

ABSTRACT. “1967: How the American Homeland Became Hanoi’s Second Front.”¹ by Roger Canfield, ATN2 (USN), Ph.D. Histories of the peace movement² minimize or outright deny any significant foreign influence upon the movement. In fact in 1967, Hanoi advanced its political strategy of “combining the political struggle with the armed struggle,”³ making the American peace movement its Second Front. On Radio Hanoi and in *Thoi Moi*, Hanoi praised top antiwar leaders in the National Mobe as Comrades in Arms⁴ and gave them rings made from downed American aircraft.⁵ Hence, the “peace” comrades, using Hanoi’s propaganda, organized protests against the American common enemy for conducting an illegal, immoral, criminal, unjust, racist, genocidal, and/or unwinnable war.⁶

In 1967 Vietnamese communists and leaders of the peace movement met in many places.⁷ Individuals⁸ representing many antiwar organizations⁹ met top Vietnamese Communists.¹⁰ Peace movement activists provided Hanoi intelligence on the antiwar movement, vetted travelers, coordinated schedules, and disseminated Hanoi’s major propaganda themes.¹¹ Some¹² cited in whole or significant part Hanoi propaganda word for word, number for number. Others offered advice on improving communist propaganda.¹³ Some, usually journalists, acted as peace entrepreneurs on Hanoi’s terms.¹⁴

The results were mixed. Rallies of the Spring Mobe, Pentagon protests and a meeting of World Peace Council covered propaganda themes and increased militancy. The media declined to report supporters of the war. Some results were unhappy: a few pacifists/democratic socialists blasted the movement for seeking a communist victory, not; Despite Viet Cong terror, South Vietnamese elections had a 73-83% turnout; Dean Rusk, J. Edgar Hoover, Bui Diem, Westmoreland warned Hanoi was influencing the antiwar movement; and public opinion supported winning the war against communist aggression in Indochina and held contempt for the peace movement.¹⁵

RELEVANCE. Peace movement collaboration with Hanoi coupled with radical militancy in the USA denied the legitimacy of the American civilization, a view increasingly held today by a large, growing, minority of social justice progressives. Dominant histories of the war portray a blame-America narrative. A nation torn apart over its values, its history, its future began in Vietnam’s political warfare.

¹ Adapted from “Vietnam: From Protest to Resistance: How the American Homeland Became the Second Front,” *IndoChina in the Year of the Goat-1967*, Houston: Radix Press, 20016, 182-255.

² Wells, *The War Within*, xii; Nancy Zaroulis & Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up*, 211; DeBenedetti w/Chatfield, *An American Ordeal*, 177.

³ The Military History Institute of Vietnam, Merle L. Pribbenow (Trans.) *Victory in Vietnam: Official History of the People’s Army of Vietnam, 1954-1975*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002, 57, 64, 80, 82, 110, 111, 118, 120, 136, 150, 174, 219, 253, 337, 416.

⁴ Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong and others recognized many comrades in arms. Robert Allen, Stokely Carmichael, Bronson Clark, Eldridge Cleaver, Stoney Cooks, Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Ross Flanagan, Jane Fonda, Norman Fruchter, Tom Hayden, Russell Johnson, Carol McEldowney, Vivian Rothstein, Bertrand Russell, Dagmar Wilson, John Wilson, Ron Young, etc.

⁵ Todd Gitlen, *Sixties*: Bantam, 1987, 264; Jane Fonda, *Life Magazine* April 23, 1971; Bill Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, Penguin Books, 2001, 74; *Washington Post*, September 21, 1968; *USA*, September 27-October 11, 1968; Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech, “Cuba: School for US Radicals,” *Chicago Sun Times*, October 1970; Mary McCarthy, 1974; Connie Uhlman and Gerry Long “Cuba Youth Pour into Fields,” *New Left Notes*, January 15, 1968; *Florida Alligator*, February 20, 1968; *Guardian*, March 23, 1968, 13; Senate Permanent Subcommittee on investigations, June 30, 1969, 4485; Barbara Olson, *Hell to Pay*, Washington: Regnery, 1999; *Columbia Spectator*, Feb. 9, 1968.

⁶ Bernard Fall, (ed.) *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution... 1920-66*, Prager, 1967, 322; Douglas Pike, *PAVN: People’s Army of Vietnam*, Presidio Press, Novato, California, 1986, 243; *Guardian*, May 21, 1975, 3; Leonard P. Liggio in Louis Menashe and Ronald Radosh, (eds.) *Teach-Ins: U.S.A: Reports. Opinions. Documents*, New York: Praeger, 1967, 43-44; *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1966, L-6; Robert Sam Anson, *War News*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989; National Veterans Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam, Washington D.C., *Congressional Record*, March 1, 1971, 4238; Hayden/Fonda/Wexler film “Introduction to the Enemy;” Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, 19; Joyce Hoffmann, *On Their Own: Women Journalists and the American Experience in Vietnam*.

⁷ Hanoi, Havana, Montreal, Bratislava, Phnom Penn, Stockholm.

⁸ Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Carl Oglesby, Dagmar Wilson.

⁹ AFSC, CPUSA, Lawyers Committee on Am. Policy toward Vietnam, National Mobe, SNCC, Student Mobe, Russell War Crimes Tribunal, World Peace Council, National Mobe, A Quaker Action Group, Women Strike for Peace, etc

¹⁰ Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong, Truong Chinh, Ha Van Lau, Madame Binh, Do Xuan Oanh, Nguyen Van Hieu, Nguyen Minh Vy, Nguyen Thi Dinh, Trinh Thi Ngo ..

¹¹ War crimes--napalm, bombing schools, hospitals and dikes.

¹² Salisbury, *Ramparts*, *Lady’s Home Journal*, and *Redbook*, Bertrand Russell, John Gerassi, Carol Brightman, Vivian Rothstein, Norm Fruchter.

¹³ Hayden’s Bratislava group, Carol McEldowney, Salisbury.

¹⁴ Harrison Salisbury, David Schoenbrun, Mary McCarthy, Baggs and Ashmore.

¹⁵ 68-22% Americans thought antiwar events were “acts of disloyalty against the boys fighting in Vietnam.” Only 3% were antiwar sympathetic to protesters. See: Harris Poll in late 1967 in Herbert S. Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America*, N.Y: Konecky & Konecky, 1990, 465.

PAPER

Vietnam War, 1967: How the American Homeland Became Hanoi's Second Front in the War.¹⁶

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INTRODUCTION

Hanoi Calls for a United Front on the USA Second Front. On February 2, 1967 *Nhan-Dan*, the official communist party publication, declared, "The American People's movement of protest ...has... become a 'second front' against US imperialism in the United States."¹⁸ Combining political and military struggles was an established communist strategic doctrine and practice¹⁹ officially applied to the USA at the 12th Plenum of the Party on December 27, 1965.²⁰ COSVN, in 1966 had ordered political cadre to "Make sweeping efforts to enlist support... forming a front ...[against] the imperialists."²¹ "Politics has always been their weak point."²² In 1967, the PAVN declared, "Socialist nations and progressive peoples ...support... Vietnam's fight against Americans."²³

With few exceptions,²⁴ a harmonious "peace" movement sang the whole, or parts, of Hanoi's mantra: America's war was illegal, immoral, unjust and unwinnable. In 1967, Hanoi and its front groups²⁵ were using words like coordination, cooperation, and solidarity to describe how the fraternal and progressive "peace forces" ought to operate on Vietnam's "second front." Particularly in Bratislava, leaders of the antiwar movement willingly provided political intelligence to Hanoi and suggested improvements in the crudest propaganda, e.g. dropping claims of U.S. troops eating livers, stopping filming beaten POWs, and using idiomatic English and popular music.²⁶

From Protest to Resistance.²⁷ The peace movement heightened the militancy, frequency, and scale of its activities against the war, e.g. assaults on police and attack on Pentagon. Some rioted and

¹⁶ Adopted from Canfield, "Vietnam: From Protest to Resistance: How the American Homeland Became the Second Front," *IndoChina in the Year of the Goat-1967*, Houston: Radix Press, 2016, 182-255.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ "The American People are increasingly angry," *Nhan Dan*, Feb. 2, 1967. Hanoi and the peace movement used the terms "Second Front" and the "Rear" throughout the war: "The rear" of the enemy is "disintegrating," Premier Pham Van Dong April 1965; *Vietnam Courier* August 29, 1966; CIA, Memorandum, "The Vietnamese Will to Persist," Annex X, The Effect of the International Political Climate on the Vietnamese Communist Plans and Capabilities," X-326, August 1966; *Nhan Dan*, and *Vietnam News Agency VNA*, November 8, 1966, "High-Lights Mounting Protest Movement of American People Against U.S. Aggressive War In Vietnam," Hanoi, VNA International Service in English, 1658 GMT, 8 November, 1966B; Pham Van Dong, *Nhan Dan*, Feb. 19, 1967, cited in *New York Times*, April 19, 1967; *Mobilizer to End the War in Vietnam*, April 15, 1967, 1, 4; "Second Front Against U.S. Imperialism," Van Tien Dung, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, June 1967 cited in CIA, FOIA, Case Number EO-1994-00030. Lawrence Feinberg, "Dissent Called a Second War Front," *Washington Post*, October 25, 1967; CIA, "Hanoi's Negotiating position and Concept of Negotiations," Secret, Intelligence Memorandum, No. 0587/68, Case Number: DS-2004-00003, 6 May 1968; FBI, memo, Legat, Paris to Director, FBI September 10, 1968 at FBI, FOIA, American Deserters Committee; *Stephen Young*, "How North Vietnam Won The War, interview of Bui Tin," *Wall Street Journal*, August 3, 1995, A-8;

¹⁹ The Military History Institute of Vietnam, *passim*. 17, 18, 26, 35, 43, 50, 54, 57, 62, 63, 64, 76, 80, 82, 85, 99, 103, 110, 111, 112, 118, 120, 136, 150, 155, 161, 164, 174, 180, 195, 207, 219, 242, 253, 268, 269, 315, 321, 337, 340, 352-3, 416, 436, 438-41, 444. **Bold** = precisely "combining."

²⁰ "The domestic situation in the United States...Politics has always been the enemy's weakest point." The Military History Institute of Vietnam, 171.

²¹ AIRGRAM, A-579, W/enclosure text of Viet Cong document of 15 June 1966, American Mission Saigon to Department of State, 4 April 1967, (Texas Tech, Viet Nam Center Archives), 1. Cited in James Rothrock, *Divided We Fall*, 6-8.

²² The Military History Institute of Vietnam, 171.

²³ The Military History Institute of Vietnam, 154.

²⁴ A small minority of some pacifists in SANE and some democratic socialists.

²⁵ The Military History Institute of Vietnam, 15, 16.

²⁶ *McEldowny Journal*; author's interview of Sol Stern.

²⁷ Smith, "Report on SDS: Students Now Stressing 'Resistance'," *National Guardian*, April 8, 1967. 1; 1967 is widely regarded as the year that peaceful protests turned increasingly militant and violent.

confronted police in Oakland, Newark, University of Wisconsin, and Washington, D.C. Of those who protested, favoring a communist victory, also sought radical, even revolutionary, change, physically resisted authorities.

The Second Front inside the USA. Hanoi's "second front" allies echoed Hanoi's claims about innocent victims of napalm, intentionally bombed civilians, schools and hospitals.²⁸ In July, 542 Americans joined the USSR-dominated World Peace Council in Stockholm. In September, A Hayden-Dellinger peace group held a major strategy meeting with the enemy in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. By October, Bill Ayers and others were assaulting the Pentagon.

Common Propaganda Themes: Hanoi, New York Times and CBS. Following Harrison Salisbury's dispatches in the *New York Times*, in January 1967, using Hanoi propaganda, word for words, number by number, *Ramparts*, *Lady's Home Journal* and *Redbook* used Hanoi's propaganda of U.S. intentionally napalming babies and bombing hospitals and schools.²⁹ CBS's David Schoenbrun mouthed Hanoi's napalm propaganda of "tens of thousands" burned with napalm...³⁰ Sen. Ted Kennedy "very quietly" considered bringing 100 Vietnamese burned children on a national tour.³¹ Actually, in December 1967, the Viet Cong used napalm flamethrowers as a weapon of terror, not military utility, Dak Son, Duc Duc. Hundreds hiding in burrows, died from napalm, grenades or asphyxiation.³²

Throughout 1967, the North Vietnamese vetted, invited and met many antiwar visitors—journalists, pastors, lawyers, intellectuals as well as full time peace movement employees and volunteers.

Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam. On January 15, 1967, The Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam ran an ad in the *New York Times* headlined "U.S. intervention in Vietnam is illegal," a demand for U.S. unilateral surrender identical to Hanoi's. The membership of the committee came from³³ far left organizations: the CPUSA, the National Lawyers Guild, a communist front the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the ACLU.³⁴

Ashmore and Baggs Mission to Hanoi. The Robert M. Hutchins's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions recommended a former editor of the *Little Rock Gazette*, Harry Ashmore and editor of *Miami News*, William Baggs³⁵ to visit Hanoi. They were peace couriers, not, they said, "to be counted among those radical American peace activists who, on moral grounds, had transferred their

²⁸ The Military History Institute of Vietnam, 154.

²⁹ Dr. Howard Rusk, United Nations Children's Fund, visited 20 civilian hospitals in South Vietnam and found no cases of napalm burns. Other American doctors said, there was "no justification for the undue emphasis ...by the press upon civilian burns caused by napalm." See Howard Rusk articles in *New York Times* on March 12 and October 1, 1967 cited in *Vietnam: Questions and Answers*, Washington, D.C. 1970, 25-6.

³⁰ Schoenbrun, 371; Richard Perry in *Redbook* cited in Mary Hershberger, *Traveling to Vietnam: American Peace Activist and the War*, Syracuse University Press, 1998, 123.

³¹ According to a member of Senate staff in a March 2, 1967 memo cited in Paul Kengor, "Ted Kennedy's Vietnam Plot," *American Thinker*, March 11, 2011.

³² http://www.vnafmamn.com/untoldpage/VCterror_DakSon1.jpg

³³ The Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam "U.S. intervention in Vietnam is illegal." *New York Times* January 15, 1967.

³⁴ The committee's leadership included Senator Wayne Morse, William L. Standard and Joseph H. Crown, cochairmen, supporter of Hitler-Stalin Pact Carey McWilliams, Malcolm Monroe, Aaron M. Diamond, Robert I. Boehm, Harold I. Cammer, William Meyers, Hoch Reid. Its Consultative Council of law professors included: Richard A. Falk, Richard J. Barnet, Anthony A. D'Amato, Tom J. Farer, John H.E. Fried, John Herz, Stanley Hoffman, Phillip C. Jessup, Wallace McClure, Donald W. McNemar, Saul H. Mendlovitz, Lynn H. Miller, Richard S. Miller, Hans J. Morgenthau, Vel Nanda, William G. Rice, Lawrence Velvel, Burns H. Weston, Quincy Wright. See: John Conyers, *Congressional Record, Extension of Remarks*, May 10, 1972, H-4924; Max Friedman notes that many were identified CPUSA members and/or frequent joiners of communist front groups. These include Standard, Crown, Faulkner, Meyers, Fried, Falk, Morse, Barnet, Mendlovitz, Cammer, Boehm, Carey McWilliams, Phillip Jessup. Friedman to Canfield, June 18, 2008.

³⁵ Ashmore, Harry S. and William C. Baggs, *Mission to Hanoi: A 1968 Chronicle of Double Dealing in High Places*, New York: Putnam, 1968; Oberdorfer *Tet!* Cited in Peter Braestrup, *Big Story*, 596n88.

sympathies to Hanoi.”³⁶ Yet Ashmore and Baggs spent two hours talking to Ho Chi Minh in the old French Governor’s Palace. Ho’s “...benign presence place ...him...with Gandhi ...”³⁷

Hanoi’s Hospitality. Ashmore and Baggs arrived to a crowded Hanoi on January 6. New York Times reporter Harrison Salisbury claiming Hanoi propaganda as his own work,³⁸ was departing. The Hanoi Peace Committee was “squiring a group of passport less lady pacifists,” Women Strike for Peace, WSP, veterans of prior meetings with Vietnamese communists. Members of Bertrand Russell’s Hanoi-initiated war crimes investigation, first of three contingents, were in town.³⁹

“Smiling Vietnamese girls...bearing delicate bouquets” greeted Ashmore and Baggs. “Black-pajamaed girls” served “tea, coffee... and tiny glasses of sweet Vietnamese cherry liquor.” They stayed in the elegant French colonial Metropole Hotel.⁴⁰

Their briefers were top-level North Vietnamese journalists and propagandists.⁴¹ **What They Reported.** In Hanoi, houses were destroyed on Nguyen Thiep Street, 30 yards from “the rail line to Haiphong”⁴² and to China. In Phu Ly and in Nam Dinh where U.S. saturation bombed junctions of rails and roads, “blocks [were] systematically leveled.” They saw the “remains of schools, hospitals, orphanages, pagodas, and...a leprosarium”⁴³ They observed “the living exhibit of a napalm-seared boy of 16.”⁴⁴

Mary McCarthy. In February 1967 Mary McCarthy, was in Hanoi. She was a Parisian-American novelist and a self-described “socialist of a utopian kind.”⁴⁵ Not pretending objectivity, she and the *New York Review of Books*, were “looking for material damaging to the American interest” to “move public opinion to end the war.” Previously in Saigon McCarthy said the U.S. was destroying roads, running concentration camps, increasing illiteracy, napalming children, conducting genocide and trashing the countryside.⁴⁶ Surely, the North was better.

Public Supports President, February 1967. On February 26, 1967, a Gallup Poll reported only 24% of Americans wanted a bombing halt, 67% opposed a halt.⁴⁷

The Russell Sponsored Tours of Hanoi—January-March 1967. Ralph Schoenman, Bertrand Russell’s Secretary General remembers, “Each potential participant had been vetted for their [counterintelligence] qualifications... for responsible discretion with respect to U.S. intelligence efforts to obtain information about Vietnamese...logistics on the ground.”⁴⁸ KGB agent Wilfred Burchett tagged along as a minder. The Vietnamese served fine French food and spoon-fed documents for sixteen days. Russell’s group consented to communist censorship of their photography.

³⁶ Ashmore and Baggs, 11.

³⁷ Ashmore and Baggs, 6, 40-5.

³⁸ Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam*, 400-401.

³⁹ Ashmore and Baggs, 29.

⁴⁰ Ashmore and Baggs, 27.

⁴¹ Pham Ngoc Thuan, chief of cultural relations; Hoang Tung, editor of *Nhan Dan*, official communist party newspaper; Tran Cong Tuong, chief prosecutor; Luu Quy Ky, editor of NLF publications; and Col. Ha Van Lau, military man, diplomat⁴¹ and a serial greeter of antiwar activists across the globe.

⁴² Pho Nguyen Thiep was a street perpendicular to the Long Bien bridgehead a short block away as can be seen on a map of Hanoi.

⁴³ Ashmore and Baggs, 20-2.

⁴⁴ Ashmore and Baggs, 4-6, 34.

⁴⁵ Mary McCarthy, *The Seventeenth Degree: How It Went, Vietnam, Hanoi, Medina, Sons of the Morning*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1967, 1968, 1972, 1973, 1974, 272.

⁴⁶ Mary McCarthy, 3, 7, 8, 63-4, 66, 68, 70, 84, 88, 101, 109, 112, 145.

⁴⁷ Adam Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts: The Origins and the Impact of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, NY: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1997, 16.

⁴⁸ Ralph Schoenman, “Truth as Casualty—A Response to Carol Brightman and Carl Oglesby on the Sixties,” Vallejo, California, January 21, 2008, 1 at http://takingaimradio.com/articles/TRUTH_AS_CASUALTY__A_RESPONSE.pdf

John Gerassi.⁴⁹ Gerassi of Russell group, inserted North Vietnamese documents⁵⁰ into his book, *North Vietnam: a Documentary*. It was difficult for any reader to distinguish where Hanoi's propaganda began and ended and where Gerassi makes his own observations. The replicated propaganda claimed, "The US [was] destroying hospitals, schools, nurseries, kindergartens, and even churches and pagodas." Yet in one city, bombing killed only 89 and wounded 405 out of a population of 93,000.⁵¹

Tea and Hugs with Pham Van Dong. On January 11, 1967 John Gerassi and the Russell entourage⁵² were ushered into the Colonial Presidential Palace to meet Premier Pham Van Dong over tea, berry wine and tangerines for three hours. When Ho Chi Minh arrived, Dong introduced each of the Russell party of fourteen by their name, nationality and profession. Pham hugged Gerassi. Wearing sandals made from tires, Ho Chi Minh read a telegram from Bertrand Russell. Pham said, "...The time will come...when we shall accept...international brigades,⁵³ both armed and civil."⁵⁴ January 15-19, 1967, in Cambodia the Vietnamese showed a Russell group where South Vietnamese had violated the sovereign territory of Cambodia. Hanoi's tour guides failed to mention its troops in Cambodia.⁵⁵

Second Russell⁵⁶ **Contingent.** A SNCC leader, Julius Lester, remembers, "Out of the darkness comes this very attractive woman with a bundle of flowers in her arms." And several "elaborate banquets of French cuisine...six-seven course meals ...went on for hours." Lester says he refused to make a "treasonous" broadcast to black troops.⁵⁷ In fact, Lester⁵⁸, along with Cobb⁵⁹ and Ralph Schoenman, spoke over Radio Hanoi. Schoenman told American troops they were fighting a "barbaric war..., bombing their schools and hospitals..."⁶⁰ John Gerassi, said, "The raids were exclusively aimed at killing people."⁶¹

POW Dick Stratton Displays POW Torture. On March 6, 1967, prison guards dragged Navy Lt. Cmdr. and POW Richard Stratton before cameras.⁶² The tortured Stratton proceeded to bow and scrape

⁴⁹ Gerassi, anarcho-Marxist, made a career out of blaming the U.S. for every evil in the world, including Pol Pot's killing fields in Cambodia. He attributed all good to Communists Ho, Castro, Che Guevara, including Abimael Guzmán, philosophy professor, a madman running the murderous Shining Path of Peru.

⁵⁰ *On US Air Attacks Against Residential Quarters in Hanoi, Capitol of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and its Suburbs*, Hanoi: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 1966; *US Intervention and Aggression in Vietnam During the Last Twenty Years*, Hanoi: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1965;

⁵¹ John Gerassi, *North Vietnam: a Documentary*, Indianapolis: Bobbs, 1968, 77-8, 95-110, 111-120, 121-134.

⁵² French physicist Jean Vigier, French lawyer Leon Matarasso, Japanese professor Setsure Tsurushima, French photographer Roger Pic, KGB agent journalist Wilfred Burchett, and seven Japanese "war crimes investigators"

⁵³ In 1970, Black Panther Huey Newton offered "An undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against American imperialism." Huey P. Newton, "Letter to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, August 29, 1970." *To Die for the People*, 1970, 90.

⁵⁴ Gerassi, 58-9, 71-4, 77-8, 83-4.

⁵⁵ Gerassi, 151-155.

⁵⁶ American staff and participants in the Russell Tribunal were: Dave Dellinger, John Gerassi, Mark Lane, Carl Oglesby, Stokely Carmichael, Courtland Cox, Peter Martinson, David Tuck, and Donald Duncan. Ralph Schoenman was the elderly Russell's flattering and influential secretary. Schoenman made Russell, the philosopher of rationalism, say things like, "...Kennedy was more wicked than Hitler." Russell pled with Khrushchev "not to be provoked by the unjustifiable actions of United States" in the Cuban Missile crisis.

⁵⁷ Clinton interview of Julius Lester 77-80, 83, 85

⁵⁸ Later broadcast -Hanoi in English to Southeast Asia 1000 GMT 22 April 1967. Recorded statement of Julius Lester, American Negro and Member of the 4th Investigative Team of the International War Crimes Trial.

⁵⁹ Cobb recorded for later rebroadcast-Hanoi in English to American Servicemen 1300 GMT 16 April 1967.

⁶⁰ Horowitz, *Radical Son*, 146-47.

⁶¹ Hanoi, Vietnam News Service, International service in English, 0608 GMT, 15 Jan. 1967 B; "International War Crimes Tribunal First Investigation Team Denounces American Crimes in North Vietnam." [English] *Vietnam Courier*, (Hanoi), Jan. 30, 1967.

⁶² "Captured U.S. Officer—Tells of DRV Bombing" *Red Star*, Moscow 10 March 1967, USSR International Affairs, 16 March 1967, bb 6; Moscow's *Red Star* said Stratton, "presented a sorry picture." Howe, 93 cites Hubbell, 177.

deeply to all corners of the compass. He confessed to carpet-bombing. Later in Bratislava, peace activist Tom Hayden would tell the Vietnamese the Stratton film was not helpful propaganda.

