

The end of the Saigon Embassy...

## EDITORIAL NOTE

*Indochina Chronology* is a quarterly publication devoted to historical and contemporary events in Vietnam (including the Vietnam War), Cambodia and Laos; as a bibliographic resource on book, monograph, periodical and journal literature; and as a source of news in academic in the field. It is made available, *gratis*, to academics, historians, writers, researchers, journalists, veterans, government officials. Editorial responsibility for the publication is The Vietnam Center, Texas Tech University, James R. Reckner, director. Editor is Douglas Pike. Editorial assistance is supplied by Rosa Garcia, Les Cullen, David Morokoff, Khanh Le and Myrna Pike. *Indochina Chronology* operates in conjunction with The Vietnam Archive, also at the Texas Tech University (James Ginther and Ronald Frankum).

About the Cover. A UH-1 flares to land on the roof of the U.S. Embassy, Saigon, Spring 1967. American officials in Hanoi this quarter ordered the demolition of the embassy building in HCMC, to be replaced by a new American Consulate building. The embassy was built in 1967 following the bombing of the then-existing embassy (a one-time French bank building in downtown Saigon, near the river) by a Viet Cong suicide squad. The new structure was designed to withstand rocket and bomb blasts. It was attacked only once, during the 1968 Tet Offensive, by a 29-man V.C. sapper unit that got onto the grounds but did not penetrate the building, and whose members were subsequently killed. The building, or at least its roof, became a lingering historical image as the scene of the final departure of Embassy personnel from its helicopter landing pad on April 30, 1975. A Reuters report (June 16, 1998) quoted U.S. officials as saying that the metal steps leading up to the pad would be shipped to the Smithsonian in Washington and put on display. (Further example of the First Law of Asian Politics: No one can do to you, what you can do to yourself.)

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## VIỆTNAM THIS QUARTER: ONCE MORE THINGS ECONOMIC

When Asia's so-called economic miracle evaporated last summer—in a cloud of red ink, as one observer put it—Hanoi officials were almost smug, saying: "We are immune."

In a sense they were right. Their currency—and this goes for the rest of Indochina as well—was not convertible, and thus not at the mercy of outside money speculators. The state still controls such industry as there is even though it is attempting to divest itself of the more burdensome properties. The population—90 million—is mostly rural, poor, their economy agrarian. It is a Buddhist economy, as rural folk like to say, composed of beggars, meaning that the rural poor folk feel they have never benefited from *Đổi Mới*, as have their rural counterparts in surrounding countries, such as Thailand. It also means less suffering in a downturn. There is not much consolation in this, living in rural Vietnam and watching the revolution of rising expectations passing you by. However, it does mean greater social stability since people who do not expect much are not disappointed. And that stability is what the Hanoi leadership wants—just as what it fears most is a political overturn as was witnessed a few months ago in Jakarta.

It has been said so many times it has become a cliché, that Vietnam has made miraculous economic progress in the past few years. This is even accepting the further cliché that the economic curve moved upwards so steeply because it began so far down. All this said, economists still judge the Vietnamese economic sector as still highly precarious; its financial institutions risky; its exports sagging; its tourist industry (best source for hard currency) increasingly sickly.

These are problems to which the leadership has been addressing itself since the early 1990s. Successes bring renewed determination; setbacks bring cutbacks. The policy struggle at the Politburo level is eternal. The most negative aspect of the Asia meltdown is that it fuels the conservative fire, discourages reformers, and causes all to have second thoughts about just how much merit there is in a free market economy.

Surveying the economic sector for the quarter produced these notes:

Blunt Assessment. At the SRV National Assembly (April 21) Deputy Prime Minister Nguyễn Tấn Dũng delivered a no-nonsense state of the union re-

port. He listed as problems: unemployment, loss-making state firms, drought, and the impact of Asia's economic crisis. He criticized Vietnam's dense bureaucracy, and its bureaucrats for violating laws that hurt the people. But he offered little by way of specific remedial measures. Dũng said rural officials would be held more accountable. He said controls on bank operations would be tightened.

Agriculture. All-important agriculture. The sector as of the first of the year consisted of 13,664 collectives, cooperatives, or communes (whatever you want to term them—that is, state-controlled farms). This inventory is judged: 18.2% operating "effectively" (making money); 44% "unstable" (in the red, or going broke); remainder are doing alright (or is it just all right?)

Unemployment. The Ministry of Labor (April 23) said unemployment was at a record level. Layoffs total 8% in state-owned industries; 11% in foreign-backed companies. About 170,000 were laid off in the past twelve months (10% of the total workforce). The Asian financial crisis and restructuring of state-owned firms are given as reasons for the rising unemployment.

Foreign Investment. The SRV announced a crack down on foreign investors. Dep. Minister for Planning and Investment Nguyễn Ngọc said his office had revoked 336 foreign investment projects (capitalized at \$3.8 billion). For six reasons: 1) failure of foreigners to fulfill commitments involving financial expertise; 2) differing perceptions by Vietnam-foreign management of the enterprise; 3) Vietnamese lack of competence in law, bookkeeping, and languages; 4) policy changes by Hanoi; 5) unsolvable bureaucracy; and 6) the problem of "unstable environment" (not further defined).

The Rains Came. Central Vietnam, under a five-month drought, welcomed mid-April downpours. The northern-central highlands received 30-50mm of rainfall, the southern-central highlands received 50-100mm; the heaviest rains, ranging from 110-150mm fell on the southern provinces of An Giang, Bến Tre, and Bình Phước. A report (April 21) on Vietnamese agricultural conditions by Dep. PM Nguyễn Tấn Dũng to Vietnam's National Assembly stated that drought had hit Vietnam's rice and coffee crops hardest, and it had significantly lowered supplies in mountain reservoirs.

Thái Bình. The quarter witnessed an outbreak of farmer unrest (some press reports termed it a peasant revolt) in Thái Bình province, which has always been known for its outspoken, independent-minded people. This shook the Politburo. It moved to end the demonstrations, also to address the complaints, and then to purge the local Party cadres (put 30 on trial) for allowing the thing to happen in the first place. It also allowed foreign journalists access to the province to do interviews and stories.

Auto Industry. Ford Motor Company officials told SRV officials (June 23) if they do not stop the import of used cars, they will destroy Vietnam's auto-building industry. Murray Gilbert, of Ford, said competition from ASEAN countries eventually could be overwhelming. "If Vietnam doesn't have a viable auto industry by 2006, then it will not have one because under the ASEAN trade agreement, components can be imported from any ASEAN country." Vietnam agreed to a Common Effective Preferential Tariff requiring it to slash import duties to five percent within ten years from 1996. The Ford-Vietnam plant, located near Hanoi, stopped production June 24 after operating for six months because it was unable to sell its products on the import-saturated Vietnamese market. Nissan-Vietnam—in Đà Nẵng—canceled its assembly line because of difficulties with capital. There are 14 joint-venture car assemblies in Vietnam—eight currently in operation, and all unable to run at full capacity.



New Memorial. The U.S. Congress this quarter approved construction in downtown Washington of what is to be called the Victims of Communism Memorial Museum. It is to commemorate the estimated 100 million persons worldwide (including Vietnamese) who died at the hands of communist governments since 1917. Other purposes are: "to honor those who struggled against communist states; to document the communist record (part of the memorial will be an archive and research center) and to help educate future generations as to why the West fought the Cold War. There will be a Roll Call of Victims, a Hall of Infamy, and a Hall of

Heroes. The legislation was sponsored by Dana Rohrabacher (R-Cal.), and not without some opposition, chiefly from those who maintain there are too many memorials in Washington as it is (20 building or approved). Reportedly the memorial will be located at the site of the old Tariff Building at Seventh and E streets, Northwest. *Việt kiều* in the U.S. generally support the memorial. (*Boston Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby quoted historian Lucien Bodard, "Communism equaled murder in North Vietnam as far back as 1945, when Hồ Chí Minh resolved to annihilate his nationalist rivals. It was appalling. Thousands, maybe tens of thousands of men had been liquidated. . . . The intention was that horror and dread should extinguish the last trace of respect for them among the masses. Their execution had to be both shameful and terrifying. That was the reason for the mass executions of hundreds at once, the fields of prisoners buried alive, the harrows dragged over men buried up to the neck.")

Vietnam Entry Visa. Hanoi officials this quarter announced that they were to begin testing a new, simpler system for granting tourist visas to foreigners. In the first month of the test no visas were granted at TSN, since no one applied. However, 300 were granted at Đà Nẵng, apparently many of them ship arrivals. In HCMC visas are arranged by seven travel agencies with offices at the airport. They are: the HCMC Tourist Company (Sagiontourist), Vietnam Tourism, Hòa Bình Tourist Co. (Peace Tours), Bến Thành Tourist, TNT Trading and Tourist Co., Volunteer Youth Company, and Bà Rịa-Vũng Tàu Tourist Co. (Vũng Tàu In-tour Co.). In Vietnam visas are a dual function of the Interior Ministry and the Foreign Ministry. Over the years there has raged a bitter bureaucratic struggle over the division of visa fees collected in hard currencies. (Source: *Sài Gòn Times*, May 7, 1998).

Book Source. Asia Book First is the name of an up-and-coming Sacramento, California, source for books, chiefly on China and Indochina. Book list and full catalog available soon. Address: Asia Book First, P.O. Box 60552, Sacramento, CA 60605. E-mail: [abfl68@hotmail.com](mailto:abfl68@hotmail.com). Fax: 916-564-1509. Website: <http://asiabookfirst.com>



## CAMBODIA THIS QUARTER: QUO VADIS?

Background. It has been five years since the last (and the first) election in Cambodia. In that voting the Khmer people were not intimidated by Khmer Rouge threats and turned out in overwhelming numbers. Prince Ranariddh's party, FUNCINPEC, won but Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party—the CPP—threatened to set up its own administration in six eastern provinces. This crisis was defused when Ranariddh agreed to a power-sharing coalition with the CPP—with he and Hun Sen serving as co-prime ministers. This unwieldy coalition collapsed in July 1997 when Hun Sen ousted Ranariddh. It never has been a workable political arrangement. Always tensions were high. Ministries, including the military, were split along political lines. Both parties built their own private armies—both the CPP and FUNCINPEC began to attract defectors from the fading Khmer Rouge movement. This came to a head when, fearing a move from Prince Ranariddh's generals, Hun Sen staged a coup when Ranariddh was out of the country. At least 100 FUNCINPEC loyalists were executed during and after the fighting. Deposed Prime Minister Ranariddh eventually returned from exile, and he and Hun Sen are now running as heads of their respective parties. Outspoken maverick politician Sam Rainsy is also running. Some analysts believe the vote could be split three ways, leading to another 1993-type coalition.

As for the Khmer Rouge, its leader, Pol Pot, died April 15<sup>th</sup>. The movement is in splinters, and is not believed to pose any military threat to the elections.

Western countries are backing the campaign, but with far less material support than in 1993, and are accused of wanting to wash their hands of Cambodia by backing elections—but not placing stringent conditions on Hun Sen to assure a free election. A UN-coordinated 34-country Joint International Observation Group, including observers from the United States, the European Union, Japan, and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), will be in Cambodia to monitor the elections.

Hun Sen objected to the result of the 1993 election, though international monitors at the time said the vote broadly conformed to international standards of freedom and fairness.

The Campaign. As of the end of the quarter some 5.4 million Khmer had registered to vote, which is about

98% of those eligible. In the 1993 election 4.7 million voted. The vote will be for 39 slates. Reports from throughout Cambodia this quarter say that Hun Sen's faction has clearly dominated the campaign. His portraits are everywhere. His propaganda machine monopolizes the mass media (save for five minutes radio air time allotted to each of the opposition parties).

NGOs, such as the Phnom Penh-based Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL), have throughout the quarter expressed concern about the ongoing election process. Prince Ranariddh and his opposition allies, including former finance minister Sam Rainsy, have complained of violence and intimidation by CPP supporters.

As the quarter was ending, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights expressed its concern over the rise in killings and intimidation in the run-up to the elections. Its Cambodia office said several dozen new allegations of human rights abuses committed by top leader Hun Sen's CPP have been compiled in late June. It said the cases mainly involve acts of murder, violence, or intimidation against the royalist FUNCINPEC and the Sam Rainsy Party (SRP). It listed the most serious as the killing of a Reastr Nyum party activist in Kompong Thom Province, the beating of a FUNCINPEC member in Takeo Province, the beating of two SRP activists in Phnom Penh, the detention by military personnel of a FUNCINPEC party official in Kompong Cham Province, and the threatened arrest of a FUNCINPEC party candidate by local authorities in the former Khmer Rouge stronghold of Pailin.

The Politics. The fundamental political science problem involved here is the fact that the Khmer have no tradition of the franchise. Most are skeptical of the idea that the best way of dividing up political power is to have everyone in the country go into a room and put a piece of paper in a box. It was never done this way through Cambodia's history. Before, the proper method—concentrated within the monarchy—was through private arrangements. Whatever else this meant, it was less stark and divisive as when the winner gets all, the loser nothing.

However, the concept of the franchise is now endorsed by all in Cambodia, for various motives. Some, the young, truly embrace the idea. Older Khmer feel it

is, as Churchill said of democracy, not the best but the least worst solution. Hun Sen hopes to derive approval from the international community. After his coup last year the world cut off the foreign aid that forms half of Cambodia's budget. The United Nations seat still belongs to Ranariddh. Winning an election would restore these and other international benefits. The 39-party opposition supports the franchise, in part due to pressure from the European Union, the Association of South East Asian Nations, and other international groups. The E.U. and Japan have largely financed the registration process and campaign infrastructure. The UN has put \$3 billion into Cambodia in the last few years.

