

Presentation & Highlights

Texas Tech. APR 29, 2017. Roger Canfield

RELEVANCE.

History matters. Vietnam matters today.

Peace movement collaboration with

Hanoi on the Second Front...

- Accused the USA of waging an illegal, immoral, genocidal, racist war.
- questioned **legitimacy**¹ of the American civilization.
- That **illegitimacy** lives today
- Among social justice progressives.
- In our divided nation.

¹ For an intimidated version of the problem see: Roger Canfield, *Democratic Legitimacy and American Political Violence, 1964-1970*, Doctoral Dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1972; Leo Strauss, *Persecution and the art of writing*.

RULING HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Major histories of the peace movement²

- minimize or deny foreign influence, e.g. Hanoi, Moscow upon Peace movement.
- CIA looking for foreign **control** found nothing much.³
- FBI saw political Influence.
- CIA did find foreign aid in Cuba, SDS, Weather.

² Tom Wells, *War Within*; Zaroulis and Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up*; DeBenedetti w/Chatfield, *An American Ordeal* do acknowledge meetings.

³ CIA, FOIA, memo from Family Jewels, 184; CIA, FOIA, Director of Current Intelligence to Director of Central Intelligence, "Activity Related to Domestic Events," 7 May 1973, in "Family Jewels" 193-4.

- No payrolls, no pension plans for peace volunteers!

THE FACTS

Hanoi Strategy

- “combining the political struggle with the armed struggle”⁴
- US peace movement became Hanoi’s “Second Front,” political struggle inside the USA.
- On Radio Hanoi and in print Hanoi praised top antiwar leaders ⁵as Comrades in Arms.⁶

⁴ The Military History Institute of Vietnam, Merle L. Pribbenow (Trans.) *Victory in Vietnam: The Official History of the People’s Army of Vietnam, 1954-1975*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002, *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** is exact phrase. “combining.”

⁵ Stokely Carmichael, Bertrand Russell, Tom Hayden, David Dellinger, Dagmar Wilson, etc

⁶ 1985 awards of Ho Chi Minh medals for “fighting behind enemy lines” and aluminum rings made from downed US aircraft.

- An imperial American power was conducting an illegal, immoral, criminal, unjust, genocidal, and unwinnable war—illegitimate—
- Hanoi and friends wanted victory not peace.
- Uses of diplomacy-Talk Therapy

Peace Movement Collaborations

- The “peace” comrades organized massive, protests against a common enemy—America.
- Individuals ⁷ in many antiwar organizations ⁸

⁷ Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Carl Oglesby, Dagmar Wilson.

⁸ AFSC, CPUSA, Lawyers Committee on Am. Policy toward Vietnam, SNCC, Student Mobe, Russell War Crimes Tribunal, World Peace Council, National Mobe, A Quaker Action Group, Women Strike for Peace, etc

- met top Vietnamese Communists⁹ in many places.¹⁰
- Peace activists
 - provided political intelligence on the antiwar movement
 - Vetted travelers to meet Vietnamese communists.
 - Coordinated April and October protest schedules W/ Hanoi
 - Disseminated Hanoi's major propaganda themes.¹¹

⁹ Ho Chi Minh, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Ha Van Lau, Madame Binh, Do Xuan Oanh, Nguyen Van Hieu, Nguyen Minh Vy, Nguyen Thi Dinh, Trinh Thi Ngo etc..

¹⁰ Hanoi, Havana, Montreal, Bratislava, Phnom Penh, Stockholm.

¹¹ war crimes, napalm, bombing schools, hospitals and dikes.

- Some ¹² Hanoi propaganda word for word, number for number.
- Helped improve communist propaganda ¹³
- Acted as peace entrepreneurs on Hanoi's terms. ¹⁴

RESULTS

- The results 1967 were mixed.
 - Successful major rallies in the Spring and Fall, Pentagon protests.

¹² Harrison Salisbury, Russell's War Crimes Tribunal, John Gerassi, Carol Brightman, Vivian Rothstein, Norm Fruchter, etc).

¹³ Hayden's Bratislava group, Carol McEldowney.

