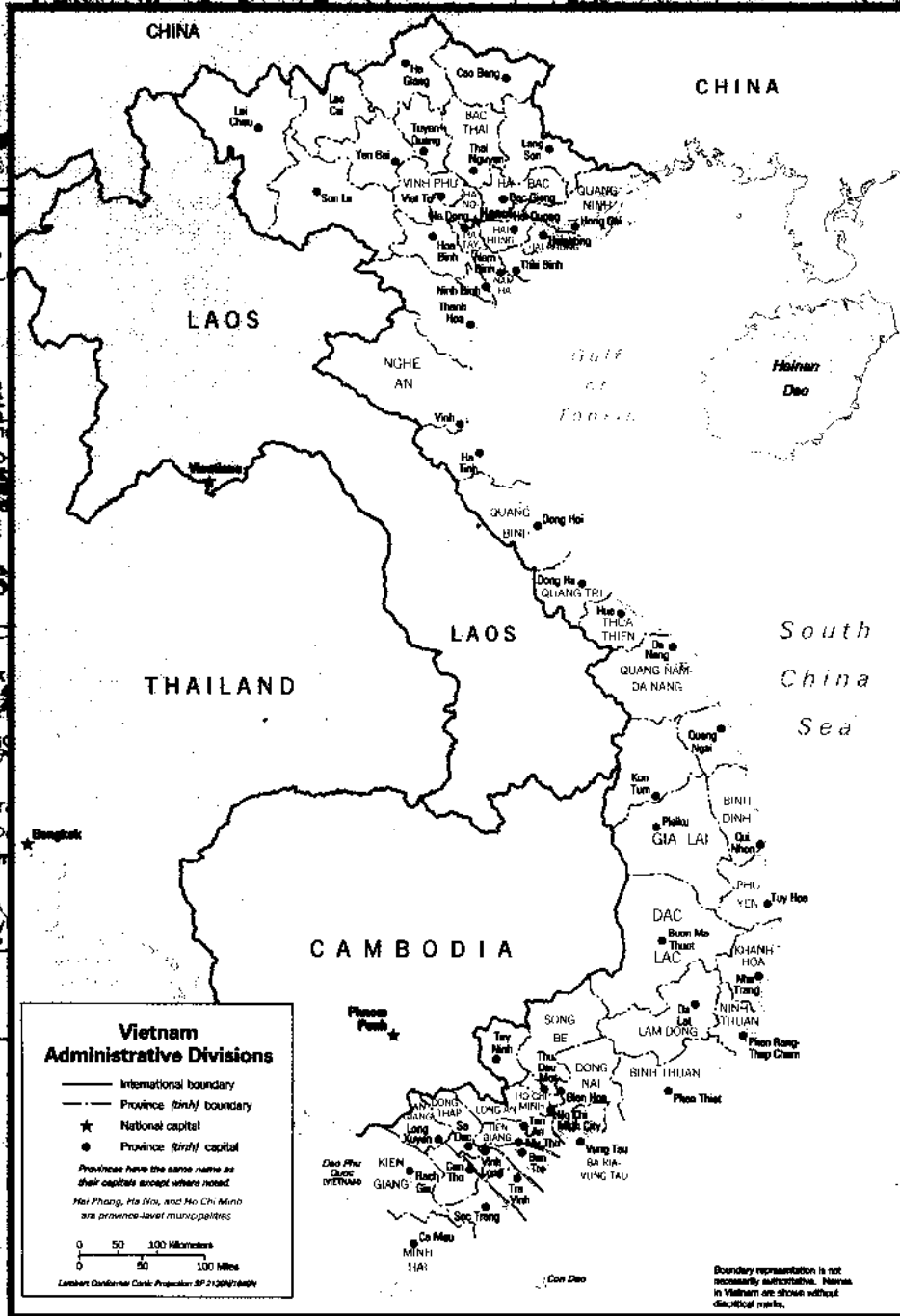


# Indochina Chronology

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

*Indochina Chronology* is a quarterly publication devoted to historical and contemporary events in Viet Nam (including the Viet Nam War), Cambodia, and Laos: it is a bibliographic resource on book, monograph, periodical and journal literature and a source of news of the field. It was launched in 1982 at the University of California (Berkeley) and moved to Texas Tech University (Lubbock) in mid-1997. It is available, gratis, to academics, historians, writers, researchers, journalists, veterans, and government officials. Publication by Viet Nam Center, Texas Tech University, James R. Reckner, director. Editor is Douglas Pike. Editorial assistance is supplied by Nicol Rincon-Blanco, Ben Dubberly, Khanh Le and Myrna Pike. *Indochina Chronology* operates in conjunction with the Viet Nam Archive, also at Texas Tech University (Ronald Frankum, chief archivist).

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**On the Cover:** The latest delineation of place names in Vietnam, which Hanoi officials constantly seem to think need redesignation. Names are shown without diacritical marks.

# COMPETING PERCEPTIONS OF THE VIETNAM

## WAR:

### 25<sup>TH</sup> YEAR ROUND UP: SPRING 2000

We have here a truly contemporary history of the Vietnam War -- the words and thoughts of those who were there; those who were not; those who came later; the veterans, politicians, journalists, academics, Viet Kieu, the onlookers from around the world; the wise; those still walking wounded; the credulous, a few utterly foolish -- all contributors to our contemporaneous perception.

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"The enigma of Vietnam: many Americans, especially those who fought or those who protested, remain divided on the conflict that took 58,000 lives. The nation has yet to collectively resolve whether the U.S. was fighting a small civil war with North Vietnam trying to unite with South Vietnam or was it rather a proxy war against Communist China and the Soviet Empire? (Christian Science Monitor, April 28)

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"Two thirds of Americans think the Vietnam War was a mistake, but they cannot agree on what the error was. One group, the majority probably, thinks it lay in becoming involved in the first place; the conflict was unnecessary and unwinnable; it presented the image of America as an imperial power, not a defender of democracy. Others think the mistake was in not getting out; American troops, said President Ronald Reagan, had been "denied permission to win." Vietnam was a failure of political will, not of geopolitical or military strategy. (The Economist, April 29)

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"Few myths have been as enduring as the image of Vietnamese Communists as primarily heroic nationalists, potential Titoists, inherently resistant to the Chinese and other foreign influences. Yet evidence (in the past 25 years)

shows the Vietnamese Communists were, as the U.S. Government believed, hostile to Tito, profoundly influenced by the Chinese Communists, and did threaten the security of Southeast Asia."

(Steve Morris International Herald Tribune, June 19)

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"Under a grey Hanoi morning mist, Vietnam's Communist Party chief, president and prime minister laid wreaths at the mausoleum of revolutionary hero Ho Chi Minh on the eve of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the conflict. The leaders then moved across central Ba Dinh square and held a minute of silence at a monument to an unknown Vietnamese soldier. A large red and yellow flag hung limply from a pole in the square, adding to the sombre mood. Once inside cavernous Ba Dinh Hall, technicians ran black and white newsreel footage of Buddhist monks immolating themselves in the streets of Saigon. Footage of the U.S. burning and bulldozing villages, and roughly interrogating suspected communist sympathizers was also shown in an apparent attempt to shame the United States over the war in which it backed South Vietnam. While the old footage rolled on a giant screen, women wearing traditional ao dai dress sang folk songs while be-medalled veterans kept up spirits with a chorus of revolutionary music to mark the end of the war on April 30, 1975." (Reuters, April 29)

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"Vietnam in the Ruins, Legacy of the Vietnam War. Adam Smith said there is a lot of ruin in a nation, meaning that a country can make many mistakes and still plow along. The Vietnam War showed there was a lot of ruin in the United States. The war produced acrid politics, campus

unrest, Kent State, and Watergate. It stroked the self-esteem of a generation of smug shirkers, led by draft-dropper and President, Bill Clinton. It left 58,000 better men in the grave. But the United States eventually recovered itself and went on to victory in the Cold War and two-decade boom. There was less capacity to bear ruin in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Cambodia was subjected to a genocide run by lunatics, whom it even now deals with only by nervous jokes and denial. Laos is an isolation ward, as remote from the outside world as a sealed tomb. Vietnam put 400,000 people in "reeducation" camps, where 50,000 of them died. More thousands took to the South China Sea. 'Little Saigons' sprang up in Orange County, CA; Arlington, VA; Louisiana (lose a country, gain a restaurant). The East Asian economic liftoff passed the country by (fewer than half of Vietnamese city dwellers own even scooters—this, on a continent that floods America with cars). With its swallows and its charm, Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City, is a pleasant backwater of the last century." (**National Review**, May 22)

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"Vietnam Then and Now. What would Uncle Ho make of the giant billboard for American Express that today greets visitors to the Vietnamese capital? On that fateful day in April 1975 when the last U.S. army helicopter lifted off from the embassy rooftop, even those who had given their all to resist might have been forgiven for thinking the victors truly did have history on their side. But dissent was squashed, re-education camps established and the ethnic Chinese minority, backbone of the merchant class, emasculated. The irony was that the hard men from Hanoi had succeeded in raising the red flag over a united Vietnam at the precise moment, as Ronald Reagan put it four years later, that history was preparing to write off communism as a 'sad bizarre chapter in human history.' As to the judgments of history, Singapore's Le Kuan Yew long ago noted that America's effort in Vietnam bought time for the rest of the region. In sharp contrast to the Vietnams, Cambodias and North Koreas that wallowed in backwardness, Asia today enjoys a prosperity and security purchased in no small part by the American

boys who fought and died in Vietnam." (**Wall Street Journal** April 28)

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"When the peace treaty ending American involvement was signed in Paris in 1973, America pledged to the South Vietnamese to take 'swift and severe retaliatory action' if the North Vietnamese broke the terms of the accord. Yet, in early 1975, in an omen of the approaching bloodbath, President Gerald Ford publicly stated that he could foresee no circumstances in which the United States might actively re-enter the war. That was all the North needed to hear. Three months later Saigon fell to the communists.

(**Kenneth Smith, Washington Times**, April 23)

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"Prisoners of the Past: 25 years ago the warriors slew a superpower and seized the moral high ground. But it is no longer adequate. The elite of Hanoi have become prisoners of the past. There is (in Vietnam) a palpable sense of stagnation...politically, siege mentality has taken root. Vietnam suffers from a lack of imagination about solutions to problems, social and economic; has not met the reasonable aspiration of the poor; its one-party state is unwilling to open the minds of talented young."

(**Brian Barron, Independent News**, May)

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"Americans Reflect on Vietnam. Perhaps it is Americans' well-known streak of optimism that makes it so hard for them to accept failure.... The sad legacy of the Vietnam War is that millions of Americans still think it was a colossal waste of life and effort.... The White House, says President Clinton, does not plan to mention the war (on April 30<sup>th</sup>). In Britain we tend to find refuge from our setbacks in humor. Even after, a quarter of a century you do not joke about Vietnam with an American." (**Tom Carver, BBC**)

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"Vietnam's North-South divide persists 25 years after reunification, even if it is slowly becoming less marked. Northerners are proud of their role as cradle of the struggle for national independence, are used to tight state control of their economic and political affairs. But in the South the

impact of two decades of American presence has never worn off. Its inhabitants rail against the dark of repression that followed Communist victory. A Hanoi history professor says 'We must keep a tight control over politics in the South to preserve stability [since] Southerners often hide their discontent under the guise of approval [but] rail against the backwardness of their Northern compatriots, deriding them as peasants.'" (AFP, April 27)

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"Vietnam's Forgotten Lessons: 25 years later does the Pentagon remember the causes of American defeat? Lyndon Johnson once boasted that during the Vietnam War 'I had more control of the generals than any other civilian President in history did'. That's no way to fight a war. Defeat epitomized the futility of a conflict fought valiantly on the ground but lost by the bullheaded decisions of those in high office. Denunciations of the war are now muted, but still accurate: 58,219 Americans died because short sighted political leaders misused the Nation's military.... [However] from all the waste something valuable did emerge: how not to fight an enemy.... Fight to win. Establish clear objectives. Give the military broad authority. Don't micromanage the war from Washington. If you are going to use American might, use it in a way that doesn't prolong the war." (U.S. News and World Report, May 1)

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"For most Americans, at least those over 40, Vietnam is a place frozen in time where burning villages mark the landscape and B-52's patrol the sky...but Vietnam today is a nation where noodle vendors, cyclo drivers, farmers, poets, prostitutes and Communist Party stalwarts all have a story to tell. It is a nation of anachronisms, where the government campaigns against "social ills" and young people crowd cyber-café's and English classes; where peasants till rice patties dotted with shrines to their ancestors and look forward to money orders from relatives in the U.S. (U.S. Newswire, Minnesota Public Radio, April 10)

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"Silenced Vietnam. The communist victory in Vietnam 25 years ago brought the usual

communist political brutality. Thousands of political "enemies" were killed; many more "boat people" died trying to flee by sea. Tens of thousands were herded into re-education camps... Vietnam remains a one-party state whose leaders seem hesitant about how far they want economic reform to go: rampant corruption retards foreign investment. Apparently the Communist Party fears more openness toward the outside could bring in more political heterodoxy for which the Party has shown zero tolerance"

(Washington Post editorial, May 2)