Hun Sen has said, as he said in the 1993 election, that he will not accept the results if he judges them not to be free and fair. An intense international operation will be on hand to ensure the legitimacy of the franchise propriety. But the opposition alleges that the National Election Committee, which Hun Sen says is the only body with the right to judge if the elections are free and fair, is biased in favor of Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party.

The Khmer Rouge political faction has signaled that it will participate in the voting, spokesman Say Nuon—a 70-year old long-time guerrilla—told the Associated Press. "I can't wait for election day. Voting will help bring legitimacy." Ousted from power by Vietnamese-backed troops in 1979, the Khmer Rouge continued to wage war against successive governments. They boycotted the 1993 elections and today are judged as being on the verge of extinction.

The UN remains closely associated with this election although not as close as five years ago. In New York UN officials tended to remain stand-offish. The US Ambassador to the UN, William Richardson, warned that the road to free and fair elections was fraught with difficulties. In Phnom Penh Western diplomats concede they don't expect an absolutely pure election. They want to see reasonably free and fair voting—with the emphasis on "reasonably." As one senior Western diplomat put it, adding the election has to pass the "smell test." As long as the stench around the polls is not too bad, the results will be deemed acceptable by the West. But with the memories of last July, will the results be acceptable to the losers?

As with most of the political developments out of Cambodia these days, observers can (and do) react with optimistic or pessimistic assessments. The milk bottle is half full or half empty. There does seem to be what might be called political therapy in these elections. As someone said (Lincoln, perhaps), "trust the people with the gravest questions and in the end you educate the human race."



**Cambodian Contenders.** Major figures in the July Cambodian elections:

**Hun Sen:** The second prime minister of Cambodia and the leader of the Cambodian People's Party. Former member of the Khmer Rouge; led the Cambodian government for 10 years and forced himself into shared power in the government after the 1993 elections.

**Norodom Ranariddh:** The first prime minister in the coalition government. Status as prime minister is in doubt, but he is still recognized as such by the United States and the United Nations. The son of King Norodom Sihanouk, Ranariddh received the most votes in the 1993 elections.

**Norodom Sihanouk:** Symbolic King of Cambodia.

**Pol Pot:** Deceased; leader of Democratic Kampuchea government from 1975-79. Conducted agrarian communist regime. Held responsible for deaths of 2 million Cambodians who died of execution, starvation, and disease.

**Sam Rainsy:** Leader of the Khmer Nation Party (KNP), pro-democracy advocates and staunch opponents of Hun Sen. Formerly a member of FUNCINPEC, and now serving as finance minister.

**Ung Huot:** Replaced Norodom Ranariddh as prime minister after the July 5-6 (1997) upheaval. The former foreign minister and member of FUNCINPEC was appointed as prime minister by Hun Sen.

**Ta Mok:** Khmer Rouge figure and the most brutal general of the Khmer Rouge regime.

**Taon Chay:** Currently the elected, but unrecognized president of FUNCINPEC. Former national general and governor of Siem Reap.

## LAOS: ONWARD WITH THE UNCERTAIN REVOLUTION

It was a quiet quarter for Laos, in that nothing much untoward or dramatic took place. Focus, as it must be, was on internal socioeconomic problems and on external relations. The cautious, newly installed leadership, ever looking over its collective shoulder to Hanoi, Beijing, Bangkok, and the ASEAN capitals, made their day-to-day decisions. Those decisions, at least the important ones, had to do with the fact of change, the challenge of change. And, with specific questions: what kind of change for Laos? At what pace? And what will be the inadvertent effects of this change on Lao social fabric, economic life, style, national identity? These, of course, at root are imponderables for any society. For years sympathetic outsiders, especially from the West, kept insisting that the Lao essentially were nice, gentle, fun-loving people and they should be left alone—but instead, they were forever victimized by the forces of intrusion (“We live in a bad neighborhood,” said one perceptive Lao). Today the forces of intrusion are far less, and perhaps a bit more well-meaning, but this does not seem to bring much comfort in day-to-day decision making.

The stuff of the quarter included:

\*The newly inaugurated Lao leadership team met with foreign diplomats and others (April 10) at Lao New Year 2541 ceremonies. President Khamtay Siphandone made the usual ceremonial statement: The LPDP would continue to implement the Lao renovation policy. Laos hopes that friendly countries and international organizations will continue to extend their cooperation and support as they had in the past. At the ceremony were the President of the National Assembly, Samane Vignaketh; Prime Minister Sisavath Keobounphanh; Vice President Oudom Khattigna; Foreign Minister Somsavat Lengsavad; and Presidential Officer Thongdam Chanthaphone.

\*A Russian-built Yak-40 transport crashed enroute to the Plain of Jars area, killing 14 PAVN and 12 Lao Army officers. Senior casualty was General Đào Trọng Lịch, PAVN Chief of Staff and SRV Deputy Minister of Defense, who was regarded as one of the most influential military figures in Vietnam. His and the deaths of 13 other prominent military figures aboard leave a huge gap in the PAVN command system. Cause of the crash is attributed to pilot error. It took place during a storm.

\*The Lao Foreign Ministry announced that five foreigners arrested at a religious gathering (Feb. 4) are to be charged with “causing division, illegal assembly, slandering the nation’s leaders, and other serious charges.” Three are Americans, one French, one Thai; 55 Lao were also arrested.

\*Brig. Gen. Norton Schwartz (U.S. Army) was in Vientiane (May 13-14) to discuss U.S. aid in the Lao de-mining program, which consists of money, training, and donation of equipment. Since 1996 the commitment has totaled \$3 million in equipment and \$5 million with which U.S. personnel train Lao clearance technicians, medics, and community awareness workers. Lao nationals come from provinces where unexploded ordnance continues to effect the livelihood of the people. To date over 550 people have been trained.

\*The Lao economy is feeling the effects of the Asian economic crisis. Officials are unable to stabilize its currency. The *kip* has been trading at record lows of about 3,400 units to the U.S. dollar, down nearly 75% from last year. The government has halted the sale of foreign currencies by banks and the black market; foreign currencies can be purchased only by businesses registered in Laos. The move follows a ban on the use of foreign currencies in trade. However, the use of the Thai *baht* and the dollar in everyday business transactions remains widespread. Laos has little hope of emerging unscathed from the crisis. Low overseas investment and foreign reserves, a sharp decline in border trade with Thailand, and a heavy reliance on loans and aid are hurting the country’s economy.

\*The Lao Women’s Union held a plenary committee meeting in Vientiane (April 7-9) with Mrs. Onechanh Thammavong in the chair. The LWU recently was restructured and Mrs. Thammavong elected president. In her inaugural address she said the LWU must be upgraded in importance and its members must become more politically informed. Vice President Bouavone Onechanhome reported on the status of women in Laos: many achievements in the past year; increased ideological training for women; many good deeds performed; social welfare; and greater involvement of women in national socioeconomic development. ~~The three-day conference brought together 50 participants.~~



## Bibliography: Books and Monographs

\*Thailand and Laos agreed (May 2) to speed up demarcation of their common border. The two also reached an understanding that Thailand will not support Lao insurgents. The understanding was signed by Thai Army chief Gen. Chettha Thanajaro and Lao Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister Choumaly Sayasone and chief of Supreme Military Staff Brig. Gen. Douangchai Phaichit.

\*The first major dam built in Laos in 20 years—Thuen Hinboun—opened (mid-April) at a cost of \$260 million. It will sell electric power to Thailand. The event met with the usual expression of environmental fear and charges of discrimination against fishermen.

\*Lao internal security officials visited Hanoi for discussion of ways to orchestrate respective military and internal security activity. Something went on but the usual vague joint communique followed the six day trip.

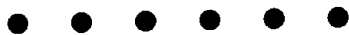
\*Laos and Brunei signed an air transportation and diplomatic intercourse agreement during a three-day state visit to Brunei Darusalaam led by President Khamtay Siphandone. It followed the visit to Vientiane of the Sultan of Brunei, Muda Hassanal Bolkiah.

\*A delegation of the Communist Party of China returned home April 3 after a goodwill visit to Laos. It was headed by Zeng Qinghong, alternate member of the CCP Political Bureau, and member of the Secretariat.

\*Severe weather in mid-April destroyed 165 homes in eight villages of Luang Prabang Province.



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*A Tangled Web: The Making of Foreign Policy in the Nixon Presidency* by William Bundy (holder of key 1960s-era posts at CIA, State Department, and the Pentagon and ex-editor of Foreign Affairs). A valuable and rare work, a first-person insider's account in its entirety of the Nixon record in foreign affairs in general and Vietnam policy in particular. Bundy was at Nixon's elbow through most of it and has produced a work that is authoritative, honest, and full of forcibly stated judgments. The book has been a long time coming, apparently because writing it caused the author a good deal of soul searching, if not agony. Bundy's verdict in general seems to jibe with the consensus that has been emerging since Nixon's death (although partisan historians will be riled by much of what he says about the Nixon pluses even while seizing on the minuses), namely: that Nixon's overall foreign policy performance on balance deserves high marks; that as chief executive he was more shrewd manipulator than statesman; that he "never leveled" with the American people (and, apparently, often not with the people around him); and that he was undone in the end by his "unshakable bent to deceive." On this latter, Bundy is on weak ground; as a civilian he fails to distinguish between the centrality of deception in warfare (its very essence) and deception in the practice of politics in a democracy. Book deserves wide distribution. Recommended. With maps, bibliography, chronology of events, etc. Hill and Wang Publishers. \$35. (1998).

*Counterpart: A South Vietnamese Naval Officer's War* by Kiém Đỗ (retired VNN deputy chief of staff) and Julie Kane (award-winning author). Kiém is a retired South Vietnamese naval officer whose last assignment was as the South Vietnamese Navy's Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations. He has produced a fascinating memoir on his early life in Northern Vietnam; his service with the Việt Minh; his subsequent identification with the French (through loyalty to his father); and his education at the French Naval Academy at Brest. Later, through a procession of coups, ship commands, and dogged devotion to duty, Kiém rose through the ranks, married his high school sweetheart, and experienced operations with the Americans (including Operation Market Time and Mobile Riverine Force patrols).



And on his numerous contacts with Diệm and Madame Nhu, as commander of the Ngô family's "presidential yacht." Kiếm offers criticism of the U.S. advisory effort—though his impression of Admiral Zumwalt is positive—and concludes with a gripping description of the chaos that surrounded Sài Gòn in April 1975, when he organized a fleet of 35 ships, and took thousands of refugees to the Philippines, Guam, and ultimately, to the United States. Kiếm's book fills an important gap in the literature on the naval war in South Vietnam—the Vietnamese perspective. United States Naval Institute Press. Annapolis, MD. \$29.95 (hardcover). (1998).

***Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961-1973***, by Robert Dallek (Boston Univ.) Second and concluding volume of the life of LBJ (first was *Lone Star Rising*). There are many ironies of the Vietnam war and the career of Lyndon Johnson is perhaps the greatest irony of them all. Here we have an immensely detailed chronologically told account taking Johnson from the start (more or less) of the Vietnam War to its end. Not clear exactly is the impression Dallek seeks to leave us with. Is LBJ a King Lear, driven mad by the war? It does seem that his problems in governance and most of those involving personal relationships are traceable to the war, and one way or another it ruined his attempt to create a Great Society. Clearly Johnson did not understand the nature of the war, nor the complexities of its resolution. But the effort really to see, really to perceive, is no mean task given the forces of obfuscation. On Vietnam, Lyndon Johnson simply didn't have it. Oxford University Press. (1998).

***The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis***, Ernest R. May and Philip Zelikow (both of Harvard Univ.), eds. Some 700 pages of transcription of conversations in the White House corridors of power during the momentous month of October 1962 when the U.S. (perhaps almost) went to war over Soviet missiles in Cuba. Vietnam at the time was but a small cloud on the horizon (as indicated by the index, one brief entry). But Vietnam War historians will find this work grist for their mill in judging the character and behavior of major figures who later loomed large in Vietnam (Robert McNamara, for instance). The single Vietnam entry: "General Shoup: Russia has a hell of a lot better way to attack us than from Cuba . . . Berlin, South Vietnam, Korea."

***Abuse of Power: The New Nixon Tapes***, Stanley Kutler (Univ. of Wisconsin, ed.). The wonder remains: why, to save himself, didn't Nixon destroy those oval office taped conversations? Even greater wonder, as is apparent here, why did he never recognize the ruin they represented? Answer appears to be ego—his determination to leave the record, regardless. In any event, Vietnam War historians are beholden to Nixon. A vast number of Vietnam entries here, although most deal not with the war but with the war inside the beltway. What came across as particularly striking is Nixon's obsession with the Pentagon Papers' release, which, after all, had little to do with his watch. Valuable contribution to what has become the new research historian's genre: recording people who do not know they are being recorded. The Free Press. (1997).

***Crosswinds: The Air Force's Setup in Vietnam***, by Earl H. Tilford, Jr. (U.S. Air Force Command and Staff College). A stern, angry book by a mild-mannered man. Tilford's thesis is that the U.S. Air Force was "set up" for defeat in Vietnam by its own ossified leadership, its own peculiar institutional value system, and its Korean War heritage. He doesn't mean to, but he comes perilously close to enrolling the conspiracy crowd in the U.S. (next step, an Oliver Stone movie). His is a complicated thesis because he does not contend, as do some, that the war was an act of betrayal. Clearly, Tilford still loves the Air Force. Heavily researched, carefully argued, this is the kind of history writing that must be taken seriously. Good bibliography on the air war in Vietnam. Texas A&M University Press. (1993).

***Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Vol. IV, Vietnam 1966***. Continuation of the U.S. State Department's invaluable documentation of the Vietnam War drawn from Executive Branch files (State, CIA, White House). Contains much material not found in the (mostly DoD) Pentagon Papers. Includes President Johnson's 17 taped telephone conversations with top advisors that illuminate views he rarely expressed himself on paper. Also the personal papers of George Ball, Averell Harriman, John McNaughton, General Maxwell Taylor, and General William Westmoreland. From U.S. Superintendent of Documents, PO 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250. \$53 (foreign \$63). (1998).

***Vietnamese Communists' Relations with China and the Second Indochina Conflict, 1956-62.*** By Ang Cheng Guan (Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies, Singapore). An examination of the interval between wars in Vietnam, when Hanoi put its faith in French diplomacy to achieve unification and without much assistance from its Soviet and Chinese allies. Author maintains that there was not much either could do in any case. Based on recently available documents from China, Britain, and the U.S. Published by McFarland and Co., Jefferson, N.C. 28640. \$45, plus postage. (1998).

***Overtured Chariot: Autobiography of Phan Bội-Châu.*** Ardent turn-of-the-century nationalist and one of the major non-Marxist revolutionary Vietnamese actors. More aggressive than Hồ Chí Minh and the Stalinists, Châu was a bad judge of human nature (he depended on Japanese aid that never materialized, switched to the Chinese who also proved to be a thin reed). Châu's group, the Duy Tân Hội, launched a revolt in 1907; later plotted to assassinate the French governor-general, Albert Sarraut. French agents in 1925 tracked him to Shanghai, brought him back to Huế under house arrest, where he died in 1940. Châu wrote this autobiography in 1928. Translated by Vĩnh Sinh and Nicholas Wiskenden. University of Hawaii Press. \$28. (1998).

***Declassified Articles from the Agency's Internal Journal, 1955-1992,*** Bradford Westerfield (ed.). The CIA has its own internal serial media—all classified—daily newspaper, monthly magazine, etc. Output is professional; concern is with capability and intent of America's friends and foes alike. Much is of academic use. Large selection here (512 pages). Yale Univ. Press. \$35 hardcover, \$18 paper. (1995).

***Vietnamese Literature: A Brief Survey (1994) and Vietnamese Literature: An Anthology (1998),*** by Nguyễn Đình Hòa (leading Việt kiều lexicographer). Introduction to Vietnam's major authors and poets. Hòa is author of more than a dozen language books, and is considered the major dictionary writer now at work. Published by the SDSU College of Education, San Diego State University Foundation, 9518 Vervain St., San Diego, CA 92129.

***Leaving Deep Water: The Lives of Asian***

***American Women at the Crossroads of Two Cultures,*** by Claire S. Chow (Kennedy Univ., San Ramon, Calif.) Author searched the biographies and memoirs of several dozen women emigres from Vietnam and elsewhere in Asia for descriptive accounts of their respective acculturation efforts in the U.S.—the stereotypes and myths they encountered, their general struggles to cope. Told with sympathy and insight. Organizational structure is by theme: coming of age, dealing with parents, careers, marriages and aging, etc. Well done work. Dutton. (1998).

***Grey Ghosts: New Zealand Vietnam Vets Talk About Their War,*** by Deborah Challinor (Waikato Univ., New Zealand). Author interviewed 50 New Zealand veterans about their Vietnam War service as research on her Ph.D. thesis. Here she turns the thesis into a commercial publication. Chief focus seems to be on war as fear, death, drugs—generally the dark side. Honest work, somewhat romanticized, a bit credulous. Good bibliography; also a list of New Zealand war dead. Hodder Moa Beckett, New Zealand. \$29.95(NZ). (1998).

***A Very Short War: The Mayaguez and the Battle of Koh Tang,*** by John F. Guilmartin, Jr. (Ohio State University). It all happened in three days in May 1975—a show down between U.S. Marines and a Khmer Rouge guerrilla band over the SS *Mayaguez*, an American container freighter seized off southern Cambodia. President Gerald Ford ordered its recapture. The Marines delivered. Significance of this incident—it was by no means a war—was as America's first encounter with Cambodia's Khmer Rouge whom we are still trying to puzzle out what it is exactly that makes them tick. Good scholarship, engagingly written. With appendices, schematics, photos, etc. Texas A&M University Press. (1995).

***Fortune Favors the Bold; A British LRRP with the 101<sup>st</sup>,*** by James W. Walker. Billed as the unique, unvarnished view from a British citizen serving with the U.S. Army in Vietnam. Walker was raised as an orphan. Found, first in the British army, then in the American Army, what he was looking for: respect, comradeship, friends. In Vietnam he served with the verve and class we have come to expect of the British Tommy. Ivy Books. \$6.99. (1998).

***What They Didn't Teach You About World War II***, by Mike Wright (television writer and producer). A sort of cultural history of the Big One. Not a contribution to the conspiracy thesis of history. More the case of offering little known interesting facts. For instance, the Russians developed a rifle that could shoot around the corner, and used it at Stalingrad. Aimed mostly at the young, the unknowing. Presidio Press. (1998).

***The Vietnam Scrapbook: 'The Second ANZAC Adventure'***, compiled by Mike Subrtizky for Three Feathers Publishers. A spirited, highly ambitious effort to detail the history of New Zealanders in the Vietnam War. Heavily illustrated with photos, maps, graphics, schematics. Bulk of contents is personal accounts and memoirs. Also unit histories; lists of honors and awards; tabulations; casualties; deployment stats; messages from the PM, General Westmoreland, and others. Three Feathers Publishing Co., PO Box 109, Papakura, New Zealand. (1995).

***America's Wars in Asia; A Cultural Approach to History and Memory***, Philip West, et. al. (eds). Twenty authors, mostly academics but with a scattering of military; mostly Americans but with some Japanese, Chinese, and South Koreans gathered (1995) at the Mansfield Center in Montana for a conference on "the human dimension of warfare" (what else is involved in war, other than the human dimension?) Covers the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the Big One, Korea, and Vietnam. On the latter: "Through American Eyes: Combat Experiences and Memories of Korea and Vietnam" by Colonel Harry Summers, Jr. (editor, *Vietnam Magazine*; Korea and Vietnam veteran); "The Indian Wars and the Vietnam War" by David Trask (Gulliford College, Jamestown, NC, historian); "Tutoring Democracy: Michigan State University and the Politics of Reform in South Vietnam" by John Ernst (Moorehead State Univ.); "Fragmentation in American and Vietnamese War Fiction" by Leslie Kennedy Adams (Houston Baptist Univ.); and "American and Vietnamese Poetry of Witness; Bridge Over Troubled Waters" by James Soular (Univ. of Montana, Vietnam veteran). See also the intellectualized essay, "American Wars Within World History" by G.L. Penrose (Hope College historian). M.E. Sharpe (1998).

***The Killing Zone: New Zealand Infantry in Vietnam*** by Colin Smith (Auckland Customs Officer

and war buff). A polished, professionally done brief on the New Zealand troops in Vietnam. Deals with the war zone, the enemy, operations, and tactics. Well-illustrated with schematics. Useful reference work for Vietnam War historians who remember it was not just Americans who were there. AQU Press, Box 20438 Glen Eden, Auckland, New Zealand. \$29.50(NZ).

***Two Lanyards in Vietnam***, by Gary R. Brooker (NZ Vietnam veteran). This is a first-person account of the author's experiences with "Whiskey Three Company", New Zealand Army, South Vietnam, 1969-1970. Written in a conversational style which seems to alternate between verbatim diary entries and a narrative that matured with Brooker's distance from the events he describes. On life and times of what it was like as seen from the "sharp end" (New Zealand slang for front slope). Like most who served there, for Brooker it was a mix, and not all bad. Published by G.R. Brooker, Wensley, Hawarden R.D., North Canterbury, New Zealand. (1995).

***Wounded Warriors, Chosen Lives: Healing for Vietnam Veterans***, by Howard J. Olsen (25<sup>th</sup> Infantry, Vietnam 1967-68). On post-traumatic stress disorder and how it can be healed with help from medicine and God. Product of a great deal of research and thought. Clear Stream Publishing, Box 122128 Arlington, TX, 76012. (1997).

***The Price of Exit***, by Tom Marshall (assault helicopter pilot in Vietnam). Memoir on helicopter war along the DMZ, 1970-71. Captures the daily stress and determination of the pilots—in air strikes and extraction of downed pilots by the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne, the most highly decorated assault helicopter unit in I Corps. For a third of Marshall's helicopter school classmates, the price of exit from Vietnam was the maximum. Ballantine Books. \$6.99. (1998).

***More Than a Soldier's War; Pacification in Vietnam***, by Edward P. Metzner (four-tour advisor in Vietnam). The trials and tribulations of an American civilian doing a job in Vietnam for which there was little prior training and then not much by way of guidelines nor agreement up the line as to what was required. It is one thing to say win the hearts and minds of the peasant, quite another, standing in the rice paddy, to determine how. It was not so much a matter of dealing with

attitude as with getting the place organized. Ideology at that level was an abstraction; what was real was the ambiguity. It appears from his account that Metzner handled affairs as well as anyone could. An authoritative description of the war in the boondocks with valuable research material and case studies for historians to employ. Texas A&M University Press. (1995).

***Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam's Hearts and Minds***, by Richard A. Hunt (military historian). The term pacification is used as an opprobrium by ignorant Vietnam War critics. In fact, it is a precise expression, meaning necessary peace and harmony, and it has a long honorable history in Confucian societies. Be it famine, bandits, or guerrillas, it was the duty of the Emperor/State to "pacify" the countryside by whatever means were appropriate. In Vietnam it was, at all times, a given among Americans that pacification/nation-building/mobilization of the population was primarily the task of the Vietnamese, with such aid, chiefly advice and support, as outsiders could offer. All in all, the American record is one to be proud of, which becomes clear in this work. Hunt has produced a work of enormous scope and ambition. Very likely it will become the seminal work on the pacification program in Vietnam. Recommended. Westview Press. (1995).

***Vietnam: Revolution in Transition***, by William J. Duiker. The second edition of this highly valuable history/contemporary events text by a leading American specialist on Vietnam and its wars. Author is at work on a biography of Hồ Chí Minh. Westview Press. First published in 1995.

***Communicating with Asia: Understanding People and Customs***, by Harry Irwin (Univ. of Western Sydney). Well done work on cross-cultural communication for foreigners in Asia. Draws on a now fairly extensive literature of the field (with good bibliography). Touches on all relevant aspects: differing ways of thinking and reasoning; cultural shock; the anthropology of manners, and above all, the problems of language which divides. Apparently intended as an undergraduate level textbook. Can sensitize travelers—such as Anglo Saxons—attempting to communicate in Asia or dealing with Asian immigrants in their midst (not many references to the Indochinese). Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards NSW Australia (through Paul and Company

publishers and consortium, Concord, Mass). \$24.95 (paper). (1996).

***A Tale of Three Wars***, by Edward Atkeson (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC). Novel by West Point alumnus, retired USA general, Vietnam veteran, author of non-fiction. Plot involves three main characters: ARVN, Việt Cộng, American (the first and the third good friends), each battling the enemy and their own superiors. It is, as they say, suspenseful, action-packed, and thought-provoking. Forward by General Norman Schwarzkopf (USA ret.) Published by the Army War College Foundation Press, Carlisle, Penn, 17013. (1997).

***Singing the Vietnam Blues: Songs of the Air Force in Southeast Asia***, by Joseph F. Tusso (Vietnam veteran F-4 crewmember and professor of English at New Mexico Military Institute). Veterans have long been noted for producing poetry, doggerel, songs, and slang that use sarcasm, irony, and puns to convey the irony and stark emotions of participation in combat. Here, Tusso weighs in with the lyrics to 148 songs—the results of fifteen years of research into tape recordings and songbooks. Many of the songs were set to popular melodies, such as "The Wabash Cannonball" or "Puff, the Magic Dragon," though their subject matter reflects the gallows humor of air force pilots and aircrew. The songs refer to specific places ("Biên Hòa Lullaby"), aircraft ("My Darling F-4" or "Republic's Ultra Hog"), missions ("Strafe the Town" or "Cruising Over Hanoi") and the pilots themselves ("The Ballad of Robin Olds" or "I'm a Young Ranch Hand"). While most poke fun at aircraft, leadership, or a sense of futility, others show respect (or sympathy) for the enemy and a poignant sense of the pilot's own mortality. Tusso's explanatory notes and glossary round out an interesting contribution to the study of the popular culture of the Vietnam experience. Texas A&M University Press. (1990).

***Cry in the Wilderness: Guinea Pigs of Vietnam***, by Jean R. Williams (Activist and mother of an Australian Vietnam veteran). This work, which won the Australian Human Rights Award for 1996, is an angry polemic against what the author sees as an unjustified American war in Southeast Asia in which Australia was a willing participant. The bulk of the work focuses on the use of chemical herbicides—hence the book's title—

and the postwar efforts of both American and Australian veterans to force their respective governments to accept responsibility for the health problems resulting from exposure to chemical agents. An interesting—though far from objective—addition to the literature on post-war veterans' affairs. Homecoming Publications, 186 Coes Creek Road, Nambour, Queensland 4560, Australia. (1995).

**'With' Our Boys in Vietnam** by Betty May Browne. A collection of poems, photographs, and newspaper clippings—a true labor of love—which includes letters and poems sent to members of a New Zealand artillery battery in Vietnam, 1965-72. (Betty May, called them “my rogues” and “my scamps”. Cloudy Bay Publishing, Blenheim, New Zealand. (1996).

