

EDITORIAL NOTE

Indochina Chronology is a quarterly publication devoted to historical and contemporary events in Vietnam (including the Vietnam War), Cambodia and Laos; as a bibliographic resource on book, monograph, periodical and journal literature; and as a source of news in academic in the field. It 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 Les Cullen, Rosa Garcia, Khanh Le, David Morokoff, and Myrna Pike. *Indochina Chronology* operates in conjunction with The Vietnam Archive, also at the Texas Tech University (James Ginther and Ronald Frankum).

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Long-term readers of the *Chronology* will note a change in content and format in this, the first issue of 1998. One main alteration is that the three-country chronology of events of the previous quarter is replaced by what might be called a quarter-ender of interesting events and significant developments of the three months just passed. Many of the important developments will also be noted in the Bibliography/Periodicals section. Readers requiring a day-by-day recounting are advised to consult the various websites and lists. Since we are now closely associated with the Texas Tech History Department there is a new section titled "History Redux" intended chiefly for historians. D.P.

Quarterly Journal Address:	Indochina Chronology
	The Vietnam Center
	Douglas Pike, Editor
	Texas Tech University
	Lubbock, TX 79409-1045 USA
Phone:	(806) 742-3742
Douglas Pike, Editor:	(806) 742-8663
Fax:	(806) 742-8664
E-Mail Address:	<u>vietnam.center@ttu.edu</u>

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VIỆTNAM 1998: THE FIRST QUARTER

El Nino descended on the Indochina peninsula during the first three months of this year as it did across the Pacific Basin. The rainy season in Vietnam ended a month earlier than normal. This increased the salinity in the Mekong Delta as seawater edged back upstream. There was drought in the Center and in the Highlands. Coffee crop damage is set at \$60 million. Weather notwithstanding, Vietnamese farmers were still doing fairly well. Last year, despite historic floods, they produced 30.5 million MT of food, exported 3.6 MT of rice, becoming the world's second rice exporter.

Economic weather also disturbed some of Vietnam's 77 million people. The country lost an estimated \$500 million in sales to Asia during 1997 because of the general economic turbulence in the region. Disparity in income continued between urban and rural (Hồ Chí Minh City per capita income is now fixed at \$1,119 vs. \$320 for the country). Another year had passed without establishment of a stock or shares market. Vietnam still does not have a convertible currency. Foreign investors say they are increasingly discouraged by a dense bureaucracy, high overhead costs, capricious decision-making, and the impinging Asia-wide economic downturn (a 40% drop in foreign investment in 1997). The Politburo assessment put blame on corrupt cadres.

Winds of Change. The Internet this quarter gave world-wide distribution to the now famous 13-page "Letter to the Party" by General Trần Độ, which bluntly warns the Party to reform or die. Of course this is what most everyone in the Politburo-if not the country-has been saying. What is newly added is the specificity of General Độ's assessment and the impeccability of his credentials (PAVN veteran of both Việt Minh and Vietnam wars; deep thinker; highly literate poet; well-respected; a Southerner). Much of Độ's sermon is sound, sober, and crystal clear. It says to the leadership: take off your outdated ideological blinders and face reality-a necessary step in fixing things. "Clear vision leads to great successes." So far so good. Then, as one gets deeper into his message, Western-style political science arguments begin to slip away and one is deep in the bog of Vietnamese political thinking. Gen-

eral Độ wanders from point to point and back again. He rags the leadership. He throws up a few suggestions for micro-economic change. He offers panegyrics to the wisdom of The People. He employs puzzling medical metaphors to describe the body politic. In short, it's the kind of intellectual construct to which outside observers have long become accustomed. Reaching the middle of the bog one encounters (inevitable in this sort of writing) the word/concept *democracy*. General Độ puts great stress on both democracy and freedom, as do all dissidents in Vietnam, in Asia, worldwide for that matter. While dissidents everywhere proclaim their faith in democracy, many at the same time embrace distinctly undemocratic methods in its name. We in the West have something of the same disputation: American vs. French (Jefferson vs. Rousseau) in defining the rights of minorities, for example. Said Alice in *Through the Looking Glass*: "When I use a word it means exactly what I want it to mean when I use it." General Độ does not define democracy.

But make no mistake about it, the Độ Letter is an important, even historic document. Nor was his the only important new voice to be heard during the quarter. Hanoi geophysicist Nguyễn Thanh Giang released an eight-page public letter calling for "political pluralism" (reported by AFP/Hanoi, March 13). Earlier he sent an op-ed piece to *Nhân Dân* (Jan 5) criticizing the Seventh Plenum report (Dec. 1997) and urging it be rewritten to make it "comprehensive, practical, and logical," in addressing the country's many economic problems.

Whither Đổi Mới. The Lunar New Year (Tết) came mid-quarter, was observed in the rural areas with the beating of drums (fireworks were banned) and in the cities by a mood generally described by foreign correspondents as one of uncertainty.

There can be little question that the pace of change in Vietnam during the past decade has been awesome-virtually all visitors testify to this. The introduction of *đổi mới* ("renovation")-in effect most of the trappings of a market economy (or "red socialism" as it is commonly termed)-has brought the payoffs of capi-

talism, also some of its dark side: social problems such as crime, corruption, drugs, consumerism, greed, loss of "spirit of revolution" and public attitudes that come with envy.

The Politburo-level debate over the proper pace of economic development continued, a tribute to the durability of ideological influence. Vietnam's decision-making arena remains heavily populated with persons who simply do not agree that the principles of a market economy are superior to those of a command economy. In itself this can be a healthy debate. However the disputation translates itself into politicized decision making. The conservatives, if they can be called this, gleefully seize on every report of economic and social difficulty traceable to the dark side of capitalism. They demand tighter social controls and a slower pace in economic change. This tends to increase the general sense of anxiety. The liberals, if they can be called this, minimize the problems and over-promise results. (PM Phan Văn Khải in January said the SRV growth target for 1998 would remain nine percent even though economists everywhere were saying this was unrealistic and unobtainable in light of the Asia-wide economic troubles.

Addressing the effects of change led this quarter to what critics in and out of Vietnam describe as "a reluctant rise in repression." Chiefly the reference is to the rural areas-provinces along the China border, six provinces in the Center, and two in the Mekong Delta. Farmers in neighboring Thọ Đà village met police who came to evict them as squatters carrying photographs of Hồ Chí Minh. Quỳnh Hảo villages clashed with local Party officials attempting to dragoon them into a local road building project. In HCMC-Sin City-officials announced plans to ship all of the local prostitutes out of town and into "administrative retention camps" which sounded suspiciously like the rebirth of the old re-education camp. (There surfaced in the Party wiring diagram a new Central Committee bureau called the Anti Social Evils Department, headed by one Nguyễn Thị Huệ, chiefly concerned with prostitution.)

The military press described the disturbances as efforts "to create internal instability and division of the Party from the people (if not a plot) to change the nature of our regime." Focal point of this rural unrest is

Thái Bình province. The military press noted that this Military Region Four (6 provinces in the Center above Huệ) has a "long reputation for producing dissenters who are now being egged on by exiled reactionaries." In March, after an obligatory assault on outsiders for the trouble in Thái Bình ("A number of ill-intentioned Westerners told lies about what they termed the uprising of farmers in Thái Bình"), the Party launched a pilot project to reform administration and to test "improved methods of grassroots input into rural decision-making." This appears chiefly to involve the collecting and spending of local revenues, not in a shift of political power from the Center. Other innovations in the project include new public accountability measures applied to local Party offices and state-owned enterprises. Some 300 Party cadres at the commune level were disciplined, legal charges brought against 40 of them. Some provincial Party leaders were purged. Public statements acknowledged the region's difficulties: "The distribution of growing wealth (in Vietnam) shows some confusion . . . It is unreasonable that (Thái Bình) remain poor and its consumption exceed production."

What is involved here, at root, is the revolution of rising expectations that many developing countries have experienced over the past several decades. People want change, see that improving their lot in life is possible and (as Keynes said) are no longer willing to starve quietly. The leadership does not disagree with this sentiment-it simply does not want to fall victim to it.

Hence the Politburo backs and fills. It is well aware of public sentiment and the case being made by critics, both foreign and domestic; well-aware of the international lending agency predictions that economic growth in Vietnam will slow, then stall, unless there is significant further economic reform (and, some add, political reform). Early in the quarter there was high level sympathy for the advice coming in from the critics. Then came high level disapproval. Critics' evidence was dismissed, others were accused of disloyalty (Gen. Trần Độ, apparently). Then, at quarter's end, came a digging in of heels. How much this response was normal internal politics at work, and how much an expression of deep division in political philosophy, could not be discerned.

Once again Vietnam's governance problem

comes down to a matter of faulty leadership. The Politburo is a collegial institution with a workable operational code of decision-making. But the Politburo also does not understand the complexity of a modern interdependent economy. When troubles and challenges arise its members tend to hunker down, unable to make use of their fine mobilization mechanism to hammer away at the public with the idea that change is always a risk, that it always comes with a price.

Việt Nam and Laos. Lê Khả Phiêu paid a 5-day official visit to Laos March 5-9, his first foreign visit as general secretary of the VCP. Phiêu and Lao President Khamtay Siphandone (who is also LPRP general secretary) pledged to develop the Việt Nam-Laos "special friendship" as the two countries integrate into the regional and world communities. They also expressed hopes for stability in Cambodia and resolved to maintain their "traditional friendship and cooperation" with their Indochina neighbor. Admittance to ASEAN was seen as a "turning point" in relations of SE Asian countries.

Amid the visits and fraternal exchanges with various Lao party, state, and local officials, a number of agreements were signed between the two countries, including one on trade cooperation and one on regulation and management of projects under Vietnamese assistance. (Việt Nam Radio, BBC/SWB, FBIS, March 5-9).

A Lao military delegation led by Defense Minister Gen. Choummaly Saygnasone made a 4-day official visit to Việt Nam March 17-20. The visit, at the invitation of Việt Nam's Defense Ministry, was to strengthen solidarity and cooperation between the two countries, in particular their armies.

And early in the year (Jan. 6), a VCP foreign relations board delegation visited Laos and a memorandum of cooperation for 1998 was signed by Nguyễn Văn Sơn for Việt Nam and Somsavat Lengsavad for Laos.

SOURCES: "Hanoi Admits Rift on Reforms" by Jeremy Grant in Financial Times (London), Jan. 17, and Feb. 13, "Việt Nam's Leaders Are Losing Their Way"; "Tension Building Between Việt Nam's Poverty, its People's Desires, and Its Government's Resistance to Change" by Kristin Huckshorn in San Jose Mercury

News, Jan. 2, 1998 (third in a series). Also, her "Việt Nam Farmers Tell of Their Revolt" (Feb. 20), and "Hanoi's Paralyzing Choice" (Mar. 18). "I Spy in Việt Nam" by Malcolm Macalister Hall, in London Telegraph, Jan. 11, 1998; "How the Việt Namese See Us Now" by David Case in the Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 29, 1998; "Revolution is Inevitable" by Patrick Du Phước Long (San Jose, California Việt kiều intellectual), monograph dated 1997; "Keeping an Even Keel" by Carlyle Thayer in Việt Nam Business Journal, March 1998; and "Deputy PM (Nguyễn Tấn Dũng) "Comments on New Government Working Practices" VVN Interview, March 4, 1998. English text of Trần Độ letter, published by Việt Nam Democracy, March 1998, under the heading "Voice of the Masses."



Business Bibliography. Recent better-than-average source materials for foreigners seeking to do business in Việt Nam:

"What Every Investor Needs to Know About Doing Business in Việt Nam" by Matthilde Genovese (Lawyer, CEO Kinship Consultants Ltd., Hanoi). Paper read at Asia-Pacific Business Outlook Conference, Los Angeles, March 18-20, 1997. From: East Asian Executive Reports, Hong Kong.

"Lessons From Việt Nam: Cashing in is Difficult, But Possible" by Mark Mitchell in World Trade Magazine, November 1997.

"U.S. Embassy, Việt Nam: Consular Information Report," and "U.S. Mission Việt Nam: Personnel List, 1998." From U.S. State Department, Washington, or American Embassy, Hanoi.

"It's Been a Long Road Back: Doing Business in Vietnam" by Barbara Downing et al in CPA Journal, April 1997.

Socialist Republic of Việt Nam Information Sheet, Việt Nam Embassy, Washington DC, 1998.



CAMBODIA: IN A HOLDING PATTERN

There were no truly decisive events in Cambodia in the first quarter of 1998, as far as could be observed at quarter's end. The average Cambodian (90%) worried about getting and spending. The average leader and intellectual (10%) worried about the upcoming general elections (July 26). Outside observers that Second PM Hun Sen's July 1997 coup d'etat (if that is what it was) did not prove to be a decisive event, but only a political distraction for those on whom it fell most heavily—such as Prince Norodom Ranariddh. For Cambodian politics and politicians alike, if we are to be guided by recent history, the word is resilient.

Movers, Shakers. King Norodom Sihanouk, who reigns but does not rule (from Beijing), told Reuters he can “no longer side with the Republicans in my country (who) scold, blame, defame, and accuse me in every way”, adding he will not return home until this ceases.

Son Ranariddh did return home after a demonstration of singular Cambodian jurisprudence—having been tried, convicted, and sentenced, then pardoned of the crime of arms smuggling. His return, opposed by Hun Sen, was brokered by Japanese diplomats. The prince flew back to Phnom Penh at quarter's end to try to rebuild his royalist party. He said he has now cut all ties with the Khmer Rouge.

Anlong Veng where he is under “life imprisonment house arrest” handed down last June by a “people's tribunal” (further demonstration of the turning wheels of Cambodian justice). Pol Pot told Japanese journalist Aoki Mabouchi “I have poor health. I have a bad heart. I am finished.”

Ieng Sary, former DK foreign minister, told reporters (Feb. 9) that he will stay out of politics for the foreseeable future, will not participate in the upcoming elections.