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"Turkish columnist on Vietnam 25 years after the war: This rout, which symbolized the first ever defeat in the history of the United States, lowered the final curtain on what was as mistaken and unsuccessful a policy as there could be. In this war costing \$150 billion, the Americans suffered 60,000 dead and 150,000 injured. But, what was more important was that for many years it lost its self-confidence and its respect in the world. The trauma from Vietnam can still be sensed in America's behavior today. It was not able to consider a ground war to bring the Gulf War against Saddam to an end. In the Kosovo crisis it used air power only to bring Yugoslavia to its knees.... It is not easy to explain how a democratic country with a powerful and sound society such as America could have strayed so far from its path. It was not as if nobody foresaw the United States getting stuck in a swamp in Vietnam. I was serving in the Washington Embassy in those days, when President Kennedy first started sending troops to Vietnam at the end of 1961. Most of us had thought that North Vietnam would be stopped. However, our ambassador, the late Bulend Usakligil, told us: 'you will see; in the end, America will leave the place with its tail between its legs.'" (Ilter Turkmen, in Istanbul Hurriyet, Ankara edition, May 11)

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"Those who teach about the Vietnam War (in American schools) bemoan what they call a frightening level of ignorance among today's college students, most of whom were born after the war ended. The new generation of college students is as likely to take a course on the Peloponnesian

War as on the Vietnam War, said Alan Goodman (recently of Georgetown University), adding the more it becomes ancient history the higher the risk we will ignore its many lessons. Eric Crystal (University California Berkeley) theorizes why: Postwar Vietnam was such a disappointment to the liberal faculty who wanted a socialist paradise to emerge. The abject defeat of American forces by a ragtag group of guerrillas was such a disappointment for conservatives. The two ideological poles unconsciously agreed to wipe the whole subject off the curricula map.... Protestors turned professors touch on Vietnam in seminars that romanticize the counterculture of their youth. No wonder American young people are confused.” (Los Angeles Times, April 23)

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“Show us the truth about Vietnam. It lasted for 14 years, from 1961 to 1975. It was covered more exhaustively on television than any topic in the history of current affairs. Half the coverage of CBS, ABC, and NBC dealt with action by U.S. ground troops or U.S. Air Force; 12% consisted of direct quotes from Washington and Saigon government sources; three percent recorded the ‘enemy’ viewpoint -- a graphic illustration of American television one-sided stance.... Coverage minimized opposition by young people, anti-war demonstrations, peace marches, and university protests. After all this time are U.S. authorities ready to express regret for crimes? U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen on the eve of a visit to Vietnam (March 11) said he did not intend to apologize for the attitude of U.S. forces during the Vietnam War.” (Ignacio Ramonet, Le Monde Diplomatique, April 2)

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“The Ministry of Public Health, the Hanoi Department of Public Health and Hanoi Television and Radio held a meeting April 26 for healthcare workers who fought in the battlefields B, C and K. Senior Lieutenant General Pham Van Tra, minister of defence, praised the contributions and sacrifice of the healthcare workers to the struggle for national independence. The military command in Thai Binh province organized a meeting of historic witnesses on April 25<sup>th</sup> with the participation of Ms. Nguyen

Thi Chien, the first Army Heroine of Vietnam; Nguyen Xuan Liem, hero of the Tank Division; and Bui Quang Than who planted the flag on the top of the Independence Palace on April 30, 1975. The Party Committee of the southern province of Vung Tau held a meeting for veteran revolutionaries in the Anti-French and Anti-US Resistance Wars.” (Nhan Dan, April 27)

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“In 1962, the Pentagon generals and civilian hawks thought Vietnam the wrong place to fight. Those who later became doves, Daniel Ellsberg in particular, thought we could turn up the bombing ‘until the North backed off’. When the Diem coup turned out not to help the war effort and in the wake of the Kennedy assassination, the liberals turned against their own war. The argument now was not that their ideas were wrong, but that America was immoral. The almost complete indifference of the U.S. peace movement toward post-1975 Vietnam underscores that for all the death and suffering, Vietnam was never really more than an antiwar movement. The collapse of American authority at all levels -- churches, universities, and government -- meant that the radicals set the agenda. Their animus was directed not at an American right that had never been much involved in Vietnam policy, but at American liberalism that brought us to Vietnam on the basis of American ideals that were themselves, in the parlance of the day, ‘put on trial’. Vietnam was John F. Kennedy’s war.” (Wall Street Journal, April 28)

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“There is another question about this war that is seldom asked, perhaps because we can’t face up to the answer: Did the anti-war movement so weaken our nation’s resolve in fighting distant communism that the death of these two million Asians may in some way be our own fault? The 1960s saw the rise of a movement that challenged our involvement in Vietnam, and in some sense the efforts to contain communism globally. Centered in our prestigious universities and colleges, a new breed of dissident arose, different from the civil rights protester of the 1960s: the ‘movement radical’. Like many of my friends and fellow students at the time, I embraced the hard-core

radicalism of the anti-war 'movement'. There were millions of us from Ann Arbor to Austin to Berkeley, mostly middle-class kids full of 'rage' over an imperialist America that supported an evil economic system designed to subjugate the Vietnamese. For us, Hanoi had it right; Washington had it wrong. We disrupted classes, marched in the streets and closed down our universities. We burned our draft cards and screamed at the police who protected the public property we attempted to deface. In short, we trashed the principles and traditions of America life and law. In the meantime, American soldiers were fighting and dying in the rice paddies of Asia for no other reason than they had felt compelled to serve. Volunteers in this war accounted for 77 percent of combat deaths. Yet upon their return, we treated them – with touts and glares – as the perpetrators of this despicable war. The last two Americans killed in Vietnam were Marines Charles McMahon Jr., 21, and Darwin Judge, 19. Both died 25 years ago in the last few hours of this war as they helped the remaining Americans off the embassy rooftop. They had been in Vietnam for less than a week. We live in an age when our national religious leaders feel duty-bound to apologize for deeds committed years and even centuries prior. For those of us who blindly mistook the intentions of Communists and gaze at the terrible consequences of a Stalinist Indochina, should we not have some remorse also? Is an apology not in order for the destructive deeds directed at our veterans and the parody we made of American values? Will we ever find the courage to say we were wrong?" **(Kenneth Smith, Washington Times, April 27)**

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"This generation will go to its grave debating the war," said George Duggins, president of the Vietnam Veterans of America, at a recent conference on the war held at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. "When I see the look on the faces of the people in the crowd, it's the look of dumping baggage; we're finally able to talk." "Vietnam really hasn't had the kind of dramatic, long-lasting impact that many people had expected it to have back in the 1970s," said James Lindsay of the Brookings Institution in

Washington. "Vietnam was supposed to herald an era of isolationism by making U.S. leaders more cautious about intervening where the country's national interests were not directly involved, reluctant to commit ground troops to "discretionary wars".' "But now those lessons are fading," said Richard Haas, a foreign policy official in the Bush administration and now a scholar at Brookings. President Bill Clinton's doctrine of humanitarian intervention has increased the reliance on air power and civilian involvement in determining military objectives, he said, -- both factors that contributed to defeat in Vietnam despite the more recent success in Kosovo. Relations with Vietnam are no longer controversial. "It's not something we're talking about in domestic politics in the middle of an election year," said the State Department official, who spoke on condition he not be identified, "and that political acceptance reflects a societal outlook that has moved beyond the war and its scars. I think we're moving farther away from looking at the American experience in Vietnam, to looking more at Vietnam as it is today and its interaction with the rest of the world." **(Deutsche Presse Agentur, April 26)**

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"Vietnam War Journalists Embrace. Former members of the Saigon press corps gathered in a hotel roof garden Friday to mark the end of the Vietnam War. 'I think it's rather fun, very pleasant and enormously interesting, fascinating,' said legendary British scribe Clare Hollingworth, 88, oldest of some 60 reporters and photographers at the reunion. She flew in from Hong Kong, her Asia base with London's Sunday Telegraph. Along with food and drink, the journalists tried to assess the reunion's meaning without getting too mired down in curbstome philosophy. 'It means we're finally getting the ghosts of Vietnam off our hands,' said Saul Lockhart of Hong Kong's South China Morning Post. Journalists gravitated toward the Rex Hotel in downtown Ho Chi Minh City just as NBC's "Today" show was staging an elaborate sidewalk interview with Sen. John McCain. He and his wife, Cindy, were invited to the press reception but declined; McCain said he had to catch a plane to rush back to Washington, D.C., to attend the White

House correspondents' dinner on Saturday night. The largest contingent was the Associated Press, whose 15 attendees included three Pulitzer Prize winners: photographers Horst Faas, Nick Ut and Neal Ulevich. There were no speeches at the low-key affair; as is their custom, the correspondents avoided telling war stories to each other. But Faas injected the requisite dark humor of their profession: *Morituri te salutant* (we who are about to die salute you) [the Roman gladiator to Caesar]." (Richard Pyle, Associated Press, April 29)

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"Media fanfare and official secrecy as Vietnam prepares to fete end of the war. With hundreds of journalists expected, the government is taking no chances about releasing any information that might help émigré opponents sabotage its moment in the media spotlight. Authorities (April 16) would not give a firm date for celebrations in the capital, would only confirm to AFP the day probably would be April 29.... Participation by top Party and government officials is being kept under a tight wrap of security. The U.S. State Department travel advisory (March 8) warned its citizens a number of individuals inside and outside Vietnam may seek to mark these events with acts of violence. This drew a sniffy response from Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Phan Thuy Thanh. 'We have no such information.... We will take all necessary measures.... The government has made it clear there will be no let up in the tight controls it maintains on the foreign media.'" (AFP, April 16)

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"Some things never change. Even now, a quarter-century after the war ended, there is still the threat of attack, although anti-communist dissidents are the suspects. Le Thanh Hai, deputy mayor of Ho Chi Minh City, said no extra police would be deployed leading up to the anniversary. 'The reality is that on the occasion of big events, there are bad elements who wish to disrupt the smooth celebrations of the people,' he said. 'The security personnel do their jobs. I cannot elaborate.' Hai acknowledged the parade would be limited to Reunification Palace. But he cited the palace's historical significance and cost savings of \$70,000 instead of security concerns.... A monument on the

sidewalk outside the U.S. embassy, which was torn down two years ago with the land left vacant, is dedicated to the 'commandos who bravely fought and died in the attack during the Tet offensive January 1968'." (George Esper, AP, April 27)

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"Telephone engineers in hard hats, marching chefs from government-owned hotels, dragon dancers, ballerinas and barefooted tribesmen banging gongs. The procession was scaled down at the 11<sup>th</sup> hour and the proposed route changed amid rumors that dissident groups were plotting to disrupt it. Ceremonies began earlier than usual, at 6:30 a.m. The event made a convincing television spectacle but only carefully chosen Party faithful, a little more than 2,000, were allowed through the ring of police barricades. 'Large crowds make them edgy,' said a Western diplomat. The cautious approach underlined the impression that one of the few remaining states to fly the red flag may have had one of the great triumphs of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but was losing its grip on the peace." (Daily Telegraph, London, May 1)

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"A new Vietnam emerges 25 years after the war's end. An estimated 20,000 people gathered at Reunification Palace (HCMC) to watch celebrations that turned from a military parade into a colorful spring pageant of floats and performers on Sunday, the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the war...Goose-stepping soldiers, barefooted minority groups, brightly dressed women paraded before a larger-than-life portrait of Ho Chi Minh. Singers belted out patriotic songs. The men who made it possible were there: General Vo Nguyen Giap and General Van Tien Dung, commander of the [last] campaign of the war." (George Esper, AP, April 30)

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"Bitterness lies beneath Vietnam's celebration. Vietnam mounted a triumphal display of communist pageantry yesterday but the festivities came amid disquiet about the future. The themes at the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary (in 1995) were reconciliation but five years later Hanoi sharpened its rhetoric about U.S. brutality. John McCain Friday



suggested that the 'wrong guys won the war'; Hanoi replied by accusing the U.S. of horrendous crimes; the exchange exposed the bitterness that remains." (Dean Yeats in Independent News, May 11)

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"An estimated 20,000 gathered at Reunification Palace for a pageant of goose-stepping soldiers, barefooted minorities, religious representatives in black Catholic cassocks, rifle-toting female PAVN, floats, stilt walkers, dragon dancers, child ballet dancers, a globe that opened releasing a flock of doves.... Keynote address from Mayor Vo Viet Thanh: 'Looking ahead I see the city with a higher economic growth rate, greater efficiency in business performance, less restrictive policies. We have a number of problems, some of them of our own making: arbitrary and imperious behavior, wasteful spending, embezzlement, bribery, and an increasingly widespread scourge of drug addiction...ineffective law enforcement, serious degradation of moral and spiritual values.'" (George Esper, AP, April 30)

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"An ageless Saigon basks in peace. Loud rock music enchoed down the old French colonial boulevard this morning as thousands of strollers jammed the central streets of this fast-changing city. The aging longhaired singer (Trinh Cong Son) and the bearded artist (Trinh Cung) rattled the ice in their glasses and contemplated the transformation of their nation. Old warhorses of the past, they talked of peace, progress and the spirit of the nation today.... Their whiskey bottle almost empty, the two could not seem to get away from the image that still haunts them: the rich American man walking down the street hand-in-hand with a beautiful Vietnamese woman." (Carl Mydans, New York Times, April 30)

