

## Suggestions for Further Reading

What follows is a brief list—sometimes amplified by my comments—of published Western-language books which I have found useful, either because of their great merits or their provocative prejudices, in my own study of the Vietnamese revolution. I have also included one or two journal articles and some specimens of my own previous work.

### 1 Colonialism and the Vietnamese Community

- Buttinger, Joseph. *The Smaller Dragon: A Political History of Vietnam*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1958.
- . *Vietnam: A Dragon Embattled*. 2 vols. New York: Praeger, 1967.
- Cadière, Léopold. *Croyances et pratiques religieuses des Vietnamiens*. Saigon: Imprimerie nouvelle d'Extrême-Orient, 1958.
- DeBary, William T., ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.
- For readers wholly unfamiliar with the fundamental philosophies and religions of East Asian classical civilization—the ideas of Confucius, Mencius, the Taoists, and the various schools of Mahayana Buddhism which modern Vietnam, as well as modern China, inherited—this book is an excellent and balanced introduction.
- Le Thanh Khoi. *Le Viet-Nam: histoire et civilisation*. Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1955.
- Nguyen Du. *The Tale of Kieu*. Translated and annotated by Huynh Sanh Thong. New York: Random House, 1973.
- The most formidable introduction, in poetry, to many of the most enduring themes in the high classical civilization of Vietnam. These themes—loyalty, filial piety, the appropriateness of rebellion under certain conditions, individual fortitude and self-denial in a time of troubles—have also governed, and continue to govern, the thought of many modern Vietnamese revolutionaries. The author of this verse novel, a brilliant classical scholar, died in 1820.
- Nguyen Thanh Nha. *Tableau économique du Vietnam aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles*. Paris: Editions Cujas, 1970.
- An excellent study of social and economic change in Vietnam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Nguyen Van Phong. *La société vietnamienne de 1882 à 1902*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971.

This study offers cogent summaries of the social upheavals which attended the French conquest of Vietnam, as seen through the eyes of French observers whom business, curiosity, or wanderlust attracted to the colony in its early years.

Smith, Ralph. *Vietnam and the West*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1968.

Steinberg, David Joel, et al. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

Woodside, Alexander Barton. *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

## 2 The Early Nationalists' Search for a New Community

Chang Hao. *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Duiker, William J. "Hanoi Scrutinizes the Past: The Marxist Evaluation of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh." *Southeast Asia* 1 (Summer 1971), 243-254.

Marr, David G. *Vietnamese Anticolonialism 1885-1925*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Nguyen Khac Vien. "Confucianisme et marxisme au Vietnam." In his *Expériences vietnamiennes*, pp. 201-232. Paris: Editions sociales, 1970. The author is an eloquent spokesman for Vietnamese Marxism. He asserts that traditional Vietnam harbored two currents of Confucian thought: the current of court or bureaucratic Confucianism, and the current of popular Confucianism as expressed by iconoclastic village school teachers. In the 1800s, while court mandarins remained supine, these village literati "saved the honor" of Confucianism by fighting the French invaders. The first Marxist militants in Vietnam are shown to have continued the traditions of these "revolutionary literati" of the past. Moreover, Vien claims that an intellectual "kinship" existed between Marxists and "authentic Confucians" in Vietnam, which facilitated a bond between the two doctrines: in defining man by the totality of his social relations, Marxism is supposed not to have disconcerted Confucian intellectuals who assumed that the supreme goal of man was the fulfillment of social obligations. Any Chinese Marxist who suggested, in 1973, that "kinship" might exist between revolutionary egalitarian communism and a monarchy-supporting, hierarchy-promoting Confucianism would be much criticized in Mao's China. That a Vietnamese Marxist advances such views indicates the gulf between the two East Asian revolutions, and the greater force of romantic traditionalism in the Vietnamese one.

Truong Buu Lam. *Patterns of Vietnamese Response to Foreign Intervention, 1858-1900*. Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph Series No. 11. New Haven: Yale University, 1967.

On the basis of the impressive documentation which he has collected and translated, and which ranges back to the eleventh century, the author argues that there were vigorous traditions of resistance to foreign aggression in Vietnam in the medieval period and in the nineteenth century with which twentieth-century revolutionaries could associate themselves. Emphasis is placed upon the emotional continuities of the modern revolution.

### 3 The Intellectuals and the Problem of Social Organization

Osborne, Milton E. *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response, 1859–1905*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

This book, while dealing with other matters too, discusses the emergence of the colonial educational system in southern Vietnam at least, as well as the spread of the use of romanized Vietnamese writing in place of Chinese characters.

Pham Thi Ngoan. "Introduction au Nam Phong." *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises* (Saigon), New Series, 48 (1973), 175–473.

A detailed dissection of one of the two most famous Vietnamese periodicals of the interwar period, the journal which was the platform of Pham Quynh and of several other intellectuals mentioned in this chapter.

