## Bibliography

Adams, Sam. "Vietnam Cover-Up: Playing War With Numbers." Harper's, May 1975.

Allison, Graham. Essence of Decision. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

——, and Halperin, Morton. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications." World Politics, 24 (Spring 1972).

Aron, Raymond. "The Evolution of Modern Strategic Thought." The Adelphi Papers, 54 (February 1969).

Art, Robert. "Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy: A Critique." Policy Sciences, 4:4 (December 1973).

Ashmore, Harry, and Baggs, William. Mission to Hanoi. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968.

Austin, Anthony. The President's War. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1971.

Baggs, Andrew. "Bombing, Bargaining, and Limited War: North Vietnam, 1965–1968." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1972.

Baldwin, Hanson. "After Vietnam-What Military Strategy in the Far East?" New York Times Magazine, June 9, 1968.

Ball, George. "Top Secret: The Prophecy the President Rejected." The Atlantic, July 1972.

Barnet, Richard. "The Men Who Made the War," in Stavins, Barnet, and Raskin.

Bauer, Raymond. "Problems of Perception and the Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union." Journal of Conflict Resolution, 5 (1961).

———. "Accuracy of Perception in International Relations." Teachers College Record, 64 (1963).

Blachman, Morris. "The Stupidity of Intelligence," in Peters and Adams (eds.). Brandon, Henry. Anatomy of Error. Boston: Gambit, 1969.

Brodie, Bernard. "Unlimited Weapons and Limited War." The Reporter, November 18, 1954.

———. Strategy in the Missile Age. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959.

- ——. Escalation and the Nuclear Option. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- ———. "Learning to Fight a Limited War," in William Gerberding and Bernard Brodie, The Political Dimension in National Strategy: Five Papers. UCLA Security Studies Project, 1968.
- Broughton, Col. Jack. Thud Ridge. Philadephia: J. B. Lippincott, 1969.
- Carver, George. "The Faceless Viet Cong." Foreign Affairs, 44:3 (April 1966).
- Chen, King C. "North Vietnam in the Sino-Sovièt Dispute, 1962–1964." Asian Survey, 4:9 (September 1964).
- ——. "Hanoi versus Peking: Policies and Relations—A Survey." Asian Survey, 12:9 (September 1972).
- ——. "Hanoi's Three Decisions and the Escalation of the Vietnam War." Political Science Quarterly, 90:2 (Summer 1975).
- Clifford, Clark. "A Viet Nam Reappraisal." Foreign Affairs, 47:4 (July 1969).
- Cook, Mark. Interpersonal Perception. Baltimore: Penguin, 1971.
- Cooper, Chester. "The Complexities of Negotiations." Foreign Affairs, 46:3 (April 1968).
- ---. The Lost Crusade, rev. ed. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1972.
- Cousins, Norman. "Vietnam: The Spurned Peace." Saturday Review, July 26, 1969.
- "Crucial Vietnam Decisions of Johnson Administration Discussed by Former President in Second TV Interview." Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, February 6, 1970.
- Cyert, Richard, and March, James. A Behavioral Theory of the Firm. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Devillers, Philippe. "The Struggle for the Unification of Vietnam." China Quarterly, 9 (January-March 1962).
- Dommen, Arthur. Conflict in Laos, rev. ed. New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Dudman, Richard. "Military Policy in Vietnam." Current History, 50:294 (February 1966).
- Duiker, William J. "Building the United Front: The Rise of Communism in Vietnam," in Zasloff and Brown (eds.).
- Ellsberg, Daniel. Papers on the War. New York: Pocket Books, 1972.
- ---. "The Theory and Practice of Blackmail," in Young (ed.).
- Evans, Rowland, and Novak, Robert. Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power. New York: Signet Books, 1966.
- "Experiences of the South Vietnam Revolutionary Movement During the Past Several Years" (The CRIMP Document), in U.S. Department of State, "Working Paper on the North Vietnamese Role in the War in South Vietnam," Appendices, Item 301.
- Fall, Bernard. Last Reflections on a War. New York: Schocken, 1972.
- Fitzgerald, Frances. Fire in the Lake. New York: Vintage, 1972.

