

A VIETNAM BIBLIOGRAPHY

By *Marvin E. Gettleman,*
With The Assistance Of
*Sanford L. Silverman**

1. AGGRESSION from the North: The Record of North Vietnam's Campaign to Conquer South Vietnam. (U. S. Department of State Publication 7839: Far Eastern Series 130.) (Washington, D. C., February, 1965). The "White Paper" of 1965, presenting the case for "escalation." (Reprinted in no. 32 below).
2. AMERICAN FRIENDS of Vietnam. A Symposium on America's Stake in Vietnam. (New York, September, 1956). Contains, among other things, Hans Morgenthau's useful assessment of the Geneva conference (pp. 64-70) and Senator John F. Kennedy on "America's Stake in Vietnam" (pp. 8-14). (See the discussion of the American Friends of Vietnam in no. 85 below).

* Compiled and annotated October 19, 1967 by Marvin E. Gettleman, Assistant Professor of History, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, with the assistance of Sanford L. Silverman, Liberal Arts Bibliographer, The Libraries, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. An earlier version of this bibliography, prepared by Gettleman and Silverman in July 1967, was published in STACKS, July, 1967, a publication of The Libraries of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn.

3. AMERICAN FRIENDS Service Committee. Peace in Vietnam: A New Approach in Southeast Asia. (New York: Hill & Wang, 1966). A Quaker-sponsored inquiry, prepared by a group that included several Asia specialists. Carefully presented alternative policies are discussed.
4. APTHEKER, Herbert. Mission to Hanoi. (New York: International Publishers, 1966). Record of a trip taken by a Moscow-oriented U. S. communist theoretician. Compare no. 61 below.
5. BACKGROUND Information Relating to South-east Asia and Vietnam. (Revised, June 16, 1965, Report of the U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 89th Congress: 1st Session) (Washington, D. C., 1965). This collection documents the American government's position.
6. BATOR, Victor. Vietnam: A Diplomatic Tragedy. (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.: Oceana Publications, 1965). Study of international diplomacy in Southeast Asia.
7. BINH Thanh (see Hai Thu, jt. auth., no. 40 below).
8. BOUSCAREN, Anthony Trawick. The Last of the Mandarins: Diem of Vietnam. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Duquesne University Press, 1965). An adulatory biography of Ngo Dinh Diem. A serious charge of plagiarism was laid against this book in The American Political Science Review, LIX (December, 1964), pp. 1013-4.
9. BROMLEY, Dorothy Dunbar. Washington and Vietnam: An examination of the Moral and Political Issues. (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.: Oceana Publications, 1966). A study, written primarily for clergymen, stressing ethical considerations in government policy.
10. BROWNE, Robert S. "The Freedom Movement and the War in Vietnam", Freedomways, V (Fall, 1965), pp. 467-480. Suggestive parallels between liberation movements in the black communities of America, and the liberation struggle in Vietnam.
11. BURCHETT, Wilfred. North of the Seventeenth Parallel. (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1956); Mekong Upstream. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959); The Furtive War: The United States in Vietnam and Laos. (New York: International Pub-

- lishers, 1963); Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerilla War. (New York: International Publishers, 1965); Vietnam North. (New York: International Publishers, 1966). Rich record of the observations of an able Australian journalist sympathetic to the Communist cause in Indochina.
12. BURLING, Robbins. Hill Farms and Padi Fields: Life in Mainland Southeast Asia. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965). An anthropological study, dealing with the ethnology and political geography of the region.
 13. BUTTINGER, Joseph. The Smaller Dragon: A Political History of Vietnam. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958). Takes the story to 1900, and offers a bibliography and a chronology to 1956. The author tends to be discursive, and his interpretation is characterized by an adulation of Ngo Dinh Diem. Buttinger, his views modified, has taken the history of Vietnam through 1963 in Vietnam: A Dragon Embattled. 2 vols. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967).
 14. CADY, John F. Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964). Broadly conceived study by the author of the prize-winning Roots of French Imperialism in Eastern Asia. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954).
 15. CAMERON, James. Here is Your Enemy. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966). An English newspaperman's eyewitness account of the North Vietnamese response to the U. S. escalations in 1965.
 16. CARVER, George A. Jr. "The Real Revolution in South Vietnam," Foreign Affairs, XLIII (April, 1965), pp. 387-408. A skillful, but debatable thesis that there is a genuinely revolutionary force in South Vietnam outside of the National Liberation Front. By the time Carver's sequel appeared, ("The Faceless Viet Cong," Foreign Affairs, XLIV, April, 1966, pp. 347-372), stating the U. S. government's position on the NLF, it became known that the author had been a CIA agent.
 17. CHINH, Truong. Primer for Revolt (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963). Facsimile reproduction of English translations of two important works (The August Revolution and The Resistance Will Win) by a leading North Vietnamese theorist.