Third Russell Contingent. In March 1967, a third Russell contingent arrived. Primed by beautiful girls, whiskey and photos of beheaded Viet Cong, Hugh Manes and Joe Neilands saw only inhumane “guava” bombs, Hanoi in rubble and deliberately destroyed hospitals.⁶³

Two More POWs on Display. Perhaps to wash away the Stratton embarrassment, on March 16, 1967, Russell group and Col. Ha Van Lau met two healthy, recent POWs, Jack Bomar and Joseph Crecca⁶⁴ in the “living room of a villa in Hanoi.” POW Crecca confessed to dropping napalm upon Vietnamese villagers. Both urged Americans to work against the war.⁶⁵

Quakers and the Good Ship Phoenix March 26-April 5, 1967

Cash for the Cong. On March 26, 1967 an aggressive “hippy” clothed and haired⁶⁶ spin-off of the American Friends Service Committee, AFSC, A Quaker Action Group, (AQAG), sailed the yacht Phoenix into Haiphong, North Vietnam with the usual greetings of pretty girls and flowers. Betty Boardman said, the “Vietnamese paid none of our expenses,”⁶⁷ but Bill Heick said, “The North Vietnamese took care of all our expenses...in North Vietnam.”⁶⁸

Guided Tours and Selective Invitations. The Friends group talked “at length about...antiwar organizations... request[ing] permission to visit Hanoi.” Betty Boardman praised Women’s International League for Peace and Justice, WILF. Boardman spoke before 208 antiwar meetings in the next year.⁶⁹ Phil Drath toured with a Phoenix film, “Voyage of the Phoenix,”⁷⁰ the narrator says, “We have always been accused of aiding the enemy...Well, ... that is what we have to do.”⁷¹

THE SPRING MOBILIZATION

Hanoi Supports Spring Mobilization, POWs do not. In April 1967, Premier Pham Van Dong and Ho Chi Minh sent a telegram to David Dellinger, Staughton Lynd and Barbara Deming, “I am glad to learn broad sections of the American people are organizing a ‘Spring Mobilization....’⁷² While “The Vietnamese urged POWs to write letters of support [for the Spring Mobe]... Instead ... they scratched obscene words ... onto the posters, and ... tore them down”⁷³

⁶³ James W. Clinton interview of Hugh Manes, November 16, 1990 and J. B. Neilands, November 13, 1999, 62-65, 69-71.

⁶⁴ Stuart I. Rochester and Frederick Kiley, *Honor Bound, American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia 1961-1973*, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999, 344.

⁶⁵ Statement of Prof. J.B. Neilands, May 12, 1970, Hearings, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, May and June 1970, 117-118.

⁶⁶ The crew—Earle Reynolds, Betty Boardman, Philip Drath, Horace Champney, Robert Eaton, Ivan Massar, Richard Faun, and William Heick. Richard Greenleaf, “Quakers’ storehouse of brotherly love,” *Daily World*, July 18, 1969.

⁶⁷ James W. Clinton interview of Betty Boardman, October 4, 1990, 92.

⁶⁸ James W. Clinton interview of Bill Heick, November 12, 1990, 196.

⁶⁹ Indochina Humanitarian Program, AFSC-Vietnam; Joseph Elder, Visit to Polytechnic University, 16 June, 1969c; John Sullivan, Report on Mission to Hanoi, AFSC, International Service Division, RPO, 16 Aug., 1972b; Sigmund Diamond, *Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955*, Oxford University Press, 1992; Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities*, NY: Oxford University Press, 1986; Chronology, Swarthmore College Peace Collection (SCPC); Ross Flanagan, “On Talking with The Enemy,” 1967, DG-74, Box 2, Bratislava, SCPC; SCPC6; Elizabeth Jelinek Boardman, *The Phoenix Trip: Notes on a Quaker Mission to Haiphong*, Burnville, N.C. Celso Press, 1985, 82, 77; Carl Zeitlow, “Hanoi and the Trek of the Phoenix,” *Christian Century*, 2 Aug., 1967, 1006—all cited in Hershberger, *Travel...* 105-122.

⁷⁰ Bill Heick, Dick Faun and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation produced the film cited in a pamphlet of a Quaker Action group; *Variety*, *Television Review* June 14, 1967.

⁷¹ Richard Greenleaf, “Quakers’ storehouse of brotherly love,” [communist] *Daily World*, July 18, 1969.

⁷² Premier Pham Van Dong Thanks the American ‘Spring Mobilization Committee,’ *Vietnam Courier*, Hanoi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 1967, 107. Cited in Rothrock, 129N1. TTU Archives.

⁷³ John G. Hubbell, *P.O.W.: A Definitive History of the American Prisoner-of War Experience in Vietnam, 1964-1973*, New York: Readers Digest Press, 1976, 263.

Pacifists Object to Communist Involvement in Spring Mobilization. On March 16, 1967 and April 12, 1967, the national youth arm of the (democratic) Socialist Party and the Northern California Board of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy refused to participate in the upcoming Spring Mobilization. They said the Communists dominated the Spring Mobe and wanted not peace, but a Viet Cong victory.⁷⁴ The Young People's Socialist Alliance said, "... [S]upporters of a Viet Cong victory are lumped in with some who sincerely hope to make a contribution to peace"⁷⁵

At a planning meeting of Spring Mobe, 300 of the 700 registered attendees, 43 per cent, were members of various Stalinist and Trotskyite Communist groups.⁷⁶

A Lobbied Martin Luther King Finally Opposes Vietnam War. In January 1967, Martin Luther King's closest advisors, wife Coretta, Stanley Levison⁷⁷ and James Bevel, had urged King to oppose the war. Stanley Levison handled CPUSA finances.⁷⁸ Bevel wanted an "international peace army" to unite civil rights and antiwar movements, but Martin Luther King resisted. Throughout February, King publicly thought the War distracted from civil rights.

Finally On April 4, for the first time, he publicly declared his opposition to the war in a meeting of Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam (CALCAV, later CALC) at the Riverside Church. On April 30, 1967, with the same sponsors and venue, King said, the Vietnam War was "taking the young black men...sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties...which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem..." Unwittingly echoing Hanoi, King called the war "unjust, evil, and futile."⁷⁹ The NAACP's Roy Wilkins, CORE's James Farmer, and Ambassador Ralph Bunche still chastised Martin Luther King for alienating some friends of civil rights including LBJ. **King: I love America.** King still opposed provocative civil disobedience, flying the Viet Cong flag and draft resistance. The war was losing America's soul, its moral example. "I oppose the war...I love America."⁸⁰ His aide Bevel thought otherwise. Bevel became executive director of the Spring Mobilization.⁸¹ Bevel said Vietnam policy was "genocide" against people "of color." Soviet influenced activists wanted U.S. POWs tried before a U.N. genocide court.⁸²

APRIL 15, 1967 DEMONSTRATIONS, NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO AND THE WORLD.

In New York City on April 15, 1967, 100,000 marched. King, Dellinger, Nick Egleson, Howard Zinn, Ben Spock and Stokely Carmichael spoke. Folk singer and Communist Pete Seeger sang, as he had

⁷⁴ John Schmitz, et al, *Viet Cong Front...*, 34

⁷⁵ Schmitz, *The Viet Cong Front*, 34.

⁷⁶ Schmitz, *The Viet Cong Front...*, 35.

⁷⁷ The FBI followed the infiltration of CP members Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts "Jack" O'Dell into SCLC. FBI Director Hoover told the Attorney General in July 1965 that Stanley Levison and Clarence Jones, both Communist party members, had been meeting King at the Kennedy Airport motor inn for several months and that "actual communists [were] marching in demonstrations." Roy Wilkins and James Farmer opposed tying the Vietnam War to civil rights. Hoover sought AG approval for a wiretap, a "technical," on Levison and Jones. See: FBI Memo, Hoover to Tolson etc, 5:53 PM July 6, 1965.

⁷⁸ The FBI's own agent SOLO delivered and closely monitored Party funds from Moscow; R.W. Smith to W.C. Sullivan, "Communist Party, USA, Solo Funds," September 16, 1965 at FBI, FOIA, SOLO, 94, 8.

⁷⁹ Martin Luther King, "Why I am Opposed to the War in Vietnam," April 30, 1967, Riverside Church, New York at Pacifica Radio/UC Berkeley Social Activism Sound Recording Project, Media Research Center, Moffitt Library UC Berkeley, at www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/Pacificaviet.

⁸⁰ DeBenedetti w/ Chatfield, 172-3.

⁸¹ Since 1948, the Soviets and the CPUSA sought US ratification of the Genocide Treaty to bring the U.S. to trial at the UN for genocide against American blacks. In fact, Hoang Tung, NVA spokesman, told antiwar activists, "We have plenty of manpower. ...After 30 years of war you can see many children playing in the streets."

⁸² "The Little-known Background of the Genocide Convention," *Combat*, vol. 2, No. 7, April 1, 1974.

for the American Peace Mobilization in 1941 defending the Hitler-Stalin Pact.⁸³ Stokely Carmichael cried, "There is a higher law than... a buffoon named ... Johnson."⁸⁴ In San Francisco, another 40-50,000 gathered at Kezar Stadium in San Francisco to hear King and other speakers.⁸⁵ Judy Collins sang behind a large banner, "Viet Cong."⁸⁶ Among the attendees was Barbara Boxer, future member of Congress and U.S. Senator (D-CA).⁸⁷

Complaints of Communist Influence: Rusk, Westmoreland, Hoover. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told, "Meet the Press" that "the communist apparatus" was involved in the Spring Mobilizations of April "all over the world and in our country." On April 24, 1967, General Westmoreland told Congress anti-war demonstrators gave the North Vietnamese soldier "hope that he can win politically that which he cannot accomplish militarily."⁸⁸ On April 27, J. Edgar Hoover predicted "following the Communist line" would "...buttress the position of North Vietnam..." to breakdown morale.⁸⁹

Fall Demonstrations Planned. In late May, Spring Mobe rubber-stamped October protests at the Pentagon. October would be the common date for protests worldwide. Before the Spring Mobe meeting broke up, it renamed itself the National Mobe.

Turning Point: Spring Mobe Cooperation with Hanoi. In retrospect, the Spring Mobe activities of 1967 were a turning point improving coordination between Vietnamese officials and antiwar leaders. In 1967 and 1968 there was a flurry of public activity involving the North Vietnamese, Dave Dellinger, and Tom Hayden. Peter Collier and David Horowitz recall, "New leftists met with the North Vietnamese and the NLF in Havana, Bratislava and Hanoi to collaborate ... providing propaganda advice and orchestrating a political campaign to demoralize U.S. troops..., and to create ... disruption at home."⁹⁰

Supporters of American Troops Unnoticed. On May 13, 1967, Fire Captain Raymond Gimmler organized 70,000 people including some Vietnamese to march in New York, most carrying the stars and stripes, in support of U.S. troops in Vietnam.⁹¹

Veterans for Peace, Against the War. On May 22, 1967 Communists, Arthur Knight, Corliss Lamont, Bernard Koten, Leroy Wolin and Ron Wolin, paid for an ad in the *New York Times* promoting a CP front, Veterans for Peace, VFP.⁹²

Paralysis of Political Will. Despite wild leftist claims, no one wanted to suppress free speech and fewer still to prosecute dissidents, even traitors. Unlike Hanoi, an internal paralysis reigned. LBJ,

⁸³ HISC, Staff Study, *Subversive Involvement in the Origin, Leadership and Activities of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam And Its Predecessor Organizations, 1970*, ix cited in Paul Kengor, *Dupes: How America's Adversaries Have Manipulated Progressives for a Century*, Wilmington: ISI Books, 2010, 313.

⁸⁴ Hubbell, **POW**..., 263.

⁸⁵ David Duncan, Eldridge Cleaver, Julian Bond, Morris Everson, Rabbi Abe Feinberg, David Harris, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Robert Vaughn, Robert Scheer and Grace Mora Newman, sister of a Fort Hood Three deserter.

⁸⁶ *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1967 cited at lib.Berkeley.edu/MRC/pacificviet.html. Also participating were the Communist Rev. William Howard Melish, friend of Communist Frank Marshall Davis, Communists Robert Treuhaft, Jessica Mitford, Linus Pauling in HISC, Staff Study, *Subversive Involvement in the Origin, Leadership and Activities of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam And Its Predecessor Organizations, 1970*, 5-6 cited in Paul Kengor, *Dupes: How America's Adversaries Have Manipulated Progressives for a Century*, Wilmington: ISI Books, 2010, 313

⁸⁷ Paul Kengor, *Dupes: How America's Adversaries Have Manipulated Progressives for a Century*, Wilmington: ISI Books, 2010, 313.

⁸⁸ Nguyen Ngoc Tan, *The Vietnam War Revisited: A Revolutionary View of U.S. Foreign Policy*, Westminster: Vietnam Nationalists in Diaspora, Preliminary edition 2012 cites Karnow 1984, 488.

⁸⁹ Hoover to Tolson etc, memo, April 27, 1967, p. 2 at FBI, FOIA Web site, "T", Tolson.

⁹⁰ Collier and Horowitz, *Destructive Generation*...,145. Canfield interview of Sol Stern on 5/11/89 also confirms that Americans did indeed advise the Vietnamese on improving their propaganda. So too does Carol McEldowney's *Hanoi Journal 1967*.

⁹¹ British Pathe video, "Pro-Vietnam War Parade In New York," [Video], <https://uk.news.yahoo.com/video/pro-vietnam-war-parade-york...>; "Today in NYC History: Thousands March in NYC to Support ...", "<https://janos.nyc/2015/05/20/today-in-nyc-history-thousands-march...>

⁹² Inviting Vietnam vets, the VFP and the demonstration became the vehicle for Jan Barry Crumb's later founding of Vietnam Veterans against the War, VVAW. CPUSA member Corliss Lamont loaned VVAW money for an ad in *Playboy*. By 1970 VVAW's 600 members accounted for one quarter of one percent of all [Vietnam] war vets.

restraining the most powerful air force in the world, dropped not bombs but 1,750,000 leaflets – telling North Vietnam antiwar protests would not affect America's will to fight.⁹³

In South Vietnam, there was an existential understanding of the peace movement.

VOICES FROM VIETNAM

South Vietnam Ambassador Warns Antiwar Movement Can Lose the War. Within weeks of becoming South Vietnamese Ambassador to the United States in March of 1967, Bui Diem warned South Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky of the influence of the “peace movement,” if LBJ was “unable to resist peace activities.”⁹⁴ The President feared a wider war with China or the Soviet Union.

Thieu- Ky Responds to Dissent in South Vietnam. Order and Elections. A resolute Premier Nguyen Cao Ky and Nguyen Van Thieu acted to handle domestic dissent in the middle of a war. Ky restored order in Buddhist disrupted Danang, wrote a new republican constitution, and held elections in 4,612 hamlets that spring⁹⁵ and Presidential elections in the fall. During spring elections there were 680 Viet Cong acts of terror including the massacre of a village chief, his family and campaign workers and yet of the 85% eligible to vote,⁹⁶ some 83 percent turned out to vote compared with 62 percent in USA in 1964 Presidential election. Thieu and Ky held elections in the middle of a war. Television did not cover this remarkable achievement.⁹⁷

Political Prisoners: How Many? Don Bordenkircher, a hands-on-advisor to South Vietnamese prisons says, the number of true “political prisoners” under the Nguyen Van Thieu regime ran from three to five persons at a time, these included fervent top level religious opponents—Cao Dai, Hoa Hao—or Vietnamese Mafia like Binh Xuyen.⁹⁸ In late 1967, Bordenkircher counted every prisoner in South Vietnam, finding 22,400 communist criminals, mostly Viet Cong committing criminal acts of sedition, espionage and treason. At no time were more than three-five individuals who had merely spoken out against the government.⁹⁹ Thieu and Ky handled the Viet Cong. President Johnson had less will to handle the “AmeriCong.”

American Friends Visit South Vietnam, August-September 1967. During August and September 1967, Stewart Meacham of American Friends Service Committee, AFSC, visited South Vietnam. Meacham traveled freely in “corrupt and oppressive” South Vietnam. He declared U.S. forces hidden behind barbed wire and concrete barriers, and Vietnamese peasants hating their government and loving the NLF. He said 85% of refugees were fleeing their villages to escape allied bombing (not VC terror). From June 1967 to June 1968, Viet Cong terror attacks upon South Vietnamese prisons freed 4,826 prisoners. “The enemy would first shoot the jailer, their wives and children.” And then “use barbed wire to hang them...[or] ” if the gates were wooden “dead babies, women and jailers would be nailed...by driving stakes through their throats, shoulders and abdomens...”¹⁰⁰ The Viet Cong murdered 19 jailers

⁹³ Zaroulis, *Who Spoke Up...*, 115. The Royal Air Force dropped leaflets over Poland during the joint Nazi-Soviet invasion in September 1939.

⁹⁴ CIA, Intelligence Information Special Report, “Vietnamese Ambassador...continued American support,” March 10, 1967, LBJ library, Case # NLJ 91-360, doc. # 48a; also vacuous summary in CIA, FOIA, Vietnamese Ambassador to the United States Bui Diem's assessment of the influence of the anti-war group in the United States... March 10, 1967, Intelligence information Special Report, 2, Reference: 1992-003134, <http://www.vietnam.ttu.edu/star/images/041/04107102002.pdf>

⁹⁵ Nguyen Cao Ky, *How We Lost the Vietnam War*, New York: Cooper Square Press, 1976, 92-9.

⁹⁶ Richard Botkin, *Ride the Thunder: A Vietnam War Story of Honor and Triumph*, New York: WND Books, 2009, 121 cites Nguyen Cao Ky, with Marvin Wolf, *Buddha's Child: My Fight to Save Vietnam*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002, 231.

⁹⁷ Uwe Siemon-Netto, *DUC: A Reporter's Love for a Wounded People*, Amazon, 2013, 141-143.

⁹⁸ Ministry of Interior Circular #757-BNV/CT-13-A/M, March 21, 1969. Cited in Bordenkircher, S.A. Bordenkircher, *Tiger Cage: Untold Story*, Abby Publishing, 1998, 51.

⁹⁹ D.E. Bordenkircher, S.A. Bordenkircher, *Tiger Cage: Untold Story*, Abby Publishing, 1998, 50-51.

¹⁰⁰ D.E. Bordenkircher, S.A. Bordenkircher, *Tiger Cage: Untold Story*, Abby Publishing, 1998, 75.

and their wives and 57 children. Some 1,022 freed prisoners voluntarily walked right back into prison. To the U.S. media Viet Cong barbarism was unnoticed, unseen and unreportable.

Meanwhile, Bertrand Russell continued on his own Hanoi directed course.

RUSSELL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL OPENS

Stockholm, May 2-10, 1967. Bertrand Russell opened his first official International Tribunal on War Crimes in Stockholm. In Stockholm was the Soviet staffed Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

SDSer Carl Oglesby, Courtland Cox of SNCC, Dave Dellinger spent part of the summer of 1967 at Russell's show trial. Dellinger, Oglesby, James Baldwin and Stokely Carmichael were American members of the tribunal. In 1967 Communist Vietnamese witnesses of the Bertrand Russell's first session were Do Van Ngoc, Ngo Thi Nga, Hoang Tan Hung, Nguyen Van Dong, and in the second, Thai Binh Danh, Pham Thi Yen, Nguyen Thi Tho, Pham Ngoc Thach. David Kenneth Tuck, Peter Martinsen, and Donald Duncan represented Vietnam vets.

Russell had already concluded, America was guilty of "widespread, deliberate, and systematic" bombing of civilians.

Kolko: Dikes in War. Gabriel Kolko, history professor, alleged U. S. bombing in North Vietnam of "the entire dike network ...violent and concentrated in...1966." [False]¹⁰¹ During the war floods, not bombs, broke some dikes.

The Russell Tribunal took its show to Tokyo, Mexico, and Rumania prior to an anticlimactic finale in a small town in Denmark in November 1967.

The *New York Times* and CBS concluded the Russell tribunal was a sham.¹⁰² Others spoke in code about Hanoi propaganda. **POW Alvarez's Linguistic Code.** Tortured POW Everett Alvarez wrote a creative confession for the Bertrand Russell tribunal:

I protest the long, involved, costly, controversial war, a violation of the gallant, heroic, liberated, freedom loving, independent loving Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese were putting words in his mouth. His wordy, exaggerated outrage was not native to his American English tongue.

INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION: DELLINGER IN HANOI.

Planning Meeting in Bratislava. On April 19, 1967 VIETPEACE, the Viet Nam Peace Committee of Hanoi had asked Dave Dellinger to choose four persons from a Hanoi list to come to Hanoi "for some pressing discussions." Hanoi suggested Professor Staughton Lynd, Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick, Dagmar Wilson, and an SDS member selected by Dellinger.¹⁰³ Accompanying Dellinger "at the expense of the Peace Committee of North Vietnam"¹⁰⁴ was Nick Egelson, SDS President. Dave Dellinger arrived in Hanoi on May 26, 1967, describing his purpose as "a meeting of Americans and Vietnamese . . . in Bratislava [Czechoslovakia] in September."¹⁰⁵ Between July 26 and August 17, 1967, Dellinger met again with Do Xuan Oanh about the upcoming meeting in Bratislava.¹⁰⁶ The Vietnamese asked Dellinger to

¹⁰¹ Gabriel Kolko, "Report on the Destruction of Dikes: Holland 1944-1945 and Korea, Testimony before First Session of Russell War Crimes Tribunal, May 2-10, 1967, Stockholm, Sweden; Gabriel Kolko, "Iraq and Vietnam," *Zmag.org*, November 9, 2006.

¹⁰² Wells, *The War Within*, 142

¹⁰³ Tom Charles Huston, Special Report for the President, TOP SECRET, EYES ONLY- Very Sensitive, Foreign Communist Support of the Revolutionary Protest Movement in the United States, July 1969, 40, Declassified 11/10/2008 at request of Max Friedman.

¹⁰⁴ *National Guardian*, June 24, 1967:12 cited in House, Committee on Internal Security, Investigation of Students for a Democratic Society, Part 7-A, December 9-11, 16 1969, Appendix A, Committee Exhibit No. 2, 2318.

¹⁰⁵ Glass, *Washington Post*, Nov. 23, 1967.

¹⁰⁶ Tom Charles Huston, 40.

invite 30 people. Dellinger consulted Tom Hayden who ultimately selected many people unknown to Dellinger.¹⁰⁷

Dellinger, Egelson and East Germans Meet Scripted POWs. Dellinger and Egelson met POWs Dick Stratton and Doug Hegdahl in June at the Show Room at the Plantation.¹⁰⁸ Dellinger said they were “protected and well cared for,” their housing “comfortable and sanitary.” They were in “good mental health” and not tortured or brainwashed.¹⁰⁹ In late June an East German film crew staged scenes for a four-hour documentary, *Pilots in Pajamas*, showing the POWs in clean rooms, well fed, exercised. POW Paul Galanti pointed the middle fingers of both hands held down.¹¹⁰

Back home SDS’s Egelson said, “the international communist conspiracy is a myth.” The Viet Cong insurgency was “democracy, neutrality and land reform.”¹¹¹

August 15-26, 1967 in Heraklion, Crete, Greece the central Committee of the World Council of Churches met where the Russian Orthodox Church and KGB agents Svyatoslav, Voronov, Antonov and others condemned US aggression in Vietnam.¹¹²

David Dellinger would come back from Hanoi advocating a move from protest to resistance.¹¹³ By August 26, 1967 Dellinger would pledge, “There will be no government building left unattacked.”¹¹⁴

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES UPON THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT?

CIA looks for Controls. FBI finds Influence. A memo from Marvin Watson to the President Johnson on May 16, 1967, cited an FBI report: “the Communist Party and other organizations are continuing their efforts to force the United States to change its present policy toward Vietnam.” CIA Director Helms requested that CIA staff passively¹¹⁵ gather up only whatever was readily available. CIA produced several short memos “dealing with the foreign connections... in the anti-war movement.” Indeed, “the primary source (on)...US activists...[though] quite limited...was sensitive intercepts produced by NSA [National Security Agency]...”¹¹⁶ Also FBI reports. The contacts were “ad hoc.” ...“There was no evidence of [foreign] direction or formal coordination.” The CIA culture¹¹⁷ failed to notice Dellinger and others coordinating activities with Hanoi. **Volunteers, no Pension Plans.** The weakness of the CIA analyses stemmed from an unrealistic desire to find out whether Hayden, Dellinger, and others were classical agents under foreign “control.” Very few peace activists were employees of the KGB on its payrolls or KGB pension plans, but their hearts and minds belonged to the North Vietnamese. A CIA “International Connections” report of late 1967 admits “voluntary activities serve Soviet [North Vietnamese,] and

¹⁰⁷ James W. Clinton interview of David Dellinger, January 23, 1991, 52.

