

## FRENCH LANGUAGE GUIDE

### 1. **OPERATION TORCH: MILITARY OPERATIONS AND POLITICAL INTRIGUE IN FRENCH NORTH AFRICA, 1942-43**

TORCH is the code name for the invasion of North and Northwest Africa by British and American forces which began on November 8, 1942. General Dwight D. Eisenhower commanded the Allied ground, naval and air forces which participated in this operation. The American and British governments decided against an assault on German forces in France in 1942, but knew they must engage Germany somewhere in order to relieve pressure on Russia, which was then locked in a life and death struggle with massive German armies deep in Russian territory. Thus, Operation TORCH was conceived and approved.

In addition to building an invasion force capable of traveling long distances to reach objectives in North Africa, the Allies had to cope with political complications. Although much of North Africa had not yet been occupied by German armies, it was under French control and answerable to the pro-Nazi Vichy French Government. Would French forces fight the Americans and British? Spain under the rule of Francisco Franco also posed a potential threat to Allied invasion plans. Spain controlled a portion of Morocco (Spanish Morocco) and was in a position to threaten the British base at Gibraltar and to block vital shipping routes into the Mediterranean. Some Allied planners feared that Spain would allow German troops to pass through the country in order to attack the Allies. Because of these fears, Allied invasion forces landed at Casablanca in Morocco and at Oran and Algiers in Algeria instead of closer to the German forces in Tunisia.

When TORCH was launched on November 8, 1942, Spain remained neutral and would continue to do so, but the Allies met initial resistance from French forces. General Eisenhower, knowing that his job was to fight the Germans and not the French, felt compelled to negotiate with French officials, many of whom, such as Jean Darlan were pro-Nazi and/or corrupt, inept, and powerless. Eisenhower unsuccessfully sought assistance from General Henri Giraud, a French officer with previous honorable service to his country but with no power. Instead he was forced to deal with Admiral Jean Darlan, commander of Vichy French forces in North Africa. Eisenhower cut a deal with Darlan and soon faced a storm of controversy for doing so, but French troops soon stopped fighting Americans and British in North Africa. Eisenhower, however, received little cooperation from the French in North Africa.

Soon after Darlan's assassination in December 1942, Eisenhower and the American forces gained battle experience the hard way when the Germans defeated them at Kasserine Pass in February 1943. After this setback, however, American forces were whipped into shape with George Patton and Omar Bradley playing increasingly important roles. The Americans advancing eastward and British forces commanded by Generals Harold Alexander and Bernard Montgomery, defeated the German forces under Erwin Rommel in Tunis where over 275,000 German soldiers were taken prisoner. This victory in May 1943

ended the North African campaign.

Students working on this project can test their French language skills and at the same time study the military strategy and political maneuvering associated with Operation TORCH. Documentation includes British intelligence reports and Allied operations plans, letters, propaganda leaflets, maps, and newspapers.

- A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, Box 130, File Folders: "CABLES - (C.C.S. August 1942 - December 1942) (3)(4)." These folders contain British Cabinet Papers and other high level documents reflecting operational planning, intelligence assessments, and policy directives. These folders provide a good look at overall planning for Operation TORCH.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, Box 47, File Folder: GIRAUD, Henri (1)(2)." These folders contain a record of General Eisenhower's meeting with General GIRAUD, an effort by Eisenhower to obtain cooperation and assistance from Giraud. Also found here are copies of letters from Eisenhower to Giraud in French plus Giraud's letters also in French, including one in longhand, plus the text of an address by General Eisenhower at French Re-armament ceremony at Algiers in May, 1943 with the text in French and English.
- C. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, Box 33, File Folder: "DARLAN, Jean." This file includes minutes of a meeting at which Eisenhower agreed to acknowledge Admiral Darlan as the political leader of the French in North Africa. In return Darlan would assist Allies against Germany. Eisenhower actually received much public criticism from politicians, the media and other sources in the United States but he obtained little help from Darlan who was assassinated in December 1942. Also in this Darlan file is the draft of the agreement plus a brief letter from Darlan in French.
- D. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, Box 91, File Folder: "PATTON, George S., Jr. (5)." This file contains a report on assassination of Darlan and immediate aftermath plus memoranda by Patton regarding meeting with General Orgaz (Spanish) and General Nogues (French). Also found here is a handwritten note in French from General Nogues plus English translation and General Nogues' report in French on President Roosevelt's remarks. This is a good place to read about intrigues involving French, Spanish and Arabs in North Africa plus military considerations as well.
- E. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, Box 109, File Folder: "SMITH, Walter B. (7)." This folder contains directive for BACKBONE II, a plan to counter Spanish hostility or possibility of a German invasion through Spanish territory. This can also be used for Spanish language students.
- F. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, Boxes 152-153, File Folders:

“OPERATIONS - TORCH 1942 (1)-(5).” These folders contain memoranda of conferences and decisions concerning TORCH. The documents are in English and are recommended for students interested in delving into the nitty-gritty details of military operational planning.