Economic Scene. All things considered it probably is true that Cambodia, unlike its Southeast Asian neighbors, finds that domestic political problems outweigh economic worries. Analysts say they expect the economy to experience growing difficulties—due to fall-

out from the regional currency crisis which makes Cambodia an ever-increasingly expensive market, and no longer attractive to investors from Jakarta, Bangkok, etc. However, Finance Minister Keat Chon (mid-February) said that despite recent domestic and regional economic problems, Cambodia's GDP growth continued and that it had low inflation and higher foreign reserves: “In spite of recent domestic and regional economic turbulence, Cambodia enjoyed GDP growth in 1997 of about 2 percent, which is in line with worldwide and regional trends.” The GDP growth in 1998 is expected to be 3.5 percent. Inflation for January rose to 15.2 percent from 9.22 percent the previous month. The annual rate of inflation for January was 11.2 percent (vs. 9.12 percent in December). Inflation for January was 1.8 percent (vs. 0.71 percent fall in December). Housing, utilities, and home furnishings showed the sharpest price rises. The *riel* continued to depreciate against the U.S. dollar this quarter. Chief official worry now is that promised foreign investments and proposed projects will not be delivered. What makes the scene difficult to examine is that Cambodia has been “dollarized.” Exchange rates are not a serious problem since the *riel* is not traded on the international market. About 90% of the total liquidity in Cambodia is in U.S. dollars. Internal exchange rate during the quarter ranged from around R3,800-4,000 to US\$1. The *riel* has depreciated by 32 percent since July 1997.

The Elections. No one in Phnom Penh is sure that the elections will take place as scheduled. Hun Sen has rejected offers by outsiders to mediate arrangements for voting. The National Assembly appointed an 11-member National Election Commission to oversee registration, voting, and post-election verification. Officials say that they expect 41 parties to put up slates, 20 of them from the 1993 election and 20 newly formed. Two of the latter are fall-aways from the FUNCINPEC camp: the Populist Party (Ung Huot, ex. FM) and the New Society Party (Loy Sim Cheang). The European Union has promised to fund \$1.5 million of the costs. As things now stand it appears that Hun Sen will make great political gains through the elections.

LAOS:

The national elections at the end of 1997 may not have changed the political character of the Lao National Assembly, but it paved the way for a government reshuffle in February when Assembly deputies endorsed a new party-designated leadership. The first session of 4th legislature (Feb. 23-26) also elected its officers and commission chairs (see chart).

The government changes were dictated both by nature and circumstance and appeared mainly aimed at improved economic management. To develop and modernize, Laos needs a team competent to deal with the regional and global economies brought on by its 1997 entry into ASEAN and its application to join the World Trade Organization (a 2-year process).

The new government line-up was decided at the LPRP plenum Feb. 9-18 (6th Plenum, Sixth Congress). As expected, 81-year-old Nouhak Phoumvihane stepped down as President and was succeeded by Prime Minister and party chief Khamtay Siphandone, now said to be the most powerful Lao leader since Kaysone Phoumvihane. Nouhak, dropped from the Politburo and Central Committee at the 1996 Congress, was made an "advisor" as is customary among aging leaders in Asian communist governments. There had been speculation that Khamtay, 74, would not relinquish the prime ministership. However, he chose to move out and maintain the constitutional mandate for change every five years. Vice President Gen. Sisavath Keobounphanh, 69, ranked 7th in the 9-member Politburo and widely believed to be marked as chairman of the National Assembly, was named prime minister. The Bangkok press described Sisavath as a trusted confidante of Khamtay and as possessing scarce diplomatic skills that Laos needs. Purged from the Politburo in 1991, allegedly for his involvement in a corruption scandal, he was reinstated and made vice-president in 1996. The names of three other individuals as candidates for PM had circulated in Vientiane, including that of Assembly Chairman Samarn Viyaketh (re-elected instead to another Assembly term).

President Khamtay, a revolutionary old guard since at least 1947, was a member of the central committee of the Lao Issara (Freedom Front) in 1952, chaired the central region committee in the following two years, and joined the Indochinese Communist Party (CPI) in 1954.

The foreign and defense ministers, who kept their portfolios, were made deputy PMs, adding to the two existing deputies who were given important new positions: Bounyang Vorachith, whose title is standing member of the cabinet, will supervise internal affairs; Khampoui Keobualaphah becomes finance minister and will oversee foreign investment. Khampoui had been removed from the Politburo and CC at the 1996 Party Congress, and his return to previous responsibilities for foreign investment and policy is seen as a comeback. Known as one of Laos's most capable economic managers, Khampoui's expertise and experience apparently overcame the party's reasons for dropping him from its leadership.

Other changes in economic portfolios indicate concerns: Russian-trained economist Cheuang Sombounekhanh became governor of the central bank, and Phoumy Thibphavone, who had already been moved into the Commerce post (1997), was retained. A number of economists also were reported to have been brought into the government in managerial positions.

Despite its economic opening of a decade ago, landlocked Laos remains one of the poorest nations in the world (annual per capita income about \$350 and the GDP in 1997 estimated at \$1.7 billion), with 80 percent of its population engaged in subsistence farming. While most Laotians may not have felt much of a shock from the Asian economic meltdown, the country was not untouched. As the new government was being announced, party chief Khamtay reported double-digit inflation, price increases, and currency depreciation (including against the Thai baht) as urgent problems. Citing an Itar-TASS report, UPI (January 25) reported that the kip had dropped from 700 to 2,400 against the \$US. Several large foreign firms said they would curtail operations until the kip stabilizes.

Laos inevitably felt strains from Thailand's economic crisis since the two economies are closely linked.

A Bangkok paper reported that imports from Laos were expected to be down 3.4% in 1997 over the previous year. Scrap metal declined 38%; the major import from Laos-processed wood-also dropped 5%. Laotian imports from Thailand, however, were expected to see a 6% increase over 1996, partly due to large purchases of certain items (e.g., foreign cigarettes and beer) in the uncertainty over currency fluctuations and partly due to sizable imports of construction materials. (*Thai Setthakit*, Feb. 8).

Construction of a rail line over the Thai-Lao Freindship Bridge from Vientiane to Nong Khai, which was to have begun at the end of 1997, has been delayed and may be suspended indefinitely due to lack of Thai government funding.

Deputy PM Khampoui met with the IMF representative in Laos in February, to discuss programs in the reforms. Between 1989 and 1997, the IMF released \$83 million in loans to Laos under the enhanced structural adjustment facilities (ESAF) program, and another 3-year ESAF program is expected to start this year. Plans for one of the largest infrastructural projects to be built in Laos-the Nham Theun 2 hydroelectric dam-appear to be moving ahead, despite strong objections from environmental and other critics. World Bank officials visiting Laos in late 1997, publicly expressed support for the dam (Australian-French-Thai-Lao joint venture), and experts are preparing data for submission to the Bank's board for final decision on funding. The project's financial viability will depend on the sale of electricity to Thailand, and critics say it would be irresponsible to go ahead in the current economic situation. Thailand has already canceled its agreement to purchase power from Nam Theun 2, saying the price has to be renegotiated; a power purchase agreement (PPA) is a key condition for World Bank support. Thailand has the potential to buy all of the electricity Laos wants to sell in the future, but after the economic collapse its electricity board projected an 11 percent reduction in Thai power demands over the next 15 years and it already has reduced purchases from existing Lao projects. (*Watershed Journal*, v.8, nos. 2:4-5, November 1997-February 1998).

The foundation stone for the second bridge

across the Mekong at Pakse in Champassak Province was laid in a ceremony Feb. 10. Japan provided funds for construction of the 1380-meter, two-lane suspension bridge with pedestrian walkways, to be completed by 2000.

The 200 MW medium capacity radio transmitter, funded by the Lao government and installed by Globecom, Ltd., is nearing completion, the Globecom president told a press conference March 16 in Vientiane. Located at KM49 on Highway 13 North, the million-dollar transmitter's signal will be able to reach all parts of the country, according to Bountahnh Inthasay, director of the National Radio. Globecom will train personnel to manage and repair equipment. In January a Lao official announced that Vietnam would facilitate satellite communication between Hanoi and Vientiane. The announcement came at the first meeting of civil aviation directors of the new ASEAN member countries (Vietnam, Laos, and Myanmar, plus Cambodia). Subgroups for air transport cooperation already exist among the older ASEAN members.

A two-week seminar on basic drug enforcement (one of a series) opened Jan. 12 in Vientiane, organized by the Lao National Commission on Drug Control and Supervision (LCDC) and the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), (KPL, Jan. 13). And in March, U.S. Dep. Asst. Sec. of State Jonathan Winer (Bureau of International Narcotics), visited Laos for consultations and a tour (by helicopter) of the Lao-American opium crop control and development project in north-eastern Houaphanh Province (KPL, 24 March). *The Bangkok Post* reported (Jan. 5) that a major route for drugs entering Thailand from Laos is across the narrow Huang River separating Loei Province (NE Thailand) from Laos. Amphetamines appear to be the drug of choice-cheap to produce and bringing a good return. Production at bases in Kaen Thao, Sayaboury Province, is run by Laotians but funded by Thais, the paper said.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

U.S. Marines in Vietnam: The Defining Year, 1968 by Jack Shulimson (chief, history writing unit), Charles Smith, and David Dawson, all of the U.S. Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington DC. An enormous tome (806 pages) of what indeed was the defining, seminal, watershed year in the Vietnam War, the year the war was won and lost. Recounts in great detail the 1968 Tết Offensive (Jan-Feb), as well as the two "mini-Tết's" (May, late summer) as these were experienced in I Corps in Central Vietnam. Product of enormous research work, chiefly at the Marine Corps Historical Center. The four authors combed unit command chronologies, after-action reports, field messages, journal files, staff studies, oral histories, personal papers, and reference services. Manuscript was vetted by 230 reviewers. One of a series of the now-completed nine-volume Marine Corps Vietnam War operational history, the last to be published and certainly its capstone. Further information from Shulimson at (202) 433-4222. Available from USGPO, Superintendent of Documents, Washington DC, 20402-9325 (order no. 008-055-00208-7. \$70. (1997).

The World Fact Book, 1998-99, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Newest edition of this annual work. Data on all the world's countries - including recent international disputes, natural resources, environment, population, inflation rate, GDP, agriculture, industries, defense expenditures, national holidays, literacy rate, religion legal system, and labor force-grouped under geography, people, government, economy, communications, and defense. With maps. Available from Brassey's Inc., PO Box 960, Herndon, VA., 20172. Tel. (800) 775-2518. \$38.95. (1998).

Prolific Survivors: Population Change in Cambodia, 1975-1993 by Jacqueline Desbarats (UN demographer). Devastating as has been Cambodia's recent history, the images of chaos fail to capture the remarkable social and economic recovery and vigorous demographic rebound that belie dire earlier predictions. With

a population of about 9 million in 1992 and thought to be increasing at about 3 per cent each year, Cambodia is now one of the most rapidly growing countries in Asia. "The recovery of war-ravaged countries, however, hardly ever follows the normal rule of economic and demographic forecasting." Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, Box 873502, Tempe, Arizona, 85287-3502. (1998).

Headline Diplomacy: How News Coverage Affects Foreign Policy by Philip Seib (Southern Methodist University, *Dallas Morning News* columnist). We all know that the mass media greatly (and increasingly) shape the design and implementation of U.S. foreign policy in general, and the conduct of warfare in particular. This book explains how this came to be and how it now works. In a sense, it is a continuation of the never-ending debate: is the press a molder of public opinion or a mirror of it? The truth seems to be that it is both, now as an ever-changing dynamic. In Chapter Two, "Defining Failure and Success," Seib addresses the problem of competing perceptions among the media and others as to whether a battle (or a war) was won or lost. He focuses on Vietnam and within that war, the 1968 Tết Offensive. His conclusion seems to be that, like beauty, it is all in the eye of the beholder. Seib is what might be called pro-press, but he is not gentle with it. This is a sound objective work. It confirms what those who have thought deeply about the subject have long known: everything is okay providing you know how to read a newspaper, how to watch the seven o'clock evening news. Praeger Series in Political Communication. Westport, Conn. (1997).

Novel Without a Name by Dương Thu Hương (prominent Hanoi writer). A new issue of what many regard as the finest piece of fiction to come out of post-war Hanoi. Theme is something on the order of *All Quiet on the Western Front*: coming of age in a conflict that spiritually destroyed a generation. First published in 1995. Although her books are banned, Hương continues to live in Hanoi, further evidence that there is growing there a powerful lobby (mostly PAVN generals and veterans) who want to see their perceptions and views on the war told realistically. Hương's writing-she is also author of *Paradise of the Blind*-is about as

far from socialist realism in art as one can get. Penguin Books. 120 Woodbine Street, Bergenfield NJ 07621. \$11.95. (1996).

Indigenous Peoples of Asia by R.H. Barnes (Oxford Univ.), Andrew Gray (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen), and Benedict Kingsbury (Duke Univ.), eds. Seventeen contributors, most of them European, combine their talents to survey a complex, often frustrating subject. One of their several worthy purposes here is to get people—chiefly academics, writers, editors, journalists—to help institutionalize the term *indigenous peoples*, both as a legal concept and as proper agreed-on usage to describe those found in that long arc of up-country Asia that runs from Afghanistan across India, Southeast Asia, China, and into Japan. There is not much ethnic glue holding the concept together, only some common geography and perhaps comparable levels of development. However the commendable motivation here is to help these people get better treatment from their governments and dominant cultures. Indeed their history without exception is a sorry one. Nineteen chapters, most of which are case histories. Includes: “Central Highlanders of Vietnam” by Grant Evans (University of Hong Kong sociologist). Monograph and Occasional Paper no. 48, Association for Asian Studies, Ann Arbor Michigan. (1995).

Strategy in Vietnam: The Marines and Revolutionary Warfare in I Corps, 1965-1971 by Michael Hennessy (Royal Military College, Canada). Further evidence, if needed, of the ease of being a prophet without honor in one’s own country or, at least, of not being taken seriously. During the Vietnam War the U.S. Marines in Central Vietnam did some innovative experimentation with counter-insurgency—putting Marine units into Vietnamese villages to live and fight alongside the RF/PF village defenders. It was risky and costly, but it worked. However, the Pentagon and Washington think-tankers never bought into the idea and it died aborning. Hennessy is a careful writer and his conclusion on the “Phú Bài experiment” is guarded (a “harvest of contradictions”). What is important is that an outsider sets down the record in detail. With extensive bibliography. Recommended. Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT. \$59.95. (1997).