¹⁰⁸ Stuart I. Rochester and Frederick Kiley, *Honor Bound, American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia 1961-1973*, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999, 347.

¹⁰⁹ David Dellinger, “Information for Relatives and friends of men in the armed forces who have written asking for possible assistance in finding out about their loved ones or in general letters to and from prisoners of war, [after February 1968]; David Dellinger, *Liberation*, May-June 1967.

¹¹⁰ Rochester and Kiley, 345.

¹¹¹ “Activist Scoff at Talk of Communist Conspiracy,” *Hartford Courant*, Oct 11, 1967 cited in FBI, FOIA, Weather Underground. The primary source is Acting SAC Chicago to Director, memo, “Foreign Influence-Weather Underground Organization,” August 20, 1976, 73-4.

¹¹² Appendix: *Recent Revelations About Soviet Active Measures*, at intellit.muskingum.edu/Russia_folder/pcw_era/sect_16e.htm; On line archives of WCC at <http://archives.oikoumene.org/query/Detail.aspx?ID=82293>

¹¹³ Norman Mailer, *Armies of the Night*, New York: New American Library 1968, 260-61, cited in Wells *The War Within*, 174-75

¹¹⁴ Wells interview of Dellinger, cited in Wells, 175.

¹¹⁵ CIA, FOIA, memo from Family Jewels, 184.

¹¹⁶ CIA, FOIA, Director of Current Intelligence to Director of Central Intelligence, “Activity Related to Domestic Events,” 7 May 1973, in “Family Jewels” 193-4.

¹¹⁷ **CIA’s Communist Acculturation, OSS.** The CIA culture since its OSS beginnings in WWII collaborated with communists to fight the Nazis and the Japanese. Ho Chi Minh and General Vo Nguyen Giap, perhaps some beautiful Vietnamese girls and whiskey, charmed the OSS’s commanding officer in Vietnam who gave the Communist controlled Viet Minh 5,000 rifles. Today the War Remnants Museum in Saigon displays a photo of General Giap and Major Archimedes Patti in September 1945 Caption and photo of Gen. Vo Giap and OSS Maj. Archimedes Patti saluting the colors in September 1945 taken at Remnants Museum, Saigon, Author’s Viet II DSC_ 317, 318.

Chinese interests about as well as they could if they were controlled."¹¹⁸ Hence, the CIA focus on control was irrelevant to political influence and cooperation.

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL SPONSORS STOCKHOLM UNITY CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM - JULY 6-9, 1967.

Soviet Controlled. The World Peace Council, WPC, sponsored the Stockholm World Conference on Vietnam, "swarmed with KGB officers."¹¹⁹ The World Peace Council, like the Vietnam Peace Committee, which had invited Dellinger, Hayden and others to Hanoi, was the proven¹²⁰ the premier Soviet front organization.

The WPC, while "aging and discredited," did "corral a large number of legitimate pacifist groups." Americans were given "an opportunity to strengthen...contacts with antiwar groups throughout the world" and to "continue their dialogue with the North Vietnamese."¹²¹ Some 452 Americans attended the Stockholm conference on Vietnam.¹²²

Coordinating Calendars. The Vietnamese supported the specific actions of the American peace movement.¹²³ The conference sought worldwide unity and coordination around a single date. The Conference passed a resolution: "The organizations ... working for peace...should mark October 21 ... by demonstrations in many countries and towns."¹²⁴ The Soviet Union openly coordinated anti-Vietnam war efforts worldwide with a world "Peace in Vietnam Day."¹²⁵ Of course, Bettina Aptheker's Student Mobe had originated the October 21, 1967 date subsequently endorsed by Spring/National Mobe. South Vietnam's Communist party planned a "Vietnam Evening" in support of American protests on October 21, 1967.¹²⁶ The communist planned rallies for Vietnam Week, Oct 15-21, 1967 in Moscow, Budapest, Tokyo, Stockholm, Paris and Munich.

Soviet Agitprop on Vietnam. Stanislav Levchenko, a KGB defector, later wrote, "I worked for the Soviet Peace Committee during the Vietnam War. My job was ... to plan protest demonstrations..."¹²⁷ Similarly, the top Soviet diplomat at the U.N. in New York, defector Arkady Shevchenko, wrote, "To assist the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council, ... I was expected to help organize ... speeches, arrange

¹¹⁸ Frank J. Rafalko, *MH/CHAOS: The CIA's Campaign Against the Radical Left and the Black Panthers*, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2011, 132

¹¹⁹ Arkady N. Shevchenko, *Breaking with Moscow*, 225.

¹²⁰ Ninety percent of WPC's funds came from the Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet controlled Russian Orthodox Church. Romesh Chandra, President of WPC, later said that the WPC "positively reacts to all Soviet initiatives in international affairs."¹²⁰ Indeed, WPC supported such Soviet "initiatives" as their invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia, (1968) and Afghanistan (1979).

¹²¹ CIA, case number EO-2000-00054, "International Connections of Peace Groups," Nov. 15, 1967, 25-26.

¹²² Dr. Benjamin Spock, Herbert Aptheker of CPUSA, James Bevel of Southern Christian Leadership Council, SCLC, Amy Swerdlow of Women's International League For Peace and Justice, WILPJ, and Simon Casady of National Conference of New Politics. Also members of the Spring Mobilization met with the Peace Committee. Also SDSers Arlene Eisen Bergman, Bernardine Dohrn and Jeff Shero who later went on to attend a celebration in Moscow of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. See: *Student Mobilizer*, September 3, 1967, 3 cited in John Schmidt, *The Viet Cong Front in the United States*, Western Islands, 1971, 40, originally in April 21, 1971 issue of the *Congressional Record*; Schmitz, *The Viet Cong Front*, 41; Tom Charles Huston, 42.; CIA, FOIA, Communist organized "Vietnam Evening" on 21 October 1967, October 13, 1967, cable, Reference: 1999-3060, 5.

¹²³ *Student Mobilizer*, September 3, 1967, 3 cited in John Schmidt, *The Viet Cong Front in the United States*, Western Islands, 1971, 40, originally in April 21, 1971 issue of the *Congressional Record*.

¹²⁴ Schmitz, *The Viet Cong Front*, 41.

¹²⁵ Tom Charles Huston, 42.

¹²⁶ CIA, FOIA, Communist organized "Vietnam Evening" on 21 October 1967, October 13, 1967, cable, Reference: 1999-3060, 5.

¹²⁷ Levchenko, 38.

... meetings, ... distribute Council propaganda ... creating high visibility ... of the Council's great role in the world movement for peace."¹²⁸

Soviet Funding? Tom Charles Huston wrote President Nixon "There is no evidence that the Soviet Union has contributed funds to any New Left or Black Power organizations."¹²⁹ **Money Laundering.** Yet the Soviets had a plethora of fronts and mechanisms to launder funds: the CPUSA (FBI agent SOLO), Cuba (conferences, visitors), World Peace Council (Stockholm and Christian conferences) World Council of Churches (Russian orthodox Church), Stockholm Conference, North Vietnam, international fronts and Soviet bloc Communist parties.

Newark Riots. In July 1-17, 1967 the National Guard and police put down riots in Newark resulting some said because Tom Hayden's SDS organized Newark Community Union Project, NCUP, had fomented and organized the poor to change the system. Hayden would pick SDS community organizers to join the September meeting in Bratislava with Vietnamese communists.¹³⁰ Thereafter, Hayden in his Red family, International Liberation School and his book the *Trial* would advocate revolution in selected communities like Newark as well as Berkeley, Ann Arbor, Cambridge.

Viet Cong influence after Stockholm. From July 28 - August 5, 1967, in Havana Castro conducted his second Latin American Solidarity Conference in which American leftists from SDS, SNCC, and others attended. North American and NLF students met in Montreal in 1967. On August 6, 1967 – Vietnamese communists and friends held Peace Rallies in Montreal. Also Atlanta and Los Angeles, deploring the American bombing in Vietnam as well as Hiroshima.

CIA Ops in USA

CIA's CHAOS Program on Counterintelligence. On August 15, 1967, CIA officer Thomas Karamessines wrote a memo "Overseas Coverage of Subversive Student and Related Matters," creating CHAOS¹³¹, a program of counterintelligence on American terrorists or dissidents having contact with foreign agents or governments.¹³² Actually, the CIA had only a handful of agents working abroad making contacts with Soviets, Cubans, Chinese and North Vietnamese. "Never finding an assassin, a spy, or a Republican at the CIA,"¹³³ the CIA operated the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS, which picked up Americans on Radio Hanoi. "FBIS views all this with misgivings...we should not be considered

¹²⁸ Shevchenko, 300. Sergei O. Tretyakov, "Comrade J", who conducted post-Soviet spy operations in the USA before defecting, says the Soviet Peace Committee directly financed and organized peace, anti-nuclear, disarmament and environmental organizations. Pete Early, *Comrade J: The Untold Story of Russia's Master Spy in America after the End of the Cold War*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2007, 169-177, 194-5.

¹²⁹ Tom Charles Huston, 16,28.

¹³⁰ SDS organizers were central to disruptions of the upcoming Democratic Convention in Chicago after returning from Hanoi.

¹³¹ Its immediate predecessor.

¹³² Frank J. Rafalko, *MH/CHAOS: The CIA's Campaign Against the Radical Left and the Black Panthers*, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2011, 15,17. Hysterical claims to the contrary, it became a very modest operation. CHAOS began with a staff of two that never reached 50 and did virtually no collection of its own. It depended up FBI reports, NSA intercepts and scant few CIA field reports. Assigned to run the intelligence analysis operation, Richard Ober, was already working the possible foreign intelligence ties of *Ramparts* Magazine, which had published an expose of CIA activities and relations with private institutions. Ober's CHAOS had name card indexes for several hundred people and closely held files on fifty. The CIA's Central Reference Service had files on only two Americans--both "persons...of...major importance to the political life of a foreign country...." See Memorandum for O/ODDI from H.C. Eisenbeiss, Director, Central Reference Service, "Involvement In Domestic Affairs [redacted]," 7 May 1973, CIA, FOIA, Family Jewels, 197-8; CIA, FOIA, memo, "The [MH]CHAOS Program," 8 May 1973, Family Jewels, 591

¹³³ Widely used, recently by novelist Charles McCarry at

http://www.themorningnews.org/archives/personalities/birnbaum_v_charles_mccarry.php. Also David Atlee Phillips and Military publisher Armond Noble. CIA bureaucrats resisted CHAOS tasks. William V. Broe, CIA Inspector General, later reported a "high degree of resentment...among many Agency employees at being expected to participate in (CHAOS)." CIA, FOIA, memo of William V. Broe, CIA Inspector General, circa 9 November 1972, Family Jewels, 325.

policemen maintaining surveillance of traveling Americans.”¹³⁴ CIA activity inside the USA was even less. Despite wild rumors, the CIA did not conduct espionage operations against thousands of Americans. In fact, the CIA was providing training and equipment and helping local police and the Secret Service protect the President and other targets of assassination. Reading citizen’s mail was limited to mail going to and from Soviet Bloc countries and China during the Cold War.¹³⁵ The CIA had difficulty persuading its own employees that CIA’s overseas responsibilities had legitimate domestic elements.

Those counterintelligence and counterespionage responsibilities of ours overseas...make it mandatory for us occasionally to take an interest in American citizens overseas.
...Overseas operations against Soviets and others sometimes produce leads to Americans in conspiratorial contact with our Communist targets.¹³⁶

For example, intercepts of foreign radiotelephone traffic “contain a large number of unrelated conversations often involving US citizens.”¹³⁷

Stokely Carmichael, Comrades in Arms Against the “Common Enemy”

On August 31, 1967, the VNA International News Service reported American black power advocate Stokely Carmichael had “...traveled to Cuba and Vietnam to condemn U.S. aggression...and to call for a total revolution against the imperialist, capitalist, and racialist ...United States.” During his visit to Hanoi, Carmichael met Premier Pham Van Dong and others.¹³⁸ On August 29, 1967, Carmichael declared solidarity with the Vietnamese Communists, “Our struggle is a common struggle.... [W]e are comrades...”¹³⁹ Pham Van Dong replied, “The Vietnamese people...regard black people in the United States as...close comrades in arms in the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism...”¹⁴⁰ During 1967 Carmichael’s recorded messages were broadcast five times over Radio Hanoi (September 15, 18, 20; October 29, November 5, 1967)¹⁴¹

Race and War Connected. Carmichael said, “Have colored GI’s the right to say no to this war? ...What country do we have?...If you can’t vote what are you fighting for?... No Vietnamese ever lynched my people. ...What the hell is a nigger doing in Vietnam?”¹⁴² The White House was deluged with letters condemning Carmichael’s treason and some his race.¹⁴³ Black POW Fred V. Cherry was forced to listen to

¹³⁴ CIA, FOIA, Family Jewels, 202.

¹³⁵ Project SRPOINTER/HTLINGUAL at JFK airport. Jane Fonda was one of those intercepted. William V. Broe, Inspector General, Memorandum For Director of Central Intelligence, through Mr. William E. Colby, 22 May 1973, CIA, FOIA, Family Jewels, 644; CIA, FOIA, Family Jewels, 331, 447.

¹³⁶ Emphases added. CIA, FOIA, Thomas H. Karamessines to Executive Director, “Meeting With MAG Group,” 21 December 1971, Family Jewels, 437-438

¹³⁷ CIA, FOIA, Family Jewels, 331, 427.

¹³⁸ Party central committee member Xuan Thuy, and president of Vietnam Asian African Solidarity Committee, Ton Quang Phiet. Also [a misspelled] Ngang Bag of the Afro-Asian solidarity committee, Truong Chinh, party theoretician, and Hoang Bac of the North Vietnamese Student Union.

¹³⁹ Bernard-Joseph Cabanes, “Paris AFP in English.” August 31, 1967.

¹⁴⁰ Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1633 GMT 31 August 1967 B; Senate, *A Staff Study for Subcommittee on the Judiciary. The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-in Movement: the Problem of Communist Infiltration and Exploitation*, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1971, 7618 and Hanoi, VNA International News Service, 1633 GMT, August 31, 1971, TTU archives cited in Rothrock, 167N23, 168N24. Later Carmichael would tell a U.S. Senate committee, “We are fighting international capitalism.” Testimony of Stokely Carmichael, Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other internal Security Laws, D.C.: GPO, 1970 at www.aavw.org/protest/carmichael_carmichael_abstract03_excerpts.html

¹⁴¹ House, Hearings...Foreign Travel, “Log of Statements Attributed to U.S. Citizens which were Broadcast by Hanoi Radio, 1965-1971.” 7684-5.

¹⁴² Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1305 GMT 29 Oct 67 b.

¹⁴³ WHCF, n.d., name files, SC (Stokely Carmichael) cited in Hershberger, 147.

a Stokely Carmichael tape. The Vietnamese wanted to “play that tape to young black soldiers in the field and get them to drop their weapons.” Cherry was tortured for 93 days.¹⁴⁴

Hanoi was confident of its foreign operations involving Stokely Carmichael, Women Strike for Peace and others.

CBS’s David Schoenbrun in Hanoi. In August 1967 David Schoenbrun, CBS's bureau chief in Paris, and his wife arrived in Hanoi at the show POW camp at the Plantation to interview POW David Hughes. Schoenbrun had dinner with Ho Chi Minh in 1946 in Paris and described him as the George Washington of Vietnam. Financed by Irving Laucks, a patron of the Center for Democratic Institutions, and the encouragement of Averell Harriman,¹⁴⁵ CBS’s Schoenbrun felt confident in writing a letter to Ho Chi Minh asking to see POW David Hughes. On May 6, the Vietnamese had paraded poor Hughes and POWs Gordon Larson and James Shively through an angry mob on the streets of Hanoi. The world press covered the bad scene.

POW Hughes wrote a letter and made a tape for his wife in which he “stammered” making an apology for harming the Vietnamese people. Hughes asked his wife to help end the war. The Schoenbruns met with POWs Shively, Torkelson, Abbot and then Hegdahl on Hanoi’s short list of POW candidates for early release.¹⁴⁶

WSP in North Vietnam September 2-18, 1967

KGB agent and journalist Wilfred Burchett accompanied Dagmar Wilson, Ruth Krause and Mary Clarke on a two-week tour (September 2-18) of North Vietnam for Women's Strike for Peace. WSP had provided reliable cadres for the Vietnamese since at least its June 1965 meetings in Moscow and Jakarta and since sharing a Hanoi bomb shelter with Harrison Salisbury in late 1966. WSP ladies saw “destruction everywhere,” including, intentionally bombed dikes and churches.¹⁴⁷

For several hours, they met Pham Van Dong who told them the conditions for peace— unconditional bombing halt and withdrawal and recognition of the NLF.¹⁴⁸ Dagmar Wilson said, “We knew the Vietnamese were going to win.”¹⁴⁹

POW Hegdahl’s Hunger Baffles WSP. On September 11, POW Doug Hegdahl met the WSP. Demonstrating POW hunger, POW Seaman Doug Hegdahl, who would lose 75 pounds in captivity, stuffed food and fingers in and out of his smiling mouth. **WSP Zombies, Robots or Apparatchiks?** Hegdahl abruptly asked, “Are you Communists?” One startled WSP woman shot back, “And what’s wrong with Communists?”¹⁵⁰ Sybil Stockdale, wife of POW Jim Stockdale, would later say that Women Strike for Peace created the real zombies of the Vietnam War. WSP “...Came home and babbled the North Vietnamese propaganda line about treatment of prisoners like so many windup robots.”¹⁵¹ **WSP Doctors Photo.** The WSP were well-trained party apparatchiks knowing exactly what they were doing. They commemorated their meeting with Hegdahl with a phony doctored photo published in the WSP newsletter, *Memo*, showing the sailor POW sitting intimately across the table from the ladies. In fact,

¹⁴⁴ *Navy Times*, found at <http://www.navytimes.com/story.php?f=1-292308-1563108.php>

¹⁴⁵ David Schoenbrun, *America Inside Out: At Home & Abroad from Roosevelt to Reagan*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984, 372-3.

¹⁴⁶ Rochester Kiley, 345, 353-4, 351.

¹⁴⁷ James W. Clinton interview of Mary Clarke, November 16, 1990, 2-4.

¹⁴⁸ Hershberger interview with Clark, March 3, 1995 cited in Hershberger 95-97.

¹⁴⁹ Wells interview of Wilson, Wells, *The War Within*, 163.

¹⁵⁰ Hubbell, 335.

¹⁵¹ James and Sybil Stockdale, *In Love and War: The Story of a Family’s Ordeal and Sacrifice during the Vietnam Years*, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1990, 204.

Hegdahl had faced his Vietnamese captors across the table, not the women of WSP.¹⁵² The Stalinist WSP after witnessing Doug Hegdahl's show of POW hunger, reported the POWs were well fed.¹⁵³

POW Carrigan Denies Civilians Targeted. WSP also met the recently captured and still healthy POW Larry Carrigan. "The Vietnamese wanted me... to say...there were civilian targets bombed...while...civilian targets did not exist..." Carrigan insisted all targets "were hard military targets, each and every one." Carrigan's argument surprised the WSP women. The Vietnamese halted the interview.

Later, a Vietnamese interrogator asked Carrigan what a "wayward individual" was. One of the women...had [said] ...I was a wayward individual" and that "this young man needs to be straightened out in his thinking."¹⁵⁴ Later Carrigan was beaten and had his shoulder dislocated by hanging from the ceiling with a rope.¹⁵⁵ The "wayward" Larry Carrigan said, "These people...gave aid and comfort to the Vietnamese... They knew they couldn't beat us in the battlefield. But they hoped to beat us back in Washington."¹⁵⁶

The Vietnamese thought Hegdahl was a fool. Hegdahl said he was an illiterate peasant from a farm family too poor to own a water buffalo. As the designated village idiot, The Vietnamese gave the harmless Hegdahl free rein in the yard outside of POW cells. In the yard, Hegdahl passed messages, memorized 256 POW names, quoted Lincoln's Gettysburg Address backwards and put sand into the gas tanks of five trucks. Hegdahl confessed to naval shelling Ho Chi Minh's birthplace and signed his confession, "Seaman Apprentice Douglas Brent Hegdahl III, United States Navy Reserve, Commanding Officer, USS Canberra."

**BRATISLAVA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA:
PROVING SOLIDARITY: SEPTEMBER 6-13, 1967.**

"I am Viet Cong," Tom Hayden.

Hanoi was developing a pecking order among the American collaborators measured by their solidarity and commitment to communist victory in Vietnam. **Demonstrating and Testing Solidarity.** Alfred Hassler, Fellowship of Reconciliation, FOR, said the Vietnamese had "great difficulty in discriminating among the heavy load of requests...to visit Hanoi." Hanoi favored people "whose position is interpreted by Hanoi as one of 'total solidarity.'"¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Testimony of Louis Stockstill of Readers Digest *American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia, 1971*, HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION, March 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, April 1, 6, 20 {vvw}, 1971, 395. <http://homepage.ntlworld.com/jksonc/docs/vietnam-hcfrpows-19710420.html>

¹⁵³ See: Blakeley, 196; Hubbell, 335; W.S.P. Memo (October, 1967).

¹⁵⁴ Hubbell, POW, pp. 338-339; George Wills, *L.A. Times* (April 20, 1979).

¹⁵⁵ Rochester and Kiley, 354; House, *Hearings on Restraints on Travel to Hostile Areas...* Committee on Internal Security, 93rd Cong., 1st Sess. 1973, 8-10 cited in Rothrock, p. 192-194N13

¹⁵⁶ House, *Hearings on Restraints on Travel to Hostile Areas: Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., 1973, 8-10* cited in Rothrock 195n13.

¹⁵⁷ Hassler 1967a, Swarthmore College Peace Collection cited in Hershberger, 128. Alfred Hassler's Fellowship of Reconciliation, FOR, had for two prior decades excluded Communists as untrustworthy—loyal agents of the Soviet Union. FOR fought to avoid a CPUSA takeover of antiwar SANE. FOR leaders said the CPUSA had a greater loyalty to the Soviet Union than they did to peace. See Robbie Liberman, *The Strangest Dream...* 8, 24, 85, 115, 141, 142 and 154 cites Alfred Hassler to A.J. Muste, December 23, 1960, Muste Papers, Reel 89.20, Swarthmore College Peace Collection. **Solidarity Fronts.** Soviet and Vietnamese war strategies included solidarity committees. KGB defector, Stanislav Levchenko described one, "...solidarity conferences ...are completely stage-managed by the Soviets, who get copies of every speech ... If there is anything ...they don't like, their agents ... try to remove those parts... Levchenko, 50.¹⁵⁷

Solidarity required support for the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and soon Czechoslovakia in August of 1968.¹⁵⁸

Solidarity Conference Bratislava

In September Tom Hayden directed his own and David Dellinger's historic "solidarity" conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia attended by 35 top Vietnamese officials and 41 American radicals. "I am Viet Cong," Tom Hayden joyously proclaimed. Hayden and David Dellinger controlled the attendees and the agenda with the assistance of the North Vietnamese and the Czechs.¹⁵⁹ The Vietnamese chose Bratislava to avoid both the State Department and the *New York Times*,¹⁶⁰ in Prague. **Czechoslovakia: Agent of Soviet Strategic Interests.** During 1967, Soviet Marshal Zhakrov ordered the Czechs to recruit high-level agents of influence in the United States.¹⁶¹ The Czech Peace Committee, which hosted the Hayden group, was "very much party men...strict party line," Carol McEldowney wrote.

What was the Agenda? Hayden's agenda for the Bratislava conference was "intended to create solidarity and mutual understanding between revolutionaries from Vietnam and their American supporters who are trying to change the United States."¹⁶² Hayden later denied the revolutionary and pro Viet Cong nature of his conference. Today he claims only "a solidarity with remote human suffering,"¹⁶³ Of course, Hayden and Dellinger and the Vietnamese had been planning the conference at least since Dellinger's trip to Hanoi in late May.¹⁶⁴ Hayden and Dellinger arrived a week early in Czechoslovakia doing further planning. Hayden's *Ramparts* articles referred specifically to the detailed information Hayden had acquired at the Bratislava conference. David Horowitz, *Ramparts* editor, says Hayden's articles were intentionally a perfect reflection of North Vietnamese policies.¹⁶⁵ At Bratislava, Sol Stern, Christopher Jencks, and perhaps a few others objected to a singular resolution or party line.¹⁶⁶

Who Was Selected for Bratislava? Andrew Kopkind described the Americans as "thirty friends of Tom Hayden, chosen at random." They were, said Kopkind, "journalists, religious leaders, civil rights militants" and "one verifiable welfare mother ... and several stoned underground newspaper editors."¹⁶⁷ The Communist Vietnamese contingent, which totaled thirty-five, "was one of the highest level

¹⁵⁸ See: Radio Hanoi, August 21, 1968 and Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, 220, 223.