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"They marched across the grounds of what is now labeled Reunification Palace, soldiers too young to remember the war. On the reviewing stand old soldiers who did remember, the generals who defeated the Americans.... For some drug

traffickers and murderers this was a day of freedom, an amnesty granted some 12,000 prisoners in honor of the anniversary." (Barry Petersen and Julie Chen, CBS)

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"The long shadow of Vietnam. Said Henry Kissnger: ' On the final day in April 1975, (President) Ford and I were quite alone in the Oval Office.... The debate was overwhelmed by events. We had become spectators of a drama we were no longer able to influence, suspended between a pain we could not still and a future we were not yet in position to shape.... One of the most important casualties of the Vietnam tragedy was the tradition of American "exceptionalism". The once near-universal faith in the uniqueness of our values and their relevance around the world gave way to intense divisions over the validity of those values and the lengths we should go to promote and defend them.'" (Newsweek, May 1)

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"President Ford vividly remembers the fall of Saigon: 'I sat in the Oval Office and watched the tragedy of American personnel being kicked out of South Vietnam. It was a horrible, horrible situation, to sit there, seeing the disaster...without question the saddest day of my political career. I was part of the scenario from the beginning and to see it all crumble and end in disaster was not a very happy moment. We didn't live up to our commitments. We let the South Vietnamese down. I blame Congress for losing its will to stand up and aid an ally that needed help.' Ford praised the planned declassification of 35,000 documents related to the Vietnam War set for Monday." (AP, April 17)

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"The debate over this war, which seemed to pull America apart by the political seams, continues but now with a different subtext. Justice and freedom for the Vietnamese and Cambodian people, with the fall of their corrupt American-backed governments, never materialized. Now the world knows that as many people in Southeast Asia were killed after the fall of Saigon as before. The arithmetic of these deaths is not complex: it is the sum of millions of Cambodians destroyed in genocidal wrath; a quarter million Vietnamese boat

people drowned in an attempt to escape the 're-education' camps – the bamboo gulag – that were little more than slave labor farms; the bodies of thousands of Hmong tribesmen who were murdered during the Laotian ethnic pogroms. This was the tragic legacy bequeathed to the people of Indochina when America failed to defend the region from communist terror. With the anniversary of this defeat, the old questions return to haunt us once again: Was the two-decade struggle worth it? Was it all a mistake?" (**Kenneth Smith, Washington Times, April 27**)

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"Some of the biggest myths about the conflict are these:

"That Vietnam was a war fought overwhelmingly by the poor and minorities.

"That it left a large portion of its veterans psychologically scarred.

"That it was an unethical killing ground, where massacres such as the killing of civilians at My Lai were common." (**Davie Moniz, Christian Science Monitor, April 27**)

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"No useful lessons can be drawn from the Vietnam War unless history is recorded and assessed in three dimensions:

- 1) The global post-World War II East-West confrontation;
- 2) Regional aspects in Asia;
- 3) The domestic American political scene,

While the American role shifted fundamentally in 1964 and 1965 from one of support to one of control – until that course was reversed by President Nixon – it was a war of Americans in alliance with the people of South Vietnam who did not want to live in a Communist dictatorship and whose ranks included close to a million people who had fled to the South in 1954. It was not an American war against Vietnam as the present rulers in that country like to pretend. Although mistakes were made in it, the war itself was not a mistake, but it was a defeat. In a fit of self-imposed national impotence and in the wake of

a major constitutional crisis in 1974 -- Watergate -- the United States could not muster the national will to insist that agreements signed by Hanoi be observed and not torn up like a mere scrap of paper -- to recall the words used by the late unlamented Adolf Hitler in another context. It was a shameful failure with consequences for years to come. In the global geopolitical context of the Cold War, the Vietnam War was fought because acceptable alternatives from the standpoint of national interest and honor were not available. The battle was lost in 1975 but the war was won 15 years later." (**Ambassador Wolf Lehmann (ret.) at University of Virginia Law School conference, April 28**)

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"Vietnam is a nation of humanitarian and friendly traditions. As for the issues left over by history, we advocate setting aside the past and looking forward to the future, co-operating for mutual development. It is a historical fact that the Vietnamese people had to bear so many consequences left over from foreign aggressive wars. Those consequences remain extremely severe. We are of the view that the concerned governments should understand that their sincere and effective co-operation with Vietnam to overcome the aftermath of war is ethical and contributes to erasing the complex of the past feelings. We highly value practical activities and contributions by foreign governments, mass organizations and individuals, including the Korean ones, to help heal the wounds of war in Vietnam." (**SRV FM spokesperson Phan Thuy Thanh in Nhan Dan, April 21**)

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"Faced with trying to understand why a resource-rich country with an educated and dynamic workforce should have become one of the poorest in the world--and one of the most corrupt--many Vietnamese are reaching the same conclusion. 'We have seen the enemy and it is us,' says a veteran of the ruling Communist Party. Vietnam has become hobbled by feuding among Party officials and is slowly sliding into a deep economic mire, merely reiterating the frayed maxim that 'development will follow a market-based, but socialism-driven structure of economic development.' Official data show pledged foreign investment in the first quarter

of this year [2000] was just 26% of the level a year earlier. Annual growth is around 4%, barely sufficient to tread water and close to half the early 1990s average.” (Nayan Chanda, FEER, May)

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“The visitor to Vietnam today finds the country rich in ironies.... On a recent tour of the cells where the government keeps its prisoners, a Vietnamese tour guide whispered to us that though the political coloring has changed, the prisoners remain. ‘Always fully booked,’ he noted wryly.” (Wall Street Journal, April 28)

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“To judge by the pace of life and street commerce, it seems hardly possible that this is a city under Communist rule. From the labyrinth of streets in District 5, trading in imitation and used motorcycle parts, to neighborhood markets, to the ubiquitous bicycle-puncture repair stands, Ho Chi Minh City has more of the look and feel of mid-1960s Bangkok than what you’d expect of Communist Vietnam. It is ruled by a regime paying homage to Marx but yet is ‘neither capitalist, neither socialist’. Instead, its condition is more aptly defined as a state of controlled anarchy, like all those madly hurtling bicycles, motorbikes and cyclos that by some miracle manage to avoid collision. But for all the frenetic energy, the nation only managed to eke out \$360 worth of output for every man, woman and child last year. Every bit of blame for this belongs to the government, which by a combination of design and neglect continues to place obstacles in the way of its people’s industry. The temptation is to speculate on how Vietnam would have turned out if the South had won, how more like Thailand and Malaysia it would be. But that’s moot. Better to ask how much longer the commissars can choke the economy, how much longer they can afford to squander the considerable energy of the Vietnamese. The answers hinge on how long the current leaders can hold on, and hold back reformers. Sadly, no one can know for sure.” (FEER, March 1)

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“The War Crimes Museum [in HCMC] houses a collection of photos and other displays of Vietnam’s battles, first to win independence from

France, later the victory of Hanoi’s Communists over the United States and its South Vietnamese allies. The photo exhibits include many horrifying pictures. A pamphlet given to museum visitors points out that, Hanoi’s Communist leadership is engaged in a policy of cautious rapprochement with the United States, American forces are to blame for atrocities which should not be forgotten. One typical picture shows a grinning GI holding up the severed torso of a Vietnamese guerrilla, its head and arms dangling down over a trunk torn to pieces. The museum’s pamphlet begins with a quotation from In Retrospect, the 1995 book by Robert McNamara: ‘Yes, we were wrong, terribly wrong. We owe it to future generations to explain why.’ The exhibits, the pamphlet explains, are aimed at drawing lessons from history, ‘not inciting hatred’. This line, which clearly has been sanctioned by the authorities, is in stark contrast with the one long proclaimed by Hanoi’s Communist leaders.” (Charles-Antoine de Nerciat, AFP, April 27)

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“My husband was killed in 1971 during his second tour in Viet Nam. He was a helicopter pilot, flying a Chinook at the time of his death. The young woman who does my nails is Vietnamese. Sometimes it’s hard to listen to her preface her comments with ‘in my country, we....’ It makes me wonder if, after so many years in the United States, perhaps she shouldn’t begin to think of America as ‘her country’. My forefathers came from France and the UK. I don’t refer to those countries as ‘my country’. I’m curious about my roots but this is the year 2000 and I’m an American. We are a country built on immigration. I don’t have a problem with their immigration stream as long as they blend into our life and begin to think of themselves as Americans and not try to recreate Vietnam and attempt to re-establish their country here—as a separate life from the rest of us Americans.” (D.R. Marvin, Orange County Register, April 23)

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“Duc Nguyen, a former Vietnamese Air Force pilot who fled Saigon a day before it fell, discussed the war with Mike and me as we ate *pho* at a Little Saigon (Orange County, CA) restaurant a

few days ago. North Vietnamese police, he said, would round people up with no rhyme or reason and send them to re-education camps, often for as long as 13 years. 'They want to kill you but they won't kill you, they want you to kill yourself.' Mr. Nguyen lifted a lime, squeezed it and threw it down on the table, the way the government worked some of his compatriots nearly to death in the camps, then discarded them when they no longer had the strength to be of any use. Few of us can grasp that experience, or understand what it's like to live in a country where individuals have few rights. But don't feel bad, Duc said, even his children are uninterested in experiences that they view as too far away and too much in the past." (**Vietnam Diary, Orange County Register, April 23**)

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"The U.S. failure to take any blame hurts Vietnamese author Le Ly Hayslip, who told me with tears in her eyes that something is missing 25 years after the end of the war in which three million Vietnamese died and there is not any expression of regret from the U.S." (**Conor O'Clery, Irish Times, Dublin, May 1**)

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The U.S. House of Representatives condemns Hanoi Communists, "marking the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary with a resolution (413 to 3) that urges an end to political repression in Vietnam and requests the President to make clear to Vietnam leaders that the U.S. expects Vietnam to respect the political and religious rights of its citizens...and to revoke Article Four of the SRV Constitution which ensures the Communist Party as the only political party in the country." (**AP, May 3**)

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"Those countries that conducted and took part in aggressive wars against Vietnam should take concrete measures, especially in the form of practical and effective cooperation with [us] to settle the aftermath of the war. (Their response) should suit morality and the people's hearts and be practical by healing wounds of the war, crossing out obsessions of the past and promoting reconciliation...in the interest of peace, stability and development in the region and the world. As a nation with a tradition of humanity, leniency and

peace, we [Vietnamese] are willing to put aside the past to look towards the future." (**SRV FM Spokesperson Phan Thuy Thanh, VNA, April 29**)

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"Angered by a congressional resolution condemning Hanoi's Communist government, Vietnam summoned U.S. Ambassador Pete Peterson to protest its 'brazen interference into internal affairs,' the official Vietnam News Agency reported Friday [May 19]. Phan Quang, vice-chairman of the National Assembly's External Relations Commission, told Peterson that Vietnam strongly condemned Congress's action as 'groundless and arrogant...hindering the normalization process with Vietnam.' The resolution criticized the Vietnamese Communist Party's monopoly on power and its human rights record and called for democratic general elections. Calling for free and fair elections was 'an interference, which is beyond the imagination of Vietnamese voters, deeply insulting Vietnamese people's choices in previous elections,' said Quang. Peterson was quoted as expressing regret at the nonbinding resolution, passed to mark the recent 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Vietnam War. He said it reflected the view of a minority not the official position of the United States. (**Tini Tran, Associate Press Newswires, May 19**)

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"U.S. war veterans gather at the Vietnam Memorial for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. They come looking for names, letters carved into the simple black memorial bearing the names of 58,202 war dead." (**AFP, April 30**)

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"Since Vietnam opened its door to foreign visitors in the late 1980s, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese living in the United States have come back to a country whose government not long ago had forced them into exile by virtually all means. Their coming home stories revealed all sources of feelings. Many now consider the annual return as a pilgrimage, especially during Tet. Some travel frequently to conduct business; others will not dare to come back for a second trip due to a bad experience. Meanwhile there are still Vietnamese-

Americans who will not include Vietnam in their vacation destinations out of fear of crimes or not having ClubMed services. A few others vow not to go back as long as the country is governed by a corrupt communist regime. I have made two trips to Vietnam in the past couple of years. Having been a student activist in Saigon before 1975 and in California afterwards, the trips brought me mixed feelings. My dream was fulfilled with a visit to my ancestral village in Nam Dinh; the capital Ha Noi and Ha Long Bay in North Vietnam; boating on the Perfume River and seeing emperors' tombs in Hue; and returning to the house where I grew up in Saigon. Reconnecting with Vietnam also rejuvenated a profound love for the homeland and brought me new friends who were once considered enemies. However, as idealistically as before I still wish to see a more open and democratic Vietnam. For many Vietnamese-Americans, the relationship with their homeland is not only nostalgic, but complex in thought and process." (Philip Phu Bui, "Vietnam: a Vietnamese-American View," conference paper)

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"With respect to the daily Nhan Dan (the People), let me share the following with you: 'I worked on the Saigon docks and every Monday morning our work unit had a meeting with our political commissar. He read from Nhan Dan editorials and expanded or explained the Party line. At the time we had a local daily newspaper which covered sports, movies, art, etc., and was more widely read. Authorities ordered our work unit to buy Nhan Dan and take it home, mostly to no avail, people saying we get the news at work. When you went to the movies and bought a ticket, instead of getting change (say for 50 dong) you got a copy of Nhan Dan, the ticket seller saying she had run out of change. The joke among workers at the time was that the only thing true in Nhan Dan was the date.'" (HCMC newspaper column)