Apollo’s Warriors: United States Air Force Special Operations During the Cold War by Michael Hass (Colonel, USAF, ret.). Heavily illustrated history that traces America’s air commandos from World War II through the Korean War into what is called the covert war (i.e., iron curtain operations), and finally into the Vietnam War (the latter constituting some 60% of the book). Obviously the result of a great deal of research effort. Foreward by General Ronald Fogelman, USAF chief of staff. With maps and bibliography. Recommended. Air University Press, Maxwell AFB, Alabama. \$28. (1997). Available through the USGPO.

Asian Higher Education: An International Handbook and Reference Guide, Gerard A. Postiglione (Univ. of Hong Kong) and Grace C.L. Mak (Chinese Univ., Hong Kong) eds. A commendable study of the educational systems in 20 countries of Asia. Entries by Đặng Bá Lâm (National Institute of Higher Education and Vocational Education, Hanoi), Vietnam; Thomas Layton (Univ. of Pittsburgh) and Yuok Ngoy (Faculty of Law, Phnom Penh) Cambodia; John Weidman (Univ. of Pittsburgh) Laos. Introduction by Postiglione. Lâm writing on Vietnam provides a full authoritative statement of Vietnam’s current official educational philosophy, and lists the four major developments to be expected: expansion, reform, upgrading, and more continuing education. Greenwood Press. Westport, CT, London. \$95 (hc). (1997).

Counterpart: A South Vietnamese Naval Officer’s War by Kiêm Đỗ (former South Vietnamese Navy deputy chief of staff), with Julie Kane. This is the first memoir by a South Vietnamese naval officer to be published in English. Đỗ, at age 13, fought with the Việt Minh; went on to attend the French Naval Academy at Brest; joined the fledgling South Vietnam Navy as a midshipman; worked his way up the ranks. At war’s end he organized the evacuation of 30,000 South Vietnamese aboard 35 ships; proud today that no South Vietnamese Navy vessel ever lowered its flag in surrender. U.S. Naval Institute, 2062 Generals Highway, Annapolis MD 21401. \$29.95 (1998).

More Than a Soldier’s War: Pacification in Vietnam by Edward Metzner (USA, ret., advisor to the GVN in Vietnam, now with the Private Industry Coun-

cil, Monterey, California). It was the “other war”, the “off-the-battlefield-war”, the “pacifying-the-country-side” war, or a half-dozen other terms describing what the Việt Cộng called their *vận* (action) programs. Everyone understood what it was all about, though no one could satisfactorily define it. In any event, Metzner was there and up to his neck with the alligators in the swamp. He developed a real feel for Việt Nam and its people. He is also the man the South Vietnamese singled out to make an honorary citizen and award more medals than any other American. His experiences in Việt Nam add up, once more, to the conclusion: we lost the war in Việt Nam because we did not understand it. Texas A&M Press, College Station, Texas. \$29.95. (1995).

Road to the Killing Fields: The Cambodian War of 1970-1975 by Wilfred Deac (FSO, ret.; US Embassy, Phnom Penh, 1971; now a freelancer in Washington DC). A military history of the Cambodian war but with ample background (first three chapters) to understand it. An epilogue is tinged with bitterness. By far the best, most balanced and objective overall work available on Cambodia’s war years. With chronology of events and full bibliography. Introduction by Harry Summers. Recommended. Texas A&M University Press, College Station, Texas. \$34.95. (1997).

The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China’s Search For Security by Andrew Nathan (Columbia University) and Robert Ross (Boston College). How seriously is Asia in general and Việt Nam in particular to take the “Stop China” thesis, the notion that internal ideological challenges and ancient hegemonistic impulses make China the candidate to replace the USSR as the new cold war threat? This work is something of a counter to recent works making that alarmist claim (see IC XVI, Jan-Dec 1997). Authors suggest that the world must spend more time thinking about the singular nature of China, and they offer a handbook to help in the effort. As to China’s unique, even peculiar, search for security, the authors are right on—but they do get onto dangerous ground in their use of metaphors to help outsiders do policy thinking: the Great Wall as metaphor for China’s sense of weakness, vulnerability, and general defensive-mode mentality; and the Empty Fortress, symbolic of strategy based on entrapment and bluff

(an ancient Chinese general convinced his foe his fortress was empty when it was actually brimming with strength). There is a good chapter on “Neighbors to the South”, i.e., Việt Nam and the rest of ASEAN (and in it a take-out on the offshore isle dispute). Also an informed explanation of how China views human rights issues (as an integral part of all its problems). Recommended. W.W. Norton, New York. \$27.50. (1997).

Stalking the Elephant Kings: In Search of Laos by Christopher Kremmer (*Sydney Morning Herald*). History and personalized travel guide based on a lengthy trip around the country—to Luang Prabang, Vientiane, Plain of Jars, Sam Neua, and accidentally, a re-education “guest house.” Spritely told. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu. \$19.95 (1998).

The Art of Insurgency: American Military Policy and the Failure of Strategy in Southeast Asia by Donald Hamilton (Mesa College; USA officer reserve). A highly bifurcated work. On the one hand, an intellectual guide to insurgencies and counterinsurgencies, and on the other, a severe critique of American thinking in Southeast Asia (Việt Nam chiefly but touches on Malaya). There is treatment of what insurgency is all about; then analysis of the two case histories (three if you count the Việt Minh separately). Hamilton wrestles mightily with the problem of guerrilla war semantics, which whatever else, serves to remind the reader that definition is where one begins—that the rule is: get terminology clear in the mind at the outset. Fine reference work. Recommended. Greenwood Press. Westport CT. \$55. (1998).

Guerrilla Warfare: A Historical, Biographical, and Bibliographical Sourcebook by Anthony James Joes (Professor and Director, International Relations Program, Saint Joseph’s University). Handbook for starting, running, and winning a guerrilla war. In one form or another, of course, guerrillas have been around at least since biblical times. Joes begins with the American Revolution (Francis Marion, the Swamp Fox in Carolina with patriotic partisans) and the *Vendee* in France; moves on to Napoleon’s opposition in Spain and Russia; then traces the genre up through wars and regions to the present. Separate chapters on the Việt Minh, Việt Cộng, and Khmer Rouge. Good summing

up on types of counterinsurgencies, and a final reflection on fighting the guerrilla. This is primarily, as the title says, a sourcebook, and as such is recommended to all military writers. Greenwood Press. Westport CT. \$89.50. (1996).

The Bicycle in Wartime: An Illustrated History by Jim Fitzpatrick (author of several books on bicycles, lives in Scottsdale, Arizona). An offbeat book making the point that the bicycle has played a significant role in warfare. Both sides used it in the Boer War. German soldiers followed their tanks in World War II and the Japanese came down the Malayan peninsula on bicycles. And of course, the bike was at Điện Biên Phủ and on the Hồ Chí Minh trail. Old Vietnam War hands will recall this shaggy dog story-properly told it takes five minutes: A North Vietnamese *corvee* laborer on a bike is given an 85mm mortar shell. He hauls it down the Hồ Chí Minh trail. The trip is full of travail, rigor, and suffering. He finally arrives in the South, delivers the shell to a PAVN soldier standing by a mortar tube. The soldier drops the shell in the mortar, then says, "Now, go get another one." Brassey's Inc., Herndon Virginia. \$26.95. (1998).

The Diplomat's Dictionary by Charles W. Freeman (FSO, ret.). New edition of his 1994 compendium. Contains definitions, quotations, and other entries on the craft of diplomacy. U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC. \$14.95. (1997).

Historical Dictionary of War Journalism by Mitchel P. Roth. Biographical dictionary of American and other Western journalists in wars from the Mexican through Vietnam. With bibliography. Greenwood Press, Westport CT. \$85. (1997).

Primer of the Helicopter War by Charles Holley (Bell Helicopter Textron staff engineer) and Mike Sloniker (USA, ret.), both chopper pilots in Vietnam. Ah, the romance of the helicopter, one of the few truly attractive icons of the Vietnam War. They were vastly different from other aircraft and so were their pilots. This coffee table-sized book, a labor of love, captures the spirit. Twelve chapters chronologically describe the chopper at war in Vietnam, but interspersed in the text are photos, schematics, and hundreds of marginal quotations making this read like a scrapbook. It is a serious

work, however, and one that will tell most of us all that we need to know about the whirlybird in Vietnam. Nissi Publishing, Grapevine Texas. Address: PO Box 612370, Dallas Fort Worth Airport, Texas, 75261. (1997).

Power Competition in East Asia by Suisheng Zhao (Colby College). In what might be called an historical East Asian study by a political scientist, Zhao traces the struggle for power during this century among China, Japan, USSR/Russia. The focus is on China, with a final chapter on the struggle's heritage for America today. Some attention to Vietnam and Vietnamese-Russian relations. A stimulating work. Extensive bibliography. St. Martin's Press. \$45. (1997).

Southeast Asian Security in the New Millennium, Richard Ellings and Sheldon Simon, eds. Includes chapter, "Vietnamese Security in Domestic and Regional Focus: The Political-Economic Nexus" by William Turley. M.E. Sharpe. (1996).

A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam by Robert Schulzinger (diplomatic historian, Univ. of Colorado). Not so much a history of the Vietnam War as a history of U.S. and Vietnam corridors of power. Half of the text deals with the years before serious U.S. military intervention began. Volume one of a two-volume work. Volume two is to be titled *A Time For Peace*. Oxford Univ. Press, New York. \$35. (1997).

Le Guerre: Essais Historiques by Andre Corvisier (Sorbonne Univ., emeritus). Essays in the style that only the French seem to be able to produce. Grand sweep of observations on war, the state, society, morality, and the technological revolution as seen by a trained, old school European historian. In French. Presses Universitaires de Franche, Paris. FF198. (1995).

Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics by Lisa Lowe (Univ. of California, San Diego). An interesting thesis offered here: Americans must understand Asian immigrants in order to understand the "radicalized economic and political foundations of the nation." While we always have been proud that this nation was founded by radicals from Europe, we've been somewhat less proud that later arrivals became exclusionists, especially those termed Orientals. This historical memory, says the author, haunts Asian-Ameri-

cans to this day. But it also has engendered various responses on their part, such as organizing coalition politics, which works out to the benefit of all. Duke University Press, Durham, NC. \$16.95 paper. (1996).

The Other Americans: How Immigrants Renew Our Country, Our Economy, and Our Values by Joe Millman (*Wall Street Journal*, Mexico City bureau). The immigrants Millman has in mind are from south of the border. There are passing references to Indochina refugees, and the book can be usefully read by those concerned with immigrants from that region. Viking/Penguin Books, New York. \$24.95. (1997).

The Great Hill Stations of Asia by Barbara Crosette (*New York Times*, UN bureau chief). There is a lingering bouquet about those colonial retreats-in India, Pakistan, Vietnam (Đà Lạt), Malaysia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Burma. This work is a combination history and travel guide. Crosette was long a foreign correspondent for the *New York Times* in India, Vietnam, and elsewhere, and is singularly qualified to produce such a book. Recommended. Westview Press, Boulder Colorado. \$28. (1998).

War and American Women: Heroism, Deeds, and Controversy by William Breuer (World War II combat veteran). American women have served in wars-as spies, guerrilla leaders, soldiers, and correspondents-with courage, dedication, and sacrifice, but they have never gotten the credit they deserved. This work seeks to report on that which has gone unreported. Also relates the dispute about sending women into combat. Greenwood Publishing, Westport. CT. \$24.95. (1997).

The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists are Murdering Our Past by Keith Winschuttle (Australian academic). They really do take off the gloves down under. Research and teaching of history, says the author, is now badly compromised by the rise to prominence of the French-inspired deconstructionists who deny that knowledge about the past is possible and that, in any case, it has no meaning. Articulate, acerbic, devastating, are some of the terms that can be used to describe this work-also a triumph of learning, logic, and lucidity. Historians: read this before it is too late. The Free Press/Simon and Schuster, New York. \$25. (1996).

The War in I Corps by Richard Guidry (ex-U.S. Marine). The scene is I Corps from early to late 1967, mostly DMZ territory. Guidry, a young black Marine from Texas, is plunged into some of the worst infantry combat of the war. He recounts that year in riveting, relentless bloody detail. It left some bitter memories: "We were fighting the NVA and our own leadership and both seemed equally determined to kill us." Very much a front-slope view of the war. After Vietnam, Guidry was a diver in Micronesia, worked for the CIA for a while, now teaches junior high school in Englewood, California. Ballantine Publishing / Random House (Ivy Books), New York. \$6.99. (1998).

Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature by Panivong Norindr (Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee). Indochina for the French, says the author of this fine work, was a fictive and mythic construct which became, as his title indicates, a phantasmatic legacy. Norindr uses the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition as the lens to examine how the French at the time viewed their distant colonies. Conveys well the resilience of French nostalgia for an era now long gone, now widely despised. Duke University Press \$44.95 (hc), \$16.95 (p). (1997).

The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific 1945-1995 by Michael Yahuda (Japanese think-tanker). Lists and discusses major events and developments, mostly since the 1970s: China's recovery from Mao madness; the rise of ASEAN; the slow evolution of Japan's foreign policies; the persistence of Stalinism in North Korea; the economic miracle of South Korea; the deep game played by the USSR/Russia (never at any time, Yahuda says, did Moscow have any intention of being drawn into the Vietnam War. Finally, the U.S. continuing-throughout-to hang in there. Well done wrap. Routledge. New York. \$50 (hc), \$15 (p). (1996).

Team Sergeant: A Special Forces NCO at Lang Vei and Beyond by William Craig. A mean machine, Bill Craig grew up as an army brat, matriculated in the Korean War, went on to Vietnam as a special forces snake-eater. This is the story of a bad moment in the war, at Lang Vei during Tết 68, when Craig led his men in a break-out past PAVN troops and tanks. A book about courage and comradeship. Ivy Books. New York. \$6.99. (1998).

