

EDITORIAL NOTE

Indochina Chronology is a quarterly publication devoted to historical and contemporary events in Vietnam (including the Vietnam War), Cambodia, and Laos; a bibliographic resource on book, monograph, periodical and journal literature; and as a source of news of the field. It was begun in 1982 at the University of California (Berkeley) and moved to Texas Tech University (Lubbock) in mid-1997. It is made available, gratis, to academics, historians, writers, researchers, journalists, veterans, and 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 Alison Honig, David Morokoff, Khanh Lê, Myrna Pike, and Rosa Garcia. *Indochina Chronology* operates in conjunction with the Vietnam Archive, also at Texas Tech University (James Ginther and Ronald Frankum).

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The Việt Cộng's war of words--part of its political struggle strategy--consisted in flooding South Việt Nam with propaganda leaflets called "slogan slips." These were surreptitiously placed in shopping markets, in small town markets, in classroom desks at night, and around Allied installations. They were in all languages (Vietnamese [chiefly in Vietnamese of course], others in English, Korean, and Thai). On page 30-31 are some samples of English versions drawn from thousands of examples in the Texas Tech Vietnam War Archive.

On the Cover: WAR OF WORDS IN VIETNAM
(See Page 30-31 for "Messages From a Distant War")

GLOSSARY OF COMMONLY USED TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFP—Agence France Presse
AI—Amnesty International
ASEAN—Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CPP—Cambodian People's Party (ruling party)
CS—Council of State
DK—Democratic Kampuchea
THE ECONOMIST—International Weekly (London)
FEER—*Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong)
FBIS—Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FBIS-CHI—Daily Report/China
FBIS-EAS—Daily Report/East Asia
FUNCINPEC—National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (opposition party)
INDOCHINA INTERCHANGE—USIRP quarterly
JPRS-SEA—Joint Publications Research Service, SE Asia (Dept. of Commerce)
KPL—Lao News Agency
KR—Khmer Rouge
LPDR—Lao People's Democratic Republic
LPRP—Lao People's Revolutionary Party
NATION—Bangkok Newspaper (English)
NHÂN DÂN—People's Daily (Hà Nội)
NRC—National Radio of Cambodia (Phnom Penh)

PAVN—People's Army Việt Nam
PDK—Party of Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge)
PPP—*Phnom Penh Post*
PRC—People's Republic of China
RENMIN RIBAO—People's Daily (Beijing)
RGC—Royal Government of Cambodia
RKAF—Royal Khmer Armed Force
UNDP—U.N. Development Program
UNHCR—U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees
USIRP—U.S.-Indochina Reconciliation Project
VBJ—*Vietnam Business Journal*
VC—*Vietnam Courier*
VIR—*Vietnam Investment Review*
VNN—*Vietnam News* (Hà Nội daily news sheet)
VNU—Việt Nam National University
VVN—Voice of Việt Nam Network (Hà Nội)
VTN—Việt Nam Television Network
XINHUA—China News Agency

EXCHANGE RATES—U.S.\$

đồng (Việt Nam)	13,907.5
riel (Cambodia)	3,750
kip (Laos)	3,900
baht (Thailand)	40.687
renminbi (China)	8.2796

Việt Nam: Final Quarter of the Penultimate Year in Việt Nam

The final quarter of 1998 in Việt Nam witnessed continuation or further development of three trends which contemporary history has been pressing throughout the year, indeed the previous two years. Little shock development here. Chiefly consistency. Symptom of all three is the sharp pain of modernization. If one is to judge by press coverage out of Việt Nam—American, Japanese, French, German, British, Australian—Việt Nam in these three final months really went to the dogs. Certainly, the Year of the Tiger (as many had expected) was anything but that.

Economic Downturn. The first significant trend of the quarter was continued loss of economic certainty. It was fueled by the Southeast Asian regional economic turmoil, and in Việt Nam, manifested by flight (if not outright stamped) of ex-pats and foreign investors. There were about 20,000 foreign business people in Việt Nam—exactly how many is not known, nor how many have left, but the numbers are sizeable. An estimated 182 business representative offices in HCMC closed late this year; office rents in Hà Nội dropped 60%; enrollment at the International School (largely ex-pat children) was down 20% this school year; 400 of the luxury apartment units in Hà Nội (about 1,000 units) stand empty. Chrysler Corporation planned a \$189 million plant investment after being given the understanding that only three foreign automakers were to be licensed. When the number of licenses reached 14, Chrysler folded its operation. Foreigners say they are regarded as cash cows: charged three times what Vietnamese pay for air and rail tickets, long distance telephone bills are among the world's highest, Hà Nội is rated as one of the 10 most expensive cities in the world in which to live and do business, etc. Ex-pats, of course, do their best to nudge Hà Nội leadership in what they think is the right direction—and they have good connections with the foreign press. Hence, their Cassandra warnings, and veiled blackmail, have hidden meaning.

But even a year end report by VNA said that between 30 and 50 percent of state-owned firms lost money in 1997 vs. 22 percent in 1996. "Many enterprises have sunk further into the red and are on the brink of collapse, but have covered it up..." The report blamed weak management and an absence of clear regulations. It said government bodies were failing to take follow-up action in cases where problems were found, as with "growing financial violations."

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rate for the year was 5.8 % (Phan Văn Khải said it was 6%). Sectoral GDP breakdown: State—40.2%, Collectives—8.9%, Private—3.4%, Households—34.0%, Mixed—3.7%, and Foreign-invested—9.8%.

Other slow-down statistics: New foreign direct

investment (FDI) approvals down 50% from 1997. No increase in the export growth rate during the year. Inflation rate 9.2% (vs. 3.6% in 1997) chiefly because of a 12.3% hike in food prices (US \$1 equals 13,893 đồng). Trade deficit was \$2.034 billion (vs. \$2.2 billion in 1997), with exports at \$9.356 billion (0.9% higher than 1997) and imports at \$11.4 billion, (3% lower). Highest increases in exports were in crude oil at 12.12 million tons, 26.1% over 1997); marine products at 850 million tons, (8.8% higher), and rice at 3.8 million tons (7% rise, highest level ever). Urban unemployment was 6.85% (vs. 6.01% in 1997), Hà Nội rate the highest at 9.09%. Rural labor was more a problem of under-employment.

About 70% of foreign investment capital came from Asian countries which also account for 70% of Việt Nam's exports. The number of projects and the amount of FDI in 1998 dropped by 21.5 % (10.1% in 1997). Foreign-invested projects accounted for about 23.5% of national industrial value (vs. 20.6% in 1997 and 21.4% in 1996). Nearly 270,000 Vietnamese now work in foreign-invested projects and contributed some \$320 million to the state budget in 1998 (1.6% over the previous year).

Hà Nội's official "equitization drive"—that effort to induce further private investment in State-owned enterprises—was intensified during the quarter mostly with rhetoric (a "firm but not massive" effort, as PM Phan Văn Khải put it). About 6,000 enterprises are involved here. Hà Nội hopes to unload 150 of the more unprofitable ones. The effort at times seems to take on the appearance of a confidence game, too much a case of: "you put up the money; you take the risk; we'll split the profits." In any event, no one is getting rich from the program.

Trade officials say no American corporation has turned a profit since the influx of serious investment money began in 1994. Official attitude seems to demonstrate simple exploitation thinking on the part of the Politburo. The leadership has little faith in a market economy, still feels a command economy is more appropriate for Việt Nam and that it can be made to work if the spirit is strong. In Hà Nội, an apocrypha making the rounds: At a Politburo meeting, one member says: "The ex-pats have the money, we have the know-how. If we play it right, in the end they will have the know-how and we will have the money." Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew tells the Vietnamese: "You're treating the Americans like you did in the war, you invite them in, then you ambush them."

And, as always, the demographic wolf nips at the heels of the system. Việt Nam's population currently is estimated at 77 million (a new census will be conducted in April 1999); it has increased by 10 million since 1991,

is 2.6 times higher than 1960. The population is expected to reach 81 million in the year 2000. Vietnam's elderly population is now as high as 10% of the total in some provinces; it has increased from 4.6 million to 7.8 million in the past decade. (See demographic study in Periodicals)

There was an effort during the quarter to take PAVN out of the economic sector, or at least to reduce its presence. Number of firms was cut from 305 to 193. Both military and police can engage in production work for their own use but cannot engage in economic trading or supply services (e.g., electricity production or lumbering). Military business has been a growth industry during the year, a 30% increase in military-owned plants.

Vietnam's challenge is to decide whether to cling to heavy state supervision—placing premium on information controls fiscal policy, and political growth—or speak the same economic and intellectual language as neighbors in Southeast Asia. "We're not trying to force anything Western on Vietnam," U.S. Ambassador Douglas "Pete" Peterson said. "But the Vietnamese can't create an economy that's not compatible with international markets or one that doesn't embrace international standards. If they do, no one will understand them."

We must be cautious in coming to judgment on Vietnam's economic condition and prospects. Much of what we know comes from questionable observers, chief among them journalistic, academic, and *Việt kiều* critics. Some don't have the skill or background to see clearly what there is to see; some, with private agendas, see only what they choose to see. The quarter may simply mean unreasonable optimism has given way to unreasonable pessimism.

Social Consensus. The second trend is a kind of social malaise. What is lacking is social consensus—the general agreement among the people of a society as to what their society stands for where they want it to go (its social vision) and by what political/economic route to get there (politics). This is not as serious a problem as elsewhere (for instance, in what was once Yugoslavia) but it is serious enough. The trend is marked by peasant revolt, noisy intellectual dissent (even reaching far up into the armed forces), student unrest, and failure of the cut-and-fill Politburo to enact remedial measures. To a considerable degree this is a rural, not an urban problem. Certainly, it seems clear that to fix it, the leadership must begin on the farm and in the village. The problem is not poverty as such, but how to deal with poverty. And within this, how to link economic growth with social justice.

A World Bank report (December 1998) said about one-third of rural Vietnamese live in poverty (vs. 70% in 1980 and 50% in 1993). The income gap—city and rural—continues to widen; urbanites earned on average five times as much as did rural people during the past decade. Three-quarters of the poor live off of agriculture, forestry, and fishing, generating average annual

income of about 2 million *đồng*. The biggest challenge is natural disasters. Prolonged drought last year and three tropical storms in November in the central highlands and the central coast put more than one million people at risk of famine. People in the Mekong Delta are still struggling to rebuild in the wake of Typhoon Lynda in November 1997.

No longer is there enough land for everyone to be a farmer—reversing the assumption Vietnam's Communist Party chiefs have long exploited as a way of keeping the countryside stable. About 80% of the population still lives in rural areas; farm sizes have halved in 20 years; and, as noted above, Vietnam's population of nearly 80 million is the youngest and fastest growing of any large country in Southeast Asia, growing at more than two million a year. About 60% are under 25. The landless have headed for the semi-urbanized hills of already depleted forests and coasts, as well as to the cities.

This changing scene was described by Greg Torode (*South China Morning Post*, Dec. 31, 1998): "Fly into Hanoi over the ancient rice bowl of northern Vietnam's Red River Delta and it is not the vast network of rice paddies that strike you but the mushrooming villages spreading to the horizon. Drive into southern Vietnam's Mekong Delta from the seemingly deserted wastelands of east Cambodia and the effect is the same. Teeming roads, towns and villages engulf the rich fields. After being run down by the now-abandoned policies of hard-line Marxism, these two regions have rebounded and fueled Vietnam's recovery during the past 10 years, providing steadily growing exports and finally enough food for the country to feed itself."

Leadership. The third trend—both cause and effect of the first two—has to do with the shifting nature of leadership in Vietnam. As evidenced by a VCP Plenum this quarter, there is a growing dichotomy in the leadership process—both at State and Party level—between the center in Hanoi and the villages of the country. The spectre of irrelevance hangs over the Party leadership. The Politburo's operational code, under heavy bludgeoning of generational politics, becomes increasingly unequal to need. Its handling of domestic challenges goes through stages: defend the *status quo* loudly and openly; if that fails, hunker down and blame the press and dissidents; if that fails, send minions out to pacify the countryside using both moral exhortation and tough measures (purge cadres, grant amnesty to victims of earlier crackdowns, etc). If these do not work, begin the cycle anew. The Politburo would be well advised to spend more time and effort examining the rural scene, its economy, its people. Traditionally in countries like Vietnam, the 10% in the city make things happen or not. Time is running out on this arrangement in Vietnam.

The leadership during the quarter again effectively ruled out political reform and fuzzed the line on economic change. The sense of this policy—at the Party plenum and in official statements—was that Vietnam cannot at this time afford to discard or weaken its existing national institutions, and in particular, must not copy Western systems. Rather, each Vietnamese must be vigilant against subversive activities, both those that are intentional and those that are not—the only road to a better future. Some observers see this as a swing back to caution and conservatism. Others consider that the central fact of political leadership in Vietnam remains the search for change without instability. But to live is to take a chance, and the one immutable law of history is that all things change; don't even think of ways to stop history.

For what they are worth, the "Six Priorities" as outlined by PM Phan Văn Khải at the Cabinet's monthly meeting (Dec. 30): (1) Firmly but gradually increase international economic integration in the service of economic development; (2) stabilize the country's financial institutions, eliminate negative influences; (3) accelerate developments in Vietnamese science, education, culture, and society; (4) consolidate national defense and internal security; maintain social order; (5) implement additional administrative governmental reform; (6) exercise democracy and transparency. These are not government programs as such. They are pious expressions of hope. They can mean whatever one wants them to mean—they are one of the reasons for the rise of rice roots leadership in the developing system of informal local politics.

Most significant in leadership development is this "bottom up" phenomenon, change led not by the center but by informal or local politics, as happened earlier in the economic sphere. Of all the institutions involved, the collective (or commune) is most important. The All Vietnam Cooperatives Central Conference reported at year's end on the state of collective bureaucracy in the country: 18,453 co-ops in the 61 provinces/cities, chiefly in agriculture, fishing, handicraft, transport, and processing of sea products. These have been massively restructured over the past several years under a new Law of Cooperatives from the National Assembly (1997). Collectivization is no longer regarded as a moral social imperative, only a useful instrument for addressing social problems. New co-ops are encouraged in such areas as credit unions, animal husbandry and veterinary medicine, clean water suppliers and hygiene; and various cultural activities.

The vital need for social consensus—how it is created, how it develops—is something of a mystery. Good leadership alone cannot create it, but it cannot develop without good leadership.

Foreign relations this quarter reflected tensions within the Politburo. Focus was on the Spratlys and the multi-nation claims involved therein, chiefly by China.

For its part, Beijing continued to play an ambiguous game that gave the impression it did not want the issue to move toward any sort of resolution, but also did not want it to escalate into anything like a crisis. There were during the quarter various official diplomatic exchanges, including military. No significant developments between the U.S. and Vietnam during the quarter, as far as could be discerned.

The big foreign affairs event was the ASEAN Summit in Hanoi in December. Tone was set by Singapore PM Goh Chok Tong: "This has been a traumatic year for ASEAN." In the agenda stage of the meeting, some members (Thailand, Singapore) professed to be stunned by Vietnam's "high posture" behavior with respect to Cambodia. Hun Sen was invited; he showed up; the chairman refused to seat him; Vietnam refused to accept this. In the end, Cambodia was not yet admitted but Hanoi's strongarm tactics did not go down well with the other members.

