

[Congressional Record, August 15, 1972, pages H7656-7657.]

RE ACTIVITIES OF JANE FONDA IN
NORTH VIETNAM

(Mr. ICHORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, late last week the Committee on Internal Security discussed, at some length, the question of whether or not to issue a subpoena to the actress, Jane Fonda, with respect to broadcast statements she made over the Communist Radio Hanoi to our troops in Vietnam.

It was agreed by the committee that it would be best, at this time, to give the Justice Department time to complete its announced inquiry into the Fonda affair before considering any further course by the committee.

At the request of my colleagues on the committee, I addressed a letter which was hand-delivered Friday afternoon to Attorney General Kleindienst setting forth the committee's concern with this matter and our desire to have a report from the Justice Department by September 14 or an explanation from a representative of the Department on that date regarding what can and should be done with respect to Miss Fonda's activities in the capital of our enemy.

For the benefit of my colleagues in the House, Mr. Speaker, I include the contents of my letter to the Attorney General in the RECORD at this point:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COM-
MITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C., August 10, 1972.

Hon. RICHARD G. KLEINDIENST,
Attorney General of the United States, De-
partment of Justice, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: The Committee on Internal Security met this morning in executive session to consider a request that a subpoena be issued to require Jane Fonda to appear before the Committee in regard to her travel to North Vietnam and radio broadcasts to U.S. military forces during July 1972. During the meeting a number of reasons were expressed as a basis for opposition to the issuance of a subpoena. Important factors in the ultimate determination of the Committee were that the facts seemed to be already rather well-known, that the matter was under study by the Department of Justice and Fonda would be entitled to the full protection of the Fifth Amendment, that any such hearing might work to the prejudice of the Government in the event prosecution is undertaken and that the Committee's overriding interest is not

in what additional information might be secured from Fonda, but rather in any insufficiency in the terms of the law or in its enforcement.

I am sure that you recognize the pernicious nature of Miss Fonda's statements to our servicemen, and the seriousness with which nearly all Members of Congress view her conduct. Although it might be fairly said that public support for American involvement in the Vietnam conflict is steadily declining, such aid and comfort to a nation with which we are engaged in hostilities is nevertheless condemned by the public. But whatever political or public reaction might obtain under the circumstances, I am sure you agree that the Department of Justice has a most solemn obligation to engage the full weight of the law against conduct which the Congress has made criminally punishable.

The Committee has reviewed the treason, sedition and other relevant statutes. It has also been informed of Fonda's travel itinerary, and has studied the transcripts of her broadcasts while recently in Hanoi. It is not difficult to perceive why a cry of treason has been raised. But if the burden of proof is too great for treason, would not a prima facie case exist under Section 2387 of Title 18, United States Code or even Section 2388, notwithstanding the jurisdictional limitation?

In discharging its responsibility to the Congress to insure that statutes within its oversight jurisdiction are being duly enforced by the Executive Branch, the Committee resolved that the staff investigation of Fonda's activities will continue, and in the event the Justice Department determines that the broadcasts of Jane Fonda from Hanoi during July 1972 do not constitute treason or sedition, or that her conduct cannot be reached by existing statute for any other reason, then the Department is requested to furnish a report to the Committee with recommendations for legislation which would be effective to impose criminal sanctions under similar circumstances in the future. Desiring to resolve the questions at an early date, but hoping to avoid an unreasonable burden upon the Department, the Committee voted to request that the report be submitted by September 14, or in the alternative, that a representative of the Department appear before the Committee on that date.

Your cooperation and assistance in providing an analysis of the federal criminal law vis-a-vis the recent conduct of Jane Fonda will indeed be appreciated. Would you please advise me as soon as possible whether the Department will furnish a report on or before the above date or will provide for the appearance of a representative so that arrangements can be made for a meeting of the Committee.

Sincerely,

RICHARD H. ICHORD,
Chairman.

[Congressional Record, September 20, 1972, pages H8613-8616.]

BILL TO RESTRICT TRAVEL TO COUNTRIES ENGAGED IN ARMED CONFLICT WITH THE UNITED STATES

(Mr. ICHORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, in July of this year the actress Jane Fonda traveled to North Vietnam. She did so without a passport validated for travel to that country, without informing the State Department of her intention to travel to North Vietnam after first going to Russia, and without seeking any official authorization for the trip. Her actions, of course, were not the first we have witnessed in this vein. North Vietnam seems to be becoming a popular destination. It certainly is a means for guaranteeing publicity for the junketeer. These journeys to North Vietnam have been for a variety of purposes. The most recent ones have served to spread the enemy propaganda about dike bombing, they have aided the enemy's design in releasing prisoners of war in a dribble, they have falsely publicized the kind of treatments being afforded to the prisoners of war, and they have endeavored to sap the will and morale of our servicemen in Southeast Asia. Jane Fonda, serving as a tool of the Hanoi propagandists, made more than 20 broadcasts to American troops. Her statements are of a most pernicious nature. In my judgment they were clearly designed to engender doubts in the minds of our servicemen concerning their loyalty to the United States and their willingness to carry out military orders. This is the stuff of which sedition is made.

Over Radio Hanoi, directing her remarks to American servicemen, Jane Fonda said for example:

Please think of what you are doing—have you any idea what your bombs are doing when you pull the levers and push the buttons?—how does it feel to be used as pawns?—tonight when you are alone ask yourselves: what are you doing? Accept no ready answers fed to you by rote from basic training—I know that if you saw and if you knew the Vietnamese under peaceful conditions, you would hate the men who are sending you on bombing missions—if they told you the truth, you wouldn't fight, you wouldn't kill—you have been told lies so that it would be possible for you to kill.

It would require a gross distortion of logic to conclude that these statements were not intended to create doubt in the mind of the listener. Is it not obvious that these remarks were intended to serve as a stimulus for diminished morale and loyalty, or for refusal of duty? It was the purpose of the sedition statute to prohibit such conduct. Regardless of how we may feel about the war in Indochina, we must not sanction efforts to destroy the morale and discipline of our troops.

The committee has been assisted in analyzing the psychological effects of the Fonda broadcasts on American servicemen by several experts in the field of psychological warfare. For the benefit of my colleagues I am appending to these remarks two of the analyses which have been prepared by these experts in their field. A review of these analyses is most helpful in demonstrating the serious effects of the broadcasts of Jane Fonda. Since it did not appear that the Department of Justice had consulted any such experts in order to be apprised of the likely effects of the broadcasts, I have also made these analyses available to the Department. The analyses are keenly relevant. The broadcasts cannot be studied in a vacuum. Although the American involvement in the war in South Vietnam is winding down, we must not lightly regard or dismiss blatant attempts to destroy troop morale at this critical juncture in our history.

Soon after learning of her initial broadcasts, my colleague from Georgia, Congressman FLETCHER THOMPSON, asked that the Committee on Internal Security conduct an investigation of the matter, giving consideration to the issuance of a subpoena to Miss Fonda. The committee met on August 10 to take the request of Mr. THOMPSON under advisement. By a vote of 8 to 1 the committee agreed to ask the Department of Justice for a report on the case. The text of my letter to the Attorney General conveying the wishes of the committee was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 15, page H7656.

The Department of Justice subsequently advised that a report could not be submitted by the date which the committee requested, inasmuch as the matter was still under investigation. Then, in response to my invitation, Assistant Attorney General A. William Olson appeared before the committee in executive session on September 19 to orally re-

view the subject. Additionally, the committee heard the testimony of Mr. Robert Johnson, Deputy Director and Chief Counsel of the Passport Office, in relation to Fonda's travel and the difficulties in enforcement which are generally encountered by the Department of State. The testimony of these witnesses helped to clarify weaknesses in the law which make it inordinately difficult to apply criminal sanctions to conduct such as that of Jane Fonda. Although the Department of Justice testified that the Fonda case is still under prosecutive consideration, it is rather obvious that the executive branch is encountering severe difficulty in applying present statutes to the Fonda circumstances.

In considering the applicability of the treason or sedition statutes to activities of U.S. citizens within North Vietnam it does not take a great deal of imagination to recognize that witnesses are not readily available to prove the conduct in a court of law. If we can generally agree that the activities of U.S. citizens in North Vietnam have been overwhelmingly adverse to our national interests, then the solution is to simplify the evidentiary requirements by making unlawful all travel to countries with which we are engaged in armed conflict, except insofar as deemed necessary by the President in the national interest.

In analyzing the Fonda broadcasts, as well as the activities of others who preceded her, it has appeared to me that a new statute is needed which would authorize the President to restrict travel to countries whose military forces are engaged in armed conflict with ours. The President would be empowered to make exceptions in the national interest, but all other travel to such countries would be unlawful. I think it is fair to say that the general attitude of the committee's witnesses is supportive of this legislation.

In introducing this bill today, the text of which follows, I am joined by 5 other Members of the Committee on Internal Security, Mr. ASHBROOK, Mr. DAVIS, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. ZION and Mr. SCHMITZ.

Mr. Speaker, I feel very strongly that Miss Fonda violated the criminal laws of the United States when she travelled to North Vietnam and made the foregoing propaganda broadcasts to American troops. I also feel very strongly that she will never be prosecuted by the Department of Justice. However, I cannot fault the Department of Justice altogether. There are very serious evidentiary difficulties as well as the consideration that prosecution will result in mak-

ing a martyr out of a person who does not deserve to be a martyr and also the probability of projecting a trial into the political arena much like the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial.

Therefore I firmly believe that the only way to obviate the controversy that has raged over the heads of Fonda, Ramsey Clark and others is to effectively forbid travel by any American citizen to a country with which the United States is having hostilities without prior permission.

I have no doubt about the constitutionality of the measure. It is constitutional. I can think of no legitimate reason why any American citizen should be permitted to travel to a hostile country without proper authorization. This measure represents one of the many realistic choices that this free society must begin to make between freedom and anarchy and license if we are to remain a free society.

A bill to amend section 4 of the Internal Security Act of 1950

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 4 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (50 U.S.C. 783) is amended by adding immediately following subsection (c) of such section the following new subsection:

"(d) The President may restrict travel by citizens and nationals of the United States to, in, or through any country or area whose military forces are engaged in armed conflict with the military forces of the United States. Such restriction shall be announced by public notice which shall be published in the Federal Register. Travel to such restricted country or area by any person may be authorized by the President when he deems such travel to be in the national interest. It shall be unlawful for any citizen or national of the United States willfully and without such authorization to travel to, in, or through any country or area to which travel is restricted pursuant to this subsection."

(b) Section 4 of such Act is further amended by redesignating existing subsections (c) through (f), as (d) through (g).

—
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF FRANCIS M. WATSON, JR.

Francis M. Watson, Jr., is a graduate of the University of Georgia where he received both a BS in Education and a Masters degree in journalism. In the early 1960's he was Deputy Manager of an information analysis center for the American Institutes for Research where he conducted research in insurgency and propaganda techniques and revolutionary tactics. He became a specialist in media analysis whereby public opinion trends may be determined from newspapers and other information sources. In 1970 he became chief analyst for a Washington, D.C., firm.

"National Media Analysis," where he studied the so-called "underground" press and edited published reports detailing the propaganda impact of such newspapers with respect to revolutionary and protest movements in the United States. He currently manages his own firm, Media Research, located in Dunn Loring, Virginia.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1972.

Dr. JOSEPH E. THACH,
Research Analyst Committee on Internal Security,
House of Representatives, 309
Cannon Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DOCTOR THACH: The enclosed selection of broadcasts, attributed to actress Jane Fonda, were reviewed as you requested. Frankly, although I have poured over literally thousands of pages of underground press material in the past few years, I have found little that I felt qualified more precisely as purely psychological warfare than these. I use this term in the sense of Dr. Paul M. A. Linebarger's classic book on the subject and of the FM 33 series of field manuals produced by the U.S. Army since the 1940's.

I have to discount Miss Fonda's words as constituting an anti-war protest, not only because they were allegedly directed toward U.S. military forces in the field—a group hardly in a position to act on anyone's protest without disobeying the orders they are operating under—but because she says as much in her text. In other words, she is not addressing her remarks toward influencing the voting behavior of fellow citizens, or toward legislators who are passing on military appropriations etc., or the President, Secretary of Defense, or even commanders in the field, she is, in her own words, addressing herself to men at the operational level of military units and suggesting to them that they not follow their orders.

As I noted in the beginning, her techniques, phraseology, and themes are more comparable to combat propaganda operations, designed to encourage misbehavior on the part of troops, than anything else I can think of. For example, her words seem to fit the following passage rather well:

... Another major direction of the propaganda effort is to emphasize to the enemy soldier the dangers of combat. Such an appeal, combined with a questioning of the worth of his country's war aims, is designed to encourage the enemy soldier to be particularly cautious and to mangle and avoid danger at every opportunity, thus reducing the combat effectiveness of his unit. [p. 12, U.S. Army FM 33-5, January 1962]

Perhaps more specifically to the Vietnam situation, I see the texts of these broadcasts as falling quite handily into the statement of a primary psychological goal of insurgent forces as stated in the 1966 edition of this same manual:

... to convince the world and the local population that the motives of nations assisting the threatened government are false. Through national and international media, the insurgent will attempt to malign the motives of all assistance to the local government. Economic exploitation, neo-colonialism, genocide, and capitalism seeking raw materials and markets are some of the numerous themes used to elicit sympathy and support. [p. 35, U.S. Army FM 33-5, October 1966]

Certain passages in Miss Fonda's material call to mind descriptions of propaganda aimed at the French in the Algerian experience:

... Frenchmen were told that the war waged by France was unjust, that the FLN was justified in fighting for independence, that the very principles invoked by the FLN were learned from the French Revolution, etc. . . . [p. 279, *Undergrounds in Insurgent, Revolutionary, and Resistance Warfare*. Special Operations Research Office, The American University, November, 1963]

Similar material, of course, can be found in the literature on most revolutionary operations in the past fifty or sixty years. The Hukb in the Philippines, for example, used some of the same themes.