Four Star Leadership For Leaders By Four Star Generals and Admirals by Charles Jones and Manning Ancell, eds. Advice from 27 top U.S. brass on that elusive, mysterious quality called leadership. All have been in the trenches, so to speak. Executive Books. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania. \$12.95. (1997).

Neo-Colonialism American Style: 1960-2000 by William Blanchard (formerly with RAND Corporation and other think tanks). Surprisingly, this is not-as the title might suggest to the politically correct-about American neocolonialism in Vietnam. In fact, Vietnam is barely mentioned; rather, it is about the Shah of Iran, Somoza, and others of that ilk. It also is a well thought-out, heavy hitting work. Perhaps it can be of use to Indochina history writers researching America's sometimes incautious penchant for intervention. Greenwood Press. Westport CT. (1996).

The Military and Conflict Between Cultures: Soldiers at the Interface by James Bradford, ed. Case studies of the relationship between civilians and soldiers here and everywhere, now and then. There has always been a gulf between these two symbiotic cultures, neither of which exactly understood the other ("Tommy this, Tommy that / Tommy 'ow's your soul? / But a thin red line of 'eroes / When the drums begin to roll." Kipling). The point to be made today is that the U.S. military establishment is an integral part of U.S. society, and hence suffers all the same stresses, strains, weaknesses, and social problems. Texas A&M University Press. College Station, Texas. \$37.95. (1997).

A Bibliographical Guide to Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Javanese, Malay, Minabau, Thai and Vietnamese, Ulrich Kratz, ed.; contributions by seven language specialists at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Guide, survey and bibliography showing the languages and literatures in rich and historical depth as well as thematic range and stylistic variety; discusses critically indigenous and Western sources and materials. Tauris Academic Studies / St. Martin's Press. London. L65. (1996).

Vietnam: The American Ordeal (3rd ed.) by George Donelson Moss (academic historian). A revised, re-edited and updated version in which the author says he changed his mind about some aspects of the war since

the first edition. Stress is on the long sweep of the war, written with an historian's approach and, he says, with ironic detachment. A sound work. Numerous appendices, glossary, chronology, tables, and much better than average bibliography. Prentice Hall. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey. (1998).

Facing Mỹ Lai: Moving Beyond the Massacre, David Anderson, ed. (Univ. of Indianapolis). Brief multiple quotes from 36 journalists, poets, veterans, lawyers, novelists, academics, and psychiatrists who attended a 1994 conference at Tulane University. Book is not exactly about the Mỹ Lai incident so much as it is a take off point for what each in this disparate group had to say. Their comments range from incisive to banal. Well-timed publication since it arrives as the 30th anniversary of the Mỹ Lai incident is being widely observed in the U.S. press and at Mỹ Lai itself. There seems to be a cottage industry out there to promote the memory, motives for which range from the commendable to the crassly commercial. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, Kansas (1998).

Mỹ Lai: A Brief History with Documents, Randy Roberts (Purdue University) and James S. Olson (Sam Houston State University), eds. An introductory work on Mỹ Lai, chiefly employing original source materials. Good introduction for interested students. St. Martin's Press. (1998).

The Downsized Warrior: America's Army in Transition by David McCormick. Cutting the size of the U.S. Army by over a third in the decade that began in 1986 had a profound negative impact on morale. New York University Press. \$24.95. (1998).

Resolving Regional Conflicts, Roger Kanet, ed. Case histories and model-making for post-Cold War conflict management. Includes chapter on Cambodia. Univ. of Illinois Press. \$39.95 (hc), \$21.95 (p). (1998).

Whirling Fire by Jack Thomas. A book of poetry by an infantry officer who served with RF/PF forces in Vietnam. Writes of the war, its nature, and of his return to the world. Some trenchant work; among the best poems are his tributes to PAVN sappers, who really were something special. With pencil sketches. Lyndonjacks Publications. Houston, Texas. \$14. (1998).

Everything You Need To Know About Asian-American History by Lan Cao (Brooklyn law School) and Himilce Novas (talk radio host in Santa Barbara, California). Intended for use in high school classrooms. But certainly it does not tell students all they need to know about the Asian-Americans from China, Japan, Korea, India, the Philippines, the Pacific Islands, and Southeast Asia (by the latter, the authors mean only Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—a geographic misnomer). Written as a catechism: set-up questions, brief imperious answers to teach the principles of each group's experience. Admittedly it is always a problem, this business of addressing immature minds about complex subjects. However, this work slops over the banks into distortion and selectivity. It is not a book to inflict on high school students. Plume Books / Penguin. New York, London. \$12.95. (1996).

Firepower in Limited War (3rd ed.) by Robert Scales (West Point, Duke Ph.D., military writer). The problem, says the author, is that massive firepower is of limited value when you have nothing in particular to hit—the enemy and his supplies are nowhere and everywhere. At one level this work is a highly technical manual on the use of boom-boom. Its value for civilians, and historians in particular, is to help put firepower into proper context. The first half of the book is devoted to the Indochina wars where the problem was always how to get the enemy to fight the kind of war he did not want to fight. There is not a great deal the U.S. can do about the fact that firepower has its limits, says Scales, except always to bear it in mind. Presidio Press. Novato, CA. \$17.95. (1997).

Defiant Dictatorships: Communist and Middle-Eastern Dictatorships in a Democratic Age by Paul Brooker. Governance in eight nations is lined up for examination, comparison, and criticism. Includes Vietnam and China (also North Korea, Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Syria). New York University Press. 70 Washington Square, New York, NY, 10012. \$37.50. (1997).

The Broken Sword by Lee Westbrook. Heartfelt work by a two-tour chopper pilot in Vietnam whose military career was interrupted for a decade in the 1970s while he tried to “learn to be a civilian” but couldn't,

then reenlisted. Now retired and living in Bedford, Texas, Westbrook is a highly religious man who appears at long last to have made his peace both with God and himself. An introspective Vietnam veteran memoir of a type not often encountered in print. Nissi Publishing. Grapevine, Texas.

Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, The AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering by Marita Sturken (Univ. of Southern California). Seven chapters here: two relating to the Vietnam War, four to AIDS/HIV (but in a way, not to either), plus one chapter on “camera image and national meaning.” Sturken is a specialist in “cultural memory,” defined as “memory shared outside the avenues of formal historical discourse yet is entangled with cultural products and imbued with cultural meaning.” Specifically in this case, “memories” of the Vietnam War and of those memorialized on the AIDS Quilt (the football field-sized quilt bearing the names of AIDS dead (often sent on tour). Extensive bibliography. University of California Press. \$16.95 (p). (1997).

The Coast Guard at War: Vietnam, 1965-1975 by Alex Larzelere. History of the U.S. Coast Guard's contributions to the military effort in Vietnam. Maps, photographs, glossary, bibliography. Naval Institute Press, Annapolis. (1997).

Solitary Survivor: The First American POW in Southeast Asia by Lawrence Bailey, with Ron Martz. Account of the author's capture and imprisonment by the Pathet Lao, from whom many never returned. Foreword by Newt Gingrich. Brassey's Inc. Herndon, Virginia. \$23.95. (1996).

Producing Guanxi: Sentiment, Self, and Subculture in a North China Village by Andrew Kipnis (Anthropologist, Northern Kentucky University). *Guanxi* in Chinese means social connections (in Vietnamese, *Quãng Châu*). It includes not only blood relations and friends but other relationships—what Americans call “contacts.” Confucianists believe that one cannot make it through life successfully as a rugged individualist, needing no one. Kipnis lived in and observed one North China village, and described what he learned about informal politics, economic thinking, and what he terms “local patterns of subjectivity” (communication of ideas,

social protocol, etc.). Some of his findings undoubtedly could be adapted to Vietnamese village life. But be careful: Vietnam is not China. Duke University Press. \$49.95 (hc), \$16.95 (p). (1997).

War and Peace With China: First Hand Experiences in the Foreign Service of the United States by Marshall Green, John Holdridge, and William Stokes (all FSOs and retired ambassadors). Three truly "Old Asian Hands"-their total combined service can be measured in decades-offer some lively, well-written authoritative history of how it was in the early days, chiefly in China but also Bangkok, Jakarta, Tokyo, and back home in the Department. Numerous passing references to Vietnam and its wars. A pleasure to read. Dacor Press, 4858 Cordell Ave., Bethesda, MD, 20814-3011. Fax orders: (301) 654-5508. \$15. (1994).

A Tale of Three Wars by Edward Atkeson. Novel in the Tom Clancy mode (*Hunt For Red October*). Hero, Major Paul McCandless, with his ARVN counterpart, Maj. Nguyễn Văn Đô, face the brilliant Việt Cộng, Văn Ba (who steals five tanks but gets no official thanks because he is not ideological enough to suit his female political commissar), etc. A good read as they say. Army War College Foundation Press. \$27.95. (1997).

American Evangelicals and the U.S. Military, 1942-1993 by Anne Loveland (historian). Argues that the growing influence of conservative Christian groups in U.S. politics has parallels within the Armed Forces. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge. \$55. (1997).

Waging Peace: How Eisenhower Shaped an Enduring Cold War Strategy by Robert Bowie and Richard Immerman. Puts responsibility on Ike for American Cold War strategy development. Based on new documentation. (And here we thought he spent all of his time on the golf course). Oxford Univ. Press, New York. \$49.95. (1997).

Problems and Solutions in Future Coalition Operations, Thomas Marshall, ed. (Science Applications International Corp., McLean, Virginia). What were once called combined operations (when they actually were combined, more or less) has given way to coalition operations. Four chapters explore the subject, including one too technical for civilians. An exception

perhaps is the opening chapter on historical cultural influences. Title certainly has it right: this is the future for the U.S. military. One in a series of monographs. From U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute. Carlisle, PA. (1997).

Shadow Politics: The Russian State in the 21st Century by Peter Stavakis (Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.). A riddle inside an enigma wrapped in a mystery (or something like that) said Winston Churchill about the Soviet Union in the 1930s. With all the change, the author says, today's view is not much clearer. Observers oscillate between optimism for a democratic free market future and brooding pessimism about a return to absolutism. Our century's great philosophical political debate between the forces of the Open and Closed Societies (Karl Popper saw it first and said it best). Stavakis offers various major scenarios for Russians but without exactly committing himself. Wise. This is one in a series of fine monographs coming out of the U.S. Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute. Drawn from a 1997 conference on "Russia's Future as a World Power," Earl Tilford, organizer. SSI, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA. 17013-4133. Gratis. (1997).

The Company They Keep: Life Inside the U.S. Army Special Forces by Anna Simons (anthropologist). They've always been a different breed of cat, those Green Berets, so perhaps it's appropriate they be studied by a fellow snake-eater. Simons (married to a special forces trooper) received authorization to study her subjects. Her book is essentially a civilian's description of how Special Forces train, operate, and relate to society. Anecdotal, as is most anthropological writing. Now they should turn her loose on the Marines. Free Press. New York. \$25. (1997).

Tears Before the Rain: An Oral History of the Fall of South Vietnam by Larry Englemann (San Jose State Univ.). New issue of this work with new postscript. Englemann interviewed generals, ambassadors, pilots, Marines, politicians, doctors, flight attendants, journalists, children, Việt Cộng soldiers-on the growing demoralization, panic, and chaos of South Vietnam's final days. In the postscript, an American government

official describes the resettlement of 130,000 Vietnamese refugees in the U.S. DeCapo Press. New York. \$15.95. (1998).

The Jesus Nut by David Freeman (Vietnam veteran). Chopper pilots in Vietnam liked to shake up their passengers during the walk-around prior to takeoff by pointing to the mechanism that fastens the whirling helicopter blades to the mast of the main rotor system and saying: "It is held together up there by what we call the Jesus nut. Should the Jesus nut come off in flight the aircraft will immediately assume the aerodynamic configuration of a foot locker." This novel is by a chopper pilot in the Mekong Delta who trusted God to keep the Jesus nut secure. Nissi Publishing. Grapevine, Texas. (1996).

Strange Ground: An Oral History of Americans in Vietnam, 1945-1975 by Harry Maurer (staff writer for *Business Week*). Sixty were interviewed—medics, diplomats, clerks, housewives, spies, grunts, and generals—to provide first person history. Great for source material and quotes. De Capo Press. New York. \$17.95. (1998).

The History Highway: A Guide to Internet Resources by Dennis Trinkle (Univ. of Cincinnati); Dorothy Auchter (Wright State Univ.); Scott Merriman (Northern Kentucky Univ.); and Todd Larson (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign). Listing of more than a thousand history sites. Indochina researchers see: 1) Asian Studies on the Web: [gopher://coombs.anu.edu.au:80/hGET%20/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html](http://coombs.anu.edu.au:80/hGET%20/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html) Serves as a major clearinghouse for Asian resources; 2) Cambodian Auto-Genocide Page: <http://heart.engr.csulb.edu/cambodia/> discusses Khmer Rouge atrocities and their impact on history. Also offers connections to related sites; 3) H-Asia: <http://h-net2.msu.edu/~asia>, sponsored by H-Net, the Web affiliate of the H-Asia discussion list; discussion and information relating to Asian history; calls for papers, conference announcements, bibliographies, book reviews, articles, and links to related sites; 4) Hmong Culture and History Directory: <http://www.stolaf.edu/people/cdr/hmong/>, Hmong news, resources, mailing lists, photographic archives, and other links. M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, N.Y. \$56.95 (hc). \$16.95 (p). (1997).

Cambodge Laos by Michel Blanchard (travel writer). New guide book (332 pages). In French. Guide Arthaud. Paris. (1998).

Opposing Viewpoints: The Vietnam War. Classroom aid (high school, lower division college level). One of 170 titles available on history, political science, social problems, etc. On the Vietnam War it explores areas of dissent with arguments and quotes from a range of experts. Designed to supplement texts, not replace them. Greenhaven Press, P.O. Box 28909, San Diego, CA. 92198-9009. \$12.96. (1998).

