

VIETNAM: THIRTY BOOKS AND  
FIFTEEN PERIODICALS

An Annotated Bibliography

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The intensity of concern and debate over the war in Vietnam has led to impassioned pleadings and a great wealth of polemical literature. Special interest groups and public relations managers have organized innumerable action committees, and these in turn have provided reading lists for the American public. Some of these are presented in the guise of being objective and scholarly background reading when in fact they constitute weighted selections for special pleading.

An example of the type of unbalanced special pleading involved is contained in the "Selected Bibliography" in the Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee entitled Peace in Vietnam: A New Approach in Southeast Asia (New York, Hill and Wang, 1966), 112 pp. The bibliography, like the polemic to which it is appended, is a disturbing example of the manner in which a charade can be presented in the name of objectivity. The bibliography lists, for example, the latest book by Wilfred G. Burchett, which it correctly labels as "pro-Communist," but then goes on to state that it "incorporates an interesting account of the Liberation Front." Given Burchett's background, his distortions, and his questionable honesty, it is hard to believe that no words of extra caution are thrown in. But that aside, if the bibliography is the fair and open-minded approach which we should expect from the American Friends Service Committee, and if the special pleadings of Burchett are included, we would naturally expect some relevant documents or works to set against Burchett's Communist line. Not one publication of the United States Government is included. Nor in the 29 works listed is there a single work by any of the many scholars who support the United States policies in Southeast Asia. This is a sobering example indeed of the type of special pleading which the war in Vietnam has evoked. It is an example, too, of the willingness of scholars to push aside their principles of academic honesty when they become caught up in political polemics.

The list of books which follows, while by no means exhaustive, does include works which span the spectrum of positions on the conflict in Vietnam. It includes many which are "must" reading for the intelligent citizen who wishes to have a solidly based opinion on the complex issues involved. There is no substitute for digging into the background and the facts. While the annotations are brief, an attempt is made to indicate the general slant of each work and its major contributions to understanding.

American Friends Service Committee Vietnam Working Party, Peace in Vietnam: A New Approach in Southeast Asia (New York, Hill and Wang, 1966), 112pp.

An example of a polemic directed against United States involvement in East Asia, this "Report" presents a synthesis of arguments in the guise of objectivity but without any counterbalancing explanations. Its treatment of the role of Communist China is particularly biased, insisting against documentary evidence available to the contrary that the Mao regime has adopted a policy of non-interference in the countries along China's borders.

Asian Survey, "Vietnam: A Special Issue" (Berkeley, University of California, August 1967), pp. 501-596.

Papers presented by America's top experts on Vietnam at a conference in Wisconsin, May 14-15, 1967. This issue of an important monthly publication contains up-to-date perspectives on problems and changes in Vietnam in solid, scholarly format.

Bain, Chester A., Vietnam: The Roots of Conflict (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1967), 184pp.

A thoroughly researched and documented volume by an American with a wealth of experience in Vietnam. It covers early history and most recent developments, and includes a useful annotated bibliography.

Burchett, Wilfred G., Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War (New York, International Publishers, 1965), 253pp.

A volume by a pro-Communist Australian journalist with access to top Vietnamese Communist leaders. A good place to turn for the official Communist interpretation of events in Vietnam and for the guerrilla struggle as seen through the eyes of the Viet Cong.

Buttinger, Joseph, Vietnam: A Dragon Embattled (New York, Praeger, 1967), 2 vols., 1,352pp.

A definitive scholarly work dealing with Vietnam from the turn of the century up to the end of French rule.

Crozier, Brian, South-East Asia in Turmoil (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1965), 206pp.

The book is organized around two principal themes: the interaction of nationalism and communism in Southeast Asia, and the aggressiveness of North Vietnam and Indonesia.

Fall, Bernard, The Two Viet-Nams, 2nd ed. rev. (New York, Praeger, 1967), 507pp.

