Bibliography

BENERAL TEACHER OF THE SECOND SECOND

Bellin best to the comment of the co

ATTORISM ON THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE

With the same of the

I. Interviews

Journalists are identified by the news organizations they worked for during the Vietnam period. A number of other people preferred not to be identified and are not listed here. My notes do not indicate the exact date of some early interviews.

Peter Arnett (AP), New York, July, 1978.

Steve Bell (ABC), Washington, August, 1978.

Malcolm Browne (AP, ABC, New York Times), New York, October 20, 1983.

Ed Fouhy (CBS), Washington, October 11, 1983.

Max Frankel (New York Times), New York, September 17, 1984.

Charles Mohr, (Time, New York Times), Washington, August 18, 1981.

Ron Nessen (NBC), Bethesda, Md., August 7, 1978.

Don Oberdorfer (Knight Newspapers, Washington Post), Washington, August 19, 1981.

Robert Pierpoint (CBS), Washington, August 17, 1981.

Bill Plante (CBS), Washington, December 21, 1978.

James Reston (New York Times), telephone, September 13, 1984.

Dick Rosenbaum (ABC), Washington, August, 1978.

Morley Safer (CBS), New York, October 18, 1983.

Tony Sargent (CBS), Washington, August, 1978.

Bob Schieffer (Fort Worth Star-Telegram, CBS), Washington, August, 1978.

Bernard Weinraub (New York Times), Washington, December 18, 1978.

Tom Wicker (New York Times), New York, September 11, 1984.

II. Personal Correspondence

Malcolm Browne, February 2, 1979.

J. William Fulbright, August 23, 1984.

III. Books and Articles

Adams, William, and Schreibman, Fay, eds. Television Network News: Issues in Content Research. Washington, D.C.: School of Public and International Affairs, George Washington University, 1978.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. "The Mass Media in Systemic, Historical and Comparative Perspective," in Elihu Katz and Tamas Szeskö, eds. Mass Media and Social Change. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981.

Alsop, Joseph and Stuart. The Reporter's Trade. New York: Renal and Co.,

1958.

Anderson, Charles R. The Grunts. New York: Berkley Books, 1984.

Arlen, Michael. Living-Room War. New York: Penguin, 1982.

_____. The View From Highway 1. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1976. Arnett, Peter. "Reflections on Vietnam, the Press and America." Neiman Reports 26:1. March 1972.

. "Tet Coverage: A Debate Renewed." Columbia Journalism Review.

January/February 1978.

Aronson, James. The Press and the Cold War. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.

Associated Press. What You Should Know About Vietnam, 1967.

Bailey, George A. The Vietnam War According to Chet, David, Walter, Harry, Peter, Bob, Howard and Frank: A Content Analysis of Journalistic Performance by the Network Television Evening News Anchormen 1965-70, Ph.D. dissertation. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1973.

Bailey, George A., and Lichty, Lawrence W. "Rough Justice on a Saigon Street: A Gatekeeper Study of NBC's Tet Execution Film." Journalism

Quarterly 49:2. Summer 1972.

Baker, Mark. Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women Who Fought There. New York: Berkley Books, 1983.

Ball, George W. The Past Has Another Pattern. New York: Norton, 1982.

Barnet, Richard J. The Roots of War. New York: Penguin, 1973.

Batscha, Robert. Foreign Affairs News and the Broadcast Journalist. New York Praeger, 1975.

Berman, Larry. Planning a Tragedy. New York: W. W. Norton, 1982.

Bernstein, Victor, and Gordon, Jesse. "The Press and the Bay of Pigs." Con lumbia University Forum. Fall 1967.

Blaufarab, Douglas. The Counterinsurgency Era: U.S. Doctrine and Perfor mance, 1950 to the Present. New York: Free Press, 1977.

Boorstin, Daniel. The Image. New York: Atheneum, 1962.

Braestrup, Peter. Big Story: How the American Press and Television Reported and Interpreted the Crisis of Tet 1968 in Vietnam and Washington. Boulder Colo.: Westview Press, 1977.