Getting directly to the resemblance of Miss Fonda's material and traditionally accepted psychological warfare techniques and the prospects of this material affecting troop morale, let me call attention briefly to the origin, history, and theory of this branch of military tactics. As pointed out in U.S. Army manuals, these techniques are as old as recorded history, but came into habitual use in the U.S. services in World War I. There these efforts focused on surrender appeals to hungry enemy soldiers in trenches. In World War II the techniques were further perfected and broadened, but still, as far as combat troops were concerned, the propaganda appealed heavily to hungry or beleaguered troops or forces whose chances of victory and eventual return to their homeland were rather easily shown to be poor. And, more often than not, that has been the case, the propagandist could see a host of personal deprivations among the enemy troops he could seize upon. Even the Tokyo Rose type of effort, at the strategic level, dwelled on the length of time troops had been away from home and played upon their being out of communications with their families and the home scene.

Part of the intelligence operation connected with the propaganda effort has always been to find out what the target troops did and did not have. It would always have been ridiculous to beam "hunger appeals" to well-fed troops or "we have got you surrounded" messages to carrier-based pilots. But, the application of the techniques has generally been to make the propaganda appeal on the lowest rung of the "physiological-need" ladder—tired, hungry, cold, beaten men's minds are at the lower rungs and it is futile to appeal to them with more abstract messages.

Perhaps many of us have become used to judging propaganda in these terms—and perhaps we have become used to judging troop morale primarily on these bases. But, of course, the propaganda theory has always been that if the baser needs were satisfied the propagandist had to raise his sights. When the next level of needs were satisfied he had to raise them again. When personal

welfare and safety were not really in much jeopardy he had to get almost completely out of those areas or his propaganda would simply be laughed at.

Look at Vietnam. The U.S. troops have had essentially everything they could possibly want for, in terms of creature comforts. And, compared to other military experience in world history, their tours have been short, their communications with home good, and so on. I don't mean to suggest that Vietnam duty is a picnic—having been all through the Vietnam command, I know better. It would be foolish, however, for any propagandist to try to get at those troops with the old ploys. About the only themes left are precisely those Miss Fonda harps on. Nothing in the books suggests the propaganda will therefore be any less effective—a well-fed man can simply be reached on matters that a hungry man would not even listen to.

Thus, in the broadcasts it is easy to spot attacks on what is the basic element of any healthy, well-attended fighting man's spirit—the justice of his cause. Obviously, a man who is hungry enough, will kill just to eat—a frightened man will kill to preserve his own life, etc.—but a man who is not so deprived or so threatened must believe in his cause in order to take another human life. Keep pounding at him with arguments otherwise—supported by evidence that the obvious enemy is not the only one who says this—and you begin to get to him.

Then, inject the "war crimes" fear—the "even you may have to answer for this behavior later!!" Use as a background the "women and children" plea, support it with the "I am seeing it with my own eyes, and I am an American, too" credibility potential, and lace it with allusions to the beauty of the women and the pastoral nature of the countryside. Come in with the "inhumanity of buttons and levers" against an enemy you don't have to face, and the tearing of flesh with plastic and metal. It is all in Miss Fonda's text and it is just as it should be, from the standpoint of good propaganda operations.

Finally, there are some distinct advantages to Jane Fonda. American movie star, and frequent personality around Army posts, as a speaker. She is immediately known. She is glamorous. She has all the trappings of self-sacrifice, and she has rapport. She knows

youth and she knows the Army. In this respect she is better than any Tokyo Rose history has ever known—she is a walking encyclopedia of current, cultural and technical intelligence on the U.S. military and the young people who occupy so many of its ranks. She is even an expert on the anti-military movement. She mentions that and thus provides a readily available philosophy and group-association for her listeners.

Just in case all of these things will miss some people, she puts in the personal risk, the prisoner-of-war threat, and the people back home crying over the men overseas, and tops that off with hints that there won't be a job or a place in life for the returning veterans. It is quite complete.

Again, these broadcasts are, in my opinion, good, military propaganda. *Whether or not they affect troop morale is a matter of assessment, but there is nothing wrong with the design.*

Sincerely,

FRANCIS M. WATSON, Jr.

PREPARED STATEMENT: BRIG. GEN. S. L. A. MARSHALL, USA (RET.)

Gentlemen of the Committee, I prize the confidence placed in me implied by your invitation to appear and add my witness to that of the other retired officers from whom you are hearing. I am not—I was not—a professional officer. But while my active service has been as a Reservist, particularly my support, my consistent backing, has always come from the Regular Army. I have known every Chief of Staff of the Army since John J. Pershing and in some measure I have served as an adviser to every holder of that office from the time of George C. Marshall. That is perhaps less important than that I have seen more of the Army under a greater variety of conditions than any American past or present. My first active service was in 1917 which, as I recall, puts me in the same bracket as Congressman Pepper though I have not touched base with him since one week after Pearl Harbor. My last active field service was in Vietnam, May-June, 1968, just 51 years after my start. My most recollections in uniform occurred one week ago, I cannot recap the whole thing for you; it would be very boring. Suffice to say that I had extended combat duty in both World Wars, Korea and Vietnam. More to the point, in World War II, during the first year, I was Chief of Orientation of the Army and then

became one of the three officers assigned by George C. Marshall to establish the Historical Division. In the immediate postwar period, at General Eisenhower's direction, I wrote the official doctrine on leadership for the officer corps of all armed forces, a work that still stands.

AUGUST 28, 1972.

TO ROBERT M. HORNER,
Chief Investigator,
HR Comm on Internal Security,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. HORNER: You wrote me asking my judgment as to the likely effect of the Jane Fonda broadcasts out of North Vietnam on U.S. service people stationed in that area.

First as to my credentials, the following points should be pertinent and sufficient, though there are others:

1. During WW II, I was special adviser to high command Central Pacific on psywar problems, in particular, how to increase our take of POWs, and in this I succeeded. I had the same advisory role in Korea, 1950-51.

2. In between wars I was called as an expert witness on this subject by the directors of Project Vista.

3. From 1955-58 I was a member of Special Ops Panel, D of D, responsible for scientific guidance on psywar ops.

There is no question about the intent of the Fonda broadcasts. The evidence prima facie is that the purpose is to demoralize and discourage, stir dissent and stimulate desertion. But then, that is not the question you posed.

Would it have any one or all of these effects provided the words of the broadcaster were heard by a vulnerable individual? Here I speak of the Fonda production as a whole. There is no reason to doubt that it would. To be effective, what is said has to be credible. When the propagandist speaks in the idiom of the audience to whom the words are directed, and in reporting as an eye-wit-

ness, cites facts, objects and circumstances with which the listener is likely to be familiar, that meets all of the requirements that insure maximum belief.

I would speculate that Miss Fonda gets help in the preparation of her broadcasts. They are expertly done and are models of their kind.

All of this having been said, as to the main question of whether she did material damage to the well-being of forces in Asia, or for that matter, in the ZI, I am unable to answer.

I would stand on the general proposition that in the occurring circumstances, when any fellow citizen is permitted with impunity to go to such extremes, men and women in the serving forces feel resentful, and in the overwhelming majority, to the degree that they believe they have been let down by government because it does not act, their own feelings of loyalty become taxed. The hurt here is long-term and indirect.

That still does not answer the question. I have no idea how many serving people heard Miss Fonda, or of those who heard, what percentage had previously discounted her as a liar, a trouble-making subversive or a half-cracked female. One would need to know such things to make an intelligent estimate.

I do know we have an extremely sensitive situation in Indochina, one probably without precedent in our history. On returning there in July, 1970 to get a measure of troop morale and discipline the Chief of Staff, USA, felt so much alarm at what he found that on getting back to Washington he visited the President to warn him that "anything might happen." That would include large-scale mutiny. Where the balance is just that delicate, any act of aid and comfort to the enemy of the United States could become the fatal straw.

Faithfully yours,

S. L. A. MARSHALL,
Brigadier General Retired.

JULY TRAVEL ITINERARY OF JANE FONDA

From various descriptions of her visit in the media, along with her own statements at press conferences held in Hanoi (July 20), Paris (July 25), and New York (July 27), it is possible to describe an approximate sequence to Fonda's activities between July 8 and 22:

- July 8 - Arrival in Hanoi
- July 9/11 - Visit to Hanoi "War Museum" (containing alleged specimens of U.S. fragmentation and alleged "chemical" bombs) and Bach Mai (suburb of Hanoi which also reportedly has a jet fighter field) to view alleged bomb damage to the hospital there.
- July 12 - Visits to Nam Sach District ("60 kilometers east of Hanoi") and Hong Phong Village to view bomb damage to dikes and populated areas.
- July 13/16- Unknown activities, but Fonda later claimed to have "traveled hundreds of miles throughout the bombed regions" in the days preceding her Hanoi press interview of July 19 with Jean Thoraval (a French AFP reporter who with several other Western correspondents, has promoted allegations that the U.S. is deliberately bombing the dikes and areas with non-military targets)
- July 14 - First taped Fonda broadcast to GIs via Radio Hanoi.
- July 17/18- Visits Nam Dinh district, described as a main textile center of North Vietnam, to observe alleged bomb damage to "non-military" targets.
- July 17 - Second broadcast to GIs via Radio Hanoi in which she described previous visits to Bach Mai Hospital and Hanoi War Museum.
- July 18 - Interview with captured U. S. Airmen in Hanoi.
- July 19 - Interview with AFP correspondent Jean Thoraval (cf. above) which is mainly an anti-U.S. denunciation of the war and conversely, a propaganda piece to stress the "determination" of the North Vietnamese to resist. Fonda added that she was forced to take refuge at a road-side shelter during a U.S. raid of July 18.

- July 19 - Third broadcast to GIs via Hanoi Radio.
- July 20 - Press Conference at "Hanoi International Club" where she described her visits to the countryside since July 8, her earlier meeting with U. S. PWs and concluded with her usual anti-U.S. diatribe.
- July 20 - Radio Hanoi broadcast, described as a Vietnamese translation of a Fonda statement, on the North Vietnamese "liberation" of Quang Tri Province and how the ARVN counteroffensive was doomed to failure; fourth broadcast to GIs explaining U.S.-SVN violations of the Geneva Accords of 1954.
- July 21 - Fifth and sixth broadcasts to GIs, both aimed at U.S. fliers, on alleged war crimes and veiled suggestions to refuse to fly further combat missions.
- July 21 - Fonda meets with North Vietnamese Nguyen Duy Trinh where she claimed to have "witnessed U.S. crimes in Hanoi...Hai Hung, Ha Tay and Nam Ha provinces" and expressed thanks to him for distinguishing between "U.S. imperialists" and "The American people who are friends of the Vietnamese people in the struggle for peace and democracy." Fonda also told the Vice Premier that "she was convinced that under the wise leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party and the DRV Government the Vietnamese people will certainly win brilliant victory."
- July 21 - Fonda broadcast to "the Vietnamese People"
- July 22 - Fonda departed Hanoi. "Seeing her off at the airport," a Radio Hanoi broadcast noted, "were members of the Vietnam Committee of Solidarity with the American People and the Vietnamese Film Artistes Association"; stopped at Vientiane, "escorted by a French photographer."
- July 23 - Arrives in Paris via Moscow on Aeroflot flight; delayed tape broadcast to "South Vietnamese Youth" on alleged repressions of the Thieu government and the VC struggle against it.
- July 24 - Seventh Radio Hanoi broadcast to GIs (noted as having been recorded July 16, 1972).

- July 25 - Press Conference in Paris.
- July 27 - Arrival in New York.
- July 28 - New York Press Conference. Basically the same rhetoric as the Paris press meeting.
- July 28 - Eighth broadcast to GIs (delayed tape ca. July 18-19)
- July 29 - Delayed tape (in English) to "Saigon Soldiers". (In English to ARVN? Also meant for American ears with respect to desertion?)
- July 29 - Arrival in Los Angeles.
- July 31 - Attended Los Angeles premiere of "F.T.A." and announces she is "abandoning her career" until after the November election "in order to campaign against the Vietnam War."

LIST OF RADIO HANOI BROADCASTS BY JANE FONDA

I. FONDA BROADCASTS TO GIs, JULY-AUGUST, 1972:

<u>DATE/TIME</u>	<u>IDENTIFICATION AS ADDRESSED TO GIs WITHIN CONTEXT OF MESSAGE</u>
1. 7/14/72, 0246 GMT	X - "All of you in the cockpits of your planes...in the 7th Fleet"
2. 7/17/72, 1300 GMT	X - "U. S. Servicemen"
3. 7/19/72, 2000 GMT	X - "American Servicemen"
4. 7/21/72, 1000 GMT	X - "U. S. Pilots"
5. 7/22/72, 1300 GMT	X - "U.S. Flyers and Airmen"
6. 7/20/72, 1300 GMT	X - "the U.S. men who...have been sent here to fight"
7. 7/24/72, 1300 GMT	X - "U.S. pilots and airmen"
8. 7/25/72, 1300 GMT	X - "U.S. pilots and airmen"
9. 7/28/72, 2000 GMT	X - "U. S. Servicemen"
10. 7/30/72, 2000 GMT	X - "American GIs"
11. 8/15/72, 1300 GMT (recorded 7/20/72)	X - "American Servicemen"
12. 8/22/72, 1300 GMT (recorded ca. 7/22/72)	X - "American Servicemen"

Supra: 4 other English-language broadcasts but addressed to (1) SVN People (7/21/72);
(2) Saigon Students (7/21/72); (3) "Saigon Soldiers" 7/29/72; (4) Press
Conference of 7/20/72.