Sources. *Asia 1999 Yearbook* from *Far Eastern Economic Review* (see page 15); "Review '98: The Year of the 'Tigger'" in *Vietnam Investment Review* "Special Feature" Dec. 28, 1998; "Vietnam Feels Sharp Pain of Modernization" in *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), Dec. 31; David Lamb, "Vietnam's Open Door Now Exit for Investors" in *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 25; AP Dec. 31. Authentic U.K. Voice For an informed view of 1998 as seen by one of the most astute *Việt kiều* see Hoàng Ngọc Nguyễn in the Centerfold (pp). See also forthcoming year-ender by Mark Sidel, "Vietnam in 1998; Reform Confronts Regional Crisis" in the February 1999 issue of *Asian Survey*.



Monstrous Book Catalog. From France comes an announcement of a new book selling venture. It is called Asia Books Direct and it operated by one Nguyễn Trọng Thủy. Current catalog list runs to about 5,000 (current and OP) and it particularly strong in works published in the ten ASEAN countries, and Japan. Thủy also operates a subscription service for most academic journals on Asia. Address: Asia Books Direct, 54 Rue Carnot, F-94700 Maisons Alfort, RCS Creteil A 412 515 322, TVA FR9341251532200011; Tel: 33 1 43 53 92 61; FAX: 33 1 49 77 53 07; e-mail: HOALU@AOL.COM

Cambodia, Last Quarter of 1998: Deviating Into Truth

As described by foreign reporters, the “last remnants” of the one time horrendous Khmer Rouge terminated their organization in December, ending, as the reports further described it, 30 years of Cambodian civil war under a fanatic ideological leadership that searched for utopia and left two million dead. But wars of the Cambodian sort do not end neatly and sharply, no more than they begin that way. Rather, they taper off.

Official termination took place at the Preah Vihear Temple near the Thai border, was signed off on by the DK's chief of staff who said the force he represented consisted of 5,000 troops plus 15,000 camp followers. Still in uncertain status are former top leaders Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea who defected to the government, and military leader Ta Mok who is on the run with unknown numbers of supporters but hardly an impressive military-civilian force.

It does seem clear that the quarter saw a stake driven into the heart of one of the most singular political forces of this century. If this is not *finis* as history is written, it is at least the hesitant birth of a new day in Cambodia. Its meaning—as we have learned from the history of warfare—is that what must be expected is that after the strife of war begins the strife of peace.

Now the subject of governance of Cambodia returns to center stage. What is to be the political organization, the leadership make-up, and the politics employed in mobilizing the population? What is the emerging society to stand for—what will be its social vision—and how is this to be defined?

We know from Cambodia's long and often tortured history that the first requirement is general agreement on the part of the influential 10 percent of the population—that segment in the society which makes things happen, or not happen. We also know peace and stability require restraint by outsiders—chiefly Vietnam and Thailand—in intervening in Cambodia's domestic affairs, as well as self-imposed curbs by competing local political factions in associating themselves closely with outside forces (read China). This much is obvious from an examination of Cambodia's history and can easily be set down as prescription. Arriving at the proper arrangement is far more difficult, indeed is the ultimate challenge. It is a Cambodian problem requiring a Cambodian solution. Even the best of the well intentioned outside advisors are limited in how they can help.

Hen Sen—dare we label him first among equals?—manfully marked the quarter with a series of formal intimidations that it is now government as usual. On November 30 he presented a state-of-the-union message to the Second Legislature of the National Assembly. Aside from a stern labeling of “outlaw status” for the Khmer Rouge, he described his “national solidarity”

policy as one “to mobilize national forces from all circles and political persuasions, home and abroad, into a single body to defend the country, preserve social gain and make Cambodia peaceful, democratic and progressive” (NRC, FBIS-EAS98-338). The 10,000-word presentation was not dissimilar to state-of-the-union messages elsewhere—glitter words that point with pride, view with alarm—heard elsewhere, as in Washington.

Listed as 1999 tasks or goals (or hopes) were these: (1) Promote multiparty liberal democracy and respect for human rights. Support growing role of opposition parties. (2) Encourage the implementation of freedom of expression, freedom of press, public meetings. (3) Prevent the recurrence of genocide (4) Welcome the return of breakaway hard-line Khmer Rouge leaders. (5) Guarantee justice through the rule of law (6) Implement four inter-related internal governmental reforms (judicial, economic, administrative and police/military. (7) Expand diplomatic relations and establish more embassies. (8) reduce poverty. The government “platform” as outlined, has something for everyone (a great deal for everyone for that matter). As a document it can hardly be criticized.

A massive governance overhaul was announced November 30—the way it was put was “the previous government is being replaced by new government.” This involved the entire slate of cabinet ministers, secretaries and undersecretaries.

The Cambodian People's Party got 13 ministerial portfolios: Council of Ministers Office; Ministries of Economy and Finance, Foreign Affairs, Environment and Management, Agriculture, Industry, Trade, Posts, Planning, Water Resources, Social Welfare, and Landscaping, Urbanization, and Construction; and the State Secretariat for Public Services.

FUNCINPEC obtained 12 portfolios: Ministries of Rural Development, Public Works and Transport, Education, Justice, Information, Public Health, Culture, Tourism, Religious Affairs, Relations with Parliament, Women's Affairs [the Ministry of Corruption Control and Combat is dropped]; and the State Secretariat for Civilian Aviation.

All the advisory posts will be dissolved (nearly 500 advisors previously). A spokesman said the new government is not likely to allow so many paid nominal advisors.

At the same time the technical structure of the government underwent alteration. Purpose of this apparently is to underscore the fact that the government is indeed new and not a further game of musical chairs. In this new “government of second mandate” each ministry will have a minister, two state secretaries, and five undersecretaries. Under an agreed on protocol, a minis-

try controlled by the FUNCINPEC party will be assisted by a state secretary from FUNCINPEC, a State Secretary from the CPP, three undersecretaries from FUNCINPEC, and two undersecretaries from CPP.

The same will apply to the ministries controlled by the CCP. Exceptions will be the Interior and Defense ministries and the Council of Ministers Office. The Council of Ministers Office will have one state secretary from the CPP, five undersecretaries from the CPP, and three from FUNCINPEC. Apart from having co-ministers, the Interior Ministry will also have two state secretaries from FUNCINPEC and two from the CPP, but it will have no understate secretary. In the Defense Ministry, the CPP and FUNCINPEC will each have a state secretary and three understate secretaries.

Cambodia resumed its seat, in the U.N. General Assembly Dec. 7. Foreign Minister Hor Namhong pledged Cambodia would work to be fully reintegrated into the international community. The 185-nation Assembly endorsed without a vote the decision by the UN credentials committee to accept the accreditation of Cambodia's new coalition government. This effectively confers international legitimacy on the government of Prime Minister Hun Sen.

Hor Namhong admitted that "the road which is leading us to a radiant future is still long and painful, and full of obstacles... However it is also full of hope and the desire to see our country rejoin the place it deserves in the concert of nations, to progress and to develop." On Dec. 17 King Sihanouk appointed acting *charge Uch Borit* as ambassador to the U.N., *vice Sisowat Siriat*.

The new SRV ambassador to Cambodia, Nguyễn Du Hồng, presented his credentials (Dec. 4), *vice Trần Huy Chương* who had served since 1991. Meantime, for reasons only a few within the Washington Beltway can understand, the U.S. Senate failed to act on the nomination of Kent Wiedermann to replace Kenneth Quinn as U.S. ambassador to Cambodia; presumably the new Senate will get around to it eventually. Quinn will leave Phnom Penh in any case and Carol Rodley will be acting.

On the Cambodian economic front problems continued to mount during the quarter. Price of basic foods such as rice continued to soar; foreign investment dwindled. Some of this is traceable to the economic ills of the entire region, some to internal governance problems, and some to vicious political infighting. "The present situation is almost desperate for the government when it comes to international support," top UN human rights official Thomas Hammarberg said recently.

Cambodia depends on foreign aid for almost half of its annual budget. Last year it received help worth \$450 million.

"Basically they're out of pocket by \$400 million," said one economist. There has been some damage control—cutting expenditures on health and education.

Good for the short run but in the long term not sustainable, he said. Poor harvests have pushed rice prices to their highest levels in five years, and there's little prospect of them coming down soon. Meanwhile, hunger spreads in the countryside. There is no investment coming in and inflation is quite high. It is a dicey period.

New Government. King Sihanouk on November 30 announced appointment of the new Cambodian government (Phnom Penh National Radio Dec. 4): **I. Prime Minister**—Samdech Hun Sen; **II. Deputy Prime Ministers**—Sar Kheng, Tol Loah; **III. State Ministers**—Keat Chhon, Sok An, Hor Namhong, Loe Laysreng, Chhim Siekleng, Hong Sun-hout, Yu Hokkri;

Council of Ministers—Sok An (Minister), Sum Manit, Chea Saophoan (State Secretaries); Tie Banh, Prince Sisowath Sereiroat (National Defense Co-ministers), Chay Sangyun, Pao Bunsroe (National Defense State Secretaries); Sar Kheng, Yu Hokkri (Interior Co-ministers), Em Sam-an, Kieng Vang, Prum Sokha, Phan Sina (Interior State Secretaries);

Khun Hang (Relations with Parliament and Inspection Minister) Khov Mengheang, Hong Chhem (Relations with Parliament and Inspection State Secretaries); Hor Namhong (Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Minister), Uch Kim-an, Soeng Chamraeun (Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation State Secretaries); Keat Chhon (Economy and Finance Minister), Uk Rabun, Kong Vibol (Economy and Finance State Secretaries);

Loe Laysreng (Information Minister), Um Daravut, Khieu Kanharit (Information State Secretaries); Hong Sun-huot (Public Health Minister), Ung Phirun, Mam Bunheng (Public Health State Secretaries); Suy Sem (Industry, Mines, and Energy Minister), It Prang, Nhep Bunchin (Industry, Mines, and Energy State Secretaries); Chhay Than (Planning Minister), U Aohat, Lay Prohoah (Planning State Secretaries); Cham Prasit (Trade Minister), Pen Siman, Khek Ravi (Trade State Secretaries); Tol Loah (Education, Youth, and Sports Minister), Pok Than, Im Sothi (Education, Youth and Sports State Secretaries); Chhea Song (Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries Minister), Chan Tong-iv, Mai Sam-oeun (Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries State Secretaries); Princess Norodom Bophadevi (Culture and Fine Arts Minister), Prince Sisowath Panara Sereivut, Pen Yet (Culture and Fine Arts State Secretaries);

Mok Maret (Environment Minister), Khan Saphan, So Gari (Environment State Secretaries); Chhim Siekleng (Rural Development Minister), Li Thuch, Yim Chhaili (Rural Development State Secretaries); It Sam-heng (Social Affairs, Labor, Vocational Training, and Youth Rehabilitation Minister), Nim Thot, Mrs. Prak Chantha (Social Affairs, Labor, Vocational Training, and Youth Rehabilitation State Secretaries); So Khun (Posts and Telecommunications Minister), Phan Phin, Lam Pu-an (Posts and Telecommunications State Secretaries); Chea Saveoun (Religious Affairs Minister), Srei Van-hang, Chuon Iem (Religious Affairs State Secretaries); Mrs. Mu Sok-huo (Women's Affairs and War Veterans Minister), Mrs. Ung Kunthavi, Mrs. Yu Ay (Women's Affairs and War Veterans State Secretaries); Khi Tanglim (Public Works and Transport Minister), Ahmat Yahya, Tram Iv-toek (Public Works and Transport State Secretaries); Uk Vithun (Justice Minister), Suy Nu, Mrs. Li Vuochleng (Justice State Secretaries); Veng Sereivut (Tourism Minister), Nut Nindoeun, Thong Khon (Tourism State Secretaries); Im Chhunlim (Urbanization and Construction Minister), Ti Yav, Nu Sangkhan (Urbanization and Construction State Secretaries); Lim Kean-hao (Water Resources and Meteorology Minister), Yu Keaheang, Ngo Pin (Water Resources and Meteorology State Secretaries); **State Secretariats under the Council of Ministers**—Pich Bunthin (Public Services Secretariat); Pok Sam-el (Civil Aviation Secretariat).



Veteran Information Sources. The pre-eminent source for information on American veterans (and civilians) who served in the Vietnam War is the American War Library in suburban Los Angeles. It is the creation of Phill Coleman, a disabled Vietnam War veteran assisted by a corps of local veterans. The American War Library now has a listing of 20 million names, can be used gratis, and is intended in part to help veterans locate old comrades. Phill is a true character (he once chased some drug dealers out of his neighborhood, was arrested, pro bono defended by a Los Angeles Times lawyer, then escorted home from the hearing by a team of admiring Los Angeles police). To contact Phill Coleman at the American War Library (Los Angeles): <http://members.aol.com/warlib/pcole.htm> Other vet sources: —Brenda Salinger, Capt, ANC (Ret)—Veterans Day

1998 Resource Guide: <http://members.aol.com/veterans/warlib69.htm>

—Army Resource Guide: <http://members.aol.com/veterans/warlib6r.htm>

—Air Force Resource Guide: <http://members.aol.com/veterans/warlib6f.htm>

—Marines Resource Guide: <http://members.aol.com/veterans/warlib6m.htm>

—Navy/Coast Guard Resource Guide: <http://members.aol.com/veterans/warlib6s.htm>

—Multi Resource Guides: <http://members.aol.com/veterans/warlib6.htm>



Cultural Relativism. “Multiculturalists have ignored a key distinction between individuals and culture that was central to the early theories of cultural relativism developed by anthropologists in the 1930s. The original sense of cultural relativism explained how individuals’ actions could be seen as relative to, or shaped and determined by, their previous acculturation. But that sense in no way precluded a comparative evaluation of different cultures and the conclusion that ‘some were more desirable than others.’ The rise of multiculturalism as an ideology has largely occurred because of the decline of the American left, and because multiculturalism’s accompanying politics allows individuals to find an identity and community in smaller groups that are missing in society as a whole. Moreover, multiculturalism is unlikely to transform American society or even endure as a major ideological theme much longer, because society is becoming more uniform, due to increasing urbanization and suburbanization and the pervasive influence of the mass media.” Dennis Wrong (NYU professor emeritus of sociology) in the spring issue of *Critical*

Review.



Agent Orange. A group of U.S. Veterans of the Vietnam War are pressing for legislation that would allocate \$1.5 million for studies in Vietnam on the effects of the toxic defoliant Agent Orange. “We’re asking Congress to release funds from the National Institute of Health to bring in scientists to work with your scientists to get needed information to know how to deal with this issue,” Thomas H. Corey, vice president of the Vietnam Veterans of America,...(AP)

Laos: How to Move the Economy

As the quarter – and the year – drew to a close, Laos appeared mired in the economic doldrums in company with its neighbors. This less-industrialized country has been more affected by the Asian economic crisis than many thought would be the case, chiefly because of its close ties to the Thai economy both through trade and investment. Declining exports during the year exacerbated the already huge trade deficit, the kip plunged to 4,300 to the US\$ in the fall (3,900 in December) and inflation hit 100%.