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

- major meetings with communists, World Peace Council, Stockholm, Hanoi, Bratislava.
- common themes, e.g. napalmed babies, bombed hospitals, schools
- coordinated schedules, and
- increased militancy of the movement...Oakland, Pentagon
- The less happy results for the movement were
 - some pacifists and democratic socialists opposed the “peace”

movement for seeking a
communist victory, not peace;

- South Vietnam held elections with 83% turnout despite Viet Cong terror;
- Dean Rusk, J. Edgar Hoover, Bui Diem, Westmoreland warned about Hanoi's influence upon antiwar movement;
 - By late 1967, public opinion
 - wanted to win the war against communism in Indochina

o held contempt for the peace movement.¹⁵

Highlights of 1967

- 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.”¹⁶
- In January 1967, *Ramparts*, *Lady’s Home Journal* and *Redbook* republished Harrison Salisbury’s dispatches to the *NYT*. The U.S. was intentionally **napalming babies and bombing hospitals and schools.**¹⁷
- Sen. **Ted Kennedy** was “very quietly” considering taking 100 burned Vietnamese children on a national tour.¹⁸
- In Hanoi, newspaper editors Ashmore and Baggs said they had not transferred their sympathies to Hanoi.”¹⁹ Yet Ho Chi Minh’s “...benign presence place ...him...with **Gandhi** ...”²⁰
- In February 1967, *New York Review of Books* assigned **Mary McCarthy** to “look...for material damaging to the American interests.”
- On March 6, 1967, prison guards dragged POW Richard **Stratton** before cameras.²¹ Stratton submissively bowed and scraped deeply and confessed to carpet-bombing. In Bratislava, Tom Hayden told Hanoi Stratton film was not helpful.

¹⁵ 68-22% Americans thought antiwar activists were performing “acts of disloyalty against the boys fighting in Vietnam.” A miniscule 3% were both against the war and sympathetic to protesters. See: Harris Poll in late 1967 cited in Herbert S. Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America*, New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1990, 465.

¹⁶ 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*.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ Ashmore and Baggs, 11.

²⁰ Ashmore and Baggs, 6, 40-5.

²¹ “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.

- March of 1967, Saigon’s ambassador **Bui Diem** warned Nguyen Cao Ky of the increasing influence of the “peace movement,” if LBJ was “unable to resist peace activities.”²²
- Thereafter Ky wrote a new republican constitution and held elections in 4,612 hamlets in the spring²³ and Presidential elections in the fall. Despite 680 Viet Cong acts of terror,²⁴ some **83 percent** turned out to vote compared with 62 percent in USA in 1964.
- March 26-April 5, 1967, a **Quaker** offshoot, a Quaker Action Group, AQAG, sailed into Haiphong. The group made suggestions “about...antiwar organizations... request[ing] permission to visit Hanoi.”
- A heavily lobbied Martin Luther **King** finally called the war “unjust, evil, and futile.”²⁵ The war was losing America’s soul, its moral example. “I oppose the war...I love America.”²⁶ MLM opposed provoking police, Viet Cong flags and draft resistance.
- 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.’”²⁷
- On April 15, 1967, in the **Spring Mobe**, 100,000 marched in New York City. King, Dellinger, Howard Zinn, Ben Spock and Stokely Carmichael spoke. Folk singer Pete Seeger sang, as he had for the American Peace Mobilization in 1941 defending the Hitler-Stalin Pact²⁸ dismembering Poland. In San Francisco Judy Collins sang behind a large banner, “Viet Cong.”²⁹
- 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.³⁰ Only British Pathe recorded it.

²² 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>

²³ Nguyen Cao Ky, *How We Lost the Vietnam War*, New York: Cooper Square Press, 1976, 92-9.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ DeBenedetti w/ Chatfield, 172-3.

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1967 cited at lib.Berkeley.edu/MRC/pacificaviet.html. Also participating were the Communist Rev. William Howard Melish, friend of Communist Frank Marshall Davis, Communists Robert Treuhft, 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