II. OTHER FONDA BROADCASTS, JULY-AUGUST, 1972:

1. Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, 0430 GMT, 7/20/72,
re "Quangtri Liberation" by NVA.
2. Hanoi in English to Europe, Africa and Mid-East, 2000 GMT, 7/20/72,
Press Conference "Statement." re Recorded Passage from Her Hanoi
3. Liberation Press Agency (Clandestine) in English to E. Europe and the Far
East, 1513 GMT, 7/21/72. re "Message
to South Vietnamese People."
4. Hanoi in Vietnamese to South Vietnamese, 0330 GMT, 7/23/72
re "Letter to Southern Youths."
5. Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War,
1300 GMT, 7/26/72. re "Talk with
Saigon Students."
6. Hanoi in English to SE Asia, 1000 GMT, 7/29/72
re "Message to Saigon Soldiers."
7. Liberation Radio (Clandestine) in Vietnamese to South Vietnam, 1400 GMT,
8/1/72 re "Fonda...Message to Mma. Binh
in Cuba" sends her a "warm kiss."
8. [Article] Hanoi PHU NU VIETNAM (in Vietnamese) No. 297 (8/1/72), pp. 16-17.
re Fonda Article on "Women's Struggle
in U.S."

TEXTS OF FONDA'S BROADCASTS TO U.S. SERVICEMEN

REPORT ON JANE FONDA'S ACTIVITIES, STATEMENT ON BOMBED DIKES

Hanoi VNA in English to Havana, [REDACTED]

[For Nguyen Duy Phuc, correspondent of Voice of Vietnam]

[Text] Hanoi--visiting American actress Jane Fonda July 12 went to see the dikes bombed by American planes the day before in Nam Sach district, Hai Hung Province. She noted that in the area she visited, it was easy to see that there are no military targets, there is no important highway, there is no communication network and there is no heavy industry. In her assessment, the U.S. has made deliberate attacks on dikes to jeopardise life and terrorise the people.

Later she visited Hong Phong village, remote locality far from major communication lines and industrial centres. On July 11, at daybreak when the villagers were about to begin farm work, U.S. war planes raced in and wantonly bombed a hamlet in the village. Many houses were blasted, fruit trees mangled and household furniture was seriously damaged. Two old persons were killed and many others wounded.

Jane Fonda felt great indignation at this U.S. attack on civilian populations. In the past few days, she had contacts with many workers, peasants and intellectuals to gather information. She called on the special representation of the RSV in Hanoi, had conversations with a number of fighters, artists and victimized people coming from South Vietnam. She was cordially received by Nguyen Phu Soai, acting head of the special representation.

Statement by Jane Fonda, After Visiting Dikes and Dams at Nam Sach Hit by U.S. Aircraft

Yesterday morning on [REDACTED], I went to the district of Nam Sach to see the damage that has been done to the dikes in that district. And I wondered what has been going on with the hands of those who were pulling the lever and dropping the bombs on the fields and on the dikes of the Red River Delta. Do you know, for example, that for centuries since the Middle Ages, the Vietnamese peasants have built, built up, and reinforced a great complex network of dikes which hold back the torrential water of the rivers flowing down from the mountains in summer during the monsoon season.

Without these dikes 15 million people's lives would be endangered, and would die by drowning and by starvation. Anthony Lewis from the New York TIMES wrote an article just before I left the U.S. in which he said that successive U.S. administrations had rejected the ideas of bombing the dikes in the Red River Delta, because they all felt the dikes aren't entirely military targets. This was the type of terrorist tactic that is unworthy of American people and of American flags. But today, American Phantom jets are bombing the strategic points in the dike networks in this area.

In the area where I went yesterday it was easy to see that there are no military targets. There is no important highway, there is no communication network, there is no heavy industry. These are peasants, They grow rice and they rear pigs. They are similar to the farmers in the midwest many years ago in the U.S. They are happy people, peace-loving people. When I went by walking on the way to the dikes to see the damage, would it be made enough I was an American and I was afraid of the reaction would be taken by the local people. [Sentence as received] But they looked at me curiously and I saw no hostility in their eyes. I looked very carefully. I thought curiously. I am the woman. They seemed to be asking themselves: What kind of people can Americans be, those who would drop all kinds of bombs, so carelessly on their innocent heads, destroying their villages and endangering the lives of these millions of people.

Fuller Version of Statement

Hanoi VNA International Service in English [REDACTED]

[Text] Hanoi VNA July 14--Contrary to the statement of U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Daniel Henkin who claimed that U.S. planes on July 12 only hit military targets in Nam Sach district, about 60 kilometers east of Hanoi, actress Jane Fonda now on a visit to North Vietnam asserted that "there was no military target" in the bombed area.

She went to the place shortly after the raid took place and made this comment over Voice of Vietnam Radio, addressing all the U.S. servicemen involved in the bombing of North Vietnam:

Yesterday morning, [REDACTED], I went to the district of Nam Sach to see the damage that has been done to the dikes in that district, and I wondered what has been going on with the hands of those who are pulling the lever and dropping the bombs on the fields and on the dikes of the Red River Delta. Do you know, for example, that for centuries since the middle ages, the Vietnamese peasants have built up and reinforced a great complex network of dikes which hold back the torrential water of the rivers flowing down from the mountains in summer during the monsoon seasons? Without these dikes 15 million people's lives would be endangered, and would die by drowning and by starvation. Anthony Lewis from the New York TIMES wrote an article just before I left the U.S. in which he said that successive U.S. administrations had rejected the idea of bombing the dikes in the Red River Delta, because they all felt the dikes are not entirely military targets and that this was the type of terrorist tactic that is unworthy of American people and American flags. But today, as you know better than I, American Phantom jets are bombing strategic points in the dike networks in this area.

I (?implore) you, I beg you to consider what you are doing. In the area where I went yesterday it was easy to see that there are no military targets, there is no important highway, there is no communication network, there is no heavy industry. These are peasants. They grow rice and they rear pigs.

They are similar to the farmers in the midwest many years ago in the U.S. Perhaps your grandmothers and grandfathers would not be so different from these peasants. They are happy people, peace-loving people. When I went by walking on the way to the dikes to see the damage, would it be made enough I was an American and I was afraid of the reaction would be taken by the local people. [sentence as received] But they looked at me curiously and I saw no hostility in their eyes. I looked very carefully. I thought curiously. I saw the women. They seemed to be asking themselves: What kind of people can Americans be, those who would drop all kinds of bombs, so carelessly on their innocent heads, destroying their villages and endangering the lives of these millions of people.

All of you in the cockpits of your planes, on the aircraft carriers, those who are loading the bombs, those who are repairing the planes, those who are working on the 7th Fleet, please think what you are doing.

Are these people your enemy? What will you say to your children years from now who may ask you why you fought the war? What words will you be able to say to them?

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War

[Text] Last week, actress Jane Fonda visited Hanoi's Bach Mai hospital which was seriously damaged by U.S. bombs during a recent air raid. After the visit she had this to talk to American servicemen still involved in the Vietnam war. [Follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi, and I'm speaking particularly to the U.S. servicemen who are stationed on the aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin, in the 7th Fleet, in the Anglico Corps in the south of Vietnam.

You are very far away, perhaps, and removed from the country that you're being ordered to shoot shells at and bomb. And so it's perhaps very hard for you to, to understand in concrete human terms what the effects of, of these bombs and these shells are having.

I'm sure if you knew what was inside the shells that you're dropping, you would ask yourself as, as I have been doing for the last few days since I have seen the victims: What do the men who work for Honeywell and the other companies in the United States that invent and, and, and make these weapons--what do they think in the morning, at breakfast? What do they dream about when they sleep at night?

Yesterday, I went through the war museum in Hanoi, where there is a display of all the different kinds of antipersonnel weapons the different kinds of bombs, the guava bomb, the pineapple bomb, the spider bomb, different kinds of shells that contain toxic chemicals, the new kinds of napalm, combinations of napalm and phosphorus and thermites. The list is endless as are the, the victims from these weapons. And, it absolutely amazed me, the length to which man's mind--or at least some men in the United States--their minds have gone to create new ways of killing people. They must want to die very much themselves to think this much about new ways of killing people.

I don't know what your officers tell you that you are dropping on this country. I don't know what your officers tell you, you are loading, those of you who load the bombs on the planes. But one thing that you should know is that these weapons are illegal and that's not, that's not just rhetoric. They are outlawed, these kind of weapons, by several conventions of which the United States was a signatory--two Hague conventions. And the use of these bombs or the condoning the use of these bombs makes one a war criminal.

The men who are ordering you to use these weapons are war criminals according to international law, and in, in the past, in Germany and in Japan, men who were guilty of these kind of crimes were tried and executed.

Now I know that you are not told these kind of things, but, you know, history changes. We've witnessed incredible changes for example in the United States in the last 5 years. The astounding victory that has just been won by George McGovern, for example, who, who was nominated by the Democratic Party, is an example of the kind of changes that are going on--an example of the overwhelming, overwhelming feeling in the United States among people to end the war. McGovern represents all that is good to these people. He represents an end to the war, an end to the bombing.

The women and the mothers in the United States are weeping for the damage and death and destruction that is being caused to the mothers of Vietnam. Very soon, very soon even the people in the United States who have not yet spoken out will be admitting that this war is the most terrible crime that has ever been created against humanity.

It may be very difficult for you who have been asked to fight it to, to think about the war in a new kind of way, to not think about it in an abstract way, to not think about it as some, sole land down there underneath your planes or beyond the sight of your guns, that is just sand or rubble or trees with a lot of gooks or Charlies or whatever you've been taught to call the people who live here.

This is a country that is 4,000 years old. It is a very rich country, it has a rich culture, it has a rich, a rich growth. The trees are lush, the flowers are beautiful. I've been in many countries around the world, I have traveled widely, I've been very fortunate. Never in my life have I been in a country of people that are so loving, and so nonalienated. They are truly at peace with their land and with each other. What do you see in the streets? You see people holding hands, arms around each other, helping each other, talking to each other, hugging each other, working together in the fields. These are peasants. These are people who are used to being part of their land. Their clothes are stained with the land, their houses are made with land.

There's an expression that is used to describe Vietnamese women, which says: Feet in the dust and hands in the mud. And you see all these beautiful Vietnamese women leaning over in the rice fields, with their hands in the mud planting the rice. Their pagodas are made of mud.

And their land is being destroyed. Why? Certainly not for anything that is in your interests, the soldiers of the United States, or in the interests of any of the people in the United States except the very few people who are determined to prevent the nation of Vietnam from achieving freedom and independence.

How this came about is an astonishing thing. How it is that a country like the United States of America, which fought for its own freedom and independence, has become a nation which will deprive another nation of freedom and independence is something that we will all have to answer one day. We'll all have to find out how this came about. But right now, we must, we must stop, we must stop dropping these bombs on the people of Vietnam.

I visited a hospital today, the Bach Mai hospital. I saw a huge bomb crater in the center of the hospital. It was obviously dropped there on purpose. With the kind of bombs, the kind of techniques that have been developed now, you know, particularly you pilots know, that accidents like that don't happen. This was no accident. It destroyed wards filled with patients. It destroyed hospital equipment. It killed some doctors. It is a terrible thing to see what has been done.

Why? Why do you do this? Why do you follow orders telling you to destroy a hospital or bomb the schools. Do you know what happens to the women when the napalm that you're dropping lands on them? You have no idea. Deformed hands, necks twisted out of shape, women with five children who were working women who are used to working with their hands, who were lovely and alive and graceful--the way Vietnamese women are with the long black hair--twisted out of shape, not dead, not spared the pain and the misery of living as a mutilated person, forever in physical pain.

Why, why is this being done? The victims in the hospitals with thousands of holes in their body, from the steel pellets that are being dropped, and even worse now the Nixon administration has gone one step further from the Johnson administration--the steel pellets have been perfected, they're now plastic, rough-edged plastic. Why? Because plastic doesn't show up on X-ray's, which means that these people spend the rest of their lives with their bodies filled with plastic pellets and every time they move, it causes excruciating agony.

The women that I have talked to who were not even under your bombs but came to help victims of the chemical bombs, and the chemical toxic gasses were so strong that even after the bomb, long after the bomb had exploded when these women came to save the other people, they got sick. And, and weeks and months later they still--they pass out, they have headaches, they are losing their memory. Women who, who were pregnant are, are, are giving birth to deformed babies.

How can it be that the people of the United States have caused this kind of terrible, terrible suffering on a nation so far away? On a nation that has caused us no harm? I mean, what do you think? That the Vietnamese people are going to row across the Pacific in canoes? So I ask you and I will continue to ask you as long as I am here and I ask you as an American and I ask you because I cry every night when I think of, of what these people are having to go through, and I cry every night, when I think of the danger that is being done to them because of the bombing of their dikes. And I say why? And I say that the time has come for us to stop it.
[recording ends]

That was American movie actress Jane Fonda addressing U.S. servicemen involved in the Indochina war.

K 22

FURTHER REPORTS ON JANE FONDA'S ACTIVITIES IN DRV

Report on Nam Dinh Visit

Hanoi in English to Europe, Africa and the Middle East 2000 GMT 19 Jul 72 B

[Text] U.S. warplanes have conducted savage airstrikes on Nam Dinh, North Vietnam's third largest city. The effects bear an extermination character.

American actress Jane Fonda, now in North Vietnam, on ~~10/10~~ visited the bombed city. Follows her address to American servicemen involved in the Vietnam war after visiting Nam Dinh: [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

I was taken to all parts of the city. I saw with my own eyes that in this city which is the textile capital of Vietnam, there are no military targets.