The government retains a firm lid on dissent, but the Lao, in any case, are not as given to political activism as, for example, the Vietnamese. This could change, at least in urban centers, if economic conditions worsen.

The government continues to claim concerns about a resistance movement and refuses to accept repatriation of Lao refugees who fled to Thailand in the 1970s at the end of the war in Indochina. Some 2,000 Lao live in the UNHCR's Ban Napho refugee camp, and 13,000 Mong live at a temple area in Saraburi Province (registered as refugees by the Thai). Lao officials told the Thai side at a meeting in November that Laos would not accept any Mong refugees and suggested they be given Thai nationality. The Thais were also told that Laos had changed its position on accepting all the Ban Napho refugees as agreed earlier, and believe the new Lao proposal would lead to an impasse. The UNHCR wants to close the camp, and the Thais fear it will do so even if repatriation is stalled. (Bangkok *Phuchatkan*, Nov. 16).

An agreement to complete demarcation and solve problems of their mutual border by 2003 was reached at the annual Thai-Lao Joint Commission meeting in November, chaired by Foreign Ministers Surin Pitsuwan and Somsavat Lengsavat. A technical team has demarcated 261 kms. # of the 702-km. land border. It expects to complete this by 2000, then move on to demarcation of the Mekong, expected to take three years. Plans for border security, including control of drug trafficking and criminal activity, are to be drawn up. Border issues gain an added urgency as the two countries prepare for the opening of the ASEAN Free Trade Zone in 2003.

Laos and Thailand also pledged to move ahead on their master plan for long-term economic cooperation in anticipation of Lao Prime Minister Sisavath Keobounphanh's scheduled visit to Thailand early in 1999. Agreements on travel, extradition, and visa exemption are expected to be signed at that time. The master plan envisions cooperation in four areas: electricity, communications and telecommunications, agriculture/agro-industry, and investment. (Bangkok *Post* and *Nation*).

Asian Development Bank and World Bank officials in Laos in November reviewed ongoing projects and discussed plans for new loans. Laos reportedly needs

US\$15 million more from the ADB for the Nam Leuk hydropower project; the huge Nam Theun II project, with funding guarantees from the World Bank, has been in doubt since Thailand scaled back its plans for importing large quantities of electricity. Sale of electricity to its neighbors was a bright hope for Laos until the Asian economic debacle, and now many invested projects are delayed or in abeyance. Japan pledged eight billion yen in loans to Laos and Thailand in December for joint construction of another bridge to link the two countries over their Mekong border.

Prime Minister Sisavat led a delegation on a state visit to Myanmar in November, continuing the series of exchanges that have marked growing relations between the two countries since at least 1994 (Xinhua report, 26 Nov). Border issues and economic matters were discussed and agreements signed on visa exemptions for officials and for cooperation between the state-run Myanmar News Agency and Laos's KPL. The two, along with Thailand, agreed in July 1997 to cooperate on eradication of poppy cultivation in border areas and combating drug trafficking. Laos and Myanmar both were admitted as ASEAN's newest members in July 1997 and have since been getting technical assistance to prepare them for the advent of the Free Trade Zone.

Excellent background and analysis on economic development in Laos has been done recently by Yves Bourdet, Dept. of Economics, Univ. of Lund, Sweden. Two of his articles have been issued in the University's reprint series: "Labor Market Adjustment under Transition in Laos" and "Laos: The Sixth Party Congress and After?", and are available from *Nationalekonomiska Institutionen*, Box 7082, S-220 07 Lund, Sweden.



Việt Kiều on Campus. "Many colleges and university campuses have an abundance of ethnic or religious organizations, but usually only one or two of them are Asian-American, and their participants tend to be primarily students of East Asian descent. Groups with activist agendas rarely attract members and eventually evolve into fraternity-like sponsors of parties. The problem is that students either have become apathetic or have splintered into groups devoted to the concerns of Filipino-Americans or Korean-Americans, for example. Asian-American students should form umbrella groups that actively seek membership from every Asian-American organization on each campus. Fragmented groups, will never be as strong as one that is truly pan-Asian-American." Edmund Lee in April/May issue of *A Magazine* (found on news stands).

Bibliography: Books and Monographs

Comintern in Vietnam by Anatoli Sokolov (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow). Russia's leading Vietnam authority turned over most of the archives in Moscow to produce this authoritative history of early Soviet-Vietnam relations, i.e., the time of the Comintern when Hồ Chí Minh was one of the USSR's chief agents in Asia. Extensive biographical data on early Vietnamese Party members. In Russian. Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Rozhdestvenka Street, 12, Moscow, 103777, Russia; phone: (095) 925-4535; e-mail: LVRAN@glasnet.ru

Warring Fictions: Cultural Politics and the Vietnam War Narrative by Jim Neilson. An examination of how campus politics and commercial interests shaped the American perception of Vietnam War fiction. University Press of Mississippi, \$45 (hardcopy), \$18 (paper) (1998).

Harper Encyclopedia of Military Biography, Trevor Dupey, ed. Some 3,000 entries of American, allied, and enemy senior officers in Asia-Pacific theaters, World War II and later. Available from Cellar Book Store, Detroit, \$40 (1995).

Guerrilla Diplomacy: The NLF's Foreign Relations and the Vietnam War by Robert Brigham (Cornell University). The first of its kind, a postwar examination of the National Liberation Front (better known as the Việt Công) wartime effort to communicate with the outside world. Cornell Univ. Press, \$33.50 (1998).

Acheson: The Secretary of State Who Created an American World by James Choice. Biography of the man many see as the moral compass who guided America into the modern-day foreign relations matrix, and whom others regard as the Manichaeic alarmist who brought on the McCarthy era. Some, but not much data here of interest to Vietnam history scholars. Simon and Schuster, \$30 (1998).

Reporting Vietnam: Media and Military at War by William M. Hammond (U.S. Army Center of Military History). If there ever was an institutional oil-water mix, it is the military and the press. Each sees itself as performing a vital social duty with little appreciation from the public, and even less understanding of the vicissitudes suffered. Hammond comes out of the military and seeks to produce a balanced history. By and large he succeeds. If anything he defers, perhaps unconsciously, to the journalist orientation, which is: Remember: we are the story. University of Kansas Press, \$34.95, (1998).

Honor Bound. Title of a 700-page Pentagon report on American Military captivity in Vietnam published on the 25th anniversary of Operation Homecoming, the U.S. POW return. Contains documentation and analysis. Order from Superintendent of Documents, P.O. Box 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954, order no. 008-000-00734-9; phone: 202-512-1800; fax 202-512-2250. \$46 (1998).

Vietnam's Women in Transition, Kathleen Barry, ed. Papers from a 1993 HCMC seminar titled "Family and Condition of Women." As is common with the genre, the range is good to superficial. Women in Vietnam, it is clear, may have come a ways, but are slowed by gender problems no longer troublesome elsewhere. With notes, tables, appendices. St. Martin's Press, \$49.95 (1996).

Nixon's Vietnam War by Jeffrey Kimball (Miami University, Ohio). It really wasn't Nixon's war, only the one he disengaged us from with more or less whole skin. Good history of that effort. Kimball read wisely into the postwar writings of both Nixon and Henry Kissinger seeking to divine their final rationale. Particularly interesting is the final chapter's section, "Nixon's Vietnam Myths." University of Kansas Press, \$39.93 (1998).

Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: A Political, Social, and Military History, vols. I, II, III, Spencer C. Tucker, ed. (formerly at Texas Christian University). A general coverage of the war numbering 1320 pages, with photographs and maps. ABC-CLIO, Inc., \$275 a set (1998).

America's Wars in Asia: A Cultural Approach to History and Memory, Philip West (Univ. of Montana) et al. (eds.). Focusing primarily on the human side of war, this is an effort to encourage study of the wars in Asia in all their complexity and avoid generalizations or stereotypes. M.E. Sharpe, \$66.95 (hardcover), \$24.95 (paperback) (1998).

Naval Expeditions: The French Return to Indochina, 1945-1946 by Charles W. Kolburger, Jr. (consultant on maritime affairs). A "professional military view" of the expedition the French sent to recover Indochina in 1945. Although a joint expedition, the book is heavily weighted toward naval aspects due, the author says, to where his research led him. Praeger, Westport CT (1997).

Defending the Free World: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and the Vietnam War, 1961-1965 by Orrin Schwab (Univ. of Chicago). Runs from the JFK inaugural speech to LBJ's tossing in the towel. Fresh

examination but no new smoking guns. Who was to blame for the early decisions on Vietnam? Schwab says it was not the individual leaders but the system inside the beltway. In Praeger Studies of Diplomacy and Strategic Thought series, Praeger Publishers (1-800-225-5800), \$59.95 (1998).

Southeast Asian Affairs 1998. Twenty authors contribute their expertise in this annual roundup of SE Asian nations from ISEAS, Singapore. Invaluable source for all who deal with SE Asia. \$35.90 (1998). Available from ISEAS, 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 119614.

Thunderbolt (From the Battle of the Bulge to Vietnam and Beyond: General Creighton Abrams and the Army of His Times) by Lewis Sorley (former West Point professor). Chronicles the life and military service of General Creighton Abrams, a singular, and in many ways, remarkable man. This study does him justice. Recommended dealing as it does with both his military career and personal life. Brassey's, \$21.95 (1998).

Shadow on the White House: Presidents & the Vietnam War 1945-1975, David L. Anderson, ed. (University of Indianapolis). Ten essays by seven contributors analyzing the Vietnam War and its weight upon the office of the Presidency and its occupants. Essays on Truman through Ford. University Press of Kansas, \$14.95(paper), \$35(cloth) (1993).

Honorable Warrior (General Harold K. Johnson and the Ethics of Command) by Lewis Sorley (graduate and former professor at West Point). Lesser known in the civilian world than should have been his fate, Johnson was the inadvertent victim of the advent of the MBA's taking over the Pentagon. He was a stand-up guy and this book should be read for what it says about character in government. Vietnam historians consult Chapter 14, "Vietnam Trip." University of Kansas Press, \$39.95 (cloth)/\$19.95 (paper), 1998.

The Right to Fight: A History of African Americans in the Military by Gerald Astor (military historian). From Crispus Attucks killed in the 1770 Boston Massacre to General Colin Powell who rose to chair the Joint Chiefs of Staff, African Americans have fought for their country. Astor chronicles the two-century history of their struggle for equality and the "right to fight," covering all branches of the military. A comprehensive work. Presidio Press, Novato, CA, \$29.95 (1998).

Historical Dictionary of the United States

Marine Corps by Harry A. Gailey (historian). Comprehensive dictionary and reference book; includes a chronology, abbreviations, and an extensive bibliography. Scarecrow Press, Inc. (1998).

Vietnam Syndrome: Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy by Geoff Simons (freelance author). A thought-provoking book expressing anger at what happened in Vietnam, the American ideology that led us there, and the effect on U.S. foreign policy. St. Martin's Press, \$45 (1998).

The Quest for World Order: Perspectives of a Pragmatic Idealist by Tommy Koh (former Singapore ambassador to the UN), edited by Amitav Acharya (York University, Toronto.). Considers a wide range of topics: inner workings and failings of the UN, insights on Singapore's economic progress and foreign policy, current challenges to the Asian Pacific region, and the role of culture and values in modern Asia. For both the scholar and general reader. Times Academic Press, \$29 (1998).

Hard to Forget: An American with the Mobile Guerrilla Force in Vietnam by Steven M. Yedinak (retired Special Forces vet). Personal account of the author's experiences with the Mobile Guerrilla Force during the Vietnam War. Yedinak led Cambodian soldiers to secret North Vietnamese bases to gather information. Without artillery, close air support, and little hope of helicopter medevac, Yedinak and his men lived on the brink for six weeks at a time. Ivy Books, \$6.99 (1998).

Death in the A Shau Valley: L Company LRRPs in Vietnam, 1969-70 by Larry Chambers (veteran). Author recounts his service in the 101st Airborne Division, L Company, 75th (Ranger) in Vietnam. His harrowing experiences underscore the risks in the battle for the A Shau Valley. Ivy Books, \$6.99, 1998.

Principles of War for the Information Age by Robert R. Leonhard (West Virginia University). Argues that tactics that won World War II and the Cold War for the United States are outdated as we exit the industrial age and enter the information age; suggests new ideas he thinks will win wars in the future. Presidio Press, Novato, CA, \$29.95 (1998).

Platoon: Bravo Company by Robert Hemphill (veteran, teacher). Bravo Company, 3rd Battalion, 25th Infantry Division was the company represented in the movie, "Platoon," and Hemphill was its commander for five months in 1967-68. He uses this book to portray more accurately the men who served in Bravo and thereby

the day-to-day life of the combat infantryman in Vietnam. \$24.95, (1998), Sergeant Kirkland's Press, 912 Lafayette Blvd., Fredericksburg, VA 22401-5617.

Textual Empires: A Reading of Early British Histories of Southeast Asia by Mary Catherine Quilty (Univ. of Sydney, co-editor of "Australia in Asia"). Examines the tension between the ideals of freedom and the reality of colonialism in 19th century Southeast Asia. Challenges classic British accounts. Monash (Univ.) Asia Institute, Clayton, Victoria, Australia, \$21.95 (1998).

J. William Fulbright, Vietnam, and the Search for a Cold War Foreign Policy by Randall Bennett Woods (University of Arkansas). An abridgement to an earlier biography of the senator, this book describes Fulbright's role as a prominent opponent of the Vietnam War as well as his alternative approach to the Cold War. Cambridge University Press, \$17.95 (1998).

Nationalism and Violence, Christopher Dandeker, ed. (Kings College, London). Future warfare will not be international but intra-national, brought about by ethnic disagreements that lead to internal conflict. Five contributors analyze the causal relationship between nationalism and violence. Transaction Publishers, \$34.95 (1998).

Ordinary Americans: U.S. History Through the Eyes of Everyday People, Linda R. Monk, ed. This unique textbook aims at teaching the history of the U.S. through the testimonies of "ordinary Americans" instead of the lives of the rich and famous on which most history texts are based. Gives students a look at how life was for the majority of Americans; and also a good tool for teaching U.S. history to foreign students. Close Up Publishing, (1994).

The Vietnam Reader by Stewart O'Nan. Impressive collection of fiction, nonfiction, poetry, drama, film, photographs, and song lyrics from the Vietnam War era. Includes a glossary, filmography, map, bibliography, and a chronology of the war. Anchor Books (Doubleday), \$15.95 (1998).

Dixie's Dirty Little Secret: The True Story of How the Government, the Media and the Mob Conspired to Combat Integration and the Vietnam War Movement by James Dickerson (freelance writer). The villain in this rendition of a semi-conspiracy thesis is the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission which set out to prevent school integration and went after tangential targets, such as the anti-war movement. M.E. Sharpe, \$24.95 (1998).