- Galloway, John. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh-Dickenson University Press, 1970.
- Gallucci, Robert. Neither Peace Nor Honor. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.
- Gelb, Leslie. "Vietnam: The System Worked." Foreign Policy, 3 (Summer 1971).
- George, Alexander. "The Development of Doctrine and Strategy," "The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962," and "Comparisons and Lessons," in George, Hall, and Simons.
- ——; Hall, David; and Simons, William. The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
- ——, and Smoke, Richard. Deterrence in American Foreign Policy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.
- Geyelin, Philip. Lyndon B. Johnson and the World. New York: Praeger, 1966.
- Goodman, Allan. "Fighting While Negotiating: The View from Hanoi," in Zasloff and Brown (eds.).
- Goulden, Joseph C. Truth Is the First Casualty. Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1969. Gray, Colin, "What RAND Hath Wrought." Foreign Policy, 4 (Fall 1971).
- Gurtov, Melvin. "Hanoi on War and Peace." P-3696, The RAND Corp., 1967.

  ——, and Kellen, Konrad. "Vietnam: Lessons and Mislessons." P-4084, The

RAND Corp., 1969.

- Halberstam, David. The Best and the Brightest. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1972.
- Hall, David. "The Laos Crisis, 1960-1961," in George, Hall, and Simons.
- Halperin, Morton. Limited War in the Nuclear Age. New York: John Wiley, 1963.
- ——. Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1974.
- Hanoi VNA International Service in English, 9 August 1970. "A Brief Chronology of Momentous Facts and Events in the History of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," in Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 84 (September 1970).
- Henry, John B. "February 1968." Foreign Policy, 4 (Fall 1971).
- Hermann, Charles, "Threat, Time, and Surprise: A Simulation of International Crisis," in Hermann (ed.).
- ——— (ed.). International Crises: Insights from Behavioral Research. New York: Free Press, 1972.
- ——, and Brady, Linda. "Alternative Models of International Crisis Behavior," in Hermann (ed.).
- Hilsman, Roger. To Move a Nation. New York: Dell, 1967.
- Holsti, Ole. "Time, Alternatives, and Communications: The 1914 and Cuban Missile Crises," in Hermann (ed.).
- Honey, P. J. "North Vietnam's Party Congress." The China Quarterly, 4 (October–December 1960).

- --- (ed.). North Vietnam Today. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- ---. Communism in North Vietnam. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1963.
- ——. "Vietnam: To the Bitter End?" The Spectator, December 17, 1965; reprinted in Survival, 8:2 (February 1966).
- ——. "North Vietnam Quarterly Survey." China News Analysis, 1962-1968.
- Hoopes, Townsend. The Limits of Intervention. New York: David McKay, 1969.

  ———. "LBJ's Account of March 1968." The New Republic, March 14, 1970.
- Huntington, Samuel. The Common Defense. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Jervis, Robert. "Hypotheses on Misperception." World Politics, 20 (1968).
- ——. The Logic of Images in International Relations. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- ——. Perception and Misperception in International Politics. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Johnson, Lyndon. The Vantage Point. New York: Popular Library, 1971.
- Kahn, Herman. On Escalation. Baltimore: Penguin, 1965.
- Kattenburg, Paul. "Vietnam and U.S. Diplomacy, 1940-1970." Orbis, 15:3 (Fall 1971).
- Kaufmann, William. "The Requirements of Deterrence," "Limited Warfare," and "Force and Foreign Policy," in Kaufmann (ed.), Military Policy and National Security. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956.
- Kaye, William. "A Bowl of Rice Divided: The Economy of North Vietnam," in Honey (ed.).
- Kearns, Doris, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream. New York: Signet, 1977.
- Kennedy, Robert. Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis. New York: Signet, 1969.
- Kissinger, Henry. Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958.
- ——. The Necessity for Choice. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960.
- Knorr, Klaus and Read, Thornton (eds.). Limited Strategic War. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- Komer, Robert. "Bureaucracy Does Its Thing: Institutional Constraints on U.S.-GVN Performance in Vietnam." R-967-ARPA, The RAND Corp., 1972.
- Kraslow, David, and Loory, Stuart. The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam. New York: Vintage, 1968.
- Krasner, Stephen. "Are Bureaucracies Important?" Foreign Policy, 7 (Summer 1972).
- Krause, Patricia (ed.). Anatomy of an Undeclared War. New York: International Universities Press, 1972.
- Lacouture, Jean. Vietnam: Between Two Truces. New York: Vintage, 1966.
- Latimer, Thomas. "Hanoi's Leaders and Their South Vietnam Policies, 1954–1968." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown University, 1972.