I saw for example, on Hang Tien Street, bombed on the 23d of June, huge bomb craters which had destroyed houses in this very populated residential section of town. There were two women who were picking through the rubble left by the bombs and they came over and spoke to me. One of the women said that she'd been at the market when the bomb fell on the top of her house. Her house has been turned into a huge bomb crater. Her husband and three children were all killed. Her oldest son was 25 years old, her next oldest son had been 22, and her youngest son was 18. Three families in this area were entirely destroyed by the bombs.

As I walked through the streets, beautiful Vietnamese girls looked at me through the doors and returned my smile. Their eyes seemed to be questioning: How is it that the Americans can do this to our city? We have done nothing to them.

I saw a secondary school where 600 students from 5th to 7th grade had been in class. The school had been hit by two bombs. I saw the center of a Chinese residential district, bombed--three places--houses razed to the ground.

The number 1 hospital of the city which had had 200 beds and it treated people from all over the city, large parts of it had been completely destroyed, particularly the pediat--pediatrics department and the supply dep--er--department where the medicines had been kept.

The large factory, the textile factories of Nam Dinh, in charred ruins. No one isn't [as heard] allowed to go in there because there are delayed reaction bombs.

I went to the dike, the dike system of the city of Nam Dinh. Just this morning at 4 o'clock it was bombed again, and I was told that an hour after we left the city, planes came back and rebombed Nam Dinh. The dike in many places has been cut in half and there are huge fissures running across the top of it.

Again, I am talking about these things and I am describing to you what I am seeing on the ground because I think that you must not understand that the destruction is being caused to civilian populations and residential areas, to cultural centers. I saw the pagodas bombed in Nam Dinh. The area in which there are theaters where people come to rest, the recreation centers were all destroyed in Nam Dinh.

What are your commanders telling you? How are they justifying this to you? Have you any idea what your bombs are doing when you pull the levers and push the buttons?

Some day we're going to have to answer to our children for this war. Some day we are going to have to explain to the rest of the world how it is that we caused this type of suffering and death and destruction to a people who--who have done us no harm. Perhaps we should start to do it now before it is, too late.

Perhaps, however, the most important thing that has to be said about Vietnam is that despite all that Nixon is doing here and that Johnson has done before him, despite all the bombs, the people are more determined than ever to fight.

Take Nam Dinh for example. There are people who are still living in Nam Dinh. The factories have been dispersed and they are still working. There is still electricity. People are going about their business.

Perhaps the most important thing that can be said about Vietnam at this time is that in spite of, or perhaps because of, the bombs and the destruction that has been caused by the Nixon administration and was caused by the Johnson administration before him (?to) Vietnam, the resistance and the determination to resist has spread to every district, to every village, to every hamlet, to every house and to every Vietnamese heart.

This is very important to understand. Every man, woman and child in this country has a determination like a bright flame, burying them, strengthening their determination to go forward, to fight for freedom and independence.

And what interests me so much is that as an American, is that this is so much like the essence of the American people. The one unifying quality I believe about the American people, the common denominator that we all share, is the love for freedom and democracy. The problem is that the definition of, of freedom and democracy has been distorted for us and we have to redefine what that means. But the Vietnamese who have been fighting for 4,000 years know very well.

And as in Nam Dinh for example, all the rubble and all of the destruction has not stopped them. It is fascinating to see. There are people still living there, there is still electricity in the city. The factories have been dispersed, but it is still working. The textiles are still being produced. Families are still producing food for a (certainty). They are still going to the markets, and they are still ready to pick up a gun if necessary and defend their homes and their land. [recording ends]

That was Jane Fonda's address to American servicemen involved in the Vietnam war after visiting U.S. bombed city of Nam Dinh.

Fonda on Quang Tri Liberation

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese [REDACTED]

[Statement by actress Jane Fonda; first few words in English, fading into Vietnamese translation--recorded]

[Text] I am Jane Fonda. I am in Hanoi. All of us know that you, Vietnamese friends, are fighting for the just cause and the truth. Therefore, you do not have to bomb or imprison the people.

You friends might wonder why after waging the special war of [words indistinct] after the United States introduced a million U.S. infantry troops into Vietnam and after carrying out the Vietnamization program, all these strategies have failed. These strategies might be changed, but they have only been aimed at supporting the policy of turning South Vietnam into a U.S. neocolony. Why is Nixon, while speaking of peace and ending the war, sending many more U.S. aircraft to Vietnam and bombing on a scale unprecedentedly massive in the history of war? Because Nixon is trying to check the people's war of the Vietnamese people, 90 percent of whom are peasants, who are intent on regaining power, determining their own destiny, acquiring land and plowing and transplanting for themselves.

The situation in Quang Tri is very interesting. When the liberation troops entered Quang Tri and, in coordination with the peasants, liberated this province, all the people in the province arose like birds breaking out of their cages, as pointed out by a journalist back from Quang Tri. Why did the people arise? Why were they capable of defeating all the army units Thieu sent to Quang Tri? Why can they continue to fight despite the bombs and shells falling on their heads? Because they are free. Because they are fighting for freedom and are protecting their 4,000-year history and their future. They are protecting the sacrifices and the blood shed by their ancestors as well as their parents, children, brothers and sisters.

They have set up an administration. It is very interesting to note that some former members of the puppet army are participating in this administration. Many former members of the puppet administration in Quang Tri Province have now been elected by the people to the newly formed people's committees. Why is that? Because the people know that these persons did not betray them and did little harm to them. These persons previously were coerced or bribed by the Saigon administration.

Therefore, we find here an inspiring practical example of concord, a model of the tolerance of the Vietnamese people and a concrete example proving that one of the seven points set forth by the PRGRSV has been realized, whereby the revolutionary forces, various political and religious tendencies, neutralists and members of the present Saigon administration can cooperate with one another as Vietnamese patriots standing for their country's independence, freedom and democracy.

We Americans can also appreciate this because one of the revolutionary slogans adopted by patriot Patrick Henry was "liberty or death." This slogan is not very different from President Ho Chi Minh's "Nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom" slogan.

Press Conference

V Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese [REDACTED]

[Recorded reportage]

[Text] On the evening of [REDACTED] artist Jane Fonda, a well-known American pacifist visiting the northern part of our country, held a press conference at the Hanoi International Club. Attending were many domestic and foreign journalists.

In her opening statement Jane Fonda pointed out the following reasons for her current visit to our country: To discover the truth about the bombing the Nixon administration is trying to deny before the U.S. public and to discover facts about our country's overall situation that is being slanderously distorted by many American newspapers.

She gave a detailed account of what she had seen and heard while visiting hospitals, schools, factories, dikes and dams, cities and villages which were destroyed by U.S. bombs and shells and where definitely no military targets were found. She recalled the very emotional contacts she had with many of our people of various strata.

Recalling her visit to seven U.S. aggressor pilots detained in the north, she said all of them were healthy and repentant and hoped that the Vietnam war would soon end.

Artist Jane Fonda laid special emphasis on the undeniable crimes of the Nixon administration, which bombed and strafed dikes and dams.

Sister Fonda indignantly said: [first two sentences in English, fading into Vietnamese translation--recording] Melvin Laird the other day said that bombing of dikes may be taking place, but it is accidental and it only happens if there is a military target on top of the dike. Does he really take the Vietnamese to be foolish enough to put a military installation on top of a dike? Why did Mr Laird say that the United States might have accidentally bombed Vietnamese dikes, dams and sluices while the Pentagon was ballyhooing the "accuracy" and "smartness" of U. S. bombs?

She stressed the need to condemn the Nixon administration's bombing of dikes and dams because it is fraught with the danger of causing losses which may last for decades for the Vietnamese people.

She continued: [first few words in English, fading into Vietnamese translation--recorded] I believe that vicious Nixon knows what he is doing. By bombing the dikes and dams that have been built and protected for thousands of years Nixon has struck at the foundation of the Vietnamese nation. Nixon is trying to defend himself, but he has no right to bomb the DRV. He has violated the 1954 Geneva agreements and the commitment made in 1968 to stop bombing the north.

After analytically pointing out that Nixon's present war escalation originated in his setbacks in South Vietnam, sister Fonda said: [first few words in English, fading into Vietnamese translation--recording] The Vietnamese people have a 4,000-year history. These 4,000 years have readied the Vietnamese people to handle any action taken by Nixon. I have the impression that the Vietnamese people are struggling for their fallen heroes and heroines, for their 4,000-year history and for their future generations. What I have learned here and which I will never forget is that Vietnam is one nation, one country.

Refuting many of Nixon's fallacious allegations about the Vietnam problem, especially the claim that the north is aggressing against the south, sister Fonda stressed: [first few words in English, fading into Vietnamese translation--recording] Nixon cannot end the war if he insistently demands that the political issue be separated from the military issue. There is only one way to end the war: to seriously respond to the PRGRSV's seven-point proposal, which is the most fair, sensible, reasonable and humanitarian proposal. The United States must set a deadline for withdrawing all its military forces from South Vietnam and must cease its support for the Nguyen Van Thieu regime.

Jane Fonda answered many questions by domestic and foreign journalists. Answering a foreign journalist's question on the significance of the Democratic Party's nomination of Senator McGovern as the Democratic presidential candidate, sister Fonda said: The American people are fed up with the Vietnam war, which is radically dividing the United States. Senator McGovern is a symbol of change, of a way out. Many rapid changes have taken place in the United States.

In answer to a question about the fact that some American warlike elements are threatening to take legal action against her for treason, sister Fonda said: I think we must see wh the traitor. I want to publicly accuse Nixon here of being a new-type Hitler whose crimes are being unveiled. I want to publicly charge that while waging the war of aggression in Vietnam he has betrayed everything the American people have at heart. The tragedy is for the United States and not for the Vietnamese people because the Vietnamese people will soon regain their independence and freedom.

But I am afraid that it will take the American people years to wipe out the crimes that Nixon is committing in the name of the United States.

Asked about the most profound impression she had during her Vietnam visit, Jane Fonda answered with a sincere, emotional tone: [1 minute in English, fading into Vietnamese translation--recording] I have many profound impressions, but I will only speak of this morning. This morning while I was sitting in the shadow of the temple of literature in Hanoi the alert sounded. But I was watching the second act of a play by American playwright Arthur Miller. The performers had just come back from the front. This alone proves that the Vietnamese people will win.

Message to U.S. Pilots

Hanoi in English to Southeast Asia ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

[Text] Now here is a recorded message from actress Jane Fonda to U.S. pilots involved in the Vietnam war: [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda. I have come to North Vietnam to bear witness to the damage being done to the Vietnamese land and to Vietnamese lives.

Just like the Thieu regime in Saigon which is sending its ARVN soldiers recklessly into dangerous positions for fear that it will be replaced by the U.S. Government if it fails to score some strategic military gains, so Nixon is continuing to risk your lives and the lives of the American prisoners of war under the bomb in a last desperate gamble to keep his office come November. How does it feel to be used as pawns? You may be shot down, you may perhaps even be killed, but for what, and for whom?

Eighty percent of the American people, according to a recent poll, have stopped believing in the war and think we should get out, think we should bring all of you home. The people back home are crying for you. We are afraid of what, what must be happening to you as human beings. For it isn't possible to destroy, to receive salary for pushing buttons and pulling levers that are dropping illegal bombs on innocent people, without having that damage your own souls.

Tonight when you are alone, ask yourselves: What are you doing? Accept no ready answers fed to you by rote from basic training on up, but as men, as human beings, can you justify what you are doing? Do you know why you are flying these missions, collecting extra combat pay on Sunday?

The people beneath your planes have done us no harm. They want to live in peace; they want to rebuild their country. They cannot understand what kind of people could fly over their heads and drop bombs on them. Did you know that the antipersonnel bombs that are thrown from some of your planes were outlawed by the Hague Convention of 1907, of which the United States was a signatory? I think that if you knew what these bombs were doing, you would get very angry at the men who invented them. They cannot destroy bridges or factories. They cannot pierce steel or cement. Their only target is unprotected human flesh. The pellet bombs now contain rough-edged plastic pellets and your bosses, whose minds think in terms of statistics not human lives, are proud of this new perfection. The plastic pellets don't show up on X-rays and cannot be removed. The hospitals here are filled with babies and women and old people who will live for the rest of their lives in agony with these pellets embedded in them.

Can we fight this kind of war and continue to call ourselves Americans? Are these people so different from our own children, our mothers, or grandmothers? I don't think so, except that perhaps they have a surer sense of why they are living and for what they are willing to die.

I know that if you saw and if you knew the Vietnamese under peaceful conditions, you would hate the men who are sending you on bombing missions. I believe that in this age of remote-controlled push-button war, we must all try very, very hard to remain human beings. [recording ends]

4 Additional Message to Pilots II

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 72 B

[Text] And here is movie actress Jane Fonda addressing U.S. flyers and airmen: [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda in Hanoi. I'm speaking to the men in the cockpits of the Phantoms, in the B-52's, in the F-4's; those of you who are still here fighting the war, in the air, on the ground; the guys in the Anglico Corps, on the 7th Fleet, the Constellation, the Coral Sea, the Hancock, Ticonderoga, the Kitty Hawk, the Enterprise.

You know the war isn't winding down. You know this because you're fighting it. You know this because you are to bomb (?and you call them in). You direct your artillery. You pull the levers to release the bombs. You know the tonnage and the damage. You can see the hospitals and churches in residential areas in smoke and ruin.

So you know that when Nixon says the war is winding down that he's lying; that he has simply changed his tactics. He thinks that he can get away with it, because he believes that we have no conscience; that if he reduces the American casualties but kills more Vietnamese people that we the American people won't care.

But I think he has a very low opinion of the American people. And I think it's a shame that the United States of America is being governed by a person who thinks this way about us. He defies our flag and all that it stands for in the eyes of the entire world.