Brody, Richard A. "International Crises: A Rallying Point for Presidents"

Public Opinion. December/January 1984.

Brody, Richard A., and Page, Benjamin I. The Impact of Events on President dential Popularity: The Johnson and Nixon Administrations," in Aaron Will davsky, ed. Perspectives on the Presidency. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975

Browne, Malcolm W. The New Face of War. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill

1968.

----. "Vietnam Reporting: Three Years of Crisis." Columbia Journalism Review. Fall 1964.

Carter, Richard F., and Greenberg, Bradley. "Newspapers or Television: White Do You Believe?" Journalism Quarterly 47:3. Autumn 1970.

Cater, Douglass. The Fourth Branch of Government. New York: Vintage, 1996

Chomsky, Noam. "The Remaking of History." Ramparts. August 1975.

Clark, Peter B. "The Opinion Machine: Intellectuals, the Mass Media and American Government," in Harry Clor, ed. Mass Media and American Democracy. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1974.

Clark, Peter, and Ruggels, Lee. "Preferences Among News Media for Coverage of Public Affairs." Journalism Quarterly 47:3. Autumn 1970.

Cohen, Bernard. The Press and Foreign Policy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Cohen, Stanley, and Young, Jock, eds. The Manufacture of News. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973.

Colby, William, and Forbath, Peter. Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

Crozier, Michel J., Huntington, Samuel P., and Watanuki, Joji. The Crisis of Democracy. New York: New York University Press, 1975.

Davidson, W. Phillips. "Making Sense of Vietnam News." Columbia Journalism Review. Winter 1966/1967.

Desmond, Robert W. Tides of War: World News Reporting 1931-1945. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1984.

——. Windows on the World: The Information Process in a Changing Society 1900-1920. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980.

Duncan, David Douglas. I Protest! New York: Signet, 1968.

Elegant, Robert. "How to Lose a War." Encounter. August 1981.

Ellsberg, Daniel. Papers on the War. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972. Emerson, Gloria. Winners and Losers: Battles, Retreats, Gains, Losses and

Ruins from the Vietnam War. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.

Epstein, Edward J. Between Fact and Fiction: The Problem of Journalism. New York: Vintage, 1975.

Esper, George, and the Associated Press. The Eyewitness History of the Vietnam War. New York: Ballantine, 1983.

Esslin, Martin. The Age of Television. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1982. Fall, Bernard B. Last Reflections on a War. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967.

. Viet-Nam Witness, 1953-66. New York: Praeger, 1966.

Faulkner, Francis Donald. Bao Chi: The American News Media in Vietnam, 1960-1975. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1981.

FitzGerald, Francis. Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam. Boston: Little, Brown, 1972.

Four Saigon Correspondents Ask: Are We Getting Through." Columbia Journalism Review. Fall 1966.

Friendly, Fred W. Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control . . . New York: Vintage, 1968.

Unlluci, Robert. Neither Peace Nor Honor: The Politics of American Military Policy in Vietnam. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Unltung, Johan, and Ruge, Marie. "The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cypress Crises in Four Foreign Newspapers." Journal of International Peace Research 2:7. 1965.

Bibliography

Gans, Herbert J. Deciding What's News. New York: Pantheon, 1979.

Gelb, Leslie H., and Betts, Richard K. The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1979.

Geylin, Philip. "Limited War in an Open Society," in Anthony Lake, ed. The Vietnam Legacy: The War, American Society and the Future of American Foreign Policy. New York: New York University Press, 1976.

Gitlin, Todd. The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. Goulden, Joseph C. Truth Is the First Casualty: The Gulf of Tonkin Affair—

Illusion and Reality. New York: Rand McNally, 1969.

Goulding, Phil. Confirm or Deny: Informing the People on National Security. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Greene, Bob. "How Do You Fight a War with TV Looking On?" Los Angeles Times. April 13, 1982.