**A Personal War in Vietnam**, by Robert Flynn (Vietnam-era war correspondent). The author spent two months in Vietnam with Golf Company, Fifth Marines, in the Combined Unit Pacification Program (CUPP)—stationed in remote Vietnamese villages working with local civilians to protect Vietnamese homes and improve living standards. Việt Cộng efforts to disrupt the CUPP program indicate the success such localized, politically-oriented programs enjoyed in undermining the insurgency. A testament to the importance of working closely with the people in a counterinsurgency war. Texas A&M University Press. (1989).

**Wounded Warriors**, by Colin P. Sisson (New Zealand Vietnam veteran). An interesting account of the author's 1967-68 service in Vietnam as a Kiwi infantryman, and the impact of the war later in his life. He struggled for years with unfulfilling jobs and the wreckage of his marriage, then turned to Eastern philosophies and mysticism. Sisson claims that a therapy called “rebirthing” or “Breath Integration”, enabled him to overcome his war-induced traumas. Total Press, Ltd., Auckland, New Zealand. (1993).

**Future Visions for U.S. Defense Policy: Four Alternatives Presented as Presidential Speeches**, John Hillen, Project Director. First in a series of Council on Foreign Policy Initiatives designed to encourage debate on crucial topics in U.S. foreign policy. The Council contends that the U.S. military force structure has been “downsized”, and asks should it remain thus, or should it change, and if so, how? Four alternatives of-

ferred: increasing current force levels; focus on maintaining absolute technological superiority; cut expenditures and with the help of NATO and UN partners focus on low-intensity issues such as counter-terrorism or responses to civil/ethnic wars; or maintain the status quo. Thought-provoking. Council on Foreign Relations Press. (1998).

**Southeast Asia: A Reader**. Clive Christie (ed). For classroom use. A collection of 20<sup>th</sup> century materials on nationalist organizations in the region, their organizational structure during their formative years and their evolution into sophisticated anti-colonial forces. St. Martin's Press. \$59.50 hardcover, \$19.95 paper. (1998).

**Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation Was Robbed of Its Heroes and Its History** by B.G. Burkett (199<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry Brigade, Vietnam; Co-Chairman of the Texas Vietnam Memorial), with Glenna Whitley (Freelance writer and editor). A challenge to the common image of the Vietnam veteran as a pot-smoking pony-tailed layabout who sulks and mumbles about racism, etc. Based on ten years of research in the National Archives and elsewhere. Drawn from much data, the book has pre-publication endorsements from editors, academics, and veterans. From Verity Press, Dallas, Texas. (1998).

**La France et le Vietnam dans l'Espace Francophone**. Papers, 24 in all, from a 1997 Paris conference on the place/role of the French language in Vietnam. From the l'Association d'Amite Franco-Vietnamienne, Paris. Available from Cellar Book Shop, Detroit, Michigan, 48221. (1997).

**Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences During the Cold War**, Christopher Simpson (ed.). Collection of writings on how, since the end of World War II, U.S. intelligence, military, and information agencies influenced the social sciences during the period, such as the U.S. Army's use of anthropologists and other scholars to study third-world insurgencies in Project Camelot. New Press Publishers. \$27.50. (1997).

**Fine Contemporary Vietnamese Art: Toward the Millenium**. Published by Galerie La Vong, Hong Kong. Works of 20 of Vietnam's contemporary painters with critiques and other commentary from scholars

and art critics, Vietnamese and foreign. Address: Suite 13/F, One Lan Kwai Fong, Central Hong Kong. \$72, plus S/H. (1998).

***God Left Us Alone Here: A Book of War*** by John Gaps. Poetry and photography on arrival and departure, discovery and loss, waiting for God. Lone Oak Press, Rochester, Minnesota. (1998).

***Hồ Chí Minh's Testament***, by the Gioi Publishers, Hà Nội. Hồ Chí Minh's testament. Last will in Hồ's own handwriting, intended to counter allegations of forgery. From Global Directions, 116 Maiden Lane, San Francisco, California 94108. \$10. (1995).

***Earth and Water: Encounters in Vietnam*** by Edith Shillue (Univ. of Massachusetts, Boston). By one from the post-Vietnam War generation. Shillue in 1993 went to HCMC as a teacher-writer, with "no wound in my mind" as she puts it, and began this combination diary-memoir. Highly readable since she writes so well. The moral of her venture, to which all old-hand teachers-writers will testify, is this: when you go to a place like Vietnam for the first time, during your first few weeks take careful notes; write them up each evening; try to record all impressions, reactions, puzzlements. Then put them away for later use. You will be surprised later how insightful you were, compared with what you learned when in your sophistication you were in constant danger of being seduced by the trivial. University of Massachusetts Press. \$50 hardcover, \$16.95 paper. (1998).

***Vietnam: A History and Anthology***. James Mooney and Thomas West (eds.). Collection of documents, pseudo-documents, and popular cultural materials, not so much on Vietnam as on the American-Vietnamese connection. Divided into topics: beginnings, involvement, arguments, fighting, meanings. Somewhat ideologically slanted. Useful for student research use. Extensive bibliography. From Brandywine Press, St. James, New York. (1994).

***I Begin My Life All Over: The Hmong and the American Immigrant Experience*** by Ghia Xiong (Hmong émigré in U.S.), with Anne Fadiman. Trenchant account of an acculturation transition from the hills of Laos to urban America. Probably the cultural shock for the Hmong was greater, the adjustment more difficult, than was the case with their fellow sojourners

from Indochina. Effective work. Beacon Press. (1998).

***The Hidden History of the Vietnam War*** by John Prados (author, historian). Now in paperback, this impressionistic history of the personalities, strategies, battles, and postwar issues of the Vietnam War. From Ivan Dee, Inc., Chicago, Illinois. \$16.95. (1998).

***The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide***, by Judith Jacob. First work in English in the classical Khmer literature of the 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, some of it was written on palm leaves. Celar Book Shop, Detroit, Michigan. \$59. (1996).

***Bamboo Dawn*** by Patrick McWain. Novel set in Vietnam during the war years. Protagonists must deal with a sloppy brutal war characterized by corruption, ignorance, bravery, and intrigue. From White Lotus Ltd., Bangkok. \$19.50. (1994).

***When Every Household is an Island: Social Organization and Power Structure in Rural Cambodia*** by Jan Ovensen, Ing-Britt Trankell and Joakim Ojendal (Swedish anthropologists). The Swedish government, with the best of intentions, in 1979 launched an ambitious program of emergency relief work and an incautious economic development program to the Khmer Rouge, and then was taken aback to learn what they were funding. It asked these anthropologists to explain Pol Pot and company. This work is sort of an initial inventory of what went on in the Cambodian countryside. Based mostly on existing literature. From White Lotus. \$22. (1996).

***The American Intellectual Tradition*** by David Hollinger (Univ. California, Berkeley) and Charles Capper (Univ. of North Carolina). A unique and comprehensive anthology of writings by American intellectuals from John Winthrop to Susan Sontag. Sections: Puritan Vision; Republican Enlightenment; Evangelical Democracy; Romanticism and Reform; Quest for Union; Toward a Secular Culture; Social Progress and the Power of Intellect; To Extend Democracy and Formulate the Modern; and Exploiting Diversity and Postmodernity. Valuable work. In two volumes. Third edition. From Oxford University Press. (1997).

***Vietnam and the World: Marxist-Leninist Doctrine and Changes in International Relations, 1975-93*** by Ero Palmujoki. A study of Hà Nội's foreign relations since the end of the Vietnam War. Author finds

that Confucian foreign policy thought has been deeply influenced by Marxism and Leninism, especially the latter. St. Martin's Press, New York. \$65. (1997).

***Khmer Rouge End Game*** by Paul Ryan. Novel about a Yale history professor and five other foreigners who are kidnapped while visiting Angkor Wat to become pawns of one-legged Khmer Rouge guerrilla chief Ta Mok. Action, conflict, romance. From Manewata Press, Cummington, MA 01026. \$19.95. (1998).

***Vietnamese Ceramics: A Separate Tradition*** by John Stevenson and John Guy. Said to be the first definitive study of Vietnamese ceramics in any language. Effort made to distinguish subject from the China tradition. Text is 422 pages. With 421 full page color illustrations and black and white photos collected from around the world. Also maps, appendices, bibliography. From Cellar Book Store, Detroit. \$125. (1997).

***Our Hô: Fact and Fiction*** by Alan Trustman (Hollywood script writer). Author says it is not well known but Hô worked for the OSS in World War II; disbanded the Indochina Communist Party; wrote a constitution for Vietnam modeled on the American; was sold out by the U.S. Work was noted on the Internet, which says it is available only from Amazon.com. Another report says it can be found at Barnes and Noble. (1998).

***The Ethics of Remembering: History, Heterology, and the Nameless Others*** by Edith Wyschogrod (Univ. of Chicago). A professional academic historian offers some counsel to her colleagues: be ethically responsible in writing and teaching history's 20<sup>th</sup> century traumas given the advent of "hyperreality"—that is, the use of films, photographs, the Internet. University of Chicago Press, \$47 hardcover, \$19 paper. (1998).

***Culture and Self: Philosophical and Religious Perspectives, East and West*** by Douglas Allen (Univ. of Maine). Meant to foster Western academic understanding of eastern ways of thinking and of Asian people, for example, the distinction between self and culture. Westview Press. \$22 hardcover, \$15.50 paper. (1997).

***Abstracts: The 1998 AAS Annual Meeting***. Some 400 pages on the Association's most recent meeting; abstracts of 199 panels, and directory of participants (names, mail, and e-mail addresses). Comprehensive guide to scholarship trends. From Association

for Asian Studies, 1021 E. Huron Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. \$20, plus postage. (1998).

***Oxford Dictionary of World Religions***, John Bowker (ed.). A-Z guide to all major religions, movements, sects, cults, individuals, sacred sites, customs, etc., past and present. From QPB. \$24.95. (1997).

***Edward Lansdale: The Unquiet American*** by Cecil Currey (military historian). Billed as the truth about the hero of *The Ugly American* and the villain of *The Quiet American*. Brassey's, Dulles, VA. \$24.95. (1998).

***Confucianism and Human Rights***, William Theodore de Bary and Tu Weiming (eds.). Eighteen distinguished scholars explain Confucianism on subject of universal human rights; and on western understanding of that question. One trusts President Clinton had this book aboard Air Force One on his recent trip to Beijing. Columbia University Press. \$40. (1998).

***The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-94***, by John Ehrman. On Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Norman Podhoretz, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Elliott Abrams—that crowd—and what they did to influence U.S. foreign policy which chiefly was to shift many Americans from being Truman Democrats to Reagan Republicans. Traces the often symbiotic relationship between liberals and neoconservatives. Neoconservatives were split on some issues, such as Vietnam. Yale University Press. \$37.50 hardcover, \$15 paperback. (1996).

***The Lives of Thomas A. Dooley, 1927-61***, by James Fisher (Northwestern University). His was a clutch of improbable lives: indifferent Irish-American student in Catholic schools; young Navy officer rescuing Catholics fleeing communist Vietnam (drummed out for his homosexuality); author of a runaway bestseller (*Deliver Us From Evil*); an M.D. in Laos less concerned by medical necessities than spiritual dimensions ("I'm moving Lao medicine from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century"); political guru ("I am a bridge between Jack Kennedy and Joe McCarthy"). Fisher judges Dooley to be a "spiritual colonialist", like Mother Teresa. University of Massachusetts Press. \$29.95. (1997).



## Bibliography: Periodicals

“Robert Thompson and the British Advisory Mission in South Vietnam, 1961-65” by Ian F.W. Beckett (Univ. of Luton, UK). He was known as Sir Robert and his cohorts as the BRIAM (British Advisory Mission to South Vietnam). He brought in a clutch of theories on how to win a guerrilla war, based on his Malaya Emergency experience which defeated the local CTs (communist terrorists). The lesson to be learned from the Thompson manifestation, however, is that insurgencies are one of a kind. They grow out of their own peculiar indigenous socio-political soil. Hence, counter-insurgencies are also one of a kind. No universal handbook exists for either. The fact is the Thompson formula did not work in Vietnam. Separate the guerrilla from the population and food resources, he advised. It worked in Malaya. But South Vietnam was no Malaya with an ethnically identifiable enemy. The Mekong Delta was no Cameron Highland (where it is possible to starve, even thirst, to death). The same lesson can be learned from the Lansdale Mission which brought its strategy from the Philippines (find a man on a white horse, like Magsaysay, who will win the peasant heart and mind). Even so, this essay on Thompson as a biographical study, is first rate, conveying fully the character and the style of this singular officer and gentleman. (At one of his last public appearances in Washington, a cocktail party, those present heard him observe: “I find there are three ages in life: youth, middle age, and ‘my you are looking well.’” *From Small Wars and Insurgencies*, v. 8, n.3, Winter 1997. Offprint available from Frank Cass Journals, Newbury House, 900 Eastern Ave., London IG2 7HH, or ISBS, 5804 NE Hassalo St., Portland, Oregon 97213-3644.

*Vietnam Magazine* for February 1998 carries a series of articles on the 1968 Tết Offensive:

—“With Creighton Abrams During Tết”, by Brigadier General Zeb Bradford (USA, Ret.), Abrams in Huế, leading the counterattack.

—“LBJ’s Strategy for Disengagement” by Stephen B. Young (author, Minneapolis attorney). In a word, it was to de-escalate the conflict without losing the war—the instructions to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in 1967.

—“The Best Book on the Tết Offensive was by the Sài Gòn Bureau Chief of One of America’s Most Liberal Newspapers” by Harry Summers (*Vietnam* editor). It is *Big Story*, by the late Peter Braestrup.