¹⁵⁹ HCUA, 1968; Hayden, *Reunion; East Village Other* (October, 1967); Newfield, *Village Voice*.

¹⁶⁰ Raymond Mungo, "I slept With the Viet Cong," *The Bridge Review*, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, 2005.

¹⁶¹ Jan Sejna, *We Will Bury You*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1982, 154.

¹⁶² HCUA, Dec. 1968, 2552.

¹⁶³ Hayden, *Reunion*, 205.

¹⁶⁴ Andrew J. Glass, "Report to Johnson Said Hanoi Directed Protest," *Washington Post*, Nov. 11, 1967.

¹⁶⁵ Horowitz to Canfield.

¹⁶⁶ Canfield interviews of Sol Stern on 5/16/89 and of Christopher Jencks on 5/18/89.

¹⁶⁷ Andrew Kopkind, "Looking Backward," *Ramparts*, Feb. 1973, 32; Miller, *Democracy is in the streets...*, 278-279N43.

¹⁷⁰ Among Hayden's friends and acquaintances (random, stoned, and otherwise) who attended were: Robert Allen, Malcolm Boyd, Carol Brightman, John "Jock" Pairman Brown, Bronson Clark, Robert "Stoney" Cooks, Rennie Davis, Dave and Betty Dellinger, Thorne Webb Dreyer, Nicholas Egleston, red diaper baby Richard Flacks, Ross Flanagan, Norman David Fruchter, Tom Gardner, Carol Glassman, Steve Halliwell, Christopher Jencks, Russell Johnson, Carole King, Andrew David Kopkind, Robert Kramer, Carol Cohen McEldowney, Leon Moore, Linda Moore, Raymond Mungo, Douglas Craig Norberg, Vivian Emma LeBurg Rothstein, Steve Schwarzschild, Sol Stern, Dennis Sweeney, John Tillman, Barbara Webster, Eric Weinberger, Hank Werner, John Wilson, Willie Wright, Ron Wright. See: Sale, *SDS*, 392; Hayden, *Reunion*, 206-210; Gannon, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Left*, [1969-1973] Belmont (Mass.): Western Islands, Vol. II, 573; HCUA, Dec. 1968, 2605, 2630; American Embassy to FBI, "limited official use," cited in FBI, FOIA, Weather Underground. The primary source is Acting SAC Chicago to Director, memo, "Foreign Influence-Weather Underground Organization," August 20, 1976, 67-8; "Final Prague List," "International Conference" Swarthmore College Peace Collection cited in Hershberger, *Traveling...* 139N1; House, Committee on Internal Security, *Investigation of Students for a Democratic Society*, Part 7-A, December 9-11, 16 1969, Appendix A, Committee Exhibit No. 2, 2318; Of those described by Kopkind as "several stoned underground newspaper editors," was probably Raymond Mungo and Thorne Dreyer. See: Zaroulis, *Who Spoke Up...*, 132; Miller, 278.

delegations to meet with Westerners outside North Vietnam since ... Geneva ... 1954.¹⁶⁸ The known Vietnamese participants had met and would continue to meet peace activists throughout the war.¹⁶⁹

Ivo Vasiljev, Czech translator, identified Nguyen Van Hieu as merely a "journalist from the South" who was actually Secretary General of the National Liberation Front, known as "the Lenin of the NLF." Madam Binh, identified as vice president of Liberation Women's Union, was the top NFL official at Bratislava.¹⁷⁰ Nguyen Thi Dinh, a military commander of the NLF, won the Lenin Peace Prize in 1967.

Down to Business: Intelligence and Propaganda

David Dellinger briefed the Vietnamese communists with political intelligence upon U.S. politics and anti-war movement. Czech press reported the conference covered "the future development of the anti-war movement."¹⁷¹ "The Vietnamese...were warm, charming, calm, and well organized to a fault: they toasted and lectured in a formal style," wrote Todd Gitlen. Quaker Ross Flanagan wrote, "The Vietnamese...seemed to have...less hatred of Americans than had some members of our U.S. delegation."¹⁷² Raymond Mungo remembers Nguyen Minh Vy hugging David Dellinger.¹⁷³

"WE ARE ALL VIET CONG"

Hayden, like Levchenko's "agents of influence," knew what he wanted and got it--"an expression of solidarity with the Vietnamese." In the October 1967 issue of the *East Village Other*, dateline Bratislava, .¹⁷⁴ "Lyndon Johnson will have a nightmare when he hears about this meeting," said Tom Hayden. "Because, like Spartacus, whose fellow slaves in Rome protected his hiding place by each claiming to be Spartacus himself, I am the Vietcong. We are everywhere!" **We are all the Vietcong.**¹⁷⁵ The "peace" movement had moved from protest to resistance. Within a month of Bratislava, some of Hayden's "AmeriCong" assaulted the Pentagon across the Potomac River from the White House.

Viet Cong, a myth. Before Bratislava, the U.S. Embassy, Saigon released an NLF "top secret" resolution. The V C resolution reminded its cadre, the NLF, was the "southern branch" of and "closely led by the (Hanoi) Party Central Committee."¹⁷⁶ Hanoi propaganda created an independent Viet Cong of mythic, heroic peasants emerging from tunnels, defeating the west with punji sticks, handguns and their bare hands and disappearing into the night untouched. It was a seldom-challenged fabricated apparition. Only 6,000 of the 16, 000 cadres who fought in the Cu Chi tunnels survived the war.¹⁷⁷

Spartacus—Proletarian Revolutionary. According to official Communist doctrine, Spartacus was the first proletarian revolutionary. The direct predecessors of the first German Communist Party called themselves the Spartacists.¹⁷⁸ The American *Spartacist* journal was pro-Stalinist.¹⁷⁹ The American communist Dalton Trumbo wrote the screenplay for the movie, Spartacus.¹⁸⁰ The Spartacists within the

¹⁷¹ Nguyen Trinh Co, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Vu Thi Hao, Nguyen Van Hieu, Col. Ha Van Lau, Xuan Oanh, Nguyen Minh Vy, and Le Duy Van. Eleven claimed to represent the NLF--as distinguished from their North Vietnamese masters--among them were Tran Van An, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Nguyen Thi Dinh, Ha Thanh Lam, Dinh Ba Thi and Phan Thanh Van. Hershberger, 139.

¹⁷⁰ McEldowney, 9.

¹⁷¹ Tom Charles Huston, 42-3, Declassified 11/10/2008 at request of Max Friedman.

¹⁷² Ross Flanagan, "Talking with the 'Enemy.'" *Friends Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 24, Philadelphia, December 15, 1967, 655.

¹⁷³ Raymond Mungo, "I slept With the Viet Cong," *The Bridge Review*, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, 2005.

¹⁷⁴ According to its founding editor, Allen Katzman, *The Other* was "an underground newspaper ... against the establishment press which is bought off by big business ... that deals with economic class war."

¹⁷⁵ Besides the *East Village Other*, other sources are: Csteka News Agency, (Czechoslovakia) release, "U.S. Leftists meet With Vietnam Reds," special to the *New York Times*, Sept.13, 1967 46; HCUA, 1968, 14, 28; Guidry, 109; Miller, 280; "Promise vs. Performance" *Newsweek*, Sept. 25, 1985; Zaroulis, *Who Spoke Up...*, 130-132.; Kopkind, *Ramparts*, Feb. 1973, 29.

¹⁷⁶ The U.S. Embassy, Saigon, released the captured Viet Cong document on August 18, 1967. Cited in John C. Donnell and Melvin Gurtov, "North Vietnam, Left of Moscow, Right of Peking." in Scalapino, (ed.) *Communism...*, 1969, 181N37.

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/vietnam/around-ho-chi-minh-city/cu-chi-tunnels/history#ixzz2ZnPCEEvW>

¹⁷⁸ Arthur Koestler, *Invisible Writing*

¹⁷⁹ Sale, 521.

¹⁸⁰ *Naming Names*,

SDS advocated the formation of an international brigade to fight alongside the Viet Cong.¹⁸¹ Spartacus was the first Communist revolutionary-- the first Viet Cong. Tom Hayden's "I am Viet Cong" meant then and means now exactly what the words say. "I am Viet Cong," meant his solidarity with the communist totalitarians. The Haydenistas had captured the Vietnamese concept of *Dau Tranh*—total war, total suffering, via armed, political, and diplomatic struggle on all fronts. Yet the US government didn't get it.

The Legacy of Bratislava Underestimated. The Bratislava conference cemented solidarity with the Viet Cong in specific forms unnoticed by the U.S. Government. A State Department telegram in Hayden's *Reunion*:

September 19, 1967

Subject: U.S. - North Vietnam meeting in Bratislava...

C. Atmosphere impersonal despite evident intent of U.S. and Vietnamese sponsors to develop personal contacts and deep relationships.

"Impersonal" day and night trips down the Danube, speeches, seminars, and private meetings.¹⁸² The "official" contacts were with Vietnam's "fraternal" friends. Ross Flanagan described the American contribution of intelligence to the Vietnamese Communists, "[A]n assessments of the effects (political, social, and economic) of the war ...and an explanation of constituencies active in the anti-war movement." Like the State Department, a CIA report concluded, "little information is available ...beyond discussion of the planned demonstrations."¹⁸³ The CIA report passed lightly over international "consultation and coordination" emphasizing "no evidence of [foreign] direction or control."¹⁸⁴ In early October 1967.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk told columnists Evans and Novak, "Despite detailed intelligence of Red control over the peace movement, we haven't made public the extent of our knowledge. We didn't want to set off a new McCarthyism."¹⁸⁵

The Achievements of Bratislava. The myopic State Department and CIA reports on Bratislava notwithstanding, many things were happening. SDS leader Todd Gitlen writes that "One (American) proclaimed that the antiwar movement was 'the National Liberation Front behind LBJ's lines.'" Christopher Jencks, writing for *The New Republic*, "The common bond between the New Left and the NLF is ...a common enemy: the US government, the system, the Establishment."¹⁸⁶ Carol McEldowney came to believe the U.S. intentionally bombed the Polish Friendship School...50 times.¹⁸⁷ Visitors to Bratislava and Hanoi brought back trophies. They wore "aluminum rings—cast, they were told, from the scrap of an American bomber shot down during a raid. A few had bomb casings and antipersonnel pellets."¹⁸⁸

Bratislava brought the antiwar movement closer to the communists in both strategy and tactics.

The Fruits of Solidarity in Bratislava: South Vietnam People's Committee in Solidarity with the American People

¹⁸¹ Sale, 207.

¹⁸² Canfield interview of Sol Stern.

¹⁸³ CIA, case number EO-2000-00054, "International Connections of Peace Groups," Nov. 15, 1967, 27.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, Church Commission, 692.

¹⁸⁵ Evans and Novak, "The Unvarnished Rusk Reveals Pique of Pseudo-Intellectual Critics of War," *Washington Post*, October 11, 1967.

¹⁸⁶ Gitlen, 263-4.

¹⁸⁷ Carol McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal*, 47.

¹⁸⁸ Gitlen, 264.

Within a month of Bratislava, on October 16, 1967,¹⁸⁹ the NLF (Viet Cong) created the South Vietnam People's Committee in Solidarity with the American People, (*Viet My*), establishing relations with "all progressive organizations and individuals in the United States who are struggling for peace, justice, freedom, democracy and civil rights. *Viet My* singled out and wished "brilliant success" to the protests of both the National Mobe, soon to be led by the Bratislava team (Dellinger-Hayden-Davis), and the Student Mobe, led by Herbert Aptheker's daughter Bettina Aptheker. Viet Cong informed its troops of the committee's purposes and plans.¹⁹⁰ *Viet My* used words like "coordinate," "consolidate," "unite," and "close ties" indicated the ties between Hanoi and the antiwar movement. *Viet My* soon singled out one person for special mention-- Tom Hayden. In late October 1967, the South Vietnamese People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People,¹⁹¹ *Viet My*, noted North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong's "reception of the American peace delegation [on October 12, 1967¹⁹²], headed by Mr. Tom Hayden...."¹⁹³ The FBI would later write that the Czechoslovakian meeting had "marked [the] beginning of an increased effort by the Soviets and the North Vietnamese to push anti-American activism on a world scale."¹⁹⁴

Agents of Propaganda. Sol Stern remembers Americans advising the Vietnamese on how to improve their propaganda¹⁹⁵ and David Horowitz, "how to conduct their psychological warfare campaign against the United States."¹⁹⁶ Carol McEldowney's contemporary journal corroborates American eagerness to improve Hanoi propaganda. Hanoi's propaganda was "the truth," invidiously contrasted with American psychological warfare. Hanoi's propaganda would, "bring truth to masses." McEldowney also gave advice on selection of music for Radio Hanoi. Afterwards Vietnamese propaganda did become less crude. Trying at the last to moderate its own propaganda,¹⁹⁷ Bertrand Russell's War Crimes Tribunal dropped into the black hole of history.

Liberation News Service, Dispatches: VC Media. Back home Raymond Mungo joined Marshall Bloom in renaming their Resistance Press Service. **Liberation News Service (LNS).** Based on meetings with Madame Binh and Le Duy Van at the Bratislava conference, the Americans named Liberation News Service (LNS) after the National Liberation Front.¹⁹⁸ The leftist equivalent of the AP or UPI, the Liberation News Service (LNS) became a "direct message link" between "radical groups"¹⁹⁹ and third world "guerrilla forces".²⁰⁰ LNS was "Marxist-Leninist, anti-capitalist, anti-military, pro Viet Cong, and pro Black Panther," according to a report of the U.S. Senate.²⁰¹

¹⁸⁹ "Activation of [VC] Committee for the Promotion of Solidarity between the South Vietnamese and the American People," October 1967, Kien Tuong Sector, South Vietnam, captured 25 November, CDEC Log. Doc. 12-2664-67; CIA says Hayden announced the formation on Oct. 18. CIA, case number EO-2000-00054, "International Connections of Peace Groups," Nov. 15, 1967, 28.

¹⁹⁰ "Activation of [VC] Committee for the Promotion of Solidarity between the South Vietnamese and the American People," October 1967, Kien Tuong Sector, South Vietnam, captured 25 November, CDEC log. Doc. 12-2664-67; The titular members of the South Vietnam People's Committee in Solidarity with the American People (*Viet My*), were Ho Thu, Nguyen Thi Binh; Joseph Marie Ho Hue Ba; Thich Thien Hao, Ro Chan Boru, Thach Thien Chi, Truong Thi Hue, Ma Thi Chu, Huyn Phuong Dong, Thanh Loan, Tran Hieu Minh, Vu Nam, Huyn Minh Sieng, Pham Hanh Van, Pham Thi Yen.

¹⁹¹ See: FBI, FOIA, August 20, 1976, CG (Chicago)100-40903.

¹⁹² Carol McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal* 1967, 89.

¹⁹³ FBIS, Daily Report, Asia and Pacific, Monday, 30 Oct. 1967, FB 211167, jjj9.

¹⁹⁴ Stephen Powell, *Covert Cadre*...36N42 cites FBI file 100-447935, June 29, 1971, Vol. 3, p.15.

¹⁹⁵ Canfield interview of Sol Stern

¹⁹⁶ Horowitz, *Radical Son*, 160.

¹⁹⁷ Roland Huntford, "Dissension and Lack of Interest Mark 2nd Russell 'War Crimes Tribunal,'" *Washington Post* and *London Observer* Dec. 11, 1967.

¹⁹⁸ Raymond Mungo, "I slept With the Viet Cong," *The Bridge Review*, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, 2005; S. Stephen Powell, Secret Cadre cites Raymond Mungo, *Famous Long Ago: My Life and Hard Times With the Liberation News Service* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), 10-17.

¹⁹⁹ *Covert Cadre* cites FBI Bureau File #100-447935, July 8, 1976: and same FBI File, Vol. 3, June 29, 1971, 15.

²⁰⁰ *Covert Cadre* cites David Armstrong, *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America* (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher), 105-107.

²⁰¹ Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. See: *Covert Cadre*, 34N35 cites *Washington Star*, (July 13, 1971). Mungo and Bloom split from the hardcore Marxists, Allen Young and George Cavalletto, in August 1968. See: "Biographical Note," Marshal Bloom Papers, Amherst College Archives and Special Collections at <http://asteria.five.colleges.edu>.

Dispatch News Service. Others formed the Dispatch News Service (DNS), specializing in anti-American, antiwar stories. Writers for the Dispatch News Service included: KGB-controlled journalist, Wilfred Burchett; Economic Democracy theorist, Derek Shearer; and Indochina lobbyist, Gareth Porter.²⁰² A number carried Dispatch credentials in Saigon.²⁰³ The Episcopal Church funded Liberation News Service through its "Action Training Centers."²⁰⁴ KGB agent Wilfred Burchett filed a continuing series of horrific—and false—stories about the U.S. intentionally bombing civilian targets and systematically bombing dams and dikes.²⁰⁵

General Giap Reports Progress in War

As the Bratislava love fest ended, from Sept 14-16, 1967 the Vietnamese Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap published his views. He said U.S. military action were limited because the war was impacting "political, economic, and social life in the U.S." He argued that eventually the US would tire of the war.²⁰⁶ Antiwar politics were integral to General Giap's war strategy.

Prague Briefing for Hayden Entourage to Hanoi:

Vasiljev, Chuong

Back in Prague on September 17, the group met Ivo Vasiljev, a Czech translator of Vietnamese language and culture. Vasilov was an admirer of Ho Chi Minh. **Intelligence Exchanged.** Fluent English-speaking Pham Van Chuong, UCP (*ban doi ngao*), Vice Chairman of External Relations Commission of the Vietnamese Communist Party, gave advise on propaganda. Tom Hayden wrote that Chuong gave "information" that would persuade soldiers not to fight and the American people to oppose the war.²⁰⁷ Hayden would soon take Chuong's advice over Radio Hanoi to US servicemen. Later Pham Van Chuong said the antiwar movement was an integral part of Hanoi's strategy. He provided the activists with "information that was impossible to get from the U.S. government or from any news outlet about the 'truth' about what was happening on the ground in Vietnam." In return Chuong "received updates about anti-war activities in the U.S."²⁰⁸ **Carol McEldowney: Community Organizer, Propagandist.** SDS's community organizer of Glenville's poor in Cleveland thought always in terms of political strategy and tactics. Carol McEldowney doubted the political usefulness of meeting POWs. She wanted to know what to do when she got home, the America role in war crimes investigations and how to bring together community organizing cadre and antiwar groups. McEldowney left Bratislava, committed to "doing some propaganda work" among GIs and making tapes for NLF.²⁰⁹

Hayden Entourage on to Hanoi. Hayden's selected entourage, no sceptics and no Quakers allowed, from Bratislava went off to North Vietnam in the interest of "inter-national solidarity between

²⁰² *Covert Cadre*, 35-36N36 cites Russ Braley, *Bad News: Foreign Policy of the New York Times* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1984), 340N38 cites David Armstrong, *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America* (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, 1981), 97.

²⁰³ Crystal Emhart, Thomas Fox, Gerald A. Liles, Christine Morrow, Michael D. Morrow, Nguyen Ngoc Lien, Ronald Ridenhour, John Steinbeck III and Louise S. Stone.

²⁰⁴ Smith, 46-47.

²⁰⁵ For example, *National Guardian*, October 9, 1965. During the Korean War, Burchett had also filed false stories, some written by the Soviets, about American use of biological warfare. Chinese tortured American POWs to confess to the use of germ warfare, a false claim. Two Russian generals and medical advisors to the North Koreans, Valentin Sozinov and Igor Selivanov, told Chang and Halliday, *Mao ...*, 376, there was no evidence of U.S. germ warfare.

²⁰⁶ Vo Nguyen Giap, "Serialized in North Vietnamese press from 14 to 16 September [1967] and Hanoi Radio began...September 17th" cited in CIA, FOIA, Case EO-1994-00030, Intelligence Memorandum (Sept. 20-22, 26) "North Vietnamese Minister Giap's Analysis of the War-I, II, III, IV"; See also McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal* 1967, 27-28.

²⁰⁷ Tom Hayden, *Reunion*, New York: Random House, 1988, 217-219.

²⁰⁸ Zachary Ruchman, "Red Carpet," *Princeton Globe Seminar*, June 27, 2007.

²⁰⁹ Carol Cohen McEldowney, (Eds. Suzanne Kelley McCormack, Elizabeth R. Mock), *Hanoi Journal, 1967*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007, 6-9, 11.

... Socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.²¹⁰ Tom Hayden would not only lead the eighteen-day tour to Hanoi and the POW interviews, but also make two Radio Hanoi broadcasts and take the release of three American POWs. Many Vietnamese,²¹¹ traveled back from Bratislava to Hanoi to continue building their relations with their American cadre. In Hanoi, the Americans were greeted warmly with flowers "So good to be met by friends," McEldowney wrote. Vivian Rothstein's memories are of a terrified 21 year-old flying into Hanoi, "...There was bombing every day...We had to wear helmets...go into bomb shelters...really scary."²¹² Rothstein's memories may have been distorted by the Vietnamese hospitality flowers, ivory necklaces, free alcohol, rich French food, helmets and bomb shelters. McEldowney's describes, "Dinner...a joyous, drunken affair. ... I am no longer surprised when I meet someone who already knows my name...Dinner filled with merriment ...toasting, and too much liquor."²¹³

The Americans were soldiers once...and young. Visiting a bombed school in Ha Dong province, Carol McEldowney thought schools were the "best targets to bomb—destroy the signs of socialist progress."²¹⁴ Only in her private journal did McEldowney note the lack of "concrete evidence about proof of x bombs at y site on z day."²¹⁵

Hanoi's Propaganda Improves under American Guidance? The Vietnamese learned not to repeat their crudest propaganda used in South Viet Nam -- that American soldiers ate the livers of their victims that U.S.-Diem troops indulging in cannibalism... . Young men eat human liver ..."²¹⁶ NLF of Central Vietnam claimed that 1st Marine Division massacred hundreds, stripped and raped women to death, cut off the heads of children and boxed them in front of their mothers... remove livers for eating.

Russell Tribunal member John Gerassi published these charges without comment.²¹⁷ Back home Vivian Rothstein played a tape hundreds of times of Van saying, "American GIs brutalized women, raped them, put broken coke bottles up their vaginas."²¹⁸

In 1966, NY Timesman Harrison Salisbury described, "Atrocity propaganda ... crude and blood-curdling...disembowelments, mass raping, deliberate killing of unborn and new born children, cannibalism, fetishism... beheadings, torturings, disfigurements..."²¹⁹

Like most in Hayden's group, a sympathetic Salisbury did not repeat the cruder propaganda of the Vietnamese. He and others sanitized it ...avoiding turning klieg lights upon Hanoi's lies.

KGB Tour Guide: Wilfred Burchett. An Associated Press story briefly described the Hayden group's arrival for its guided tour under the by-line "AP - Hanoi, Wilfred Burchett." AP described its reporter Burchett "is an Australian journalist ... [with] close connections with North Vietnam and the

²¹⁰ See: Radio Hanoi (August 21, 1968), and Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, 220, 223.

Xuan Oanh, Pham Hong, Nguyen Minh Vy, Nguyen Trung Hieu, Ha Thanh Lam, Tran Van An

²¹² "Interview with Vivian Rothstein Student Activist, United States," PBS/WGBH (Boston) 1998,

pbs.org/wgbh/peoplescentury/episodes/youngblood/rothsteintranscriptr.html In fact, for the 60 days between August 24-October 23, 1967 there was no US bombing within 10 nautical miles of the center of Hanoi. Carol McEldowney's contemporary unedited journal reported she never heard American aircraft during any of the frequent bombing alerts. See: LBJ, *Vantage Point*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1971, 578; McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal 1967*, 27-29.

²¹³ McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal 1967*, 30.

²¹⁴ Carol Cohen McEldowney, (Eds. Suzanne Kelley McCormack, Elizabeth R. Mock), *Hanoi Journal, 1967*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007,36-7.

²¹⁵ Carol Cohen McEldowney, 59.

²¹⁶ Che Van Vien, "Sparkling Fires in the South," in Douglas Pike, *Viet Cong*..., 438.

²¹⁷ John Gerassi, *North Vietnam: a Documentary*, Indianapolis: Bobbs, 1968, 148-9.

²¹⁸ Vivian Rothstein, "What? Meet separately with women?" Appy (ed), 275.

²¹⁹ Salisbury, *Behind the Lines*, 146.

Viet Cong. Mr. Burchett reports from countries from which non-Communist newsmen are barred.²²⁰ Since McCarthy it was impolite to call a communist a communist.