³⁰ 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...>

- On May 22, 1967 Communists, paid for an ad in the *New York Times* promoting **Veterans for Peace**, VFP,³¹ a predecessor to the VVAW.
- LBJ, responded dropping 1,750,000 leaflets on Hanoi saying antiwar protests would not affect America's will to fight.³²
- Historian Gabriel **Kolko** alleged U. S. bombing in North Vietnam of “the entire dike network ...in...1966.”³³ Actually, annual floods eroded dikes.
- In June, Dellinger, Nick Egelson met scripted POWs, Dick Stratton and Doug Hegdahl.³⁴ Dellinger said the POWs were “protected and well cared for,” Their housing “comfortable and sanitary.”
- SDS’s Egelson said, “The international communist conspiracy is a **myth.**” The VC seeks “democracy, neutrality and land reform.”³⁵ Ouch.
- **CIA studies** of foreign influences reluctantly looked for classical “controlled” agents. Very few, if any, were on payrolls or pension plans, but their hearts and minds belonged to the V.C. FBI found political influence as did Congressional committees.
- July 6-9, 1967 the **World Peace Council** sponsored a Stockholm Unity Conference on Vietnam. Many Americans attended.³⁶ The conference pledged worldwide unity and coordination around a single date. "The organizations ... working for peace...should mark October 21 ... by demonstrations in many countries and towns." ³⁷
- **Soviet Agitprop** on Vietnam. Stanislav Levchenko, a KGB defector, "I worked for the Soviet Peace Committee ...My job was ... to plan protest demonstrations... " ³⁸ Similarly, the Soviet ambassador to the U.N., Arkady Shevchenko, "I ...help[ed] organize ... speeches, arrange ... meetings, ... distribute Council propaganda... ³⁹

³¹ 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.

³² Zaroulis, *Who Spoke Up...*, 115. The Royal Air Force dropped leaflets over Poland during the joint Nazi-Soviet invasion in September 1939.

³³ 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.

³⁴ Stuart I. Rochester and Frederick Kiley, *Honor Bound, American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia 1961-1973*, Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999, 347.

³⁵ "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.

³⁶ *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.

³⁷ Schmitz, *The Viet Cong Front*, 41.

³⁸ Levchenko, 38.

³⁹ 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.

- On August 31, 1967, the VNA News quoted 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...”⁴⁰
- Hanoi easily vetted CBS’s Paris Bureau Chief, David Schoenbrun. He described Ho Chi Minh as the **George Washington** of Vietnam. He believed there were “tens of thousands” of victims of napalm.
- September 2-18, 1967, KGB agent and journalist Wilfred Burchett accompanied Dagmar Wilson, Ruth Krause and Mary Clarke on a two-week tour of North Vietnam by **Women's Strike for Peace**. WSP was easily vetted since its June 1965 meetings in Moscow and Jakarta. WSP saw “destruction everywhere,” including, intentionally bombed dikes and churches.⁴¹
- On September 11, POW Doug **Hegdahl** met the WSP women asking, "Are you Communists?" One woman shot back, "And what's wrong with Communists?"⁴²
- In August, the U.S. Embassy, Saigon released an **NLF** resolution reminding the VC’s NLF, it was the "southern branch" of and "closely led by the (Hanoi) Party Central Committee."⁴³

**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. It was "intended to create solidarity and mutual understanding between revolutionaries from Vietnam and their American supporters who are trying to change the United States."⁴⁴
- David Dellinger provided **political intelligence** on the anti-war movement. Czech press reported “the future development of the anti-war movement.”⁴⁵

⁴⁰ 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

⁴¹ James W. Clinton interview of Mary Clarke, November 16, 1990,2-4.

⁴²Hubbell, 335.

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ HCUA, Dec. 1968, 2552.

⁴⁵ Tom Charles Huston, 42-3, Declassified 11/10/2008 at request of Max Friedman.

- *East Village Other*, dateline Bratislava,⁴⁶ 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.**⁴⁷
- Christopher **Jencks**, writing for *The New Republic*, after Bratislava, “The common bond between the New Left and the NLF is ...a common enemy: the US government, the system, the Establishment.”⁴⁸
- Carol McEldowney said the U.S. intentionally bombed the **Polish** Friendship School...50 times.⁴⁹
- Visitors to Bratislava and Hanoi brought back trophies, “aluminum **rings**—cast, ...from the scrap of an American bomber shot down during a raid.”
- Sol Stern remembers Americans advising the Vietnamese on improving their propaganda⁵⁰ and David Horowitz, “how to conduct their psychological warfare campaign against the United States.”⁵¹
- 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.⁵²

ON TO HANOI

- Hayden’s entourage, reduced to a hard-core six, few off to Hanoi.
- On October 11, POW Doug Hegdahl and Tom Hayden⁵³ exchanged gestures of **middle fingers.**⁵⁴
- Carol McEldowney says Hegdahl asked “who sent us, who financed us and whether we were Communists. ...I didn’t care for him....”⁵⁵
- 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.”