18. CHOMSKY, Noam. "The Responsibility of Intellectuals," The New York Review of Books, VIII (February 23, 1967). A brilliant and powerful critique of the attempt by administration intellectuals to defend U. S. Vietnam policy. Chomsky believes "It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and to expose lies."
19. CLUBB, Oliver Edmund Jr. The United States and the Sino-Soviet Bloc in Southeast Asia. (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1962). Critical analysis of international relations from a liberal perspective.
20. COEDES, G. The Making of South East Asia, tr., by H. M. Wright (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967). An anthropological study of the people of Indochina.
21. COLE, Allan B., et al. (eds.). Conflict in Indochina and International Repercussions: A Documentary History 1945-1955. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, for the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University, 1956). A documentary approach to the Indochinese conflict which is a model of scholarship.
22. COLLINS, J. and others. Medical Problems of South Vietnam, 1966. (Boston, Mass., Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1966). A detailed overview of all aspects of illness, civilian casualties and health facilities in South Vietnam through the end of 1966.
23. DEVILLERS, Philippe. Histoire du Vietnam de 1940 a 1952. 3d ed. (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1952). The basic book on the genesis of the first Indochinese war. The author's "Struggle for Unification of Vietnam" (China Quarterly, no. 9, January - March, 1962, pp. 2-23) is the best account of the origin of the guerrilla war in South Vietnam (reprinted no. 32 below).
24. DODD, Senator Thomas J. (ed). The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement, Staff Report of the U. S. Senate, Judiciary Committee. (89th Congress: 1st session) (Washington, D. C.; U. S. Government Printing Office, October, 1965). The aim is to demonstrate that the teach-in movement is communist-controlled. (Compare no. 66 below).
25. DRAPER, Theodore. Abuse of Power (New York: Viking, 1967). A well argued, tactical indictment of

- U. S. foreign policy in Vietnam and elsewhere. Draper's "How Not to Negotiate", The New York Review of Books, VIII (May 4, 1967), presents the thesis that the U. S. government has, in fact, avoided negotiations in Vietnam.
26. DuBERRIER, Hilaire. Background to Betrayal: the Tragedy of Vietnam. (Boston: Western Islands, 1965). Analysis by the Indochina correspondent of American Opinion of Vietnamese developments from the Geneva conference until the American escalation in 1965. Useful for information on the rise and maintenance of power of Diem, and the role of the CIA and the State Department. Important contribution on the persecution of the religious sects and their role in forming the National Liberation Front.
 27. DuBOFF, Richard B. (see Herman, Edward S., jt. auth. no. 45 below).
 28. DUNCAN, Donald. The New Legions (New York: Random House, 1967). An inside story of the Green Berets in Vietnam. See no. 70 below.
 29. FALL, Bernard B. Late author of a huge corpus of uneven writings on Vietnam and Indochina. Of most value are The Two Viet-Nams: A Political and Military Analysis (Revised ed., New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1964). Vietnam Witness, 1953-1966 (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1966) is a collection of Fall's essays and articles. Hell In a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu (New York, Lippincott, 1967) is a detailed account of the events of the spring of 1954, less readable than selection no. 80 below.
 30. FIFIELD, Russell H. The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia, 1945-1958. (New York: Harper, 1958). Chapter 8 deals with the international diplomacy surrounding Vietnam.
 31. FULBRIGHT, Senator William J. (ed). The Vietnam Hearings. (New York, Vintage Books, 1966). A condensation of Supplemental Foreign Assistance/ Fiscal Year, 1966--Vietnam, Hearings, before the U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, January-February 1966 (89th Congress; 2d session). (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966). Fulbright's Arrogance of Power (New York, Vintage

Books, 1967) is an eloquent critique of U. S. Foreign Policy.