Vella, Walter F., ed. *Aspects of Vietnamese History*. Honolulu: Asian Studies at Hawaii 8, The University Press of Hawaii, 1973.

A collection of essays which includes one of the rare surveys in English of the development of modern Vietnamese literature (by Hoang Ngoc Thanh).

Woodside, Alexander. "The Development of Social Organizations in Vietnamese Cities in the Late Colonial Period." *Pacific Affairs* 44 (Spring 1971), 39–64.

This article looks briefly and far from exhaustively at several of the nurseries of the colonial Vietnamese intelligentsia—the Indochina law schools and medical schools—and at the characteristic difficulties of newfangled Vietnamese organizations, like regional fellowship societies and urban consumers' cooperatives, under the colonial regime.

### 4 Colonialism and Premonitions of Revolution in the Countryside

Gourou, Pierre. *Les Paysans du delta tonkinois: étude de géographie humaine*. Paris: Les éditions d'art et d'histoire, 1936; Mouton, 1965.

———. *L'utilisation du sol en Indochine Française*. Paris: P. Hartmann, 1940.

Hickey, Gerald C. *Village in Vietnam*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.

This pioneering English-language study of life in a southern village was based upon anthropological field work of the late 1950s and early 1960s. But the usefulness of its descriptions often extends back to the French colonial period.

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

This book presents the views of a distinguished French Indochina scholar, Paul Mus, who wrote about Vietnamese village life, and the ways in which the colonial system was disrupting it, with an oracular reverence that is difficult to duplicate. Mus knew northern villages better than southern ones, and was inclined to emphasize the "autonomy" of the villagers and the superficiality of their dealings with the traditional Vietnamese monarchy. But the crucial element missing from the Mus picture of precolonial villages is the influence of the civil service examination system. Since most village elite families passionately wanted their sons to win degrees (and bureaucratic positions) through the examinations, which were controlled by the emperors above the village, village "autonomy" was more hollow than Mus supposed.

Ngo Vinh Long. *Before The Revolution: The Vietnamese Peasants under the French*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973.

This forcefully written work taps previously unexploited Vietnamese journalistic and literary sources. It also includes translations of important Vietnamese writings in the colonial period which depicted growing rural decadence, or what the authors translated (Phi Van, Ngo Tat To, Hoang Dao, Nguyen Cong Hoan, Tran Van Mai) plainly regarded as the decay of village life.

Robequain, Charles. *The Economic Development of French Indochina*.

Translated by Isabel A. Ward. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944.

Scott, James C. "The Erosion of Patron-Client Bonds and Social Change in Rural Southeast Asia." *Journal of Asian Studies* 32 (November 1972), 5-37.

Vu Quoc Thuc. *L'économie communaliste du Viet-Nam*. Hanoi: Presses universitaires du Viet-Nam, 1951.

## 5 The Origins and Expansion of Communist Power

Ho Chi Minh. *Selected Works*. 4 vols. Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960-1962.

———. *On Revolution: Selected Writings, 1920-1966*. Edited and introduced by Bernard Fall. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967.

Lacouture, Jean. *Ho Chi Minh: A Political Biography*. Translated by Peter Wiles. New York: Random House, 1968.

This is the most serviceable biography of Ho Chi Minh in existence in the West. It was written by a French journalist who has had extensive experience in Indochina and who has personally interviewed Ho and other revolutionaries. Nevertheless, this book is not based upon any of the growing body of Vietnamese language documentation and memoirs about Ho's career, and consequently remains somewhat shallow. There is a most pressing need, still to be filled, for a first-rate scholarly biography of Ho Chi Minh.

Nguyen Khac Huyen. *Vision Accomplished? The Enigma of Ho Chi Minh*. New York: Macmillan, 1971.

Nguyen Tran Huan. "Histoire d'une secte religieuse au Vietnam: Le Caodaise." In J. Chesneaux, G. Boudarel, and D. Hemery, *Tradition et révolution au Vietnam*, pp. 189-214. Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1971.

Smith, R. B. "An Introduction to Caodaism." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London) 33, Part 2 (1970), 335-349; and Part 3 (1970), 573-589.

Thich Nhat Hanh. *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Satisfying descriptions and discussions of Vietnamese Buddhism are extremely rare in Western languages. This book, written by a Buddhist intellectual in the 1960s primarily in an effort to change American policies of intervention in Vietnam, nonetheless has about thirty pages of analysis of Vietnamese Buddhists' political and religious heritage, and of the Buddhist revival movement from the 1920s. For Buddhism in general, perhaps the most masterful brief survey is that of Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959).

## 6 The Mandarin Proletarians and the Redemption of the Past

Chen, King C. *Vietnam and China, 1938-1954*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969.

The Vietnamese communist movement especially as viewed through the eyes, and the documents, of important Chinese politicians and military men who dealt with Ho Chi Minh during World War II.