Reporting Vietnam: American Journalism 1959-1975 produced by Library of America. Most journalists, taken one on one, are modest in self-characterization, but en masse, as in this collection of Vietnam War reportage, the image is an unconscious, larger-than-life portrayal, ("they found the truth in the field" and "how well we understood the war" as we "reported meaningless victories"), and is properly cynical. Throughout, always the theme: remember *we* are the story. Library of America, \$70 (2 volumes), (1998).

The U.S. Role in the Asian Century by Sol Sanders (New York-based foreign correspondent). A panel of American experts look ahead at U.S. national interest in Asia in the next century. Focus is on the economic side. From University Press of America, address: 4720 Boston Way, Lanham MD 20706, \$55.50 (paper), \$78.50 (cloth) (1997).

Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation was Robbed of Its Heroes and its History by B.G. Burkett (military researcher) and Glenna Whitley (investigative writer). Of all the competing perceptions that emerged from the Vietnam War, none has been more stark, more contradictory, than the American military *cum* veteran. As icon, it has in the past 20 years made a 180-degree turn both in public regard and mass media treatment. Slowly, those speaking for the veteran have risen from the foxholes and moved into the battle—the second Vietnam War, the one that began at home when the first one ended in Vietnam. This 692-page history represents not only an attack in that second war, but a major offensive. Its sub-title says it all. Enemies here are Hollywood, the mass media, the Veterans Administration, much of the medical world (especially the psychiatric wing), the phony wanna-be exploiters, and some veterans themselves. Much of the book is devoted to exploding veteran myths, most importantly, the loser myth (truth being veterans are at the top of their generation by any success criterion one might choose). Ditto for the myth that the war was racist and that blacks/minorities suffered higher casualty rates than whites and the myth that the major organization (Vietnam Veterans of America) actually served veterans well (there is a deadly takeout of VVA's Bobby Muller). None of this is exactly new, only splendidly set down, and carefully. Burkett was admirably aided by Ms. Whitley, a true investigative reporter. Recommended. Verity Press, P.O. Box 50366, Dallas, Texas 75250 (1998).

Brits in Indochina. From the Foreign Office in London comes the first of a four-part release of declassified papers and documents. Three more parts are en-train. Part I, "Vietnam, 1959-63," consists of 33 reels of

35-mm microfilm and includes material on internal politics, Saigon and Hanoi; Việt Công military operations; the International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC); British Advisory Mission in Saigòn (BRIAM); military training of South Vietnamese women; U.S. Military Advisory Group (MAAG), etc. Part II contains 371 files on Laos; Part III, 371 files on Cambodia (probably will prove the most valuable for researchers; the British had an excellent embassy staff in Phnom Penh at the time); Part IV, Southeast Asia materials particularly SEATO. All four contain considerable biographical material about major officials, leaders. Part I is \$4175; the remaining three will run to about \$10,000. Available from Adam Matthew Publications, 8 Oxford St., Marlborough Wiltshire SN8 1AP, England Tel (01672) (1998).

Sparing With Charlie: Motorbiking Down the Ho Chi Minh Trail by Christopher Hunt (ex. Wall Street Journal reporter). Novelist in search of locale takes a bike down the Hồ Chí Minh Trail. Had never been in Vietnam, spoke no Vietnamese, but undaunted he set out. He found the Trail to be, as a chopper pilot once put it, "not like the Pennsylvania Turnpike, but like a bowl of spaghetti." Bantam Books, \$5.95 (1998).

Inside the CIA's Private World: Declassified Articles From the Agency's Internal Journal 1955-92. Bradford Westerfield, ed. Highly literate material. Yale University Press, \$35 (cloth), \$18 (paperback) (1995).

Spratlys: The Dispute in the South China Sea by Bob Catley (University of Adelaide). Historical background; economic and strategic aspects; ASEAN; geopolitical aspects of the dispute; the rising power of China. Ashgate Publishers, Brookfield, Vermont 05036, \$69.95 (1997).

Death at the Crossroads: A Samurai Mystery by Dale Furutani (author of *Death in Little Tokyo*). Novel centers on the quest of Matsuyama Kaze, a wandering samurai in early 17th century Japan. After stumbling upon the dead body of a merchant on the crossroads to the town of Suzaka, Kaze finds himself setting out to solve the mystery alone. Along the way he meets an interesting set of characters all with secrets and motives of their own. Kaze must use his samurai skills to piece together the clues that will lead him to a remarkable conclusion. William Morrow, New York, \$24 (1998).

The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy by Michael H. (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). Hunt looks at China's foreign policy in historical and cultural context, dating its origins in the

Qing dynasty. A fresh look using recently released sources, including memoirs and writings of Mao Zedong. Columbia University Press, \$18.50 (1996).

Cold War: An Illustrated History 1945-1991 by Jeremy Isaacs (television producer) and Taylor Downing (producer and historian). The opening of East European, Soviet, and Chinese archives enabled the authors to assemble a comprehensive view of the Cold War from across the spectrum. Little, Brown, \$39.95 (1998).

Southeast Asian Identities: Culture and the Politics of Representation in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, Joel S. Kahn, ed. (La Trobe University, Victoria, Australia). A collection of nine essays on different aspects of Southeast Asian concepts of identity. Themes of race, culture, and globalization are discussed. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, \$46 (1998).

Back Fire: A History of How American Culture Led Us into Vietnam and Made Us Fight the Way We Did by Loren Baritz (historian). Paperback re-issue of 1985 book. Author delves into sustaining myths of American culture that influenced policy, and discusses how the Vietnam War changed the culture. Johns Hopkins University Press, \$16.95 (1998).

Assault on Dak Pek: A Special Forces A-Team in Combat, 1970 by Leigh Wade (retired Special Forces vet) Author recalls the night his base in Dak Pek was assaulted by PAVN troops and the effort of Americans to reclaim it. Ivy Books, \$6.99 (1998).

The Currency Crisis in Southeast Asia by Manuel F. Montes (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore). Looking at the economic situations of Thailand, South Korea, and Indonesia and the patterns of the region, the author suggests some global policy lessons that can be learned from Asia's crisis. ISEAS, \$25.90 (1998).

Western Civilization Vol. I: Earliest Civilizations through the Reformation and Western Civilization Vol. II: Early Modern through the 20th Century, X ed. William Hughes, ed. (Community Colleges of Baltimore City). A collection of articles from magazines, newspapers, and journals providing a contemporary look into historical issues in Western civilization. Annual Editions series, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill (1999).

Up Top: The Royal Australian Navy and Southeast Asian Conflicts 1955-1972 by Jeffrey Grey (Australian Defence Force Academy). The first detailed account of the Australian Navy in Southeast Asia during the period 1955-72. A comprehensive work, including

the internal problems that plagued the RAN. Allen & Unwin for the Australian War Memorial (1998).

War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents by Jeremy Black (University of Exeter). A global history of war in the modern era. A broad description of war experiences over the past 500 years, challenging many previously held notions. Yale University Press, \$35 (1998).

Sky is Falling: An Oral History of the CIA's Evacuation of the Hmong from Laos by Gayle Morrison (historian, anthropologist). First hand accounts of the 14-day CIA evacuation of the Hmong from Laos and the events preceding it. \$39.95, (1999) McFarland & Company, Inc., Box 611, Jefferson, NC 28640 (1-800-253-2187).

Fragrant Palm Leaves (Journals 1962-1966) by Thích Nhất Hạnh (Vietnamese Zen Buddhist monk, poet) trans. by Mobi Warren. Four years of journal entries by the famed *Việt kiều* spiritual leader. Written when Hanh was a young teaching assistant, these candid writings reveal his mission to see Buddhism be embraced by the masses, and made relevant to people of all religions. Parallax Press, \$18 (1998).

Cambodia Reborn?: The Transition to Democracy and Development by Grant Curtis (former NGO administrator in Cambodia). With the UN-sponsored elections in 1993 and 1998, Cambodia is striving to escape its nightmarish past. But establishing democracy amid political and social conflict is a difficult endeavor, as the Cambodians are finding out. Brookings Institution Press, \$16.95 (1998).

The Story of the Vietnam Memorial by David K. Wright (freelance writer). A children's book on this monument, its meaning to American society. Photographs from past and present. Children's Press (1989).

Heretic's Heart: A Journey Through Spirit and Revolution by Margot Adler (New York bureau chief for National Public Radio). A memoir taking the reader through the 60s by detailing experiences in the author's own life: her activism with the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley; her summer in Mississippi registering black voters; and correspondence with a soldier during the Vietnam War. Beacon Press, \$13 (1997).

The Pacific Islands: Paths to the Present by Evelyn Colbert (U.S. State Department, ret.). Excellent introduction to the peoples, places and politics of Melanesia, Micronesia, and a bit about Polynesia—those one-time paradises. Recommended. Published in cooperation with the Asia Society. Westview Press, \$27 (1997).

The Seekers: The Story of Man's Continuing Quest to Understand His World, by Daniel Boorstin (former librarian of Congress). Western Civ strikes back in this last of Boorstin's intellectual trilogy on Western art, science, and philosophy. (First two: *The Discoverers*, on Western science, and *The Creators*, on Western art). If only someone would do a parallel trilogy on the East. Random House, \$25.95 (1998).

Can Asians Think? by Kishore Mahbubani (former Singapore ambassador). Book of essays by one of the brightest diplomats anywhere. Stern critique of Western (read American) civilization ("its massive social decay...atrophied political development"), much of it well deserved. Mahbubani concludes he does not know whether Asians can think. But perhaps neither can we, so we should reign in our impulse to lecture Asians and judge them not on their systems but on their performance. Times Books, Singapore, \$14.50 (1998).

East and West: China, Power and the Future of Asia by Christopher Patten (last governor-general of Hong Kong). A combined memoir and defense of the British record in Hong Kong. Patten was a London politician (*cum* colonial) regarded there as a "wet," that is a liberal, bored with ideology, fairminded, flexible (and for Maggie Thatcher, a conservative). Mostly this is about Hong Kong—but Patten throws his net much wider; this shrewd work is peppered with observations about Asia and particularly about Asian economics. Times Books, \$25 (1998).

Battling the Elements: Weather and Terrain in the Conduct of War by Harold Winters. Impact of climate, terrain, soil, and vegetation on military operations from the cyclones in Kublai Khan's efforts to invade Japan, to the dense vegetation that impeded French and American actions in Vietnam. Johns Hopkins University Press, \$39.95 (1998).

Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia by Michael Leifer (London School of Economics and Political Science). New, updated, paperback edition of this invaluable work. Profile of the region through ten country surveys and 350 alphabetically arranged, cross-referenced entries. Should be on the desk of academics, journalists, government officials or anyone working on Southeast Asia. Routledge, New York and London. \$29.99 (1998).

Asia 1999: A Review of the Events of 1998, the 40th edition of *FEER's* prized yearbook, which belongs in the library of anyone working on contemporary Asia. Editor Nayan Chanda began his "Overview" column with a grim observation: "By the time 1998 drew

Việt Nam Year-Enders II—*Việt Kiều* View

1998 was the year marking the completion of the making of Việt Nam's new leadership, the first generation of national leaders who were not involved in running the two Indochinese wars (1945-1975) but still maintain the expedient determination to capitalize on this legacy in its diehard struggle to survive the new world order. For the first time in its 67-year-odd history, Việt Nam's Communist Party has a military man as Party Secretary-General; a President with a modest popularity among the masses; and a Prime Minister advocating administrative streamlining but accepting five deputy prime ministers to work with him.

What this leadership has done in its maiden year is to prove to its people, and more important, to the world, that the new triumvirate is not the product of a leadership crisis, but one to fight impending crises. Much has been done to create the image of a sound and effective leadership.

Whereas there have been fears that the new leaders would have an iron fist towards the dissidents, they have displayed a surprisingly tolerant attitude. Several core Buddhist monks, Catholic priests, human rights intellectuals and activists were released in 1998, for "humanitarian reasons" rather than "under external pressures." Some of them were admitted by the United States, as Việt Nam is less concerned about what they could do overseas than what they would do in the country should they stay. To dissidents in the Party, who are rising in numbers and more vociferous in protest, the Party has shown much more tolerance and leniency.

What the nation's leaders could not ignore was the simmering discontent of farmers from overwhelmingly agricultural provinces like Thái Bình in the north or Đồng Nai in the south. They understand that this kind of social unrest could be highly contagious once it has broken out. The farmers, the main supplier of soldiers for the two wars of resistance, under the light of "*đổi mới*," now would realize that they have nothing to fear the Party's rule and still little thing, if not nothing, to lose if they should stand up against corrupt and abusive practice of the Party as well as the negligence about their conditions.

This concern about the farmers is fully reflected in the "Strategic Adjustment Plan." The regional crisis and loss of momentum in the national economy are reshaping the leadership's views about what it can really achieve. The Asian crisis could be a blessing in disguise in many ways. It has already been singled out as a major cause of Việt Nam's current economic difficulties. The other cause, as Việt Nam's leaders aware ready to admit, without, as always, naming names, but insinuating conveniently the blame on their more popular and liberal predecessor, Võ Văn Kiệt, was "lack of control and ori-

entation in market reforms," rather than the listless pace of reform.

In 1998, *Phiêu* had good reasons to put the blame on his predecessors: SOEs still incurred huge losses, the customs were more corrupt, the banking system showed increasing inefficiency, and most government-sponsored projects proved to be less than well-contemplated.

By the second half of the year, *Phiêu*, who had been widely regarded as "a leader with questionable knowledge and no experience in economic management," tried to disprove this by putting his "economic thoughts" into action. In the first place, it is a plan to counter the Asian financial crisis and domestic recession, reflecting an anticipation that the current depression could last long and Việt Nam could be in serious trouble. Showing lukewarm interest in foreign investment and foreign trade, the new economic guidelines lowered many economic targets relating economic growth (from 8-9 down to 5-6 percent), investment trade... More centralized controls were exerted on foreign exchange and foreign trade.

Most surprising but not totally unexpected was the strategic switch to agriculture and rural development as the new national priorities in the "current stage" of development. Lots of policies and measures reflecting a concern with those priorities were announced since September and repeated in November at meetings of the National Assembly and the Third nationwide Farmers' Convention, supported by the new Land Law, sufficient to please the restive peasants, but not enough for those responsible for the implementation.

It is understandable that Việt Nam now has more realistic views of the regional and international environment into which it should integrate itself. No longer could it put so many stakes in ASEAN. Political unrest in Indochina and Malaysia has probably cost Việt Nam two traditional allies, while this agreement among ASEAN members to disagree with each other will bring to the fore previously well concealed conflicts. And the regional crisis also reveals the limits of ASEAN's economic power as a group.

