence and unity" of Vietnam with some powers in various aspects but is bound by many conditions. about unity, about military and diplomacy, about domestic politics and finance, about education and culture. The Élysée Agreement did not bring true independence in all its fullness.

Responding to a telephonic interview with the National Daily (China) about the Élysée Agreement between French President Vincent Auriol and Bao Dai in March 1949, President Ho Chi Minh (the true leader of Vietnam) declared: "For Vietnam, it is just a piece of paper. That unity and independence fools no one. Even the French people and world public opinion have understood and denounced that. Only when the French colonial army completely withdraws from Vietnam will there be unity and independence. Vinh Thuy (Bao Dai) worked as a lackey for the colonialists and was a traitor to the country" (Hess, G. R, 1978).

On April 28, 1949, Bao Dai returned to Vietnam to live in Da Lat. In May and June 1949, the activities of the minion Government from the Central level down to the levels of flags, provinces, districts, communes and "autonomous countries" all focused on gaining prestige for Bao Dai. At this time, the Cochinchina Territorial Council was established and voted to approve the annexation of Cochinchina land to Vietnam, which on June 3, 1949, the French Parliament had voted to officially recognize. accepted Cochinchina back into Vietnamese territory.

On June 14, 1949, the Élysée Agreement exchange ceremony was held at Norodom Palace (later the Independence Palace) in Saigon between Bao Dai and Léon Pignon and the Élysée Agreement officially took effect. After Bao Dai returned home, Nguyen Van Xuan resigned to allow Bao Dai to establish an official Government. On July 1, 1949, Bao Dai established the National Government of Vietnam at his villa in Da Lat. Bao Dai took office as Head of State and Prime Minister. The noun Head of State began to replace the noun Emperor. Thus, since the war between Vietnam and France,
a “puppet” government was set up, the “National Government of Vietnam”.

7. Conclusion

From the historical context after World War II, the world’s great powers have caused serious divisions in international relations. Including France, with the desire to maintain its rule in Vietnam. France has sought every measure to force the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to not leave the “mother country” and must remain in the French Union to control everything that France has built.

Although the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has made every concession to avoid bloodshed, France still does not agree to allow Vietnam to be “independent” as desired. On December 19, 1946, President Ho Chi Minh issued a call for nationwide resistance. All Vietnamese people under the banner of Viet Minh responded to the call and stood up to fight with France. Thus, the war became increasingly fierce and fierce. France always believed that the Viet Minh were Communists and was determined not to negotiate with the Viet Minh. Szalontai commented: “Moscow’s strong disapproval of France’s attempts to create an anti-Communist “puppet state.” From the outset, the USSR took the position that the Communist North was the sole legitimate representative of the Vietnamese nation and, hence, that the Bao Dai regime in the South was ipso facto illegitimate” (Szalontai, 2018).

Therefore, France sought out a person who both understood Vietnam and was a “good pawn” to confront the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and was easily manipulated, which was “emperor” Bao Dai (Waite, J. 2012). After initial contacts, France realized that Bao Dai was not docile, then gradually tried every way to convince Bao Dai to return home to implement the “Bao Dai solution” and establish the Vietnamese National Government. Therefore, Bao Dai leaned towards the French and accepted the position of puppet.

In general, France successfully implemented the "Bao Dai solution" and established the “National Government of Vietnam” with Bao Dai himself as “Chief of State”. But in reality, the “independence” and “unification” that France promised Bao Dai were just a kind of “fake” independence, a “puppet” Government. The war between Vietnam and France continued until France was completely defeated at Dien Bien Phu.

References