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"Up and down St. Paul, Minnesota's University Avenue there is little evidence that the new Vietnam has normalized relations with America. To be sure, Vietnamese restaurants can be spotted among the Hmong, Lao, Thai, Chinese

and Cambodian gift shops, grocery and general merchandise stores. But about the only Vietnamese consumer goods finding their way to the Twin Cities are pop music and motion picture videos and they come via Thailand or California. Only \$2.9 million in manufactured goods were sent from Minnesota to Vietnam in 1999. Wisconsin's exports of industrial goods are believed to be slightly higher. All U.S. exports to Vietnam totaled \$290.7 million last year, up from \$289.2 million in 1998. There is growing agricultural trade both ways that could exceed the traffic in manufactured goods. This year the Vietnamese government is forecasting direct investment to be \$8 billion, most of that coming from Japanese companies. Cargill and 3M were among the early American investors in Vietnam's future. 'Vietnam was Southeast Asia's Iowa. It can be again,' said Richard Frafch, president of Cargill, which was among the first U.S.-based corporations to set up operations in Vietnam when it opened a feed mill complex near Ho Chi Minh City in 1995. It now operates an experimental pig farm as a training site for Vietnamese. And matching grants from Cargill's corporate headquarters in Minnetonka have helped Cargill Vietnam's 250 employees put \$79,000 into building two classrooms for area school children and a cement bridge across a river for children to walk safely to their school. The business is a profitable and rapidly growing...but Cargill isn't taking those earnings out of the country. It is reinvesting. On the opposite side of the Twin Cities, 3M has taken a similar approach to building a base of operations [in Vietnam]. It was among the earliest American firms to build and operate a wholly owned subsidiary there. 3M Vietnam operates light manufacturing for the company's tapes, telecommunications and industrial products, and some medical products which are sold in Vietnam's domestic market. Like Cargill, 3M is finding entrepreneurial people who have not lost their business acumen and business management skills in the 25 years." (Lee Egerstrom, St. Paul Pioneer Planet, April 26)

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"Remember the just cause for which many Americans died? The pain seems to be receding.

Was it a mistake, as the band led by Robert McNamara now argues? Or was it a complex mixture of defensible goals and a disastrous execution? It seems to us that the efforts now to present the war as an avoidable blunder, a tragic 'misunderstanding' between Americans and Vietnamese, are wrong and possibly dangerous. They gloss over the fact that during the Cold War it was entirely reasonable to speak of communism on the march. Before Vietnam, South Korea needed to be rescued from communist takeover, Hungary's bid for freedom had been crushed, and pro-Soviet parties were strong in Japan, France and Italy. An administration that had narrowly defeated Khrushchev's plan to deploy missiles in Cuba understandably feared the prospect of Vietnam falling to communism. Moreover, the war enjoyed more public support than the blunder theorists care to remember. There were critics, to be sure. But Americans generally accepted that communism presented a threat to the free world, and most were ready to fight it. For the sake of the Americans who lost their lives in Vietnam, it is important to recall the large and just cause for which they made their sacrifices. But recollection also offers lessons that may guide future military decisions." (**Brainerd (Minn.) Dispatch, May 1**)

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"Hollywood took years to broach films about the war that profoundly divided society and contained no cause for glorification.... 'Very few films about the war were made while the war was going on, because there was such conflict about it and Hollywood was not very brave (about) taking it on' (Marita Sturken, Univ. of Southern California communications professor). Three years after the war ended, Michael Cimino's 'The Deer Hunter' (1978) [depicted] the horror of the conflict, and the inability of three former prisoners of the Viet Cong to return to normal life. 'Coming Home' (1978) examined the same theme through the relationship between a bitter paraplegic veteran (Jon Voight) and his caretaker (Jane Fonda), a woman separated from her husband by the war. The most memorable film of the epoch was the complex, hypnotizing 'Apocalypse Now' (1979), in which Francis Ford Coppola masterfully portrayed the dementia and

irrationality of the American intervention. In the early 1980s...a new genre of militaristic pieces was inaugurated with 'First Blood' (1982), the first adventure of Rambo.... 'One of the facts...and it was fueled by the conservative political context, was to rewrite the story so that [the U.S. did win]' (Starken)... Oliver Stone -- who served one year in Vietnam -- released 'Platoon' (1986), which...became one of the most accepted films portraying the conflict. Though he lived in England, Stanley Kubrick contributed his take on the war in 'Full Metal Jacket' (1987), showing how iron military discipline can transform men into killing machines. In more than 80 movies, the war has been depicted...but Vietnam veterans say they have yet to see a faithful recreation of the experience, the emotions and the questions many of them faced when they came home. (**Claudia Rahola, AFP, April 22**)

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#### Looking back:

"Vietnam should teach us an important lesson. Hanoi [is creating] a collectivist society ...likely to produce greater welfare and security for its people than any local alternative ever offered, at a cost in freedom that affects a small elite." (**Stanley Hoffman, New Republic, May 3, 1975**)

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"The greatest gift our country can give the Cambodian people is not guns but peace. And the best way to accomplish that goal is by ending military aid now." (**Rep. Chris Dodd [D-Conn.], Congressional Record, March 12, 1975**)

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"It is ironic that we are here at a time just before Vietnam is about to be liberated." (**Producer Bert Schneider at the Motion Picture Academy Awards Ceremony, April 8, 1975**)

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*Ho Chi Minh* by William Duiker (Ex-Penn State Univ. History Department, now retired to Southern Shores, NC). A biography interspersed with history (670 pages). Duiker has done a fine job of stripping away much of the camouflage that conceals Ho Chi Minh's image. Some of this, erected over the decades, has been deliberate, the product of Hanoi agitprops seeking to reduce him to an avuncular figure who patted the heads of small children; some of it has been the work of journalists

who once shook Ho's hand; or Americaphobes; or credulous historians, or Viet kieu who are certain he was the Devil incarnate. True, Ho was an easy man to admire and an easy man to hate. Duiker carries us as far as his research permits, taking pains to avoid the sweeping generalization. Carefully, he sets out the facts of Ho's life and times, which we can employ to make up our own minds. Fully annotated. A valuable, serious, informative work. Recommended. Hyperion Press, \$35. (2000)

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# Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members For Cambodia, Laos, a

## CAMBODIA, KINGDOM OF

## CAMBODIA, KINGDOM

(The government coalition includes - the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and the National United Front for an Independent Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCIPEC/UNI))

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President of the National Assembly	Norodons RANARIDDH, <i>Prince (F)</i>
Prime Minister	HUN SEN (CPP)
Dep. Prime Min.	SAR KHENG (CPP)
Dep. Prime Min.	TOL LAH (F)
Min. of State	CHHIM SIEKLING (F)
Min. of State	HONG SUN HUOT, <i>M.D. (F)</i>
Min. of State	HOR NAMHONG (CPP)
Min. of State	KEAT CHHON (CPP)
Min. of State	LULAY SRENG (F)
Min. of State	SOK AN (CPP)
Min. of State	TIE BANH, <i>Gen. (CPP)</i>
Min. of State	YU HOKKRI (F)
Min. of State	SOK AN (CPP)
Min. in the Council of Ministers	CHHEA SONG (CPP)
Min. of Agriculture, Forestry, & Fishing	CHAM PRASIT (CPP)
Min. of Commerce	Norodons BOPHA DEVI, <i>Princess (F)</i>
Min. of Culture & Fine Arts	KEAT CHHON (CPP)
Min. of Economy & Finance	TOL LAH (F)
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State Sec. of Women's Affairs & War Veterans	
State Sec. of Women's Affairs & War Veterans	
Governor, State Bank	
Ambassador to the US	
Permanent Representative to the UN, New York	

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(Laotian officials are addressed by

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Vice President	
Prime Minister	
First Dep. Prime Min.	
Dep. Prime Min.	
Dep. Prime Min.	
Min. of Agriculture & Forestry	
Min. of Commerce & Tourism	
Min. of Communications, Transport, Posts, & Construction	
Min. of Education	
Min. of Finance	
Min. of Foreign Affairs	
Min. of Industry & Handicrafts	
Min. of Information & Culture	
Min. of Interior	
Min. of Justice	
Min. of Labor & Social Welfare	
Min. of National Defense	
Min. of Public Health	
Head, Prime Minister's Office	
Min. to Office of Prime Min.	
Min. to Office of Prime Min.	
Min. to Office of Prime Min.	
Min. to Office of Prime Min.	
Chrm. Committee for Planning & Cooperation	
Governor, National Bank	
Ambassador to the US	
Permanent Representative to the UN, New York	

# Chiefs of Foreign Governments and Vietnam

1 OF (continued)

## VIETNAM, SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF

(Vietnamese officials are addressed by the last element in their names.)

CHAY SANGYUN (CPP)	Chairman, National Assembly	Nong Duc Manh
PAO BUNSRONG (L)	President	Tran Duc Luong
LAV PROHOAH (F)	Vice President	Nguyen Thi Binh
UAOHAT (CPP)	Prime Minister	Phan Van Khai
LAM PU-AN (F)	First Dep. Prime Min.	Nguyen Tan Dung
PHAN PHIN (CPP)	Dep. Prime Min.	Nguyen Cong Tan
ARMAD YAHYA (F)	Dep. Prime Min.	Nguyen Manh Cam
TRAM IV-TOEK (CPP)	Dep. Prime Min.	Pham Gia Kiem
KHOV MENG HEANG (F)	Min. of Agriculture & Rural Development	Le Huy Ngo
HONG CHHEM (CPP)	Min. of Construction	Nguyen Manh Kiem
CHUON IEM (CPP)	Min. of Culture & Information	Nguyen Khoa Diem
SREI VAN-HANG (F)	Min. of Education & Training	Nguyen Minh Hien
LY THUCH (L)	Min. of Finance	Nguyen Sinh Hung
YIM CHHAILI (CPP)	Min. of Foreign Affairs	Nguyen Dy Nien
NIM THOT (CPP)	Min. of Industry	Dang Vu Chu
PRAK CHANTHA (F)	Min. of Justice	Nguyen Dinh Loc
NUT NINDOEN (F)	Min. of Labor, War Invalids, & Social Welfare	Nguyen Thi Hang
THONG KHON (CPP)	Min. of Marine Products	Ta Quang Ngoc
NU SANGKHAN (F)	Min. of National Defense	Pham Van Tra, Lt. Gen.
TI YAV (CPP)	Min. of Planning & Investment	Tran Xuan Gia
NGO PIN (F)	Min. of Public Health	Do Nguyen Phuong, M.D.
YU KEAHEANG (CPP)	Min. of Public Security	Le Minh Huong, Maj. Gen.
UNG KUNTHAVI (F)	Min. of Science, Technology, & Environment	Chu Tuan Nha
YU AV (CPP)	Min. of Trade	Vu Khoan
CHEA CHANTO (CPP)	Min. of Transportation & Communications	Le Ngoc Hoan
VAR HUOTH (F)	Chmn., State Child Protection & Childcare Comm.	Tran Thi Thanh Thanh
OUCH BORITH (CPP)	Chmn., State Ethnic Minorities & Mountain Regions Ctte.	Hoang Duc Nghi
	Chmn., State Inspection Ctte.	Ta Huu Thanh
	Chmn., State Population & Family Planning Ctte.	Tran Thi Trung Chien
	Chmn., State Youth, Sports, & Physical Training Affairs Ctte.	Ha Quang Du
	Chmn., Govt. Office	Doan Manh Giao
	Chmn., Govt. Personnel & Organization Ctte.	Do Quang Trung
	Governor, State Bank	Le Duc Thuy
	Chief, General Staff, People's Army of Vietnam	Pham Van Tra, Lt. Gen.
	Ambassador to the US	Le Van Bang
	Permanent Representative to the UN, New York	Nguyen Thanh Chau

## DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

(The first element in their names.)

Khamtai Siphandon, Gen.
Sisavat Keobounphan, Gen.
Boungnang Volachit
Choummali Saignason
Somsavat Lengsavat
Sian Saphaangthong
Phoumi Thipphavong
Phao Bouanaphon, Col.
Phimmason Leuangkhamma
Boungnang Volachit
Somsavat Lengsavat
Soullvong Daravong
Sileua Bounkhan
Asang Laoli, Maj. Gen.
Khamouan Bourpha
Somphan Phengkhammi
Choummali Saignason, Lt. Gen.
Poumek Dalalai
Saisomphon Phomviharn
Bouetien Phitsamay
Khamtai Souphanouvong
Saisengitong Bhiachu
Sompheavanh Inthavong
Souli Nanthavong
Bouathong Vonglokkham
Soukan Mahajit
Vang Battavong
Alounkeo Kittikhoun

Excerpts taken from CIA Directorate of Intelligence: Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments April 2000.

