

The literature on Vietnam and America is vast, and growing rapidly. A comprehensive bibliography would take at least a separate volume. We have attempted throughout the text to provide some bibliographic guidance to readers who wish to explore further. Here we should like just to suggest to readers how they can find resources to deepen their understanding.

First there are several useful bibliographic volumes: Roy Jumper, *Bibliography of the Political and Administrative History of Vietnam, 1802–1962* (n.p.: Michigan State University Advisory Group, 1962); Milton Leitenberg and Richard Dean Burns, *The Vietnam Conflict* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Press, 1973); John Chen, *Vietnam: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1973); Michael Cotter, *Vietnam: A Guide to Resources* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1977); *Vietnam War Literature: An Annotated Bibliography of Imaginative Works about Americans Fighting in Vietnam* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982) by John Newman, special collections librarian at Colorado State University in Fort Collins, where a definitive archive of Vietnam War literature is housed. See also Gordon O. Taylor, "American Personal Narrative of the War in Vietnam," *American Literature*, 52 (May 1980), pp. 294–308.

An indispensable source for serious inquiry into the American war against Vietnam is that unique body of materials known as the Pentagon Papers, which we have used extensively in this volume. There are three separate editions of the Pentagon Papers, each with variations surrounding a common core of documentation and analysis by Pentagon (Defense Department) historians. The best edition is based on the documents read into the Congressional Record by Senator Mike Gravel (Dem., Alaska); entitled *The Pentagon Papers*, and often referred to as the Gravel Edition, it was published in four volumes by Beacon Press (Boston) in 1971, with a fifth volume containing commentary, supplementary essays placing the documents in historical perspective, and two essential tools: a glossary and an index. The "official" U. S. Government edition, entitled *United States-Vietnam Relations, 1954–1967* (12 mimeographed volumes, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Gov-

ernment Printing Office, 1971), is barely legible, unindexed, and not continuously paginated. A third version, also entitled *The Pentagon Papers*, and usually referred to as The New York Times Edition, reproduces the documents and commentary originally published in *The New York Times*; published in mass-market paperback by Bantam Books (Toronto/New York/London, 1971), it is still widely available and is useful as a handy condensed version. The Pentagon Papers are by no means an uncontaminated source of pure truth; the Defense Department historians who compiled it had their own well-defined goals, values, and perspective. But these documents contain many extraordinary and priceless revelations.

Supplementing the main Pentagon Papers material is George C. Herring, ed., *The Secret Diplomacy of the Vietnam War: The PENTAGON PAPERS Negotiating Volumes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983). Among the veritable library of books based on the Pentagon Papers we particularly note Herbert Y. Schandler, *Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam: The Unmaking of a President* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); Larry Berman, *Planning a Tragedy: The Americanization of the War in Vietnam* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982) and, especially insightful, Paul Joseph, *Cracks in the Empire: State Politics in the Vietnam War* (Boston: South End Press, 1981).

Vietnamese sources in English are relatively sparse, but an important selection can be found in Gareth Porter, ed., *Vietnam: A History in Documents* (two volumes, Stanfordville, NY: Earl M. Coleman, 1979; one-volume abridged edition, New York: New American Library, 1981), which counterpoints Vietnamese documents with the unfolding story of American intervention as revealed in a variety of documents from U. S. government agencies and individuals. Materials from the southern provinces are presented in Don Luce and John Sommers, eds., *Vietnam: The Unheard Voices* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969). Nguyen Thi Dinh's memoir of her life in the southern resistance (a section of which appears here as Reading 28) is a gripping narrative rich in historical materials: *No Other Road to Take: Memoir of Mrs. Nguyen Thi Dinh*, translated by Mai Van Elliott (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1976). From the north, there is the invaluable series of monographs and collections published in Hanoi in English as several dozen separately numbered volumes of *Vietnam Studies*.

The war cannot be understood without making a serious effort to comprehend the people against whom it was waged. In this pursuit, the work of David Marr represents the best western scholarship, grounded in knowledge of the indigenous languages as well as first-hand experience in Vietnam. Marr's *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885–1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) and *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) portray not only the development of Vietnamese resistance but also the ways in which Vietnam was transformed by French colonialism. Further explorations of that transformation are available in Martin Murray, *The Development of Capitalism in Colonial Indochina, 1870–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) and Ngo Vinh Long, *Before the Revolution: The Vietnamese Peasants*

*Under the French* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973). Nguyen Khac Vien's *Tradition and Revolution in Vietnam* (Berkeley: Indochina Resource Center, 1974) includes thoughtful essays on society and culture.

Much of the war was fought in, around, and by villages in the south. Five very different books provide a start on learning what happened at the village level. An early account, unfriendly to the insurgency but interesting for its details of rural life, is Gerald C. Hickey, *Village in Vietnam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960). Jonathan Schell's *The Village of Ben Suc* (New York: Knopf, 1967) is a powerful description of the obliteration of a village by American forces. James W. Trullinger has put together from oral and written sources a history of one village from the turn of the century to 1975: *Village at War: An Account of Revolution in Vietnam* (New York: Longman, 1980). Jeffrey Race's *War Comes to Long An* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) covers an entire province, dealing constantly with life and politics at the village level as well. In *Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), Wilfred Burchett provides a truly astonishing account of his eight-month journey with National Liberation Front guerrillas through southern Vietnam right up to the outskirts of Saigon.