- G. Papers of Charles B. Hazeltine, Box 1, File folder: “P.W.B.” This folder contains a report on psychological warfare activities in North Africa plus a military intelligence report in English and French on the birth of Christ. Also found here is another French language item, and propaganda leaflets in German and English. This file can also be used for the psychological warfare project. (Project #2)
- H. Papers of Charles B. Hazeltine, Box 1, File Folder: “North Africa - Clippings.” This folder contains several newspapers in French including the text of an interview with General Giraud and should provide a good test of classroom French language skills.

#### Suggested Readings:

Harry C. Butcher, My Three Years With Eisenhower, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946. This is the published version of a diary kept by General Eisenhower’s Naval Aide, Captain Harry Butcher, and provides a good day by-day account of Eisenhower’s headquarters during the planning and execution of Operation TORCH. Students wanting an exercise in document analysis can compare this published version with the complete diary with unpublished portions. The original Butcher’s Diary is found in General Eisenhower’s Pre-Presidential Papers.

George F. Howe, Northwest Africa: Seizing the Initiative in the West, Washington, D.C., Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1957. This volume in the United States Army in the World War II series, is an official U.S. Army account of operations in North Africa and contains a wealth of information on operations as well as the diplomacy of TORCH. The volume contains several maps which illustrate landings and military progress.

Richard W. Steele, The First Offensive, 1942, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1973.

Sir Llewellyn Woodward, British Foreign Policy in the Second World War, London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1982. This volume presents the British viewpoint on military and diplomatic strategy in North Africa and the Mediterranean.

## 2. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Webster’s Third New International Dictionary defines propaganda as “the dissemination of ideas, information or rumors for purpose of helping or injuring an institution, cause or person; also ideas, doctrine, facts, argument, information, allegations, and rumors spread by deliberate effort through any medium in order to help or harm institutions, causes, or

individuals.” According to a memorandum issued by General Eisenhower’s command, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) on March 11, 1944 psychological warfare is defined as “the dissemination of propaganda designed to undermine the enemy’s will to resist, demoralize his forces and sustain the morale of our supporters.”

This directive defined the following classes of propaganda:

Strategic propaganda: Directed at enemy and enemy-occupied countries with task of undermining enemy will to resist while sustaining morale of Allies’ supporters. Strategic propaganda was spread by radio broadcasts, leaflets, agents and rumors and was carried out under directives approved by the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

Combat or tactical propaganda: Conducted against enemy forces in forward areas and toward population immediately behind enemy lines. This propaganda included political survey intelligence and was disseminated through tactical leaflets, mobile broadcasting units, public address systems, and field printing.

Consolidation propaganda: Conducted toward civilian population in rear areas in order to ensure friendly cooperation, especially in restoring essential services and in creating opinion favorable to Allied war and postwar aims. Consolidation propaganda was used extensively in France after it was liberated from German occupation in 1944. This category covered operation or control of local press, broadcasting stations, cinemas, distribution of literature and displays, and intelligence.

Psychological warfare specialists, or “Psychwarriors,” had to present policies as persuasively as possible to each selected audience. At the same time they had to avoid issuing statements or distributing any kind of information which conflicted with the established policies of the Allied Governments. An example of such a policy was the “unconditional surrender” policy set in 1942 by the United States and agreed to by Great Britain.

Various propaganda themes were developed, depending on the nature of the targeted audience. For example, leaflets directed at German soldiers emphasized good treatment of prisoners of war in Allied hands, material superiority of the Allies, and distinguished between surrender and desertion.

- A. Papers of C.D. Jackson. The personal papers of C.D. Jackson are loaded with information on the theory and practice of psychological warfare as it was waged during World War II and during the Cold War which followed. Jackson served in General Eisenhower’s military commands, Allied Forces Headquarters (AFHQ) in North Africa and the Mediterranean and Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) in England and France. Jackson, a publishing executive by profession, was fluent in the French language and saw extensive service in France and in French North Africa. His papers are a rich source of information on French resistance and liberation and can be used profitably by students working on Project #

3 -- French Resistance and Liberation. Below are listed file folders and boxes from the Jackson Papers pertaining to psychological warfare, including consolidation propaganda. Many of these folders contain French language materials and can test beginning, intermediate and advanced students' command of the language. The list is selective and students can easily find useful materials in addition to the ones listed here.

Box 1, File Folder: "Algiers--London (4)." This contains a lengthy memo on psychological warfare in the Mediterranean plus a printed summary of radio statements in French.

Box 1, File Folder: "Algiers--London (6)." Contains report "Guide Des Centres Allies De Documentation," covering information and propaganda functions in North Africa. Contains photographs as well as text.

Box 2, File Folder: "Atrocities--Paris (1)." This file on German atrocities includes information on German concentration camps and a report on German atrocities in France. Found here is a report in French on German executions and imprisonments of citizens in occupied France plus several newsclippings in French.