A detailed background study of political development in Vietnam and the course of the insurgency, with sketches of leading personalities.

Fall, Bernard B., Viet-Nam Witness: 1953-66 (New York, Praeger, 1966), 363pp.

A collection of 26 articles published over a 14 year period by one of the most versatile observers of the scene in Vietnam. They show the late Professor Fall moving from the position taken in his earlier works.

Fifield, Russell H., Southeast Asia in United States Policy (New York, Praeger, 1963) 488pp.

A scholarly study of American diplomatic and security involvement in Southeast Asia prepared while the author was a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Invaluable for background on current American policies.

Goodwin, Richard N., Triumph or Tragedy: Reflections on Vietnam (New York, Random House, 1966) 143pp.

Goodwin, a Kennedy insider, argues that withdrawal from Vietnam is intolerable as an alternative "until we achieve a resolution that does not involve American defeat."

Gordon, Bernard K., The Dimensions of Conflict in Southeast Asia (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1966), 201pp.

A concise and valuable introduction to the problems of foreign policy, security, regionalism, and development in Southeast Asia. Useful for putting the Vietnamese conflict into a regional setting.

Hammer, Ellen, Vietnam Yesterday and Today (New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), 282pp.

A general introduction to Vietnam and its problems by one of the first American students of the politics of the area.

Hoang, Van Chi, From Colonialism to Communism (New York, Praeger, 1964), 252pp.

A detailed study of the Communist surge to power, by a former associate of Ho Chi Minh and a former Viet Minh leader, which documents the totalitarian nature of the North Vietnamese Communist regime.

Kahin, George McT., and Lewis, John W., The United States in Vietnam (New York, Dial, 1967), 465pp.

Two Cornell professors argue against the United States policy in Vietnam and attempt to provide relevant background facts for the uninformed American reader.

Lacouture, Jean, Vietnam: Between Two Truces (New York, Random House, 1966), 295pp.

A study by one of the leading French authorities on Vietnam. Critical of American policies, it brings out clearly some of the problems of regional divisions in the South.

Nighswonger, William A., Rural Pacification in Vietnam (New York, Praeger, 1966), 340pp.

A critical survey of American efforts at pacification and a delineation of the problems of rural division and control in Vietnam.

Pike, Douglas, Viet Cong: The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1966), 490pp.

A thorough and highly detailed study of the National Liberation Front, with an excellent analysis of Communist united front techniques. An important volume for those who wish to understand Communist claims that the Liberation Front represents the people in South Vietnam.

Ray, Sibnarayan, Vietnam Seen from East and West (New York, Praeger, 1966), 192pp.

The central theme is the crisis in Vietnam. But the essays included cover a wider range of related issues: Communist strategy and tactics, other Communist insurgencies, and the role of democratic countries in Southeast Asia.

Scigliano, Robert, South Vietnam: Nation Under Stress (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1963), 227pp.

A study of the first decade of the South Vietnamese republic, with insights into the problems of development, the difficulties confronting the American aid program, and a particularly good treatment of the insurgency problem. Professor Scigliano offers valuable analysis of some of the early mistakes and shortcomings of both American and Vietnamese programs.

Scalapino, Robert A. (ed.), The Communist Revolution in Asia: Tactics, Goals and Achievements (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1965), 405pp.

A volume of basic background readings by leading scholars of Communist strategy in Asia, with key essays setting the struggle in Vietnam in its overall context.

Shaplen, Robert, The Los Revolution (New York, Harper and Row, 1965), 404pp.

A journalist's highly critical assessment of the United States role in Vietnam.

Swearingen, Rodger, and Rolph, Hammond, Communism in Vietnam: A Documentary Study (Chicago, American Bar Association, 1967), 194pp.

A study produced for the American Bar Association's Committee on Education about Communism by two well-known students of Communism in Asia. This short volume translates and reproduces captured Viet Cong documents exposing the Communist strategy of violence and the extent of direction of the war from North Vietnam.