(lawyer, former USAF officer, Shell Vietnam CEO. 1972-75). To hear the Viet Cong cadres lecture their recruits, what the Vietnam War was all about was oil. That's why the Americans were there, they hoped to get rich by oil in Indochina along with gold, various other minerals, and commodities. Not to say the Marxists didn't have a point. There was – among the ambassadors, CIA agents, Vietnamese businessmen, and hustlers – manipulation and skulldugger, but it was more or less par for the course in those later Saigon years. More important were the inevitable effects of outside aid money pouring in for economic development, etc. I.B. Tauris Books/St. Martin's Press, \$25. (2000)

***Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776*** by Walter McDougall (Orbis editor). Excellent overview of American foreign policy by one of our leading new-light intellectuals. McDougall regards the Bible as provocative metaphor: the United States since 1776 has moved from the Promised Land (Old Testament) to the Crusader State (New Testament). Our historical events are never new, only recycled. Vietnam was a missionary enterprise, termed "global meliorism", the belief that the world tends to get better and better, and that improving society -- in this case Vietnam -- can be accomplished by measures that benefit people's health, living conditions, etc. (Classic illustration of this thinking, he says, was LBJ's April 1965 speech at Johns Hopkins.) The concept received a staggering body blow from Vietnam but now has revived itself in American foreign policy thinking. Houghton Mifflin, \$26. (1997)

***Battling the Elements: Weather and Terrain in the Conduct of War*** by Harold Winters (Michigan State Univ., emeritus). Every war had its own singular geographic identification, usually terrain, climate or weather. For Napoleon it was Gen. Winter; for the U.S. Marines, the long, cold bug-out through the mountains of Korea; a typhoon stopped Kublai Khan in his 13th century attempt to invade Japan. In New Guinea and Dien Bien Phu it was hot and wet and troops were sick. Eisenhower lucked out at Normandy. Interesting chapter here

on the Ia Drang Valley jungle. Twelve chapters and a conclusion; it's all here except the WWII Army grunt's rendition of the old Army Air Corps song: "Off we go, into the wild blue yonder. . . . Nothing can stop the Army Air Corps, except the weather. . . ." Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, \$35.95. (1998)

***The Chinese Armed Forces in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century***, Larry Wortzel (Heritage Foundation), ed. Papers written for a conference on the PLA. Each author sought to analyze some particular aspect of the Chinese armed forces moving into the new century; these were subjected to the fires of conference criticism, then rewritten and published. Wortzel writes on US-China military relations; two chapters are on Chinese military technology, two on Taiwan; two highly interesting opening and closing essays are: "Geographic Ruminations" by Michael McDivitt (CNA Corp.) on the geopolitical meaning of China, given its enormity and centrality (geography is what counts), and "PLA-Communist Party Relations" by Ellis Joffe (Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem), which argues the PLA is a true 900-pound gorilla that civilians must keep in check. Eric McVadon (naval consultant, USN admiral, ret.) writes on China's periphery: Korea, ASEAN states, and Vietnam in passing. Introduction by Amb. James Lilley (now with American Enterprise Inst.). Published by SSI, Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA (1999)

***Mansfield and Vietnam: A Study in Rhetorical Adaptation*** by Gregory Olson (Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI) He was a rare one, this son of an Irish immigrant, born in New York, shipped off (age 6) to an uncle's ranch in the Montana mountains, joined the Army at 14 (after failing to run away from home), was discharged, joined the Navy, was discharged, then joined the Marines and saw duty at Subic Bay, P.I., and Tientsin, China. Eventually, he went to college, then into Montana and U.S. politics (House, then Senate where he was majority leader for many years), then a longtime Ambassador to Japan. In the 1930s great debate between isolationists and internationalists, Mansfield stood with the latter, earned the name China Mike. Early on he

incautiously embraced Indochina. He did everything he could to get us entangled in Vietnam and its warfare; then everything he could to stop the war as being unwanted and uncalled for. An early Robert McNamara? Only Diem's death saved him and his policy positions. Clearly, Mansfield was wrong on the Viet Minh War, wrong on the survivability of the Diem regime; whether he was wrong on the Vietnam War remains for history to judge. He marched to a different drum, but we still are not sure what that drum said. Nor is it made clear in Olson's final judgment on the Mansfield career. Perhaps the answer lies in his book's subtitle – "rhetorical adaptation" – whatever that means. Michigan State University Press, \$39.95 (1995)

**The Last Emperors of Vietnam: *From Tu Duc to Bao Dai*** by Oscar Chapuis. Part two of the author's history of Vietnamese emperors (first came A History of Vietnam: From Hong Bang to Tu Duc). After Tu Duc came Dong Khanh (1885-89), Thanh Thai (1889-1907), Duy Tan (1907-16), Khai Dinh (1916-25), and finally Bao Dai, all were "rulers" in the French era. They tried their best to deal with the French colons, some of whom treated them well; most did not. Bao Dai clearly was smarter and more dedicated than most give him credit for. Greenwood Press Westport, CT (2000)

**Anatomy of a Crisis: *Education, Development and the State of Cambodia, 1953-1998*** by David Ayres (University of Sydney). Heart of the crisis is the educational sector, easy to identify, hard to rectify. So much is involved: recruiting and training teachers, establishing curricula, building classroom, printing textbooks – all under the conditions of a country whose economy and society are still in a parlous state. Good education requires social stability. Ayers traces the tragic circumstances back several generations to entrenched notions of power, hierarchy, and failed leadership. A grim portrait that portends a grim future. University of Hawaii Press, \$45 (2000)

**British Documents on Foreign Affairs: *Reports and Papers From the Foreign Office***

**Confidential Print, Series E: Asia**, Anthony Best, ed. (London School of Economics and Political Science). Part 4 (1946-50) of the eight-volume series, described as: "French Indochina and its birth pangs of nationalism; the years when Ho Chi Minh took the Presidency, went to France for unproductive talks and returned to fight for independence from the French." Available through CIS, 4520 East-West Highway, Bethesda, MD 20814, \$1600 (2000) e-MAIL: [cisinfo@lexis-nexis.com](mailto:cisinfo@lexis-nexis.com)

**Terms of Refuge: *The Indochina Exodus and the International Response*** by Courtland Robinson (Johns Hopkins University) A fairly extended history (322 pp.) of the "boat people" phenomenon and what the world thought and did about it (or not). All in all, it was one of the great human migrations of our era. Written through the focus of the UN High Commissioner of Refugees and the many innovations it pioneered: the Orderly Departure Program, sea rescue programs, anti-piracy campaigns, then reintegration of some 500,000 who returned to Vietnam. Often the UNHCR had to bend to state policies, but throughout sought consistently to reshape concepts about the refugee: how to define; how to preserve asylum; generally how to protect those whose flee. Plus the never-ending debate over repatriation vs. resettlement. St. Martin's Press, New York, \$27.95 (1998).

**Rumors and Stones** by Wayne Karlin. Author takes the reader from a highly descriptive narration of his life as a Jew in Poland through his wartime experiences in the Vietnam War. Moving, genuine. Curbstone Press, \$19.95 (1996).

**A Country Not a War: *Vietnam Impressions*** by Harold Truman (now of Corpus Christi, TX). Here's a book to employ in a sociology course on conflicting patterns of thought, scratches on the mind, or the meeting of East and West, or some other transcultural communication course. Author, ex-military spook (but not in Vietnam), briefly traveled from HCMC to Hanoi in 1998, kept a journal, and got it published by Pale Bone Press. A travel book of sorts interspersed

with snippet quotes from others (Stanley Karnow, Neil Sheehan, Bao Ninh, Daniel Ellsberg, etc.). Author says his is not a book for children – although it reads like one. It has lots of simple, declarative sentences and few adjectives. You know, like Hemingway. Full of hip language and snap judgments on what was learned in two weeks. Truman seems to buy every opinion of his wife and travel companion, Petite, a Vietnamese American who has been tempered by the fires of Vietnam and knows exactly what she thinks. She is a tough minded (unfortunately has all the edogmatic certitude of people who willingly speak for a whole country), as he is credulous. Pal Bone Publishing, San Diego, \$24 (1998); E-mail: hairyt@worldnet.att.net

**Ripcord: *Screaming Eagles Under Siege*** by Keith Nolan (military historian now living near St. Louis, MO). One of those more or less never-told stories of the Vietnam War. Ripcord was a firebase in the highlands of Quang Tri Province north of the A Shau valley. Occupied by troopers of the 2d of the 506<sup>th</sup>, a line infantry battalion, it was to provide artillery support for an offensive by its parent command, the 101st Airborne Division (Screaming Eagles) against a PAVN supply base in the area. As the firebase was being built and fortified, the North Vietnamese prepared to get rid of it, which they did after a deadly 23-day siege in July. The troops fought valiantly but battlefield politics in Saigon and Washington had intruded. The Screaming Eagles were pulled out and the firebase ordered destroyed by air strikes, giving lie to the myth that “we won every battle but lost the war.” Well-done work, with photos, a map, and appendices with information on the veterans of the battle. Presidio Press, Novato, CA \$29.95 (2000)

***My Father Deng Xiaoping in the Cultural Revolution*** by Deng Maomao. The youngest daughter of China’s late paramount leader recounts Deng’s travails during the 1966-67 movement in which he was first removed from all posts, then restored as vice premier, later deposed. Maomao’s first book was on her father’s earlier years as a revolutionary fighter. With photos. Published by

the Central Literature Publishing House, Beijing (2000)

***Adventures in Marxism*** by Marshall Berman. He has been a Marxist all his life, he says, and still is (not so many left). It began at Oxford where he did his thesis and where Marx “helped me to see how suffering could be a source of growth and joy, how radical thought could escape the doldrums and gather vision and energy for better times.” The collapse of communist tyrannies, he says, “does not negate the potential for Marxist humanism.” Hang in there, Marshall. Verso Books/W.S. Norton (2000)

***Perspectives on Communication in the People’s Republic of China*** by James Schnell (communication studies, Ohio Dominican College and Northern Jiaotong University). Observations on China’s social-cultural transformation from an agrarian, low-tech economy to an “information and economy; noting that Chinese culture, neither better nor worse is in fact different from its Western analogues Schnell’s purpose is to “highlight ultimate similarities” Lexington Books, Lanham MD, \$55 (1999).

***Vinegar Joe’s War: Stillwell’s Campaign for Burma*** by Nathan Prefer (military historian living in Stony brook, New York). More than just Burma, this is a study of WW II in the China-Burma-India Theater, another truly forgotten war. Early jungle combat, no press, no press coverage, transportation dependent on mules. Author provides theater (US and Japanese) order of battles. Also makes it clear why Gen. Stillwell was nicknamed Vinegar Joe. Presidio Press, \$29.95 (2000).

***The Right to Fight: A History of African Americans in the Military*** by Gerald Astor (military historian). From Crispus Atticus at the 1770 Boston Massacre to Colin Powell, African Americans have loyally defended the United States. But it has been a long struggle to find equality. Astor chronicles their “fight for the right to fight.” Comprehensive and interesting. Presidio Press, \$29.95 (1998).

***The Vietnam War and Postmodernity*** by Michael Bibby (English professor, University of Penn.). Not received but as explained by the author in an interview: "There was blossoming of postmodern studies when the last Huey lifted off from the U.S. embassy in Saigon—it had tended to be limited in scale to avante-garde cultural and aesthetic production up until the Vietnam War. It's at that point that the logic of late capitalism starts happening, sometime in the mid-1970s. Now the things everyone was talking about as aesthetic avant-garde gestures are in the vernacular... The Vietnam War brought postmodernism to the masses. But typically, critics gloss over the Vietnam War. When they talk about postmodernism, they say, 'Oh, 1945 and everything after...' The Gulf War was classic postmodern, a war that supposed to re-win, to reassert American masculinism .. it really is in this weird simulcrum of something military strategists wanted to happen in Vietnam." Clear? University of Massachusetts Press, \$50 hardcover, \$16.95 PB (2000)

***How I Accidentally Jointed the Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy, (and Found Inner Peace)*** by Harry Stein. He was vilified by the Village Voice as a "well-known asshole" when transformed politically (chiefly by the birth of his daughter). No longer a bleeding-heart liberal, now gets junk mail from Pat Buchanan. Stein is presently ethics columnist for the Wall Street Journal. To quote Rush Limbaugh, a conservative is a liberal who gets mugged by reality. \$23.95 (2000).

***Handbook for Teaching Vietnamese-Speaking Students, California Dept. of Education.*** Originally meant for use in the public schools by the teachers of California's 77,503 students who use Vietnamese as their primary language at home. This is a revision of the 1982 handbook. Begins with brief description of English teaching in South Vietnam before 1975, then plunges boldly into a discussion of the complex relationship between words and ideas. This is followed by explanations of dialects and the phonological, grammatical and lexical characteristics of the Vietnamese language. Invaluable information for teaching English to Viet *kieu* or seeking to understand them. From

California Department of Education, Sacramento, CA 95812-0271, \$14.30 (1994)

***L'Épopée des Douaniers en Indochine: 174-1954*** by Dominique Niollet (Universities of Bordeaux and Sarrebruck) A sociological history of the French customs administration in Indochina. Lengthy (666 pp.); long section on the opium trade. Not what you would call an understanding portrait of the French *colon*. Color illustrations. Kailash Editions, 69 rue Saint-Jacques, 75005, Paris (1998).

***The Culture of Health: Asian Communities in the U.S.*** by Grace Xueqin Ma (Temple University Philadelphia). An experienced ER doctor says: "If someone from Chinatown comes in, we pay a lot of attention because we know they must be sick." Ma is Chinese and most of her research in Houston and elsewhere is among Chinese people, but most of what I here is applicable to Vietnamese and other Asian-Americans. Their problems are many: language limitations, poor understanding of medical care in the U.S., problems with health insurance (when available), fog from bureaucrats, the call of oriental medicine practitioners. A pioneer study. Greenwood Publishing, Westport, CT; phone orders at 1-800-225-5800, \$55 (1999).