Box 2, File Folder: "Brussels - Paris." Includes instructions in French concerning civil affairs activities in liberated Belgium plus a memorandum, also in French on the press in Allied occupied Germany.

Box 4, File Folder: "Food Rationing and Black Market, Paris." Contains intelligence reports which describe in detail black market activities in German occupied France.

Box 4, File Folders: "French Relations Paris (1)(2)." These folders will also be useful for project on French liberation and include detailed documentation of French issues and personalities with some of the material in French. Look for a memo in English "Psychological Warfare and the French."

Box 5, File Folders: "Intelligence Paris (1)(2)." Again, here are folders which are applicable to a number of possible projects. These folders contain intelligence reports analyzing conditions in France after June 1944. For this project see especially a memo on collection of psychological warfare intelligence.

Box 6, File Folders: "Leaflets Paris (1)(2)." These folders contain leaflets in several languages with translations. The numerous newspapers and leaflets in French found here should provide opportunities for analyzing propaganda themes as well as tests of language knowledge.

Box 7, File Folder: "Overlord." This folder contains plans for psychological warfare in conjunction with Operation Overlord. This material can be used as part of a separate project on Operation Overlord.

Box 8, File Folder: "OWI--Paris." See in particular memo "L' Action Americaine en Europe Occidentale et le Facteur Psychologique" plus attachments.

Box 8, File Folder: "Proclamation." Includes texts of statements proposed for use by Allied leaders at the time of Operation Overlord, June 6, 1944. One of these is the French text of statement proposed for Charles DeGaulle's use.

Box 14, File Folder: "Miscellaneous." Contains propaganda book published in Berlin in 1940, entitled Les Atrocites Commises Par Les Polonais Contre Les Allemands De Pologne. Text is in French with attachments in German. This item is recommended for an advanced student with knowledge of both the French language and World War II. Should challenge student to critique propaganda, identify themes, fabrications and targets.

Box 15, File Folder: "Miscellaneous." Contains booklet *La Bete Est Morte*, which is anti-Nazi propaganda written in French cartoon style.

- B. Papers of Charles B. Hazeltine. Box 1, File Folder: "P.W.B." This is a fat folder containing memoranda and reports on psychological warfare operations in French North Africa. Look for the tongue-in-cheek "intelligence report" on birth of Christ written in English and French.

Suggested Reading:

James M. Erdmann, Leaflet Operations in the Second World War, James Morris Erdmann, 1969 (Reproduced by Denver Instant Printing). Contains text and illustrations describing leaflet operations.

Daniel Lerner, Psychological Warfare Against Nazi Germany, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The M.I.T. Press, 1971 (original edition published in 1949). This is an informative and easy-to-use study of psychological warfare and is recommended for use in conjunction with this project.

### 3. FRENCH RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION: 1940-45

On September 3, 1939, France, along with Great Britain declared war on Germany after Nazi forces invaded Poland. The French and British were, however, unable to save Poland from defeat in October 1939. There followed several months of relative inaction, a period sometimes termed the "Phony War." Germany resumed ground action in April 1940 with attacks on Denmark and Norway. After quickly subduing these countries, the Germans turned to the Netherlands, Belgium and then France. A series of swift military actions resulted in the defeat of French forces along with those of Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands. The latter two countries surrendered, but more than 300,000 British troops were evacuated at Dunkirk, France to be re-equipped and reorganized in England for future action. France, however, agreed to an armistice on June 25, 1940. Parts of France were

occupied by German troops with the remainder permitted to remain under French administrative control directed from Vichy, France. Marshal Petain, a World War I hero, headed this Vichyite French Government. After the Allied invasion of French North Africa in 1942, German forces occupied the remainder of France.

Even before the French signed the armistice, however, a French commander, Charles DeGaulle, left for England, where on June 18 he issued a radio appeal for his countrymen to resist the occupying German enemy. DeGaulle became leader of the Free French movement and began recruiting volunteers from French soldiers evacuated from Norway and Dunkirk and from loyal French colonies. DeGaulle viewed the French resistance as an organization which would simultaneously obtain intelligence about the enemy, arouse resistance to Nazi rule, and equip friendly forces in preparation for battles of liberation. This view clearly distinguished DeGaulle and the Free French movement from the Vichyite French leaders who believed Germany had won the war and that France had no choice but to submit to German demands.

Resistance movements sprang up in German occupied countries throughout Europe and included communists and a mixture of other political ideologies. Consequently, the American and British Governments dealt with resistance movements cautiously. DeGaulle claimed to be the representative of Free France and sought Allied recognition. His strong personality and some of his actions bred suspicions on the part of the Allies with President Franklin Roosevelt especially negative toward DeGaulle. Politically, the French resistance was tied to the Free French organization which eventually became the Provisional French Government.

French resistance forces operating within occupied France were called French Forces of the Interior and received supplies, advice, personnel, and weapons from the American and British intelligence organizations. Members of the resistance engaged in sabotage, guerrilla warfare and intelligence gathering. In return the Nazis fought back ruthlessly, capturing and executing many resistance fighters along with hostages killed in reprisal actions.