Devillers, Philippe. *Histoire du Vietnam de 1940 à 1952*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1952.

Hammer, Ellen J. *The Struggle for Indochina 1940-1955: Vietnam and the French Experience*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

This pioneering book is still useful as a diplomatic and political history of the Indochina crisis in the 1940s and early 1950s.

Huynh Kim Khanh. "The Vietnamese August Revolution Reinterpreted." *Journal of Asian Studies* 30 (August 1971) 761-782.

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

This book, which covers the Vietnamese revolution from the 1880s to 1946, relies heavily upon its author's use of French army archives, and emphasizes the politics of the period of Indochina's occupation by the Japanese.

Truong Chinh. *The August Revolution*. Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958.

One of its architects speaks.

Vo Nguyen Giap. *People's War People's Army*. Hanoi Foreign Languages Publishing House translation. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1962.

This English version of the work has a classic cold war polemical introduction by Roger Hilsman, who describes Giap's writings as "less ambitious" than, but comparable to, Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. However, once the reader has passed beyond the shop-worn anticommunist pieties of the early Kennedy administration, he will discover, in the Giap text, such things as an exposition of the battle of Dien Bien Phu from the communist side.

## 7 Revolution and the New Organizational Ethic

Chaliand, Gérard. *The Peasants of North Vietnam*. Translated by Peter Wiles. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969.

Life in rural northern Vietnam—especially the provinces of Hung Yen, Thai Binh, Ha Tay, and Ninh Binh—during the American air assault in 1967. Interesting data on village life, presented by an admirer of the Hanoi regime.

Fall, Bernard. *The Two Vietnams: A Political and Military Analysis*. rev. ed. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967.

Hoang Van Chi. *From Colonialism to Communism: A Case History of North Vietnam*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1964.

A hostile description of land reform and thought control in the north after 1954, by a former member of the Viet Minh, whose personal experiences and feelings deserve more respect than his far from reliable statistics.

Le Duan. *The Vietnamese Revolution*. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

A 1970 report by Le Duan, the first secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party; it discusses the party's hopes, plans, and achievements in industry and agriculture in the north.

"Symposium on Vietnamese Communism." *Asian Survey* 12 (September 1972).

Includes articles by William S. Turley on the role of women in the communist revolution, and by Phan Thien Chau on changes in party leadership.

Woodside, Alexander. "Decolonization and Agricultural Reform in Northern Vietnam." *Asian Survey* 10 (August 1970), 705-723.

———. "Ideology and Integration in Postcolonial Vietnamese Nationalism." *Pacific Affairs* 44 (Winter 1971-1972), 487-510.

Among other things, this article examines the "localization" of education in the north, and partial southern imitations of such "localization."

## 8 Social Groups and Organizational Dilemmas in the South

Duncanson, Dennis J. *Government and Revolution in Vietnam*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Fitzgerald, Frances. *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972.

A highly acclaimed, well-written study of the American military and political intervention in Vietnam. Some of its critics (on the right) have accused it of romanticizing communist repressiveness; others of its critics (on the left) have felt that it lacked a broad understanding of the use of Marxist-Leninist theories in Vietnam; Vietnamese specialists of all persuasions undoubtedly feel that its efforts to present psychological explanations of Vietnamese behavior, especially collective behavior, are a bit rash. Its provocativeness as well as its eloquence make it worth reading.

The pithiest review of it known to me is by Nguyen Khac Vien, "Myths and Realities," available in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 5 San Francisco (December 1973), 56-63.

Goodman, Allan E. *Politics in War: The Bases of Political Community in South Vietnam*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Kahin, George M. and Lewis, John W. *The United States in Vietnam*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1967.

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

Written with an intense (and unconcealed) anticommunist bias, this book is still a most impressive repository of information in English on NLF politics and organization, and is even quoted as a reference in northern Vietnamese historical journals by writers like Nguyen Hoai.

Race, Jeffrey. *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1972.

A vivid, persuasively written study of how, in the early 1960s, in one province, the NLF revolutionaries gained the advantage over a Saigon government far too remote from village life and far too dependent upon imported weapons. Purists might argue that the book is too schematic to do justice to the rich heterogeneities of Vietnamese village life. This could be said about almost any book about Vietnam, it must be ruefully admitted; here the schematization is unusually compelling.

Sansom, Robert L. *The Economics of Insurgency in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1970.

Scigliano, Robert. *South Vietnam: Nation under Stress*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963.

Senator Gravel Edition, The. *The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States Decisionmaking on Vietnam*. 5 vols. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

The documents of this famous work, as most readers are no doubt aware, present a picture of the Vietnam War as it was seen by Washington decision-makers, not by the Vietnamese people.

Shaplen, Robert. *The Lost Revolution: The U.S. in Vietnam, 1946-1966*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.