The Protected Will Never Know by Leigh Wade (Special Forces trooper in Vietnam). Green Beret Wade during his five tours of duty in the Vietnam War concentrated, properly, on staying alive. He was the kind of soldier George Patton would have loved—mean and tough to the core but also surprisingly sentimental about it all (as with his book's title). Good deal of not widely available material here about behind-the-lines operations in Cambodia and deep in VC territory. With maps and illustrations. Wade was an army brat, was in and out of Special Forces, and is retired in Tucson, Arizona. He is also author of *Tân Phú: Special Forces Team A-23 in Combat* from Ivy Books. Ballantine Books. \$6.99. (1998).

A Different War: Vietnam in Art by Lucy Lippard (art writer and political activist). Published product of an art exhibition organized in 1990 by the Whatcom Museum in Seattle. Collection of work by 106 painters, sculptors, collage makers, and multi-media artists—all joined at the hip by a raging hatred for the Vietnam War. To that end, this offering is a powerful, sad, and often grisly collection. Whatcom Museum and Real Comet Press, Seattle, Washington. (1990).

Standing Tall: A Field Manual for the Soldier-Servant of Christ by Jeff Fredrick (Vietnam veteran). A novel concept utilized in this 22-page monograph: Bible references applicable to the Vietnam War. Passages from both the Old and New Testaments, with explanations by the author. Certainly useful for writers needing back-up quotations from on high. Vietnam Veterans for Christ Ministries, PO Box 1132, Searcy, Arkansas, 72145.

Operation Buffalo: The USMC Fight for the DMZ by Keith William Nolan (Vietnam War historian). Blow-by-blow history of a little-known battle told by a skilled writer. Presidio Press, Novato CA. (1991).

Churchill and the Secret Service by David Stafford (intelligence field historian). Throughout his life, Winston Churchill maintained a keen interest in espionage in an odd and enduring love affair. It began in South Africa where the Boers put a L25 price-dead or alive-on his head (later he proudly showed visitors the framed poster). Churchill enjoyed the power intelligence provided, understood well its great utility for multiple uses. But it was a checkered and nuanced relationship; he was never a servant to his sources, never over-trusting of the intelligence community's judgments. Overlook Press. Woodstock, NY. \$35. (1998).

Mantle of Heroism: Tarawa and the Struggle for the Gilberts, November 1943 (rev. ed.), by Michael Graham (military writer). Useful for comparative purposes for Vietnam War writers in need of establishing distinctions. Certainly there was nothing in the Vietnam War to match the battle for Tarawa in the South Pacific in World War II. At Tarawa, the casualty rate-dead compared to the number of combatants involved-was greater than any battle of the twentieth century. Presidio Press. Novato, CA. \$17.95. (1997).

Victories: Stories of Christian Vietnam Veterans, Wes Keith (evangelist, Marine helicopter pilot in Vietnam), compiler. A collection of brief first-person accounts-testimonials one might say-from 19 Vietnam War veterans on coming to God. Something of the sense of the World War II contention: there are no atheists in the foxholes. All sincerely expressed. Winepress Publishing, Mountlake, WA (1995).



AAS. The Association of Asian Studies has moved off the University of Michigan campus, and hence has a new set of contact data. New telephone area code is in place, changing from 313 to 734 (grace period until July 25). As of now, use: AAS Secretariat, 1021 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, MI, 48104. Tel: 734-665-2490; Fax: 734-665-3801; E-mail: <http://www.aasianst.org>

Vietnam Tours. One of the most energetic (and apparently one the best organized) U.S. commercial tour agencies serving Indochina is Galaxy Tours of Wayne, Pennsylvania. Most clients are veterans. Recently arrived literature describes: an 11-day trip to the Vietnam Central Highlands; 14-day city visits (HCMC/Sàigòn, Huế, Đà Nẵng, Hà Nội); 12 days in the Mekong Delta (Mỹ Tho, Vĩnh Long, Cần Thơ); trips to old stomping grounds for veterans of the 25th Infantry and the 82nd Airborne divisions. Also, write-your-own tour. Galaxy says it is the world's leader in custom-designed veterans group travel. Butch Sincock is the overall tourmaster. Contact: Galaxy Tours, 997 Old Eagle School Road, Suite 207, Wayne, PA 19087-0234; Tel: 610-964-8010; 800-523-7287; Fax: 610-964-8220; E-mail: tayninh@aol.com or vnamtours@aol.com

Book Source. Asia Book First is the name of an up-and-coming Sacramento, California source for books, chiefly on China. Book list available, and full catalog will be available soon. Address: Asia Book First, P.O. Box 60552, Sacramento, CA 60605. Fax: 916-564-1508; E-mail: <http://www.asiabookfirst.com>

Vietnam Maps. Recent message on the Web on buying high resolution topographic maps in Hà Nội: see the National Cartographic Service, at the intersection of Phố Long Trung and Đống Đa streets, Hà Nội. These are 1:250,000 maps, which means very detailed, expensive. Message adds: The government still worries about foreigners having access to Vietnamese maps (for security reasons) so don't ask for too many. Tel: 83.55958 and 83.56085.

USIA Money. The U.S. Information Agency (now being absorbed by the U.S. State Department) plans to initiate its Fulbright Scholar Program in Vietnam for the 1998-99 school year. Awards will be offered in six fields: American Studies/American History; international and agricultural economics; law (preference: specialists in commercial, international and environmental law) and environmental policy, especially those with expertise in the protection of marine environments; For senior U.S. administrators and higher education administration. Not intended to assist researchers although some grantees may be given opportunities for collaborative research. Details from David Adams, program officer for Vietnam, tel: 202-686-4021; E-mail: dadams@cies.iie.org or Cheryl Schoenberg, Adams' assistant, tel: 202-686-4025; E-mail at cschoenberg@cies.iie.org

PERIODICALS

“Vietnam in 1997: A Year of Challenges” by Mark Sidel (Univ. of Iowa Law School); “Cambodia in 1997: Back to Square One?” by Sorpong Peou; “Laos in 1997: Into ASEAN” by Martin Stuart Fox (Univ. of Queensland). In *Asian Survey’s* annual year-end reports on Asian countries. See also Lucian Pye (MIT) “The U.S. in Asia in 1997: Nothing Dramatic, Just Incremental Progress.” All estimable. In January 1998 *Asian Survey* (University of California, Berkeley).

“Contemporary Security Challenges in Southeast Asia” by Dana Dillon (USA major; Pentagon specialist on Southeast Asia). Well-done survey of what the end of the Cold War means for the ASEAN states. Traces the major factors involved in the individual states’ desire to remain sovereign and independent but still stick together; the ever-present anxiety about China’s intentions; and current economic concerns. Dillon sees ASEAN becoming more defense-oriented despite its desire not to become so. In *Parameters*, Spring 1997.

“National Power” by David Jablonsky (USA colonel, ret., US Army War College). More thoughtful provocation from this singular strategic thinker at Carlisle Barracks. Re-interprets some of the traditional 19th century measurements for national power and applies these to the present world scene. Jablonsky ranges widely. Deals with defense material well; is characterized by good writing and powerful illustrative quotation-sample: “When the Nixon Administration took over in 1969 all the data on North Vietnam and on the United States was fed into a Pentagon computer-population, gross national product, manufacturing capability, number of tanks, ships, and aircraft, size of the armed forces, and the like. The computer was then asked, ‘When will we win?’ It took only a moment to answer: ‘You won in 1964.’” In *Parameters*, Spring 1997.

“That Was the Year That Was” in *Vietnam Investment Review*, January 4, 1998. Year-ender from the scene. It began as a slow year, quickly turned into one of air disasters, corporate scandal, freak weather, and glory in sports.

“Teaching About Vietnam and the Great Lessons of History” by Allan Goodman (Georgetown Univer-

sity) in *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 11, 1998. Brief review of the history of Vietnam, U.S. policy making, and academia in the 30 years since Tết ‘68. We have a real problem, Goodman says, in that time is killing off those who lived through the period and went on to teach “America and Vietnam” courses. “To scholars of succeeding generations, Vietnam will appear less central in their research and there could be a tendency to regard the U.S. intervention as anomalous and the mistakes as unlikely to be repeated.”

“The 1967 Hill Battles” by Ray Stubbe (Khe Sanh veteran) on the 30th anniversary of the battles in a special issue of *Khe Sanh Veteran*. The article is a distillation of records and what those in this veteran’s organization experienced and remember about what probably was the most important focal point of the Vietnam War. Introduction by Jim Epps. For sources of the day-by-day account, contact the author at the *Khe Sanh Veteran*, 8766 Park View Court, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, 53226-2729.

“On CD-ROM: 20th Century Military History” by Frank Stech (SSI, USA War College). An essay, for the uninitiated, on compact disc read-only memory multi-media materials available to military historians and others. Good sound basic advice here. CDs issued to date largely cover the first two world wars, but major plans are underway for later coverage. Texas Tech, for instance, hopes to put its Vietnam War Archive’s seven million pages on-line. To date these remain in the planning stage. In *Parameters*, Winter 1997-98.

“The Attack on Cap Mũi Láy, Vietnam, July 1968” by Faris Kirkland (Univ. of Pennsylvania, USA ret.) in the *Journal of Military History*, 61:4, Oct. 1997. Details of the PAVN’s campaign to seize Quảng Trị and Thừa Thiên provinces in northernmost South Vietnam and the US and ARVN responses. Also something of a case history of combined and joint military planning and execution, as well as a commentary on American military inter-service rivalry vs. multi-service cooperation. Focus is on the Mũi Láy Cape, the bulge of coast line just north of the DMZ, long a jumping-off point for Hanoi forces. In the same issue are two essays useful for historians and teachers of recent U.S. military history: “The Course of Military History in the

U.S. Since World War II" by Edward Coffman (Univ. of Wisconsin, emeritus) and "The Embattled Future of Academic Military History" by John Lynn (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana Champaign). The latter is an exceedingly grim report. The discipline will survive only through a creative adaptation of the best of recent historical currents as it battles the forces of hostility, intolerance, cultural relativism, and genderism, Lynn says. The *Journal* (Henry Bausum, ed.) is a professional quarterly published by the Society for Military History, VMI, Lexington, Virginia 24450-1600.

"Keeping an Even Keel" by Carlyle Thayer (Australian Defense Force Academy) in April's *Việt Nam Business Journal*. Under the VCP's commitment to reform, continued political stability is seen as the linchpin of economic development. Article built around the new Party Secretary Lê Khả Phiêu.

"The Long Secret Alliance: Uncle Sam and Pol Pot" by John Pilger (Australian journalist). Posted on the Internet to Camnews list, an article published in what is called *CAQ Magazine* (not further identified). An exercise in simple-minded history on Pol Pot and Cambodia, namely, that if you are looking for whom to blame for it all, it is mainly Washington, but also Bangkok, Singapore, Beijing and London (not the Khmer?). Lots of American names, dates, quotes. Article is worth taking note of, even though it is possible it was written years ago.

"POWs Remembered" by Lionel Chetwynd (director and script-writer of the feature film, *Hà Nội Hilton*). A tribute to American POWs in Việt Nam and how the accounts of their suffering and commitment became the basis of his film work. In *San Diego Union Tribune*, February 22, 1998. Reprinted from *National Review*.

"Reflections on Courage" by Henry Gole (USA ret., MACV-SOG and Special Forces, Việt Nam), in *Parameters*, Winter 1997-98. Come to think of it, courage is hard to define, especially in distinguishing it from guts and stupidity. Gole notes that unabridged dictionaries say courage is facing danger, difficulty, or pain without fear; this does not wash—courage is victory over fear, not absence of fear. Gole appears to have turned over an entire library in search of material and offers extensive citations.

He particularly recommends the novel *Regeneration* by Pat Barker and *Achilles in Việt Nam* by the psychiatrist, Jonathan Shay.

"Trade and Environmental Diplomacy: Strategic Options for ASEAN" by Manuel Montes (ISEAS, Singapore) and Francisco Magno (Univ. of the Philippines, Diliman). Two current trends seen in ASEAN: reduction in the scope of sovereignty in dealing with environmental issues, and the increasing use of trade measures to address environmental concerns. The authors argue adoption of a proactive strategy would enable ASEAN to become a significant player in the design of trade and environmental policies of its members. In *Pacific Affairs*, 70:3, Fall 1997.

"The Decision to Resume Armed Struggle in the South, Summer 1958-Summer 1959" by Ang Cheng Guan, in *War and Society*, 15, May 1997. Early Hà Nội decision-making.

"L'Annee 1997 in Laos." Six-page month by month wrap-up of events in Laos last year drawn from *Vietntiane Times*, December 21, 1997. In *Bulletin d'Information*, published by the Center for Documentation and Information on Laos, 14 Rue Dame Genette, 57070, Metz, France. In French.

"Two Perspectives on Việt Nam" in the special (Xuân Mậu Dần) issue of *Thời Báo Daily*. Interviews with Phan Quang Tuệ (Việt kiều San Jose critic of the Hà Nội regime) and Nguyễn Xuân Phong (SRV consul general, San Francisco). In the same issue, an interview with Nguyễn Ngọc Ngạn (author of *Will of Heaven*) and a childhood memoir by Bùi Văn Phú (San Francisco Bay area school teacher, journalist, columnist). *Thời Báo Daily*, 447 East Santa Clara St., San Jose, CA 95113. Tel: (403) 292-2276, Fax: (408) 292-0346.

"Behind Closed Doors" by Đoàn Bảo Châu in the Feb. 9-15, 1998, issue of *VIR Timeout*. Interview story on the forthcoming book about Hà Nội's 100-year-old Sofitel Metropole Hotel and its author, hotel chronicler Andreas Augustin. The Metropole does indeed rank with the Oriental in Bangkok, the Raffles in Singapore, and the Peninsula in Hong Kong as legendary watering holes for *colons* and travelers of an era now long past.