The French resistance furnished detailed information to the Allies about terrain, coastal defenses, German forces, roads and other matters. This helped General Eisenhower plan the Allied invasion of Normandy which was launched on June 6, 1944. Eisenhower appreciated the work of the French resistance and according to a noted French historian, assessed its contribution as equal to that of 15 divisions of soldiers. French resistance forces also helped liberate Paris and reorganized and rearmed French troops participated in Allied landings in Southern France in August 1944.

By November 1944 France had been liberated except for Alsace and parts of Lorraine. French military operations in these provinces culminated in the capture of Strasbourg. Meanwhile, liberated France underwent economic, political and social reconstruction even as the war was pursued to a victorious conclusion against Germany in 1945. French citizens who collaborated with the enemy were dealt with sternly. General DeGaulle continued to be a strong, if controversial figure in French and European military affairs during the remainder of the war and then well beyond it.

- A. Papers of C.D. Jackson. As indicated in Project #2, this collection is an important source of information on the role of France during World War II. French language materials to test classroom language knowledge are abundant here while other primary source materials, including intelligence reports, contain informative and usually interesting information on the French Resistance, personalities, and problems involved in restoring information and other services to a liberated land. Below are listed selected box numbers and file folders containing French and English language materials pertinent to this project.

Box 1, File Folders: "Algiers -- London (2) & (4)." These include a memorandum on the role of the French Committee of National Liberation in Liberated France, plus a summary of various statements in French and other materials.

Box 2, File Folders: "Atrocities--Paris (1)(2)." These folders contain materials gathered by the Psychological Warfare Division, SHAEF with investigations focused on atrocities in France. They contain a report on a German concentration camp in Alsace with photographs, newspaper articles in French and French language report by the Police Inspector on German atrocities. Also found here is a report by British 21st Army Group on German atrocities committed against civilian population of Belgium. This file documents one of the negative aspects of German occupation.

Box 2, File Folder: "Basic PWB - AFHQ (2)." See PWE/OSS intelligence report on situation in occupied France.

Box 4, File Folder: "FFI." Contains report on French Forces of Interior and their role in French liberation.

Box 4, File Folders: "French Relations Paris (1)(2)." These folders constitute a rich source of information on Allied-French relations, the FFI, DeGaulle, French attitudes, French reactions to the Allied landings in Normandy, and include some French language items.

Box 5, File Folders: "Intelligence Paris (1)(2)." Several intelligence reports in these folders document conditions in France in 1944-45 including Franco Spanish relations, internal politics, collaboration and other issues.

Box 5, File Folder: "Leaflets, SHAEF." Contains French language leaflets announcing Allied landings in France in June 1944. Next folder: "Leaflets-SHAEP Paper," includes several French language editions of SHAEF newspaper for May & June 1945.

Box 7, File Folder: "Overlord London." Includes plans for psychological warfare operations and information services in France following Allied landings.

Box 8, File Folder: "Proclamation London." Document plans for statement by



Charles DeGaulle on D-Day and includes French and English texts of draft statement.

Box 10, File Folder: "Rennes Paris." Contains detailed reports on internal conditions in France plus copies of French newspapers.

- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower Library Collection of 20th Century Military Records, Series I, USAF Historical Studies, Box 36, File Folder: "Special Operations: AAF Aid to European Resistance Movements 1943-45." Air Force report detailing aerial supply of equipment and agents to resistance forces in France and in other European countries. Maps identify drop zones for supplies.
- C. Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force: Selected Records, Box 8. Series of unfolded SHAEF Weekly Intelligence Summaries reports on German transportation and supplies in France, economic conditions, specific items such as underground aircraft factories in France and the French resistance. For example: a Weekly Summary dated 4/8/44 contains report on French resistance. The summaries include maps.
- D. Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force: Selected Records, Box 34, File Folders: "November 1-15, 1944," "November 16-30, 1944," and "December 1944." These folders contain numerous items on French manpower, resistance, military operations and other matters affecting France during this time. These folders will provide students an opportunity to do actual research by looking within these folders for scattered items. The searching should be rewarding because some of these items are quite informative. Materials are in English.
- E. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers, Box 34, File Folder: "DeGaulle, Charles." Contains letters from DeGaulle to Eisenhower in French plus translations, a memorandum of a meeting between General Eisenhower and General DeGaulle concerning operations by First French Army and French relations. This file will be useful for anyone focusing on Charles DeGaulle as a World War II leader.
- F. Suggested Readings:

E.H. Cookridge, Set Europe Ablaze, New York: Thomas Y Crowell Company, 1967. This is an account of the British intelligence agency, Special Operations Executive, and its work with resistance forces in France and elsewhere.

Charles de Gaulle, The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle, New York. Simon and Schuster, 1964. These memoirs are recommended for anyone wanting to understand Charles de Gaulle's actions and views.