Lindblom, Charles. The Intelligence of Democracy. New York: Free Press, 1965. Littauer, Raphael, and Uphoff, Norman (eds.). The Air War in Indochina, rev. ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

McGarvey, Patrick. "DIA: Intelligence to Please." The Washington Monthly, July 1970.

--- CIA: The Myth and the Madness. Baltimore: Penguin, 1972.

Maneli, Mieczylaw. "Vietnam: '63 and Now." New York Times, January 27, 1975, p. 25.

Martin, John Bartlow. Adlai Stevenson and the World. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977.

Maull, Hans. "Oil and Influence: The Oil Weapon Examined." Adelphi Papers, 117 (1975).

May, Ernest. "Lessons" of the Past. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. Mecklin, John. Mission in Torment. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965.

Milburn, Thomas. "The Management of Crisis," in Hermann (ed.).

Moise, Edwin. "Land Reform and Land Reform Errors in North Vietnam." Pacific Affairs, 49:1 (Spring 1976).

[Moyers, Bill.] "Bill Moyers Talks About LBJ, Power, Poverty, War, and the Young." The Atlantic, July 1968.

Mueller, John. War, Presidents, and Public Opinion. New York: John Wiley, 1973.

Nalty, Bernard. Air Power and the Fight for Khe Sanh. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

National Security Study Memorandum-1, 1969, xeroxed. (Also available in the Congressional Record, May 10, 1972, pp. E3975 ff.; May 11, 1972, pp. E5008 ff.)

Neustadt, Richard. Alliance Politics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

New York Times. Selected articles, 1964-1975.

Nickel, Ted. "The Attribution of Intention as a Critical Factor in the Relation Between Frustration and Aggression." Journal of Personality, 42 (1974).

Oberdorfer, Don. Tet! New York: Avon, 1971.

---. "Kissinger Played Major Role in 1967 Dialogue." Washington Post, June 27, 1972, pp. A1, A12.

Osgood, Robert. Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

——. "The Reappraisal of Limited War." The Adelphi Papers, 54 (February 1969).

——— et al. Retreat From Empire? Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Paige, Glenn. The Korean Decision. New York: Free Press, 1968.

Palmerlee, Albert. "The Central Office of South Vietnam." Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 40 (August 1968).

Pennock, J. Roland, and Chapman, John (eds.). Coercion-Nomos XIV. Chicago: Aldine Atherton, 1972.

The Pentagon Papers. The Senator Gravel Edition. 5 vols. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

Peters, Charles, and Adams, Timothy (eds.). Inside the System. New York: Praeger, 1970.

Pfeffer, Richard (ed.). No More Vietnams? New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

Pierre, Andrew. "American Down, Russia Up: The Changing Political Role of Military Power." Foreign Policy, 4 (Fall 1971).

Pike, Douglas. Viet Cong. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966.

--- War, Peace, and the Viet Cong. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969.

Porter, Gareth. A Peace Denied. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975.

Race, Jeffrey. War Comes to Long An. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

"Recent Exchanges Concerning Attempts to Promote a Negotiated Settlement of the Conflict in Vietnam." Cmnd. 2756. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1965.

Ronning, Chester. A Memoir of China in Revolution. New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Rossi, Mario. "U Thant and Vietnam: The Untold Story." New York Review of Books, November 17, 1966.

Rostow, Walt. The Diffusion of Power. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Rourke, Francis. Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Russett, Bruce. "Pearl Harbor: Deterrence Theory and Decision Theory." Reprinted in Russett, Power and Community in World Politics. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1974.

Safire, William. "What Went Wrong." New York Times, April 24, 1975, p. 35.

Salisbury, Harrison. Behind the Lines—Hanoi. New York: Harper & Row, 1967. Schandler, Herbert. The Unmaking of a President. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Schelling, Thomas. The Strategy of Conflict. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.

——. Arms and Influence. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966. Schurmann, Franz; Scott, Peter Dale; and Zelnik, Reginald. The Politics of Esca-

lation in Vietnam. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1966.