All of you in your (?heart of hearts) know the lies. You know the cheating on the body counts, the falsified battle reports, and the number of planes that are shot down and what your targets really are. Knowing who was doing the lying, should you then allow these same people and same liars to define for you who your enemy is. Shouldn't we then, shouldn't we all examine the reasons that have been given to us to justify the murder that you are being paid to commit?

If they told you the truth, you wouldn't fight, you wouldn't kill. You were not born and brought up by your mothers to be killers. So you have been--you have been told lies so that it would be possible for you to kill. [recording ends]

That was Jane Fonda speaking to U.S. pilots and airmen.

✓ Talk on Geneva Accords

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War

[Text] Now listen to the movie actress, Jane Fonda, addressing the GI's on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva accords: [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva accords. And one again I'm addressing myself to the U.S. men who are--who have been sent here to fight, as well, as well as to myself, because I think that we, we have to remind ourselves a little bit about the history of the U.S. involvement in the war. It's, it's, umm, something that's been kept from us, and it's really important that we understand, uhh, what our history here has been.

During the French Indochina war, during the time when Roosevelt was president of the United States, he, Roosevelt, hadn't made up his mind what the approach of the United States was going to be to the French involvement in Indochina. But after Roosevelt came Harry Truman, and Truman decided that he was going to take the side of the French, support the French against the Vietnamese people. And Eisenhower, who became president after Truman, followed a policy that Truman had already started. Only he went a little bit further, and by 1953, under the Eisenhower administration, the United States was financing 85 percent of the French war against the Vietnamese people.

Think of what that means in terms of taxes that our parents were paying in the United States, quite unbeknownst to them--the taxes that our parents were having to pay in order to finance, to buy weapons for the French to kill the Vietnamese people.

In 1954, the liberation forces of Vietnam defeated the French colonial army at Dien Bien Phu in an historical battle. Following this victory, there was the Geneva conference and the accords were drawn up, the Geneva accords. The two principal points of the accords called for a temporary division of Vietnam into two military regroupment zones, two regroupment zones, separating Vietnam into, temporarily into, a northern part and a southern part. Two years after the Geneva accords, that is to say in 1956, there was to be a general election. It was to be a general election held in which the people of Vietnam, from the north and the south, would elect their president and reunify their country.

However, in 1956 Eisenhower noted publicly that if the elections were held, Ho Chi Minh would have been elected president of Vietnam by 80 percent of the votes, by 80 percent of the people in Vietnam. And this was something that the United States didn't want. And so, a man by the name of Ngo Dinh Diem was installed as president of South Vietnam. Now, this act, which has been very thoroughly documented in the Pentagon papers--and I think we should all read those papers, at least the condensed version of them, very attentively--it clearly shows that this was an act caused by the United States.

A quote from the Pentagon papers says: South Vietnam is essentially the creation of the United States. And that's a very important thing to keep in mind when our government tells us that there is an invasion from the north. We must remember, that there wouldn't be a north if it were not for the fact that, that the U.S. government had violated the Geneva accords, that Vietnam is in fact one country, with one language, with one history of struggle, with one culture. There are no words in the Vietnamese language for North Vietnam or South Vietnam in fact.

President Kennedy once again violated the Geneva accords when he set up the Military Assistance Advisory Group, or better known as MAAG, which supplied the Diem regime in Saigon with arms and military advisers. One of the stipulations in the Geneva accord was that there were to be no military personnel or advisers or arms sent into Vietnam.

There came a time in the beginning of the 60's when (it) became very apparent that the people of Vietnam hated the Diem regime. The Buddhists began to uprise, and uhh, at that time it became impossible to hide the fact that Diem was, uhh, was in fact installed by the United States, that he did not represent the people of Vietnam--no more than, than Thieu does today--and it became necessary to replace him.

And once again if we turn to the--to the Pentagon papers, that is to say the documents that come from the United States Government, written by our leaders of that time, we see that there was a military coup, uhh, with CIA complicity, which removed Diem, uhh, from office.

And then we come to President Johnson, and once again we have to turn to the Pentagon papers, uhh, and it's very interesting when you read about the so-called Tonkin Gulf incident. You will find that it is a slight fabrication. This, this incident, which was used to justify our bombing of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, this was the point of course at which the United States sent, uhh, U.S. forces openly and in unit strength to Vietnam.

Now, as Americans we should, we should appreciate, deeply appreciate, and understand the struggle (?that the) Vietnamese people are, are fighting because we live in a country, we come from a country of, uhh, which has fought a war of, of independence, and we shed much blood and there was much sorrow over the losses from our war of, uhh, our, our revolution, the American revolution, which we fought against the British, and we won despite the fact that our, our soldiers were, were less professional, had le--had less weapons. We won because we knew why we were fighting, because we were fighting for freedom and independence. And in that kind of a fight, there can be no compromise.

Now that is what the Vietnamese are fi--are fighting; they're fighting for freedom. That is all they're asking for.

There is an invasion taking place. It's taking place from the 7th Fleet, from the aircraft carriers, from Thailand, from Guam, but essentially from the Pentagon and from the White House.

You men, it is not your fault. It is in fact tragic to think how you are being so cynically used because the time is coming very soon, it is already half-way there, when people are admitting openly that this is one of the most horrible crimes ever committed by one nation against another.

(?Earlier) there was a time when Russia was, was the big monster. That was the excuse that we used uhh, in the United States to build up, uhh in, during the cold war to build up, umm, our military strength and, and develop nuclear weapons and terrible, uhh, arsenal of, of, of death.

But what is the situation today? Today we have business men from the United States going to Russia and doing business. We have uhh, uhh, you know our, our government leaders going to Russia. We have the, uhh, you know a peaceful coa--coalition, coexistence with Russia.

Then (?it was) China which became the big, uhh, the big threat; that China was going to suddenly come across the Pacific Ocean and attack us. Uhh, and what is the situation today? We have diplomats going to China. We have trade going on with China. Every day in the United States there are articles talking about, about the, uhh, the beneficial effects of the Cultural Revolution in China--when all these [words indistinct] of the United States--how the peasants are living better, how famine's been wiped out, how illiteracy and prostitution has been wiped out.

(?And then) Vietnam, this tiny little country--but you see what's happening in the United States is that even the men who at one time were planning and plotting the war are admitting openly to the American public that this is a crime.

Former Secretary of Defense under the Johnson administration Clark Clifford, just the other day, in the--in the, uhh, in the United States condemned the war in Vietnam. The former negotiator in Paris, Averell Harriman, recently admitted in a--in an interview with the Washington POST that Nixon is sabotaging the Paris peace talks, that a solution to the war does exist which would bring all of you home and release the prisoners of war. This solution is the seven-point solution for peace put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government in Paris.

Now, I'm saying this because I think it would be very sad for any of you to be killed for a war that very soon even, even the diehards in America are going to have to admit is, ahh, is, ahh, is, is, is, is truly criminal. I think that it would be very sad to go on killing innocent civilians--women, old people, and children--for a war that, ah, that is, is, uhh, that is being criticized all around the world. [recording ends]

That was Jane Fonda speaking to GI's in South Vietnam. More messages of her will come to you soon.

Meets Nguyen Duy Trinh, Departs

Hanoi VNA International Services in English ~~0017~~ 0017 22 Jul 72 3 3

[Text] Hanoi VNA July 22--American actress Jane Fonda ~~yesterday~~ paid a visit to Vice Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh who had a cordial talk with her and inquired about her health and her family.

Jane Fonda told the vice premier of her impressions during her visit to Vietnam. She said she had witnessed U.S. crimes in Hanoi capital, Hai Hung, Ha Tay and Nam Ha provinces and was deeply impressed by the Vietnamese people's solidarity and mutual sympathy and their determination to materialize President Ho Chi Minh's testament and bring the anti-U.S. aggression for national salvation to complete victory.

Jane Fonda voiced her heartfelt thanks to the hospitable Vietnamese people who, she said, have made a clear distinction between the U.S. imperialists who are the aggressors and the American people who are friends of the Vietnamese people in the struggle for peace and democracy. She expressed her admiration for the age-old history and culture of the Vietnamese people and their creativeness and tenacity. She said she was convinced that under the wise leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party and the DRV Government the Vietnamese people will certainly win brilliant victory.

The American actress left for home ~~today~~.

Seeing her off at the airport were members of the Vietnam Committee of Solidarity With the American People and the Vietnam Film Artistes Association.

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War, ~~1966~~ ~~PHI 24 Jul 72~~

[Text] Now let's listen to Jane Fonda speaking to U.S. pilots and airmen: [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda in Hanoi. Yesterday ~~July 13~~, I'm told that the record for B-52 bombing raids in Vietnam, [was set] and on July 14th, UPI, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, reported that in "Operation Linebacker" against North Vietnam in the first 99 days of the renewed air war in North Vietnam, U.S. bombers flew more than 20,300 raids. In each of these raids, an average of 2 tons of bombs were dropped on the country.

Now we know that B-52's are strategic bombers. These are planes that were built, invented to--in the event that a large country with its own air force and heavy arsenal of military weapons like Russia, uhh, would, uhh, need to be attacked. To use B-52's against the civilian population is like trying to kill a butterfly with a machinegun. It's barbaric.

I am assuming that because you are so far away from the land here, because you are on the ships, or because you are in Thailand, or because you are so high up in the sky that you can hardly see what it is you're bombing, that you don't really realize what the effect of these bombs is.

And I think, I--I think that--well, the other day, for example, someone told me that one of the pilots that was recent--recently shot down, uhh, near Hanoi, as he was, uhh, driven across the river, uhh, uhh, he was, he was, uhh, being being rescued by, uhh, the people and he was shown a bridge and the people said, uhh, that bridge was, uhh, bombed, uhh, recently. And he said: Well, my parents are rich. Uhh, we can buy you a new bridge, we can afford to build you a new bridge after the war. And the people said to him in Vietnamese and it was then translated by the interpreter, they said, but can your parents replace our, our children, our mothers, our wives who have been killed by your bombs? And the soldier hung his head and he said: I didn't think of that.

I've heard this from several of the, uhh, pilots--I didn't think of that. I think we have to start thinking about it. I think we have to start thinking about the incendiary--incendiary bombs that are being dropped. These bombs asphyxiate people to death, people who are in the shelters. Now, who goes into shelters? The women, the old people, and the children--they're suffocating to death. They're being burned in ways that is beyond the imagination, and I think we have to think about that.

What are you being told by your commanders? Are you being told that you're bombing to help the people? To save the country for democracy? What kind of democracy? Fifty thousand American lives have been lost here for a one-man election. Is that a democracy? What kind of democracy when just after the last one-man election, the Thieu regime in the south passed new economic reforms which were planned and set up by the United States.

And what in fact do these reforms do? They benefit the U.S. businessman. They give him tax-exempt go-ahead to make the most incredible kind of profits in South Vietnam. He will not have to pay taxes, the rich men in America. They will not have to pay taxes on the fortunes that they are making, off the riches in South Vietnam.

And this country is a rich country--the soil is rich, the growth is rich, the tin, the tungsten, the rubber, the lumber. Eisenhower knew it well, that why he said it was necessary for us to finance 85 percent of the French, the French-Indochina war against the Vietnamese people. The people in the Pentagon knew it. The Mekong Delta is called one of the richest pieces of real estate in Asia.

But what does this have to do with you? What does this have to do with the masses of people in America? It is not to our interest. In fact, it is quite the contrary. You know that there is rising unemployment in the United States. There is for the first time since 1893 a trade deficit, an imbalance of payments, inflation.

In fact, the war is falling on the backs of the working people of America. What are our corporate bosses doing? They are going into countries like Vietnam or trying to--they're going into the Philippines, into Brazil, into Okinawa, into other, what we call underdeveloped countries around the world, and they're setting up factories, factories which make component parts. One part will be made in the Philippines, another part will be made in Vietnam, another part will be made in--in Brazil. They would be assembled in Mexico and they'll be sold on the American market at American prices. But the American worker will not be given a job, and why are the bosses going elsewhere and why are they trying to go to Vietnam? Because the workers are paid from 40 to 90 percent less than the workers in the United States?

When you're on the ground in South Vietnam and you see the ESSO signs and the Shell signs and the Coca-Cola signs and the Hondas and the TV sets. And it is after all for that that you're fighting.

Is that worth risking your life for? Is that worth killing innocent people for? I think not. And in fact, what is the war doing? The war is only making the people of Vietnam understand who their enemy really is.

There was a time perhaps when a certain amount of the peasants were unclear. I don't really know because I have never spent enough time in Vietnam to really know that. But I do know now because I've talked to many, many, many people of all kinds in the north--the northern part of Vietnam. And I have spoken to many of the Vietnamese students in the United States. And I know that they say that because of the incredible killing and slaughter and the number of bombs that are falling on the people of Vietnam, they now know very clearly who their enemy is.

And their enemy is not--are not people from another part of their own country who are coming down to help them fight. The enemy to them are the people who are sending the planes to drop bombs on them. These people are--are, as I'm sure you know, their [as heard] 80, 80 percent of the people in Vietnam are peasants.

They live in their land. It is part of them and their land is being destroyed and so they will fight, and they will fight to the end. And this is not--these are not easy, empty words. When it comes to national freedom and independence, you can make no compromise. Like in--like in loving, if you love a woman, you don't compromise, you either love her or don't love her.

For the United States of America, if our country was attacked, we wouldn't compromise, we would fight to the end.

Well, the Vietnamese people will fight to the end, and their determination is something incredibly beautiful to see. Despite all of the suffering, despite the tears that have been shed, there is much determination. They are continuing, as I'm sure you know, in the battlefields of the south, they are winning.

The Thieu regime has not taken back one inch of liberated territory despite all his promises. He has sent his two elements of his two best divisions into the Quang Tri area, and they are being decimated--the paratroopers and the marines--they are scared. Nixon and Thieu are scared. And that's why they are sending some of the--of their--of their ARVN soldiers into incredibly dangerous situations.