Halberstam, David. The Best and the Brightest. New York: Random House,

——. The Making of a Quagmire. New York: Random House, 1965.

____. The Powers That Be. New York: Knopf, 1979.

Haldeman, H. R. The Ends of Power. New York: Dell, 1978.

Hallin, Daniel C. "The American News Media: A Critical Theory Perspective," in John Forester, ed. Critical Theory and Public Life. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985.

-----. "The Media Go to War-From Vietnam to Central America."

NACLA Report on the Americas. July/August 1983.

——. "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media." Journal of Politics. February 1984.

Hallin, Daniel C., and Mancini, Paolo. "Speaking of the President: Political Structure and Representational Form in U.S. and Italian TV News." Theory and Society 13:6. November 1984.

Halloran, James D., Elliot, Philip, and Murdock, Graham. Demonstrations and Communication. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

Harris, Robert. Gotcha! The Media, the Government and the Falklands Crisis London: Faber and Faber, 1983.

Hasford, Gustav. The Short-Timers. New York: Bantam, 1980.

Heinl, Robert D. "The Collapse of the Armed Forces." Armed Forces Journal June 7, 1971.

Herman, Edward S., and Broadhead, Frank. Demonstration Elections: U.S. Staged Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and El Salvador. How ton: South End Pres, 1984.

Herr, Michael. Dispatches. New York: Knopf, 1978.

Herring, George C., ed. The Secret Diplomacy of the Vietnam War: The New gotiating Volumes of the Pentagon Papers. Austin: University of Texas Press 1983.

_____. America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1971 New York: Wiley, 1979.

Hersch, Seymour N. The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House New York: Summit, 1983.

Herz, Martin F., with Rider, Leslie. The Prestige Press and the Christman

Bombing, 1972: Images and Reality. Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1980.

Hess, Stephen. The Washington Reporters. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1981. Hilsman, Roger. To Move a Nation: The Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of JFK. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967.

Hodgson, Godfrey. America in Our Time. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976.

Hohenberg, John. Foreign Correspondence: The Great Reporters and Their Times. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Hoopes, Townsend. The Limits of Intervention. New York: David McKay, 1973.

Houghton, Neal D. "The Cuban Invasion of 1961 and the U.S. Press in Retrospect." Journalism Quarterly. Summer 1965.

Huntington, Samuel P. American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Iyenger, Shanto, Peters, Mark D., and Kinder, Donald R. "Experimental Demonstrations of the Not-so-Minimal Consequences of Television News Programs." American Political Science Review 76:4. December 1982.

Johnson, Lyndon B. The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963— 1969. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Johnstone, John W. C., Slawski, Edward J., and Bowman, William. The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

Kahin, George McTurnan, and Lewis, John W. The United States in Vietnam. New York: Dial Press, 1969.

Karnow, Stanley. "The Newsmen's War in Vietnam." Nieman Reports 17:4. December 1963.

- Vietnam: A History. New York: Viking, 1983.

Kernell, Samuel. Going Public. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985.

Kissinger, Henry. The White House Years. Boston: Little, Brown, 1979.

Knightley, Phillip. The First Casualty. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch,

Knoll, Steve. "When TV Was Offered the Pentagon Papers." Columbia Journalism Review. March/April 1972.

Kovic, Ron. Born on the Fourth of July. New York: Pocket Books, 1976.

Kraslow, David, and Loory, Stuart H. The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam. New York: Random House, 1968.

Lacouture, Jean. Hô Chi Minh. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1967.

Lang, Daniel. Casualties of War. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

Lefever, Ernest W. TV and National Defense. Chicago: Institute for American Strategy, 1974.

Lewy, Guenter. American in Vietnam. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Lichty, Lawrence W. "The Night at the End of the Tunnel." Film Comment. July/August 1975.

. "Video versus Print." The Wilson Quarterly 6:5. Special Issue, 1982. -. "The War We Watched on Television: A Study in Progress." American Film Institute Report 4:4. Winter 1973.