“Suite Dreams” by Nguyễn Thị Thu and Đỗ Anh Hà in *Việt Nam Investment Review's Time Out Magazine* (Mar. 2-8, 1998). Photo article on Vietnam's posh hotels: The Metropole, Daewoo, and Gouman in Hanoi; the Rex, Grand, New World, and Equatorial in HCMC/Sàigòn. Suites run as high as \$980 per night, although most are in the \$150 range (a standard twin at the Gouman is \$70 with breakfast).

“Not a War” by Dan Duffy (Yale Univ.). Suggestions from a college reading course in fiction and poetry from Vietnam and Vietnamese Americans (most of the material post-1986). Employs I.A. Richards (*Practical Criticism*) approach to “avoid use of literary materials to teach narrative history or essentialist culture.” In *Education About Asia*, 2:2, Fall 1997, from the Association of Asian Studies, 1 Lane Hall, Univ. Michigan, Ann Arbor Michigan 48109. Subscription (bi-annual) individuals, \$14, organizations, \$20.

“State of Field Report Research on the Chinese Military” by June Teufel Dreyer (Univ. of Miami) in *Access Asia Review*, 1:1, 1997. Survey of the literature of the field on China's PLA: its capability, strategic doctrine, budget, recruitment and training, weapons acquisition, and some on “Chinese intent.” Useful research work. From National Bureau of Asian Research, 4518 University Way, Suite 300, Seattle, Washington 98105.

“Hill of Beans” by Yên Vũ Long in *VIR Timeout*, Jan. 26-Feb. 8, 1998. Coffee, as a picker-upper in Asia, is as old as tea. This brief article describes today's production and processing of the valuable bean in Vietnam. In recent years, Vietnam has become a major exporter of the high quality arabica bean (called “Brazil” in Vietnam) along with its more ordinary cousin, the robusta, widely grown in tropical countries around the world.

Vietnam: The Magazine, Harry Summers (Col., USA ret., ed.). From what is the best of the periodical sources on the Vietnam War comes this quarter's output: “LBJ's Strategy for Disengagement” by Stephen B. Young (advisor in Vietnam, lawyer). Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker's charge from President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967 was to de-escalate the Vietnam conflict without losing the war. “River Rats to the Rescue at Bến Tre” by Commander Wynn A. Goldsmith

(USNR). “It became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it,” one American officer said. But nothing might have been saved at Bến Tre if not for the intervention of Navy PBRs. “Operation Hastings Offensive” by John McNiff (ex-Navy corpsman, now a police officer). The NVA's 324B Division crossed the DMZ to “liberate” Quảng Trị Province in July 1966. But the U.S. 4th Marine Regiment had a different plan. “With Creighton Abrams During Tết” (Tết 30th Anniversary) by Brig. Gen. Zeb B. Bradford (USA, ret.). Awakened by nearby gunfire and explosions, General Abrams was outraged to learn he couldn't leave his Sàigòn quarters. The Tết Offensive had begun. Also a review by Summers: “The best book on the 1968 Tết Offensive” and a look back by an American military advisor who “thought” he knew more than his ‘Ruff-Puff’ sergeant, by Col. W. Thomas Hardy, USA. All in February issue. “Operation Golden Valley” by Sam McGowan (Vietnam veteran). The Khâm Đức Special Forces camp was besieged, and the only way out was by air. It was the 834th Air Division to the rescue. “Montagnard's Lang Vei Ordeal” as told by Dinh Moul to Philip Cargill, (free lance journalist). Brave as they were, the Montagnard strikers and Green Berets were no match for the North Vietnamese Army's PT-76 light tanks. “Brave Defense of LZ Snoopy” by Hubert M. Jordan (Vietnam veteran). Communist sappers thought LZ Snoopy was an easy target, but the artillerymen of Bravo Battery proved them wrong. “Trapped in Sàigòn” by Dan Feltham (IBM Sàigòn, 1969-71). Sàigòn was falling, and IBM was determined to get its 130 Vietnamese employees and their families to safety before it was too late. All in March-April issue.



On Teaching. “Prudence and justice are two words conspicuous in our otherwise verbose debates on how, why, and when to teach what sort of history to American children. . . . For instance, invitations to debunk the sainted image of Woodrow Wilson, though entirely legitimate, should also ask whether it is wise to teach grade schoolers that Wilson was foolish or hypocritical to proclaim democracy, disarmament, self-determination and a League of Nations to a war-ravaged world? A college seminar should take a critical stance. . . . But is it prudent to turn 11th graders into cynics with regards to the values their nation holds dear?” Walter McDougall (Univ. of Pennsylvania), in *American Scholar*, Winter, 1998.

PAPERS RECEIVED

ING Barings. From the global and emerging markets research firm come four excellent reports: 1) "Việtnam Update: Time For a Leap of Faith" (Nov. 1997); 2) "Indochina in 1998: Expecting Some Turbulence" (Jan. 1998); 3) "Indochina Energy Review" (Oct. 1997); and 4) "ASEAN's newest members" (July 1997). All are incisive, authoritative and deserving of the widest possible circulation. Among points made: Hà Nội's political leadership transition is now almost complete; the three Indochinese states face a difficult year-Việtnam in no small way because of the fall-out from Asia's economic turmoil, Cambodia because of domestic political problems. The work of Nick Freeman and Yin Yin Hta, working out of Bangkok ING Barings is in London, Hong Kong, and New York. U.S. contact: ING Baring (U.S.) Securities, Inc., 667 Madison Avenue, New York, NY, 10021; Tel: 1 212 350 7700; Fax 1 212 371 5967. Freeman in Bangkok, Tel: 662 263 2888 ext. 7743; E-mail: Nick.Freeman@ing-barings.com or www.ingbarings.com

The Johnson Years: A Việtnam Roundtable, Ted Gittinger (LBJ Presidential Library), ed. Proceedings of a three-session discussion by 22 prominent civilian and military figures from the Việtnam War at the LBJ Library in 1991. Transcript-type report with seven valuable appendices from the Library or participants. Also available from the LBJ Library is The Johnson Years: The Difference He Made, Robert Hardesty, ed (1993) and The Great Society: A Twenty Year Critique, Barbara Jordan and Elspeth Rostow, eds. (1986). All three are available from Office of Publications, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78713-7450; Tel: 512-471-4218.

"How Much Does Hà Nội Really Know?" by Garnett Bell and George J. Veith. Posted on the Internet on the Dan Freeman list (as "POWs and Politics") March 3, 1998. Paper read at a Texas Tech conference, April 19, 1996. Forerunner of Veith's *Code Name Bright Light: The Untold Story of U.S. POW Rescue Efforts During the Việtnam War*, which has continued to kick up a storm among veterans since its publication early this year. (From Simon and Schuster/Free Press, New York: \$25.00).

Congressional Hearings. Six statements by witnesses before the House of Representatives Committee on International Relations, Sub-committee on Asia and the Pacific (Ch. Benjamin Gilman), on Cambodia, February 26, 1998: a) Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (member), "Uncertain Events"; b) Paul Grove (International Republican Institute), "Prospects for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia"; c) Eric Bjornlund (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs), "Statement"; d) Catherine Dalpino (Brookings Institution), "Statement". Committee address: U.S. Congress, Washington, DC, 20515, Attn: Richard Garon or Michael Van Duesen.

CIEE. Material on the study abroad program (1998-1999) in Southeast Asia (including Việtnam) of the Council on International Educational Exchange. Council now has loan program (25-year repayment option); has opened a center at Việtnam National University, Hà Nội. Program fee for Việtnam, September 1998: \$7,295 (includes transportation from Bangkok or HCMC to Hà Nội. Details from: CIEE, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017-5706; Tel: 212-822-2600; Fax: 212-822-2699; E-mail: Info@ciee.org

From Sweden. "Laos: the Sixth Party Congress and After" and "Labor Market Adjustment Under Transition in Laos", both by Yves Bourdet (Lund University). Reprints of two articles by the author (1997, 1996, respectively). Both serious contributions to Lao scholarship. Both are heavily laden with statistical data of the sort hard to come by in Vientiane. Bourdet's mail address: Nationalekonomiska Institutionen, Box 7082, S-220 07 LUND, Sweden.

General Trần Độ's Letter, by Bích Trần (UCLA Library) and forwarded on Freeman's list (Feb. 3, 1998) in Việtnamese. This 25-page incendiary message to the Politburo by this top Hà Nội general, is dated "end of 1997-beginning of 1998." □ Can be viewed at the Texas Tech Việtnam Archive.

Pop-cult. "Using Popular Culture to Study the Việtnam War: Perils and Possibilities" by Peter Rollins (Oklahoma State Univ.), editor of *Film and History*. Well-done report on how the Việtnam War has been portrayed by Hollywood and television, fiction writers and ideologues-those who agreed with James Gordon

Bennett's (editor of the old *New York World*) observation: "Many a good story has been ruined by over-verification." Rollins says people serious about the war should study such output in order to understand the differing "truths" presented and the minds and the motives that lie behind it. Chapter in Popular Culture in the United States, proceedings of the German-American Conference in Paderborn, September 14-17, 1993. Published by Die Blaue Eule, Essen, Germany (1994), Peter Freese and Michael Porsche, eds.

Memoir. "Intermission: A Reflection on My Tour of Duty in South Vietnam, July 1967-July 1968" by Donald E. Anderson (Spec 5/E5, USA ret.). Highly personalized front-slope memoir of a 22-year old in Vietnam. It was a year filled with good times and bad, a few tense moments, fun and games. A great deal of laughter, which, if truth be known, is the way many Vietnam War veterans actually remember their Vietnam days-but hate to admit it to outsiders. Anderson is now an engineer working for a commercial firm in Houston, Texas.

Preventing Deadly Conflict. The final report from the Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (est. 1994 by the Carnegie Corporation of New York), Jane Holl, executive director. A 270-page three-year, \$9.5 million study on prospects for deadly violence in the next century and what might be done about it. Prepared by a 14-person staff under the advice of a prestigious 17-person panel that included Cyrus Vance, Gro Harlem Brundtland (ex-PM, Norway), the UK's Brian Urquart (former UN Deputy Sec-Gen), and seven former foreign ministers. Specific recommendations on when and when not to use force; on "preventive" diplomacy; necessary economic reforms; and suggested changes in civil societies. Available from the commission at 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Suite 715, Washington DC 20036-2103. Tel: 202-332-7900; Fax: 202-332-1919; E-mail: pdc@carnegie.org. For thoughtful-and critical-comments on the study and the lavish Washington press conference introducing it, see "Preaching to the Converted" by Judith Miller in the *New York Times* Sunday book review section, February 15, 1998.

NDU. A 32-page pamphlet describing the National Defense University, Washington, DC (Lt. Gen.

John Putsay, USAF, President). The University is the parent organization of the National War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the Armed Forces Staff College, and the Department of Defense Computer Institute. It offers professional educational programs to select military officers and senior government civilians concerned with national security; it also promotes professional study of national security policy and strategy and the resource management aspects of national security affairs. Pamphlet also lists the books, papers, monographs NDU has published. Mail address: National Defense University, Fort McNair, Washington DC 20319. Tel: 202-693-1383/8452.

Silver Screen. "Special Focus: World War II in Film", Robert Matson (Univ. of Pittsburgh, Johnstown), ed. From *Film and History*, 27:14, 1997. Peter Rollins, ed. *Film and History* is a quarterly published by the Historians' Film Committee. Fourteen essays and film reviews of Hollywood production during World War II. Also 16 reviews of recent books on films and television, including some dealing with the Vietnam War. Address: Popular Culture Center, Rural Route 3, Box 80, Cleveland, OK 74020. Tel: 918-243-7637; Fax: 918-243-5995; E-mail: Rollins@osuunx.ucc.okstate.edu

From PLA. "Traditional Military Thinking and the Defensive Strategy of China" by Lt. Gen. Li Jijun (Academy of Military Science, Beijing). Text of speech delivered at the U.S. Army War College, July 15, 1997. Thinking throughout-not exactly strategic thinking-is that since prehistoric times China has always had a peace-loving culture (proven with examples of early pictographs), but also has been victimized constantly by aggressors. Its strategy is always purely defensive; in boxing the term is counter-punching. This concept is orthodoxy for all Chinese, although not one shared by China's neighbors. This is not agitprop material, as the general clearly believes what he says. Published as one in a series of Letort Papers by Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 122 Forbes Avenue, Carlisle Barracks, PA 11013-5244. Copies may be obtained from the Publications and Production Office, Tel: 717-245-4133; Fax: 717-245-3820; E-mail: rummelr@carlisle-emh2.army.mil

Việt Nam Conference Report. By Octavia Taylor (Clark Univ.), in *Việt Nam Studies Bulletin* 2:10, Spring 1997. Titled "Memories, Markets, and Militaries: Việt Nam in the 1990s", on the conference at Clark University, Nov. 7-8, 1996, which featured gender-oriented topics. Same issue has a report on a panel discussion, "Women, War and Memory" at the University of Massachusetts, March 6, 1997. Bulletin published by the Joiner Center, Univ. of Massachusetts, 100 Morrissey Boulevard, Boston, MA 02125.

"Some Ideas Toward A First and Fundamental Amendment of the Constitution of Cambodia." From something or someone named EDJTI. Source, date, return address unknown. No cover letter. Good suggestions; low in credibility. (Received in the post at the Việt Nam Center, January 1998).

"Việt Nam's Relations With ASEAN and Major Powers" by Li Ning (Dep. Sec-Gen China Assn. International Friendly Contact, Beijing). Off print of what appears to be a conference paper. Traces history of Việt Nam's entry into ASEAN and resultant influences on Việt Nam-China relations (chiefly economic). U.S.-Việt Nam relations, Li Ning predicts, "will not enjoy smooth development" chiefly because he says the U.S. seeks to engage Việt Nam in its efforts to "strengthen its interference in the security affairs of this region."

"The '1205 Document: Another View" by George Veith (Research specialist on U.S. POW issues) dated March 5, 1998. Extended (20,000 word) take out on the now famous Quang Document (or the '1205 Document' in CIA terminology; incidentally, word has it that this subject is now back on front burner at the Agency, the result of new evidence from Moscow). Veith believes the document is genuine, basing his conclusions in part on semantic content analysis (comparing 1205 with official and/or past captured documents). His final conclusion seems to be: only Hanoi knows.