Ha Van Lau: Horrific Weapons Target Civilians. On October 4, 1967, the Hayden group met with Col. Ha Van Lau, veteran Hanoi diplomat. McEldowney identified Lau as a member of the Central Committee of War Crimes Investigating team. He said, the U.S. was using horrific banned weapons, napalm, magnesium, phosphorus, and toxic chemicals. It was targeting schools, hospitals, churches, dikes. "It is clear civilians are the main target" and "the U.S. was fighting a genocidal war."²²¹

Staged Destruction and Injuries. Nguyen Van Huyen, Minister of Education and Han Sun Huy, director of Ha Phu School showed the Americans wounded children. McEldowney writes, "long debate afterwards about whether the kid (who spoke) was rehearsed, how staged it was." McEldowney never expressed such reservations back home.²²² She noticed women armed with light caliber guns, "all perfectly prepared for us...one of the more obvious set-ups we've encountered."²²³

POWs Interviewed: Baker, Carrigan, Hegdahl. Greeted by sweet smelling flowers and music, Hayden's entourage saw a film of a POW Christmas featuring a Capt. Glendon Perkins tortured into playing an organ and a staged religious service.²²⁴ They then "interviewed" American Prisoners of War Major Elmo Clinnard Baker, Capt. Larry E. Carrigan and Doug Hegdahl at the Show Room of the Plantation.²²⁵

POW Hegdahl Performs Again. The North Vietnamese once again selected Doug Hegdahl to meet Hayden's group. POW Doug Hegdahl certainly was a clown, but not the fool the Vietnamese surely thought they had. They had set Hegdahl up to meet three separate American groups in early September and early October.

Well-rehearsed, on October 11. POW Hegdahl looked over the group. Immediately recognizing Tom Hayden as the group's leader,²²⁶ Hegdahl greeted him with a middle finger. Surprised, Hayden stared, paused, smiled, and returned the gesture.²²⁷ Hegdahl found the women, Carol McEldowney and Vivian Rothstein²²⁸ offensive, "There were four girls dressed in worn, patched blue jeans. Disagreeable body odors emanated... The Vietnamese women who served them found them repulsive—their eyes were filled with contempt."²²⁹ Carol McEldowney wrote Hegdahl was "a strange kid...the nerviest. ...He did ask ... who sent us, who financed us and whether we were Communists. ...I didn't care for him..."²³⁰

POW Larry Carrigan. Carol McEldowney wrote in her journal, "POW Larry Carrigan had us on the defensive, especially Rennie (Davis), asking us to defend our antiwar attitudes...He knew we were Communists: and I knew in the U.S. he would be an enemy, a typical air force trained anti-communist sharpie. I really hated him—saw him as a white guy...who would drop bombs on Negroes in a race riot.

²²⁰ A.P., "U.S. Antiwar Group Cites Hanoi Resolve," A.P. dispatch by Wilfred Burchett, undated, but contemporaneous clipping.

²²¹ McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal 1967*, 49-52.

²²² Carol Cohen McEldowney, 52-4.

²²³ McEldowney, 62-3.

²²⁴ Rochester and Kiley, 396.

²²⁵ Carol Cohen McEldowney, 73, 92.

²²⁶ *Thoi Moi*, October 20, 1967.

²²⁷ Scott Blakey, *Prisoner of War: The Survival of Commander Richard A. Stratton* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), 196-197; Hubbell, *POW*, 354-355.

²²⁸ House, Committee on Internal Security, *Investigation of Students for a Democratic Society*, Part 7-A, December 9-11, 16, 1969, Appendix A, Committee Exhibit No. 3, 2321.

²²⁹ Steven V. Roberts, "Two ex-POWs: Their Clashing Views Reflect Generation Gap," *New York Times* 23:11:50, 1973; Eugene McDaniel and James L. Johnson, *Before Honor*, Philadelphia: A.J. Holman, 1975, 87-88; John G. Hubbell, *P.O.W.: A Definitive History of the American Prisoner-of War Experience in Vietnam, 1964-1973*, New York: Readers Digest Press, 1976, 354-5 cited in Craig Howes, *Voices of the Vietnam POWs*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, 155n162.

²³⁰ Carol Cohen McEldowney, 93.

Hayden, McEldowney Advice on Propaganda. Carol McEldowney told her journal, "I felt for the first time that we were being used by them [the North Vietnamese] for their own propaganda." She felt the Vietnamese had "incredible nerve" to use POWs that way. Afterwards McEldowney never made any known public protest of such exploitation of POWs. She concluded not that such propaganda was wrong, but that "the issue of prisoners is not a good organizing issue." The US group agreed, "it was not worth it if it really created great problems for the [Communist's] Peace Committee." Tom Hayden advised Major Bai, POWs PAVN escort, photos of POW Richard Stratton bowing excessively was bad propaganda. Also the POWs' public statements did not match how Americans would normally speak. Hayden later called returning POWs, "Hypocrites, liars and pawns." McEldowney wrote that by avoiding "corny, propaganda-sounding remarks...I will ... talk in real terms to real people back home..."²³¹

Retrospective on POW Conditions. Vivian Rothstein "We had a lot of discussions about whether the pilots were truthful –were they really treated well or were they being forced to pretend (they opposed the war)?" And "I'm sure they must have thought we were traitors...."²³² "They probably hated us and saw us as Communists who were part of the North Vietnamese support apparatus." It is not recorded that Vivian Rothstein expressed any such doubts when doing "a lot of speaking against the war."²³³ She was a real Hanoi apparatchik.

Communist Propaganda as Truth. On October 11, the Hayden entourage met in the afternoon with Mr. Ky of the Journalist Association to discuss mobilizing the people to build socialism and to defeat the enemy they met "Hanoi Hannah" (Trinh Thi Ngo, Thu Huong, Autumn Fragrance) where the Voice of Vietnam, "speak the truth." McEldowney's journal, "We talked awhile ...establishing effective propaganda. ...We tried to think of a tape ...[the] GI's might listen to. (We heard a few of their tapes.) Rennie (Davis) and Norm (Fruchter) talked with them...about .. problems of their propaganda.

McEldowney wrote an article for *Thong Nhat* about "how hard it is to write 'credible propaganda' in usable English."²³⁴

Pham Van Dong Honors Hayden Entourage as "Comrades in Arms." On October 12,²³⁵ they met with Premier Pham Van Dong. According to the Communist *Thoi Moi* of October 20, "The seven, led by Thomas Hayden, gave Pham a report on the anti-war movement in the United States." The English language *Vietnam Courier* printed the names, dates, places, activities, and organizations within the anti-war movement.²³⁶ "Photographs of peace movements had been sent to COSVN by ...(U.S.) the peace organizations... .These U.S. photos were used in NFL leaflets."²³⁷ McEldowney sought a taped message from Hanoi leadership about planned demonstrations on October 21, to make tapes for GIs and to talk with Hanoi's information minister, Nguyen Minh Vy.²³⁸ Clearly, the antiwar movement was moving in lock step with Hanoi.

²³¹ McEldowney, 32.

²³² "Interview with Vivian Rothstein Student Activist, United States," PBS/WGBH (Boston) 1998, pbs.org/wgbh/peoplescentury/episodes/youngblood/rothsteintranscript.html; Vivian Rothstein, "What? Meet separately with women?" Appy (ed), 277.

²³³ Vivian Rothstein, "What? Meet separately with women?" Appy (ed), 277-8.

²³⁴ Carol Cohen McEldowney, 101.

²³⁵ CIA, case number EO-2000-00054, "International Connections of Peace Groups," Nov. 15, 1967, 28.

²³⁶ "By Protesting Against the U.S. War in Viet Nam, the American People Struggle for Justice," *Vietnam Courier* (Hanoi, October 23, 1967).

²³⁷ Garnett "Bill" Bell and George J. Veith, "POWs and Politics: How Much does Hanoi Really Know," Center for the Study of the Vietnam Conflict Symposium, "After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam," Texas Tech University, 19 April 1996, 13. Hereafter Bell and Veith. Bell and Veith cite an interrogation report of an Enemy Proselytizing cadre.

²³⁸ McEldowney, 25.

Pham Van Dong: "Solidarity binding comrades-in-arms" North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong was pleased. Dong's gratitude was expressed publicly in *Thoi Moi* and privately in Carol McEldowney's *Hanoi Journal*. Dong praised his "American friends" for their "Solidarity binding comrades-in-arms." Hayden's troops were, "combatants" in North Vietnam's struggle against the United States. Dong said, "The Vietnamese people send the American people their sincere and friendly sentiments ... of solidarity binding comrades-in-arms ... You are the combatants of a great nation."²³⁹ The Vietnamese reserved the term "comrade-in-arms" for those with whom they had fraternal and friendly relations, like foreign Communist parties²⁴⁰ and for those progressives who had joined in political struggles behind enemy lines. Similarly, the term "struggle" had a precise meaning. Hayden was a key operative in what the North Vietnamese strategists called the political struggle (*Dau Tranh Chinh Tri*), both action among the enemy (*Dich Van*) and action among the enemy's military (*Binh Van*).

McEldowney's private journal records Pham Van Dong saying, 'We should coordinate our struggle. ... you have your work and your task. If we each do our work, we will have solidarity and coordination. ...'²⁴¹ Solidarity in a common struggle presumed coordination of strategy, tactics and propaganda themes. Nguyen Minh Vy, information minister, told McEldowney that the newspaper *Thong Nhat* regularly covered "... wide range of sources of commentary including the U.S. peace movement, U.S. Senate speeches and articles in the *National Guardian*."²⁴²

McEldowney's journal noted, "They loaded us down with beautiful gifts. My comb made from metal from a shot down US plane..."²⁴³ McEldowney was charmed. Nguyen Trung Hieu had walked American visitors around town and drank nightcaps at the Metropole Hotel.²⁴⁴ "He's a terribly sentimental guy (and perfectly lovely). He talked, ...for the need of love and friendship especially during war."²⁴⁵

Meeting with the enemy in war energized the antiwar movement to take action against the seat of military power itself in Oakland, Boston, Madison and the Pentagon Washington.

Back Home: Oakland Stop the Draft Week

The Vietnam Day Committee, VDC, led the Oakland Stop the Draft Week, October 16-29, 1967. On the 15th of October, the Vietnam Day Committee marched 7,000-14,000 toward the Oakland Army Base, but stopped for a rally in Provo Park in Berkeley. The next day, the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang attacked the protestors and Oakland Police stopped another march of 3,000. On October 20, 1967, BBC reported that VDC protestors had barricaded roads to stop buses carrying Army recruits to the Army's Induction Center in Oakland. Helmeted and wood shield carrying protestors overturned cars and threw rocks at the police injuring four.²⁴⁶ The Alameda County District Attorney charged seven. The Oakland Seven were Maoist Steve Hamilton, *Daily World* writer Terry Cannon, red diaper baby Bob Mandel, NLF cheerleader and "left field" sports editor Frank Barracker and SDSers Jeff Segal, Mike Smith and Reese

²³⁹ *Thoi Moi* cited by Bernard-Joseph Carbanes in an Agence France Presse dispatch of 20 October, 1967 from Hanoi, emphasis added; Paris AFP in English, 1400 GMT, 30 October 67E; McEldowney, 89-91.

²⁴⁰ For example, Ho Chi Minh referred to the Cubans as "comrades in arms" in a speech honoring them on November 2, 1966. See: "Speech in Honor of Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos," in Bernard Fall (ed.), 347.

²⁴¹ McEldowney, 90-1.

²⁴² McEldowney, 72.

²⁴³ McEldowney, 26, 101, 110.

²⁴⁴ The author had the distinct pleasure of sharing a round of "Cuba Libres" above the bomb shelter in a patio at the Metropole Hotel in 2008.

²⁴⁵ McEldowney, 42.

²⁴⁶ BBC October 20, 1967.

Erlich.²⁴⁷ In a three-month show trial, they were acquitted. Attorney and identified Communist²⁴⁸ attorney Charles Garry told the jury, “These young men are no more guilty than the Rosenbergs or Morton Sobel. The government ought to pin a medal on them.”²⁴⁹ Sobel and the Rosenbergs were convicted Soviet spies. Sobel confessed before he died.

Boston Commons

As part of nationwide “resistance” to the draft, on October 16, 1967 Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky and Nick Egleson, SDS, also led a rally of 4,000-5,000 at Boston Commons. Sixty-Seven burned their draft cards and 214 surrendered their cards to clergy for delivery to Attorney General Ramsey Clark.²⁵⁰ In New York, 60 out of 300 marshals at a Stop the Draft Week” in December were Communists according to Michael Zagarell, CPUSA youth movement leader.²⁵¹

Madison, University of Wisconsin

In Madison, Wisconsin at the University of Wisconsin on October 16, the San Francisco Mime Troupe²⁵² performed L’AMANT MILITAIRE, a satire of the Vietnam War. The next day Mime Troupe led a march up Bascom Hill to block recruiters for napalm maker Dow. Madison was home of the Progressive Party, generations of antiwar sentiments and east coast students. Yet in 1967 the largest club on campus was Young Republicans, e.g. graduate students named Dick and Lynne Cheney, not SDS. October 17-18, 1967 several hundred student out of thousands of protesters rioted at a demonstration obstructing Dow’s “war profiteering.” Freshman David Maraniss later wrote They Marched into *Sunlight*. At the university leading the protest were a minority of campus antiwar activists such as Billy Simons, Jonathan Stielstra, and Paul Soglin, a politically savvy, progressive Jewish graduate student later to become Madison’s mayor. The future Vice President, Dick Cheney, a draft-deferred teaching assistant and his pregnant wife, Lynn stepped over 15 bodies blocking access to their classrooms. Entering a very crowded hallway, and surrounded the highly outnumbered police tear-gassed, clubbed, and bloodied, a dozen university students yelling *Seig Heil*.



²⁴⁷ W.J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley At War-The 1960s*, Oxford, 1989, 119; Seth Rosenfeld, “Anti-War activist Steve Hamilton dies,” *SF chronicle*, March 30, 2009.

²⁴⁸ CPUSA member Jack Patten named Garry at a HCUA hearing in 1957, *Combat*, Nov. 15, 1969.

²⁴⁹ *Realist*, Issue No. 85, December 1968 at www.ep.tc/realistmonthissues/02.html.

²⁵⁰ FBI, FOIA, Howard Zinn cites leaflet, “Resist October 16”; ad “Faculty for the Resistance,” *Boston Globe*, October 15, 1967; “67 Burn Draft Cards in Boston...” *Boston Globe*, October 17, 1967.

²⁵¹ “U.S. Reds Claim Role in Campus Uprisings,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 5, 1968.

²⁵² Over time, the key Mime’s players were R.G. “Ronnie” Davis, Peter Cohon, actor Peter Coyote, Peter Berg, musician Bruce Barthol, poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Teatro Campesino’s Luis Valdez. Inspired by Marxism, Communist Berthol Brecht and red diaper baby Saul Landau and seeking social revolution, the Troupe’s key targets in addition to the Vietnam War were American racism, capitalism and imperialism. Its red starred logo represents “people’s struggle”, socialism and communism.

photo *Wisconsin State Journal*, shouting "Sieg heil!" at police, October 17, 1967.

The police brutality outraged nonpolitical students.²⁵³

Tenderloin Steak Shared by Terrorists and Press

On October 20, 1967, the night before planned massive protests at the Pentagon, TV newsman Peter Jennings had a tenderloin steak dinner with his girlfriend, Christina Oughton. Her sister Diane Oughton was Bill Ayers' lover. Diane and Bill, offspring of wealth, were SDS leaders. Ayers said, "I'm not so much against the war as I am for a Vietnamese victory."²⁵⁴

U.S. Agencies Watch Contacts With Hanoi; Army, DIA, NSA

With the Pentagon a target, the U.S. Army conducted covert missions to protect Washington and the Pentagon. The 108th Military Intelligence Group disguised young agents as hippies to infiltrate protest planning sessions. Another 125 agents of the Army joined crowds on the day of the protest.²⁵⁵ The Defense Intelligence Agency, DIA, would later send NSA a short watch list of a mere 20 individuals traveling to North Vietnam.²⁵⁶ The NSA monitoring Hanoi communications²⁵⁷ looked for foreign actions and contacts.²⁵⁸

Hanoi Approves "New Development" of Militancy, "Stop Government."

The National Mobe and Student Mobe March on the Pentagon on October 21, 1967 added militant resistance to peaceful protest.²⁵⁹ Hanoi's *Vietnam Courier* wished them well. "...May the Oct. 21 struggle mark a new development in the American People's movement for an end of the war in Vietnam."²⁶⁰ This "new development" was new militancy. It was Dellinger's pledge in the Pentagon protests to "stop the government". The *Courier's* statement also welcomed Americans' understanding of *dau tranh*, "political struggle." "**Closely Coordinated' Rallies.** The Hanoi controlled *Viet My* had urged uniting to consolidating existing close ties with the antiwar movement and coordinating actions between the Viet Cong terrorists and the antiwar movement. Indeed, (*Viet My*) pledged, "to give maximum assistance to the American ... Army men ... who wish to return to their country or go to another place"-- desertion.²⁶¹

In the *Washington Post*, Stanley Karnow wrote, "[T]he decision to create the [solidarity] committee ... may mirror a growing belief in Hanoi that resistance to the conflict inside the United States is becoming significant."²⁶²

National Mobe, CPUSA, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, and the Socialist Workers Party actively participated. After speeches, up to 35,000 demonstrators gathered at the Lincoln Memorial, marched

²⁵³ University of Wisconsin Freshman David Maraniss later wrote about the actions in October 1967 in his *They Marched into the Sunlight* and an interview upon which this account is based.

²⁵⁴ Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, 109-110.

²⁵⁵ Clay Risen, "Spies Among Us," *American Scholar*, WINTER 2009, theamericanscholar.org/spies-among-us/#.UhjYNxuTh9A 1/11

²⁵⁶ Testimony of Lt. Gen. Lew Allen, Jr., director, NSA on October 29, 1975 to Church Committee at cryptime.org/nsa-4th.htm.

²⁵⁷ Testimony of Lt. Gen. Lew Allen, Jr., director, NSA on October 29, 1975 to Church Committee at cryptime.org/nsa-4th.htm.

²⁵⁸ Testimony of Lt. Gen. Lew Allen, Jr., director, NSA on October 29, 1975 to Church Committee at cryptime.org/nsa-4th.htm.

²⁵⁹ Roberts, *Esquire* (December 1968), 209.

²⁶⁰ "Solidarity between the South Vietnamese People and the American People." *Vietnam Courier*, Oct. 23, 1967.

²⁶¹ *New York Times*; "South Vietnam Solidarity Writes to American Committees," October 18, 1967"; "New U.S. Solidarity Group Announces Program," Hanoi, VNA International Service in English, 0236 GMT 67B October 17, 1967, KKK 1-2.

²⁶² Stanley Karnow, *Washington Post*, Oct. 18, 1967.

across the Memorial Bridge, shouting, “Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?, “Hell no, we



won't go.”²⁶³

Photo: Protesters Crossing Memorial Bridge, October 1967, Frank Wolfe, White House Photograph Office NARA, LBJ Library.

Some carried names of the war dead,²⁶⁴ and converged on the Pentagon, and some 5,000 sought to provoke force. Some carried Viet Cong flags. Abbie Hoffman's small contingent wore witches' hats and claimed to be levitating the Pentagon to exorcise its evil spirits.

Militant Tactics

National Mobe Chairman of the event “nonviolent revolutionary” David Dellinger, back from Hanoi,²⁶⁵ officially declared more militant tactics. No more peaceful sit-ins or civil disobedience. Dellinger said, “block entrances ... disrupt business...I want to ask you what has happened to a country whose political objectives must be secured at the end of a bayonet!”²⁶⁶ The attempt to provoke U.S. Army bayonets worked just as it would in Chicago at the Democratic Convention months later in August 1968.

Newsman Peter Jennings’s dinner companion, Bill Ayers, describes, “...thousands of demonstrators scaling walls on rope ladders to assault the Pentagon ...and troops with fixed bayonets held us back We were nose to nose all night.” Diane Oughton held a sign, GIRLS SAY YES TO GUYS WHO SAY NO and walked the line asking them to drop their weapons. Several did.²⁶⁷ Some girls carried flowers to poke into gun barrels,²⁶⁸ others clubs, ax handles, rocks, bottles and beer cans to assault the troops on the line protecting the Pentagon.²⁶⁹

Vietnamese Communist Agent at Pentagon Protest: Nguyen Van Luy

A naturalized citizen Nguyen Van Luy, president of the Vietnamese Patriots Association of San Francisco took the stage. The press described Luy as a “solidarity leader” of a “pro-Hanoi group” and editor of *Pacific* magazine. Luy’s Vietnamese Patriots Association was a front for Hanoi’s intelligence network in the USA “under the direct supervision of the foreign ministry of the SRV” Socialist Republic of

²⁶³ Cathy Wilkerson, *Flying Close to the Sun*, New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007,147.

²⁶⁴ Photo and caption taken at War Remnants Museum in Sai Gon, author’s Viet II DSC_ 329-330.

²⁶⁵ Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam, 1300 GMT, 3 October, 1968B.

²⁶⁶ PBS, *The American Experience, Vietnam on Line*, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/series/pt_10.html

²⁶⁷ Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, 111.

²⁶⁸ Photo and caption at War Remnants Museum, Sai Gon author’s Viet II DSC_331-2.

²⁶⁹ Gannon, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Left*, [1969-1973] Belmont (Mass.): Western Islands, Vol. II, 315-316.

Viet Nam.²⁷⁰ Luy reported to Huynh Trung Dong of the Vietnamese Union in France who ran Hanoi's intelligence network in the USA and to Vo Van Sung, Vietnamese Ambassador to France.²⁷¹

Six hundred and sixty-seven people were arrested,²⁷² including Dagmar Wilson, Dave Dellinger, Noam Chomsky.

THE SECOND FRONT

Hanoi gave special thanks to Student Mobilization, anti-draft organizations and WSP. "The 21 October struggle ... is ... a valuable support for the Vietnamese people." WSP spokesperson Dagmar Wilson, declared the Pentagon melee "a second front" against U.S. aggression.²⁷³ After the Pentagon assault the fever of militancy spread. Radio Hanoi said, "The recent setting up of *Viet My* has clearly materialized ...in the struggle against the common enemy: The U.S. imperialist. Coordinating our efforts on two fronts, we will certainly defeat completely the aggressive war of the U.S. ruling clique in Vietnam."²⁷⁴

Public Still Supports Troops

Hanoi changing U.S. public opinion was an uphill struggle. By a margin of better than 3:1, 68-22% Americans thought antiwar activists were performing "acts of disloyalty against the boys fighting in Vietnam." An insignificant 3% were both against the war and sympathetic to protesters.²⁷⁵

Demonstrations in Support of War Unreported. In some 75 cities on the weekend of October 21, 1967 "Operation Gratitude" held demonstrations in support of American troops in Vietnam. Five parades in New Jersey, Bronx, Brooklyn, Long Island and Westchester, rallied hundreds of thousands. In a nine-page story about the pro-Hanoi Pentagon protests, *Time* magazine gave only one line to public support of troops. *Newsweek* gave two sentences in two pages covering the Pentagon assault. Also unreported was the support of two-thirds of the nation's governors, hundreds of mayors and members of Congress²⁷⁶ Another "Support Our Men in Vietnam" parade netted 250,000. In a nine-hour event, some shouted "Win All the Way with USA." There were 15,000 Teamsters, 10,000 east coast ILA Longshoremen, 6,000 union carpenters and hundreds of firemen.²⁷⁷ Also getting minor media interest was the support of American scientists and recognized Asian scholars gave to the war effort. Ernest E. Pollard, Princeton Physics Professor received letters from 179 scientists volunteering their brain power to the war effort. Some 127 had PhDs. All wrote letters rather than simply signing petitions.²⁷⁸ Similarly,

²⁷⁰ Yung Krall, *A Thousand Tears Falling*, Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1995, 296, 306; Norman Mailer, *Armies of the Night*, 1968, 100.

²⁷¹ Yung Krall; Douglas Pike, (Ed.) *Indochina Chronology*, Volume III, Number 2, April June 1984, June 2, 6-7 cites Radio Hanoi June 2, FBIS YB, June 4; *San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner and Oakland Tribune*, May 29, 30 June 3, (1984); *Tin Viet*, Santa Ana, California June 9, (1984).

²⁷² Among those arrested were Charles C. "Chip" Marshall III, Joseph H. Kelly "The Seattle Liberation Front," *Information Digest*, May 2, 1970, 4 speccoll.library.kent.edu/4may70/box107/107f9p8.html.