***Endangered Peoples of Southeast and East Asia: Struggles to Survive and Thrive***, Leslie Sponsel, ed (University of Hawaii). Collection of essays, most by anthropologists who point with pride and view with alarm their special groups, alternately and sometimes simultaneously. We see the spirits the people worship, the odd foods they consume, their strategies for deal with the downstream flatlanders, etc. Fourteen groups represented, none from Indochina. Greenwood Press, (Endangered Peoples of the World series), Westport, CT 06881, \$45 (2000).

***The Contemporary History of Laos*** by Patit Paban Mishra (History, Sambalpur University, Orissa, India). Author is pro-Pathet Lao, views Laotians generally as "always having been opposed to U.S. military intervention and welcoming victory by enthusiastically establishing Communist rule." Mishra does fair job of setting forth original Pathet

Lao leadership doctrine. Useful for appendices and bibliography. Published by National Book Organization, 500 rupees (1999); available from D.K. Agencies (P) Ltd., A/15-17, Mohan Garden, Najafgarh Road, New Delhi – 110,059; e-mail: [custserv@dkagencies.com](mailto:custserv@dkagencies.com)

***Spring Essence: The Poetry of Ho Xuan Huong***, trans. By John Balaban. Her name means, “spring essence” and she was one of Vietnam’s earlier important poets. She boldly drew from her experiences as a concubine, using double entendre and sexual innuendo as vehicles for social, religious and political commentary on 18<sup>th</sup> century Vietnam. In three languages. Sample: One Sharing a Husband: “Screw the fate that makes you share a man/ One cuddles under the blankets, the other’s very old./ Every now and then, well, maybe, or maybe not/ Once or twice a month, oh, it’s like nothing/ ... If I had known how it would be/ I think I would have lived alone.” Copper Canyon Press, Port Townsend, WA, #28 (2000)

***Dues: A Novel of War and After*** by Michael Cooper (Vietnam veteran now living in Oregon). Protagonist David Thorne is a tragic figure, drafted from his factory, sent to Vietnam, suffers battle trauma, comes home, suffers more. Said to be reminiscent of Nelson Algren. Curbstone Press, \$11.95 (1999)

***A Sniper in the Arizona*** by John Culbertson (5<sup>th</sup> Marines at An Hoa, 1966-67, as a sniper; now lives in Oklahoma City). Memoir describing sniper’s daily routine while on patrol southwest of Da Nang. Riveting, stark testimony about hunting down, then engaging the enemy regardless of cost. Ivy Books, New York, \$6.99 (1999)

***Lima-6: A Marine Company Commander in Vietnam*** by R.D. Camp (26 years in the Marines, now retired in Cincinnati). Captures well the military ethos and indomitable spirit of Semper Fidelis. Larger than life image but not unwarranted. Frontline memoirs read alike but never are two the same. Pacifica Press, \$19.95 (1989).

***In the Devil’s Shadow: U.N. Special Operations During the Korean War*** by Michael Haas (USAF, ret.). A critical picture of the clandestine war by the U.N. behind Communist lines. Bureaucratic feuding – inter-service, inter-branch and international – negated many hard-won gains. For students and observers of special ops. Naval Institute Press, \$29.95 (2000)

***JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy*** by Herbert Parmet (History, City College of New York, author of biographies). Heavily researched, well annotated study of JFK early and late – seen as courageous, romantic, a seriously flawed leader. Parmet tries to meld the biographies of the Camelot crowd with the later critical revisionists. Commended is his Chapter 6, “Making the World Safe for Laos”. Dial Press (1983), Penguin Books (1984), \$7.95.

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

***Prospects in Trade, Investment and Business in Vietnam and East Asia***, Tran Van Hoa (University of Wollongong, ed.) Twelve papers produced by Australian and Vietnamese academics at a 1996 Sydney conference. All but two devoted to Vietnam. Examinations begin in 1960 and cover planning, management, environmental impact, business ethics, as well as trade and commerce. Extensive data in the form of charts, schematics and tables on trade, investment, business activity; official and private forecasts; prospects for integrated economic cooperation. St. Martin’s Press, New York \$69.65. (2000)

***Last Man Out*** by James Parker (US Army and CIA (ret) now living in Pinehurst NC). He forgot to turn out the lights, understandable considering how busy he was in Vietnam – the rain, the pain, the heat, the horror. A highly personalized memoir with an abundance of anecdotes and



(guided missile frigate holding the line in the Tonkin Gulf); "Lone American With the Montagnard 'Rats'".

"Loyal Opposition: The Rise of Vietnamese Dissidents" by Zachary Abuza (Simons College, Boston) A political scientist examines the thoughts and activities of 25 Vietnamese dissidents (16 Party members of whom 9 were expelled and two resigned. Average age late '60's, two women, 7 of the 25 served lengthy jail sentences. All ruling elite who had nothing to gain and much to lose by defying the system. In Harvard Asia Quarterly, Spring 2000.

"Teaching Asian Political Economy: The Evolution of an Ethnographic Survey Course" by Gene Cooper (Columbia University) and "Teaching About Southeast Asian Economics" by R.L. Curry (California State University Sacramento, emeritus) In Education About Asia, Spring 2000.

"Modern Vietnamese Art: Change. Stagnation. Potential. Strategy" by Natalia Kraevskaia (owner of art shop at 30 Hang Bong Street, Hanoi). On the artistic renaissance of art in Vietnam introduced by *doi moi*. A dealer's complaints, chiefly: not enough artistic innovation; market dictated by foreign buyers; name artists who plagiarize their own work; not enough government patronage (read state subsidies); etc. Informative article but in truth it is not all that bleak. What we witnessing in Vietnam is the artist-prophet at work. In Vietnam Cultural Window, June 2000. In the same issue "Living Spirit of Ba Trang Pottery", on a visit to the famed ancient pottery making village 10 km. southeast of Hanoi.

### LEADSHIP STUDY

Interesting case history of leadership dynamics found in the personality and recent career of General Vo Nguyen Giap, now 90. (Would that we knew more about it and him.) This summer he lashes out at Party, saying PB refuses to face up to its many failures; the Party itself suffering from ideological stagnation.

Giap's main problem with the rest of the leadership began at end of war. He got himself assigned to the task of restructuring PAVN and moving it from a guerrilla/infantry based armed force to one in congruence with modern armies elsewhere (socialist and non-socialist, all the same he said). This moved him into what might be called Czar of technological education: Move the kids into the computer age, the cyber world, etc. This would help military but also society in general (had a good constituency: educators, military, modernists). After retirement (or expulsion from PB) continued his efforts -- a limping operation still. This summer he's back on what's wrong with VN and how to fix it.

"We remain poor, but socialism does not exist in poverty. Re-invigorating the party is a decisive factor in our moving forward ... we need to clean up party members and cadres, fight bureaucracy, corruption, smuggling and the abuse of power." Called for a greater emphasis on education, more access to information through a critical mass media, and the lifting of controls on the Internet. "To be successful in these endeavors, the party must be truly democratic and learn from its mistakes, listen to the opinion of the people, reform its leadership methods and build a state based on the rule of law." Despite his wartime achievements, long-standing disputes with some of his party colleagues have seen the general's political power diminish dramatically over the past 25 years, but he remains immensely popular among ordinary Vietnamese. (South China Morning Post, June 20)

### Editor HCM

The Vietnam Center at Texas Tech is in receipt of the complete run (bound) of *Le Paria: Tributier du Proletariat Colonial* (May 1922 to April 1926). It was published at 16 Rue Jacques-Gallot in Paris. There is no mast head but an editor (or *the* editor) was one Nguyen Ai Quoc (aka Ho Chi Minh). How much of the copy is his work no one can say. Perhaps his contributions could now be sorted out with the computer "use of pronouns" technology which works fairly well with French and English. Fairly heavy coverage of events in Indochina.

sideswipes via a good eye for detail. Parker wears his heart on his sleeve, but he wears it well. Ballantine Books \$6.95 (1996).

***Lest We Forget: The Kingsmen, the 101<sup>st</sup> Aviation Battalion, 1968*** by William Meacham. The Kingsmen were chopper pilots in liftships; the 101<sup>st</sup> was an assault helicopter unit; 1968 was the year all Hell broke loose. "Wild Bill" Meacham favored insertion and extraction missions, killed nine enemy on the ground during Tet '68; flew SOG people into Laos; and all in all had an utterly absorbing tour of duty. Ballantine Books, \$6.95. (1999).

***The Orphan Game*** by Ann Darby. It is the mid-1960s in Southern California. Teenager Maggie Harris is struggling through coming-of-age angst. Her boyfriend departs for Vietnam, leaving her pregnant; returning to find he is a father, he promptly re-ups and goes back to Vietnam. Morrow Co., \$24 (2000).

***Marching Through Chaos: The Descent of Armies in Theory and Practice***, John English (Royal Military College of Canada). In the old days the conduct of warfare depended on individual prowess. This was ruined by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which emphasized organized collective cohesion. Armies need to be more conventional if we hope to make sense out of the destructive chaos of war. Prager Publishers, \$59.95. (1998).

***Vietnamese-Korean Dictionary***, Cho Jeahyun, ed. (Hankuk Univ. of Foreign Languages, Seoul) Sixty thousand entries, 1,925 pages. Vietnamese is taught in the three Korean higher education institutions: Pusan Foreign Language University; Chung Woon College, and Hankuk University, Vietnamese is a language major at Hankuk. (Nhan Dan, May 27)

## Bibliography – Periodicals

"Survey of Asia in 1999" in the Jan-Feb issue of *Asian Survey*. Vietnam in 1999: The Party's Choice" by Nguyen Manh Hung (George

Mason University) (economy in decline, preoccupation with international stability, drawing closer to China); "Cambodia: Year of Hope" by Irene Langran (University Toronto) confronting the past, search for domestic stability, international acceptance; and "Laos: Economic Woes Drive Foreign Policy" by Carlyle Thayer (Asia-Pacific Center, Honolulu).

"The One Percent Solution: Shirking the Cost of World Leadership" by Richard Gardner (Columbia University; retired U.S. diplomat). The fallacy operative in Washington these days is that a successful U.S. foreign policy can be carried out with barely one percent of the federal budget. The charade puts us in a financial strait jacket, frustrates our ability to promote U.S. interests and values in an increasingly uncertain world, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2000.

"Tax Reform in Vietnam" by Ngo Dinh Quang (SRV Min. of Finance) and Nguyen Tien Dung (SRV Center for Management and System Research). Review of tax collecting history in Vietnam and outline of current tax system. Compares Vietnam's tax system with those in other ASEAN states (much higher index, twice as high as Indonesia, for example) In *Vietnam's Socio-Economic Development*, No. 10, Summer 1997.

"Falling in Love in Vietnam" by Andrew Wells Dang. A married American shares his experiences in *tim hieu* (meeting of hearts). Foreigners are advised to be patient and flexible. Includes instruction for dealing with the bureaucracy SRV Decree 184/CP. In *Vietnam Cultural Window*, Hanoi, June 2000.

"GI's Friendly Ghosts" by Lowell Titus (U.S. Air Force ret.) Despite its cute nickname -- Puff the Magic Dragon -- the Douglas AC-47 gunship is one of the scariest weapons of war ever built. Troops on ground would call for close air support from "Spooky". Out of the blackness of the night sky would come streams of red tracers from Gatling-type miniguns; one four second burst from one gun could put 400 rounds in 30 foot circle. Flying and firing in these missions was a highly technical task requiring special training for all aboard. *In Vietnam* August 2000. In the same issue: "Early Covert Action in the Ho Chi Minh Trail" (raids into Laos 1961-62); "USS Biddle"

## Political Pecking Order: Hanoi

It is not as indicative as the line up on the Kremlin wall used to be (how far down the line you were from Stalin), still the official list of the Phan Van Dong Funeral Committee is a sorting out of who counts in Hanoi. As published by Nhan Dan May 3<sup>rd</sup>, in four categories, after CPV General Secretary Le Kha Phieu:

### The Old Guard:

- Advisor to the CPV CC, Do Muoi;
- Advisor to the CPV CC General Le Duc Anh;
- Advisor to the CPV CC Vo Van Kiet;
- Former advisor to CPV CC, Vo Chi Cong;

### The Inner Circle (PB)

- Politburo Standing Board member and President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Tran Duc Luong;
- Politburo Standing Board member and Prime Minister, Phan Van Khai;
- Politburo Standing Board member and National Assembly chairman, Nong Duc Manh;
- Politburo Standing Board, Permanent Member and President of the Presidium of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, Pham The Duyet;

### Rest of the Poliburo:

- PB member and Deputy Prime Minister, Nguyen Manh Cam;
- PB member and director of the Ho Chi Minh National Political Institute, Nguyen Duc Binh;
- PB member and chief of the Party Central Committee's Organization Commission, Nguyen Van An;
- PB member and National Defense Minister, Pham Van Tra;
- PB member and chief of the Party Central Committee's Commission for Inspection, Nguyen Thi Xuan My;
- PB member and chief of the Party Central Committee's Economic Commission, Truong Tan Sang;