European Resistance Movements, 1939-1945, Proceedings of-the Second International Conference-on the History of the Resistance Movements held at Milan, Italy, March 26-29,1961, Oxford, London, New York, Pergamon Press, 1964.

Collection of several papers on European resistance in general and resistance movements in France and other countries. Many of these papers are in French so students can translate while gaining knowledge of resistance movements. Recommended for advanced with knowledge of French and World War II.

M.R.D. Foot, SOE in France, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966. operations in France and may be read in conjunction with the Cookridge book cited above.

Henri Michel, La Drole de Guerre, Librairie Hachette, 1971. This is a study by a French historian of World War II in Europe from its beginning in 1939 until the defeat of France in May 1940. Text is in French.

Henri Michel, The Second World War, New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1975. A one volume history of World War II in Europe and in Asia by the French historian, Henri Michel. Students can fruitfully read selected sections of this general account.

#### **4. ELEANOR LANSING DULLES' PARIS DIARY 1917-1919**

Eleanor Lansing Dulles, author, teacher and government employee, was a member of a diplomatic family which spanned three generations and had connections with three presidential administrations. Her grandfather, John Watson Foster, served as Secretary of State under President Benjamin Harrison in 1892-1893. An aunt, Eleanor Foster Lansing, was married to Robert Lansing, Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson from 1915-1920. Her oldest brother, John Foster Dulles, was President Eisenhower's Secretary of State from 1953-1959 and another brother, Allen Welsh Dulles served as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency during the Eisenhower Administration. Eleanor, herself, spent 26 years in government service with much of it involving Europe. She had a strong background in economics and became a specialist in Austrian and German affairs.

Ms. Dulles gained her first overseas experience in 1917-1919 when she spent two years working for refugee relief organizations in France. Working with the Shurtleff Relief Committee and later the Society of Friends organization, Ms. Dulles distributed clothing and otherwise assisted homeless refugees in many ways. Having graduated from college immediately prior to coming to France, Eleanor Dulles received a practical education on life in war ravaged Europe.

She wrote frequent letters to her mother, sister and others, and related her observations and experiences. She retained in her papers her letters plus a diary and a scrapbook containing leaflets, a map, photographs and printed data. Some of this material is in French. This World War I era file is an example of material normally not expected to be found in the Eisenhower Library's holdings since it has no relationship to Eisenhower. It does, however, document a period in the career of the sister of Eisenhower's influential and strong-willed Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. Students working in this material can

obtain personal glimpses of life in France during World War I, a period falling increasingly farther into the past. Students can practice their language skills on the newsclippings and other printed French language materials. Sufficient primary source documentation exists here to support reports or papers on life in Paris during the 1917-19 period and/or Ms. Dulles' views and experiences with American war relief during World War I.

- A. Papers of Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Box 14, File Folders: "Letters From France" (8 folders), Box 14, File Folders: "Diary re Refugee Relief Work"

Box 14, File Folders: "American Relief Work in France 1917-19 Copy of Scrapbook (1)-(3)," Box 14, File Folders: "Documents from scrapbook (1)-(8)"

- B. Suggested Readings:

Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Chances of a Lifetime, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1980. This is Eleanor Dulles' memoirs and is the thirteenth book by this prolific writer, diplomat and historian.

Lynne Dunn Jurkovic, The Life and Public Career of Eleanor Lansing Dulles. (Ph.D. dissertation at Kent State University) 1982. This doctoral dissertation is based in part on research in the Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers at the Eisenhower Library.

## 5. **FRANCE AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION: THE EARLY YEARS**

World War II left Western Europe devastated with cities in ruins, millions homeless and food in extremely short supply. In addition to being threatened by starvation and economic chaos, European countries were vulnerable to subversion from within and aggression from the militarily powerful, if war torn Soviet Union. To counter these threats, Europeans sought security through increased economic and military integration. European economic integration became a goal to work for in order to promote better trade relations and ultimately prosperity. At the same time Western Europe moved toward military alliance and in 1949 10 Western European nations, Canada, and the United States formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Eventually Greece, Turkey and West Germany would also join.

Soon, with the outbreak of war in Korea in 1950 and the continuing American fears of communist aggression worldwide, the United States began a large scale rearmament program. During this arms buildup, the United States developed plans to provide troops, equipment and weapons to support the new military organization in Europe. NATO requirements called for contributions in the form of troops and equipment from the member nations and a system of air, ground and naval commands.

The Supreme Allied Command was established to lead the forces created in continental

Europe under the auspices of NATO. Europeans and Americans alike agreed that General Dwight D. Eisenhower was the right man to take charge of NATO's command structure for European defense as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR). During his tenure as the first SACEUR in 1951-1952, General Eisenhower consulted with military and political officials in each member nation as he sought troop contributions and other commitments from these leaders. He helped work out command structures, developed an infrastructure of bases, roads and buildings, devised contingency plans to be implemented in case of attack from the Soviet Union, testified before the United States Congress on his activities in Europe and the need to fund military assistance for Europe, and dealt with a myriad of international diplomatic and political problems.