²⁷³ Lawrence Feinberg, "Dissent Called a Second War Front," *Washington Post* (October 25, 1967). See also: *Nhan Dan* (November 8, 1966), cited in "High-Lights Mounting Protest Movement of American People Against U.S. Aggressive War In Vietnam," Hanoi, Vietnam News Agency International Service in English, 1658 GMT, 8 November, 1966B; "Second Front Against U.S. Imperialism," [English language] *Vietnam Courier* August 29, 1966.

²⁷⁴ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS, "Daily Report, Asia and Pacific," Monday, 30 October 1967, FB211/67, JJJ9, North Vietnam.

²⁷⁵ A Harris Poll in late 1967 cited in Herbert S. Parmet, 465.

²⁷⁶ Dr. John Horton, "Correcting History; How Vietnam Vets Were Embraced," (Polish) *Post Eagle*, July 3, 2014, 2,15, reprinted in *Human Events* July 4, 2014; National Committee for Responsible Patriotism, 'A Study of Bias: How Time and Newsweek Covered the Home Front,' <http://www.ncrp.us/a-study-of-bias/>

²⁷⁷ Dr. John Horton, "Correcting History; How Vietnam Vets Were Embraced," (Polish) *Post Eagle*, July 3, 2014, 2, 15, reprinted in *Human Events* July 4, 2014.

²⁷⁸ "Scientist's Appeal or War Support Gains Adherents," *Washington Post*, Oct. 27, 1967.

fourteen recognized Asian scholars warned that the war was being “decided on the streets as much as the jungles of Vietnam.”²⁷⁹

In late October, Tom Hayden stayed behind in Hanoi to perform other wartime duties: taking control of the release of three American POWs and making two broadcasts over Radio Hanoi, which he would later deny ever happened.²⁸⁰

HAYDEN ON RADIO HANOI

OCTOBER 28, 1967 and NOVEMBER 4, 1967

Radio Hanoi: Tom Hayden. The North Vietnamese placed both their propaganda network and their army communications under one roof-- Radio Hanoi.²⁸¹ Hayden made two broadcasts over Radio Hanoi to U.S. troops in South Vietnam..

“Almost Everybody ... Is Against You”

In his October 28 broadcast to American fighting men, Hayden alleged worldwide opposition to the immoral Vietnam War. Hayden knew his words would be considered treasonous or unpatriotic. The Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS, which monitored Radio Hanoi, identified Tom Hayden's first broadcast: Hayden began, "My name is Tom Hayden ... from Newark, New Jersey, and I am active in the anti-war movement."²⁸² He was, but would later deny, broadcasting over a Communist²⁸³ radio station.

"Most of You Think ... I Am a Traitor" Hayden, seeking credibility, told his American listeners,

“[I]n the United States I ... (talk) to people who are about to be drafted ... I talk to mothers and fathers. I talk to wives ... I have often wanted to talk firsthand to the average G.I. Most of you think that I am probably a traitor for being here [Hanoi]... I can see no way in which... I am opposed to the war causes you to be killed ...getting killed ... [and] are split up from your families, ... has nothing to do with the antiwar movement.

It was possible to be against the war and still be pro-American.

"Am I Being Unpatriotic...?"

“If it is a question of patriotism ... is it patriotic for you to do anything that the President says? ...

Am I being unpatriotic by coming to North Vietnam? ...Because I do that (look at things first hand), should I be considered unpatriotic?

Hayden claimed his opposition the war was really just the same as millions of other Americans. “Is it unpatriotic to think that the President has made a mistake when ...half of public opinion say that the war is a mistake?” Actually, in 1967 public opposition to the war was only 15-30%, not half—most of those opposed, favored victory.

Hayden was right that mere opposition to the Vietnam War, a disagreement over policy in a democratic society, is not unpatriotic. However, actively aiding the enemy of one's country in a time of

²⁷⁹ Those signing were Edwin O. Reischauer, Leo Cherne, Guy J. Pauker, Harry D. Gideonse, A. Doak Barnett, Oscar Handlin, William W. Lockwood, Richard L. Park, Lucian Pye, I. Milton Sacks, Robert A. Scalapino, Paul Seabury, Fred Von Der Mehden, Robert E. Ward, “14 Asian Scholars Back War,” *UPI*, December 20, 1967.

²⁸⁰ Quang Huy, “The ‘psychological attack’ Aimed at American Servicemen,” *Events and Witnesses [Sur kien va nhan chung]* People’s Army [*Quan Doi Nhan Dan*] monthly supplement) April 2013.

²⁸¹ Karl J. Eschmann, *Linebacker: The Untold Story of the Air Raids Over North Vietnam* (N.Y: Ballantine, 1989), 181.

²⁸² His identity was also claimed in a compilation of American broadcasts contained in: U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Internal Security, *Travel to Hostile Areas*, Hearings of Sept. 19,25, 1972.

²⁸³ *Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1986.

war is unpatriotic. That is, unless one agrees with Pham Van Dong ..." The Communist is the only genuine patriot."²⁸⁴

Hayden: Psychological Warrior. Picking up a microphone, if not a gun, Hayden was helping the Vietnamese program of political struggle (*Dau Tranh*) and psychological warfare (*Binh Van*). Hayden's broadcast used classical psychological warfare themes-- appealing to the soldiers' concerns with staying alive and with the quality of their civilian and military leadership. He said America, was on the wrong side supporting an elite, corrupt few. "In the American Revolution, there were plenty of Americans who sided with the British." Yes, and George Washington executed deserters and traitors.

"The Communism of a Whole People." Hayden turned to what was to be done about Communism. "There also is the question of whether the policy ... checks Communism or spreads it. The use of troops ... gives birth to war, if not Communism."

Why should America want to stop Communism? "If it is Communism, it's the Communism of a whole people."

Hayden said the Vietnamese people did not want to stop Communism. The Vietnamese people wanted to stop America. "...[W]e, not the Communists, were the real oppressors. If the people want to be Communist ...is it the right of the United States to throw every kind of weapon and all their machinery in their path?"²⁸⁵

What Hayden did not say is also quite telling.

In his broadcast to American troops on October 28, 1967, he did not announce, he was "Viet Cong" and standing in "solidarity" with the Viet Cong. He certainly did not tell American soldiers that Pham Van Dong had called him a "comrade-in-arms" Hayden's comments in his radio broadcasts were consistent not only with his solidarity pledge in Bratislava, but his group's propaganda tour in North Vietnam and soon, his taking custody of American POWs in Cambodia.

Radio Hanoi - November 4, 1967" The Honor of the United States has Dropped Very Low" Hayden told America's soldiers that there would be no honor in an American victory in Vietnam. Of course, he was publicly and privately calling for a victory, not of the United States, but for the North Vietnamese.²⁸⁶

Honor is sinking very low even among ... friends. ... The average person in the world ... sees ... a small country ... being attacked from the air ... Justice is on the side of the people of Vietnam ...²⁸⁷

American honor and nobility were best demonstrated by years of military restraint and anguish over civilian casualties in Vietnam.

"The Vietnamese Are Ready to Fight For ... Years" Hayden said America's uncertainty was more than matched by the morale of the enemy.

... the Vietnamese ... are ready to fight for ten or twenty years ... I saw factories ... removed to the countryside ... machinery sunk underground ... schools ... totally vacated to the countryside.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Hanoi: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1961, Vol. 3, 262; Pham Van Dong, in *XV Anniversary of Democratic Republic of Vietnam 1945-1960*. Hanoi: Foreign Language Publishing House, n.d. (1960?), 41.

²⁸⁵ The complete text of Hayden's broadcast of Oct. 28, 1967 is in: FBIS, "Daily Report Asia and Pacific," Monday, 30 October, 1967, FB 211/67, jji 9-12.

²⁸⁶ He did so at least three times: 1. A private letter to North Vietnamese Colonel Ha Van Lau; 2. Articles in *Ramparts*; and 3. Sworn testimony before Congress; *New York Times*, April 18, 1975

²⁸⁷ Peace Activist Addresses U.S. Servicemen in Hanoi in English to American servicemen in South Vietnam, 1300 G.M.T, 4 Nov. 67 B. [Statement in American voice attributed by announcer to Tom Hayden -- apparently recorded; no date or place given].

Hayden described an enemy that was ten feet tall, unified, and invincible

"A Massacre of the Civilian Population." Hayden's most powerful propaganda was dead and maimed innocent civilians.

...I have seen hospitals and schools ... flattened ...children in hospitals who have had pellets removed

The total effect of bombs being rained in the north is just a massacre of the civilian population.

American soldiers, reminded of their own families, were slaughtering other people's families.

"You just want to go home to your family." How? Disobey orders? Go AWOL? Desert? Kill one's officers? Defect to the enemy?

Hayden was repeating a main *Binh Van* theme, persuading the troops to go home and to stop fighting and killing innocent civilians in "liberated" areas.²⁸⁹

But I am not going to give my life to Lyndon Johnson or his war in Vietnam...

I think we should join forces, especially when you get back ... We got a lot of trouble at home....

Thank you very much.²⁹⁰

An Orwellian Retrospective:

Hayden Made "Comments NOT at Communist Radio Stations"

Years later, Hayden successfully created fictional characterizations of his broadcasts over Radio Hanoi. According to *Los Angeles Times* reporter, Kenneth Bunting, "Hayden said his comments were made during press conferences, not at Communist radio stations."²⁹¹ Under the Freedom of Information Act, Hayden received the FBIS transcripts of his 1967 radio broadcasts in materials very widely distributed to the press and to the California Legislature six-ten days before the publication of the Bunting article in the *Los Angeles Times*.

"No ... Calls for Soldiers ...To Lay Down Their Arms"

Bunting implied he was referring to the actual FBIS transcripts of Hayden's Radio Hanoi broadcasts, perhaps those copies distributed by California Assemblyman Gil Ferguson. Bunting wrote, "Nowhere are there direct calls for soldiers in the field to lay down their arms."²⁹² While it is literally true that Hayden did not directly urge American servicemen to mutiny, to malingering, or to desert in his Radio Hanoi broadcasts, it is clear by his remarks that Hayden did intend U.S. soldiers to do precisely those things. Hayden's two broadcasts provided, at a minimum, ten general reasons and (scores of specific ones) why servicemen who believed as Hayden did might "decide for themselves" to lay down their arms: To go home to mothers, fathers, wives, and a country that was "going to hell; To refuse to participate in the massacre of innocent civilians-- a Communist barbarity the Vietnamese perfected; To protest President Johnson's mistakes, lies, misjudgment, dishonor, injustices-- vices of the other side Hayden believed virtuous; To stop American aggression against the noble people of Vietnam-- the North's terror and tanks were liberation, not aggression; To allow the Vietnamese people to determine their own destiny without foreign intervention-- the Soviet and Chinese assistance was friendly,

²⁸⁸ Peace Activist Addresses U.S. Servicemen in Hanoi in English to American servicemen in South Vietnam, 1300 G.M.T, 4 Nov. 67 B. [Statement in American voice attributed by announcer to Tom Hayden -- apparently recorded; no date or place given].

²⁸⁹ Bell and Veith

²⁹⁰ The complete verbatim text of Hayden's speech over Radio Hanoi on Nov. 4, 1967 is in: FBIS, "Daily Report Asia and Pacific, Thursday, Nov. 9, 1967, FB 219/67, jji 12-15.

²⁹¹ Kenneth Bunting, *Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1986, II-3.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

fraternal, comradely, and not foreign among internationalists; To join forces with the right side of American, European and Vietnamese public opinion-- most belatedly in favor of the American government; To solve the real problems of racism, crime and disorder at home-- the Vietnamese people would find such American problems a paradise in contrast with their ultimate slavery, slaughter, poverty and disease; To get out of a no-win war against a courageous enemy prepared to fight for ten-twenty years-- of course, the strategic decision not to win, actually merely to avoid an American defeat, was made in Washington, not in Hanoi; To save one's own life and limb from being lost in Johnson's war-- a plea to cowardice and to oppose the policies of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy, as well as Johnson; To make one's own independent judgment on the war-- an appeal to a not so civil, indeed military, disobedience;

Servicemen were encouraged to do something ranging from slothful soldiering to outright desertion to "fragging" (murdering) officers. Within days, Hayden would work to get defections of POWs under his control. A direct call to desert the battlefield would not have been a credible propaganda message.

Records show that Hayden acted as a fellow traveler, a propagandist, an advocate, a lobbyist--as an agent of political influence for the government of Hanoi.

Tom Hayden performed one more task for Hanoi. He received the first American POWs released from North Vietnam.²⁹³

HANOI'S FIRST U.S. POWs RELEASED ... TO TOM HAYDEN NOVEMBER 4-13, 1967

Hayden's role as an agent of influence is clear as the "release" of three American POWs into his custody unfolded in November 1967. For months during 1967, the Vietnamese had rejected official American government requests for the release of American POWs including Ambassador Harriman's appeal through newsman Robert Shaplen and KGB agent Burchett.²⁹⁴ Hanoi gave three American POWs to its agent of political influence, Tom Hayden. Hayden's POW coup began in July 1967.

"Strengthening the Peace Movement. Over some months in the USA, Europe and Hanoi, Hayden pled for the release of American POWs to him. He was after all, a personification of the entire "peace movement." Hayden flew from Paris to Phnom Penh where he was told directly that three POWs would be released to him. Hayden "had arranged for the freeing... without making any prior contact with American officials," according to journalist Robert Shaplen.²⁹⁵ **POWs Press Conference in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.** Hayden spent a week (November 4-11) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, likely preparing POWs for their release. On November 11, the Viet Cong held a POW press conference. The VC allowed only two American journalists to cover the POW press conference, even though two-dozen American journalists were in Cambodia for the visit of Jacqueline Kennedy and had intentionally stayed over to cover a POW release. The VC welcomed Soviet television and thirty other non-American journalists. According to the North Vietnamese masters of the VC, "The press is a revolutionary weapon-- journalists are militants in the shock army on the ideological front."²⁹⁶ Writers were "artists in uniform."²⁹⁷

²⁹³ The Viet Cong made earlier releases.

²⁹⁴ Shaplen, *Bitter Victory*, 234-235.

²⁹⁵ Shaplen, *Bitter Victory*, 238.

²⁹⁶ "The Press in Vietnam: Striving to Usher in a New Period of Development," *Tap Chi Cong San*, Dec. 1983, Joint Publication Research Service, (JPRS), Department of Commerce, (Translations on Vietnam) cited in *Indo...Chron...*, Vol. III, No. 1, (Jan-Mar. 1984), 25.

Tillman Durdin, of the *New York Times*, wrote the release was "an act of collaboration between the ... Viet Cong and a U.S. group."²⁹⁸ Speaking to an American newspaper reporter, "I am Viet Cong" Hayden tried studiously to portray himself as somewhat less than Viet Cong. Tillman Durdin wrote,

"Hayden denied he had custody of ... (the POWs) ... they were 'free to do as they pleased' ... [the American POWs] ... would report to the first (American) military establishment or authority they reached."²⁹⁹

Viet Cong representative Nguyen Van Hieu, Hayden's comrade at Bratislava and Douglas Pike's "Lenin" of the Viet Cong, said that the POWs were being released in response both to the American antiwar movement and to the courageous struggle of Negroes against oppression. The two healthy POWs spoke. The third, Sergeant Edward R. Johnson, near death in September³⁰⁰ was too ill. The two POWs gave their name, rank, and service number then made "brief speeches ... apparently reciting them from memory."³⁰¹

POW James Jackson Reads His Lines. POW Sergeant James Alex Jackson, Jr. said the Viet Cong told him he was being released "in solidarity with the people's movement for peace in the U.S." ... and "in response to the cause of the American Negroes' search for peace." Back home Jackson told *Ebony* Vietnamese propaganda about Negroes in the USA was not true. "Negroes were (not) getting machine-gunned in the streets."³⁰² Jackson had said almost exactly the same lines as Mr. Nguyen Van Hieu.³⁰³ Stanley Karnow called it "propagandistic oratory."³⁰⁴

A captured Military Proselytizing document instructs POWs "must be...made to write letters praising the lenient policy of the Front" towards US POWs, for international propaganda purposes, and to encourage their fellow countrymen to go back to the USA and stop committing crimes against the Vietnamese people.³⁰⁵ **Out of the Vietnamese playbook.** "The *Binh van* element was oriented toward...American deserters and collaborators...to elicit their assistance in luring other servicemen to cross over..."³⁰⁶ Preparations began right away. Nguyen Van Hieu, said the release was being made to the antiwar movement "in expectation that [the POWs] ... would be able to contribute to the U.S. peace movement." According to a cadre handbook, "We release POWs like raising pigeons to be released, later they will bring the flock back to our house."³⁰⁷

Dan Pitzer. POW Daniel Lee Pitzer, Jr. gave his name, rank, and service number and extemporaneously, "Since I have promised the [Viet Cong's National Liberation] Front ... before I was released...I have not been physically tortured or beaten."³⁰⁸ Pitzer also publicly thanked Hayden.

No Follow Up Questions Allowed. The world press wanted to question the POWs after their set speeches. Hayden came to Hieu's rescue. Hayden said the POWs wanted to "they report to military authorities before speaking."³⁰⁹ In fact, Hayden vetoed a 50-minute flight from Cambodia to Bangkok, Thailand precisely because there were American military authorities there.³¹⁰ **POWs Hostages Still.**

²⁹⁷ Munzenberg, Willi. "Capture the Film!," *Daily Worker*, July 23, 1925, 3.

²⁹⁸ Tillman Durdin, "Mystery Clouds Release of 3 G.I.s by the Viet Cong." *New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1967, 1.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ Rochester and Kiley, 239.

³⁰¹ "Foe Hands 3 G.I.s to Antiwar Group," *New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1967.

³⁰² James E. Jackson Jr., "18 months as a Prisoner of the Viet Cong," *Ebony*, August 1968, 114-119.

³⁰³ "3 Released G.I.s on Way to Prague," *New York Times*, Nov. 13, 1967.

³⁰⁴ Karnow, *Post*, November 13, 1967.

³⁰⁵ Bell and Veith

³⁰⁶ Bell and Veith.

³⁰⁷ Bell and Veith, 34

³⁰⁸ *New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1967.

³⁰⁹ Roberts, *Esquire*, 208.

³¹⁰ *Reunion*, 231.

Hayden threatened Robert Shaplen, "Get hold of Harriman in Washington and tell him that if these men are ... taken away from me ...that means the end of the prisoner releases for a long time."³¹¹ Prior to leaving Cambodia, POW Dan Pitzer asked Hayden, "Are you some kind of Communist?"³¹² Hearing this, Hayden warned the Communist Vietnamese that Pitzer "may say loud and angry things about you."³¹³

POWs Brainwashed. Just before the POW release, Saigon accused the Viet Cong of brainwashing the POWs. An American psychological warfare advisor, Donald Rochlen interviewed Phung Van Tuong, a Viet Cong defector, who said he had personally brainwashed the very same POWs the Viet Cong were releasing to Hayden. Tuong taught the POWs the "facts of the war" and that the POWs had duties to perform upon their release.³¹⁴ The brainwashing of POWs delayed the release from October 31-November 11, coinciding closely with Hayden's week-long wait, November 4-November 11, in Phnom Penh.³¹⁵ On November 12, 1967, the VC released the POWs to Tom Hayden at a waiting Czech airliner. The emaciated Edward R. Johnson, was helped onto the plane. A photo of Hayden's humanitarian gesture appears in his memoirs.

"Shove Your Ass Out."

In the air and away from Phnom Penh, Dan Pitzer incautiously spoke his mind to Thomas Emmett Hayden: "If I could get the door open, I would shove your ass out."³¹⁶

Not Yet Free-Under Czech, Cuban, Russian Escorts. In Hayden's custody, the POWs were, per Tom Hayden's orders, bypassing food, telephones, and medical care in Bangkok, Thailand. They were flying toward Prague, Czechoslovakia³¹⁷ in a Czech aircraft with two Cubans and two Russians chaperones."³¹⁸ According to Pitzer, the foreigners "were on the plane to see that we got where we had to go. They pretended to be innocent bystanders ... Tom Hayden ... was supposed to take us to Prague..."³¹⁹

POW Pitzer did not believe he was free. Pitzer later said,

[Hayden] was supposed to take us to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to participate in a big demonstration with Communist-type propaganda: In solidarity we support the Viet Cong ... [T]hree prisoners ... coming home ... is the lenient policy of the National Liberation Front.³²⁰

As the POW story unfolded on November 11, 12 and 13th, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* reported the POWs on the way to Prague, Czechoslovakia, not to America.

POWs Defect? Neil Sheehan reported Hayden "felt he had to give the men the choice of returning to the United States or defecting ... along the way..."³²¹ American authorities intervened in Beirut, Lebanon. Hayden told Sheehan that the POWs "accepted help" in Beirut.³²² They were no longer in Hayden's custody. Hayden mentions a Cuban offer of political asylum. "I thanked [the Cuban] politely

³¹¹ *Reunion*, 231.

³¹² *Reunion*, 228.

³¹³ *Reunion*, 231.

³¹⁴ "Ex-Viet Cong Aide Tells of American POW's" *New York Times*, Nov. 13, 1967.

³¹⁵ Nick James Rowe, *Five Years to Freedom*, p. 292.

³¹⁶ Dan Pitzer, "The Release," in Al Santoli, *To Bear Any Burden*, p. 162.

³¹⁷ Karnow, *Post*, November 13, 1967.

³¹⁸ Hayden, *Reunion*, p. 232.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ Pitzer in Al Santoli, *Bear Any Burden*, p. 162.

³²¹ *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1967.

³²² Neil Sheehan, *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1967.

and wondered where he got the idea that these men might desert."³²³ It was after all, Vietnamese policy for POWs to defect, to desert. According to Bell and Veith readings from communist documents, Deserters...were handled...to sway the opinions of the family members of POWs, as well as the American people.... the Military Proselytizing section had tape recorders... and wartime broadcasts were transmitted from Hanoi as well as Cuba.³²⁴

POWs Rescued from Communist Control, Beirut. Art Beaton, an American official, strode onto the plane and stood between the POWs and four foreigners: two Russians and two Cubans. Beaton then escorted the POWs off the plane and into the arms of American authorities in Beirut. In *Reunion*, Hayden attacks Pitzer's character and credibility-- a technique of denunciation he had used against many of his critics.³²⁵ Hayden said, Dan Pitzer got drunk, threw up, and had to be cleaned up before he got off the plane. It would not be unusual for a man to drink after four years as a Communist prisoner still looking forward to a propaganda show in Prague.³²⁶

Greetings in New York. After a stop in Rome, not Prague, the POWs landed in New York City. Hayden had appointed his own welcoming committee of Benjamin Spock, Martin Luther King, Dave Dellinger, and Julian Bond. Contemporary press accounts gave virtually zero coverage to Hayden's unnamed ad hoc "committee." Dan Pitzer's memory of Hayden's reception in New York was not friendly, "When we landed in New York, I'll never forget, two guys with black trench coats picked up Tom Hayden. I don't think his feet touched the ground..."³²⁷ **Hayden a diplomat?** Hayden later claimed he was acting as an amateur diplomat working with the CIA and the State Department.³²⁸ Hayden's friend Jack Newfield in a contemporaneous article did not give any evidence of Hayden's diplomacy, humanism, communication, or cooperation. In "Improbable Radical," Newfield said Hayden "has an overwhelming sense of the sinfulness of the affluent, quasi-fascist society."³²⁹

JOHN MCCAIN POW.

Meanwhile, on October 26, 1967 on a bombing mission against a power plant in Hanoi, the North Vietnamese shoot down John McCain's Skyhawk. Injured by the crash and subsequent torture, McCain never regains full extension of his arms.

Whether by torture or spy craft, within four days Hanoi had a complete history of McCain's family (his father the Admiral, wife and daughter) and flight record (fire on *U.S.S. Forrestal*, 23 bombing missions over Haiphong and Hanoi). Into South Vietnam, Hanoi broadcast McCain's "feats of arms" of "civilian dwelling houses destroyed and Hanoi's women, old folks, and children killed by steel-pellet bombs dropped."³³⁰ Concluding all accounts,³³¹ McCain says, "Things are taking place in a favorable way

³²³ Hayden, *Reunion*, 230.

³²⁴ Garnett "Bill" Bell and George J. Veith, "POWs and Politics: How Much does Hanoi Really Know," Center for the Study of the Vietnam Conflict Symposium, "After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam," Texas Tech University, 19 April 1996, 13. Hereafter Bell and Veith

³²⁵ A Dean of Women at the University of Michigan; Liberals at Port Huron; Robert McNamara; David Shell; Gil Ferguson, etc., etc..

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Pitzer in Santoli, *To Bear Any Burden*, 163.

In 1986, Hayden claimed he talked to CIA agents, "... to encourage them to view it [the POW release] as a slight gesture that could create a diplomatic opening." Furthermore, "Cooperated with the U.S. State Department Intelligence Officers and members of the U.S. Senate and House on questions of prisoner releases, diplomatic feelers,... I was a carrier of interpretations on a few occasions from one side to the other AP, "Hayden Reveals His CIA Role During the Vietnam War," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 21, 1986.