32. GETTLEMAN, Marvin E. Vietnam: History, Documents and Opinions. (New York, Fawcett World Library, 1965; 2d ed., Harmondsworth, England, Penguin books, 1966). A basic selection of readings drawn from many of the books and articles listed in this bibliography, as well as such key documents as the Geneva Agreements of 1954, The Reports of the International Control Commission, official government statements, National Liberation Front statements, teach-in texts, etc.
33. GETTLEMAN, Marvin E. and MERMELSTEIN, David. The Great Society Reader: The Failure of American Liberalism. (New York: Vintage Books, 1967). A comprehensive survey of American society and politics, based upon the conviction of the unity between foreign and domestic policy.
34. GIAP, Vo Nguyen. People's War, People's Army (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965). Facsimile publication of English translations of the political and military papers of the great North Vietnamese general, and strategist of the victory at Dienbienphu.
35. GIGON, Fernand. Les Americains face au Vietcong (Paris: Flammarion, 1965). Well-informed account of this fateful confrontation by an able Swiss journalist.
36. GOODWIN, Richard. Triumph or Tragedy: Reflections on Vietnam (New York: Vintage Books, 1966). An exercise in political Weltschmerz, with the barely disguised aim of providing the Kennedy government-in-exile with a foreign policy image different from the tarnished one of LBJ. (See no. 88 below).
37. GREENE, Felix. Vietnam! Vietnam! (Palo Alto, Calif.: Fulton Publishing Co., 1966). A brief, accurate text, with extensive quotations; its strongest point is its powerful and moving photographs.
38. GURTOV, Melvin. The First Vietnam Crisis: Chinese Communist Strategy and United States Involvement, 1953-1954 (Studies in the East Asian Institute, Columbia University) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). A run-of-the-mill piece of RAND Corporation

- geo-political mysticism. See the review by Marvin E. Gettleman in The Progressive (Madison, Wisc.) XXXI: 8 (August, 1967), pp. 39-41.
39. HAHN, Thich Nhat. Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire. (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967). Eloquent statement of a Buddhist position of neutralism in the Vietnamese conflict.
 40. HAI Thu and BINH Thanh. Coup After Coup in Saigon. (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1964). A North Vietnamese view of the sometimes amusing, sometimes brutal, political instability in the South.
 41. HALBERSTAM, David. The Making of a Quagmire. (New York: Random House, 1964). An exciting and revealing account from the perspective of a young American journalist, whose reporting from Vietnam won a Pulitzer Prize in 1964.
 42. HALL, D. G. E. A History of South-East Asia. 2d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1964). From prehistory to today's independent states, this work presents a synthesis of the area's complex history.
 43. HAMMER, Ellen J. The Struggle for Indochina. (Institute of Pacific Relations). (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1954). A superb study of the French effort to hold on to Indochina.
 44. HAYDEN, Thomas (see LYND, Staughton, jr. auth., no. 61 below).
 45. HERMAN, Edward S. and DuBOFF, Richard B. America's Vietnam Policy: The Strategy of Deception. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1966). A powerful indictment. An early, abbreviated version of this study was entitled: "How to Coo Like a Dove While Fighting to Win."
 46. HICKEY, Gerald Cannon. Village in Vietnam. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964). Anthropological study of a South Vietnam village, innocent of any political understanding.
 47. HIGGINS, Marguerite. Our Vietnam Nightmare. (New York: Harper & Row, 1965). The late newspaper woman argues that Diem was the kind of man we should support "out there." His assassination, which she

blames on the U. S., was in her eyes a great abiding blunder.

48. HO Chi Minh (Pseud.). Selected Works. 4 vols. (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960-1962). A collection drawn from Nguyen Tat Thanh's (or Nguyen Ai Quoc's) long lifetime of revolutionary activity. Bernard Fall's collection, On Revolution: Selected Writings of Ho, 1920-1966, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), although it contains recent material, is no substitute for the Hanoi collection. Against U. S. Aggression: For National Salvation (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1967) is an official collection of Ho's recent speeches and pronouncements.
49. INTERNATIONAL Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Reports (London: Great Britain Parliamentary Sessional Papers, 1954-1967). Essential documents from the body set up to police the Geneva Agreements. (Brief excerpts appear in no. 32, above).
50. KAHIN, George McT., (ed). Government and Politics of Southeast Asia. (Cornell Southeast Asia Program). 2d ed. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1964). A magnificent reference work, the first book to consult on Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Laos, Cambodia, the Phillipines, and even Vietnam. Good bibliographies.
51. KAHIN, George McTurnan and LEWIS, John W. The United States in Vietnam (New York: Delta Books, 1967). The fullest and best informed liberal critique of the U. S. position. Good maps, useful documentary appendices and bibliographies.
52. LACOUTURE, Jean. Vietnam Between Two Truces. (New York: Vintage Books, 1966). Well informed, historically grounded (if over-optimistic) analysis by an experienced French journalist.
53. LANCASTER, Donald. The Emancipation of French Indochina. (Royal Institute of International Affairs). (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961). The best single book on the history of all Indochina to about 1955. (Selection printed in no. 32 above).
54. LANDSBERG, Brian K. "The United States in Vietnam: A case Study in the Law of Intervention," California Law Review, (August, 1962) pp. 515-531. A sophisticated

defense of U. S. policy, based upon the assumption of South Vietnamese sovereignty.