- PB member in charge of ideology, culture, science and education, Le Xuan Tung;
- PB member and Minister of Public Security, Le Minh Huong;
- PB member and permanent Deputy Prime Minister, Nguyen Tan Dung;
- PB member and Director of the General Political Department PAVN, General Pham Thanh Ngan;
- PB member and Secretary of the HCM City Party Committee, Nguyen Minh Triet;
- PB member and Secretary of the Da Nang Party Committee, Phan Dien;
- PB member and Secretary of the Hanoi Party Committee, Nguyen Phu Trong;

### Key Central Committee Members and One Other:

- CC member and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Dy Nien;
- CC member and Minister of Finance, Nguyen Sinh Hung;
- CC member and chief of Party Central Committee's International Relations Commission, Nguyen Van Son;
- CC member and president of the Vietnam General Confederation of Labour, Cu Thi Hau;
- CC member and chairman of the Vietnam Farmers' Association, Nguyen Duc Trieu;
- CC member and Chairman of the Vietnam's Women Union, Ha Thi Khiem;
- Party Central Committee member and First Secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, Vu Trong Kim;
- Party Central Committee member and Secretary of the Quang Ngai Party Committee, Vo Duc Huy. (VNS)
- President of the Vietnam Veteran's Association, Tran Van Quang;

## PAPERS RECEIVED:

Yearbook of Representatives of the People's Council and the People's Committee of Cities, Provinces Placed Directly Under the Authority of the Central Government; Office Term 1994-1999 (Nien Giam Dai Bueu Hoi Dong Nhan Dan Va Uy Ban Nhan Dan Cap Tinh, Thanh Pho Truc Thuoc Trung Uong). A rare reference work whose existence carries inferential meaning that transparency is slowly making itself felt in Hanoi. (For internal circulation only, but copies are numerous enough to find their way abroad). Consists of two parts: (1) Standing members (with photo and biography); Chairman, Vice Chairman of the People's Committee (with photo & biography); names of members of the People's Committee; and (2) Representatives, Office Chiefs, Administrative Organizers/Officials of provinces and cities. Available at Vietnam Archive.

Protection Pending: Changing the Lock on Pandora's Box by Christian Enemark (University of Sydney, Australia). An ACDIS (Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security) Occasional Paper, January 2000. The threat of biological warfare is a Pandora's box. Enemark reviews the Biological Weapons Convention and discusses ways to keep the box closed. ACDIS can be found at: <http://acdisweb.acdis.uiuc.edu/>.

Economic and Health Consequences of Pesticide Use in Paddy Production in the Mekong Delta, Vietnam by Nguyen Huu Dung and Tran Thi Thanh Dung. Part of the EEPSEA (Economy and Environment Program for Southeast Asia) Research Report Series. On pesticides use in Vietnam rice paddy farming and effects on people and the economy. Informative, with many tables and charts. See: <http://www.idrc.org.sg/eeepsea>; mailing address is Tanglin, P.O. Box 101, Singapore 912404; (tel.) 65 235 1344; (fax) 65 235 1849.

Compendium of Rural Development Assistance in Vietnam, Hanoi, February 2000. From UNDP. Rural development in Vietnam and ways ODA (overseas development assistance)

promotes progress and growth in rural areas. With inventory of ongoing rural projects.

U.S. State Department Report on Human Rights Abuses in Vietnam, 2/2000. Comprehensive look at all aspects of human rights violations in Vietnam.

SRV 1999: Vietnam's Country Report on the Implementation of the Outcome of the World Summit on Development. From National Political Publishing House, Hanoi. See: [www.undp.org.vn](http://www.undp.org.vn).

Crimes of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Monograph from the Vietnamese Community of Houston and Vicinity. (PO Box 131823, Houston, TX 77219-1823. Description of current social and political conditions in Vietnam; charges of human rights abuses. Lists reeducation camp inmates, deaths. Extracts of reporting by foreign journalists, academics, historians.

Cambodia 1974-1975: Orphan of the Vietnam Settlement by Maj. Gen. Kenneth Bowra (US Army, ret.). Appears to be briefing charts for a lecture on the last dying days of the war in Cambodia. Available from TTU Vietnam Archive.

Watching Hanoi: Changing Conditions for Following Contemporary Developments in Vietnam by Stephen Denney (UC, Berkeley). Veteran Hanoi watcher offering comments, observations and how-to-do-it suggestions for tracking Vietnam. From author at UC's Indochina Archive, 6701 San Pablo Avenue, Oakland, CA 94608; tel. (510) 642-6539.

"Prospect of the Vietnamese Economy in the Medium and Long Run: A Dynamic CGE Analysis" by Mitsui Izako (Nagoya University) and Le Anh Son (SRV Min. of Planning). Paper analyzes conditions and requirements for realizing the targets of Vietnam's five-year plan and seeks to make "quantitatively clear," the structural characteristics of the Vietnamese economy. Investigates the trade liberalization and facilitation

policies of Vietnam as member of ASEAN and as a future member of APEC.

#### Table of Contents:

1. The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1996-2000);
2. CGE Model of Vietnam::
3. Conditions for Attainment of Plan Targets: Standard Scenario (1995-2000);
4. Theoretical Characteristic of the Model and Investigation of the Five-Year Plan;
5. Impacts of FDI through Supply Side; Extension of the Model; and
6. Conclusion.

From APEC Research Center, Nagoya University, Japan.

### Official Statements

Viet Kieu Return. Text of policy regulation of real estate sales and purchase issued January 24, 2000. Five chapters, 15 articles. Instructs ministries (chief ones being Construction, Foreign Affairs and Culture and Information) to encourage overseas Vietnamese to return to Vietnam. Authorizes them to import their own vehicle, calls for the return of seized housing, provides housing for those who need it. Sets up system to recruit Viet kieu from abroad, including air fare. Mandates against absentee ownership of houses and apartments. Owners who leave Vietnam for more than 90 days are required to sell their property. HCMC has a pilot project underway to test the new regulations.

#### Other Official Regulations, Decisions, Decrees:

- Decision No. 42/2000/QD-TTg (April 5, 2000) by the Prime Minister, on management of petroleum and oil trading.
- Decision No. 102/2000/QD-MHNN1 (March 31, 2000) by the State Bank of Vietnam, on discount interest rates of the State Bank applicable to credit institutions.
- Decision No. 47/2000/QD-Tebd (march 29, 2000) by the General Department of Post and Telecommunications, regulations on standardizing of post and telecommunications materials and equipment.
- Circular No. 05/2000/TT-NHNN1. (March 28, 2000) by the Ministry of Industry. Guidance on the export and import of mineral products.
- Inter-Circular No. 11/2000/TTLT-BLDTBH-BTC (April 6, 2000) by the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Finance adjustment of salary and subsidy in enterprises.
- Official Letter No. 1258/TCHQ-KTTT, dated March 29, 2000 by the General Department of Customs, on imbalanced price collection applicable to exported goods.
- Official Letter No. 1946/YT-QLD, dated March 30, 2000 by the Medical Management Department regulations on labels of medicine and cosmetic. (Source Vietlaw Ltd. 57B Tu Xuong St., District 3, HCM City Tel: 820-2138; Fax: 820-2139)
- SRV Decree 161/11/1999 SRV regulations providing details on the implementation of certain articles in the Ordinance on signing and executing international conventions.
- Decision No. 371/QD-NHNN1 (October 19, 1999), State Bank of Vietnam promulgating regulations on the issue, use and payment of bank credits.
- Decision No. 3113/QD-BYT (October 11, 1999), Ministry of Health on the standards for limiting bacterium and mould in cosmetic and methods of skin stimulation.
- Decision No. 125/QD-BTC (October 19, 1999), Ministry of Finance on the amendment of names and import tax rates applicable to Group 2710 in the preferential import tariff list.

## LAOS: SUDDEN TURMOIL

The spectre of violence haunts the normally placid capital of Laos. A series of indiscriminate bomb attacks has unsettled the populace, deterred tourists, and concerned neighbors. The incidents in Vientiane combined with an escalating rebel insurgency in central provinces has pushed the worried, secretive government closer to China and, in particular, Vietnam.

Ever since the end of the Vietnam War, low-key resistance, largely by Hmong, has gone on in mountainous areas, but nothing the regime's security forces couldn't handle. What were periodic skirmishes have become, since the beginning of 2000, hit-and-run raids, ambushes, killing of government officials, and growing casualties among the Laotian military. More troops have been dispatched to Xiang Khouang Province (which includes the Plain of Jars), various other areas and border districts. News reports gleaned from foreign diplomatic sources in Laos---and hotly denied by both Hanoi and Vientiane -- say Vietnamese troops are operating with Laotian forces to contain the rebellion. This, of course, worries the Thais because of threats to regional stability, Thai-Lao trade, and Thailand's 1,800-mile border with Laos.

In early June, sources reported Vietnamese troops had recently been seen moving through the streets of Vientiane, and that a helicopter carrying artillery had been shot down. One Western diplomat said the insurgency could no longer be hidden from the population and intensification of the attacks was creating a siege mentality.

Vietnam's FM said reports that Vietnam had sent troops to Laos were "totally fabricated with ill intention" ( *Nhan Dan*, June 6), and the Laos FM called the reports "a blatant fabrication...aimed at sabotaging the ...special solidarity between the peoples of Vietnam and Laos" (VNA, June 8)

On July 3 a group of 60, described as armed robbers by Laos and rebels by Thailand, attacked and briefly held (with hostages) a Laotian checkpoint on the Thai-Lao border. The raiders took down the Lao flag and raised a resistance banner.

Five or six were killed when the Laotian military attacked and 27 fled back over the border and were captured. Varying reports, all from Thai sources, say (1) a letter seized by authorities bore the letterhead of the United Lao Nation Resistance for Democracy in Laos and came from the movement's office in Fresno, CA; (2) the raiders were from the Neutral Justice and Democracy Party, which seeks to overthrow the Lao government; and (3) the raiders represented nine anti-Vientiane insurgent groups. There is not believed to be a connection between the border attack and the Hmong resistance.

A mass of speculation about who exactly is doing what in Laos has been dutifully reported by news services and the Thai press, but the connections among the explosions in Vientiane, the Hmong insurgency, and the various anti-government Lao resistance groups is uncertain if not completely unknown. There seems to be general agreement that the impetus for rebellion comes from outside the country, at least in terms of material support, whether from Hmong emigres in the United States, royalist groups, or others.

The government does acknowledge increased fighting with the Hmong, blaming it all on the support and encouragement of the emigres. But it insists the explosions in Vientiane -- five since the end of March, including a bus explosion that killed two and a bomb in the central market that injured 15 -- and the border raid are merely the work of criminals seeking to rob and create mayhem.

The Hmong complain of corrupt officials and resettlement policies that have forced some of them to move to lowland areas. Critics say the government is providing highland forest land to Vietnamese logging firms. In the capital, discontent centers on economic hardship, widespread corruption, an obvious disparity in income, and last year's repressive moves against Christian groups and a student demonstration. It is hard for the government to deny a rising discontent in Laotian society and, suddenly, the urge to express it.

## CAMBODIA: SHORT TAKES

Casino Economy. Despite the twin blows of the Asia-wide financial crisis and local investor flight, Cambodia's fragile economy is now recovering. The good news is low inflation, a stable currency and returning investors. On the downside are a host of serious institutional problems that hobble economic development. Outside of the garment industry it is still a casino economy in which investors come in to gamble for quick profits and then leave.

Heavy Rain. The Mekong River runs the length of Cambodia. Heavy rains this summer have pushed water level to the highest in 40 years. As of the end of July, nine of the country's 24 provinces were inundated: 48,000 acres of rice and other crops destroyed, 630,000 persons affected, ten deaths. In the 1999-2000 year crop, 2.07 million hectares produced 4.04 million MT of paddy rice. In 1998/1999, Cambodia produced 3.8 million MT of paddy rice from 1.96 million hectares.

Newest Threat. To hear Hun Sen tell it, Cambodia is second to no country in its commitment to fighting drug traffickers. He has passed numerous decrees and backed laws to outlaw growing, making and smuggling drugs. He constantly speaks on the subject, in the capital and up-country. He has threatened to fire officials who fail to participate in anti-drug programs and to imprison any who are found directly involved. But a different Cambodia is described by anti-drug experts, both from Cambodia and abroad. They speak of an expanding institution of powerful drug smugglers and money launderers, both home-grown and foreign. The drug trafficking establishment threatens both Cambodian society and the security of its neighbors. Far from being committed to combating the drug scourge, the reality is that Cambodia is deeply immersed in the illicit trafficking trap. In truth, it appears that Cambodia has become the second greatest security threat in the region. Until recently, Burma has dominated the drug trade. Rangoon has been the focus of concern for Thailand and other neighbors. But Cambodia appears to be building a drug infrastructure which may rival and surpass that of the Burmese.