The Việt Nam Center at Texas Tech University announces its Third Triennial Việt Nam Symposium, to be held at the Holiday Inn, Lubbock Plaza, April 15-17, 1999. A call for papers will be forthcoming.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

List of new publications, or publications new to us.

Watershed. Subtitled People's Forum on Ecology and further subtitled "Burma, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Thailand, Việt Nam." Editor is Witoon Permpongsachoen. Published triannually by TERRA (Towards Ecological Recovery and Regional Alliance), 409 Rohitsuk, Pracharajbampen Road, Huay Khwang, Bangkok 10320, Thailand. Tel: (662) 691 0718, Fax (662) 691 0714; E-mail: terraper@commet.ksc.net.th

New Frontiers. Newsletter providing information and promoting activism on tourism, development, and good environmental practices in the Mekong River region. By Tourism Investigation and Monitoring Team with support from the Third World Network, Penang, Malaysia. Contact: t.i.m. team, P.O. Box 51, Chorakhehua, Bangkok 10230, Thailand. Fax: +66-2-519.2821.

Journal of Material Culture. New tri-annual interdisciplinary academic publication. Managing editors: James Clifford (Univ. of California, Santa Cruz), Daniel Miller (Univ. College, London), Nicholas Thomas (Australian National Univ.), and Christopher Tilley (Univ. College, London); Four series editors (all Univ. College) say it "will transcend traditional disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, design studies, history, human geography, museology, and ethnography, and will publish papers on theory, methodology, interpretive strategies, and substantive studies of key themes and issues." An example of this in 2:1, March 1997: "Việt Nam Zippos," by Ian Walters (Northern Territories University, Darwin, Australia), who writes that the Việt Nam Zippo cigarette lighter has become a "palimpsest on why modern communist Việt Nam, with a clear view of independence and history, has moved into the present and future world capitalist system while countenancing ironic representations of its past." (Ronson: take note). Extensive references. Thousand Oaks, California, and New Delhi.

The Independent Review. A quarterly journal of political economy from the Independent Institute (David Theroux, publisher). Sample articles carried

(Summer 1997): A) "Market-Based Environmentalism vs. the Free Market?" B) "Globalizing Trade and the International Monetary System"; C) "Political Power and Political Greed" and D) "On the Nature of Civil Society". Writers include: Terry Anderson, Bruce Benson, Boudewijn Bouckaert, Donald Boudreaux, James Ely, Randall Holcombe, Charles Rowley, Anna Schwartz, Eugenia Toma, etc. \$30 per year. Address: The Independent Institute, 100 Swan Way, Oakland, CA 94621-1458. Tel: 800-927-8733, Fax: 510-568-6040, E-mail: review@independent.org.

Knowledge and Information Systems: An International Journal. Benjamin Wah (Univ. of Illinois, honorary editor-in-chief) and Xindong Wu (Monash Univ., executive editor.) The editors of this quarterly to begin publication in early 1999 seek to "provide an international forum for researchers and professionals to share their knowledge and report new advances on all topics related to knowledge systems and advanced information systems." The journal will publish articles and critical review papers on themes including knowledge and information processing, theory, techniques, and systems; underlying computational techniques; platforms; and application to specific problem domains. Address: Benjamin Wah, Coordinated Science Laboratory, MC228, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1308 West Main Street, Urbana, IL. 61801-2307. Tel: 217-333-3516, Fax: 217-244-7175; E-mail: b-wah@uiuc.edu.

The International Journal of Human Rights. Frank Barnaby and Peter Weiss, eds. This quarterly journal covers the broad spectrum of human rights issues, including race, gender, religion, children, class, refugees, transnational organized crime, the global arms trade, specific anti-personnel weapons, disasters, advances in medical technology, slavery, torture and punishment, capital punishment, genocide, the laws of war and war crimes, and human rights and the law. Examples from the Summer 1997 issue: "Economic Sanctions and Human Rights: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?" by Ralph Cranshaw; "The Arms Trade and Human Rights" by Antonia Hinds; "Human Rights and Refugees" by Patricia Tuitt. Address: c/o ISBS, 5804 NE Hassalo Street, Portland, OR 97213-3644. Tel: 800-944-6190; Fax: 503-280-8832; E-mail: cass@isbs.com.

Transitions Abroad. Clay Hubbs, ed. PBS called this publication, which serves as a guide to low-cost international learning, living, working, and people-to-people travel, is aid to be "the best resource around for practical, clearly stated information on travel outside the United States." Address: P.O. Box 1300, Amherst, Massachusetts, 01004-1300. Tel: 800-293-0373; Fax: 413-256-0373; E-mail: trabroad@aol.com or www.transabroad.com



For Further Reading on the Geopolitics of the Confucian State.

The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order by Samuel Huntington (Harvard University, Institute of Strategic Studies).

"The Clash in Western Society: Toward A New World Order" by James Kurth (Swarthmore College political scientist), *National Interest*, Fall 1994.

"After the Long War: Domestic Policy and the End of the Cold War" by Daniel Deudney and John Ikenberry (University of Pennsylvania social and political scientists).

"Patriot Games" by Matt Forney, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Oct. 3, 1996.

"Containing China: The U.S. and Japan Drift Towards Disaster" by Chalmers Johnson (Japan Policy Research Institute), *Japan Quarterly*, Oct-Dec 1996.

"Russia's Asia-Pacific Security Strategy" by Liang Yuehuai, in *Gaofang (National Defense)*, Beijing, June 1996.

"American Leadership and World Security: New Opportunities" by Zbigniew Brzezinski (Center for Strategic and International Studies, New York), *Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 1996.

"Sino-American Relations: In Search of Direction," Report from the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington, Sept. 1996.

"The Coming Anarchy" by Robert Kaplan, *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1994.

"Relevance of Asian Values in Economic Success" by Frances Fukuyama (George Mason University, Washington DC, author of *The End of History*), *Commentary*, Jan. 1998.

Diplomacy by Henry Kissinger.

NAMES IN THE NEWS

Lê Khả Phiêu. The VCP's new general secretary is profiled by Trần Huy Đức in the *Straits Times* (Singapore), March 19, 1998, who finds he is not another Lê Duẩn, and certainly is not another Hồ Chí Minh. Over the years Phiêu was hobbled by the presence of competing fellow general Võ Nguyên Giáp who allegedly tried to marginalize Phiêu. Đức says a common view in Vietnam today is that PAVN failed in its 1980s mission in Cambodia, and blame for this rests largely on Phiêu. Predictably, this has given rise to bad-mouthing and rumor-mongering (sexual peccadillos, black-marketeering, etc.). On balance, Đức finds Phiêu to be very much his own man, not one who can be manipulated, one to be relied to take an independent approach to Vietnam's many problems. Đức also makes the correct but imponderable point that times are changing, that being Party general secretary in Hanoi today is not what it was in Hồ's time. In early March Phiêu delivered a 2,000 word speech at a Party conference on ideology and culture to a gathering of Party intellectuals. He gave them the carrot and stick treatment ("Be proud of your accomplishments but also correctly consider your shortcomings and weaknesses.") Talk devoted almost entirely to methodology with little attention to policy. (FBIS-EAS 98-088). See also Phiêu remarks to the *Nhân Dân* staff Feb. 10 (in FBIS-EAS 98-048), a standard call for good journalism, Party-style. For more on Lê Khả Phiêu, see "New Hanoi Headliner" In *Asiaweek*, Jan. 9; "Phiêu Emerges as Innovative Flexible Leader" by Greg Torrode, *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), Feb. 25; and *Nhân Dân* interview on the 7th Plenum, Jan. 6 (FBIS-EAS 98-014).

Maha Ghosananda. The Supreme Patriarch of Cambodian Buddhism has been awarded the Niwano Peace Foundation Prize (medal, 20 million Yen). Formal ceremonies are to be held May 9 in Tokyo. Now in its 15th year, the Niwano award goes to "persons who have contributed significantly to inter-religious cooperation, thereby furthering the cause of world peace."

Sen. John Kerry. Pays a visit to Vietnam in early January, chiefly on a resolution of casualties mission.

The Massachusetts Democrat is a decorated Vietnam War veteran and a champion of closer US-Vietnam economic ties. He met with SRV PM Phan Văn Khải and other top officials. He told reporters at the end of his trip he was impressed by Vietnam's liberalization effort, and added that he "did not encounter any rigidity or an ideological wall."

Haing Ngor. Three Los Angeles gang members went on trial Feb. 24 for the murder of Cambodian-born actor/MD Haing Ngor. The Santa Monica presiding judge took the unusual step of ordering a press blackout as the trial began, later rescinded the order. The trial was expected to continue for several weeks. Ngor, 55, who won an Academy Award for his performance in *The Killing Fields*, was gunned down Feb. 25, 1996, in what appeared to be a street robbery, not a political killing.

Sen. John McCain. The U.S. Senate March 18 marked the 25th anniversary of McCain's release from a POW camp in North Vietnam by honoring him for the "courage and sacrifice" he and other POWs displayed. McCain's A-4E Skyhawk was shot down by a missile over Hanoi in October, 1967. With his right knee and both his arms broken, he was captured and held as a prisoner until March 1973, a five-and-a-half year ordeal during which he suffered beatings by his captors. His release was part of Operation Homecoming, the release of 591 U.S. prisoners of war that followed the Paris Peace Accords of January 1973. "The Senate expresses its gratitude for, and calls upon all Americans to reflect upon and show their gratitude for, the courage and sacrifice of John McCain and the brave men who were held as prisoners of war during the Vietnam conflict," the resolution said in part. (AP/AOL, March 19, 1998).

Trần Độ Advisory. The Indochina Chronology has received via the Internet the original Vietnamese version of General Trần Độ's now famous letter to the Politburo. In the peculiar world of the Internet, its route was from Hanoi to Paris (to Vũ Thư Hiên, author and son of Hồ Chí Minh's personal secretary), to UCLA, thence to the Internet. Can be viewed at the Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech.

Nate Thayer. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* Southeast Asia correspondent was named "Scoop of the Year" reporter by Granada Television in London (Feb.

27) Savoy Hotel ceremonies. Thayer was the only journalist present at the "trial" of Pol Pot in July 1997. The award commended him for his work, "which seemed to belong to another age, a time when the heroic reporter would cut through the jungle to the heart of darkness. . . (and) in a year when most scoops concentrated on MPs sleeping with people they weren't supposed to."

OBITUARIES

Benjamain Spock. America's baby doctor who went on to become a major anti-Vietnam War demonstrator, died at his California home March 18. He was 94. (*Houston Chronicle*, March 18).

Thongsouk Saysangkhi 59, Lao political prisoner, died in a Lao prison this quarter, officials informed the U.S. Embassy in Vientiane. Cause of death was given as complications from diabetes. Thongsouk was one of three former high officials still known to be incarcerated (Oct. 1990). The other two are Latsami Khampoui and Feng Sakchittaphong. (AP Bangkok, March 10, 1998).

Martha Gellhorn. American foreign and war correspondent (in Vietnam, 1966) for the London Guardian, died in London Feb. 16. She was 89 and had been suffering from cancer. Gellhorn authored 13 novels and was often identified as Ernest Hemingway's second wife, a tag line she resented. ("Why should I be a footnote to someone else's life?")

Nguyễn Khắc Thịnh. Celebrated North Vietnamese war correspondent and later foreign correspondent died in Hanoi at age 69, according to an AP report Dec. 18, 1997. Thịnh reported for VNA from UN headquarters in New York in the mid-1980s.

Tom Quách. South Vietnamese Commando who parachuted into North Vietnam as part of a CIA-mounted wartime operation. Was captured three months later, incarcerated harshly for 19 years then released and went to the U.S. Died at a Chamblee, Georgia, hospital, Sept. 1, 1997. He was 65. Cause of death was lymphoma.

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CONFERENCES

Vietnam in Asia (April 17-18). Texas Tech Vietnam Center two-day dialogue designed to offer opportunity for exchange between scholars who specialize in Vietnamese history and culture and broader audiences. Convenor: Professor Patricia Pelley (Texas Tech History Department). Panelists include: Trần Bá Chí (National University of Hanoi), "The Tradition of Family Education in Vietnam"; Keng-Fong Pang (University of California, Berkeley), "From Literacy to Orality: The Chàm Colony of Hainan Island"; Qiang Zhai (Auburn University), "The Maoist Model and Vietnam"; Pierre Asselin (Kapiolani Community College, Honolulu), "The Diplomacy of the Democratic Republic, 1945-1975"; Lê Văn Quang (Vietnam National University, Hồ Chí Minh City), "Vietnam and ASEAN"; Stephen Rady (Naval Postgraduate School), "Vietnam, China, and the Spratley Islands"; Keith Taylor (Cornell University), "The Rise of Sàigòn"; and Vũ Ngự Chiêu (Independent scholar, Houston, TX), "Anti-Vietnamese Activities in Postwar Cambodia". Panel: *Renovations and Restorations in Contemporary Vietnam*: Grace Cheng (Hawaii Pacific University), "Culture and Development in Contemporary Vietnam"; Nguyễn Quang Ngọc (National University, Hanoi), "The Restoration of Tradition in Villages of the Northern Plains"; and Trần Thị Thanh Thanh (Vietnam National University, Hồ Chí Minh City), "Vietnamese Renovation in Historical Perspective". To be held at Texas Tech University's International Cultural Center (6th and Indiana Avenues), Lubbock.

Teaching Vietnam in High Schools (June 12-13). Workshop by Texas Tech University to offer teaching aids and other resources to regional teachers. Sessions will be conducted by specialists from across the U.S. Also planned are reports on the Vietnam Center's collaboration with the Lubbock Independent School District in the development of a semester-long Vietnam course for presentation by cable television and other innovative high school approaches. Registration \$40; conference banquet fee \$25. For registration, make

checks payable to Texas Tech Foundation Inc., Attn: Vietnam Center. Mail to Vietnam Center, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas, 79409-1045. Hotel is the Four Points Sheraton Hotel, 505 Avenue Q, Lubbock. Rates are \$59 single/\$54 double. Register before May 11, 1998.