Việt Nam also realizes that its market opportunities and business conditions are far from satisfactory to American companies, which are being lured to China or returning to South America. Việt Nam's new leaders seem to feel ill at ease with the belief that the U.S., now the world's unchallenged number one power, will be even more "*khó chơi*" (hard to get into good terms with). Therefore, should Việt Nam find some power to lean on in moments of distress, where would it turn to as present? There are reasons to believe that, in spite of occasional exchange of words over territorial disputes, Vietnam would be moving closer to China to seek more comfort. Returning from a China visit in October, Prime Minister

Phan Văn Khải remarked that Vietnam should lean a lot of things from China, especially as long as economic reforms are concerned. As always, Beijing expects nothing more than a “well behaved and unambitious” Vietnam neighbor! And they used to be comrades in arms in times of greatest challenge, did they not? —Hoàng Ngọc Nguyễn (Univ. of Utah)



Quotable Quotes: Vietnam War

- “In Vietnam we began as dupes and ended as rogues” —unnamed USA colonel, Mekong Delta, 1972.
- “The Vietnam War was one of the four major acts of folly in human history”—Barbara Tuchman, historian.
- “What is too painful to remember is too important to forget”—Barbra Streisand’s “Memories.”
- Confronted by evidence that his theory was incontrovertibly wrong, the Intellectual (in Alfred Hitchcock’s movie “The Lady Vanishes”) replied, “Nonsense. My theory is perfectly correct. It is the facts that are misleading. You have been misled by the facts.”
- “Vietnam called for more sensitivity than most Americans could muster (or most other foreigners could manage for that matter)” —Call-in to Washington, D.C. radio talk show.
- “Vietnam was a war that asked everything of a few, and nothing of most, Americans.
- “U.S. public opinion is the essential domino”—Lyndon Johnson.
- “Vietnam: a puzzle without pieces, a riddle without rhyme”—Paul Hendrickson.
- Graham Greene on the Việt Minh War (1994): “It is hopeless, but it would be immoral not to try to win.”
- “I am anti-communist, that is why I must be anti-

American”—Thích Trí Quang, Buddhist dissident in Saigon, 1963.

- “There is no doubt that the road to World Revolution lies through the East rather than through the West”—G.R. Zinoviev, 1925 Comintern Executive Committee meeting.
- “I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in the Indo-Chinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held [in 1956]... possibly 80 percent of the people would have voted for the communist Hồ Chí Minh”—Dwight Eisenhower in Mandate for Change.
- John Stuart Mill (inscribed on his casket:): “War is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things. The decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing is worth a war is worse. A man who had nothing which he care about more than his personal safety is a miserable creature and has no chance of being free, unless made and kept so by the exertions of better men than himself.”



Liberal Education. “Educators have lost sight of the purpose of a liberal education—to foster the values of freedom and growth in students and, ultimately, to produce good human beings. Although most educators agree that a liberal education is important, they spend too much time bickering over course requirements and not enough time talking about the qualities those requirements should instill in students. Students’ educational success should be a measure of how well they listen, read, write, solve problems, empathize with others, and participate in their communities, not how many credits they accumulate. All the required courses in the world will fail to give us a liberal education if, in the act of requiring them, we forget that their purpose is to nurture human freedom and growth.” (William Cronon, University of Wisconsin, Madison in Autumn issue of *American Scholar*)

to a close, Asia presented scenes of economic devastation. What had started as a relatively minor financial tremor in July 1997 grew into a calamity, jolting the whole region and triggering tidal waves which are yet to subside." He sees economic reforms and restructuring being resisted by powerful conglomerates (South Korea), nationalist and social instability concerns (China and SE Asia), and pork-barrel politics (Japan). Essays on the three countries of Indochina provide excellent summaries of political/social, foreign, and economic affairs during the year. Vietnam, after years of modest and intermittent success at opening up its economy, was found in 1998 to be striving to contain people's discontent and preserve the dominance of the Party; Cambodia was no nearer an end to its intractable political strife; and Laos, too, moved away from reforms and back toward greater Party control. All three countries suffer in varying degrees and for varying reasons from the economic troubles afflicting the region and from their own internal economic weaknesses. \$60 hardcover, \$48 soft. From Review Publishing Co., Ltd., 25/F Citicorp Centre, 18 Whittfield Road, GPO Box 160. Hong Kong, or by FAX: (852)2503-1549 or e-mail: subscription@feer.com.

Reading in a Very Small Place. A Vietnam reading list prepared by Bob Elston for Destination Vietnam Books (San Francisco). Available on the Internet (date given is of *Vietnam Destinations* review): —*Ancient Town of Hôi An*~Steven Bailey (September/October 1996)—*A Phoenix Rising*~review by Bettina Grieser Johns (June/July 1998)—*A Review of Susan Brownmiller's Seeing Vietnam* (September/October 1994)—*After Sorrow*~Sarah Tilton (January/February 1996)—*Books: Early Traveler's Tales*~Sarah Tilton (January/February 1995)—*Going with the Right Guidebook*~Sarah Tilton (November/December 1994)—*Hitchhiking Vietnam*~excerpt from the book—*The Lotus Seed*~review by Kathie Gibson (Books for Children)—*Mekong: A Journey on the Mother of Waters*~Sarah Tilton (January/February 1996)—*Past and Present Vietnam*~Sarah Tilton (July/August 1996)—*Review of Claire Ellis' Culture Shock! Vietnam*~Sarah Tilton (May/June 1996)—*Sketches for a Portrait of Vietnamese Culture*~Lady Borton (March/April 1996)—*The Great Hill Stations of Asia* by Barbara Crosette—*The Making of A Passage to Vietnam* (September/October 1994)—*The Rough Guide: Vietnam*~Laura Littwin (July/August 1997)—*The Traditional Village in Vietnam*~Steven Bailey (September/October 1996)—*Through Vietnamese Eyes: New Guidebooks to Vietnam*~Steven Bailey (May/June 1996)—*Traditional Festivals in Vietnam*~Steven

Bailey (July/August 1996)—*Tragic Mountains, The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942-1992* by Jane Hamilton-Merritt. 1993, Indiana University Press—*Vietnam on Video*. Review of *Vietnam: Land of the Ascending Dragon*~Sarah Tilton (March/April 1995)—*Vietnam's Many Names* Culture Briefing: Vietnam (May/June 1995)—*Water Puppet* review by Steven K. Bailey (October/November 1998) Internet Address: <http://www.destinationvietnam.com/entertainment/books/books.htm>



Steve Denney at Berkeley: "Here at the University of California, Berkeley, we have about 30 graduate students specializing in Vietnam, and a few professors who teach Vietnam related subjects, most notably Peter Zinoman, a young history professor specializing on Vietnam up to the period of American involvement. We also have the Indochina Center here, which is where I work, with many files on South and North Vietnam during the war and some microfiche collections. The files we have here were originally established by Douglas Pike, my former director here, from the time he was a U.S. Foreign Service Officer in Vietnam in the 1960s. Unfortunately we have had funding problems here at UC Berkeley. Mr. Pike moved to Texas Tech in Lubbock last year, where he is now associate director of the Vietnam Center and teaches Vietnam history. The files he established on the Vietnam war are also there (although we still have them in microfiche form). The Vietnam Center at Texas Tech seems very well funded and has developed a very extensive collection of materials on the war. They also have a number of people teaching on Vietnam in addition to Prof. Pike, plan various conferences, and are beginning exchange programs with academics in Vietnam. . . . So I would encourage you to contact my former director, Douglas Pike, as he has often advised people on this matter and is very accessible. His phone number at work is: (806) 742-8663, e-mail: vietnam.center@ttu.edu. The Vietnam Center of Texas Tech also has a web site. Please feel free to contact me via email or by phone if you have any more questions. (Steve Denney)—Archivist, Indochina Center, U.C. Berkeley (510)642-6539.

Bibliography: Periodicals

“Exchanging Times” by Chris Moore reports on a host of new regulations in the banking sector, part of a much-needed overhaul being pushed with “lightening speed” by powerful new Bank Governor Nguyễn Tấn Dũng and his deputy, Lê Đức Thụy. Most controversial change is requiring certain “resident” banks and companies to sell 80% of their foreign exchange holdings within 15 days of deposit. Affected are foreign companies that hold conversion certificates (đồng earnings to dollars), foreign company branches (including law firms and banks), foreign contractors, as well as local firms. But State-owned exporters, who are believed to be hoarding dollars, are probably feeling the worst pinch. First reaction was horror but companies may be learning to adapt; as one banker put it, “they have managed to not have much foreign currency in their accounts so there’s not too much for the State Bank to swipe.” One HCMC bank official said most local exporters are simply trying to evade the regulations, adding that only a stable dollar-dong exchange rate or banks’ offering of new products to help companies reduce currency risks could change such practices. *VBJ*, November 1998.

“Ensuring Business,” by Joshua Jake Levine. Two imminent changes may allow Vietnam’s limping insurance industry finally to begin to thrive under the “open” economy: (1) the insurance law, having had 12 revisions since 1989, is due for a National Assembly vote in early 1999; and (2) the Politburo has reaffirmed its endorsement of life and non-life insurers winning 100% foreign-owned licenses... The Party opened the industry to foreign insurers in 1993 but has been disappointed by the slow pace of development. Finance Minister Nguyễn Sinh Hùng has calculated that by “keeping a lid on the 35 foreign rep offices and eight domestic policy-writers” the country is losing “thousands of jobs and millions of dollars” a year. And Vi Lê Peterson, top trade official at the Australian Embassy, points out that “this is one of the few (foreign investment) sectors where there’s a queue.” Phùng Ngọc Khanh, chair of the Insurance Supervisory Division in the Ministry, has made it clear that the MoF will create new openings for foreigners but continue to favor domestic insurers. *VBI*, November 1998.

“Eagle Dustoff: Medevac Choppers to the Rescue” by Willaim Osgood in *Vietnam*, October, 1998. Soldiers’ experiences with the airborne ambulances in Vietnam (affectionately called “medevacs” or “dustoffs”) and their crews. Article focuses on “Eagle Dustoff” the 101st Airborne Division’s 326th Medical Battalion. Its crew performed operations in some of the most infamous hot spots in Southeast Asia.

“Army JAG’s Search for Justice,” by Ann Mathews. Author’s personalized account of her father’s memories of his service in the JAG (Judge Advocate General) Corps in Vietnam. Centering on a particular case of an American soldier on trial for murder, the article brings out the dilemma of administering justice in wartime and the responsibilities of young, often inexperienced JAG lawyers who saw it their duty to do just that. *Vietnam*, December 1998.

“Three Taels of Gold: Bone Dealers in Vietnam” by Robert W. Mann and Thomas D. Holland (both from the U.S. Central Identification Laboratory in Hawaii). In the decades-long search for remains of U.S. soldiers who died in Vietnam, thousands of teeth, bones and dog tags, nearly all bogus, have been turned in to U.S. authorities by villagers who claim to have found them in their fields and by others (more unscrupulous) who have become bone dealers. Most hope to be paid or rewarded in some way – e.g., a ticket to the U.S. – if the fragments can be identified as those of an American MIA. The “three taels” of the title refers to a woman who bought bones and a dog tag from a “dealer” for \$1,500 and offered them to the Americans in the hope of enough money to send her youngest son to the U.S. The Americans have never paid for remains, only to compensate for time and travel involved in getting the items to the VNOSMP (Vietnamese Office for Seeking Missing Persons). And trafficking in human remains is a crime in Vietnam. Still the practice continues – perhaps inevitable in the face of poverty and the belief that the customer is out there. *Vietnam*, December 1998.

Asianweek, November and December 1998, carries two articles by Stacy Lavilla on the latest in a string of violent deaths in the American Hmong community during the fall: “Iowa Murder-Suicide Latest in Deadly Trend” and “Her Sentence: 50 Years.” In the first, a man killed his wife of 13 years (she was married at 15) when he found she planned to divorce him, then killed himself leaving six children behind. In the other case, a woman in St. Paul, Minn., estranged from her husband and facing eviction, strangled her six children one by one and then tried to hang herself. She pleaded guilty to second degree murder after an initial not-guilty plea. Married at age 12, she had had six children by the time she was 21. The difficulties faced by the Hmong people in adapting to life in the United States, including their custom of very early marriage, has for years concerned those who know and work with them. More “culturally appropriate” services are needed, says the Hmong American Partnership in St. Paul, especially Hmong-speaking counselors.

"The Wounds of War—And Racism" by Janet Dang. Recognizing the racism endured by Asian Americans endured who fought in the Vietnam War, the VA has funded the Asian American Vietnam Veteran Race-Related Study to determine the effects of racism in conjunction with post traumatic stress disorder. At least 150 Asian American veterans will be interviewed; those interested in participating, should call Lily Lee Adams, a counselor at San Francisco's VA medical center, a researcher on the study, and Vietnam vet herself. She is at U.C. Davis; phone: (415) 221-4810, Ext. 4589. *AsianWeek*, December 1998.

"Labor Standards and Human Rights: The Case of Chinese Workers Under Market Socialism" by Anita Chan. A poignant article arguing that labor rights should be included in any human rights statement based on descriptions of working conditions in China (which is not the only, nor the worst of countries abusing its factory workers). From *Human Rights Quarterly*, November 1998.

"Collective Memory as the Key to National and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Cambodia" by Milton Takei. Cambodia is an example of a country whose people are united by collective memory, which is the key to understanding the current politics, in particular Cambodians' antipathy toward the Vietnamese. Takei argues that collective memory (of both distant and recent events) rather than ancestry and culture is the critical factor in forging a common identity. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* (London), Autumn 1998.

"The Economics of French Rule in Indochina: A Biography of Paul Bernard (1892-1960) by Andrew Hardy. A financier and banker, Paul Bernard both influenced and participated in the shaping of France's economic policies toward its colonies. He was in the vanguard of the movement in the 1930s to reorient French policy and called for the industrialization of Indochina, but he could not persuade the government to accept the idea until 1948 when political conditions made it impossible. While Bernard was most concerned with France's interests, he contributed to our understanding of Indochina by his diagnosis of its major economic problems and his proposed solutions. "Many of the issues he raised in the 1930s remain crucial to Vietnam's development in the 1990s," Hardy writes. Meticulously researched and annotated; clearly written. *Modern Asian Studies* (Cambridge Univ. Press), October 1998.

"Impact of Vietnam Veterans' Arousal and Avoidance on Spouses' Perceptions of Family Life" by Charles C. Hendrix, Marjorie A. Erdmann, and Kathleen Briggs.

Report of a study based on systems theory seeking to correlate Vietnam veterans self-reports of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms with their spouses' reports of current family functioning and satisfaction. Regression equations in five tables. Funding was from the College of Human Environmental Sciences, Oklahoma State Univ. *The American Journal of Family Therapy*, April-June 1998.

"Protesting the Invasion of Cambodia: A Case Study of Crowd Behavior and Demonstration Leadership" by Clyde Brown and Erik L. Lewis in *Polity*, Summer 1998. Interesting work by political scientists on the sociology of crowd behavior using an anti-war demonstration on one day (May 6, 1970). Study illuminates the complexity of protest gatherings.

"It Still Matters," says David Schonauer in an editorial on photojournalism in the 20th anniversary issue of *American Photo*, September-October 1998. The issue excerpts photos (and provides some text) from several new books on photojournalism, including *Requiem: By the Photographers Who Died in Vietnam and Indochina*. The "golden age" of photojournalism may be past but, says the editor, contemporary photographers are creating a new "visual literature" and collections of older works show the enduring power of the still image.

