

THE ANTI-WAR JANE FONDA

She changed into a militant almost overnight. It was too fast for anyone to handle (Fonda: *My Life, as told to Howard Teichmann*, 302)

While in India, Fonda had seen a copy of the Collier-edited magazine *Ramparts*—radical, and militantly anti-war. The cover story dealt with the occupation of Alcatraz Island by protesting indigenous Indians. Doubtless recalling Marlon Brando’s proselytizing during filming of *The Chase* about the mistreatment of American Indians, and needing to “get involved” in the “new politics,” Fonda, having returned from India, had her press agent contact Collier, asking him to open some doors for her to the New Left.¹ Then, she called Collier directly. Would he take her to the island? “Sporting the new short shag haircut she would wear as Bree Daniel in *Klute*, Jane explained her new-found civic-mindedness to Collier as they stood on a fog-shrouded San Francisco pier waiting for a boat to take them to Alcatraz. She likened her numb, apathetic, cynical existence in Paris to a kind of limbo. She wanted to be home in America, where it’s happening. When Collier cracked that maybe she was too late ... a look of horror came over her face, and she said Oh, I hope not.”²

After hitching a ride on one of the boats that was running the Coast Guard blockade and ferrying provisions to the island-bound Indians, Fonda reverted to form:

After meeting with representatives of the various tribes, she realized that the Sioux, playing on their historical identity as a warrior elite, were the most radical group, and she spent the rest of her afternoon on the island smoking dope with them in their corner of the old prison exercise yard and making plans to tour Indian reservations across the United States to publicize the problems Indian people faced.³

Careening down this new road with unbridled zeal and the help of her Collier-Horowitz-*Ramparts* connection, Fonda entered the world of New Left, anti-war, politics: militant Indians, radical lawyers, army deserters, federal prisoners, farm workers, aggressive feminists and, of course, Black Panthers.⁴ She found the experience gratifying: “‘I was so used to being considered a sex symbol,’ Fonda told *The New York Times*, ‘that I began to like it. I didn’t expect people to treat me as a person who

thinks. But when I went to the Indians and I came in contact with the Panthers, the GI's my new friends, I realized that they were treating me as a person."⁵

The Panthers⁶— a flavor-of-the month group that was appealing to those needing to be involved with radical chic — were nothing more than drug-dealing gangsters who had wrapped themselves in the slogans and rhetoric of the race issue. But in 1970 they were in vogue, even to the extent of being entertained in the plush Manhattan home of world-famous conductor Leonard Bernstein.

Fonda jumped onto the Panther bandwagon. Extolling killer Huey Newton, Fonda characterized him as “the only man I’ve ever met ... who approaches sainthood.”⁷ She connected with communist (and later fugitive) Angela Davis. Still winging it, Fonda admitted that she “didn’t have time ... to sit down with books and get a historical analysis and put it all into perspective. It was an emotional, gut kind of thing.”⁸ Tutored by a Marxist (Valliand), a gangster (Newton) and a communist (Davis), she made a public fool of herself. On Dick Cavett’s TV show, for example, Fonda “betrayed an ignorance of history that was almost comical.”⁹ As Fonda herself confessed: “I was acting out of instinct and emotion. I had no structural, ideological framework in which to put what I was thinking and feeling and doing. I thought I was better equipped to handle questions than I really was. And what happens when somebody is in that kind of position? You’re very defensive. And all too often I would strike back — because everyone wanted to back me into a corner and that was so easy to do.”¹⁰

Yet, Fonda’s political ignorance didn’t stop her from making outrageous pro-Communist, anti-American statements. Examples abound. According to a reporter for the *Detroit Free Press*, on November 22, 1969 — during a fund raising tour for GIs in trouble with the Army, Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Black Panther Party — she said in a Michigan State University speech:

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.

[The Viet Cong] are driven by the same spirit that drove Washington and Jefferson.

[The Viet Cong] are the conscience of the world.

I think that the majority of the students are scared of the word “socialism.” It’s [socialism] a good message, and the more people give it, the better.¹¹

On July 18, 1970, the *People’s World*, a West Coast Communist newspaper, would carry a telephone interview with Fonda, reporting that she had said the following:

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.

