

**Gabriel Kolko**

# **VIETNAM**

**Anatomy of  
a War,  
1940-1975**

# Contents

Preface	xi
Introduction	3

## *Part One*

### THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR TO 1960

1 Vietnam's Road to Crisis	13
2 The Communist Party until 1945: From Depression to War	22
3 Vietnam: From the August 1945 Revolution to Protracted War	35
4 The Internal World of Vietnamese Communism: Theory and Practice	45
5 The Communist Party's Consolidation of Power	62
6 America's Confrontation with the Limits of World Power, 1946-1960	72
7 South Vietnam to 1959: Origins of the Conflict	80
8 The Communist Party's Dilemma in the South, 1954-1959	97

## *Part Two*

### THE CRISIS IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND AMERICAN INTERVENTION, 1961-1965

9 The U.S. Involvement in Vietnam: From Sponsorship to Air War	III
10 The War and Rural Vietnam	126

11 The Challenge of Defining Military Strategies	138
12 The United States, the Revolution, and the Components of Struggle	152

*Part Three*

TOTAL WAR, 1965-1967, AND THE  
TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM

13 Escalation and the Frustration of American Politics	163
14 The Continuing Search for Effective Military Strategies	176
15 The Dilemma of the American Way of War	188
16 War and the Transformation of South Vietnamese Society	199
17 Nguyen Van Thieu and the RVN Power Structure	208
18 The Dilemma of Economic Dependency and the RVN	223
19 The Building of the RVN's Army and the Struggle for Rural South Vietnam	231
20 The Character and Consequences of the Two Vietnamese Armies	252
21 The Communist Party's Responses to Total War	264
22 The Economic Impact of the War on the United States	283
23 The Balance of Forces in the War at the End of 1967	293

*Part Four*

THE TET OFFENSIVE AND THE EVENTS OF 1968

24 The Tet Offensive	303
25 The Tet Offensive's Impact on Washington	312
26 Assessing the Tet Offensive	327

*Part Five*

WAR AND DIPLOMACY, 1969-1972

27 The Nixon Administration's Confrontation with Vietnam and the World	341
28 The Crisis of American Military Power	356
29 The Revolution's Military Policy, 1969-1971	368
30 The United States and the RVN: Vietnamization's Contradictions	377

31	The Struggle for a Changing Rural South Vietnam	386
32	The Communist Party's International Strategy	401
33	War on Two Fronts: Diplomacy and Battlefields, 1971-1972	412
34	The Diplomatic Process: Illusions and Realities	431

*Part Six*

THE CRISIS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND  
THE END OF THE WAR, 1973-1975

35	The Balance of Forces in South Vietnam, Early 1973, and the Impact of the RVN's Policies	457
36	The Nixon Administration's Dilemmas of Power	470
37	Recovery and Response: The Communist Party's Strategy until Mid-1974	476
38	The Deepening Crisis of the RVN Social System	483
39	Saigon and Washington, Mid-1974: The Conjunction of Two Crises	499
40	The Revolution's Perceptions and Plans, Late 1974	513
41	The End of the War	521
	<i>Conclusion</i>	545
	<i>Sources and Notes</i>	559
	<i>Chronology</i>	607
	<i>Glossary</i>	612
	<i>Index</i>	615