"Đức Hòa Villagers' Opinions About the U.S., Americans, and Vietnamese Affairs, 1992: A Study of Then and Now" by George Morris and John Dunkelberger. (Auburn Univ.) Compares the results of a questionnaire given to the people of Đức Hòa villagers near HCMC in 1992, with surveys of rural people done during the war. Surveys focused on villagers perceptions of the Vietnam War, of their own government, and of Americans in general. The investigators concluded that little has changed in the 28 years since the departure of the last American from Vietnam. The Đức Hòa villagers still have a positive attitude toward Americans with little variance in age or gender among the respondents. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, April 1998.

Việt Mercury. A new 32-page Vietnamese language tabloid begins publication January 29, 1999 in San Jose, California. Distribution will be gratis by the *San Jose Mercury News* (a Knight Ridder paper) to *Việt kieu* living in Santa Clara county of northern California (est. 100,000). Publisher will be *Mercury News* Editor Jay Harris; editor will be Đệ Trần, who has been with the *Mercury News* for 11 years; and Hoàng Xuân Nguyễn who has been named managing editor. Trần says

the paper will chiefly carry reports from Vietnam and will cover the local *kiều* scene. *Viet Mercury* will have a 12 person staff, including five on the editorial side and a photographer.

"Mortality in Vietnam, 1979-1989" by Giovanna Merli. With data from the two censuses, which only recently became available, and compensating for instability in the population (due largely to migration), the author estimated life expectancy at birth was 61.4 years for males and 63.2 for females. Her research suggests a trend of declining mortality during the 10-year period. *Demography*, August 1998.

"Congress To Be Consulted On Whether To Inter Another 'Unknown' Vietnam Veteran" by Rebecca Adams. Following the recent identification of the remains of formerly "unknown" Vietnam veteran Michael Blassie, the question becomes whether to inter another "unknown" soldier from the Vietnam War. Considering the high level of technology now available to scientists, the possibility of finding another unidentified soldier from Vietnam is unlikely. However, some feel that the effort should be made to inter a Vietnam veteran in the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in order to honor all those missing in action. *CQ Weekly*, July 1998.

"Resilience-Recovery Factors in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Among Female and Male Vietnam Veterans: Hardiness, Postwar Social Support, and Additional Stressful Life Events" by Lynda A. King, Daniel W. King, John A. Fairbank, Terence M. Keane, and Gary A. Adams. An interesting study found in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, February 1998, focusing on evaluating PTSD (Post-traumatic stress disorder) in male and female Vietnam veterans. Using various stressors and resilience factors, the subjects were studied in relation to their war experience, previous stress factors in their life, and their tendency to be affected by PTSD. Results are as to be expected: the more trauma a person saw during combat combined with a higher level of stress from their life prior to the war, the more susceptible a veteran is to PTSD.

"The 'New' Law and Development Movement in the Post-Cold War Era: A Vietnam Case Study" by Carol V. Rose. An in-depth study of Vietnam's evolving legal system. Author looks at a variety of different influencing factors such as: Confucianism, Asian cultural/legal practices, foreign legal aid, and Vietnamese law schools. Analyzes the LDM theory as a whole in the context of Vietnam. From *Law and Society Review*, 1998.

The fall issue of *Media Studies Journal* has a

series of articles on the social and political turmoil of 1968 and how the press covered it. Among the contributors: Robert Friedman, an editor at Life, on the consequences of demonstrations at Columbia University (he was editor of the student newspaper) and Claude-Jean Bertrand, professor emeritus at Institut Francais de Presse, who looks at student protests in France, which he says "signaled the birth of modern France—more democratic, more liberal, more hedonistic.

Harvard Project on Cold War Studies and New Journal. From MIT Press comes *Cold War Studies*, Mark Kramer (Harvard Univ.), editor. Peer-reviewed articles on research into cold war events, decision making, bureaucratic politics, foreign relations, etc. First issue includes: "Mysteries of the Cold War; What We Still Don't Know and Why It Matters," "Ideas, International Relations Theory and the Cold War," and "Listening in on the Cold War: The Soviet Union, Hong Kong and East Asian Conflicts, 1945-1970." Three times a year; 144 pages per issue. Institutions, \$80; individuals \$25. Address: MIT Press Journals, 5 Cambridge Center, Cambridge, MA 02142.



The 106th Congress is being asked to answer the still unresolved question: who may be buried at Arlington Cemetery? The newly introduced measure is designed to make sure only qualified veterans are buried in the cemetery created specifically for that purpose. It codified existing Army regulations and eliminates automatic eligibility for members of Congress, cabinet members and ambassadors who don't otherwise meet the military requirements for burial. Close family members could be buried without waivers in the plots of eligible veterans under the legislation. Otherwise, only those specifically covered in the legislation could be buried at Arlington. (AP)

Papers and Archival Materials Received.

From the Vietnam Helicopter Pilots Association (Citrus Heights, California) a shipment of archival materials all dealing with helicopters, their pilots, their war. Initial shipment contained 306 items: texts from the U.S. Army Aviation School, Fort Rucker Alabama; flight logs; technical manuals on helicopters, photo books, casualty data; personnel rosters; unit histories; the "Hornet aviator's prayer"—lots of good stuff.

War Art. The estate of Samuel Cummings (1927-1998) has donated to the TTU Vietnam Archive 25 works of wartime art by North Vietnamese artists. Cummings was known as the world's largest private arms merchant. The art was purchased in London. The collection will be put on display at the forthcoming Vietnam Symposium on April 15-17, 1999.

Vietnam Comic Books. The Marvel Entertainment Group in the late 1980s published a comic book series titled *The Nam*. We have received from Charles Ward (Univ. of South Carolina, Journalism, Mass Com.) a complete set—84 issues—in pristine condition. Lavishly done, of course, with a wealth of detail about life of the grunt during the war. Obviously carefully researched by artists. Worthy of a PhD dissertation, a content analysis of American popular culture. Available at the Texas Tech Vietnam Archive.

"Changing My Life: How I came to the Vietnamese Revolution" by Duống Thị Thoa (Lê Thị). Translated and introduced by Mark Sidel (Univ. of Iowa)—It is the sort of memoir that should be expanded into a book. His preface puts Lê Thị into the context of feminist scholar and activist. A leading female Old Guard in Hanoi recalls events in her life centered on the 1945 August Revolution—her politicization at a French-run high school, her entry into the Việt Minh. *From Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (Chicago). (1998).

From John Campbell (FSO ret., living in Spain) comes a collection of South Vietnam wartime materials: audio tapes of popular music and psychological warfare broadcasts (used with leaflet drops); ethnographic studies of Montagnards (done at American University for the Pentagon); copies of *Văn Tắc Vụ*, magazine published for cadres at the Vũng Tàu Rural Development Cadre School, headed by Col. Nguyễn Bé, c. 1968. In the Texas Tech Vietnam Archive.

"Development of the Vietnamese National Community in the Explication of the Southern Lands" (Sự Phát Triển Của Cộng-Đồng Dân Tộc Việt Nam Trong

Cuộc Khai Phá Đất Nam Bộ) by Nguyễn Công Bình (Institute for Social Sciences, HCMC) Monograph on the history of the early years of the 17th century when Vietnamese from the North pushed their way into the Mekong Delta region. Deals with agricultural production, trade and commerce, relations with the Khmer. In Vietnamese and English. (1998) Available at the Texas Tech Vietnam Archive.

"The Teenager and the War: Vietnam War Stories of a 'Screaming Eagle'" by Roger Borroel (ex-101st Airborne Division, Vietnam). Set of short stories which the author says contains more truth than fiction. Illustrated. Available from author at La Villita Publications, 1520 Carroll St. East, Chicago, IL 46312.

"Building Corporate Leadership in Vietnam: Past Practices, Current Challenges, an Emerging Model" by Hoàng Ngọc Nguyễn (Univ. of Utah). Critique of the VCP's efforts to meet its desperate need for economic sector managers and workable entrepreneurial methods, mostly a matter of education/training, then giving managers their head. Published by the Center for International Business Education and Research (Brigham Young Univ. and Univ. of Utah). Also received "Culture in An Emerging Market: A Look at Vietnam" by Gary Oddou and Brooklyn Derr, from a work titled "Managing Internationally."

"Start of a New Chinese Domino in Vietnam" by Bach Long. Essay distributed by the National Vietnam POW Strike Force, Houston, Texas. Argues that U.S. and China are in a tug-of-war over Vietnam and if the U.S. wins this balance of power struggle it will cause China to self-destruct.

"Vietnam Vignettes: Anecdotes From a Lamentable War" by Edward Metzner (Col, USA, ret.) Collection of 24 unpublished war stories of the sort one hears in bars and at reunions, product of Metzner's four tours in Vietnam. Titles convey substance; "Two Year Supply of Toilet Paper," "Cobra Soup," "A Tale by John Paul Vann," "Wilber Wilson" (Coal Bin Willy). Illustrated. Author now lives in Salinas, California.

The Missing. "Vietnamese Intentions, Capabilities, and Performance Concerning the POW/MIA Issue" (April 1998). A National Intelligence Estimate (NIE). Declassified summary lists five points:

1. Some 120 investigations into postwar live sightings of U.S. POWs turned up no credible evidence of being valid.
2. Documents from Russian archives turned over to the Pentagon (dated 1972) (Quang Document; report on 1972 VCP Party Plenum) were judged false since "dates and other facts were implausible or inconsistent with reliable evidence and hence are judged to be invalid."

Audio Visual

3. Hanoi officials continue to refuse access to internal Politburo documents on the POW issue because "we believe full disclosure would prove embarrassing to the regime." Nor have officials "been completely forthcoming on certain matters."
4. However, generally in the past few years, there has been increased cooperation in accounting for the some 2,000 missing Americans.
5. Reports over the years that American POWs were taken to Moscow remain indefinite and problematic. (AFP Aug. 28, 1998)

Heavy Green. Book mss. received from Timothy Castle (Maxwell AFB): "Breach of Trust: Site 85 and the Top Secret Bombing of North Vietnam." Forthcoming from Colombian University Press. Anatomy of a murky wartime tale out of Laos and North Vietnam, stranger than fiction, as they say. Heavy Green program was a covert operation within a covert operation. Later, not only was it covered up, but even the cover-up was covered up.



New Museum. After a difficult political struggle, the Vietnam Educational Center opened (Sept. 26) at Holmdel, New Jersey. The three-year ideological face-off last year found the organizing committee re-writing virtually every word of the museum's panel texts. Amid clouds of debate over the role of the mass media in Vietnam; the legitimacy of the anti-war movement; and whether the war could have been won. Said Rutgers's Professor Michael Shafer: "We found ourselves between two extremes. One believed the war was profoundly immoral. The other view was that the allure to pursue the war to victory was evidence that the peace movement had sold the nation down the drain." The end result, says Kelly Watts, executive director of the New Jersey Vietnam Veterans Memorial Foundation, "is thought provoking, fair, balanced." Said Robert Brigham, Vassar College, "the project tried so hard to be objective it failed to make a point...in not trying to offend it did not add much to the national dialogue on the war." The \$3.8 million dollar center largely financed by casinos in Atlantic City, is located near a newly built memorial bearing the names of the 1,553 New Jersey residents killed or MIA in Vietnam.

State Department Files. Released this quarter is a massive collection of U.S. State Department archival materials on the Vietnam War. Title: Confidential U.S. State Department Files: Vietnam Internal and Foreign Affair, 1960-Jan. 1963. It consists of 24 35-mm microfilm reels, sells for \$3,470. Representative entries: DRV maintaining neutrality in Sino-Soviet dispute; French report on Ponomarev visit to Hanoi; U.S. opposition to the 1960 Saigon coup; notes on Pleiku province; Diem's view of internal security situation (3/1/60); USIA's "Threat to the Peace: North Vietnam's Efforts to Conquer the South" (12/61); (Việt Cộng) insurgency and the domestic political situation in the South; "Buddhists and the Việt Cộng;" "ICC Investigations;" the "Strategic Hamlet" Program. Enormous source of data. Available through CIS, 4520 East-West Highway, Bethesda MD 20814-3389. Tel: 1-800-692-6300.

Vietnam, Long Time Coming. NBC documentary aired December 26. Subtitled "Making Peace with the Past." Cameras followed a troupe of Vietnam veterans, many of them disabled (some in wheel chairs, some blind) traveling by bicycle on Highway 1 from Hanoi to HCMC. A small army, it turns out: 45 American, 20 Vietnamese bikers (some with their children); vans full of medics, coaches, support staff, and a host of camera operators, producers, production people. Program works because of its quality of *cinema verite*—intrusive, intimate and contrived, at times mawkish. One must know a great deal about the war to understand this work—God knows what the villagers along the route thought of it. Sponsored by *Sports Illustrated*. (*New York Times* review by William McDonald, Dec. 25). For purchase: 1-800-840-1455.

Kim's Story: The Road From Vietnam. A 48 minute documentary (Shelly Saywell, director) meant for high school students. Simplistic in theme and explanation; it is the story of the wartime napalm burns suffered by Phan Thi Kim Thuc, then 9 made famous by Nick Ut's Pulitzer Prize winning photo). Kim became a poster girl for Hanoi and the American left, all of whom exploited her mercilessly. The producers spare no one in their condemnation, from bleeding hearts to war lovers. Lost in this is making for point that what happened was an accident, and accidents happen, in war and peace. First Run/Icarus Films, New York (1998)

Another Brother. Documentary aired by PBC at a New York film festival this quarter. Story of Clarence Fitch, black Marine who had much going against him, in Vietnam and at home (heroin addict, wounded in war, AIDS, victim of Corps racism). (60 min.)

Names in the News:

Ordinary Americans. Classroom documentary chiefly for high schools. War history told in terms of individuals' experiences; clips from presidents and generals. With Teacher's Guide. From Close Up Publishing, 44 Canal Center Plaza, Alexandria, VA 22314 (\$79.95).

Chicago 1968. A 60-minute documentary about that moment with the Democrats in Chicago when it all began to unravel for Vietnam. The toughest anti-war movement people went up against Mayor Richard Daley—irresistible force vs. immovable object. Not bad background for classes on the war in the U.S. PBX Video, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314-1698 (\$69.95).

Khmer Rouge Films. Some one looted the entire Khmer Rouge film archive (materials dated 1975-1989). It wound up in France, is still there. In all it totals about 1,000 hours. A French firm says it has 40 hours, which it plans to market. Much of it described as propaganda—Pol Pot inspecting his troops, Khmer Rouge battles with Vietnamese troops, etc.—but considering the paucity of Khmer Rouge archival materials—anything of this sort is of value.

Cold War. CNN this quarter began airing "The Cold War." To date it has not been well received by most historians, especially those who specialize in films on history. Typical comments: episodic; shredded by commercials; 'old sights' not new insights; too much George Kennan; Ted Turner didn't know what he was buying, etc.

World Peacekeeping: Defining America's Role. Two videos (29 min. each) on the U.S. military adjustment problems in the post Cold War era where the challenge is not to make war but to keep peace. Titles: "The U.S. Military Waging Peace" and "Tribal Conflicts; New Role for the Military." Useful for classrooms especially with IR courses. From Films for the Humanities and Sciences, PO Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08543-2053. (\$89.95 each).