—“Nearly Two Centuries Before the 1968 Tết Offensive, the Vietnamese Launched a New Years’ Attack on the Chinese” by Nelson Gibson. Thus, if we had read our history we would not have been surprised.

—Editor Summers’ introduction which notes that the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tết Offensive is an opportunity to cut through the bodyguard of lies that distort the battle’s real significance.

“Vietnam Update” by Nick Freeman (editor) et al in *ING Barings Vietnam Research*, May 27, 1998. More solid analysis on Vietnam’s politico-economic condition in this fine, 40-page report. Summary points; 1) Top leadership transition in Hanoi, although not a true generational transfer of power, has been completed. New and younger team at the helm headed by Party Secretary Lê Khả Phiêu and Prime Minister Phan Văn Khải. Broad thrust of government policy is unlikely to change. 2) The domestic economy sector continues to cool, product in part of the regional economic downturn which makes the external environment less benevolent. Combined with a strong local currency, this means that maintaining export performance will be an extremely challenging exercise. 3) Foreign investor sentiment remains bearish; the trend is down for investment. Disbursements have also peaked. In addition, no ESAF or SAC loans are currently in place, giving concern on availability of adequate foreign exchange. 4) A semi-drought this summer threatens the rice crop and adds administrative political problems for the leadership in fixing import-export policies. Coffee is being adversely affected. 5) The general economic reform momentum appears to be picking up. The state and finance sectors seem destined for restructuring, while private and foreign sectors may see the removal of some fetters. 6) It seems quite probable that Vietnam will have a stock market up and running by the end of 1998. A revised law now being drafted to permit foreigners to cumulatively hold a 30% stake in local companies. ING Barings’ New York office: 667 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10001).

“The KR Papers” by Bou Saroeun and Peter Sainsbury (staffers) in *Phnom Penh Post*, May 22-June 4, 1998. The DK was never known to leave much of a paper trail. However, a cache of its documents was found (May 15, 1998) at a site next to Pol Pot’s last residence (described as Choam Village on Mountain 200, 14 km north of Anlong Veng). Consists of three elementary school exercise books recording minutes of meetings (June 1997 to January 1998—273 pages), plus loose documents of more minutes and a full KR census. Although battered, the material is legible, written in the same neat hand. The study meetings were for top cadres, chaired by Ta Mok and Nuon Chea. An independent expert in Phnom Penh describes the papers as “politically explosive.” They were verified as authentic by Pich Cheang, the former DK ambassador to China and Yim San, Political Officer of Division 980. Both men participated in the meetings.

“Why Did You Kill? The Cambodian Genocide and the Dark Side of Face and Honor” by Alexander Laban Hinton (Univ. of Chicago). Report on some grisly on-the-scene ethnographic research to explain the Pol Pot phenomenon. Was it the result of an incautious pursuit of social perfection, Marxism/Maoism, carried to its illogical extreme? Was it simple madness, the result of being bombed insane? Was it hatred born of fear of the Vietnamese? Or was it a continuation of centuries of Khmer bloody-mindedness? The author says the answer lies in Cambodia’s cultural heritage with its several (but in no way singular) set of virtues, a value system that includes self-image, honor, face. In combination they formed the force that unleashed the genocidal impulse. This conclusion is badly undercut by a further conclusion, that culture itself does not cause genocide. Article should be expanded into a book. In *Journal of Asian Studies*, v. 57, n. 1, February 1998.

“House Panel Studies U.S. Refugee Program, Policies and Budget” in *Refugee Reports*, v. 19, n. 2, 1998. Authoritative report on Congressional activity in the field of refugee resettlement and assistance. Rep. Christopher Smith (R-NJ) is quoted as criticizing the Clinton Administration for the paucity of its efforts under the Orderly Departure Program for Vietnamese, whom he estimates to be 15,000-20,000 eligibles. Report also covers State Department official Julia Taft’s

visit to Vietnam earlier this year. *Refugee Reports* from 1717 Massachusetts Ave. NW, No. 701, Washington DC 20036-2003.

“Quest for Power: Electricity Firms Seeking to Invest in Vietnam Face Hurdles” by Faith Keenan (*FEER* correspondent in Hanoi), in *FEER* June 11, 1998. The “rolling black out” continues in Hanoi, meaning, among other things, at rush hour keep out of elevators. Officials estimate the power shortage this year will be about 250 megawatts, and in two years will rise to 4,000 megawatts. Four foreign build-operate-transfer power projects have been on the desks of Hanoi officials for four years. Investors wonder if the officials are serious about the matter.

“The Army at Khe Sanh” by Ray Stubbe (Marine chaplain who served at Khe Sanh). The Battle of Khe Sanh was a Marine Corps show, but the US Army was represented in various ways. This issue of *Red Clay* (publication of Khe Sanh Veterans, Inc.) is devoted to the Marines’ comrades-in-arms. Series of first-hand reports. Address: Khe Sanh Veterans, 27280 Jefferson St., No. 200, Temecula, CA 92590-5488.

“Private Enterprise: Unlocking the Economy’s Hidden Potential” by Joshua Jake Levine in *Vietnam Business Journal*, April 1998. Cover story on the Hanoi leadership’s ten-year experiment with “market-oriented” private enterprise. Progress has been made, but the economic system remains shackled by wrong policies and negative attitudes. These discourage entrepreneurs who are still treated as second class players in the game when they should be regarded as saviors. The author offers a second commentary in the June issue of the same magazine, “Finding an Exit Strategy.” He asked a sampling of foreign investors what was their thinking on how to realize a return on their Vietnam investments. General answer: work out a long term plan; maximize your ingenuity. In the same June issue is “Holding the Line” by Carlyle Thayer (Australian Defense Force Academy), a brief article on the politics of the Politburo, drawn from PM Phan Văn Khải’s March 26 (1998) press conference.

“Sisowath: The Creation of a King” by Peter Arfanis and Greg Muller (National Archive of Cambodia) in *Phnom Penh Post* (Mar. 27-Apr. 9, 1998). Interesting, well-illustrated feature story on the March 11,

1928 send off of Preah Bat Samdach Preah Sisowath, 78. He was fully clothed in magnificent garments, emerald ring on the right hand, yellow diamond on the left, wrapped in white silk sheets. After an elephant parade to the crematorium, into the fire he went. Photos from the National Archive.

“ASEAN: Out of Its Depth?” by John Funston (Fellow, ISEAS). Report on recent tribulations of the regional organization; financial turmoil; Myanmar membership; Cambodia’s continuing agony; fires in the rain forest; etc. Good wrap-up. Perhaps a bit more gloomy than deserved. In the same issue is Mely Caballero-Anthony (Analyst, ISIS, Malaysia), “Mechanism of Dispute Settlement; the ASEAN Experience” and Ramses Amer (Upsalla Univ., Sweden), “Towards a Declaration of ‘Navigational Rights’ in the Sea Lanes of the Asia-Pacific.” In *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, April 1998.

“The Long Secret Alliance: Uncle Sam and Pol Pot” by John Pilger (Australian activist) in *Covert Action Quarterly*, n. 1, 1998 (Washington DC). Acid bath treatment of post-war U.S. policies in Cambodia. Chiefly details U.S. foreign policy relations with China, Thailand, ASEAN. Conspiratorial tone throughout, although intercourse at the time and the facts therein, were unknown only to those who did not choose to find out.

“Above and Beyond the Call” by Joe Zentner (political scientist) in the June issue of *Vietnam Magazine*. From Roger Donlon in 1964 to Roy Benavidez in 1981, the Medal of Honor was awarded to 239 Americans who served in Vietnam. With photos of a few. On the hangar deck of the USS *Yorktown*, now in the Charleston, South Carolina harbor, is located the Congressional Medal of Honor Museum. It attracts thousands of visitors each year.

“Time’s Arrow, Time’s Cycle: Metaphors for a Period of Transition” by David Jablonsky, in *Parameters*, v. 27, n. 4, Winter 1997-98. Author explores the search for order and control in this period of post-Cold War transition employs metaphors of time as arrow, time as cycle, and implications for the individual, the state and the international system. The two are not mutually exclusive, as the cycles run like wheels on a track. The arrow and the cycle patterns are not imminent—they can evolve in different ways depending on the varied

influences of particular players, circumstances, or events. The turning of the cycles is timeless, but remains “alive to change.” The U.S. must base its foreign policy on the timeless principle of balance of power, but the situations to which this policy is applied will be unique. Interesting intellectual construct. Recommended.

“Intelligence Warning: Old Problems, New Agendas” by Richard K. Betts in *Parameters*, v. 28, n. 1, Spring 1998. Seeks to explain the intelligence warning problem absent in the recriminations and finger-pointing employed by most critics. At the outset Betts says the “necessary ingredients” for proper warning—or at least effective warning—will never exist. He studies the different yet related problem of collection and analysis of information in distinguishing between what a target is doing, and when this becomes a threat to U.S. interests. Threat equals capability times intentions.

In the same issue is a three article study of the future of land warfare: Russell W. Glenn, “No More Principles of War?” distinguishes the principles of operations with the principles of war. Since the end of the Cold War there is nothing simple about the distinction. Principles of war have developed over centuries, but they must be flexible enough to allow for contemporary developments. The author argues that the U.S. Army must expand and modify its principles of operations to reflect post-Cold War lessons, while maintaining synthesis with the more general—and more slowly changing—principles of war.

“U.S. Surge Sealift Capabilities: A Question of Sufficiency” by David G. Harris and Richard D. Stewart. Given the downsizing of the U.S. overseas presence in the last decade, the necessity exists to expand American ability to project power abroad. DoD recognizes the importance of sealift, and has done much to expand U.S. capability—in the physical sense, through the acquisition of vessels. The authors predict that the capability shortfall will stem from a dearth of qualified mariners. Government, industry, and labor must combine to rectify this threat to U.S. sealift assets. But we should avoid quick fixes that would run the U.S. afoul of international maritime agreements.

“The Mind Has No Firewall” by Timothy L. Thomas. Examines energy-based weapons (lasers,

## PAPERS RECEIVED

microwaves), psychotronic weapons, and other developments designed to alter the ability of the human body to process stimuli. This is the next stage in "information warfare," one for which the U.S. is not prepared. U.S. experts, who focus on protection of information systems, remain skeptical of this technology. It has great currency in Russia. The author asserts that such "systems" include humans as well as computers and other networks. The U.S. remains a potential victim of these technologies.

"On the Myth of Chinese Power Projection Capabilities" by Rick Reece, in *Breakthroughs*, published Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Analyzes China's potential for power projection into the South China Sea and Indian Ocean, in the face of recent predictions that the sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) in the region are becoming more economically vital. The author finds regional fears of Chinese military prowess are overstated, because China remains shackled by the technological limitations of its naval and air forces. Reece concludes that fears of a regional arms race are "alarmist."

"Past as Prologue: USMC Small Wars Doctrine" by David Keithly and Paul Melshen, in *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, v. 8, n. 2, Autumn 1997. The authors argue that history shows that the Marine Corps has the most experience in fighting small wars, and thus should specialize in developing the doctrine. As a small reaction force, the Marines have a flexibility lacking in the other services. In the case of Vietnam, Marine leadership sensed that pacification, rather than the Army's "concept" of the war, should be the focus of American efforts. The authors conclude that the Corps should focus on these areas, both because of the increasing frequency of low intensity conflicts and because this is an area where it has traditionally excelled.

"Trapped in Saigon" by Dan Feltham, in *Vietnam Magazine*, April 1998. Harrowing account of the April, 1975 efforts of IBM executives to evacuate the company's South Vietnamese employees from Sài Gòn in the week before the capital fell. Because the American Embassy regarded their services as crucial, many remained until the last moment. Not all escaped. The North Vietnamese used those who remained to continue operating the computers even while subjecting them to political "re-education."

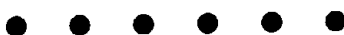
"A Very Different Kind of Dragon: A Refraction of Vietnamese Through the Prism of Legal Codes" by Stephen B. Young (former dean of Harvard Law School and Hamline University Law School; Minneapolis attorney). Young is one of the few American intellectuals devoted to studying the singular Vietnamese cognitive process. He uses many approaches; here it is through the heritages of jurisprudence. Young finds much legal thought that is traditional Confucianism; also much that is pure Vietnamese. An excellent brief on law, history, and the Vietnamese mind. (April 1998).

"Airborne Two" by General John Cushman (U.S.A. LtGen. Ret.) A personal memoir of Cushman's command with the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division (2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade Task Force) in Vietnam 1967-68. In draft. (March 1998).

"A South Vietnamese General Remembers" by Lâm Quang Thi. Draft manuscript of a memoir by one of ARVN's most respected military figures. Thi is a rare figure, a highly intellectualized Vietnamese soldier. His account is an intimate one for a Vietnamese. "I was born in the 'play boy' (*công tử*) province of Bạc Liêu. . . . my mother's marriage had been arranged by a match maker and did not last; she left my father . . . struggled and endured to raise her four boys." Later, Thi says, he loved to drink and sing obscene songs with French artillery officers. Thi is looking for a publisher.

"'Tchepone': A Fighter Jock Song" by John Guilmartin (Ohio State Univ.) A breezy essay written at Đà Nẵng Airbase, Vietnam, 1968-69. On the songs sung in the tradition that began with Homer's *The Odyssey*. The ballad of the title (Tchepone was a target on the Hồ Chí Minh trail) written by F-4 pilot Toby Hughes, was one of the best known of the war. As Guilmartin notes, despite the transistor revolution in the 1960s, and the easy availability of music tapes, making music by the combatants themselves never diminished.