So I think that--that maybe American people have to begin to see clearly who is fighting who and for what, and should we be fighting on the side of the people who are, who are murdering innocent people, should we be trying to defend a government in Saigon which is putting in jail tens of thousands of people into the tiger cages, beating them, torturing them--I have met some of these victims and it is a horrible thing to see.

And I don't think as Americans, we who come from a country which was founded on freedom, independence, and democracy, that we should be risking our lives or fighting to defend that kind of government. [recording ends]

You have just listened to Jan Fonda's address to American pilots and airmen.

PHNOM PENH: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Talk to U.S. Pilots

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War. 1300 GMT 25 Jul 68

[Text] Now listen to Jane Fonda's recorded talk to U.S. pilots and airmen during her recent visit to Hanoi. [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

Perhaps it would be a good thing if all of us knew something about the country that we are fighting against and the country that you are dropping your bombs on. Vietnam is a very old country--3,000 years before Christ was born the Vietnamese people fought against the Chinese feudal lords who had taken the land away from the peasants. In 40 AD the first insurrection occurred among the Vietnamese people to get the Chinese lords out of their land and win back Freedom and independence. This insurrection was lead by two sisters, Trung Hi and Trung Trac.

The Vietnamese people have--have fought against many outside aggressors. For example, the Mongolian Army, lead by Ghenghis Khan, 500,000 profess--professional trained soldiers who had swept through Europe and Asia, who had conquered half of the world, arrived in Vietnam and were stopped by the Vietnamese peasants. After the--after the Vietnamese people defeated the Mongolian Army, they gave them the ships--Vietnam--Vietnamese ships, to take the Mongolian Army back to where they came from. The Vietnamese people have fought against the Chinese, have fought against the Japanese, and have fought against the French.

They defeated the French colonial army at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, and it was after that battle that the Geneva accords were signed. These accords said that Vietnam would be temporarily divided into two parts--into two regroupment zones, but that this division was only to be a temporary one, and that Vietnam was to be reunited in 1956, by general elections. Dwight D. Eisenhower was president of the United States at that time, and he admitted that if elections had been held as they were supposed to be according to the Geneva accords, President Ho Chi Minh would have been elected president of the reunited Vietnam by 80 percent of the votes.

The United States did not want Ho Chi Minh to be president of Vietnam although this is what 80 percent of the Vietnamese people wanted, and so, as has been proven by the Pentagon papers, the CIA organized a military coup which overthrew [pause] which prevented elections, and installed a puppet government under Ngo Dinh Diem.

The Diem regime was no different than the Thieu regime of today. It is a regime which is kept in power because of American money and American technology against the wishes of the Vietnamese people. You are told many other things, perhaps, by the United States Government, but anyone who has been here and talked to the people, knows that the Vietnamese people do not like Thieu, they do not--not like the fact that he is arresting tens of thousands of people, like yourselves, young people in the streets of South Vietnam who are speaking out against the war and demanding peace.

These people are being put into prison, they are being beaten, they are being tortured. The economy of their country is being ruined by the corrupt government in the south and by the presence of the U.S. military.

You must understand that the people of Vietnam are peasants. They live with the land--the land is a part of their lives, as it has been for thousands of years. Every time you drop your bombs on the heads of these peasants it becomes clearer to them--to them who the enemy is. How could they possibly be asking for help from a country which is destroying their land, their crops, killing their people, mutilating their babies. How can we continue to rain this kind of terror on these people who want nothing more than to live in peace and freedom and independence.

All American people who consider themselves patriotic must begin to ask themselves some serious questions about what we are doing in Vietnam. We must stop thinking that we have to follow orders like robots. Let us stop being robots. [recording ends]

Talk With Saigon Students

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War
~~26 Jul 72 B.1~~

[Text] Now listen to Jane Fonda's recorded talk with Saigon students: [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda in Hanoi. I am very honored to be a guest in your country, and I loudly condemn the crimes that have been committed by the U.S. Government in the name of the American people against your country.

A growing number of people in the United States not only demand an end to the war, an end to the bombing, a withdrawal of all--all U.S. troops and an end to the support of the Thieu clique, but we identify with the struggle of your people. We have understood that we have a common enemy--U.S. imperialism. We have understood that we have a common struggle and that your victory will be the victory of the American people and all peace-loving people around the world. Your struggle and your courage in the face of the most unbelievable hardships has inspired all of us in the deepest part of our hearts. We follow very closely the crimes that are being committed against you by the Thieu regime; the people, the brave people who are speaking out for peace and independence, who are being put away into prisons, in the--in the tiger cages.

We have come to know something about your country because in the United States there are students from the southern part of Vietnam, from Saigon, from Hue, from Da Nang. They have taken a very active stand against the war, and they are speaking out loudly to the American people and explaining to us that Vietnam is one country with one culture and one historic struggle and one language.

As a result of their protest against the war, the repression of the U.S. Government and the Saigon clique is coming down on their heads as well. For example, in the first week of June, four of the students received letters from the U.S. State Department saying that their AID scholarships had been terminated as of June 1, and that tickets were waiting for them to take them back to Saigon on orders of the Thieu regime. Among these four students was Nguyen Thai Binh.

We condemn the murder of Nguyen Thai Binh who wanted to do nothing more than to return to his people and fight for freedom and independence for his country. We are investigating this murder and we will do everything we can so that the people responsible for it will be brought to justice.

The Vietnamese students in the United States are very homesick.

They call themselves the orphans of Vietnam and they are longing for the day when they can return to--to Vietnam and live in a little house in the countryside and raise chickens. This is what they've told us. For the time being, however, they feel that their duty is to remain in the United States and do their political work among the American people.

As an American woman I would like to tell you that the forces that you are fighting against go far beyond the bombs and the technology. In our country people are very unhappy. People have no reason for living. They are very alienated from their work, from each other and from history and culture. We have discovered, especially the young people in the United States, that a society of luxury and wealth is not the answer to peace and happiness.

Your leading poet To HUU described the cancer of cons--of the consumer society as the poisoning of people's souls. We have followed closely the encroachment of the American cancer in the southern part of your country, especially around Saigon. And we hope very soon that, working together, we can remove this cancer from your country so that the misery and unhappiness that has come to the American people very deep in their souls will not happen to the Vietnamese people. And we thank you for your brave and courageous and heroic fight.

Recently in the United States we've been doing a lot of political propaganda work among the students and the soldiers with your Vietnamese comrades. And they taught me a song that they tell me was written by students in the prisons who have been imprisoned by the Thieu regime in the south and I'd like to sing the song for you, and I--I--I ask your forgiveness for my accent. I--I hope that I'm not going to make any mistakes and say anything obscene. [short laugh, then singing in Vietnamese]

HANOI BROADCASTS ADDITIONAL ALLEGED JANE FONDA PROGRAMS

Hanoi in English to Southeast Asia 1000 GMT 29 Jul 72 B

[Text] We now bring you a recorded speech to Saigonese troops by American actress Jane Fonda: [follows a recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda from Hanoi. I'm addressing myself to the ARVN soldiers.

Many people in the United States deplore what is being done to you. We understand that Nixon's aggression against Vietnam is a racist aggression, that the American war in Vietnam is a racist war, a white man's war--(which) was very clearly indicated when Ambassador to Saigon Elsworth Bunker described the Vietnamization program as changing the color of the corpses.

We deplore that you are being used as cannonfodder for U.S. imperialism. We've seen photographs of American bombs and antipersonnel weapons being dropped, wantonly, accidentally perhaps, on your heads, on the heads of your comrades. And we note with interest that (these) kind of accidents don't happen, at least not with as much frequency, to American soldiers, and we think this is an indication of the lack of concern that is being taken for your lives by the white American officers, both in Vietnam and in the Pentagon and in the White House--not to mention the officers in Saigon who have been bought off by the ruling class of the United States.

We've seen photographs of many of you clinging to the helicopters trying to escape from what you knew was a suicide mission. We understand that you have been pressganged, many of you, into the army because your lands have been destroyed by American bombs, because there are no other jobs to be had in Saigon, perhaps because you have to support your family, because you will be the--you will be put in jail and beaten if you tried to avoid the draft.

We well understand the kind of situation that you are put in because American soldiers are in the same kind of situation, and we feel that--that you have much in common. You are being sent to fight a war that is not in your interests but is the interest of the small handful of people who have gotten rich and hope to get richer off this war and off the turning of your country into a neocolony of the United States.

We read with interest about the growing numbers of you who are understanding the truth and joining with your fellow countrymen to fight for freedom and independence and democracy. We note with interest, for example, that as in the case of the 56th Regiment of the 3d Division of the Saigon army, ARVN soldiers are taken into the ranks of the National Liberation Front, including officers who may retain their rank.

We think that this is an example of the fact that the democratic, peace-loving, patriotic Vietnamese people want to embrace all Vietnamese people in forgiveness, open their arms to all people who are willing to fight against the foreign invader.

We know what U.S. imperialism has done to our country in the United States, how it is affecting the working people of the United States and particularly the people of (?ourage). And so we know what lies in store for any third world country that could have the misfortune of falling into the hands of a country such as the United States and becoming a colony. [pause]

We all are striving very hard, the peace loving people of the United States, to end this war as soon as possible so that you can all return to your families in the condition of freedom and independence. We understand that the only way to end the war is for the United States to withdraw all its troops, all its airplanes, its bombs, its generals, its CIA advisers and to stop the support of the Thieu regime in Saigon, this man who has defiled not only his own country but the United States. The support of such a criminal is a blight on the American (?society which will take a long time to erase). [recording ends]

You've just listened to a Jane Fonda recorded speech to Saigonese troops.

Hanoi in English to Europe, Africa and the Middle East 2000 GMT 28 Jul 72 B

[Text] We now bring you a recorded message by American actress Jane Fonda to U.S. servicemen in South Vietnam. [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi. I read in the paper yesterday that Melvin Laird has admitted that it is possible that the dikes in North Vietnam have been hit by American bombs. He goes on to say that--that this can happen when there are military installations on top of the dikes, military convoys or material on or near the dike.

As someone who has spent now 2 weeks in North Vietnam, who has travelled in the countryside, who has seen the dikes, I find this laughable. Does anyone really believe that the Vietnamese people would be foolish enough to drag military material, antiaircraft guns, through the rice fields where there are no roads, where it's difficult to even walk, and place them on top of the dikes, which are made of earth, thus attracting the bombs of the American planes? If you stand on top of any of the dikes in the Red River Delta, you can see around you for miles. It is flat land. It is rice land. It is very visible, very clear to anyone that there are no military installations whatsoever. There are no trucks. There are no convoys. There are no antiaircraft guns.

I have seen the dikes bombed. I have seen them cut in half. For miles around you can see the rice paddies spread out, and suddenly right around the most strategic and vulnerable point of the dike system, the bomb craters begin--huge bomb craters, sometimes 10 meters across and 8 meters deep.

There are many kinds of bombs being dropped. Some of them are bombs that explode and--cut the dikes in half. Some of them, however, pierce the earth laterally. They are delayed explosion bombs which lie dormant underneath the dikes to explode later. Some of them are causing earthquakes which make deep fissures into the dike system, so that later when the heavy rains come, the dikes will break and the area will be flooded.

I make an urgent appeal for all people around the world. This is a very grave and a very serious situation. The season of heavy rains is soon to begin. The people of Vietnam have spent many thousands of years building their dike system. Since the Middle Ages the Red River Delta has been struggled against, just as the Vietnamese people have fought against foreign invading armies. They have struggled against nature and they have won back the Red River Delta. They have conquered the Red River. They have claimed the land as their own.

These dikes are made of earth. There is no way to convey the labor, the hundreds of people, whose labor goes into building these dikes. It takes many years to construct them, moving the earth, packing it in--packing it into place.

The dikes that are destroyed this year will take many years to be rebuilt because the earth has to become solidified in order to hold back the heavy waters during the--the heavy rain seasons. So the damage that is done this year by Nixon's strategic bombing of the dike system will endanger not only the lives and their crops of the people this year, but for many years to come. It may cause famine. It may cause epidemics.

There is only one way to stop Richard Nixon from committing mass genocide in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and that is for a mass protest all around the world of all peace-loving people to expose his crimes, to prevent him from following the people of the world into thinking that if there are floods this year it would be a natural disaster.

It is a very clever scheme that he is attempting to carry out. [words indistinct] in Vietnam to justify the floods if they happen. But since the revolution of 1945, when this country was mobilized and organized in such a way so that the dikes could be repaired and rebuilt and reinforced every year, there have been no disastrous floods. They have been minimized [words indistinct] fortified to such a degree that the terrible damages that were done in 1945 and 1946 have been prevented.

And I can tell you if someone who has witnessed this [words indistinct] that if this year this land is flooded the finger can be pointed at Richard Nixon. And I think--I think (?it's cited) by Professor Yves Lacoste of the University of Paris--who is a geographer and he has studied very carefully the situation here--the damage would be worse than if he had ordered the dropping of atomic bombs.

Just to give you one example of the kind of incredible lies that are being told by the spokesmen of the White House, on July 18, at least a dozen foreign correspondents went to the district of Nam Sach to witness the bombing that had taken place to the dike system on July 9. While they were there, U.S. planes dropped 28 bombs on the most strategic and vulnerable point on the dike system. The 12 correspondents were almost killed by these--by these bombs. And several days later word came from the White House that the bombing had never taken place. [recording ends]

That was American actress Jane Fonda speaking to U.S. servicemen in South Vietnam.

ADDRESS TO GI'S IN SOUTH VIETNAM ATTRIBUTED TO JANE FONDA

Hanoi in English to Europe, Africa and the Middle East ~~2000 GMT 1-28-70~~

[Text] We now bring you American Actress Jane Fonda's address to American GI's in South Vietnam [follows recorded female voice with American accent]:

This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi. A phenomenon has been taking place in the United States called the GI movement.