³²⁹ Emphasis mine. Jack Newfield, "Improbable Radical," *New York Times*, Nov. 13, 1967, 2.

³³⁰ MCCAIN ONE OF MANY PILOTS DOWNED OVER HANOI, Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam [illegible] GMT 30 Oct 67; Sydney H. Schanberg, "Why Has John McCain Blocked info on MIAs," *Nation*, September 17, 2008.

³³¹ McCain, Hanoi VNA International Service in French 1339 GMT 9 Nov 67 B (interview of American POW: Lt. Cdr. John Sidney McCain published in 9 November *Nhan Dan*).

for North Vietnam. In particular, before world's opinion at present, the [U.S.] is (virtually?) standing alone."³³² **Story of McCain's Treatment Gets Better with Retelling.** Three weeks later on December 28, 1967 a French TV reporter, Francois Chalais interviews John McCain in the Gia Lam hospital. McCain's propaganda story is much improved over the original story of November 9. The improved, but false, new story is that an unconscious McCain was rescued from drowning and immediately taken to the hospital. On 9 November, a conscious McCain had said, "I was seized by the Vietnamese and pushed to the bank of the lake. They disarmed me and brought me [immediately] to prison [Plantation]."³³³

"Everyone is very nice to me."

During the four days denied medical care, Pigeve and Big Ugh beat McCain to get details of his family and military mission. Only after the Vietnamese learned his father was the Admiral commanding the Navy's 7th Fleet in the Pacific, was he hospitalized.³³⁴ In the hospital for a month, as a condition of treating his leg, McCain was compelled to give an interview to a French Communist reporter.³³⁵ Francois Chalais asked, "How are you treated here? McCain: "Very well. Everyone is very nice to me."³³⁶

McCain's Confession

After nearly a year of solitary confinement and four days of two to three hours beatings, John McCain finally "signed a confession of criminal wrong doing and (an) apology."³³⁷ On June 5, 1969, Hanoi broadcast McCain's "confession" and claim of good medical treatment over Radio Hanoi.³³⁸

Phnom Penn and Hanoi Meetings: November 16-26, 1967

Upon his return with his own POW hostages, Jackson, Johnson and Pitzer, Tom Hayden arranged for another antiwar group to meet the Vietnamese. Invited by Federation of Youth of DVR (North Vietnam) via Tom Hayden, on November 16, 1967 SDSers Cathy Wilkerson (Swarthmore, Chester, *New Left Notes*), Jeff Jones and Karin Koonan (CPUSA at UCLA,³³⁹ Oakland Stop the Draft), departed from Kennedy Airport in route to Paris to receive Vietnamese visas³⁴⁰ and then to Cambodia and Hanoi. They spent ten days of "long conversations with... North Vietnamese officials, the NLF and Cambodians."³⁴¹

Hospitality Plus. Hosted by Vessa Ossikovska, Bulgarian wife of KGB agent Wilfred Burchett, they ate a six-course meal. The Vietnamese National Liberation Dance Troop entertained them with heroic villagers fighting American oppressors. Cathy Wilkerson believed Ho Chi Minh fought the cult of personality, spoke gently, wrote poetry and taught his people to resist "the corrosive powers of hatred and revenge."³⁴² **Winning.** The Vietnamese said, "troop morale was the weakness of the U.S. forces."³⁴³ The

³³² Cmdr. Waldner, FBIS 50 for official use only, Hanoi Correspondent's Dispatch in English to Prensa Latina, 1205 GMT, 9 Nov 67; Paris AFP in English 1539 GMT 10 Nov 67 E.

³³³ Interview with McCain, Hanoi VNA International Service in French 1339 GMT 9 Nov 67 B (interview of American POW: Lt. Cdr. John Sidney McCain, 9 November 1967 Nhan Dan.

³³⁴ Rochester and Kiley, 360.

³³⁵ Rochester and Kiley, 361n.

³³⁶ "The U.S. Prisoners Do Not Understand," FBIS Kyrenia, Beirut L'Orient in French 29 December 67 P I M, article in series written by 'prominent' French Television Reporter Francois Chalais, L'Orient, "Life in Hanoi."

³³⁷ Rochester and Kiley,

³³⁸ Dale Van Atta, With Honor: *Melvin Laird in War, Peace and Politics*, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2008, 208.

³³⁹ "The Weather Underground Organization," *Information Digest*, Vol. XIV, #22, November 13, 1981, 337-8.

³⁴⁰ Wilkerson, 154.

³⁴¹ "Bound for North Vietnam," *The New York Post*, November 17, 1967; "Delegation to Hanoi Returns," *New Left Notes*, December 18, 1967; cited in FBI, FOIA, Weather Underground. The primary source is Acting SAC Chicago to Director, memo, "Foreign Influence-Weather Underground Organization," August 20, 1976, 42; Sale, SDS, 392; *The Movement*, December 1967:1,7; "The Weather Underground Organization," *Information Digest*, Vol. XIV, #22, November 13, 1981, 33.

³⁴² Wilkerson, 162, 295.

³⁴³ Wilkerson, 157.

“NLF feels it is decisively winning... ”³⁴⁴ The Vietnamese leadership “counted upon the democratic nature of the United States...to end the war.” They “expressed their hopes that we would contribute to a mass movement against the war.”³⁴⁵ “Most of the Vietnamese ...want us to win the hearts and minds of U.S. citizens.”

Back home Wilkerson spread the Vietnamese word distributing antiwar literature speaking to student groups in Washington, New York, New England, Iowa, Kansas and Wisconsin.³⁴⁶ ***

Back in the states the very few labor leaders sympathetic to Hanoi were trying to add labor to the antiwar movement.

National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace,

November 11-12, at the University of Chicago left-oriented labor leaders called a conference attended by 523 persons from 50 unions and 38 states. The prime organizers were secret CPUSA member³⁴⁷ Abe Feinglass of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers and socialist Moe Foner of Hospital Workers Local 1199 of New York.³⁴⁸ Among the speakers were Walter Reuther of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, CIO and Senator Eugene McCarthy, candidate for President. The star speaker was Martin Luther King who said the economic and moral costs of the war hampered efforts to end poverty. Victor Reuther said, the CIA influenced the AFLCIO to support the war. Harry Bridges, Soviet agent “Rossi,” CPUSA member and leader of Longshoreman’s union said the AFL-CIO was “American imperialism with a union label.”³⁴⁹

AFL-CIO: No to Pro-Hanoi Labor. Radio Hanoi, covering the labor conference said, “We demand an immediate and unconditional end to the U.S. bombing of the DRV.”³⁵⁰ AFL-CIO President George Meany countered saying Hanoi had organized National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace conference. And within a month, at the Seventh Annual AFL-CIO Convention in Miami Beach, 900 delegates reaffirmed the national union’s opposition to “a Communist War of Conquest.”

Meanwhile Hanoi and its creation the NLF carried out its most effective tool of political persuasion, terror, South Vietnam.

Viet Cong Napalms Montagnards at Dak Son near Song Be

On December 5, 1967 in Viet Cong country about 20 kilometers from Cambodia and 75 miles northeast of Saigon, the Song Be River meandered around a hill at Dak Son, a town of 2,000 people. On a terrain "finger" off the hill some 800 Stiengan, Montagnards, former slaves and serfs of the Viet Cong had resettled, outside the town’s fortified perimeter. At midnight 600 NVA and Viet Cong attacked. Out

³⁴⁴ Cathy Wilkerson, “The U.S. is Losing in Vietnam, A Report on a Trip to Cambodia,” (SDS) *Spark*, (University of Maryland), Vol. 2, No. 3, January 15, 1968 cited in FBI, FOIA, Weather Underground. The primary FBI source is Acting SAC Chicago to Director, memo, “Foreign Influence-Weather Underground Organization,” August 20, 1976, 229; Cathy Wilkerson, *Flying Close to the Sun*, New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007, 174.

³⁴⁵ Wilkerson, 161, 162, 151

³⁴⁶ Wilkerson, 187, 203.

³⁴⁷ Max Friedman retrieved a report of a meeting of State Bureau of the Communist Party of Illinois on July 5, 1940 in Chicago, National Archives, October 16, 2013, distributed August 18, 1940 by Counterintelligence Branch, G-2, Office of Assistant Secretary of War, CONFIDENTIAL report 10-266, RG 107, A1, Entry 88, Secretary of War, classified file, 1932-42, box 2.

³⁴⁸ Other labor leaders were Al Hartong, International Woodworkers of America, Pat Gorman of Amalgamated Meatcutters, Emil Mazey, United Auto Workers and Frank Rosenblum of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Mary Jo and Walter Uphoff of the Boulder Peace Center.

³⁴⁹ Michael Honey (ed), *Labor Has Dignity*, Beacon Press, 137-149; Albert Vetere Lannon and Marvin Rogoff, “We Shall Not Remain Silent: Building the Anti- Vietnam War Movement in the House of Labor,” *Science & Society*, Vol. 66, No. 4, Winter 2002-2003, 536.

³⁵⁰ “Condemnation of U.S. Aggression Continues,” Hanoi, VNA International Service in English 0204 GMT 17 Jan 68 B.

manned, 4:1, some 140 South Vietnamese armed defenders fled to fortified positions a mile away at Song Be.

The official communist account is coldly clinical.

Six hundred VC and NVA from the 88th Regiment of the 1st PAVN Division¹⁴ assembled outside Dak Son and they began their attack at midnight, pouring machine-gun, mortar and rocket fire into the village; the VC and NVA were also armed with 60 flamethrowers.³⁵¹

The communist troops did not pursue the fleeing South Vietnamese armed forces—a military objective—but instead turned 60 flamethrowers—napalm—upon the helpless remaining Montagnard civilians. People along with their chickens, grain, and trees were incinerated inside their huts. Some hiding in burrows, died from napalm, grenades or asphyxiation.



Photo: A tiny brother and sister await burial after being burned to death by flame throwers by VC/NVA at Dak Son. Vietnam Archive³⁵²

Vietnamese American Youth later described the attack at Dak Son:

...Families are incinerated alive in their grass-roofed huts or in the shelters dug beneath their beds. Everything combustible is put to the torch: houses, recently harvested grain on the ground, livestock, fences, trees, people.

After running out of napalm, the Viet Cong dragged 160 persons out of holes and executed them—two thirds women and children.³⁵³

³⁵¹ *History of the Resistance War Against the Americans to Save the Nation, 1954-1975, Volume V: The 1968 General Offensive and Uprising.* Lich Su Khang Chien Chong My Cuu Nuoc, 1954-1975, Tap V: Tong Tien Cong Va Noi Day Nam 1968. Military History Institute of Vietnam; Editor: Senior Colonel Nguyen Van Minh; Authors: Senior Colonel Nguyen Van Minh, Lieutenant Colonel Nguyen Xuan Nang, Colonel Tran Tien Hoat, Lieutenant Colonel Nguyen Huy Thuc, Senior Colonel Do Xuan Huy; National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2001 cited by EBV. TET 68 Historian: The Dak Son massacre: 6 Dec 67. 09 Dec 09. Weider History Group Online. <http://www.armchairgeneral.com/forums/showthread.php?p=1375189> cited in Michael D. Bengé, "The History of the Involvement of the Montagnards of the Central Highlands in the Vietnam War," in *"The Fall of Saigon"* SACEI Forum #8. March 2011. OutskirtsPress.com

³⁵² http://www.vnafmamn.com/untoldpage/VCterror_DakSon1.jpg

³⁵³ Ted Sampley and Xuan Nhi, Vietnamese American Youth, "Vietnamese Communist Party's Crimes Against Humanity, a petition to Mrs. Mary Robinson, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and to all Human Rights Organizations, 2002

At dawn, the Viet Cong dragged a 100, perhaps 200, survivors into the jungle who were never seen again. *Time* magazine reported,

The smell of burnt flesh...hung over everything. ...Dog holes...emptied (gave up) fire-red, bloated, peeling remains of human beings. Charred children were locked in ghastly embrace, infants welded to their mothers' breasts.

The horrendous toll: 252 murdered, 50 wounded (33 third degree burns), 100 kidnapped, and nearly 500 missing.³⁵⁴

An American observer the next day saw and smelled:

As we approached the place I thought I saw charred cordwood ... When we got closer I could see it was burned bodies of several dozen babies.

The odor of burned flesh...reached us outside the village and of course got stronger at the center. People were trying to breathe through cabbage leaves . . .

I saw a small boy a smaller girl, ...sort of melted together in a charred embrace. I saw a mother burned black still hiding two children, also burned black....

The worst was the wail of the survivors who were picking through the smoldering ruins. One man kept screaming and screaming at the top of his lungs. For an hour he kept it up.. . .

Fire bloats bodies I learned, and after a few hours the skin splits and peels and curls . . . The far end of the village wasn't burned; the communists ran out of flamethrower fuel before they got to it .³⁵⁵

Patrick Lang remembers, the next day, "The smell of that much cooked meat, crusty swollen bodies and the lamentations of the returning survivors were affecting." Soon "an Air America Huey...landed uphill...blowing the detritus all over us." Someone asked what had happened, "I led him literally by the hand to look down at a crisped, blackened mother and child. She was still holding the child in death. He threw up."³⁵⁶ Destruction of houses was extensive and there were many refugees.³⁵⁷

Mike Benge, a civilian advisor on pacification in Dac Lac Province (Ban Me Thout) and a former POW now recalls,

"Probably less than 100 people remember, and less than a dozen saw the pictures of, what happened when the North Vietnamese soldiers overran a Stieng ethnic minority village ...and systematically fried the men, women, children and babes in arms with flame throwers -- turning the entire village into charred corpses."³⁵⁸

On the other hand, thanks to the peace movement, everyone would remember Hanoi's astonishing claims of intentionally napalmed children and bombed hospitals and schools. Such outrages surely contributed to Hanoi's greatest propaganda victory of the war in the year to come—Tet 1968.

Biographical Information -- Dr. Roger B. Canfield



³⁵⁴ "The Massacre of Dak Son," *Time*, December 15, 1967.

³⁵⁵ Ted Sampley and Xuan Nhi, Vietnamese American Youth, "Vietnamese Communist Party's Crimes Against Humanity, a petition to Mrs. Mary Robinson, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and to all Human Rights Organizations, 2002.

³⁵⁶ ... " W. Patrick Lang, 29 August 2006 at 12:25 PM ismoot@turcopolier.com <ismoot@turcopolier.com>http://turcopolier.typepad.com/sic_semper_tyrannis/2006/08/vietnam_war.html#comment-21688839

³⁵⁷ After Action Reports 13

³⁵⁸ Mike Benge, "Open letter to Vietnamese-Americans, Vietnam and other Veterans concerning the upcoming elections," <http://www.amigospais-guaracabuya.org/oagmb009.php>

Roger Canfield's opus work *Comrades in Arms: How the Americong Won the War in Vietnam Against the Common Enemy—America* "fills a black hole in history," the peace movement's collaboration with the enemy during the Vietnam War and its implications for the war on terror and the rising power of the People's Republic of China. *Comrades...* available in CD or PDF at <http://www.americong.com> . Chapters are found in Radix Press "yellow book" series for 1963-69, 1975, forthcoming volumes for 1970-1974. Many articles <http://www.americong.com> or at <http://vvh.org> or sacei07.org

Highlights of 1967

- In January 1967, Harrison Salisbury's dispatches to the *New York Times*, using Hanoi propaganda, word for words, number by number, republished in *Ramparts*, *Lady's Home Journal* and *Redbook*. U.S. was intentionally napalming babies and bombing hospitals and schools.³⁵⁹
- Sen. Ted Kennedy "very quietly" considered bringing 100 Vietnamese burned children on a national tour.³⁶⁰
- **Journalists Ashmore and Baggs in Hanoi.** They said they were not, "to be counted among those radical American peace activists who...had transferred their sympathies to Hanoi."³⁶¹ Yet Ho's "...benign presence place ...him...with Gandhi ..."³⁶²
- In February 1967, Mary McCarthy for the *New York Review of Books* was in Hanoi, "looking for material damaging to the American interests."
- **POW Dick Stratton Displays POW Torture.** On March 6, 1967, prison guards dragged Navy Lt. Cmdr. and POW Richard Stratton before cameras.³⁶³ Stratton proceeded to bow and scrape deeply to all corners of the compass. He confessed to carpet-bombing. In Bratislava, Tom Hayden told the communists the Stratton film was not helpful propaganda.
- **Quakers and the Good Ship Phoenix March 26-April 5, 1967.** The Friends group, AQAG, talked "at length about...antiwar organizations... request[ing] permission to visit Hanoi." Helpful vetters.
- **Spring Mobe Cooperation with Hanoi.** In April 1967, Premier Pham Van Dong and Ho Chi Minh were "glad to learn broad sections of the American people are organizing a 'Spring Mobilization....'"³⁶⁴ Peter Collier and David Horowitz recall, "New leftists met with the North Vietnamese and the NLF in Havana, Bratislava and Hanoi to collaborate ... providing propaganda advice and orchestrating a political campaign to demoralize U.S. troops..., and to create ... disruption at home."³⁶⁵
- **A Lobbied Martin Luther King Finally Opposes Vietnam War.** He called the war "unjust, evil, and futile."³⁶⁶

³⁵⁹ Dr. Howard Rusk, United Nations Children's Fund, visited 20 civilian hospitals in South Vietnam and found no cases of napalm burns. Other American doctors said, there was "no justification for the undue emphasis ...by the press upon civilian burns caused by napalm." See Howard Rusk articles in *New York Times* on March 12 and October 1, 1967 cited in *Vietnam: Questions and Answers*, Washington, D.C. 1970, 25-6.

³⁶⁰ According to a member of Senate staff in a March 2, 1967 memo cited in Paul Kengor, "Ted Kennedy's Vietnam Plot," *American Thinker*, March 11, 2011.

³⁶¹ Ashmore and Baggs, 11.

³⁶² Ashmore and Baggs, 6, 40-5.

³⁶³ "Captured U.S. Officer—Tells of DRV Bombing" *Red Star*, Moscow 10 March 1967, USSR International Affairs, 16 March 1967, bb 6; Moscow's *Red Star* said Stratton, "presented a sorry picture." Howe, 93 cites Hubbell, 177.

³⁶⁴ Premier Pham Van Dong Thanks the American 'Spring Mobilization Committee,' *Vietnam Courier*, Hanoi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, April 1967, 107. Cited in Rothrock, 129N1. TTU Archives.

³⁶⁵ Collier and Horowitz, *Destructive Generation...*, 145. Canfield interview of Sol Stern on 5/11/89 also confirms that Americans did indeed advise the Vietnamese on improving their propaganda. So too does Carol McEldowney's *Hanoi Journal 1967*.

³⁶⁶ Martin Luther King, "Why I am Opposed to the War in Vietnam," April 30, 1967, Riverside Church, New York at Pacifica Radio/UC Berkeley Social Activism Sound Recording Project, Media Research Center, Moffitt Library UC Berkeley, at www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/Pacificaviet.

- The war was losing America's soul, its moral example. "I oppose the war...I love America."³⁶⁷
- **Spring Mobe APRIL 15, 1967**, In New York City on April 15, 1967, 100,000 marched. King, Dellinger, Howard Zinn, Ben Spock and Stokely Carmichael spoke. Folk singer and Communist Pete Seeger sang, as he had for the American Peace Mobilization in 1941 defending the Hitler-Stalin Pact.³⁶⁸ In San Francisco Judy Collins sang behind a large banner, "Viet Cong."³⁶⁹
 - **Supporters of American Troops Unnoticed.** On May 13, 1967, Fire Captain Raymond Gimmler organized 70,000 people to march in New York, most carrying the stars and stripes, in support of U.S. troops.³⁷⁰
 - **Veterans for Peace, Against the War.** On May 22, 1967 Communists, paid for an ad in the *New York Times* promoting a CP front, Veterans for Peace, VFP.³⁷¹ Predecessor of VVAW.
 - LBJ, responded dropped not bombs but 1,750,000 leaflets – telling Hanoi antiwar protests would not affect America's will to fight.³⁷²
 - March of 1967, ambassador Bui Diem warned South Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky of the influence of the "peace movement," if LBJ was "unable to resist peace activities."³⁷³
 - Meanwhile Nguyen Cao Ky wrote a new republican constitution and held elections in 4,612 hamlets in the spring³⁷⁴ and Presidential elections in the fall. Despite 680 Viet Cong acts of terror,³⁷⁵ some 83 percent turned out to vote compared with 62 percent in USA in 1964.
 - **Kolko: Dikes in War.** Gabriel Kolko, history professor, alleged U. S. bombing in North Vietnam of "the entire dike network ...violent and concentrated in...1966." [False]³⁷⁶ During the war floods, not bombs, broke some dikes.
 - **Dellinger, Nick Egelson Meet Scripted POWs**, POWs Dick Stratton and Doug Hegdahl in June.³⁷⁷ Dellinger said the POWs were "protected and well cared for," housing "comfortable and sanitary."
 - Back home SDS's Egelson said, "The international communist conspiracy is a myth." The Vietnam insurgency was "democracy, neutrality and land reform."³⁷⁸

³⁶⁷ DeBenedetti w/ Chatfield, 172-3.

³⁶⁸ HISC, Staff Study, *Subversive Involvement in the Origin, Leadership and Activities of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam And Its Predecessor Organizations, 1970*, ix cited in Paul Kengor, *Dupes: How America's Adversaries Have Manipulated Progressives for a Century*, Wilmington: ISI Books, 2010, 313.

³⁶⁹ *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1967 cited at lib.Berkeley.edu/MRC/pacificviet.html. Also participating were the Communist Rev. William Howard Melish, friend of Communist Frank Marshall Davis, Communists Robert Treuhaft, Jessica Mitford, Linus Pauling in HISC, Staff Study, *Subversive Involvement in the Origin, Leadership and Activities of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam And Its Predecessor Organizations, 1970*, 5-6 cited in Paul Kengor, *Dupes: How America's Adversaries Have Manipulated Progressives for a Century*, Wilmington: ISI Books, 2010, 313

³⁷⁰ British Pathe video, "Pro-Vietnam War Parade In New York," [Video], <https://uk.news.yahoo.com/video/pro-vietnam-war-parade-york...>; "Today in NYC History: Thousands March in NYC to Support ...," <https://janos.nyc/2015/05/20/today-in-nyc-history-thousands-march...>

³⁷¹ Inviting Vietnam vets, the VFP and the demonstration became the vehicle for Jan Barry Crumb's later founding of Vietnam Veterans against the War, VVAW. CPUSA member Corliss Lamont loaned VVAW money for an ad in *Playboy*. By 1970 VVAW's 600 members accounted for one quarter of one percent of all [Vietnam] war vets.

³⁷² Zaroulis, *Who Spoke Up...*, 115. The Royal Air Force dropped leaflets over Poland during the joint Nazi-Soviet invasion in September 1939.

³⁷³ CIA, Intelligence Information Special Report, "Vietnamese Ambassador...continued American support," March 10, 1967, LBJ library, Case # NLJ 91-360, doc. # 48a; also vacuous summary in CIA, FOIA, Vietnamese Ambassador to the United States Bui Diem's assessment of the influence of the anti-war group in the United States... March 10, 1967, Intelligence information Special Report, 2, Reference: 1992-003134, <http://www.vietnam.ttu.edu/star/images/041/04107102002.pdf>

³⁷⁴ Nguyen Cao Ky, *How We Lost the Vietnam War*, New York: Cooper Square Press, 1976, 92-9.

³⁷⁵ Richard Botkin, *Ride the Thunder: A Vietnam War Story of Honor and Triumph*, New York: WND Books, 2009, 121 cites Nguyen Cao Ky, with Marvin Wolf, *Buddha's Child: My Fight to Save Vietnam*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002, 231.

³⁷⁶ Gabriel Kolko, "Report on the Destruction of Dikes: Holland 1944-1945 and Korea, Testimony before First Session of Russell War Crimes Tribunal, May 2-10, 1967, Stockholm, Sweden; Gabriel Kolko, "Iraq and Vietnam," *Zmag.org*, November 9, 2006.

³⁷⁷ Stuart I. Rochester and Frederick Kiley, *Honor Bound, American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia 1961-1973*, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999, 347.

³⁷⁸ "Activist Scoff at Talk of Communist Conspiracy," *Hartford Courant*, Oct 11, 1967 cited in FBI, FOIA, Weather Underground. The primary source is Acting SAC Chicago to Director, memo, "Foreign Influence-Weather Underground Organization," August 20, 1976, 73-4.