"Government Documents and the Vietnam War: Definitions, Descriptions, Access, Short Bibliography." From William H.A. Newport (Jane Hamilton-Merritt grad. student). Listing of some 50 U.S. Executive Branch departments, agencies, depository libraries. In Connecticut and elsewhere. (June 1997).



“Testimony of Garnett Bell (MIA/POW specialist) Before Congressional Committee”, Dec. 14, 1995. Bell was a special assistant for negotiations for the Joint Task Force on the U.S. resolution of casualties issue. This is a summary of the U.S. Congressional efforts in the field. From the Federal Document Clearing House, Washington.

“Development and Democracy in Vietnam” by Robert Templar (Univ. of California, Berkeley). Text of paper read at a conference in Paris under the auspices of the French Parliament in April 1998. Chiefly it is comment on changes in Vietnam’s mass media: no longer a mere monolithic propaganda machine; restrictions have been relaxed and newspapers now offer a diet of sports and entertainment. Most popular daily newspaper is HCMC’s *Công An Thành Phố* (500,000 circulation). It sells out upon arriving at the newsstands, chiefly because of its contents: lurid stories of sex, violence, gang warfare, prostitution, etc. (Party censors approve because *Công An* also editorializes on the need for more policing, tighter social controls). On the Internet at [kstern@mail.wizard.net](mailto:kstern@mail.wizard.net)

“Cambodia and the ‘Washington Consensus’” by Sophal Ear, Khmer intellectual, World Bank consultant). An examination of the ten domestic reform policies, circa 1993-95, known informally as the Washington Consensus (what international funding agencies, other outsiders, urged on Phnom Penh). The measures were harsh but justified, Ear finds, and they did get the country over a rough patch, bought some time, accomplished about all within the realm of possibility. Based on a 1993-95 field trip. Reprint from *Crossroads*, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, IL 60115.

From MIT. A summer (1998) professional course titled “Managing Security Uncertainties, Political, Military, and Technology Strategies for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” was conducted at MIT (Harvey Sapolsky, impresario). A vast number of briefs were distributed including these:

“Culture and Security” by Michael Desch (Harvard Univ.) The author is a cultural relativist, standing firm against the comparatists and that ilk (such as

those of the positivist mantra). He lists the four major criticisms raised against the concept of approaching security in terms of cultures and deals with each. A true thought-starter.

“Culture and Security Studies” by Hugh Gusterson (MIT). As an anthropologist, Gusterson believes anthropology has much to offer in understanding national security issues. Unfortunately the discipline has not risen to the challenge.

“Women in the Military” by Christopher Jehn (MIT, former Pentagon official). Woman military have made great strides in this macho workplace—for instance, 40,000 were deployed in the Gulf, perhaps eight percent of the total force. This will continue so long as military service is regarded as a meritocracy.

“The Promise and Peril of Post Cold War Alliances” by Peter Liberman (Tulane Univ.) Alas, with the end of the cold war alliance making became infinitely more difficult, and it forced policy-making to determine how (or whether) alliances promote great power peace. Seminar studies from the Security Studies Program for International Studies, MIT, 292 Main St. Cambridge Massachusetts 02139.

“The Year 2000: Social Chaos or Social Transformation” by John Petersen, Margaret Wheatley, and Myron Kellner-Rogers (futurists; authors; business consultants). From Arlington Institute, Washington, DC. The first millennial year—1000 A.D., was, at least in Europe, the scene of enormous religious and social chaos as millions acted out their faith on the basis that they were witness to the Second Coming of Christ. This time around the turmoil and chaos could well be computer generated. We face a real crisis (less so in the Third World), these authors say. There will be massive disruptions of satellite communication; air, sea, and rail transportation; telephone and television transmissions; and electricity, heating, and cooling services. But it is not too late. Remedial and preventative measures are suggested.



## WHAT GOES AROUND. . . .

It was titled "Valley of Death" and was designed as a block-buster send-off for a glossy new joint venture in journalism called "Newsstand" by Cable News Network (CNN) and *Time Magazine*. The initial CNN program was aired June 7; the *Time* article was in the June 15 edition.

Exactly what was reported, or not; what was implied, or wasn't, continue as subjects of disputation. Most viewers/readers, perhaps a majority, were left with this clear impression: After eight months of investigative journalistic enterprise, chiefly by Peter Arnett (of Vietnam War Pulitzer Prize fame) and April Oliver (veteran CNN documentary researcher), there was uncovered a true horror story out of the Vietnam War: U.S. officials, in September 1970, sanctioned the use of deadly nerve gas (Sarin) to target American military deserters/defectors in a Pathet Lao camp/village some 60 miles inside the Lao border. Operation Tailwind, as it was called, reportedly had been okayed by the White House (President Nixon) and the CIA. Much of the story was hung on retired U.S. Navy Admiral Thomas Moorer, Vietnam-era Chief of Naval Operations and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Whatever else it was, Operation Tailwind, as described, represented a clear violation of international law (1928 Geneva Convention on use of poison gas in warfare), to say nothing of a merciless extermination of American soldiers, whom, for all that was known, were not traitors but simply POWs.

A blockbuster show it was. Not quite, however, what the producers had in mind. Reaction was quick and seemed to come from everywhere: U.S. military (Green Berets, Special Operations Group/SOG) who were judged chief culprits; Pentagon and State Department officials; academic historians; Presidential library archivists; war correspondents; media critics; spooks; and the conspiracy crowd. The outpouring on the Internet ran into more than a thousand pages.

Almost at once American journalism was put on trial (coinciding with an unfortunate spate of reports of other media misdeeds: a newspaper in Cincinnati settling a million-dollar libel suit brought by the Chiquita Banana Company; a Boston columnist fired for inventing whole cloth news stories; ditto for a *New Republic* reporter; etc. Reaction on the Internet was, as might be expected, voluminous (1,000 pages received at the

Vietnam Center, to date), highly intemperate (One example: "We always knew Peter Arnett was an 'on the make' Australian who has always hated America and used his job to get back at us"), and usually anonymous.

In what seemed at the moment a clever bit of damage control, CNN fired April Oliver and senior editor Jack Smith and allowed senior producer Pam Hill to resign, and "reprimanded" Peter Arnett. Then it retracted the story ("It had serious faults") after engaging the services of a judicial media figure and prominent defender of the press of liberal reputation, Floyd Abrams, to conduct an independent review.

Those associated with the Vietnam War, most of whom have long held that the press lost the war for America, reacted to the apologies even more vociferously than to the original reports. Said one anonymous e-mail correspondent, "we always knew they lied to us, now they admit it."

Abrams was given access to most of the CNN research materials, including "out-takes from the cutting room floor", i.e., information gathered but not used. The Abrams report determined that CNN's reporting could not support the allegation that Sarin was used; nor that American defectors were targeted; nor that Americans were even in the Pathet Lao camp when the mission was carried out. The general conclusion: "The story wasn't there. It was a bad mistake. . . . It stemmed from the journalists' deep-seated belief in the story and the way they discounted contrary information."

It does seem clear that the CNN story was sloppy in the extreme. It indifferently used a set of highly questionable sources, many individuals with dubious memory; disgruntled veterans, other participants seeking to settle the score with society for past shabby treatment). Tough follow up questions were seldom used in interviews. For example: "Q. This was 30 years ago. How sure are you about your memory?" or, "You say you saw a canister fall from the sky. How do you know what was in it? Sarin?" The journalists constantly ignored the basic rule of good reporting: leave no reasonable question unanswered. Indeed, as the Abrams report has it, the chief sin was to discount contrary information because the journalists wanted the story to go in a certain direction. This is the eternal Sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of all journalists. It is not malice but overzealousness; not irresponsibility

## NEW PUBLICATIONS (OR NEW TO US)

but failure to exercise professional objectivity. In the cynical words of the 1920s editor (James Gordon Bennett) of the old New York World, "Many a good story has been ruined by 'over-verification'".

The dust is still settling on the Tailwind story. As this is being written, U.S. Secretary of Defense Cohen has ordered an investigation. April Oliver and Jack Smith portray themselves as victims—thrown to the wolves by corporate journalism. Peter Arnett in California appears to be dodging press interviews.

One cannot but feel sympathy for Admiral Moorer, trying to be helpful about a matter that happened long ago. He was mouse trapped in the famed Mike Wallace/Sixty Minutes device: ambush your interviewee by pressing for simple answers to questions that require complicated answers, a tactic that does not work well with the devious and crooked, only the kindly and polite.

Like so many of the efforts to find the truth about the Vietnam War, this Sarin gas story probably will continue on its infinite, capricious journey. Serious historians may be able to reach consensus, but it will remain intact out there in the world of conspirators. Perhaps in another Oliver Stone movie?

Sources. Most of it on the Internet. See also "Memories of Wars Never Fought" by Joe Sharkey, *New York Times*, June 28, 1998; Richard Grenier, *Washington Times*, June 26, 1998; "Another Conspiracy? This Time at CNN"; Dana Priest, *Washington Post*, "U.S. to Probe Report of 1970 Nerve Gas Attack in Laos", June 9, 1998; Reed Irvine (Chairman, Accuracy in Media, Washington D.C.), "Letter to *Time Magazine* editor Walter Isaacson", June 19, 1998 (a particularly deadly piece of criticism); VNN, Hanoi Commentary June 7, 1998 ("Journalists will have to ask the U.S. about the nerve gas story, says the SRV Foreign Ministry.") For background, see John Plaster, *SOG: The Secret Wars of America's Commandos in Vietnam*, Simon and Schuster (1997). The text of the Floyd Abrams report on CNN's Operation Tailwind story is available at: <http://cnn.us.com/US/9807/tailwind.findings.index.html>. From Brooke Rowe, Vietnam War Resource Guide, <http://members.aol.com/veterans/warlib6v.htm>.



### *Vietnamese-American Studies Center Quarterly.*

Editor is Trần Thúy Linh; sponsor's director is Chung Hoàng Chương. First issue, Spring 1998, contains such articles as "Soccer Diplomacy in HCMC"; "What's In a Name: Little Sài Gòn" (on Orange County, California) and an article by the editor on her recent return visit to Vietnam. Also book reviews, announcements, poetry, etc. Address: Dept. of Asian-American Studies, College of Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Ave., San Francisco, CA 94132. Tel: 415-338-6169.

*Communal Plural: Journal of Transnational and Crosscultural Studies.* Elaine Lally and Mandy Thomas (eds.) An Australian-based academic journal concerned with cultural identity, social relationships and political conflict in an increasingly transnational, plural, and diverse intercommunal world. Also operates what is called SARA: Scholarly Articles Research Alerting, an Internet service. Subscription US\$112 institutional (\$32 personal). Address: Carfax Publishing Limited, 875-81 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge, MA 02139 or Carfax Publishing Limited, PO Box 352, Cammeray, NSW 2062, Australia.

VEN. Going on-line from Hanoi this quarter is what is called the News Brief Service of Vietnam Economic News. It will draw from some 500 publications now being generated in Vietnam to relay materials on government policies and regulations, economic activity and analysis. Price is \$50/month institutions; \$30/month individuals. Contact for further information: Nguyễn Phạm Mười, Public Relations Manager Tel/Fax: (844) 776-0132; E-mail: [muoinp@fpt.vn](mailto:muoinp@fpt.vn) To subscribe make transfer payable to: CORESTATES Bank International, 180 Maiden Lane, New York, NY 10038. Beneficiary Name: Lê Thị Thu Hà.

*Phnom Penh Post.* Judith Henchy (Univ. of Washington) reports that libraries, archives, and similar research entities interested in obtaining preservation copies of the Phnom Penh Post (1992-1995 to date) should contact the filmer: Imaging Northwest, Northwest Center Industries, 1600 West Armory Way, Seattle, Washington 98119. She also suggests that persons interested in the University of Washington's library and Internet resources should view its home page at: <http://weber@u.washington.edu/~judith/seawww.htm>



## NAMES IN THE NEWS

In Laos. For subscriptions to the *Vientiane Times* write: PO Box 5723 Pangkham Street, Vientiane, Laos; Tel: (856-21) 216-364; Fax (856-21) 216-365.

DevelopNet News. A monthly electronic newsletter edited by Joe Sedlak and published by Volunteers in Technical Assistance (VITA), a private, nonprofit international development organization located in Arlington, Virginia. The group specializes in information dissemination and communications technology. It offers services in developing countries related to sustainable agriculture, food processing, renewable energy applications, water sanitation, and small enterprise development. Address: 1600 Wilson Boulevard Suite 500, Arlington, VA 22209; Tel: 703-276-1800; Fax: 703-243-1865; E-mail: [vita@vita.org](mailto:vita@vita.org)



On War. "But what is war? What is needed for success in warfare? What are the habits of the military? The aim of war is murder; the methods of war are spying, treachery, and their encouragement, the ruin of a country's inhabitants, robbing them or stealing to provision the army, and fraud and falsehood termed military craft. . . . They (the military) as we shall meet tomorrow, to murder one another; they kill and maim tens of thousands, and then have thanksgiving services for having killed so many people (they even exaggerate the number), and they announce a victory, supposing that the more people they have killed the greater their achievement." Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*—Russia's Prince Andrew speaking the night before his army meets Napoleon's at Borodino (1812).



Teacher Shortage. Vietnam has an elementary and secondary school teacher shortage of more than 100,000. *Thanh Niên* newspaper (Hanoi) cites a June 1998 Ministry of Education and Training report giving the reason for the shortage as low pay and increased demand for teachers. Average teacher salary is about \$40 per month, leading many teachers to switch to better-paying jobs in the major cities.