⁴⁶ 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.”

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ Gitlen, 263-4.

⁴⁹ Carol McEldowney, *Hanoi Journal*, 47.

⁵⁰ Canfield interview of Sol Stern

⁵¹ Horowitz, *Radical Son*, 160.

⁵² 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.

⁵³ *Thoi Moi*, October 20, 1967.

⁵⁴ Scott Blakey, *Prisoner of War: The Survival of Commander Richard A. Stratton* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), 196-197; Hubbell, *POW*, 354-355.

⁵⁵ Carol Cohen McEldowney, 93.

- McEldowney thought POWs were “not a good organizing issue....“it was not worth it if it really created great problems for the [Communist’s] Peace Committee.”
- Tom Hayden advised photos of POW Richard **Stratton bowing** excessively were bad propaganda. So too was POWs public statements lacking typical American English.
- On October 12,⁵⁶ "The seven, led by Thomas Hayden, gave Pham [Van Dong] a **report** on the anti-war movement in the United States." *Vietnam Courier* printed copious details of the movement.⁵⁷
- 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.⁵⁸ 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. ... ’⁵⁹
- October 16, 1967,⁶⁰ 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 wished "brilliant success" to the upcoming Pentagon protests of the National Mobe, led by the Bratislava team (Dellinger-Hayden-Davis). Viet Cong informed its cadre of the new committee’s purposes and plans.⁶¹

BACK IN USA

- On October 20, 1967, Vietnam Day Committee protesters blocked recruit buses bound for **Oakland** Induction Center. Helmeted and wood shielded protesters overturned cars and threw rocks at the police injuring four.⁶² Seven were prosecuted. Attorney Charles **Garry** told the jury, “These [seven] young men are no more guilty than the Rosenbergs or Morton Sobel.”⁶³ Sobel and the Rosenbergs were convicted Soviet spies.

⁵⁶ CIA, case number EO-2000-00054, “International Connections of Peace Groups,” Nov. 15, 1967, 28.

⁵⁷ “By Protesting Against the U.S. War in Viet Nam, the American People Struggle for Justice,” *Vietnam Courier* (Hanoi, October 23, 1967).

⁵⁸ *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.

⁵⁹ McEldowney, 90-1.

⁶⁰ “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.

⁶¹ “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.

⁶² BBC October 20, 1967.

⁶³ *Realist*, Issue No. 85, December 1968 at www.ep.tc/realistmonthissues/02.html.

- At the University of Wisconsin, Dick **Cheney**, a draft-deferred teaching assistant and his pregnant wife, Lynn stepped over 15 bodies blocking access to classrooms. Outnumbered police, surrounded in a very crowded hallway, tear-gassed, clubbed, and bloodied, a dozen university students yelling *Seig Heil*.
- 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."⁶⁴
- On October 21, 1967, the National Mobe marched on the Pentagon.⁶⁵ *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."⁶⁶
- As national Mobe Chairman of the Pentagon event,⁶⁷ "nonviolent revolutionary" **Dellinger pledged** "stop the government." He instructed the protesters to block entrances ... disrupt business..."⁶⁸
- Newsman Peter Jennings' 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" Diane Oughton held a sign, GIRLS SAY YES TO GUYS WHO SAY NO⁶⁹ Some girls brought flowers to poke into gun barrels.⁷⁰ Others carried clubs, ax handles, rocks, bottles and beer cans to assault the troops defending the Pentagon.⁷¹
- WSP spokesperson Dagmar Wilson, declared the Pentagon melee "**a second front**" against U.S. aggression.⁷² Radio Hanoi hailed "the struggle against the common enemy: The U.S. imperialist. Coordinating our efforts on **two**

⁶⁴ Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, 109-110.

⁶⁵ Roberts, *Esquire* (December, 1968), 209.

⁶⁶ "Solidarity between the South Vietnamese People and the American People." *Vietnam Courier*, Oct. 23, 1967.

⁶⁷ Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam, 1300 GMT, 3 October, 1968B.

⁶⁸ PBS, *The American Experience, Vietnam on Line*, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/series/pt_10.html

⁶⁹ Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, 111.