France, of course, was essential to this new international organization. First of all, General Eisenhower's headquarters were located just outside of Paris. General Eisenhower also asked the French to contribute 24 divisions and political support to NATO.

French contributions to this security organization, however, were influenced by several factors and would not come easily. Memories of World War II were still fresh and French opposition to German rearmament even in support of NATO was strong. Ten French divisions were tied down in Indochina and France had commitments in North Africa as well. Fears of provoking the Soviet Union and concerns over higher taxes needed to pay for military buildups also were widespread in France as well as elsewhere in Western Europe.

General Eisenhower spent much of his time as SACEUR trying to convince the French that the Germans were allies, not enemies, and that the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance would be important for European security. At the same time Eisenhower had to help convince the United States Congress to appropriate funds to support American military contributions to this alliance.

Students working on this topic can gain insights into the complexities of NATO and European politics and the functioning of a collective security system while also translating French language documents scattered within the files cited below.

#### A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers

Box 34, File Folder: "de Gaulle, Charles." Contains a six page text in French of a speech by Charles de Gaulle on May 6, 1951 in which de Gaulle commented on French security.

Box 34, File Folder: "de Greef, Eugene." This file contains correspondence exchanged between General Eisenhower and Eugene de Greef, Belgian Minister of Defense concerning Belgian contributions to NATO. A couple of de Greef's letters are in French along with translations.

Box 64, File Folder: "Juin, Alphonse." General Juin was Commander in Chief, Allied Land Forces, Central Europe within General Eisenhower's command structure

at SACEUR. This file contains correspondence, some of which is in French, concerning European defense, including a conversation regarding use of German troops.

Box 136, File Folder: "Conversations, Memos of (SHAPE) 1951-1952." This folder includes several "memcons" concerning French matters including General Eisenhower's conversations with Edouard Bonnefous of the French National Assembly concerning FRANCE and NATO, and with General de Lattre de Tassigny concerning French Indochina.

Box 201, File Folder: "Trips: SHAPE #1 Round Robin Conversations Vol. I & Vol. II." These record conversations General Eisenhower had with European political and military leaders in several countries to urge military support for NATO. These include lengthy conversations with French Premier Rene Pleven, General Juin, French Minister of Defense Jules Moch and other French officers. These provide a good summary of General Eisenhower's goals and the obstacles he faced.

- B. Alfred M. Gruenther Papers. General Alfred Gruenther served as Chief of Staff to General Eisenhower at SHAPE in 1951-52 and again to General Ridgway in 1952-53 before serving as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR) himself from 1953-1956. His papers contain a 4-box NATO Series spanning the years from 1949-1956. These include correspondence between Gruenther and French and other European leaders and provide some information on developments during the early years of NATO. Some of the correspondence is in French and reflects the use of French in Belgium, and Luxembourg as well as in France. For example see the following:

Box 1, File Folders: TOP SECRET, SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL correspondence. These cover a variety of issues.

Box 2, File Folder: Bech, Joseph (Minister of Defense, Luxembourg)

Box 2, File Folder: Juin, Alphonse 1949-1953

- C. Suggested Readings

Georgette Elgey, La Republique Des Illusions, 1945-51, Les Grandes Etudes Contemporaines, Fayard, 1965. This account of French politics and diplomacy is for those ready to read a book entirely written in French.

Robert S. Jordan, Generals in International Politics: NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, Lexington, Kentucky, The University Press of Kentucky, 1987. Robert Jordan, a political scientist at the University of New Orleans, is the editor of the collection of essays on the first seven Supreme Allied Commanders including Dwight Eisenhower, Matthew Ridgway, Alfred Gruenther, and Lauris

Norstad.

Lawrence S. Kaplan, NATO and the United States: the Enduring Alliance, Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988. This is a good survey of U.S.-NATO relations from the beginnings until the 1980s by a diplomatic historian who has specialized in the study of NATO affairs.

## **6. FRANCE, VIETNAM, AND THE UNITED STATES, 1950-1955**

French influence in Vietnam began growing as early as the 17th Century when French Catholic missionaries arrived, beginning a long and productive effort to bring Christianity to the Vietnamese people. Not all Vietnamese rulers, however, were receptive to this missionary work, and during the 19th Century Vietnamese Christians as well as foreign missionaries were persecuted. French Emperor Napoleon III demanded that this persecution stop and in 1859 a French-Spanish expedition captured Saigon. Over the next several years France expanded its control over the country and from the 1880s on France maintained colonial rule in Vietnam and in Laos and Cambodia, which together with Vietnam became known as French Indochina.

Although French rule resulted in improved communications, flood control, and better public health service, the desire for independence remained strong among Vietnamese and resistance to French control began growing. While this independence movement included many factions and groups, Vietnamese Communists led by Ho Chi Minh were better organized than the others and by the 1930s had gained control of the Vietnamese independence movement.