Justice Postponed. The release (July 20) of former Khmer Rouge platoon commander Chhouk Rin on trial for the 1994 kidnapping and murder of three Western backpackers has sparked international outrage. Australia has vowed to lodge a formal protest with the Cambodian Government over the upholding of immunity Chhouk Rin received when he defected to the Government. But for Cambodians, the story's highlight is the controversy surrounding Khmer Rouge defectors whose past crimes have gone unprosecuted in exchange for an end to the country's long civil war. The controversy comes as the Cambodian Parliament prepares to debate a law that would finally allow prosecution of leaders of the Khmer Rouge's bloody regime, under which 1.7 million Cambodians died. The Cambodian judge who ruled that Chhouk Rin should go free defended his decision. He said he had no choice but to respect the law that gives amnesty to Khmer Rouge defectors, no matter how many they have killed. "I understand the feelings, but I assure you that the verdict was based on the law." For others, however, exchanging justice for peace is unacceptable.

Sexploitation. UNICEF says more than a third of the prostitutes in Cambodia are below age 18; four of the five boys hanging out on the streets of Phnom Penh are prostituting themselves to men. MP Sam Rainsy says: "Brothels are in the hands of people in uniform. There is no rule of law. Most of the 11 million people in Cambodia do not earn decent salaries. 40 percent survive on \$1.73 a day. About 250,000 have Aids virus." No wonder Internet searches by pedophiles return full of references to Cambodia.

Cambodian Culture. PM Hun Sen warns Cambodian television stations they could lose their licenses if they persist in showing female pop singers in short skirts. Earlier he banned pop songs that promote casual sex.

King Sihanouk. He will return to Beijing in early August for a medical checkup. The king, 77, is suffering from a variety of ailments including diabetes and colon cancer.

## Names in the News:

**USS Zumwalt** Name of the new class of ships to be built by the Pentagon ushering in the 21<sup>st</sup> century Land Attack Destroyer (DD 21). Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, who died January 2, was honored for his visionary leadership and well-known reputation as a Navy reformer. The future warships will embody his spirit. They will be capable of delivering an unprecedented level of firepower from the sea in the first U.S. Navy ship to be propelled by a modern intergrated, electric drive power system. Manned by crew of 100, staterooms for the entire ship's company.

**Dinh Xuan Lam** Singled out by official Hanoi as a "pillar of the historical kingdom" are four members of the history faculty at the University of Social Sciences and Humanity (formerly Hanoi U.) They are Dinh Xuan Lam, Phan Huy Le, Ha Van Tan and Tran Quoc Vuong, currently being profiled in Nhan Dan. Lam is interviewed at length by Truong Son in the July 17 edition. Lam, 74, has published some 350 works, his latest being Dictionary of Vietnamese Personalities in History. Clearly indicative of the regime's changed attitude toward intellectuals.

**Arnold Schecter** (University of Texas) Leading American specialist on dioxin is in Vietnam to do research hoping he will get better official cooperation than in the past (when customs seized his samples at the airport) Chief problem remains Hanoi bureauracy

**Howard Mechanic** Famed anti-war activist (FBI's poster said he was "armed and dangerous"; convicted 1970; fled; spent 30 years in hiding in Scottsdale, Arizona, where he did well, eventually ran for the City Council- not a smart move. Political opponents checked him out, found he was still on the wanted list. Profile in New York Times, April 30, "Doesn't Anybody Know How to Be A Fugitive Anymore" by Lisa Belkin.

**Thich Quang Do** Called the "keeper of the flame" and "conscience of Buddhism" in Vietnam.

Nominee for the Nobel Prize profiled on the Web. Since his youth (he is now 72) Do he has battled for the right to free religion, and has paid the price with prison and house arrests. Most recent campaign is to address the state's official worry over the explosion of social ills. Says he and his followers can contribute if the church's confiscated network of hospitals, schools, orphanages, social centers and a university is returned to it. In the more progressive South, officials are quietly experimenting with such assistance, though under state auspices. "For 25 years we have suffered continuous repression," says Do. "But we believe firmly that we will get freedom completely, sooner or later."

**Tran Quoc Van**, director of the HCMC office of Xunhasaba. Vietnam's major State publications importer is fired when customs officers find a half ton of pornographic material in a 13 ton shipment of children's books -- "nude sexual drawing" as it was put. The company's director in Hanoi said the State has not ruled out a prison term for Van. (South China Morning Post July 6, 2000)

**President Clinton** Planning a trip to Vietnam in November. Ostensible purpose is be to mark the trade agreement reached in July by the two countries. The White House acknowledged the trip would evoke a combination of reflection, remembrance, bitterness and anger, but said the significance of the visit would go far beyond such reactions. (David Shribman, Boston Globe, July 19, 2000.

**Al Rockoff** Once the wild, daring, much wounded freelance photographer now living in Cambodia, is profiled by the New York Times, July 6, 2000. He is the person portrayed by John Malkovich in the movie, "The Killing Fields (a portrayal he hates).



## The Koreans and the Vietnam War

Korea, both North and South, was in the news this quarter in connection with the Vietnam War. In the Republic of Korea, documentary evidence and press reports brought to the surface long ignored or suppressed issues of ROK troop atrocities in Vietnam, while from Hanoi came acknowledgment (sort of) that North Korean soldiers fought for it in the war.

### THE SOUTH

Thousands of ROK soldiers were sent to South Vietnam, the second largest contingent of troops to fight in the allied effort against communist forces. They came home as honored veterans of battle, possessed of a new sense of pride after the misery, defeats and stalemate of the Korean War. Their reputation in Vietnam was one of mean fighters who gave no quarter, but this was war and hardly anyone was interested in looking into reports of outright brutality and murder. But in South Korea's transition to democracy, *Newsweek* reports, a new generation has arisen, one that feels its country's evils as well as its virtues must be examined. What it took to breathe life into an examination of Korean soldiers' conduct in Vietnam were two events: the Sept. 1999 report of American veterans admitting the killing of civilians in the early days of the Korean War, and publication of the work of a Korean graduate student in history at Vietnam National University in HCMC.

The Americans' admission (some accounts have since become suspect) elicited demands from Seoul for a U.S. investigation; rallies were organized with American veterans apologizing for their actions or explaining them as due to the fear and chaos of the first weeks of the war. Beyond the headlines and the indignation in South Korea, the revelation seemed to be a catalyst for breaking the public silence about actions of the ROK military in Vietnam.

At about the same time, graduate student Koo Soo Jung was winding up three years of research in Vietnam and had begun publishing the

results in the weekly magazine *Hankyoreh 21* (described by *Korea Times* as "progressive"). Assembling data from government documents in Vietnamese war museums, interviewing eyewitnesses, and traveling to 19 countries to talk with survivors, Koo compiled a record of massacres in which some 8,000 Vietnamese civilians allegedly were killed by South Korean soldiers. But the magazine and related daily *Hankyoreh Shinmun* were the only media in the country to deal with the issue until the story of American killings opened the floodgates. Korean Broadcasting Service then did its own documentary in which veterans told of unprovoked killings; Western reporters visited villagers who recounted horror stories of indiscriminate killing, disemboweling, and rotting corpses; human rights groups demanded that government open its archives and compensate victims.

Reports suggest that the ROK forces attacked villages they considered hostile as part of a campaign to separate peasants from the *Viet Cong* in the three Central VN provinces of Binh Dinh, Quang Ngai and Phu Yen. Binh Dinh provincial officials told an AP team that South Koreans had killed 1,003 civilians in one village (6,000 population in 1966). The reporters, accompanied by Vietnamese government escorts, could not obtain documentary evidence.

This sudden attention to ROK troop conduct in Vietnam has dismayed veterans who fear they may be portrayed as war criminals; they feel this generation has no experience of war and cannot possibly understand their actions in the kind of war they fought in Vietnam.

"Military {leaders} in Agony Over Reports on Civilian Massacre," headlined *Korea Times* after *Hankyoreh* had run a piece quoting a retired colonel as admitting troops in his marine company had massacred civilians. Kim Ki-tae, 65, said that in one operation in November 1966 his troops pushed 29 unarmed Vietnamese youngsters into a bomb hole and bombed and machine-gunned them. He also said they had massacred others a few days

earlier, mostly women, children, and elderly, at a village where shots had been fired at them. In another operation, Kim ordered his men not to harm civilians, but as he left the village he heard an "uproar" of gunfire. He said he had "no choice but to overlook the killings."

The commander of South Korean forces in Vietnam (1965-69), Gen. Chae Myong-shin (ret.) told AP the nature of the war made it "extremely difficult, or virtually impossible" to tell civilians from guerrillas. A former marine lieutenant spoke of villages that were friendly during the day but became *Viet Cong* at night with sniper and grenade attacks.

Research on the subject by foreigners over the years, including Vietnamese, has been largely ignored in both countries. And in spite of the willingness of Vietnamese villagers, provincial officials, and some ROK veterans to describe atrocities, the two governments, which now maintain good relations, are disinclined to address the issue. In fact, *Korea Times* says that since diplomatic relations were established in 1992, Seoul and Hanoi have been in "tacit agreement on not raising past misdeeds." Around 5,000 Koreans currently live and do business in Vietnam.

ROK President Kim Dae-jung did express regret for South Korea's role in the war when he was in Vietnam to attend an ASEAN summit, but provincial officials did not feel it was enough to satisfy the people. Whether the public's aroused interest will affect government decisions remains to be seen but private groups may act on their own. In March 38 South Korean dentists, members of the Dentists Assn. for a Healthy Society, went to villages where massacres reportedly had occurred and treated 1500 people in four days. (See George Wehrfritz and Ron Moreau in *Newsweek*, 2, 10 April; 2000; Paul Alexander, AP, 6 April; *Korea Times*, 19 April).

## **THE NORTH**

Vietnam's Foreign Ministry in early April said for the first time that North Korean soldiers took part in the Vietnam War; previously it had acknowledged only weapons and technical support.

The story first emerged in late March when Foreign Minister Paek Nam-sun of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) came to Vietnam as part of a regional tour. During his stay he went to Bac Giang Province and visited graves of North Korean soldiers. Although not part of his official itinerary, the word got out and South Korea's Yonhap news agency together with Seoul's embassy in Hanoi immediately organized a search for the site.

Yonhap reported that on 29 March a graveyard for North Korean soldiers killed in the war was found in Bac Giang, 60 kms. north of Hanoi, "confirming North Korea's commitments to the war for the first time in 25 years." The graveyard contains a memorial monument in honor of 14 North Korean air force soldiers buried there. Vietnam had not made public the existence of the graveyard, Yonhap said.

At a press briefing on April 4, Vietnam FM spokesperson Phan Thuy Thanh confirmed that Paek had visited Bac Giang Province. AFP quoted her as saying: "The participation of some soldiers from international friends was on agreement between (defense ministries) of relevant countries." She did not mention North Korea by name. AFP, therefore, led its report with the words "Vietnam implicitly acknowledged for the first time Thursday that North Korean troops fought for the communist north in the Vietnam War."

Yonhap, attending the same briefing, carried this quote by Thanh in its dispatch in *Korea Times*: "During the war many foreign soldiers, including North Koreans, came to Vietnam to help us and some of these soldiers were sacrificed." But it also quoted Thanh as saying the North Koreans came to share their experience and teach techniques, not to fight, thus the use of the more neutral word, "participation". Yonhap said 11 of the 14 dead soldiers in the North Korean graveyard were fighter pilots (it named two) and three were mechanics. (Yonhap, 29 March, 7 April 2000; AFP, 6 April).

## Glossary of Commonly Used Terms and Abbreviations

**AFP**—Agence France Presse  
**AI**—Amnesty International  
**AMAZON.COM**—For reviews, cite Amazon.com as source, URL (<http://www.amazon.com>)  
**ASEAN**—Association of Southeast Asian Nations  
**CPP**—Cambodian People's Party (ruling party)  
**CS**—Council of State  
**DK**—Democratic Kampuchea  
**THE ECONOMIST**—International Weekly (London)  
**FEER**—*Far Eastern Economic*  
**FBIS**—Foreign Broadcast Information Service  
**FBIS-CHI**—Daily Report/China  
**FBIS-EAS**—Daily Report/East Asia  
**FDI**—Foreign Direct Investment  
**FUNCINPEC**—National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (opposition party)  
**GSSP**—Grandfather Son San Party (Cambodia)  
**INDOCHINA INTERCHANGE**—USIRP quarterly, New York  
**JPRS-SEA**—Joint Publications Research Service, SE Asia (Dept. of Commerce)  
**KPL**—Lao News Agency  
**KR**—Khmer Rouge  
**LPDR**—Lao People's Democratic Republic  
**LPRP**—Lao People's Revolutionary Party  
**NATION**—Bangkok Newspaper (English)  
**NHAN DAN**—People's Daily (Ha Noi) **NRC**—National Radio of Cambodia (Phnom Penh)

**PAVN**—People's Army  
**PDK**—Party of Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge)  
**PPP**—*Phnom Penh Post*  
**PRC**—People's Republic of China  
**RENMIN RIBAO**—People's Daily (Beijing)  
**RGC**—Royal Government of Cambodia

**RKAF**—Royal Khmer Armed Forces  
**SRV**—Socialist Republic of *Review* (Hong Kong)  
**UNDP**—U.N. Development Program  
**UNHCR**—U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva  
**USIRP**—U.S.-Indochina Reconciliation Project, New York  
**VBJ**—*Vietnam Business Journal*  
**VC**—*Vietnam Courier*  
**VIR**—*Vietnam Investment Review*  
**VNN**—*Vietnam News* daily (Ha Noi daily news sheet)  
**VNU**—Vietnam National University  
**VVN**—Voice of Network  
**VTN**—Vietnam Television Network  
**XINHUA**—China News Agency

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