Dissident Đoàn Việt Hoat, exiled from Vietnam after his release from prison, held a press conference in Washington (Nov. 20), calling on the Vietnamese government to abolish its April 1997 decree that allows anyone deemed "detrimental to national security" to be detained for six months to two years without trial. Officials down to the village level have the authority to carry out the decree. Hoat also called on Vietnam to release what he said are hundreds of prisoners now in custody for political activity, and to allow press and religious freedom.

Along with 5,219 other prisoners, Hoat was released in September to mark Vietnam's independence day. He had been imprisoned or detained for close to 20 years. In 1988 he was released, then detained again in 1990 for calling for the abolition of the Communist Party. He was held for three years before being sentenced to a 15-year prison term. As a young man, Hoat had demonstrated against the policies of the U.S.-backed government of South Vietnam. Granted political refugee status by the United States, the 56-year-old Hoat left Vietnam immediately upon his release. He now lives with his wife in Alexandria, VA., and teaches at a Catholic University in Washington. He has three sons in the U.S. With friends Hoat has opened an office in Arlington, Virginia where he says he plans to continue to campaign for democracy and justice in Vietnam. Phone: (703) 567-2429; FAX: (703) 567-2449; e-mail: thuctran@aol.com (AP, Nov. 20; Reuters, Sept. 1, 1998; interview by Chiharce and Kamimura in *Washington Times*, Oct. 16)

Lê Khả Phiêu. The VCP's secretary-general spent a busy quarter making speeches and giving interviews, including: (1) address at Labor Confederation Congress; (2) warning of Vietnam's cultural decline and "weakness of the press"; (3) meeting with C of C prexy.

Nguyễn Hoàng Linh. Editor of *Doanh Nghiệp (Enterprise)*, a business newspaper, goes on trial in Hanoi after his paper published a series of articles on corruption in the Vietnam Customs Service. After several postponements, the one day trial (Oct. 21) hears Linh "recant" (i.e., plead guilty to "harming the national interest"). The trial was closed to the press and public but representatives of 100 government agencies were invited to send observers. In any event, Linh walks out free, his sentence being the 378 days he has been jailed awaiting the trial. Outcome is interpreted as further division in the Politburo over restraining the press, which is officially encouraged to root out graft and high level corruption. (AFP, Oct. 9; Reuters, Oct. 20; Deutsche-Press Agentur, Oct. 21)

Đặng Thái Sơn, Vietnam's internationally acclaimed pianist presents a recital in HCMC (Dec. 9) as part of the city's 300th anniversary celebrations. (Chopin's Nocturne in D; Debussy's Preludes; and Scribine's Sonotica in F-Sharp). Son recently was on tour in France and South America. (Interviewed by *Tuổi Trẻ* (Youth) Newspaper, HCMC, Dec. 9, 1998).

Gen. Trần Độ. The highly respected 76 year old retired PAVN officer continued firing broadsides at the Politburo and VCP during the quarter. He handed a 22-page "appeal" to Party Sec-Gen Lê Khả Phiêu (Nov. 19) which made three basic points: Vietnam needs but does not have a democratic system of government; the Party has an excessive concentration of power; and the people's confidence in the State and Party has "seriously deteriorated, if not totally disappeared." Độ says he stands for renovation of the Party, not its abolition. During the quarter he is denounced in Vietnam editorials as "ill mannered and insolent." The wonder is that the Party has not expelled him. (AFP, Dec. 9, *Vietnam Democracy*, July 1998)

Senator Bob Kerrey, an ex-Navy seal in Vietnam (Medal of Honor winner; lost part of his right leg to a Việt Cộng grenade) announced (Dec. 12) he would not seek the White House in 2000 ending a year of speculation that he would make a second Presidential bid. Good news for Al Gore.

Cù Thi Hậu, elected President of the Vietnam General Confederation of Labor at the organization's 8th Congress, November 6, Hà Nội. The 898 delegates also elected a 17 member Presidium and a 145-person Central Committee.

Lê Xuân Hòa, 88, Vietnam's venerable keeper of the classics (*Hán Nôm* script) is profiled in *VIR Timeout*. (Oct. 12-18, 1998) Although an unreconstructed Confucian mandarin, Hòa admits that the *Quốc Ngữ* script, introduced by the French, has proved to be in his country's interest: "it is a hundred times better than Chinese characters," he says.

Gary Flanagan, Dept. U.S. Joint Task Force Full Accounting Detachment 2, Hà Nội, while on home leave meets researchers and addresses the public at Texas Tech University (Nov. 12). During his years in Vietnam, Flanagan has directed more than 1,000 MIA/POW investigations and 100 excavations. Currently he also directs the Presidential Field Program: Four Areas of Measuring Progress (in resolution of casualties).

Đat Nguyễn, linebacker for the Texas A&M University and hero among young Việt Kiều in the U.S. Dat's family is from Vũng Tàu; he was born in a Thai refugee camp. He is 5'11, 230 pounds which does not make him big by U.S. standards; his coach says it is his quickness that puts him into the first string defensive linebacker position.

Carlyle Thayer, long time authority on Vietnam, is relocating from the Australian Defense Force Academy back to his homeland. His new address is: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2255 Kuhio Ave, Suite 1900, Honolulu, HI 96815. Thayer describes the center as an academically focused institution, established in 1955 by the Department of Defense (located in Waikiki).

Ben Kiernan, Yale University's man in Phnom Penh, director of the Cambodian Genocide Program, has been cleared of charges of "financial impropriety," according to the November 16 issue of *Journal of Higher Education*.

Phil Price. At ceremonies September 1, 1998, Vietnam Center Advisory Board President Phil Price and his wife Victoria announced a \$1,000,000 gift to Texas Tech University, to be divided between the Vietnam Center and the School of Mass Communications. Price accepted a commission in the Army in 1968 and served in Vietnam in 1969, where he was wounded and medevaced to the United States. After his discharge from the Army, he founded The Price Communications Group, which is now the largest advertising agency in West Texas.



ISEAS. The inestimable research facility down there on the equator, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, continues its upwards and onwards service to Indochina scholars everywhere. A publisher of scholarly books on the Asia-Pacific, ISEAS is now on the Internet with what is called an electronic document delivery service for single articles from its 40 journals and searching for and buying from its 300 book title list. Contact: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 119614; Tel: 8702447; FAX: 7756259; E-mail: pubsunit@iseas.edu.sg To visit its web: www.iseas.edu.sg/pub.html

News of the Field: Conferences

Texas Tech's Third Triennial Vietnam Symposium will be held **April 15-17, 1999** at the Holiday Inn, Lubbock Plaza. Sixty papers are scheduled for presentation dealing with Vietnam War related topics, postwar experiences, and teaching Vietnam. PAVN Lt. General Nguyễn Đình Ước, editor of *Quân Đồi Nhân Dân* military newspaper is expected to attend. He will present a paper, "The Differing American and Vietnamese Perspectives on the War," on a panel with Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., and General William B. Rosson. Participants will include several former senior military and diplomatic officers, including General William C. Westmoreland, and around 200 academics. The Moving Wall exhibit will be on display on the TTU campus during the symposium. For a list of the scheduled papers, conference agenda, or other information contact Dr. James Reckner at the Vietnam Center, Texas Tech University, Box 41045, Lubbock, TX 79409-1045; telephone (806) 742-8664; e-mail vietnam.center@ttu.edu or check the Vietnam Center's website at <http://www.ttu.edu/~Vietnam>

The Association for Asian Studies will hold its **51st Annual Meeting March 11-14, 1999**, in Boston. Contact is John Campbell at 1021 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48104 USA; telephone (313) 665-2490; FAX (313) 665-3801; e-mail postmaster@aasianst.org

The Popular Culture Assn. And The American Culture Assn. (PCA/ACA) national meeting will be held **March 31-April 3, 1999**, at the Marriott Hotel, San Diego, CA. The Film & History area will have 20 panels and one workshop. Contact Ray Browne at Popular Press, BGSU, Bowling Green, OH 43403; telephone (419) 372-7867; e-mail rbrowne@andy.bgsu.edu

The Fourth ASEAN Inter-University Seminar On Social Development will be held **June 16-18, 1999** at Prince of Songkla University, Pattani, Thailand. The conference provides a platform for communication among scholars developing social science knowledge of the region. Sessions will be conducted in English. For more information contact ASEAN ISSD4 Secretariat, Division of Academic Affairs, Prince of Songkla University, Pattani 94000 Thailand; telephone 66-73-3122358; FAX 66-73-313485; e-mail issd4@bunga.pn.psu.th

The Ecological Society of America will hold a symposium on "Exotic Invasives in Asia" at its annual meeting **August 1999** in Spokane, WA. Contact Jacoby Carter at the USGS-National Wetlands research center,

700 Cajundome Blvd., Lafayette, LA 70506; telephone (318) 266-8620; FAX (318) 266-8586.

The International Symposium Towards Cooperation, Utilization, and Co-ordinated Management of International Rivers (ISCUCMIR '99), organized by the Geographical Society of China, the Yunnan Institute of Geography, and the Institute of Geography, CAS will be held at the Scientific Building, Yunnan University, Kunming, Yunnan Province, China on **June 25-30, 1999**. The primary objective is to bring together scientists, development specialists, engineers and managers to exchange experiences and theories related to international river development and management. Sessions will be in English. For more information contact Guoyou Zhang and Guihua Chen, Geographical Society of China, Building 917, Datun Road, Beijing, 100101, China; FAX (86) 10-6488-9598; e-mail gsc@dls.iog.ac.cn

The Vietnamese Economic Network (VECON) 1999 International Conference "Dragons, Tigers, Elephants, and Buffalos in the Millennium" is set for **July 15-16, 1999**, at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. The conference offers opportunities for exchanging research findings and ideas on topics relevant to Vietnam's economy. Theoretical, empirical, and policy-orientated papers are equally encouraged. More information can be found on the VECON home page: <http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/~vecon/index.html>, or contact Professor Triền Nguyễn, Department of Economics, University of Waterloo, 200 University Avenue West, Waterloo, Ontario N2L3G1, Canada; telephone 1 (519) 888-4567 ext. 2794; FAX 1 (519) 725-0530.

The Society for Indian Philosophy and Religion will hold an International Interdisciplinary Conference in Calcutta, August 1-4, 2000. The Conference theme is Language, Thought and Reality: Science, Religion and Philosophy. To contribute a paper, send an abstract (deadline April 1, 1999) of 150 words to Dr. Chandana Chakrabarti, Elon College Campus, Box 2336, Elon College, NC 27244, USA; telephone (336) 538-2705; FAX (336) 538-2627; e-mail chakraba@numen.elon.edu

The Fourth EUROVIET Conference will be held in **September 15-19, 1999**, at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Passau, Germany, on the theme "The Economic Crisis and Vietnam's Integration into Southeast Asia." Contact the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Passau, Innstrasse 53, D-04032 Passau/Germany; FAX ++ 49-851-509-2742; e-mail seastudies@uni-passau.de

The 14th Naval History Symposium will be held **September 23-25, 1999**, at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. Papers may cover a wide range of naval topics extending across broad temporal and cultural themes. Send proposals for papers (deadline March 1, 1999) to Craig Symonds, Department of History, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD 21402-5044; telephone (410) 293-6264; FAX (410) 293-2256; e-mail navhstsy@nadn.navy.mil

The Popular Culture Association and the American Culture Association (PCA/ACA) will hold its **4th annual Latin American Congress** on **September 29-October 2, 1999**, at the University of the Americas in Cholula/Puebla, Mexico. For information contact Peter Rollins at the Popular Culture Center, RR 3 Box 80, Cleveland, OK 74020; telephone (918) 243-7637; e-mail rollinspc@aol.com

The CRL, ARL, CLIR, RLG, and ICOLC will sponsor a major collections development conference, "Creating New Strategies for Cooperative Collection Development" **November 12-14, 1999**, at the Aberdeen Woods Conference Center in Atlanta, Georgia. To write a paper for this conference (deadline for submission June 1, 1999) send a short abstract to Milton T. Wolf at the Center for Research Libraries, 6050 South Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637-2804; telephone (773) 955-4545 ext. 334; FAX (773) 955-4339; e-mail wolf@crlmail.uchicago.edu



Research Note: North Vietnam's War Dead

By Lewis Stern

Editor's Note: A major official Washington Hanoi watcher and specialist on the resolution of casualties issue Lewis Stern here examines the Hanoi perspective of its several "costs of war."

The article in *Indochina Chronology* (VXVI, Jan-Dec, 1997), entitled "Death Toll," pointed to the mid-1990's emergence of Vietnam's wartime casualties as an issue for the Hanoi government. Looking at the issue of the "costs of war" from another perspective—that of Vietnam's MIA's—the issue took shape much earlier.

In 1989 Thái Bình Province undertook a four-year study, authorized by the Chairman of the Council of

Ministers, to inventory the social needs of veterans. In mid-1993, presumably near the end point of that study, Thái Bình Province reported to the General Political Department of the Ministry of Defense that the province kept records on 298 cases of missing PAVN personnel. Of that number, 153 were lost during the war against France. Fifty service personnel were missing as a result of the United States. Ninety-five personnel were missing as a result of military actions following April 1975, presumably including PAVN actions in Cambodia. The majority of those cases were considered resolved by provincial authorities. Thái Bình was still actively seeking information on 15 cases that had been judged unresolved. The provincial report did not specify when, and as a result of which hostilities, the 15 service personnel listed as unresolved cases were declared MIA. Mid-1994 media reporting suggests that other provinces conducted similar studies.

During the January 1991 military meetings to review the draft documents for discussion at the 7th Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, participants in a local military party committee session argued that the PAVN was responsible for searching for persons missing as a result of the hostilities with the United States. Thereafter, the Vietnamese spoke of 300,000 MIA's in order to demonstrate exactly how much of a domestic problem this issue represented for them, and how difficult it was for Vietnamese struggling with their own MIA problem to support their government's efforts to respond to U.S. demands to find missing Americans.

The subject of the status of survivor benefits, veterans retirement policies, and the MIA issue became increasingly pressing issues for the Vietnamese leadership after the mid-1991 Party Congress. Beginning in early 1991, in commenting on the draft platform in advance of the Party Congress, veterans groups and party organizations within the military made it clear that the fate of Vietnam's 300,000 MIA's represented a groundswell issue, and that the leadership had to respond to family members, veterans organizations and others that were asking hard questions about loved ones lost in the war.

One important indicator of the extent to which the MIA issue had become an important domestic one for Vietnam is the extent to which Hanoi went to repatriate the remains of PAVN soldiers from Laos. In early April 1992, a remains repatriation group operating under the authority of the Nghệ An Province military command pledged to continue to search for the remains of fallen Vietnamese soldiers in the former mountainous war zone adjacent to Nghệ Tĩnh Province in Laos. Between 1984 and 1992 the repatriation group reportedly undertook "thousands" of trips to the mountainous areas in Laos and returned the bodies of approximately 8,000 Vietnamese combatants that had been interred in various

cemeteries in Khammouane, Bolikhamsai and Xieng Khoang Provinces to a military cemetery in Nghệ Tĩnh's Anh Sơn District. On 9 April 1994, the Vietnamese Minister of Labor, War Veterans, and Social Welfare and the Lao Minister of Labor and Social Welfare signed a memorandum of understanding on completing the excavation and repatriation of the bodies of Vietnamese soldiers from Lao wartime cemeteries in Oudomsai, Attapeu and Xieng Khoang Provinces in 1994. The memorandum referred to a mutual commitment to building a monument in Laos to fallen soldiers.