Douglas Peterson. The American ambassador to Vietnam is profiled in the August issue of *Vietnam*. Peterson was born in Omaha, Nebraska, June 26, 1935, one of ten children. The family moved to Missouri when he was 14, then to Milton, Iowa, where he graduated from high school. After a year in college, Peterson joined the U.S. Air Force as an enlisted man, then went to OCS where, off duty, he continued his education, being graduated by the University of Tampa. Then on to MacDill and Eglin Air Force Bases for pilot training. Then to Vietnam where his luck ran out. Shot down on September 10, 1966, Peterson was a POW until March, 1973. Treatment was rough, he says; he was tortured. After the war he went into the construction business, then into politics, going to Washington as a Florida Congressman until nominated for his Hanoi post by President Clinton. Good article, although one must think Peterson gets tired of the "Hanoi Hilton" questions, obligatory it seems, with every interviewer. Cecil Currey and Patrick Barrentine, "A Former Prisoner of War Serves as America's First Ambassador to the SRV."

Francois Xavier Nguyễn Văn Thuận. Named (June 24, 1998) by Pope John Paul as new head of the Vatican's Council for Justice and Peace, one of the Catholic Church's most senior and visible posts. It is expected that he will be made a cardinal soon. Thuận, 70, was born in Huế, spent 13 years in solitary confinement after the communist victory in 1975. He was allowed to leave for Rome in 1994. (Reuters, June 24, 1998)

Pol Pot. Those in need of details on the last days of this shadowy Cambodian figure, and events in the aftermath of his death, should see the *Phnom Penh Post*, April 24-May 7, 1998. "Burned Like Old Rubbish", by Peter Sainsbury, who was at Pol Pot's death bed at Saghamb Pass, and who also provides an obituary, "An Enigma in Life, A Mystery in Death."; Eric Pape, "Pol Pot's Interview: Conspiracy from the East" (Kissinger and Hanoi officials are doing him in) and "From the CPP the Loss of Brother Demon No. 1"; and "Pol Pot: The Secret 60s" by Sara Colm, an account of Pol Pot's organizational work to build a guerrilla base among the tribal communities in the mid-1960s. Also, reaction stories from foreign and local officials.

Douglas Peterson. America's new first ambassador to Vietnam was married in May in Hanoi to Sài Gòn-

born Australian diplomat Vi Lê. "We're not getting married to enhance our countries' relationship, but we have that as a byproduct. If we can contribute to that with our personal lives, we're happy. That goes to the heart of why we're here. Vietnamese people come up to us on the streets, people we know and don't know, and are very supportive. There has not been one single negative statement. I'm frankly surprised by all of this. We just didn't consider the public reaction. We totally missed the idea of what people would suggest this means," Peterson said. Born in Vietnam and raised in Australia, Lê is a commercial officer for the Australian Embassy in Hanoi, a background that Peterson said has been invaluable in helping him understand economic policy. (AP/Paul Alexander, May 16, 1998).

Michael Mann. Named Australian Ambassador to Vietnam, June 10, 1998, vice Susan Boyd (posted to Hong Kong). Mann joined the Australian Department of External Affairs in 1966 and has served in Osaka, Phnom Penh, Rome, Beijing, and Bali. From 1994-97, he worked as the Chief Executive of Australia Television. Following Australia Television's sale, Mann continued in the same role under the new owners, Channel Seven, until he rejoined the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in February 1998.

Kent Wiedemann. Nominated (June 17) as U.S. Ambassador to Cambodia. Currently he is *charge d'affaires* in Rangoon. Before that, he also served in Poznan, Beijing, and Shanghai, and in the Department as deputy assistant secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and at the National Security Council. He is a native Californian, married to the former Janice Lee Weddle; they have one son.

Charles DeBellevue. America's top ace in the Vietnam War—six MiG kills over North Vietnam—is profiled in the April issue of *Vietnam*, by Jim Skeen.

Rogues' Gallery. The *Phnom Penh Post*, May 8-21, 1998, carries photos and short bios of the key DK figures still supporting Ta Mok to keep the Khmer Rouge dream alive. They are: Khieu Samphan, Khem Nguon, Nuon Chea, Ta Them, Dul Saroeun, and Non Nou.

General Trần Độ. In the spirit of never-say-die, this retired PAVN general this quarter fired a new broadside at the Hanoi Politburo. An open letter dated June 20 was circulated to the foreign press. As in earlier

missiles Độ went beyond what is considered politically correct criticism: "Do we need a developed country with enough food, clothing, freedom and democracy, and happiness. . . or do we need a country with a socialist orientation that is very poor." The sense of the open letter is that Vietnam must be prepared to abandon socialism in the name of development. PM Phan Văn Khải, in response to Độ's attacks and those of others, says (Mar. 19) that he and others "are entitled to their views", which presumably means he is safe for the moment. Độ this quarter did get the courtesy of an official response to his suggestion. Leading ideologue Hữu Thọ told Reuters, "These ideas would lead this country into chaos." (Reuters, Andy Solomon, June 29; see also Free Vietnam Alliance's Vietnam Democracy, May 1998, for the text of the latest Độ letter.

Jane Fonda. Boston's pit bull newspaper columnist, Don Feder, this quarter teed off on the Vietnam War figure so many veterans love to hate: "Jane Fonda: An Arrogant, Offensive Naif." (naif: one who is naïve). Feder dredges up new and old Fonda quotes from the vintage 1960s ("If you really understood the nature of communism you would pray on your knees that we would someday become communist." Some are more recent. At the UN: "Powerful vested interests, including the Catholic Church, want us to ignore contraception." (UN address, 1994). "Children are starving to death in North Georgia . . . and they live in tar paper shacks with no indoor plumbing (which brought the Governor of Georgia down on her head). And, as an activist actor's creed, "Facts must never be allowed to interfere with truth. Actors must rely on their feelings." *Boston Herald*, July 11, 1998).

Jeremy Boorda. The U.S. Navy has accepted (June 24, 1998) that Admiral Boorda was entitled to wear combat decorations. Two years ago this was challenged, which led to his suicide. Navy Secretary John Dalton put into Boorda's file a letter from Elmo Zumwalt, Jr., the Chief of Naval Operations, 1970-74, saying it was "appropriate, justified, and proper" for Boorda to attach the small bronze combat V's to the ribbons on his uniform. The Navy also modified Boorda's record to list the V's among his other decorations—recognition that they were earned. This stops short of what Zumwalt sought—unambiguous public

recognition that Boorda violated no regulations. On May 16, 1996, Boorda, 56, the first former enlisted man to become chief of naval operations in the service's 198-year history, went home, wrote a note "to my sailors", stepped into his garden, and fatally shot himself in the chest. He acted after learning that two *Newsweek* reporters were on their way to question him about the matter.

Visanu Chothaveesarp. Thai businessman under death sentence in HCMC after a fraud conviction. Bangkok Foreign Ministry officials in Bangkok have mounted a diplomatic campaign to reduce the sentence. The case involves a shipment of shoes and unhonored letters of credit and also involves a German shoe importer. (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, July 1, 1998)

Việt Nam-U.S. Society. New leadership of the Hanoi-based association is reported in the March 1, 1998, issue of *Indochina Interchange*: President: Chu Tuấn Nhạ (Minister of Science and Technology); Executive Vice President and General Secretary: Vũ Xuân Hồng (National Assembly); Vice President: Phạm Chi Lan (Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Vietnam); Vice President: Phạm Khắc Lâm (Overseas Vietnamese Committee); Nguyễn Thị Ngọc Phương (Director, Từ Dũ Hospital, HCMC); and Tạ Tiến Hưng (Hanoi Foreign Language Institute).

## OBITUARIES

Đào Duy Tùng. Leading VCP intellectual and major figure over the years in fixing the Party's ideological positions (i.e. Party line) died (apparently of cancer) in a Hanoi hospital June 13 at age 74. He was all of his life a hard-line true believer. Tùng joined the Party in 1945, worked his way up to the Politburo (1988) chiefly with service in provincial, and then central, secretarial positions—finally to the Central Committee Secretariat (1991). He also served as editor of the Party journal *Học Tập* (*Study Review*), from 1965 to his retirement. In 1996 he became the director of the Party CC Agit-Prop Commission. In an early 1990s power struggle Tùng moved to install himself as Party General Secretary, vice Đỗ Mười; this failed due to circumstance and his deteriorating health. In his last years he attempted to reconcile his ideology with Vietnam's drift

toward a market economy. In one of his last interviews, after his return from a meeting in Romania, he spoke of market reform as "an extension of Marxist-Leninist thought." The Party's official statement on his death described Tùng as a "staunch contributor to Vietnamese communist theory and ideology." Funeral, June 15, was attended by the top 20 Party members; burial at Mai Dịch Cemetery outside Hanoi. (VVN June 17, 1998).

Đào Trọng Lịch. PAVN Chief of Staff and SRV Deputy Minister of Defense, died May 25 along with 13 other PAVN officers and 12 Lao Army officers when their Laotian military Yak-40 crashed into a mountainside in inclement weather. One of the most influential military figures in Vietnam, Lieutenant General Lịch served from 1969-1973 in the so-called "secret war" in Laos. His death—in combination with the 13 others—was a major blow to the Vietnamese military establishment.

John H. Richardson. Early U.S. intelligence figure in the U.S. Embassy, Sài Gòn, died June 14 at his home in Zapopan, Mexico. He was 84. Cause of death, said his son, John H. Richardson, Jr., was lung cancer. Richardson was born in Burma, the son of an oil engineer, and grew up in Whittier, California, educated at the University of California, with later studies in Berlin, the Sorbonne, and the University of Chicago. He served in the U.S. Army Counterintelligence Corps in North Africa during World War II, and then joined the CIA. Posted in Athens, Manila, Langley headquarters, and Sài Gòn (June 1962-October 1963). His service in Sài Gòn was a very model of intelligence work at its finest. Richardson ingratiated himself and his Agency into the Diệm Palace affairs to such a degree (particularly with Ngô Đình Nhu, Diệm's brother) that he had the run of the Palace and knew everything that was going on there. This very success made his position untenable in the deterioration of the Ngô family's political fortunes and the arrival of the new ambassador Lodge brought orders to support efforts to depose Diệm as the only way of ending the lingering "Buddhist Crisis."

Lucien Conein. Legendary old school intelligence agent in Vietnam from the earliest days died age 79 in a hospital in Bethesda, Maryland on June 6, 1998. He had been hospitalized for several months after break-

## ELECTRONIC AND AUDIO-VISUAL

ing his hip in a fall; he also had a heart ailment. Conein was born in Paris and grew up in Kansas City. He worked with the French resistance in World War II as an OSS agent, and joined the CIA when it was formed in 1947. He was sent to North Vietnam in 1954 and later to Sài Gòn where he acted as a liaison officer between the US Embassy and the ARVN high command. He was close to the generals who overthrew the Diệm regime. Thereafter he went into business in Sài Gòn, exporting scrap iron and operating a bar. Known to his friends as "three fingers Lou", Conein was a mesmerizing storyteller. He once described his sabotage efforts in Hà Nội against the arriving victorious Việt Minh army, putting sand in the gas tanks of the trucks and the tanks. He would offer a variety of explanations as to how he lost his two fingers (most plausible seems to be while trying to replace the fan belt on a Jeep). He cautioned his listeners not to believe him—"I'm a very skilled liar," he would say.

William Roll. Highly decorated U.S. Marine Corps officer (Lt.Col.) died June 6 at a VA hospital in Pittsburgh, PA, at age 59. He had diabetes. Col. Roll enlisted in the Marines in 1956, then entered the U.S. Naval Academy in 1962, and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps in 1965 and later went to the Amphibious Warfare School at Quantico. He was in Đàng Nãi as a rifle company leader in the First Marine Division during the 1968 Tết Offensive, and was then stricken with malaria. (*New York Times*, June 14, 1998)



Conference Note: Studying Vietnam and Developing Ties of International Cooperation. Title of a three-day meeting of an expected 700 academics in Hà Nội, July 15-17. Some 430 reports are to be given. Organized by the SRV National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities and Hà Nội National University. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation with support from the Toyota Foundation, the French Embassy, the Japan-Vietnam Association, and the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. The next issue of *Indochina Chronology* will carry a report on the papers.

Wings Over Vietnam. From the National Historical Society collection. Three video volumes: 1) The Coins; and Spookies, Spectres & Shadows; 2) The Cavalry and the Gunship; 3) The Jolly Greens and the Wild Weasels. Combines rare combat footage with first-hand accounts to create a portrait of unique missions and the impact they had in the Vietnam War. Also, the men who flew the missions, their aircraft, and the stories of their ingenuity and determination. Viewing time: 5 hours. From Vietnam Products, Mass Teletech Inc., PO Box 921, Dept. UIXC, North Adams, MA 01247-0921. \$49.99 (1998).