In 1968 the situation in the American army was qualitatively changed. Prior to 1968, many of the soldiers--the grunts, the [word indistinct], the ground troops in South Vietnam--had believed what their officers and their generals had told them: that they were there to help the Vietnamese people, that large areas of Vietnam had been pacified, that the war was about to be won.

If you recall, at the end of 1967 General Westmoreland announced: We can now see the light at the end of the tunnel. And 2 months later the Tet offensive occurred. And the soldiers were forced to face certain facts. They realized that in order for the offensive to have taken place, it meant that the very people that they were told had been pacified were in fact part and parcel of the liberation fighters. It was these people who were helping the soldiers bring weapons into town, hidden into the laundry baskets and the--and the bunches of flowers. It was these people who were part of the struggle.

The men were attacked for the first time on their own American bases and they had to start asking themselves questions. And they began to realize that they had been lied to. And since these young men are no longer (?John Waynes)--they're not like their fathers in the Second World War--they began to say no: We no longer want to die for someone else's lies. We will no longer be wounded for a war that we do not understand and do not believe in.

In 1969-1970 the desertions in the American army tripled. The desertions of the U.S. soldiers almost equalled the desertions from the ARVN army, and in the United States we laughingly said it was the Vietnamization of the American army.

The new recruits sent to South Vietnam were separated from the guys who had been there for a while behind barbed wire so they wouldn't find out what had been going on. The men had to turn in their arms at night. Why? Because there were so many U.S. officers being killed. Fraggings--the word fragging entered the English language. What it meant was that the soldiers would prefer to roll a fragmentation grenade under the tent flap of their officer, if he was a gung-ho officer who was going to send them out on a suicide mission, rather than go out and shoot people that they--that they did not feel were their enemy.

In America we do not condone the killing of American officers--we do not condone the killing of anyone--but we do support the soldiers who are beginning to think for themselves. I've spent 2 years working with the antiwar soldiers in the United States, in the Philippines, in Okinawa, and in Japan. I've seen the movement grow from a movement of individuals taking courageous action as individuals to thousands of soldiers taking collective action to voice their protest against the war--marching, demonstrating in uniform and holding up their ID cards, risking to--going to jail if necessary, jumping ship, the petition campaigns which started on the Constellation in San Diego and spread to the Coral Sea, the Ticonderoga, the Enterprise, the Hancock, the Kitty Hawk.

And word about the resistance within the American military has spread throughout the United States. There was a time when people in the peace movement thought that anyone in uniform, anyone who was coming over here to support the Thieu regime, must be the enemy. But we have realized that most of these young men were not fortunate enough to get draft deferments, were not privileged enough to have good lawyers or doctors [words indistinct]. These are the sons of the American working class. They're the sons of the hardhats. They're guys who came because they thought it was the thing to do, or because it was the only way they could get an education, or because it was the only way that they could learn a skill. They believed in the army, but when they were here, when they discovered that their officers were incompetent, usually drunk, when they discovered that the Vietnamese people had a fight that they believed in, that the Vietnamese people were fighting for much the same reason that we fought in the beginning of our own country, they began to ask themselves questions.

And one of the biggest things (?they began to think) about the U.S. Government and about the U.S. military in particular is that it doesn't allow people to think for themselves. It tries to turn us into robots. And the young people of America, and particularly the soldiers, are beginning to say: We don't want to be robots anymore; we will define for ourselves who our enemy is.

Perhaps the soldiers who have been the first to recognize the nature of the war in Vietnam are those soldiers who have suffered the most in the United States--the black soldiers, the brown soldiers, and the red and Asian soldiers.

Recently on a tour of the U.S. bases on the Pacific rim--in Okinawa, Japan and the Philippines--I had the chance to talk to a great many of these guys and they all expressed their recognition of the fact that this is a white man's war, a white businessman's war, that they don't feel it's their place to kill other people of color when at home they themselves are oppressed and prevented from determining their own lives.

Women in the military--those who are so often forgotten--have their own way of identifying with the Vietnamese struggle. I heard horrifying stories about the treatment of women in the U.S. military. So many women said to me that one of the first things that happens to them when they enter the service is that they are taken to see the company psychiatrist and they are given a little lecture which is made very clear to them that they are there to service the men. They are given birth control pills. This is a big shock to these girls who come into the service with all kinds of high ideals about what the army will do for them, and the kind of training that they will get.

This very powerful grassroots movement--the GI movement--is forging probably the most important link in the United States--the link between the white middle class peace movement and the working class. *These men who are coming back from Vietnam, their lives in fragments, are putting the pieces back together in a new kind of way with a new kind of understanding. And in doing so, as they go into the factories--those who are lucky enough to get jobs--or as they stand in--in the unemployment lines, they are beginning to change the political complexion of the American working class.

In California particularly--at least I can talk about California because that's where I'm from--the rank and file insurgency among the working class has augmented in the last 6 to 7 months (steadily), and this is particularly due to speed up of mandatory overtime, peculiarly true in the major industries such as steel and auto. The young workers, particularly with the new consciousness, have become aware of the fact that they've been sold out by the national labor leadership and they're indicating that a new alliance may need to be formed between workers and students.

Like the soldiers on active duty, the thing that the young workers resent the most is the fact that--that their lives are being destroyed that they are alienated from their work, that they're treated like robots.

I think it's important that people in Vietnam as well as other parts of the world know this--that while America preaches prosperity, the workers of America are suffering more than ever before. The suicide rate among workers has risen more than ever before. They are beginning to realize that Nixon's economic reform is in fact falling on their back. [recording ends]

You have just listened to American Actress Jane Fonda's address to American GIs in South Vietnam.

ALLEGED ~~JANE FONDA~~ IMPRESSIONS OF TALK WITH U.S. POW'S

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War 1300 GMT
15 Aug 72 B

[Text] Here is Jane Fonda telling her impressions after meeting captured U.S. pilots in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: [follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi. Yesterday evening, July 19, I had the opportunity of meeting seven U.S. pilots. Some of them were shot down as long ago as 1968 and some of them had been shot down very recently. They are all in good health. We had a very long talk, a very open and casual talk. We exchanged ideas freely. They asked me to bring back to the American people their sense of disgust of the war and their shame for what they have been asked to do.

They told me that the pilots believe they are bombing military targets. They told me that the pilots are told that they are bombing to free their buddies down below, but, of course, we all know that every bomb that falls on North Vietnam endangers the lives of the American prisoners.

They asked me: What can you do? They asked me to bring messages back home to their loved ones and friends, telling them to please be as actively involved in the peace movement as possible, to renew their efforts to end the war.

One of the men who has been in the service for many, many years has written a book about Vietnamese history, and I thought this was very moving, that during the time he's been here, and the time that he has had to reflect on what he has been through and what he has done to this country, he has--his thought has turned to this country, its history of struggle and the people that live here.

They all assured me that they have been well cared for. They--they listen to the radio. They receive letters. They are in good health. They asked about news from home.

I think we all shared during the time that I spent with them a sense of--of deep sadness that a situation like this has to exist, and I certainly felt from them a very sincere desire to explain to the American people that this war is a terrible crime and that it must be stopped, and that Richard Nixon is doing nothing except escalating it while preaching peace, endangering their lives while saying he cares about the prisoners.

And I think one of the things that touched me the most was that one of the pilots said to me that he was reading a book called "The Draft," a book written by the American Friends Service Committee, and that in reading this book, he had understood a lot about what had happened to him as a human being in his 16 years of military service. He said that during those 16 years, he had stopped relating to civilian life, he had forgotten that there was anything else besides the military and he said in realizing what had happened to him, he was very afraid that this was happening to many other people.

I was very encouraged by my meeting with the pilots (because) I feel that the studying and the reading that they have been doing during their time here has taught them a great deal in putting the pieces of their lives back together again in a better way, hopefully, and I am sure that when--when they go home, they will go home better citizens than when they left.

HANOI RADIO ATTRIBUTES TALK ON DRV VISIT TO JANE FONDA

Hanoi in English to ~~American Servicemen~~ Involved in the Indochina War 1300 GMT
22 Aug 72 B

[Text] Here's Jane Fonda telling her impressions at the end of her visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: [Follows recorded female voice with American accent]

This is Jane Fonda. During my 2-week visit in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I've had the opportunity to visit a great many places and speak to a large number of people from all walks of life--workers, peasants, students, artists and dancers, historians, journalists, film actresses, soldiers, militia girls, members of the women's union, writers.

I visited the (Dam Xuac) agricultural Co-op, (in Ha Tay Province), where the silk-worms are also raised and thread is made. I visited a textile factory, a kindergarten in Hanoi. The beautiful temple of literature was where I saw traditional dances and heard songs of resistance. I also saw an unforgettable ballet about the guerrillas training bees in the south to attack enemy soldiers. The bees were danced by women, and they did their job well.

In the shadow of the temple of literature I saw Vietnamese actors and actresses perform the second act of Arthur Miller's play "All My Sons," and this was very moving to me--the fact that artists here are translating and performing American plays while the U.S. imperialists are bombing their country.

I cherish the memory of the blushing militia girls on the roof of their factory, encouraging one of their sisters as she sang a song praising the blue sky of Vietnam--these women, who are so gentle and poetic, whose voices are so beautiful, but who, when American planes are bombing their city, become such good fighters.

I cherish the way a farmer evacuated from Hanoi, without hesitation, offered me, an American, their best individual bomb shelter while U.S. bombs fell near by. The daughter and I, in fact, shared the shelter wrapped in each others arms, cheek against cheek. It was on the road back from Nam Dinh, where I had witnessed the systematic destruction of civilian targets--schools, hospitals, pagodas, the factories, houses and the dike system.

As I left the United States 2 weeks ago, Nixon was again telling the American people that he was winding down the war, but in the rubble-strewn streets of Nam Dinh, his words echoed with the sinister [words indistinct] of a true killer. And like the young Vietnamese woman I held in my arms clinging to me tightly--and I pressed my cheek against hers--I thought, this is a war against Vietnam perhaps, but the tragedy is America's.

One thing that I have learned beyond the shadow of a doubt since I've been in this country is that Nixon will never be able to break the spirit of these people; he'll never be able to turn Vietnam, north or south, into a neocolony of the United States by bombing, by invading, by attacking in any way. One has only to go into the countryside and listen to the peasants describe the lives they led before the revolution to understand why every bomb that is dropped only strengthens their determination to resist.

I've spoken to many peasants who talked about the days when they and their parents had to sell themselves out to landlords as virtually slaves, when there were very few schools and much illiteracy, inadequate medical care, when they were not masters of their own lives.

But now, despite the bombs, despite the crimes being created--being committed against them by Richard Nixon, these people own their own land, build their own schools--the children are learning, literacy--illiteracy is being wiped out, there is no more prostitution as there was during the time when this was a French colony. In other words, the people have taken power into their own hands, and they are controlling their own lives.

And after 4,000 years of struggling against nature and foreign invaders--and the last 25 years, prior to the revolution, of struggling against French colonialism--I don't think that the people of Vietnam are about to compromise in any way, shape or form about the freedom and independence of their country, and I think Richard Nixon would do well to read Vietnamese history, particularly their poetry, and particularly the poetry written by Ho Chi Minh. [recording ends]

THEME ANALYSIS OF FONDA STATEMENTS TO MEDIA FROM HANOI

July 26, 1972

TO: Donald G. Sanders
Chief Counsel

FROM: Joseph E. Thach
Research Analyst

SUBJECT: MEMORANDUM: THEME ANALYSIS - JANE FONDA'S
STATEMENTS TO MEDIA FROM HANOI, 8 JULY - PRESENT

The recent visit of American film actress Jane Fonda to North Vietnam during the period July 8-22, 1972, has received widespread media coverage both in the United States and North Vietnam. Of special interest to this Committee are Ms. Fonda's six personal broadcasts via Radio Hanoi to American servicemen stationed in South Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, all of which contain intrinsic textual passages that these messages were purposely so intended. In addition, several other Radio Hanoi broadcasts (both English-language and in Vietnamese) carried excerpts of her statements, along with "third person" reportage by Soviet (TASS) and French (AFP) radio commentators from Hanoi.

I. Theme Analysis - Fonda Broadcasts to U.S. Servicemen

A. List of Specific Radio Broadcasts, July 14-22, 1972

1. "Hanoi VNA International Service in English, 0246 GMT 14 Jul 72" Fonda statement preceded by Vietnamese broadcaster noting that the message was addressed to "all the U.S. servicemen involved in the bombing of North Vietnam." Fonda's own statement included a description of alleged U.S. bombing of dikes in the vicinity of NAM SACH (60 km. E of Hanoi) on the Red River on July 12 just before her visit to that area. After a quasi-humanitarian appeal on how that district was strictly an agricultural area, and devoid of military targets, she accused the U.S. of "terrorist tactics" because of the bombing raids of July 12. In making her appeal to U.S. servicemen, she asserted:

I (? implore) you, I beg you to consider what you are doing. In the area I went yesterday it was easy to see that there are no military targets,....no important highway,....no communication network,....(and) no heavy industry....All of you in the cockpits of your planes, on the aircraft carriers, those who are loading the bombs, those who are repairing the planes....please think what you are doing.

(7/17/72)

2. "Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indo-China War, 1300 GMT 17 Jul 72" Fonda statement began:

This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi, and I'm speaking particularly to U.S. servicemen who are stationed on the aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin, in the 7th Fleet, in the Anglico* Corps in the south of Vietnam

After a rather pointed distribe about U.S. producers of military weaponry. Ms. Fonda then accuses the American military leadership of employing "illegal" weapons, such as "toxic chemicals," guava/spider/pineapple bombs, and combinations of napalm, phosphorous and thermite. She concludes: "And the use of these bombs or the condoning the use of these bombs make one a war criminal."