55. LAWYERS Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam. Vietnam and International Law: An Analysis of the Legality of the U. S. Military Involvement (Flanders, N. J.: O'Hare Books, 1967). A comprehensive examination by a distinguished group of international lawyers. Also an "answer" to the official U. S. position, as expressed in Leonard C. Meeker, "The Legality of United States Participation in the Defense of Vietnam," U. S. Department of State Bulletin (March 28, 1966).
56. LE THANH KHO. Le Vietnam, Histoire et Civilization: Le Milieu et l'histoire. (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1955). Historical survey of Vietnam by a Vietnamese writer sympathetic to the Communist cause.
57. LEWIS, John W. (see KAHIN, George M., jt. auth., no. 51 above).
58. LIBERMAN, Robert. Medical and Social Consequences of the War in Vietnam (April, 1967). A short pamphlet which documents the concerns raised by 7000 health professionals in their petition to President Johnson.
59. LOWENFELS, Walter. Where is Vietnam? (New York: Doubleday, 1967). Poems on the horrors of war, mostly motivated by Vietnam, by some of America's finest poets.
60. LU, Shih-p'eng. Vietnam During the Period of Chinese Rule (IIIrd Century B. C. to Xth Century A. D.) - A History of Sino-Vietnamese Relations, Vol. I, Monograph Series no. 3), Southeast Asia Studies Section, . . . Chinese University of Hong Kong (Hong Kong, 1964). The first of a series of documentary volumes, in Chinese; this one deals with the annexation of Vietnam by China in 111 B. C.
61. LYND, Staughton and HAYDEN, Thomas. The Other Side (New York: New American Library, 1967). This account by Herbert Aptheker's "fellow travellers" (see no. 4 above) illustrates the "New Left's" basic posture on international affairs.
62. McCARTHY, Joseph E. Illusion of Power: American

Policy Toward Vietnam, 1954-1966 (New York: Carleton Press, 1967). An argument that U. S. support of such figures as Diem is necessary lest Chinese-backed wars of national liberation spread in the third world.

63. McCARTHY, Mary. Reports from Vietnam (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967). Adding to the eyewitness reports, which appeared in the New York Review of Books, April-May 1967, in perceptive on-the-spot observations of an eminent American novelist, new material on anti-war tactics in the U. S.
64. McDERMOTT, John. "The History of Vietnam", in three parts, plus a bibliography, Viet-Report, I (June-November, 1965). A useful condensation of the history of the war-torn nation based largely upon secondary sources. This author's "Welfare Imperialism in Vietnam", The Nation (July 25, 1966), suggests that the U. S. is primarily motivated by misguided idealism in Vietnam, a position from which McDermott retreats in "Vietnam is No Mistake", The Nation (February 13, 1967), reprinted in no. 33 above. Mr. McDermott is associate editor of Viet-Report (see no. 101 below).
65. McGOVERN, Senator George C. "A Proposal for Vietnam," The New York Review of Books, VI (July 7, 1966). Presents an alternative policy that the Johnson administration refuses to countenance. In a brilliant and courageous speech (Congressional Record, Senate, April 25, 1967), Senator McGovern has warned of the grave dangers involved in the present collision course.
66. MENASHE, Louis and RADOSH, Ronald. Teach-ins U. S. A.: Reports, Opinions, Documents. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967). A many-sided examination of the political, academic and social phenomenon of the teach-ins. MENASHE, Louis (ed). Berkeley Teach-In: Vietnam. An LP documentary of the Berkeley Teach-In with introductory notes on the background of the teach-in movement by the editor. (Folkways Records; 2 LP records: FD 5765). Texts of sixteen of the speeches delivered at this celebrated teach-in are also contained in We Accuse (Berkeley, Calif.: Diablo Press, 1965), introduction by James Petras; afterword by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. MENASHE, Louis and WELLS, Rosalind (eds). The Original Town Hall Read-in for Peace in Vietnam, is another LP documentary including poetry readings by many authors (New York: Broadside Records, BR 452: 1967).