At the end of World War II, this movement began gaining strength and in 1946, after negotiations between Vietnamese leaders and the French failed, conflict broke out between the French and the Vietnam League for Independence. This movement, led by Ho Chi Minh and the Communists became known as the Viet Minh.

From 1946 to 1954 war between the French and the Viet Minh raged with heavy casualties on both side. The French sought to draw Vietnamese nationalist support away from Ho Chi Minh by establishing a rival Vietnamese regime led by Bao Dai, a former Vietnamese emperor. Although the French promised independence for the Bao Dai regime, in reality, the French maintained control and Bao Dai remained largely a figure head with no real support. The military strength remained with Ho Chi Minh whose Viet Minh forces hammered away at the French and controlled rural areas.

In 1950 the United States Government decided to send military assistance to the French to help them in their struggle with the Viet Minh. The cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union was intensifying and with mainland China falling under communist control in 1950, the Truman Administration feared that communism might spread throughout Southeast Asia. This was the basis for the “domino theory” which held that if Vietnam fell to communism then the rest of Indochina and other nations in Southeast Asia

would fall as well.

Even as the United States increased its military assistance to the French in Indochina, the Viet Minh gained the initiative and continued to attack French forces. These Viet Minh offensives climaxed with the siege of the large French force at Dien Bien Phu which the Viet Minh destroyed in May 1954.

Having sustained a disastrous defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the French began taking steps toward disengagement from Vietnam. The Geneva Conference convened in the summer of 1954 and worked out arrangements for military disengagement, the division of the country into a North Vietnam, under the control of Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh, and a noncommunist South Vietnam. The Geneva Conference called for elections to be held in 1956 to reunite the country.

These elections were not held. Instead, as the French began winding down their involvement in Indochina, the United States Government, now led by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, began building a staunchly anticommunist state in South Vietnam. In the fall of 1954, President Eisenhower sent General J. Lawton Collins, an outstanding commander during World War II, and a former Army Chief of Staff, to Vietnam to study the situation there and to help determine how to support a South Vietnamese government. Collins reported back to the President in April 1955 and, having observed apparent deficiencies in the leadership qualities of Ngo Dinh Diem, recommended that the United States search for another leader for the fledgling government in South Vietnam. Ngo Dinh Diem, however, had his supporters within the Eisenhower Administration and after some agonizing days of deliberation, President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, decided to support Diem. Thus began the United States' effort in nation building in Southeast Asia, an endeavor which led to a gradually increasing United States involvement in Vietnam and its neighboring state Laos. This involvement escalated sharply in the 1960s, especially in Vietnam where the United States became involved in a long, bloody, controversial and debilitating war.

Students choosing this project can examine materials documenting the United States' early involvement in Vietnam and its relationship with France in this Southeast Asian country. Opportunities to test French skills are present since these files contain many letters written by Vietnamese in French as well as French Government correspondence and printed matter.

- A. General Lawton J. Collins Papers. The nine box series documenting General Collins' special mission to Vietnam in 1954-55 provides a detailed look at conditions in Vietnam and Southeast Asia at that time. This file alone probably contains enough material to support two or three students working simultaneously on projects. Below is a list of selected folders. A complete list of file folder titles is available in the finding aid to the Collins Papers. Many of these folders documents written in French.

Box 24, File Folder: "Briefing Book on Vietnam (1)-(9)." These file folders contain detailed background information including summaries and chronologies of events in

French Indochina from 1940 to 1954, memoranda of conversations between United States and French officials and memoranda of briefing sessions held for General Collins prior to his departure for Vietnam.

Box 26, File Folder: "Armed Forces, Vietnamese (1)-(3)." Found here is a letter in French from the Vietnamese Minister of Defense.

Box 27, File Folder: "Binh Zuyen." This was one of many Vietnamese sects (actually gangs). Some items here are in French.

Box 27, File Folder: "Collins-Ely Agreement." Some French correspondence.

Box 27, File Folder: "Cooley, James." Letters and memoranda, some in French, a memorandum of a conversation with Ngo Dinh Diem and a map.

Box 27, File Folder: "Diem, Ngo Dinh (1)(2)." Correspondence, some in French, and memoranda with and concerning the eventual head of the South Vietnamese Government.

Box 28, File Folder: "Fishel, Wesley."

Box 28, File Folder: "Lansdale, Edward." A key supporter of Diem, with intelligence connections. Includes memoranda of conversations with Diem and other Vietnamese leaders.

Box 29, File Folder: "Memos for the Record."

Box 29, File Folder: "Miscellaneous Top Secret Files" (mostly declassified now).

Box 29, File Folder: "Phan Rang-Phan Thiet Incident" (National Army) - French language materials.

Box 29, File Folder: "Quat, Phan Huy." Gen. Collins suggested this man as an alternative to Diem for South Vietnamese leadership. Some items in French.

Box 31, File Folder: "United States Policy Toward South Vietnam--April 1955."

2. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Pre-Presidential Papers. As commander of the NATO ground forces in Europe in 1951-52, Dwight Eisenhower sought to obtain commitments for military support from European countries including France. The French told Eisenhower of their problems with the Viet Minh in Indochina.