The Music of Vietnam. Produced by David Parsons of New Zealand. Three compact discs containing recordings of traditional Khmer music. 1) 9 Gong Gamelan (recorded at Angkor Wat); 2) Royal court music; 3) Solo instrumental music (recorded in Phnom Penh). With printed guide. From Borders and other outlets. Reviewed by Kenneth T. So, [aryasatya@rocketmail.com](mailto:aryasatya@rocketmail.com)

Vietnam: From Rice Paddies to Temple Yards: Traditional Music of Vietnam. Compiled by Phong Nguyễn and Patricia Sheehan Campbell. This book and CD package represents the first complete English-language introduction to Vietnamese traditional music and culture. And it offers an intellectual understanding of Vietnamese traditions, especially the culture found in the music. Performers are all Việt kiều living in the United States. World Music Press. (1995). \$40.00

The Cinema Guild, Inc. New to their video catalog are three films about Vietnam: 1) "As Seen by Both Sides: American and Vietnamese Artists Look at the War," about a touring art exhibit of both American and Vietnamese veterans of the Indochina wars; filmed in both countries, it includes artworks and interviews with artists, veterans and academics, interspersed with documentary archival footage. Shows the role the arts play in shaping popular and historical perceptions of the Vietnam War. (1995). Purchase: \$350, rental \$95; 2) "Vietnam: After the Fire." Environmental impact the war had on Vietnam. Also the country's environmental restoration efforts. (1988). Purchase: \$395, rental \$100; 3) "Young Vietnam." Interviews with young Vietnamese, most of whose memories of the Vietnam War are distant. They express a desire for a friendly relation-

## HISTORY REDUX

ship with the United States. (1989). Purchase: \$250, rental \$50. Address: The Cinema Guild, Inc., 1697 Broadway Suite 506, New York, NY 10019-5904; Tel: 212-246-5522; Fax: 212-246-5525; E-mail: [TheCinema@AOL.com](mailto:TheCinema@AOL.com)

AsianDOC. A new electronic newsletter, titled Asian Database Online Community (AsianDOC), was launched on an experimental basis in the Spring of 1998. Its purpose is to support scholars, librarians, and researchers worldwide who are developing text and image databases in Asian/EurAsian studies. Called "AsiaDOC Electronic Newsletter", to be published quarterly on the World Wide Web. To be placed on the mailing list, send an e-mail, leaving the subject line blank, to: [listserv@lists.acs.ohio-state.edu](mailto:listserv@lists.acs.ohio-state.edu)



Angkor Science. Radar is being used to map the Angkor region and archaeologists report uncovering remnants of previously unknown temples and evidence of much earlier cultures. They say the discoveries could profoundly change thinking about the history of the ancient city, founded in the ninth century AD as the capital of the Khmer empire. In Angkor's heyday, its 1,000 temples spread over 100 square miles. The best-known, Angkor Wat, is the largest religious monument ever built. Radar mapping by aircraft or spacecraft has previously penetrated desert sands to chart the course of the Nile River in antiquity and discover centuries-old ruins along the legendary Silk Road of western China. By transmitting pulses of microwave energy toward the ground and receiving signals that are reflected back, the radar produces images of the shape and nature of the surface. The system has been refined to penetrate the foliage of dense forests and to reveal the underlying topography, including low mounds that are not readily identifiable from the ground.



LBJ. "Time-Life journalist Robert Sherrod described Johnson's problems on the war in a confidential memo on his conversation with the President on August 1 (1968). . . Johnson gave Sherrod 40 minutes. Seated in a rocker, the President 'squirmed and crunched as he talked, and wound up his legs and torso, corkscrew fashion.' In reply to Sherrod's question about how the war was going, Johnson replied: 'We clean up these villages, will fill in the tunnels, we feed the people, we doctor them, we rebuild their houses and dig them wells. We start teaching them. . . . But there are 14,000 of these villages and we've taken care of maybe a hundred of them. . . .' The President devoted about half the interview to attacking the press, particularly the New York Times, which he obviously felt was persecuting him. . . . He sneered at Walter Lippmann. He referred several times to Scotty Reston in uncomplimentary terms. He said: 'David Halberstam killed Diem. He made us assassinate him. That man is a traitor—so they give him a Pulitzer Prize. They give Pulitzer Prizes to traitors nowadays.'" *From Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times* by Robert Dallek (1998).

Civilization. "A civilization is not something we simply inherit or ever finally possess. . . A civilization is an elaborate structure of ideas and institutions, slowly built up over time by the intelligence and effort of countless individuals working alone and together. If we fail to understand and live out that complexity, which tries to answer to the complexity of human life itself, we can easily fall back to a less human existence. It has happened often in history." Robert Royal, "Who Put the West in Western Civilization" (*Intercollegiate Review*, Spring 1998).

Memorial Day. "For friends who are outside the US: today (the last Monday of May) is Memorial Day in the US, to commemorate soldiers fallen in battles. In Washington DC, it is the occasion for Rolling Thunder, a motorcycle ride of several thousand Vietnam Veterans. The Vietnam Veteran Memorial is the center of the ceremony. You may want to know that in these ceremonies in recent years, there have not been any messages containing bitterness against Vietnam. The speeches either say nothing on the matter or have a reconciliatory tone. Mainstream Vietnam Veterans (US soldiers who fought in Vietnam) have very much rec-

onciled with themselves, their own country, and their former foe. May the souls of all fallen soldiers rest in peace." Hoàng D. Trần, *Việt kiều* (vnforum.org).

Garwood Revisited. Two writers for *Việt Nam* (April 1998 issue) review the case of Marine POW Bobby Garwood, the private who after 14 years as a supposed POW in *Việt Nam* returned home in 1979 to be court-martialed and found guilty of collaborating with the enemy. Set side by side are two books in *Garwood, Spite House* by Monika Jensen-Stevenson, who in effect finds Garwood not guilty of all charges, and Frank Anton's *Why Didn't You Get Me Out: Betrayal in a Việt Cộng Death Camp*. Anton, a pilot-POW in the same camp with Garwood, says he suffered 18 brutal months as a consequence of Garwood's collaboration, which he describes: "He (Garwood) wandered through the camp carrying a rifle . . . conducted agit-prop lectures dressed in silk pajamas. . . screamed at an American Marine, 'You have come to *Việt Nam* to commit crimes against these innocent people. . . I spit on you.'" None of this appears in the Jensen-Stevenson work. But then she got her journalistic training from CBS' *Sixty Minutes*. (Review by Laura Ricard and Alan Fry.)



Việt Nam in High Schools. Here is a list of several bibliographies for use the high school level. It was distributed at the Texas Tech conference in June. 1) *The Indochinese and their Cultures* by Huỳnh Đình Tế, San Diego State University, 1988. An early but still one of the best introductions to the culture of Indochina States. Produced by San Diego State University College of Education (Policy Studies Department's Multi-functional Resource Center). Purpose is to foster understanding between Indochinese students and their non-Indochinese classmates and teachers. Also serves as a brief for teachers dealing with Indochina and the *Việt Nam* War. Eleven chapters on customs, religion, social organization, naming systems, non-verbal communications, etc. Good bibliography and review questions. 2) *Introduction to Vietnamese Culture* by Huỳnh Đình Tế, San Diego State University. Twelve chapters

on *Việt Nam* along with sociological orientation. Historical and physical setting; family and other social relationships; attitudes towards nature; the educational system; religion, etc. An authoritative work. 3) "Teaching the *Việt Nam* Experience as a Whole Course" by Douglas Pike, in *Teaching Political Science: Politics in Perspective*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Summer 1985. Offers a schematic for use in teaching the history of *Việt Nam* employing what is termed the "competing perceptions" device. 4) *High School Level Teaching Materials on Indochina*, University of Hawaii, 1982. A 20 page lesson plan with suggested handouts, quizzes, covering all three Indochinese countries. Also reading list, maps, chronologies, sample tests, questions for classroom discussion. 5) *Vietnamese History: A Ten Week Course for Tenth Graders* by Charles S. White, Greenwich, Connecticut, 1975. Teacher's Guide. Lists 12 objectives to be achieved; offers course outline, lecture notes, bibliography, handouts, sample examinations. Somewhat dated. 7) *Teaching About Việt Nam and the Việt Nam War* by Vickie Schlene, Indiana University, 1966. Brief description of the organization and available resources in the U.S. for teaching about *Việt Nam* and the *Việt Nam* War. From ERIC Clearinghouse, Indiana University. 8) *The Lessons of the Việt Nam War* edited by Jerold M. Star, Center for Social Studies Education, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1996. From Indochina Curriculum Group, Cambridge, Mass. Distributed by Indochina Aid and Friendship Project, Dorchester, Mass., 105 pages, paper, \$5.00. (1978, revised 1986). Ambitious work by 14 academics, including some of the best known in the field of *Việt Nam* studies. Twelve chapters which focus on the meaning of the *Việt Nam* War in the US (who fought? Was it legal? How was it reported?) Etc. 9) *The Việt Nam War* by Burton F. Beers and Rose Ann Mulford, Globe Fearon Educational Publisher, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey (1997). A case study workbook designed for assignment of research projects. Eight case studies suggested. With introduction and retrospective "follow-up." Serious effort to be objective, which generally succeeds (some critics would say it oversimplifies).

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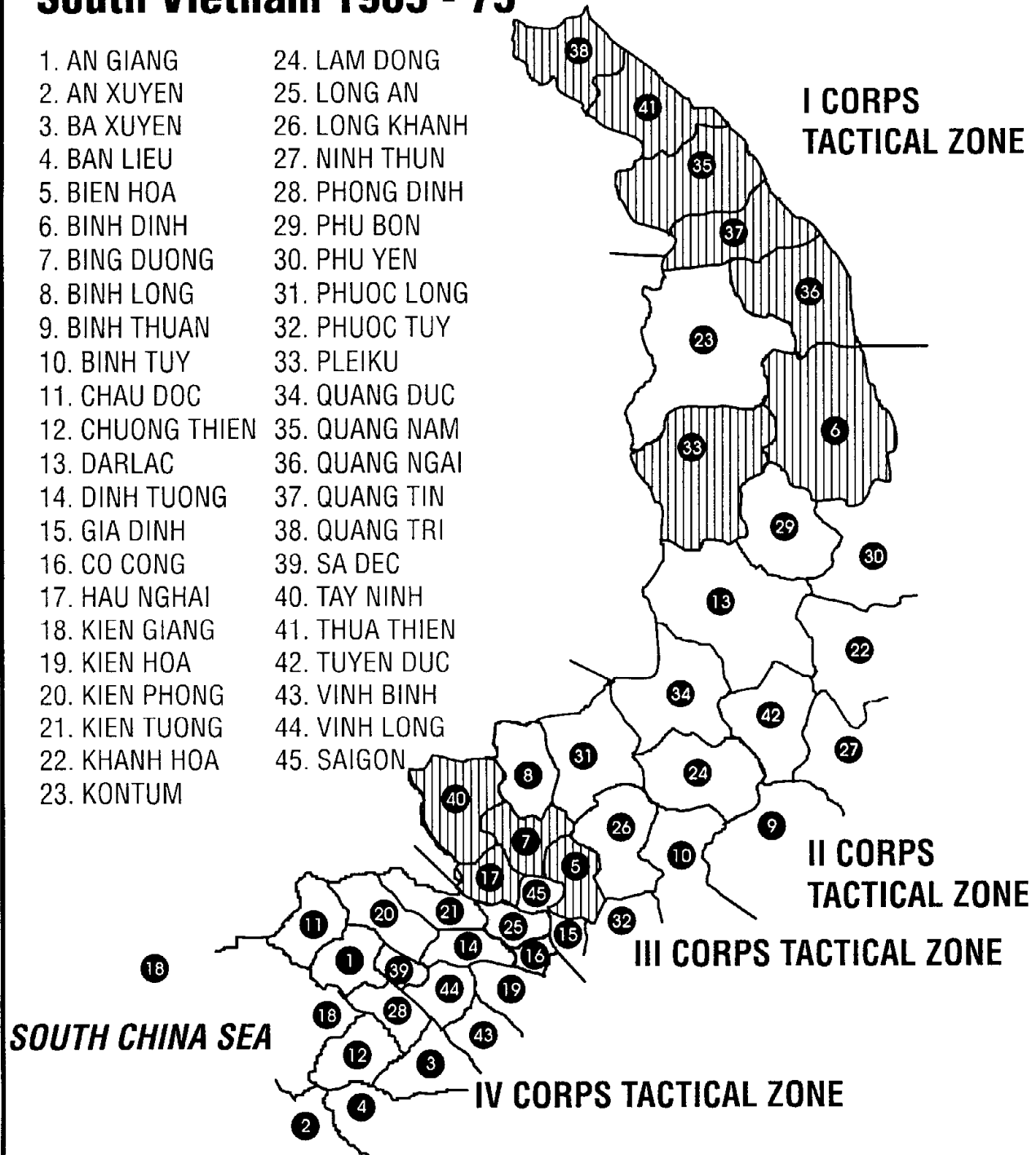
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




# Historical Map

## South Vietnam 1965 - 75

- |                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. AN GIANG      | 24. LAM DONG   |
| 2. AN XUYEN      | 25. LONG AN    |
| 3. BA XUYEN      | 26. LONG KHANH |
| 4. BAN LIEU      | 27. NINH THUN  |
| 5. BIEN HOA      | 28. PHONG DINH |
| 6. BINH DINH     | 29. PHU BON    |
| 7. BING DUONG    | 30. PHU YEN    |
| 8. BINH LONG     | 31. PHUOC LONG |
| 9. BINH THUAN    | 32. PHUOC TUY  |
| 10. BINH TUY     | 33. PLEIKU     |
| 11. CHAU DOC     | 34. QUANG DUC  |
| 12. CHUONG THIEN | 35. QUANG NAM  |
| 13. DARLAC       | 36. QUANG NGAI |
| 14. DINH TUONG   | 37. QUANG TIN  |
| 15. GIA DINH     | 38. QUANG TRI  |
| 16. CO CONG      | 39. SA DEC     |
| 17. HAU NGHAI    | 40. TAY NINH   |
| 18. KIEN GIANG   | 41. THUA THIEN |
| 19. KIEN HOA     | 42. TUYEN DUC  |
| 20. KIEN PHONG   | 43. VINH BINH  |
| 21. KIEN TUONG   | 44. VINH LONG  |
| 22. KHANH HOA    | 45. SAIGON     |
| 23. KONTUM       |                |



-  Low US military presence during war
-  Medium US military presence during war
-  High US military presence during war

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