- **CIA/FBI Studies of international influences. CIA reluctantly looks for Controls.** CIA analyses looked for classical “controlled” agents. Very few, if any, peace activists were spies on payrolls or pension plans, but their hearts and minds belonged to the Viet Cong. FBI found political influence as did Congressional committees.
- **WORLD PEACE COUNCIL SPONSORS STOCKHOLM UNITY CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM - JULY 6-9, 1967.** Some 452 Americans attended.³⁷⁹ The conference sought worldwide unity and coordination around a single date. "The organizations ... working for peace...should mark October 21 ... by demonstrations in many countries and towns."³⁸⁰
- **Soviet Agitprop on Vietnam.** Stanislav Levchenko, a KGB defector, "I worked for the Soviet Peace Committee ...My job was ... to plan protest demonstrations..."³⁸¹ Similarly, the Soviet ambassador to the U.N., Arkady Shevchenko, "To assist the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council, ... I ...help[ed] organize ... speeches, arrange ... meetings, ... distribute Council propaganda..."³⁸²
- In July 1-17, 1967 the National Guard and police put down riots in Newark resulting some said because Tom Hayden's SDS organized NCUP, had fomented unrest of the poor. Hayden picked SDS community organizers to join the September meeting in Bratislava with Vietnamese communists.³⁸³
- **Stokely Carmichael, Comrades in Arms Against the “Common Enemy”** On August 31, 1967, the VNA News said, black power advocate Stokely Carmichael, I “call for a total revolution against the imperialist, capitalist, and racist ...United States.” Pham Van Dong replied, “The Vietnamese people...regard black people in the United States as...close comrades in arms in the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism...”³⁸⁴
- **CBS’s David Schoenbrun in Hanoi.** Schoenbrun met Ho Chi Minh in 1946 in Paris and described him as the George Washington of Vietnam. He said there were “tens of thousands” of innocent victims of napalm.
- **WSP in North Vietnam September 2-18, 1967.** KGB agent and journalist Wilfred Burchett accompanied Dagmar Wilson, Ruth Krause and Mary Clarke on a two-week tour (September 2-18) of North Vietnam for Women's Strike for Peace. WSP had provided reliable cadres for the Vietnamese since at least its June 1965 meetings in Moscow and Jakarta WSP ladies saw “destruction everywhere,” including, intentionally bombed dikes and churches.³⁸⁵
- On September 11, POW Doug Hegdahl met the WSP. Hegdahl abruptly asked, "Are you Communists?" One startled WSP woman shot back, "And what's wrong with Communists?"³⁸⁶

³⁷⁹ *Student Mobilizer*, September 3, 1967, 3 cited in John Schmidt, *The Viet Cong Front in the United States*, Western Islands, 1971, 40, originally in April 21, 1971 issue of the Congressional Record.

³⁸⁰ Schmitz, *The Viet Cong Front*, 41.

³⁸¹ Levchenko, 38.

³⁸² Shevchenko, 300. Sergei O. Tretyakov, “Comrade J”, who conducted post-Soviet spy operations in the USA before defecting, says the Soviet Peace Committee directly financed and organized peace, anti-nuclear, disarmament and environmental organizations. Pete Early, *Comrade J: The Untold Story of Russia's Master Spy in America after the End of the Cold War*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2007, 169-177, 194-5.

³⁸³ SDS organizers were central to disruptions of the upcoming Democratic Convention in Chicago after returning from Hanoi.

³⁸⁴ Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1633 GMT 31 August 1967 B; Senate, *A Staff Study for Subcommittee on the Judiciary. The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-in Movement: the Problem of Communist Infiltration and Exploitation*, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1971, 7618 and Hanoi, VNA International News Service, 1633 GMT, August 31, 1971, TTU archives cited in Rothrock, 167N23, 168N24. Later Carmichael would tell a U.S. Senate committee, “We are fighting international capitalism.” Testimony of Stokely Carmichael, Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other internal Security Laws, D.C.: GPO, 1970 at www.aavw.org/protest/carmichael_carmichael_abstract03_excerpts.html

³⁸⁵ James W. Clinton interview of Mary Clarke, November 16, 1990, 2-4.

³⁸⁶ Hubbell, 335.

- **Viet Cong, a myth.** Before the Bratislava meeting, the U.S. Embassy, Saigon released an NLF "top secret" resolution. The V C resolution reminded its cadre, the NLF, was the "southern branch" of and "closely led by the (Hanoi) Party Central Committee."³⁸⁷ Only Hanoi propaganda created an independent Viet Cong.
- **BRATISLAVA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA: PROVING SOLIDARITY: SEPTEMBER 6-13, 1967.** Tom Hayden directed the historic "solidarity" conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia attended by 35 top Vietnamese officials and 41 American radicals. Bratislava conference was "intended to create solidarity and mutual understanding between revolutionaries from Vietnam and their American supporters who are trying to change the United States."³⁸⁸
- David Dellinger provided Hanoi with political intelligence about the anti-war movement. Czech press said the conference covered "the future development of the anti-war movement."³⁸⁹
- Later the *East Village Other*, dateline Bratislava,³⁹⁰ quoted Tom Hayden, "Lyndon Johnson will have a nightmare when he hears about this meeting,... "Because, like Spartacus, whose fellow slaves in Rome protected his hiding place by each claiming to be Spartacus himself, I am the Vietcong. We are everywhere!" **We are all the Vietcong.**³⁹¹
- Christopher Jencks, writing for *The New Republic*, "The common bond between the New Left and the NLF is ...a common enemy: the US government, the system, the Establishment."³⁹² Carol McEldowney said the U.S. intentionally bombed the Polish Friendship School...50 times.³⁹³
- Visitors to Bratislava and Hanoi brought back trophies. They wore "aluminum rings—cast, they were told, from the scrap of an American bomber shot down during a raid.
- October 16, 1967,³⁹⁴ the NLF (Viet Cong) created the South Vietnam People's Committee in Solidarity with the American People, (*Viet My*), establishing relations with "all progressive(s)...in the United States...It singled out and wished "brilliant success" to the upcoming Pentagon protests of both the National Mobe, led by the Bratislava team (Dellinger-Hayden-Davis). Viet Cong informed its cadre of the committee's purposes and plans.³⁹⁵
- Sol Stern remembers Americans advising the Vietnamese on improving their propaganda³⁹⁶ and David Horowitz, "how to conduct their psychological warfare campaign against the United States."³⁹⁷ The Vietnamese learned not to repeat their crudest propaganda – U.S. soldiers ate the livers of their victims.

³⁸⁷ The U.S. Embassy, Saigon, released the captured Viet Cong document on August 18, 1967. Cited in John C. Donnell and Melvin Gurtov, "North Vietnam, Left of Moscow, Right of Peking." in Scalapino, (ed.) *Communism...*, 1969, 181N37.

³⁸⁸ HCUA, Dec. 1968, 2552.

³⁸⁹ Tom Charles Huston, 42-3, Declassified 11/10/2008 at request of Max Friedman.

³⁹⁰ According to its founding editor, Allen Katzman, *The Other* was "an underground newspaper ... against the establishment press which is bought off by big business ... that deals with economic class war."

³⁹¹ Besides the *East Village Other*, other sources are: Csteka News Agency, (Czechoslovakia) release, "U.S. Leftists meet With Vietnam Reds," special to the *New York Times*, Sept.13, 1967 46; HCUA, 1968, 14, 28; Guidry, 109; Miller, 280; "Promise vs. Performance" *Newsweek*, Sept. 25, 1985; Zaroulis, *Who Spoke Up...*, 130-132.; Kopkind, *Ramparts*, Feb. 1973, 29.

³⁹² Gitlen, 263-4.

³⁹³ Carol McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal*, 47.

³⁹⁴ "Activation of [VC] Committee for the Promotion of Solidarity between the South Vietnamese and the American People," October 1967, Kien Tuong Sector, South Vietnam, captured 25 November, CDEC Log. Doc. 12-2664-67; CIA says Hayden announced the formation on Oct. 18. CIA, case number EO-2000-00054, "International Connections of Peace Groups," Nov. 15, 1967, 28.

³⁹⁵ "Activation of [VC] Committee for the Promotion of Solidarity between the South Vietnamese and the American People," October 1967, Kien Tuong Sector, South Vietnam, captured 25 November, CDEC log. Doc. 12-2664-67; The titular members of the South Vietnam People's Committee in Solidarity with the American People (*Viet My*), were Ho Thu, Nguyen Thi Binh; Joseph Marie Ho Hue Ba; Thich Thien Hao, Ro Chan Boru, Thach Thien Chi, Truong Thi Hue, Ma Thi Chu, Huynh Phuong Dong, Thanh Loan, Tran Hieu Minh, Vu Nam, Huynh Minh Sieng, Pham Hanh Van, Pham Thi Yen.

³⁹⁶ Canfield interview of Sol Stern

³⁹⁷ Horowitz, *Radical Son*, 160.

- Sept 14-16, 1967 the Vietnamese Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap wrote the war was impacting “political, economic, and social life in the U.S.” Eventually the US would tire of the war.³⁹⁸
- Hayden’s six-man entourage, leaving Bratislava went off to Hanoi, according to Radio Hanoi, in the interest of “international solidarity between ... Socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.”³⁹⁹
- On October 11, POW Hegdahl looked over the group recognizing Tom Hayden as its leader,⁴⁰⁰ Hegdahl greeted him with a middle finger. Surprised, Hayden ...smiled, and returned the gesture.⁴⁰¹
- Carol McEldowney wrote Hegdahl was “a strange kid...the nerviest. ...He did ask ... who sent us, who financed us and whether we were Communists. ...I didn’t care for him....”⁴⁰²
- **POW Larry Carrigan.** Carol McEldowney wrote, “POW Larry Carrigan had us on the defensive... He knew we were Communists: ...I really hated him—saw him as a white guy...who would drop bombs on Negroes in a race riot.”
- McEldowney “the issue of prisoners is not a good organizing issue.” The US group agreed, “it was not worth it if it really created great problems for the [Communist’s] Peace Committee.” Tom Hayden advised Major Bai, POWs PAVN escort, photos of POW Richard Stratton bowing excessively was bad propaganda. Also the POWs’ public statements did not match how American English.
- On October 12,⁴⁰³ they met with Premier Pham Van Dong. *Thoi Moi* of October 20, “The seven, led by Thomas Hayden, gave Pham a report on the anti-war movement in the United States.” Thereafter *Vietnam Courier* printed copious details of the anti-war movement.⁴⁰⁴ “Photographs of peace movements were used in NFL leaflets.”⁴⁰⁵
- Pham Van Dong praised his “American friends” for their “Solidarity binding comrades-in-arms.” Hayden’s troops were, “combatants” in North Vietnam’s struggle against the United States.⁴⁰⁶ Dong said, “We should coordinate our struggle. ... you have your work and your task. If we each do our work, we will have solidarity and coordination. ...”⁴⁰⁷
- Tom Hayden would not only lead the eighteen-day tour to Hanoi and the POW interviews, but also make two Radio Hanoi broadcasts and take the release of three American POWs.
- Back home, on October 20, 1967, Vietnam Day Committee protesters blocked buses carrying recruits to the Army’s Induction Center in Oakland. Helmeted and wood shield carrying protesters overturned cars and threw rocks at the police injuring four.⁴⁰⁸ Seven were arrested. Attorney and identified Communist⁴⁰⁹ attorney Charles Garry told the jury, “These [seven] young

³⁹⁸ Vo Nguyen Giap, “Serialized in North Vietnamese press from 14 to 16 September [1967] and Hanoi Radio began...September 17th” cited in CIA, FOIA, Case EO-1994-00030, Intelligence Memorandum (Sept. 20-22, 26) “North Vietnamese Minister Giap’s Analysis of the War-I, II, III, IV”; See also McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal* 1967, 27-28.

³⁹⁹ See: Radio Hanoi (August 21, 1968), and Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, 220, 223.

⁴⁰⁰ *Thoi Moi*, October 20, 1967.

⁴⁰¹ Scott Blakey, *Prisoner of War: The Survival of Commander Richard A. Stratton* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), 196-197; Hubbell, *POW*, 354-355.

⁴⁰² Carol Cohen McEldowney, 93.

⁴⁰³ CIA, case number EO-2000-00054, “International Connections of Peace Groups,” Nov. 15, 1967, 28.

⁴⁰⁴ “By Protesting Against the U.S. War in Viet Nam, the American People Struggle for Justice,” *Vietnam Courier* (Hanoi, October 23, 1967).

⁴⁰⁵ Garnett “Bill” Bell and George J. Veith, “POWs and Politics: How Much does Hanoi Really Know,” Center for the Study of the Vietnam Conflict Symposium, “After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam,” Texas Tech University, 19 April 1996, 13. Hereafter Bell and Veith. Bell and Veith cite an interrogation report of an Enemy Proselytizing cadre.

⁴⁰⁶ *Thoi Moi* cited by Bernard-Joseph Carbanes in an Agence France Presse dispatch of 20 October, 1967 from Hanoi, emphasis added; Paris AFP in English, 1400 GMT, 30 October 67E; McEldowney, 89-91.

⁴⁰⁷ McEldowney, 90-1.

⁴⁰⁸ BBC October 20, 1967.

⁴⁰⁹ CPUSA member Jack Patten named Garry at a HCUA hearing in 1957, *Combat*, Nov. 15, 1969.

men are no more guilty than the Rosenbergs or Morton Sobel. The government ought to pin a medal on them."⁴¹⁰ Sobel and the Rosenbergs were convicted Soviet spies.

- At the University of Wisconsin, a future Vice President, Dick Cheney, a draft-deferred teaching assistant and his pregnant wife, Lynn stepped over 15 bodies blocking access to their classrooms. Outnumbered police, surrounded in a very crowded hallway, tear-gassed, clubbed, and bloodied, a dozen university students yelling *Seig Heil*.
- **Tenderloin Steak Shared by Terrorists and Press.** On October 20, 1967, the night before planned massive protests at the Pentagon, TV newsman Peter Jennings had a tenderloin steak dinner with his girlfriend, Christina Oughton. Her sister Diane Oughton was Bill Ayers' lover. Diane and Bill, offspring of wealth, were SDS leaders. Ayers said, "I'm not so much against the war as I am for a Vietnamese victory."⁴¹¹
- **Hanoi Approves "New Development" of Militancy, "Stop Government."** The National Mobe and Student Mobe March on the Pentagon on October 21, 1967 added militant resistance to peaceful protest.⁴¹² Hanoi's *Vietnam Courier* wished them well. "...May the Oct. 21 struggle mark a new development in the American People's movement for an end of the war in Vietnam."⁴¹³
- As national Mobe Chairman of the Pentagon event,⁴¹⁴ "nonviolent revolutionary" Dellinger's pledged "stop the government." "block entrances ... disrupt business..."⁴¹⁵
- Newsman Peter Jennings's dinner companion, Bill Ayers, describes, "...thousands of demonstrators scaling walls on rope ladders to assault the Pentagon ...and troops with fixed bayonets held us back We were nose to nose all night." Diane Oughton held a sign, GIRLS SAY YES TO GUYS WHO SAY NO⁴¹⁶ Some girls carried flowers to poke into gun barrels,⁴¹⁷ others carried clubs, ax handles, rocks, bottles and beer cans to assault the troops on the line protecting the Pentagon.⁴¹⁸
- WSP spokesperson Dagmar Wilson, declared the Pentagon melee "a second front" against U.S. aggression.⁴¹⁹ Radio Hanoi said, "The recent setting up of *Viet My* has clearly materialized ...in the struggle against the common enemy: The U.S. imperialist. Coordinating our efforts on **two** fronts, we will certainly defeat completely the aggressive war of the U.S. ruling clique in Vietnam."⁴²⁰
- **Yet** by a margin of better than 3:1, **68-22% Americans** thought antiwar activists were performing "acts of disloyalty against the boys fighting in Vietnam." An insignificant 3% of Americans were both against the war and sympathetic to protesters.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁰ *Realist*, Issue No. 85, December 1968 at www.ep.tc/realistmonthissues/02.html.

⁴¹¹ Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, 109-110.

⁴¹² Roberts, *Esquire* (December, 1968), 209.

⁴¹³ "Solidarity between the South Vietnamese People and the American People." *Vietnam Courier*, Oct. 23, 1967.

⁴¹⁴ Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam, 1300 GMT, 3 October, 1968B.

⁴¹⁵ PBS, *The American Experience, Vietnam on Line*, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/series/pt_10.html

⁴¹⁶ Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, 111.

⁴¹⁷ Photo and caption at War Remnants Museum, Sai Gon author's Viet II DSC_331-2.

⁴¹⁸ Gannon, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Left*, [1969-1973] Belmont (Mass.): Western Islands, Vol. II, 315-316.

⁴¹⁹ Lawrence Feinberg, "Dissent Called a Second War Front," *Washington Post* (October 25, 1967). See also: *Nhan Dan* (November 8, 1966), cited in "High-Lights Mounting Protest Movement of American People Against U.S. Aggressive War In Vietnam," Hanoi, Vietnam News Agency International Service in English, 1658 GMT, 8 November, 1966B; "Second Front Against U.S. Imperialism," [English language] *Vietnam Courier* August 29, 1966.

⁴²⁰ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS, "Daily Report, Asia and Pacific," Monday, 30 October 1967, FB211/67, JJJ9, North Vietnam.

⁴²¹ A Harris Poll in late 1967 cited in Herbert S. Parmet, 465.

- **Demonstrations in Support of War Unreported.** In some 75 cities over the weekend, five parades in New Jersey, Bronx, Brooklyn, Long Island and Westchester, hundreds of thousands supported the war. In a nine-page story, *Time* magazine gave only one line to public support of troops. *Newsweek* gave two sentences in two pages.
- In late October, Tom Hayden stayed behind in Hanoi to perform other wartime duties: making a broadcast over Radio Hanoi, which he later denied and taking control of the release of three American POWs in Cambodia.⁴²²
- **HAYDEN ON RADIO HANOI, OCTOBER 28, 1967 and NOVEMBER 4, 1967.** “*Almost Everybody ... Is Against You*”... “I talk to mothers and fathers. I talk to wives ... I have often wanted to talk firsthand to the average G.I.” Hayden's broadcast used classical psychological warfare themes--appealing to the soldiers' concerns with staying alive, their families and with the quality of their civilian and military leadership. “If it is Communism, it's the Communism of a whole people.” Hayden said the Vietnamese people did not want to stop Communism. The Vietnamese people wanted to stop America. “[W]e, not the Communists, were the real oppressors.
- Tom Hayden performed one more task for Hanoi. He received the first American POWs released from North Vietnam.⁴²³
- **HANOI'S FIRST U.S. POWs RELEASED ... to TOM HAYDEN NOVEMBER 4-13, 1967.** Hayden's role as an agent of influence is clear as Hanoi's “release” of three American POWs into his custody.
- Viet Cong representative Nguyen Van Hieu, Hayden's comrade at Bratislava and Douglas Pike's “Lenin” of the Viet Cong, said that the POWs were being released in response both to the American antiwar movement and to the courageous struggle of Negroes against oppression.
- POW Sergeant James Alex Jackson, Jr. said the Viet Cong told him he was being released “in solidarity with the people's movement for peace in the U.S.” ... and “in response to the cause of the American Negroes' search for peace.” Back home Jackson told *Ebony* “Negroes were (not) getting machine-gunned in the streets.”⁴²⁴
- In Hayden's custody, the POWs were, per Tom Hayden's orders, bypassing food, telephones, and medical care in Bangkok, Thailand. They were flying toward Prague, Czechoslovakia⁴²⁵ in a Czech aircraft with two Cubans and two Russians chaperones.”⁴²⁶ November 11, 12 and 13th, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* reported the POWs on the way to Prague, Czechoslovakia, not to America.
- **POWs Defect?** Neil Sheehan reported Hayden “felt he had to give the men the choice of returning to the United States or defecting ... along the way...”⁴²⁷ Hayden mentions a Cuban offer of political asylum. “I thanked [the Cuban] politely and wondered where he got the idea that these men might desert.”⁴²⁸
- American authorities rescued the POWs in Beirut. Hayden told Sheehan that the POWs “accepted help” in Beirut.⁴²⁹
- **John McCain “Everyone is very nice to me.”** Denied medical care for four days after his shoot down, thugs beat McCain to get details of his family and military mission. Once they learned his

⁴²² Quang Huy, “The ‘psychological attack’ Aimed at American Servicemen,” *Events and Witnesses [Sur kien va nhan chung]* People’s Army [*Quan Doi Nhan Dan*] monthly supplement) April 2013.

⁴²³ The Viet Cong made earlier releases.

⁴²⁴ James E. Jackson Jr., “18 months as a Prisoner of the Viet Cong,” *Ebony*, August 1968, 114-119.

⁴²⁵ Karnow, *Post*, November 13, 1967.

⁴²⁶ Hayden, *Reunion*, p. 232.

⁴²⁷ *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1967.

⁴²⁸ Hayden, *Reunion*, 230.

⁴²⁹ Neil Sheehan, *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1967.

father, the Admiral, commanded Navy's 7th Fleet in the Pacific, McCain was hospitalized.⁴³⁰ As a condition of treatment, McCain gave an interview to a French Communist reporter.⁴³¹ Francois Chalais asked, "How are you treated here? McCain: "Very well. Everyone is very nice to me."⁴³²

- November 11-12, at the University of Chicago far left-oriented labor leaders called a conference attended by 523 persons from 50 unions and 38 states. The prime organizers were secret CPUSA member⁴³³ Abe Feinglass of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers and socialist Moe Foner of Hospital Workers Local 1199 of New York.⁴³⁴ Harry Bridges, Soviet agent "Rossi," secret CPUSA member and leader of Longshoreman's union said the AFL-CIO was "American imperialism with a union label."⁴³⁵
- And within a month, at the Seventh Annual AFL-CIO Convention in Miami Beach, 900 delegates reaffirmed the national union's opposition to "a Communist War of Conquest."
- **Viet Cong Napalms Montagnards at Dak Son near Song Be.** The official communist account is coldly clinical.
- "Six hundred VC and NVA from the 88th Regiment of the 1st PAVN Division¹⁴ assembled outside Dak Son and they began their attack at midnight, pouring machine-gun, mortar and rocket fire into the village; the VC and NVA were also armed with 60 flamethrowers."⁴³⁶
- The communist troops turned 60 flamethrowers—napalm—upon helpless Montagnard civilians. People along with their chickens, grain, and trees were incinerated inside their huts. Some hiding in burrows, died from napalm, grenades or asphyxiation.

⁴³⁰ Rochester and Kiley, 360.

⁴³¹ Rochester and Kiley, 361n.

⁴³² "The U.S. Prisoners Do Not Understand," FBIS Kyrenia, Beirut L'Orient in French 29 December 67 P I M, article in series written by 'prominent' French Television Reporter Francois Chalais, L'Orient, "Life in Hanoi."

⁴³³ Max Friedman retrieved a report of a meeting of State Bureau of the Communist Party of Illinois on July 5, 1940 in Chicago, National Archives, October 16, 2013, distributed August 18, 1940 by Counterintelligence Branch, G-2, Office of Assistant Secretary of War, CONFIDENTIAL report 10-266, RG 107, A1, Entry 88, Secretary of War, classified file, 1932-42, box 2.

⁴³⁴ Other labor leaders were Al Hartong, International Woodworkers of America, Pat Gorman of Amalgamated Meatcutters, Emil Mazey, United Auto Workers and Frank Rosenblum of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Mary Jo and Walter Uphoff of the Boulder Peace Center.

⁴³⁵ Michael Honey (ed), *Labor Has Dignity*, Beacon Press, 137-149; Albert Vetere Lannon and Marvin Rogoff, "We Shall Not Remain Silent: Building the Anti- Vietnam War Movement in the House of Labor," *Science & Society*, Vol. 66, No. 4, Winter 2002-2003, 536.

⁴³⁶ *History of the Resistance War Against the Americans to Save the Nation, 1954-1975*, Volume V: *The 1968 General Offensive and Uprising*. Lich Su Khang Chien Chong My Cuu Nuoc, 1954-1975, Tap V: Tong Tien Cong Va Noi Day Nam 1968. Military History Institute of Vietnam; Editor: Senior Colonel Nguyen Van Minh; Authors: Senior Colonel Nguyen Van Minh, Lieutenant Colonel Nguyen Xuan Nang, Colonel Tran Tien Hoat, Lieutenant Colonel Nguyen Huy Thuc, Senior Colonel Do Xuan Huy; National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 2001 cited by EBV. TET 68 Historian: The Dak Son massacre: 6 Dec 67. 09 Dec 09. Weider History Group Online.

<http://www.armchairgeneral.com/forums/showthread.php?p=1375189> cited in Michael D. Bengé, "The History of the Involvement of the Montagnards of the Central Highlands in the Vietnam War," in "*The Fall of Saigon*" SACEI Forum #8. March 2011. OutskirtsPress.com