Hanoi Conference (July 15-17). Conference on Vietnamese Studies and Enhancement of International Cooperation. Sponsors: Vietnam National University, Hanoi (VNU) and the National Centre for Social and Human Sciences in Vietnam (NCSHS), with professional and technical assistance from the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), Australia, and the Ford Foundation. Convenors: Professor Phan Huy Lê, Director VNU Key Centre for Vietnamese and Intercultural Studies; Professor Lê Hữu Tăng, Vice President, National Centre for Social and Human Sciences of Vietnam; and Professor Tony Adams, Dean RMIT University International Programs. Secretariat: 52B Nguyễn Khuyến Street, Hanoi, Vietnam, tel: +84 4 824 8371; fax: +84 4 843 3224; E-mail: rmitvn@org.netnam.vn Panel topics: tradition and modernity; traditional culture and inter-cultures; socio-economic development; villages, rural areas, and farmers; family, women, and population; urban and the ecological environment; languages in Vietnam and the teaching of Vietnamese; international cooperation in the field of Vietnamese studies. Location: International Convention Centre, 11 Lê Hồng Phong Street, Hanoi.

Forum on Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (Sept. 2-5). In Phnom Penh. John McAuliff, coordinator; David Elder, convenor; contact Rebekah Collins. The Forum, now in its 9th year, is a network of U.S. and Canadian non-governmental relief and development organizations, foundations, universities, businesses, corporate philanthropies and government agencies, meeting with "non-governmental" counterparts and government officials from three countries. The U.S. Indochina Reconciliation Project serves as the secretariat. A representative of an NGO with programs in the region (currently the American Friends Service Committee) serves as the Convenor of the Forum. Moving the conference to Cambodia is a step into uncharted territory. We need advice and financial support from many sources in or-

der to create an event which has real benefit for the multiplicity of institutions committed to the Indochina sub-region's development. Contact the Forum at 25 West 45th Street, Suite 1201, New York, NY, 10036. Tel: 212-764-3925; Fax: 212-764-3896; E-mail: usindo@igc.apc.org

One Hundred Years. Call has been issued for papers for an October 23-25, 1998 conference in Madison, Wisconsin. Title: "The American Military Experience in Asia, 1898-1998". Seeking papers that focus on the cross-cultural, international impact of American armed forces in the Asia-Pacific Area. Such as: military-military relations, civil-military relations, occupation and pacification policies, and coalition warfare. To honor Professor of History Emeritus Edward M. Coffman (University of Wisconsin, Madison) for his contributions to the study of American armed forces. To be held at the new Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Monona Terrace Community and Convention Center, Madison, Wisconsin, with special events at the Wisconsin Veterans Museum. Conferees will be housed at the Concourse Hotel. Conference organizer: Richard Zeitlin, Director, Wisconsin Veterans Museum, 30 West Mifflin Street, Madison, WI 53703; 608-266-1009; E-mail: rzeitlin@mail.state.wi.us

East Asia in Crisis. (June 9-10, 1998). Sponsored by the National Bureau of Asian Research and the U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute. Academics, business people, U.S. military assess current Asian economic difficulties in terms of cause, impact, political meaning, etc. Details from: Jen Linder, NBR, 4518 University Way, NE, Suite 300, Seattle WA 98105. Phone: (206) 632-7370; Fax: (206) 632-7487; E-mail: nbr@nbr.org or <http://www.nbr.org>



Vietnam Research. The National Center for Social and Humanities of Vietnam held its second research methods training course in Hanoi Jul. 29-Aug. 7, 1997. Sponsored by the Toyota Foundation, Tokyo. The first course, in 1996, dealt with field work methods and was conducted by Yumio Sakurai (Univ. of Tokyo). The second course dealt with the study of Japanese culture, society and foreign relations.

ELECTRONIC AND AUDIO-VISUAL

Great Gray Times. All published materials on the Vietnam War-stories and editorials plus CBS-TV images-are now available on CD-ROM. The Times print version has long been available on microform at a fairly high cost. The CD-ROM is only \$39.95, a further commentary on the revolution in research communication for the academy. For review, see David Rezelman, CBS News and the New York Times. The War in Vietnam. New York: MacMillan Digital USA, 1995. 2x CD-ROM. <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/software/showrev.cgi?path=20>

Nhân Dân. The VCP's official organ, *Nhân Dân* (*The People*), will soon be on the Internet according to *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (German news agency), Jan. 20, 1998, which says: "the purpose is propagate the Party to the world," quoting *Nhân Dân* deputy editor-in-chief, Nguyễn Đức Long. Adds the German report: "Known generally for its wooden, doctrinaire style, the paper offers political observers some insight into the secretive party. Some 180,000 copies are distributed each day from presses located in six cities around the country. Only last year did the paper expand to eight pages and now sports splashes of red in some headlines to liven its otherwise drab layout. Although *Nhân Dân* is the official voice of the ruling party, all media in Vietnam in fact are controlled by the party through regular content guidelines."

Vern Weitzel, who manages Australia Vietnam Science Link (AVSL-1), an on-line information service dedicated to broadly-defined science, technology, and environment (ST&E) issues relevant to Vietnam, has decided to create vnnews-1, a new on-line list dedicated to wire service, newspaper, and radio transcript reports from and/or about Vietnam. Weitzel notes that subscribers can choose to receive only one or both. Contact: Vern Weitzel vern@coombs.anu.edu.au Tel/Fax: +61 (2) 6254-0166, Australia Vietnam Science Technology Link, GPO Box 161, Belconnen, ACT, 2616 Australia. AVSL Home Page: <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/~vern/avsl.html>

Dan Freeman. A provider of on-line news about Vietnam, recommends the following sites for additional information., <http://www.vinsight.org/>, <http://freeviet.org/>, <http://lesea.com/>, <http://www.vpac-usa.org/>, <http://www.hrw.org/>, <http://vietfederation.ca/>, <http://vnhforum.org/home.html>, <http://vietquoc.com/>, <http://navisoft.com/vfp/index/htm#vfp>, Võ Văn Ái and Ý Lan at 100302.3100@compuserve.com, Càn Trần at vinsight@netcom.com, Steven Denney at sdenny@uclink.berkeley.edu, and Senator Bob Kerrey at qmail@kerrey-cms.senate.gov As we go to press Mr. Freeman informs us he is returning his service to its original operator, (Hiệp Thông Nguyễn) who has been on medical leave. Contact: danfreeman@worldnet.att.net

Classroom Films. Three from Films for the Humanities and Sciences (PO Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08453-2053).

The Vietnam War From Start to Finish. War with the French and Việt Minh; French defeat at Điện Biên Phủ; partitioning of Việt Nam at the Geneva Conference; Unraveling of the South Vietnamese government and the arrival of increasing numbers of American advisors; death of Hồ Chí Minh; the escalation of the war; the evacuation of American forces; and the North's immediate and intense efforts to remove all traces of the vanquished South Vietnamese regime. (28 min., b&w/color). \$89.95.

Asia: Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam. Progress versus culture, preserving archaeological sites, and rebuilding war-torn nations. A Frenchman and a Laotian work together to improve the lives of local farmers in Laos by incorporating the farmers' opinions and cultural concerns. In Cambodia, efforts by the UN to preserve Angkor Wat. In Vietnam, 62-year-old American Bob Sidell is helping Đại Lộc Village to rebuild infrastructure and generally improve their lives. From the series *Our Developing World*. (28 minutes, color). \$89.95.

Secrets of S-21: Legacy of a Cambodian Prison. In Phnom Penh stands a compound that once was a high school. During the bloody rule of the Khmer Rouge 17,000 men, women, and children were incarcerated, and only four emerged alive. Two American photographers painstakingly piece together the details of the

genocide at S-21 through thousands of photos left behind by prison officials. It reveals a world built on power, fear, and total disregard for human life and dignity. (30 minutes, color). \$129.

Learning Vietnamese. Internet exchange this quarter turned up this report on a CD-ROM Vietnamese language course: "Vietnamese Lesson" from World Education Software at KSI, 6 Meadow Park Road, Balwin Place, New York, 10505; Tel/Fax: 914-621-8632; Email: 74164.2223@compuserve.com. In Europe: PC & Securite, 32 Passage des Lauzes, 95800 Cergy St-Christophe, France; Tel: 0033-1-34.24.03.25 (from overseas); Fax: 0033-1-30.30.1964 (from overseas); E-mail: chenpc@aol.com



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HISTORY REDUX

Marxism Revisited. There is a hot new book loose in France these days-on top of the non-fiction bestseller list. It has fueled debate in Parliament (the Prime Minister says he is "irritated" by its publication), and authors from various literary and political camps are squabbling. The book is entitled *Le Livre Noire du Communism (Black Book of Communism)*. It was written by six historians, took three years to finish, and runs to 846 pages. Within days of its publication (Nov. 8, 1997), the paperback edition (\$35.00) had sold 50,000 copies. Essentially what the book says is that over the years between 85 million and 100 million persons died at the hands of communist regimes in the Soviet Union, China, Cambodia, and elsewhere. Hardly information being reported for the first time. Apparently the reason for its sensationalism is because the past continues to haunt French intellectual life. In France, Marxism was taken more seriously, and was made respectable. Also, bringing up the subject tends to embarrass present government figures who had long, often intimate, ties with the communists (hence the PM's irritation).

Mỹ Lai. This quarter saw the 30th anniversary of the Mỹ Lai massacre (March 16, 1968). Observances were staged in Washington, Indianapolis, and at Mỹ Lai itself, in Quảng Ngãi Province, bringing together individuals with widely varying motivations for recalling the event at this late date. Bare facts about Mỹ Lai are now clear. A popular sergeant of Charlie Company (23rd Division) was killed by a booby trap. The next day his unit, led by Lt. William Calley, came into Mỹ Lai village, guns blazing. They fired for hours, and left 504 villagers dead. The troops were never fired upon. The Army investigation went up the line and back to Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Several officers were charged; one-Calley (later arrested in civilian life on a morals charge)-did time (four-and-a-half months). The Army gave the affair such a low-key treatment that later a cover-up was charged. While the facts may be clear, the meaning of Mỹ Lai remains the subject of a complex debate. Was it an aberration or an atrocity? Was it

due to mass mental breakdown by traumatized soldiers for whom the Army's rules of engagement made no sense? Was it the failure of the leadership system, or the failure of the Officer Candidate School mechanism in not weeding out potential bad-apple second lieutenants? Was it the predictable outcome of a wartime culture that equated body count with victory? Or was it simply the new face of war, the first in a long sad string in Cambodia, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Ireland? The only sure and certain truth about Mỹ Lai is that its meaning cannot be simplified. Helicopter pilot Hugh Thompson, dubbed the "hero of Mỹ Lai" this quarter received his long-delayed medal (for blowing the whistle on Charlie Company). The Pentagon delay is itself an example of the bifurcated attitude of the U.S. military about Mỹ Lai. Colin Powell, part of the chain of command at the time, later in his memoir took a non-judgmental position saying simply, this is what happened in "Indian country" in Vietnam. In truth, he reflected the thinking of many Americans, military and civilian alike, in Vietnam at the time. Mỹ Lai has been heavily described and documented. The Mỹ Lai file at the Texas Tech Vietnam Archive runs to some 10,000 pages. There have been at least half a dozen books: Seymour Hersh, *Mỹ Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and its Aftermath*, 1970; Richard Hammer, *The Court Martial of Lieutenant Calley* (1971); Gerald Kurland, *The Mỹ Lai Massacre* (1973). On the 30th anniversary two new works appear: David Anderson's *Facing Mỹ Lai: Moving Beyond the Massacre* and James S. Olson and Randy Roberts' *Mỹ Lai: A Brief History with Documents*.

Huế. Predictably, intensive focus on Mỹ Lai this quarter brought a return visit to the Huế massacre (Tết, 1968) commentary by Việt kiều in the U.S. However, unlike the Mỹ Lai exchange, which put some strange bed-fellows together, the Huế disputation proved to be a straight line continuation of Vietnam War competing perceptions. What happened exactly? What was the death toll? Were the killings on orders from Hà Nội or the result of local Việt Cộng initiative? Like Mỹ Lai, how can this be explained? See Internet traffic *passim* and especially, "Huế: Mass Murder, Mass Burial" by Tito Carballo, written in 1968 and published by the Vietnamese Embassy, Washington, DC. In

Việt Nam Bulletin, "In Memory of Huế, Tết 1968", April 1970. See also Clark Dougan and Steven Weiss, *The Vietnam Experience: Nineteen Sixty-Eight* (1983); Don Oberdorfer, *Tết!* (1971); James Bullington, "And Here See Huế!", *Foreign Service Journal* (November 1968); Keith Nolan, *The Battle for Huế: Tết, 1968* (1973); Douglas Pike, "Huế: A Case History" in *Việt Cộng Strategy of Terror*, U.S. Mission, Sài Gòn (1969); Gareth Porter, "The 1968 Huế Massacre" in *Indochina Chronicle*, no. 33 (June 24, 1974).

Uses/Abuses of History. "Henry Ford said it was bunk. The way governments present it, it is. But is that a reason to have more history, or less? It is not doubt a variant of the Shakespearean maxim about busy-ing giddy minds with foreign quarrels, the minds in China being giddy because of all the failures of 20th-century communism. Busy them, therefore, with the humiliations of history to show that the world is still out to get them, and thus justify the Communist Party's continuing grip on power. Most Chinese would probably be happy to put these events out of their minds. Their political masters, will not, however, let them. "Plenty of others use history in this chip-on-shoulder way. South Korean politicians dwell on their countrymen's wretched treatment at the hands of the Japanese. Vietnamese can point to the brutality they have suffered from successive Chinese, French, and American oppressors. Far-right Afrikaners never cease to claim inspiration from the Voortrekkers who, in the early 19th century, were pitted against both the British and the blacks. 'The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it,' said Oscar Wilde." *The Economist*, December 21, 1996.



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