Scott, Peter Dale. The War Conspiracy. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972. Sevareid, Eric. "The Final Troubled Hours of Adlai Stevenson." Look, November 30, 1965.

Shaplen, Robert. The Lost Revolution, rev. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

——. Time Out of Hand. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Sharp, Mitchell. Report on Seaborn missions, Canadian House of Commons, Proceedings, June 17, 1971.

Sharp, Adm. U. S. G., and Westmoreland, Gen. William. Report on the War in Vietnam. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

Simons, William. "The Vietnam Intervention, 1964–1965," in George, Hall, and Simons.

- Snyder, Glenn. "The New Look," in Warner Schilling, Paul Hammond, and Glenn Snyder, Strategy, Politics and Defense Budgets. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- ---. "Crisis Bargaining," in Hermann (ed.).
- Stavins, Ralph. "Washington Determines the Fate of Vietnam, 1954–1965," in Stavins, Barnet, and Raskin.
- ——; Barnet, Richard; and Raskin, Marcus. Washington Plans an Aggressive War. New York: Vintage, 1971.
- Steinbruner, John. The Cybernetic Theory of Decision. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974.
- Taylor, Maxwell. The Uncertain Trumpet. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. ———. Swords and Ploughshares. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972.
- Thayer, Carlyle. "Southern Vietnamese Revolutionary Organizations and the Vietnam Workers' Party: Continuity and Change, 1954–1974," in Zasloff and Brown (eds.).
- Thomson, James. "How Could Vietnam Happen?" The Atlantic, April 1968.
- Truong Chinh. "Let Us Be Grateful to Karl Marx and Follow the Path Traced by Him." Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 51 (February 1968).
- Turley, William. "Army, Party, and Society in the DRV: Civil-Military Relations in a Mass-Mobilization System." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1972.
- ———. "Urbanization in War: Hanoi, 1946–1973." Pacific Affairs, 48:3 (Fall 1975).
- Turner, Robert. Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1975.
- Ulam, Adam. Expansion and Coexistence. New York: Praeger, 1968.
- U.S. Department of Defense. U.S.-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967. 12 vols. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.
- U.S. Department of State. "Hanoi's Role in the Support of the Present War in South Vietnam," (xeroxed, no date).
- ———. "Working Paper on the North Vietnamese Role in the War in South Vietnam." Reprinted in Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 37 (June 1968).
- U.S. Mission, Saigon. "The Nineteenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and its Reference Documents." Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 91 (March 1971).
- ———. "The Vietnam Workers' Party's 1963 Decision to Escalate the War in the South." Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 96 (July 1971).
- ———. "World Situation and Our Party's International Mission." Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 98 (September 1971).
- U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam. 6th rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.
- U.S. vs. Ellsberg and Russo. U.S. District Court, Los Angeles, 1971 (Ellsberg Trial Transcript).

Vietnam Workers' Party, Central Committee Historical Department. "Forty Years of Party Activity." Vietnam Documents and Research Notes, no. 76 (April 1970).

The Washington Post. Selected articles, 1964-1972.

Weinstein, Franklin. "Vietnam's Unheld Elections." Data Paper no. 60, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, July 1966.

Westmoreland, William. A Soldier Reports. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976.

White, Ralph. Nobody Wanted War. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970. Whiting, Allen. "The Scholar and the Policy-Maker." World Politics, 24 (Spring

1972).

Wicker, Tom. JFK and LBJ. Baltimore: Penguin, 1968.

Williams, Phil. Crisis Management. London: Martin Robertson, 1976.

Wilson, Harold. A Personal Record: The Labour Government, 1964-1970. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

Windchy, Eugene. Tonkin Gulf. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971.

Wohlstetter, Albert, and Wohlstetter, Roberta. "Controlling the Risks in Cuba." The Adelphi Papers, 17 (April 1965).

Wohlstetter, Roberta. Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1962.

Young, Oran. The Politics of Force. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968.

——— (ed.). Bargaining: Formal Theories of Negotiation. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

Zagoria, Donald. Vietnam Triangle. New York: Pegasus, 1967.

Zasloff, Joseph, and Brown, MacAlister (eds.). Communism in Indochina. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1975.

con single-material design and a company of the second contract of t

\$