⁷⁰ Photo and caption at War Remnants Museum, Sai Gon author's Viet II DSC_331-2.

⁷¹ Gannon, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Left*, [1969-1973] Belmont (Mass.): Western Islands, Vol. II, 315-316.

⁷² 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.

fronts, we will certainly defeat completely the aggressive war of the U.S. ruling clique in Vietnam.”⁷³

- **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.” A politically insignificant 3% of Americans were both against the war and sympathetic to protesters.⁷⁴
- In some 75 cities over that October weekend, five parades in New Jersey, Bronx, Brooklyn, Long Island and Westchester, mobilized hundreds of thousands to support 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 speak over Radio Hanoi. By November, he was in Cambodia to get POWs released to him to defect.⁷⁵

HAYDEN ON RADIO HANOI

- OCTOBER 28, 1967 and NOVEMBER 4, 1967, Hayden was on Radio Hanoi. “I talk to mothers and fathers. I talk to wives ...” Hayden's broadcast **appealed** to the soldiers' concerns with staying alive, their families and with the quality of their civilian and military leadership, implicit call for desertion.
- “If it is Communism, it's the Communism of a whole people...The Vietnamese people wanted to stop America. “[W]e, not the Communists, were the real oppressors.

HAYDEN TAKES POWs into His Custody

- NOVEMBER 4-13, 1967, in Phnom Penh, the VC released three POWs to Tom Hayden, not the US government.
- Nguyen Van Hieu, Hayden's comrade at Bratislava and Douglas Pike's "Lenin" of the Viet Cong, said the POWs release was **VC recognition** of 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

⁷³ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS, "Daily Report, Asia and Pacific," Monday, 30 October 1967, FB211/67, JJJ9, North Vietnam.

⁷⁴ A Harris Poll in late 1967 cited in Herbert S. Parmet, 465.

⁷⁵ 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.

peace.” Back home Jackson told *Ebony* “Negroes were (not) getting machine-gunned in the streets.”⁷⁶

- The POWs were flying toward Prague, Czechoslovakia⁷⁷ in a Czech aircraft with two Cuban and two Russian **chaperones**.⁷⁸ Under Hayden's orders, the POWs were bypassing American food, telephones, and medical care in Bangkok, Thailand.
- According to Neil Sheehan, Hayden "felt he had to give the men the choice of returning to the United States or **defecting** ... along the way."⁷⁹ Hayden says he replied to a Cuban offer of political asylum. "I thanked [the Cuban] politely and wondered where he got the idea that these men might desert."⁸⁰
- American authorities rescued the POWs in **Beirut**. Hayden told Sheehan that the POWs "accepted help" in Beirut.⁸¹

John McCain

- Denied medical care for four days after his shoot down, thugs beat John McCain to get details of his family and military mission.⁸² As required for his medical treatment, McCain gave an interview to a French Communist reporter.⁸³ Francois Chalais asked, "How are you treated here? "Very well. Everyone is very nice to me,"⁸⁴ said McCain.
- 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. Harry Bridges, Soviet agent "Rossi," secret CPUSA member and leader of Longshoreman's Union said the regular AFL-CIO was "American imperialism with a union label."⁸⁵
- Within a month, at the Seventh Annual AFL-CIO Convention in Miami Beach, 900 AFL-CIO delegates reaffirmed the national union's opposition to "a Communist War of Conquest."

⁷⁶ James E. Jackson Jr., "18 months as a Prisoner of the Viet Cong," *Ebony*, August 1968, 114-119.

⁷⁷ Karnow, *Post*, November 13, 1967.

⁷⁸ Hayden, *Reunion*, 232; 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.

⁷⁹ *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1967.

⁸⁰ Hayden, *Reunion*, 230.

⁸¹ Neil Sheehan, *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1967.

⁸² Rochester and Kiley, 360.

⁸³ Rochester and Kiley, 361n.

⁸⁴ "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."

⁸⁵ 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.

- 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 Division 14 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.”⁸⁶
- The communist troops turned **60 flamethrowers**—napalm—upon helpless Montagnard civilians. People along with their chickens and grain were incinerated inside their huts. Hundreds were murdered and missing. Like the horror of My Lai. Have you ever heard of Dak Son? How about Duc Duc?

⁸⁶ *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