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.

All I know is that despite the fact that I am one of the people who benefits from a

capitalist society, I find that any system which exploits other people cannot and should not exist.¹²

Journalist Karen Elliot in the December 11, 1971, *Dallas Morning News* reported a Fonda speech at the University of Texas: “We’ve got to establish a socialist economic structure that will limit private profit-oriented businesses,” she said. “Whether the transition is peaceful depends on the way our present governmental leaders react. We must commit our lives to this transition. ... We should be very proud of our new breed of soldier. It’s not organized but it’s mutiny, and they have every right.”¹³

Henry Fonda was not thrilled with his daughter’s rhetoric: “You listen to her on the telephone, and she’s like a fanatic,”¹⁴ Collier reported. That fanaticism had seemed to jell during the summer of 1970, and Henry thought that he knew why:

He believed a good part of Jane’s newfound radicalism was an attempt to confront the fact that [her brother] Peter had become a symbol of the counterculture long before her own conversion. This recalled something he had previously said to a magazine interviewer:

“My instinct is that after eight years abroad she came back to her country, America, and suddenly realized how aware Peter had become. It was almost as though she had to do it better than he. Instant causes!”¹⁵

But Jane Fonda’s new-found radicalism had many prices, one of which was her substantial financial support of the Black Panthers. The cost was so great that she decided to do another film “[b]ecause if I don’t I’ll be completely broke.”¹⁶ The film, which would snare Fonda an Oscar, was *Klute*, in which she played a prostitute. “For me,” Fonda said, “in a very, very deep way ... *Klute* is my internal proof that when I developed a social and political conscience, I became a better actress. I developed an ability to understand and have compassion for the character.”¹⁷

Having refilled her coffers with her salary from *Klute*, Fonda went back to the radical wars, bringing along her *Klute* co-star and new lover, Donald Sutherland. In early 1971 they formed “FTA,” popularly understood to be an acronym for “Fuck the Army,” a radical anti-war, anti-American, road-show troupe that played to GIs around the country.¹⁸ Constantly referring to The Revolution, Fonda “now freely admitted that she was out to ‘change the American system through socialism. Of course I am a Socialist,’”¹⁹ she admitted.

In March 1971, Fonda returned to France. In Paris, she had a private meeting with North Vietnam’s lead peace talks negotiator, Madame Binh. Fonda told Binh that the American people opposed the war. The actress then told the French press that the U.S. Government, the Pentagon and the CIA were responsible for the My Lai massacre. “‘In fact,’ she said, ‘these organizations are the real war criminals in Vietnam.’ From Paris, [Fonda] ... moved to London, where Jane repeated allegations of U.S. atrocities: ‘applying electrodes to prisoners’ genitals, mass rapes, slicing off of body parts, scalping, skinning alive, and leaving “heat tablets” around which burned the insides of children who ate them.’ American soldiers, she also told British reporters, were ‘indoctrinated with racist thinking....’”²⁰

Fonda had thus carried the anti-war movement’s activities overseas. Nor were

the activities of her colleagues limited to agitation within the U.S. borders. Their activities are important because they set the stage for Fonda's first pilgrimage to Hanoi, in July 1972. They, like Fonda after them, would give the North Vietnamese exactly what they needed: pro-Communist, anti-American propaganda portraying the Vietnamese as victims of post-Franco aggressive American neo-colonialism. Such propaganda sought to legitimize their attack on the South and undermine the United States' military attempt to defend South Vietnam.