Box 136, File Folder: "Conversations, Memos of (SHAPE) 1951-52." Found among these records of conversations is a "memcon" between Eisenhower and French General de Lattre de Tassigny on March 17, 1951. General de Lattre reported to Eisenhower on threats posed by expected Viet Minh attacks.



Box 34, File Folder: “de Lattre de Tassigny.” General de Lattre was one of France’s top generals and his assumption of broad command responsibilities in Indochina gave the French hope that they could take the offensive against the Viet Minh and change the military situation there. He was unable to accomplish this, however, and in early 1952 General de Lattre died of cancer. This folder contains a French language illustrated magazine Indochina Sud Est Asiatique, published soon after the General’s death and devoted to his career with detailed coverage of his role in Indochina. Advanced language students may find this challenging.

3. C.D. Jackson Records. Box 2, File Folder: “B.” Contains memorandum of conversation between a U.S. Government official, Robert Blum and Bao Dai, the figurehead Vietnamese leader as reported to Central Intelligence Agency Director Allen Dulles.
4. White House Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs: Records, NSC Series, Briefing Notes Subseries.

Box 11, File Folder: “Indochina 1954.” Includes report of O’Daniel mission to Indochina in February 1954, other memos, and a memorandum of General J. Lawton Collins’ conversation with President Eisenhower in April 1955 concerning leadership for South Vietnam.

5. White House Office, National Security Council Staff Papers, NSC Registry Series.

Box 16, File Folder: “PSB Documents Master Book Vol. IV (1),” includes paper “Use of American Influences in Support of U.S. objectives in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos,” produced for psychological warfare purposes.

6. White House Office, National Security Council Staff Papers, OCB Central Files Series.

Boxes 37-40, File Folders “Indo-China” (60 File Folders). Contain variety of documentation on Vietnam 1953-57.

7. Suggested Reading. The literature on Vietnam is voluminous and only a few titles can be listed here. The ones listed below may serve as a good starting point for developing an understanding of the complex issues and events associated with Vietnam and French Indochina.

David Anderson, Trapped by Success: The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam, 1953-61, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. This study is based in part on extensive research in the Eisenhower Library’s holdings and among other things, analyzes the Eisenhower Administration’s decision to support Ngo Dinh Diem as the leader of the South Vietnamese Government.

Georgette Elgey, La Republique Des Illusions 1945-51, Fayard, 1965. This history, written in-French, includes a chapter on Indochina.

General Vo Nguyen Giap, People's War: People's Army, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962. This is a view from the other side, by the Viet Minh strategist General Vo Nguyen Giap. This is an opportunity to read a communist account of developments and readers may find helpful introductions by American writer and former State Department official, Roger Hilsman, and the French historian, Bernard B. Fall.

Bernard B. Fall, Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu, Philadelphia & New York: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1967. Bernard Fall was a French historian, a veteran of service in the French resistance against Nazi Germany in World War II, who became a student of the history of Southeast Asia and wrote several perceptive books about this area. This account is considered to be an important study of this decisive battle in 1954.

Bernard B. Fall, Street Without Joy: Indochina at War, 1946-54, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1961

George C. Herring, America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975, Second Edition, Philadelphia Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1986. This is a highly readable history of United States involvement and is based in part on research at the Eisenhower Library.

Stanley, Karnow, Vietnam: A History, New York: The Viking Press, 1983. This readable history was written to accompany a television documentary program, "Vietnam: A Television History."

Neil Sheehan et al., The Pentagon Papers as Published by the New York Times, New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971. This one volume paperback edition summarizes the massive Department of Defense study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam which was leaked to the press and aroused a storm of controversy. After reading this edition, ambitious students are welcome to tackle the 12 volume Government Printing office edition of this history, complete with copies of documents and analysis.

United States Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Volume XIII, Indochina, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1982. Students are welcome to examine these and subsequent volumes in this series which is the official documentary record of the United States Government's foreign policy. As of early 1994 volumes on Vietnam in this series have been published with coverage through 1964. Many documents printed in these volumes are from the holdings of the Eisenhower Library. Any serious research projects on U.S. foreign policy should use this series.

7. MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

- A. **J. Lawton Collins Papers**, Box 28, “Invitations 1955” [cards and letters; most from South Vietnam, some from foreign diplomats in Vietnam]
- B. **J. Lawton Collins Papers**, Box 28, “Gambiez (General) [two page memo “Raisons Que Invoquer Les Sectes Pour Conserver Leur Armement”]
- C. **J. Lawton Collins Papers**, Box 28, “G” [list of “Le Nouveau Gouvernement” [Republic of Vietnam] as of Sept. 24, 1954]
- D. **Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Pre-Presidential Papers, Secondary File Series**, Box 3, “Grace to Gupton” [a letter, dated April [Avril] 9, 1952, from the Federation Francaise De Boxe about the visit to France of the American Golden Gloves boxing team and a match between them and the French National Team]

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