Endorsing the current Democratic Party nominee as "an example of the overwhelming, overwhelming feeling in the United States among people to end the war," who also "represents all that is good to these people....an end to the war, or end to the bombing," Fonda asserted that it was not "in the interests" of U.S. troops to attack North Vietnam.

Fonda then described the alleged bombing of the BACH MAI hospital which she visited earlier that day. After claiming that a bomb had hit the center of the hospital, "obviously dropped there on purpose," she added: "With the kind of bombs, the kind of techniques that have been developed now, you know, particularly you pilots know that accidents like that don't happen....Why do you do this? Why do you follow orders telling you to destroy a hospital or bomb the schools?"

Obviously begging the question by compounding a false supposition with another, Fonda goes on to relate the use of "plastic" pellets (which, in her expert knowledge of medical technology, "doesn't show up on X-rays")

* Anglico is a current military term which stands for "Air-Naval Gunfire Liaison Company," a shore detachment composed of U.S. Marines and Sailors which direct air and artillery strikes from off-shore Navy ships. The usage of this acronym, hardly a familiar term even within the U.S. armed forces, implies that this particular message is a highly sophisticated appeal prepared by professionals in the field.

which preclude extraction, and "chemical bombs," which causes pregnant women to produce "deformed babies."

In essence, this message employs quasi-humanitarian "scare" tactics and hyper-legal rhetoric which, while not openly advocating U.S. servicemen to disobey orders, certainly distorts the actual nature and purpose of U.S. air operations to a degree that if a serviceman believed all of her a priori arguments, then he could have only one logical alternative, i.e., to refuse to participate in the bombing raids. The message, therefore, represents a highly subliminal appeal to servicemen to disobey orders, etc. evidently prepared by professional propagandists.

3. "Hanoi in English to Europe, Africa and the Middle East, 2000 GMT 19 Jul 72." This is a North Vietnamese news broadcast with excerpts of another Fonda "address to American servicemen" describing her visit to the textile center of Nam Dinh on July 18, which did not appear in FBIS for some reason. Fonda then described the ruins of the hospital, schools, churches, recreation centers and the textile factory in Nam Dinh, all of which were allegedly targeted by U.S. fliers, in spite of the fact that "no military targets" exist in that city. In addition, she alleged that the nearby dike system had "large fissures" from several bombing raids. Following this, she then appealed to U.S. troops:

What are your commanders telling you? How are they justifying this to you. Have you any idea what your bombs are doing when you pull the levers and push the buttons?

This message, in brief, is of the same type of that of July 17 (No. 2 above).

4. "Hanoi in English to Southeast Asia, 1000 GMT 21 Jul 72." Introduced as a "recorded message...to U.S. pilots involved in the Vietnam War," this broadcast generally denounced the U.S. employment of antipersonnel bombs which "were outlawed by the Hague Convention of 1907." She also reiterated the "plastic pellet" story. More important, Fonda asked U.S. fliers:

How does it feel to be used as pawns? You may be shot down...even be killed, but for what, and for whom?...We are afraid of what, what must be happening to you as human beings. For isn't it possible to destroy, to receive salary for pushing buttons and pulling levers that are dropping illegal bombs on innocent people without having that damage your own souls?

Carrying this subliminal, quasi-humanitarian appeal further, Fonda continues:

Tonight when you are alone, ask yourselves: What are you doing? Accept no ready answers fed to you by rote from basic training on up, but as men, as human beings, can you justify what you are doing? Do you know why you are flying these missions, collecting extra combat pay on Sunday?...I know that if you saw and if you knew the Vietnamese under peaceful conditions, you would hate the men who are sending you on bombing missions."

5. "Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War, 1300 GMT 22 Jul 72." In this broadcast, Fonda appealed to everyone involved in the bombing raids over North Vietnam, including specifically naming six U.S. aircraft carriers, "the Anglico Corps" and USAF B-52 and F4 "Phantom" crews. She then accuses President Nixon of lying to the American people about Vietnam, and to American servicemen about the real purpose of the raids on North Vietnam. Switching her appeal to U.S. troops, she again became rhetorical and asked:

All of you...know the lies. You know the cheating on the body counts, the falsified battle reports, and the number of planes that are shot down and what your targets really are. Knowing who was doing the lying, should you then allow these same people and same liars to define for you who your enemy is. Shouldn't we then shouldn't we all examine the reasons that have been given to us to justify the murder that you are being paid to commit? If they told you the truth, you wouldn't fight, you wouldn't kill...You have been told lies so that it would be possible for you to kill."

6. "Hanoi in English to American Servicemen Involved in the Indochina War, 1300 GMT 20 Jul 72." Ms. Fonda, speaking on the 18th anniversary of the 1954 Geneva Accords, gave a rather inept, confusing pro-Communist explanation of that treaty. In spite of her highly slanted presentation, Ms. Fonda decidedly lacked a clear understanding of the script in front of her, hesitating at certain intervals and interspersing her commentary with a generous dose of "umms," "uhhs" and "ahhs." If her text, which was mainly the standard leftist "anti-Cold War" interpretation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam since 1954 (complete with the old canard attributed to President Eisenhower on the popularity of Ho Chi Minh), failed to alienate

American servicemen listeners, than her presentation certainly did. Based on my own background in psychological operations, it is quite possible we may have gained support among skeptical GI's. In fact, had Benedict Arnold listened to such an appeal during the American Revolution, we probably would have kept him in the fold.

B. Other Communist Press Coverage of the Fonda Trip

1. "Moscow TASS International Service in English, 1720 GMT 14 July 72" - Primarily a "third-person" rehash of her Radio Hanoi broadcast of same date (cf. #A1 above).
2. "Hanoi VNA in English to Havana, 0709 GMT 14 July 72" - Another "third person" report, this time a press dispatch to the North Vietnamese Voice of Vietnam correspondent in Cuba (cf. A1 above).
4. "Hanoi in English to Europe, Africa and Middle East, 2000 GMT 20 Jul 72." Hanoi newscast with taped excerpts of Fonda, prior to her departure in which she described her visit, bomb damage and then launches into a severe anti U.S. tirade. She endorsed the North Vietnamese/Viet Cong Seven Point Peace Proposal, alleged Vietnamization was a failure, and claimed President Nixon and his advisors have embarked on a policy to secure surrender rather than a cease fire. As in all other messages, she asserted that all towns raided by American aircraft were "obviously" devoid of military targets. Briefly mentioning her interview with captured U.S. Airmen, she noted:

There are seven prisoners that I talked to, some of them who had never met, had never spoken to Americans before...and they all re--expressed regret about what they had done, and they said that they had come to recognize that the war is a terrible crime that must be ended immediately.

II. Theme Analysis

A. Central Themes in GI Messages.

<u>Broadcasts of:</u>	<u>7/14</u>	<u>7/17</u>	<u>7/19</u>	<u>7/20</u>	<u>7/21(I)</u>	<u>7/21(II)</u>
1 - Halt Bombing	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 - Nixon Administration "Lies" about Air War's Purpose	X	X	X	X	X	X
3 - Endorsement of "7 Point Peace Plan"				X		
4 - U.S. War Crimes:						
a. Illegal weapons		X			X	
b. Indiscriminate Bombing of Non- Military Areas	X	X	X	X	X	X
c. Chemical Warfare		X				
d. Dike Bombings	X		X			
e. Implied Air War Crimes to U.S. Fliers	X	X	X	X	X	X
5 - U.S. Treaty and Inter- national Law Violations (other than #4 above)		X		X	X	
6 - Belief in North Vietnamese final victory/continued resistance	X	X	X	X	X	

B. Reported Fonda Contacts during Visit

1. Interview with Seven U.S. Prisoners of War:
 - a. Press Interview of July 20 in Hanoi.
 - b. Fonda Message of July 20 on Radio Hanoi.
2. Meeting with North Vietnamese Vice Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh on July 21.
3. Entire Trip as Guest of the Vietnam Committee of Solidarity with the American People (Daily World, 7/25/72:2).

JET:slr

Statements Attributed to Fonda Prior to Hanoi Trip

Jane Fonda's association with the GI Movement and the radical left began when she was 32 (1969) according to a statement that she made on the "People and Povich" TV show shown on July 9, 1972 when she was interviewed concerning the FTA ("Tree" the Army) organization and road show.

On November 22, 1969 she made a speech at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan as part of a 32 stop tour to raise funds for the defense of GIs in trouble with the Army, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and the Black Panther Party. According to a Detroit Free Press reporter who covered the speech she stated:

"I would think that if you understood what communism was, you would hope, you would pray on your knees that we would someday become communist."

"The peace proposal of the Viet Cong is the only honorable, just, possible way to achieve peace in Vietnam".

"Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton is the only man I've ever met that I would trust as the leader of this country."

(While discussing U.S. soldiers) "They're a new kind of soldier. They're not John Wayne freaks over there. No order goes unchallenged."

"When they're sent out on patrol they just go out a little ways. They lie down on a little knoll and blow grass and star gaze."

"They're good soldiers. We should be proud of them. They're not only doing what they're not supposed to do, but they're not even performing the basic functions of soldiers."

During the speech she indicated that there was work to be done on behalf of the Vietcong and referred to the VC in the following fashion:

Vietcong are "driven by the same spirit that drove Washington and Jefferson."

Vietcong are "the conscience of the world."

"I think that the majority of the students are scared of the word "socialism". It's a good message (socialism), and the more people give it, the better."

On July 18, 1970 the Peoples World, a West Coast communist newspaper, carried a telephone interview with Jane Fonda. It was reported that she made the following comments:

"To make the revolution in the United States is a slow day by day job that requires patience and discipline. It is the only way to make it." (Committee Exhibit #60, June 20, 1972 re "Investigation of Attempts to Subvert the Armed Forces".)

"That it was the system itself which is at fault and is the problem and until something is done about the capitalist system that everything else is really superficial and meaningless." (Committee Exhibit #60, June 20, 1972 re "Investigation of Attempts to Subvert the Armed Forces".)

"All I know is that despite the fact that I am one of the people who benefit from a capitalist society, I find that any system which exploits other people cannot and should not exist." (Committee Exhibit #60, June 20, 1972 re "Investigation of Attempts to Subvert the Armed Forces".)

An article by Karen Elliot in the December 11, 1971 Dallas Morning News described a speech by Jane Fonda at the University of Texas. Her observations on the new breed of soldiers was reflected in her reported statements: "No order is accepted unchallenged. No smart officer would send his men on a dangerous mission; ask them to cut their hair or beards or stop smoking pot because he would be shot." She further stated that "We've got to establish a socialistic economic structure that will limit private, profit-oriented businesses. Whether the transition is peaceful depends on the way our present governmental leaders react. We must commit our lives to this transition." She added: "We should be very proud of our new breed of soldier. They are not even performing the basic functions of a soldier. It's not organized but it's mutiny, and they have every right."

On December 11, 1970 at Duke University, Durham, N. C., she repeated her statement that: "I would think that if you understood what communism was, you would hope and pray on your knees that we would someday be communist," adding "I am a socialist, I think that we should strive toward a socialist society, -- all the way to communism".

Efforts to Interview Jane Fonda

On August 7, 1972, after determining that Fonda was at her home in North Hollywood, California, Chief Investigator Horner made three attempts to reach her by telephone for the purpose of arranging a personal interview, speaking on each occasion to Ruby Ellen, self-described as Fonda's "assistant". At 5:00 p. m. the same day Horner received a telephone call from Leonard Weinglass who described himself as Fonda's attorney "for this purpose" and said he practices from offices at 108 Washington Street, Newark, N. J. Horner explained to Weinglass the Committee's interest in Fonda's trip to Hanoi, particularly her broadcasts from Hanoi, and said the purpose in attempting to contact her was to determine if she would be agreeable to a staff interview; that no subpoena was involved; that the interview would be strictly voluntary on her part and would be scheduled at her convenience but preferably within the next several days. Weinglass said he would discuss the matter with Fonda and furnish her decision the following day. On August 8th Weinglass informed Horner that Fonda would not agree to an interview. Weinglass asked what she might expect next and was told that as the purpose of Horner's contact was to arrange for a voluntary interview, which Fonda would not agree to, it appeared that the matter was concluded and that Weinglass would have to confer with the Committee's Chief Counsel as far as any other Committee action was concerned. The Committee staff has received no subsequent communication from Fonda or her attorney.

COMPILATION OF BROADCASTS PREVIOUSLY MADE OVER RADIO
HANOI BY OTHER U.S. CITIZENS

September 6, 1972

TO: Donald G. Sanders
Chief Counsel

FROM: Joseph E. Thach
Research Analyst

RE: COMPILATION OF U.S. NATIONALS INVOLVED
IN RADIO HANOI BROADCASTS, 1965-1972

This special memorandum has been prepared to provide a summary of Radio Hanoi broadcasts by U.S. nationals during the Vietnam conflict. Based on my compilation of data, these now total some 82 broadcasts since 1965. Tapes prepared outside of North Vietnam are indicated with an asterisk. Multiple broadcasts within a given year are indicated in parentheses:

- 1965 - Robert Williams (3)*
Clarence C. Adams (2)*
Leo Taylor (2)
Herbert Adams
- 1966 - Robert Williams*
Elizabeth Stafford*
Ed Anderson*
"Radio Stateside" - Los Angeles
Ca. (Steve Fisher and Joel Epstein)(3)*
- 1967 - Hugh R. Manes (2)
Charles Cobb
Stokeley Carmichael (5)
Dagmar Wilson (2)
Ruth Krause
Julius Lester
Thomas Hayden
- 1968 - David Kirby and Mark Fulmer (joint broadcast)