67. MERMELSTEIN, David (see GETTLEMAN, Marvin, jr. auth., no. 33 above).
68. MODELSKI, George, "The Vietminh Complex," in Cyril E. Black and Thomas P. Thornton, Communism and Revolution: The Strategic Uses of Political Violence. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 185-214. Contains many shrewd insights into Vietminh strategy.
69. MONTAGUE, Frank D. "United States Postwar Policy Toward Indochina" (unpublished M. A. thesis in International Relations, University of Chicago, 1953). An analysis and justification of the course taken by U. S. policy makers to come to France's aid in Indochina.
70. MOORE, Robin. Green Berets (New York: Crown, 1965). A long-time bestseller, which, in the spirit of American tough-guy literature, heaps praise on the U. S. Army Special Forces. (See no. 28, above).
71. MORGENTHAU, Hans J. Vietnam and the United States (Washington D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1965). A collection of essays by a consistent advocate of the primacy of "national interest" and of Realpolitik.
72. MURTI, B. S. N. Vietnam Divided: The Unfinished Struggle (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1964). A useful account of the work of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam (see no. 49) by an Indian official of the Commission.
73. NEWMAN, Bernard. Background to Vietnam. (New York: Signet, 1966). A journalistic survey, uncritically accepting the official U. S. rationale for being in Vietnam.
74. NICOLAUS, Martin. "The Professors, the Policemen and the Peasants: The Sociology of the Michigan State University Group Vietnam Project, 1955-1962." (Graduate Seminar Paper, Brandeis University, 1966) is a far better study of MSU than the journalistic expose in Ramparts (April, 1966). Selections from Nicolaus' study, under the title "The Professor, The Policeman and the Peasant," appear in Viet-Report, II (February-April, 1966).
75. OSBORNE, Milton E. Strategic Hamlets in South

- Vietnam: A Survey and a Comparison (Ithaca, N. Y. Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1965). A full assessment of the disastrous South Vietnam experiment, in the light of earlier programs in Malaya.
76. PIKE, Douglas. Viet Cong: Organization and Technique of the National Liberation Front (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966). Rich with the use of masses of captured NLF material, this book is a unique work of scholarship. Though Pike concludes that the NLF is controlled from Hanoi, much of his data suggests local independence.
 77. RAMPARTS Magazine, "Vietnam Primer" (Menlo Park, California, Ramparts, 1966). Containing the famous "I Quit" statement by former Special Forces Sergeant Donald Duncan, and a selection of articles mainly by Robert Scheer.
 78. RASKIN, Marcus G. and FALL, Bernard B. The Vietnam Reader (New York: Vintage Books, 1966). An anthology much different in focus than no. 32 above. See the joint review by Robert Wolfe in Viet-Report, II (January, 1966).
 79. REPUBLICAN Policy Committee, U. S. Senate, The War in Vietnam. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1967). The famous Republican "White Paper", sharply critical of American involvement in Vietnam.
 80. ROY, Jules. The Battle of Dienbienphu. Tr. by Robert Baldick. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965). A chronicle based on Roy's interviews with participants in the battle of Dienbienphu. See also Roy's eloquent "Letter to Americans" in Viet - Report, I (October, 1965), pp. 28-31.
 81. RUSSELL, Bertrand. War Crimes in Vietnam. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967). A powerful and angry statement by one of the great minds of our century.
 82. SAHLINS, Marshall. "The Destruction of Conscience in Vietnam," Dissent, XIII (January/ February, 1966), pp. 36-62. Making brilliant use of his skills as a professional anthropologist. Shalins studies the transformations of American soldiers at war in Vietnam.
 83. SALISBURY, Harrison. Behind the Lines - Hanoi: Dec-

ember 23-January 7 (New York: Harper & Row, 1967). This distinguished New York Times writer reported that civilian targets were being bombed in North Vietnam.