More theoretical and historical accounts of Vietnamese tactics and strategy are available in several collections in English of Vo Nguyen Giap's writings; the most widely available of these is *People's War, People's Army* (New York: Praeger, 1962). General Van Tien Dung's *Our Great Spring Victory* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977) is an inside account of the final Vietnamese offensive by the commander of the Vietnam People's Army. An overview of the relations between military and political development in the two parts of the country is provided in Le Duan's 1970 report to the Vietnam Workers Party (the governing party of the DRV), published in English as *The Vietnamese Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

A striking comparison to these Vietnamese analyses of the war is General William C. Westmoreland's *A Soldier Reports* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1980). Westmoreland's view is subjected to piercing analysis in Robert Pisor's *The End of the Line: The Siege of Khe Sanh* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), which uses an extraordinarily deep exploration of that battle to focus key questions of U. S. military theory and practice in the war.

No single volume adequately deals with the war from both the U. S. and Vietnamese sides. Three readable accounts are: George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The U. S. and Vietnam, 1950 to 1975* (New York: John Wiley, 1979); Michael Maclear, *The Ten Thousand Day War; Vietnam: 1945-1975* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); and James P. Harrison, *Fifty Years of Struggle in Vietnam* (New York: Free Press, 1982), which gives a somewhat fuller picture of the Vietnamese side. Probably the most readily available one-volume Vietnamese account is Nguyen Khac Vien, *The Long Resistance (1858-1975)* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1975).

Several books focus on an often neglected aspect of the war, the turmoil and transformations it induced within the American military forces. Especially noteworthy are Larry G. Waterhouse and Mariann G. Wizard, *Turning the Guns Around: Notes on the GI Movement* (New York: Delta Books, 1971); Richard Boyle, *Flower of the Dragon: The Breakdown of the U. S. Army in Vietnam* (San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1972); and David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975).

Unfortunately, the Pentagon Papers serve to illuminate the U. S. side of the war only up to 1968. For the war under Richard Nixon, other sources must be consulted. One might start with the sometimes conflicting accounts provided by the memoirs of the two principal U. S. figures, President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger: Richard Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978); Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979) and *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1982). One could then get quite different views of this period from two highly-regarded studies: Gareth Porter, *A Peace Denied: The United States, Vietnam and the Paris Agreement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), and Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (New York: Summit Books, 1983). Also helpful are Frank Snepp's *A Decent Interval* (New York: Random House, 1977), the inside account by a CIA official of the fall of Saigon, and Arnold Isaac's *Neither Peace Nor Honor* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), a reporter's understanding of the same period.

The aftermath of the war has as many aspects as the war itself. A few of them are explored in: Gloria Emerson, *Winners and Losers: Battles, Retreats, Gains, Losses and Ruins from a Long War* (New York: Random House, 1977); Fred A. Wilcox, *Waiting for an Army to Die: The Tragedy of Agent Orange* (New York: Vintage, 1983); Wilfred Burchett, *The China Cambodia Vietnam Triangle* (Chicago: Vanguard Books, 1981); and David W. P. Elliott, *The Third Indochina Conflict* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1981).

Among periodicals with useful information about Vietnam and related matters are *Citizen Soldier* (175 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010), dealing with veterans' issues; *Indochina Issues* (Center for International Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., Washington, D. C. 20002); *Indochina Newsletter* (P. O. Box 129, Dorchester, Mass., 02122); *Southeast Asia Chronicle* (Southeast Asia Resource Center, Dept. J, P. O. Box 4000D, Berkeley, Cal., 94704); *Vietnam Courier* (Hanoi), monthly review in English; *Vietnam War Newsletter* (P. O. Box 122, Collinsville, CT 06022); *Intervention: A Political and Cultural Journal Exploring Issues of War & Peace and the Vietnam Experience* (545 W. 111 St., Suite 9M, New York, NY 10025). Invaluable information and analysis can still be gleaned from *Viet Report*, which appeared monthly and bi-monthly during most of the last decade of the war.

Of the many fine documentary films on Vietnam and the war, we list here only a handful: *Hearts and Minds* (1975—90 minutes; available through American Friends Service Committee, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140);

*Inside North Vietnam* (1968—85 minutes; available through San Francisco Newsreel); *Vietnam: An American Journey* (1978—85 minutes; available from Films, Inc.); *Ecocide* (1981—23 minutes; available from Green Mountain Post Films, Box 229, Turners Falls, Mass., 01376); *Going Back: A Return to Vietnam* (1982—67 minutes; available from Producer Services Group, Inc., 100 Winchester Street, Brookline, Mass., 02146).