Littauer, Rafael, and Uphoff, Norman, eds. The Air War in Indochina. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

Mandelbaum, Michael. "Vietnam: The Television War." Daedalus 111:4. Fall

McAlister, John T., Jr. Vietnam: The Origins of Revolution. New York: Knopf, 1982. 1969.

McAlister, John T., Jr., and Mus, Paul. The Vietnamese and Their Revolution. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

McCartney, James. "Must the Media Be 'Used'?" Columbia Journalism Review. Winter 1969-70.

McLaughlin, John. "War News Out of Perspective." Columbia Journalism Review. Winter 1968/1969.

Mecklin, John. Mission in Torment. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965.

Milstein, Jeffrey S. Dynamics of the Vietnam War: A Quantitative Analysis and Predictive Computer Simulation. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974.

Minor, Dale. The Information War. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1970.

Mohr, Charles. "Once Again-Did the Press Lose Vietnam?" Columbia Journalism Review. November/December 1983.

Mueller, John E. War, Presidents and Public Opinion. New York: Wiley, 1973 Neuman, W. Russell. "Patterns of Recall Among Television News Viewers."

Public Opinion Quarterly 40:1. Spring 1976. Neustadt, Richard E. Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership with Re-

flections on Johnson and Nixon. New York: Wiley, 1976.

Nixon, Richard M. The Memoirs. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978.

Oberdorfer, Don. Tet! Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971.

. "Tet: The Turning Point," Washington Post Magazine. January 29 1978.

Opton, Edward M., Jr. "It Never Happened, and Besides, They Deserved It," in Nevitt Sanford, Craig Comstock, and Associates, eds. Sanctions for Evil. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971.

Osborne, Milton E. Strategic Hamlets in South Vietnam. Ithaca, N.Y. The Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1965.

Paletz, David, and Entman, Robert. Media Power Politics. New York: Im-Press, 1981.

The Pentagon Papers. Senator Gravel, ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

Pike, Douglas. Viet Cong: The Organization and Technique of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966.

Popkin, Samuel L. "Internal Conflicts-South Vietnam," in Kenneth Walls and Steven Spiegel, eds. Conflict in World Politics. Cambridge, Mini-Winthrop, 1971.

——. "Pacification: Politics and the Village." Asian Survey 10:8. August

1970.

——. The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vin nam. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Porter, William E. Assault on the Media: The Nixon Years. Ann Arbor III versity of Michigan Press, 1976.

Powers, Thomas. The War at Home: Vietnam and the American People He York: Grossman, 1973.

Pratt, Fletcher. "How the Censors Rigged the News." Harper's. February 1946. Race, Jeffrey. War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Ranney, Austin. Channels of Power: The Impact of Television on American Politics. New York: Basic Books, 1983.

Rather, Dan, with Herskowitz, Mickey. The Camera Never Blinks: Adventures of a TV Journalist. New York: William Morrow, 1977.

Reston, James. The Artillery of the Press: Its Influence on American Foreign

Policy. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Roberts, Chalmers. The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.

Roberts, Gene. "U.S. 'Ground Rules' Keep Rein on War Reporting." New York Times, July 2, 1968.

Robinson, John P. "Public Reaction to Political Protest: Chicago, 1968." Public Opinion Quarterly 34:1. Spring 1970.

Robinson, Michael J. "American Political Legitimacy in an Age of Electronic Journalism," in Douglass Cater and Richard P. Alder, eds. Television as a Social Force. New York: Praeger, 1975.

—. "Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise: The Case of 'The Selling of the Pentagon.' "American Political Science Review

70:2. June 1976.

Robinson, Michael J., and Sheehan, Margaret A. Over the Wire and On TV: UPI and CBS in Campaign '80. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983.

Rosenberg, Milton J., Verba, Sidney, and Converse, Phillip E. Vietnam and the Silent Majority. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Salisbury, Harrison, Without Fear or Favor: An Uncompromising Look at The New York Times and Its Times. New York: Ballantine, 1980.