84. SALMON, Malcolm. Focus on Indo-China. (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961). A comprehensive historical survey by an Australian journalist.
85. SCHEER, Robert. How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam. (Report to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions). (Santa Barbara, California: Fund for the Republic, 1965). An analysis by a young American journalist and political activist of the role of the Catholic hierarchy, Michigan State University, The New Leader, The American Friends of Vietnam, and sundry others in molding U. S. policy towards Vietnam. Substantial portions on this study are reprinted in no. 32 above.
86. SCHESCH, Adam. "The Organizing Tactics of the Vietnamese Communist Party Before World War II" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967). Although an immature exercise in analysis, this study contains some valuable data, especially from French sources. Schesch's An Outline History of Vietnam (Madison, Wisc., n. d.) is a useful compilation of facts and quotations.
87. SCIGLIANO, Robert. South Vietnam: A Nation Under Stress (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1963). A full and fairly objective survey, down to just before the overthrow of Diem.
88. SCHLESINGER, Arthur M., Jr. The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy, 1941-1966 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966). A member of the Kennedy "government in exile", this prize-winning historian enters a mild dissent from the Johnson Administration's policy.
89. SCHURMANN, Franz and others. The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966). Incisive analysis of ten episodes in U. S. policy toward Vietnam. Presented as a "citizen's white paper" to LBJ.
90. SHAPLEN, Robert. The Lost Revolution: the Story o

Twenty Years of Neglected Opportunities in Vietnam and of America's Failure to Foster Democracy There. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965). A critical account which attributes U. S. policy to "indecision, stupidity or sheer laziness."

91. SNOW, Edgar. The Other Side of the River: Red China Today. (New York: Random House, 1962). Chapter 85 is a good, short survey of recent Vietnamese history. It is also published separately as a pamphlet by Marzani and Munsell, Publishers, New York City.
92. STONE, I. F. "Vietnam: An Exercise in Self-Delusion," New York Review of Books (April 22, 1965). Brilliant examination of American misunderstandings. See also no. 1 above, Stone's careful "Reply to the White Paper," I. F. Stone's Weekly, XII (March 8, 1965), reprinted in no. 32 above.
93. TABOULET, Georges. La Geste Francais en Indochina. (Paris: Adrien-Maissonnueve, 1955-1956). A two-volume collection of documents illustrating French colonialism in Indochina to 1913 (one selection printed in no. 32 above).
94. TANHAM, George K. Communist Revolutionary Warfare: The Vietminh in Indochina. (New York, Praeger, 1961). A RAND study, highly revealing of the popular and organizational bases of Vietminh success.
95. A THREAT to the Peace: North Vietnam's Effort to Conquer South Vietnam. 2 vols. U. S. Department of State Publication 7308; Far Eastern Series 110. (Washington, D. C., December 1961). The "White Paper" or "Blue Book" of 1961, indicating the Kennedy administration's deepening commitment in Vietnam. (Brief selections appear in nos. 32 and 78 above).
96. TOYNBEE, Arnold J. "The Failure of American Foreign Policy," Fact, II (September/October, 1965), pp. 3-7. A bitter exhortation of what the eminent historian calls American "aggression" in Vietnam and elsewhere.
97. TRAGER, Frank. Why Vietnam? (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966). Commissioned by the U. S. State Department for a substantial sum, this crude work of sub-scholarship approaches the falsifications committed by Stalinist historians in Russia.

98. UNIVERSITY of New South Wales, Study group on Vietnam. Vietnam and Australia: History, Documents, Interpretations (Gladesville, N. S. W., 1966). A balanced historical survey to which is added a sharp critique of Australian commitment. Available from the Study Group, 48 Milling Street, Gladesville, N. S. W., Australia.
99. VIETNAM Lao Dong (Communist) Party. Thirty Years of Struggle of the Party. (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1960). Party history, often in the rigid mold of the genre covering the period 1930 to 1945.
100. VIETNAM: Voices of Policy and Protest. An LP documentary of Vietnam debate. Excerpts from speeches by opponents of the war and by members of the Johnson and Kennedy administrations; with narration. (Rostrum Records, 153 East 57th St., NYC 10022).
101. VIET REPORT: An Emergency News-Bulletin on Southeast Asian Affairs (133 West 72d Street, N. Y. C., 10023). An important and useful publication, covering the history and present situation.
102. WEINSTEIN, Franklin B. Vietnam's Unheld Elections: The Failure to Carry Out the 1956 Reunification Elections and the Effect on Hanoi . . . (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1966). A full study of the question.
103. WHITE, Ralph K., and others. "Misperception and the Vietnam War." Journal of Social Issues XXII (July 1966). An entire issue of this journal is devoted to the exploration of the psychological factors behind U. S. involvement.
104. ZAGORIA, Donald S. "Communism in Asia," Commentary XXXIX (February, 1965), pp. 53-58. A careful investigation into the vast differences between Asian and East European Communism.
105. ZINN, Howard. Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967). Brief, educated, angry analysis of such questions as the "Munich analogy," revolutionary and counter-revolutionary violence, and the possibility and desirability of U. S. withdrawal.