Tanham, George K., Communist Revolutionary Warfare: The Vietminh in Indochina (New York, Praeger, 1961), 166pp.

One of the best analyses of Communist strategy of "wars of national liberation." A basic source for understanding the nature of the struggle in Vietnam.

Tanham, G. K., and others, The Quiet War (New York, Praeger, 1966), 150pp.

The book illustrates American contributions to the economic, social, and political development of South Vietnam under trying wartime conditions.

Tanham, George K., and others, War Without Guns (New York, Praeger, 1966), 141pp.

Americans involved in rural pacification and economic assistance in Vietnam explain some of their problems and experiences in the non-military sphere of operations.

Thompson, Sir Robert, Defeating Communist Insurgency (New York, Praeger, 1966), 171pp.

A discussion of the problems of dealing with guerrilla communism in Malaya and Vietnam by Britain's leading authority on the subject.

Trager, Frank N., Why Vietnam? (New York, Praeger, 1966), 238pp.

Attempts a clear and logical presentation of the facts of American involvement in Vietnam, the nature of the conflict, and the ramifications of alternative courses of action.

United States Department of State, A Threat to the Peace: North Viet-Nam's Efforts to Conquer South Viet-Nam (Washington, Government Printing Office, December 1966), Part I, 53pp; Part II, 102pp.

The first and most important Department of State "White Paper" on Vietnam. Part I consists of analysis and Part II of documents. A basic source for understanding the United States position on the struggle in Vietnam.

United States Department of State, Aggression from the North: The Record of North Viet-Nam's Campaign to Conquer South Viet-Nam (Washington, Government Printing Office, February 1965), 64pp.

An up-dating of the 1961 "White Paper" which critics of United States policies in Vietnam felt presented little that was new.

United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam, 3rd rev. ed. (Washington, Government Printing Office, July 1967), 308pp.

A valuable collection of key statements and documents together with a chronology.

## II

In addition to the books listed above, the following fifteen periodicals have special value for following current developments in Vietnam.

Asian Survey. A monthly publication of the Institute of International Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. It contains valuable short articles dealing with current problems in Asia.

Atlas. A monthly journal which reprints significant materials from the world press for American readers. Articles are translated from many languages, including occasional pieces from North Vietnam.

China News Analysis. A weekly newsletter published in Hong Kong, with a regular quarterly issue on North Vietnam by P. J. Honey. An essential source for the analysis of developments in Communist China as they relate to Vietnam.

China Quarterly. A British publication devoted primarily to contemporary China but with important articles and reviews on Vietnam.

Department of State Bulletin. A weekly source for official statements and documents of the United States government.

Foreign Affairs. The leading popular quarterly dealing with the substantive issues of international relations. This journal contains valuable bibliographic and documents sections.

Journal of Asian Studies. A quarterly publication of the Association of Asian Studies, containing scholarly articles and important critical reviews.

Orbis. A quarterly journal devoted to world affairs and contemporary strategy, published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania.

Pacific Affairs. A scholarly quarterly produced at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, with valuable articles and reviews.

Peking Review. A weekly publication presenting Peking's interpretations of events, and frequently reproducing documents from North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front.

Problems of Communism. A bi-monthly publication of the United States Information Agency which has established a reputation for solid scholarship, and which frequently carries articles and reviews dealing with Southeast Asia.

The Reporter. A leading American journal treating political and foreign policy issues. Especially useful on Vietnam for the articles of Denis Warner.

Viet-Nam Information Notes. An important occasional publication of the Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, containing up-to-date analyses of current developments in Vietnam.

Vietnam Perspectives. A quarterly publication of the American Friends of Vietnam, which supports the United States commitment to the Republic of Vietnam.

World Marxist Review. An English monthly which gives Moscow-inspired interpretations of current developments in the world Communist movement. A good source for Soviet views on Vietnam.