Scheer, Robert. "Tonkin-Dubious Premise for a War." Los Angeles Times.

April 28, 1985.

Schell, Jonathan,. The Military Half. New York: Vintage, 1968.

- The Time of Illusion. New York: Knopf, 1976.

Schudson, Michael. Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers. New York: Basic Books, 1978.

Schuman, Howard. "Two Sources of Anti-War Sentiment in America." American Journal of Sociology 78:3. November 1972.

Schurmann, Franz, Scott, Peter Dale, and Zelnick, Reginald. The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam. New York: Fawcett, 1966.

Szulc, Tad. The Illusion of Peace: Foreign Policy in the Nixon Years. New York: Viking, 1978.

Shaplen, Robert. The Road From War: Vietnam 1965-71. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

-. The Lost Revolution. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

Mawcross, William. Sideshow: Nixon, Kissinger and the Destruction of Cambodia. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.

Mgal, Leon V. Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1973.

mall, William. To Kill a Messenger: Television News and the Real World. New York: Hastings House, 1970.

mith, Steven Phillip. American Boys. New York: Avon, 1984.

Stavins, Ralph, Barnet, Richard J., and Raskin, Marcus G. Washington Plans an Aggressive War. New York: Random House, 1971.

Steffens, Lincoln. Autobiography. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1931.

Stone, I. F. In a Time of Torment. New York: Random House, 1967.

——. Polemics and Prophecies 1967–1970. New York: Random House, 1970.

Summers, Col. Harry G. On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War. Novato, Calif.: Presidio, 1982.

"Survey: A Salisbury Chronicle." Columbia Journalism Review. Winter 1966/ 1967.

Sweezy, Paul M., Huberman, Leo, and Magdoff, Harry. Vietnam: The Endless War. New York: Monthly Review, 1970.

Talese, Gay. The Kingdom and the Power. New York: World Publishing, 1969.

Taylor, Maxwell D. Swords and Plowshares. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972. Taylor, Telford. Nuremburg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1970.

Terkel, Studs. 'The Good War': An Oral History of World War II. New York: Pantheon, 1984.

Terry, Wallace. Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans. New York: Random House, 1984.

Thies, Wallace J. When Governments Collide: Coercion and Diplomacy in the Vietnam Conflict, 1964-1968. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Thompson, James C. Rolling Thunder: Understanding Policy and Program Failure. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Thompson, James C., Jr., Stanley, Peter W., and Perry, Curtis. Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia. New York: Harper M Row, 1982.

Tuchman, Gaye. "Objectivity as a Strategic Ritual: An Examination of News men's Notions of Objectivity." American Journal of Sociology 78:3. Novem ber 1972.

Turner, Kathleen J. Lyndon Johnson's Dual War: Vietnam and the Press Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Twentieth Century Fund. Battle Lines: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Military and the Media. New York: Priority Press, 1981

United States Senate, Committee on Governmental Operations. Confidence and Concern: Citizens View American Government. Washington, D.C.: U.M. Government Printing Office, 1973.

"Vietnam: What Lessons?" Columbia Journalism Review. Winter 1970-71

Vo Nguên Giap. People's War, People's Army. New York: Praeger, 1962

Weaver, Paul. "Newspaper News and Television News," in Douglass College and Richard P. Adler, eds. Television as a Social Force. New York: Propper 1975.

Webb, James. Fields of Fire. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971

Webb, Kate. On the Other Side: 23 Days with the Viet Cong. New You Quadrangle, 1972.

Weissberg, Robert. Public Opinion and Popular Government. Englewood Cliff N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Welch, Susan. "The American Press in Indochina, 1950-56," in Richard I

Merritt, ed. Communication in International Politics. Urbana, Ill.: University

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

White, Ralph K. Nobody Wanted War: Misperception in Vietnam and Other Wars. New York: Anchor, 1970.

Wicker, Tom. On Press. New York: Viking, 1978.

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