By 1993, the variety of interest groups that emerged during the process of planning for the 7th National Party Congress, including veterans organizations, felt relatively free to make points about their constituencies' interests during the tenure of General Secretary Nguyễn Văn Linh, who placed a premium on the free flow of ideas in the media. By mid-1993 various provinces had initiated surveys of the number of wounded and missing, as well as the needs of veterans who survived and the families of war heroes. According to a middle-level Foreign Ministry official using statistics available as of August 1993, of the 842,405 Vietnamese troops killed in action (KIA) the remains of 496,405 individuals had been recovered. The remains of over 200,000 individuals had not been recovered. Information was not available on the remains of a total of 82,405 individuals. Additionally, 484,324 soldiers were wounded during the course of the war. At a mid June news conference the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Welfare stated that almost three million people were killed in the war, one million of whom were soldiers. Four million people were wounded. About 170,000 people were left homeless; that elderly population was depended on national welfare support. More than two million people were affected by toxic chemicals; 500,000 children were deformed. (*VVN* 12 June 1994, *FBIS-EAS* 94-113, 13 June 1994)

In early 1993, articles published in the Vietnamese Communist Party's authoritative daily newspaper suggested that the highest levels of the Vietnamese leadership were focused on the issue of responding to the social needs of veterans, and the needs of families and dependents of soldiers who died in combat. Moreover, some articles suggested that groups hitherto uninvolved in the POW/MIA issue, and unconcerned with the shape of U.S.-Vietnam relations, were prepared to take firm stands regarding the importance of Vietnam's efforts to seek answers to questions from its own MIA families. Interestingly, in a manner that drives home the point that the issue of Vietnam's missing had become a matter of national importance, in early 1994 the heroes memorial for fallen combatants, under construction at the time in Hanoi's Ba Đình Square area, generated controversy

because of the manner in the design for the memorial was selected and because of the design itself. In a manner reminiscent of the debate that surrounded the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., the oblique that was selected as the shape for the monument came under what one middle-level official described as popular and press criticism because the planned memorial did not reflect any of the grandeur of the Vietnam nation and did not appropriately symbolize the sacrifices made during the wars for national independence.

During the course of a number of provincial and local preparatory events, military units, veterans organizations or localities gave occasional mention to Vietnamese MIA's. An article on the Border Defense Force's war hero memorial carried in the party's daily newspaper noted approximately 60 MIA's on the units rolls. An article about Hà Tây Province war casualties noted that of the 400,000 youths who fought the War for National Salvation, almost 40,000 of the "sons of Hà Tây" perished without a trace (*đã vĩnh viễn không trở lại*). An article about the postal branch stated that almost 10,000 cadres participated in the War of Resistance and that the General Postal and Telegraph Department had organized teams to search for remains and locate the graves of their comrades.

A thorough examination of this issue would probably shed some interesting light on the emergence of issues in the Vietnamese political system, and the increasingly relevance of "interest groups," in their most basic stages of development, to the Vietnamese political process. There should be at least a half dozen Ph.D dissertations here.

One 14 May 1998 article presenting a professorial opinion on Vietnam's "human rights" policies argued that it was a human right, and a government's humanitarian duty, to provide answers to the families of fallen heroes whose bodies had not been recovered. The article noted that out of an altruism born of historical practice, the Vietnamese would continue to work hard to return the remains of foreign soldiers, just as they had done during the reigns of Lê Lợi and Nguyễn Trãi after fighting "foreign aggressors."

In 1994, Vietnamese officials made it clear that the conventional wisdom was that there were about 300,000 unaccounted for Vietnamese personnel and no information base (PAVN rolls, unit documents, forensic capabilities) which could be used to help identify remains that are being unearthed. The Vietnamese practice was proper burial in mass graves, and attempts to correlate the location of the incident with combat operations in the area; numerous Vietnamese sources have made it clear that it is impossible to take identifications any further. The Vietnamese were sensitive about the disarray in which conscription records are found, and the low state of government assistance to the families of war casual-

ties and MIA's. Some senior Vietnamese stated that minor steps were being taken to systematize existing records in the late 1995 period, but since the bulk of the operative files were unit records in the hands of provincial military commands, not many resources were being brought to bear on this problem.

Beginning in early 1995, in preparation for the 48th annual Disabled Veterans and War Heroes Day (*Ngày Thương Binh, Liệt Sĩ*, celebrated on 27 July), provinces, municipalities, districts and enterprises, individual soldiers, Overseas Vietnamese and social organizations were instructed to review their policies toward and concern for the mothers and fathers of war heroes and to improve the care they offered injured and disabled soldiers and the families of those who sacrificed their lives during wartime, in addition to investing in building war memorials and upgrading and maintaining cemeteries. Businesses, front groups, veterans associations and youth organizations visited memorials and contributed funds to those efforts in public displays of concern for invalid soldiers and the surviving families of war heroes for months before the designated July memorial day.

Editor's Note: Stern's article contains extensive citation, most of it from Hanoi periodicals and news sources. Readers wishing a copy of his source list should write the *Indochina Chronology*.



History Redux

Khmer Rouge: Key Events:

1949-52: Saloth Sar, later known as Pol Pot, goes to Paris on government scholarship, becomes absorbed with communist ideology.

1953: Pol Pot sets up Maoist-inspired party after Cambodia gains independence from France.

1960-63: Pol Pot becomes Party's general-secretary, flees to jungle to escape repression by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

1967-68: Khmer Rouge takes up arms in support of peasants against a government rice tax. Army suppresses insurrection.

1970: Right-wing coup topples Sihanouk; civil war begins between Khmer Rouge and new military government. U.S. bombs North Vietnamese sanctuaries in eastern Cambodia.

1975: Khmer Rouge seizes power, begins utopian experiment in agrarian communism. Up to two million people die in four years of starvation, overwork, and execution.

1978: Vietnam invades Cambodia to stop Khmer Rouge border attacks. Phnom Penh falls to Vietnamese two weeks later (January 1979).

1991: Cambodian factions sign peace agreement.

1993: Khmer Rouge boycotts U.N.-sponsored general election.

August 1996: Government announces Khmer Rouge breakup. Pol Pot's brother-in-law, Ieng Sary, leads 10,000 guerrillas to defect.

June 13, 1997: Pol Pot reportedly orders top general Son Sen and family killed; hard-liners split into factions.

June 20: Former comrades capture Pol Pot.

July 25: An 80-minute show trial held at Anlong Veng, the guerrillas' last stronghold in northern Cambodia, condemns Pol Pot for crimes including the killing of Son Sen and his family.

October 15: Pol Pot speaks to Western journalist for first time in 18 years, telling *FEER* reporter Nate Thayer his "conscience is clear."

April 11, 1998: Government troops capture Anlong Veng.

April 15: Pol Pot dies in his sleep at 73.

July 17: Khmer Rouge guerrillas attack a government convoy, killing two and wounding five persons.

September: Pol Pot's widow Mea Son and 14-year-old daughter, Mea Sith, defect to the government.

December, 4: Last main Khmer Rouge fighting force surrenders to the government.

December 26: Two of the three remaining top Khmer Rouge leaders, Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea, defect to the government, leaving only Gen. Ta Mok at large.

December 1998: Khmer Rouge appears to be no longer a viable political entity or military force.

(AP-NY-12-26-98)

Historical Assessment: "I have lived 78 years without hearing of bloody places like Cambodia," said Winston Churchill some years before his death. "They have never worried me and I haven't worried them." This remark, recalled by the great man's physician, Lord Moran, was very Churchillian and very 19th century. It was the remark of a man who, despite a keen global vision, still thought it easy for the West to regard itself as the center of the world. To many of his era, the periphery of that world lay somewhere in the jungle, well beyond the enclave of civilization. But yesterday's jungle is often today's battlefield. Nowadays, few sophisticated liberal experts on international affairs would regard any nation, even those known only to stamp collectors, as too distant or too obscure to matter.

Historical Assessment (2): One conclusion many Americans arrived at, as the Vietnam War was ending and reinforced by editorial writers and academics in the main—was that Vietnam simply was not very important to the U.S. A great many other Americans wished devoutly that it really was unimportant so it need not be a place to worry about. This began with some intensity in mid 1966, about a year after U.S. forces landed in numbers in Vietnam. It is an idea influential with some of today's revisionists. (D.P.)

PROPAGANDA



IMMOLATIONS IN PROTEST AGAINST THE U.S. WAR OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

— Mrs. Helga Alice Herz, 82, burnt herself to death in Detroit, on March 16, 1965;

— Norman R. Morrison, 31 burnt himself on November 2, 1965, in front of the Pentagon;

— Roger LaPorte, 22, from the Catholic Worker Movement, burnt himself on November 9, 1965, in front of the U. N. O. headquarters;

— Celene Jankowski, 24, South Bend, Ind., burnt herself on November 10, 1965

U.S. CASUALTIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM

1961 — 1964: 3,069 men

Jan. — Nov. 1965: 16,416 men

Nov-March 1966: 40,000 men

400,000 plastic bags were ordered to be made by Johnson for packing U.S. army men.

H. Nghia

11237

U.S. ARMYMEN IN SOUTH VIETNAM

You're not the only one who hates it. Religious leaders, congressmen, widows and parents of men who died here... they're all talking against this war!

7

DEC 1965

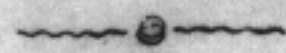
4

YOUR happiness is not to be found in the battle front. It's in your sweet home beside your parents, wife and children.

By opposing the U.S. imperialists aggressive war in south Vietnam, you practically defend the noble ideals of American people's year 1863 revolution.



The south Vietnamese people hate the U.S. imperialists very much. But they are friendly to the people of the U.S. and other countries. The south Vietnamese people are very grateful to genuine Americans who have been struggling to demand that the U.S. government halt its aggression against South Vietnam, withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam and let the south Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs.



Clockwise, from top left:
 Side 1, taken by US 196th Inf. Bng. Tay Ninh Province Feb. 26, 1967.
 Side 2, taken by US 196th Inf. Bng. Tay Ninh Province Feb. 26, 1967.
 Roadway in Hau Nghia Province, Dec. 1965.
 Found in the seat of U.S. Army jeep, Da Nang, Nov. 1965.
 Down town street in Da Nang, November 1965.

Tại sao chịu chết cho 1 sự nghiệp chắc chắn sẽ thất bại!

Những thất bại của các cuộc hành quân ATTLEBORO và JUNCTION CITY có ý nghĩa như thế nào?

ĐIỀU ĐÓ CÓ NGHĨA LÀ:

Quân Mỹ, với đủ mọi loại vũ khí tối tân, đồ nhiều đến thế nào, cũng sẽ bị các lực lượng vũ trang giải phóng miền Nam Việt-nam đánh bại trong cuộc chiến tranh trên LỤC ĐỊA CHÂU Á NÀY.

ĐÓ LÀ ĐIỀU MÀ CHÚNG TÔI KHẲNG ĐỊNH!
ĐÓ CŨNG LÀ Ý KIẾN CỦA 1 TRONG NHỮNG TƯỚNG LÃNH CŨ TIẾNG TÂM NHỨT CỦA CÁC ANH!

- ★ PHẢN ĐỐI KHÔNG CHỊU RA CHIẾN TRANH!
- ★ HÃY Đòi ĐƯỢC HỒI HƯƠNG NGAY!
- ★ HÃY ĐỀ NHÃN ĐÃN VIỆT-NAM TỰ GIẢI QUYẾT LẤY CÔNG VIỆC NỘI BỘ CỦA HỌ!

- Oppose the violation of military service rules by Johnson.
- Oppose the occupation and aggression of foreign countries.
- Oppose the sending of U.S. troops to die in South Vietnam for the benefit of warlords.
- Demand repatriation to defend your homeland and families.
- Give back your guns to the U.S. authorities, demand the right to study, work, live in peace as stipulated by the U.S. Constitution.

Cover picture: In the Nov.-25-1965 march to Washington, the SYMPLO's flag was hoisted beside the U.S. flag, symbolizing the South Vietnamese and American peoples' friendship.

RATHER GO TO JAIL THAN DIE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

U.S. people struggle against forcible conscription:

- Jerome Doolman, 68, Haverford College;
- Kenneth C. Wheeler, Yale University;
- Wayne Anderson, Morgan College;
- James S. Walsh, Rhode Island University, etc.

U.S. servicemen refuse to be sent to Vietnam:

- Pfc Wladislaw Belton, 18 of Milwaukee, of the 3rd Brigade of 1st Cavalry Division;
- Pfc Johnnie R. Jackson, 21 of Washington, D.C.; Pfc Percy Green, 21, Chicago, Pfc David Clark, 20, Homestead, Fla.; Pfc Harold L. Brown, Sanford; the 4 from the 1st Cavalry Division;
- Marine Pfc Jack Gorman, 19, of Dearborn;
- Joseph Brennan, naval recruit, etc.

29 OCT 1967
BINH LONG

WHY DIE FOR A LOST CAUSE?

What do ATTLEBORO and JUNCTION CITY Operations' failures mean?

THAT MEAN:

U.S. troops with all kinds of modern weapons; whatever their number, will be defeated by the South Vietnam Liberation armed forces in this ASIAN LAND WAR!

IT'S OUR AFFIRMATION!

IT'S ALSO THE OPINION OF ONE OF YOUR MOST RENOWNED GENERALS!

- OPPOSE TO YOUR BEING SENT TO THE BATTLEFRONT!
- DEMAND IMMEDIATE REPATRIATION!
- LET THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE SETTLE THEMSELVES THEIR OWN AFFAIRS!

VIET NAM,

DEATH LAND

FOR ALL AGGRESSORS

AREA Drop in Khu Xaoc HANLET
Date Nov. 28-1965
SENCAT 1965

U.S. ARMYMEN, OFFICERS!

U.S. Armymen, Officers! The dirty aggressive war against the Vietnamese people... U.S. aggressors have lost their lives... U.S. Armymen, Officers! U.S. Armymen, Officers! U.S. Armymen, Officers!

U.S. ARMYMEN, OFFICERS!
U.S. ARMYMEN, OFFICERS!
U.S. ARMYMEN, OFFICERS!

11225

DEC 1965

Clockwise, from bottom left:

- Scattered before approaching U.S. troops, Binh Duong Province, Nov. 1965.
- Side 1, scattered in advance of U.S. military operations, Binh Duong, Oct. 1967.
- Side 2, scattered in advance of U.S. military operations, Binh Duong, Oct. 1967.
- Found outside 196th Infantry Brigade Camp, Tay Ninh province, Feb. 22, 1967.
- Taken by U.S. Inf. Brg. Tay Ninh Province Feb. 26 1967.
- Gia Dinh Province, Oct. 1967.

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