These anti-American activists, many of whom were Fonda's friends, associates and fellow travelers, caught the attention of the House of Representatives' Committee on Internal Security. One of its research analysts prepared a report for the Committee and its Chief Counsel. That report is reproduced here verbatim, except for material indicated as having been omitted.²¹

MEMO RE RADIO BROADCASTS FROM NORTH VIETNAM BY U.S. CITIZENS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Internal Security
Washington, D.C. 20515

September 5, 1972

TO: Donald G. Sanders
Chief Counsel

FROM: Joseph E. Thach
Research Analyst

SUBJECT: RADIO BROADCASTS FROM NORTH VIETNAM BY U.S.
CITIZENS 1965-1972

This report is submitted as a succinct but comprehensive analysis of radio propaganda broadcasts by U.S. citizens from North Vietnam during the Vietnam conflict to provide additional background concerning the recent activities of June Fonda during her visit to that Communist country. It should be noted as an aside that Ms. Fonda's broadcasts now total some twelve specifically identified as addressed to U.S. military personnel. Of these, six were broadcast while she was in North Vietnam. Six others have been transmitted via *Radio Hanoi* on a delayed tape basis since her departure on July 22, with the latest sent on August 22. Eight other radio messages, which began with Ms. Fonda speaking English, were broadcast in Vietnamese and were addressed to South Vietnamese youth, students, women and the military.^[22]

In general, the radio broadcasts from North Vietnam by Americans since 1965 fall into three main categories.

1. Those made by U.S. antiwar activists and black militants while visiting North Vietnam.

2. Those made by above individuals and groups made elsewhere and then broadcast on Radio Hanoi at a later date.
3. Those broadcast by captured U.S. servicemen with specific political themes.

In addition, another category which can be established (or included in #1-3, above) based on specific message content, is that of identified U.S. military personnel defectors. With respect to the period covered, that is, 1965 -1972, one Korean War defector and another of Vietnam Conflict period, have been identified with such activities.

With respect to radio broadcasts (or English-language radio interviews) by U.S. antiwar activists and black militants during their visits to North Vietnam, their frequency has only become apparent in the past three years, although *Radio Hanoi* has used direct quotes from U.S. visitors since the Hayden-Lynd-Aptheker trip of December 1965. For example, James A. Johnson, one of the "Fort Hood Three" defendants in 1966 and currently a member of Executive Committee of the CPUSA [Communist Party United States of America] youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, traveled to Hanoi in August 1969 as part of the Renie Davis-led New Mobe group which secured the release of Navy men Lt. Robert Frishman and seaman Douglas Hegdahl and Air Force Captain Wesley Rumble, Johnson, then overtly representing the National Black Anti-war Anti-draft Union, was quoted as stating:

We consider it fitting that I, a black man and an ex-GI who spent 28 months in U.S. prisons for refusing to fight against the Vietnamese people, should read this statement. Thousands of American GI's now feel that their fight is not with the people of Vietnam. Their fight is with those who make the war in this country(Quoted from *FBIS [Federal Broadcast Information Service]* Daily Report, 4 August 1969 in SDS Hearings, Pt. 7-A, p. 2380).

A year later, Black Panther Party Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, and Reverend Phillip Lawson, a Methodist minister closely associated with the Panthers in Kansas City, Missouri, visited North Vietnam as part of the "American People's Anti-imperialist Delegation." At a ceremony commemorating black solidarity with the Communist Vietnamese "struggle" in Indochina on August 27, 1970, which was broadcast two days later on *Radio Hanoi*, Cleaver stated:

The rise of the struggle of black people inside the U.S. is a sure sign that the days of U.S. imperialism are numbered.... The combination of the external revolutionary forces and the internal revolutionary forces is an unbeatable combination and together, we are going to crush U.S. Imperialism and thus usher in a new and happy day for mankind.

Denouncing the concurrent Asian mission of Vice President Agnew to South Vietnam, South Korea and Nationalist China, Cleaver took his violently anti-U.S. diatribe *ad hominem* as he characterized Mr. Agnew as "the number two fascist pig in the Nixon clique, Spiro Agnew, Spiro pig Agnew...."

For his part, Reverend Lawson, also a New Mobe Executive Committee member, sent greetings to the North Vietnamese from that organization. While his remarks at that time were less vehement, if equally anti-American, Lawson's delayed-tape broadcast of September 20, 1970, far exceeded Cleaver's remarks in content and aiming at a specific audience. Addressing his statement to "my black brothers in the U.S. forces in Vietnam," Lawson declared:

For two weeks, I have been visiting with the people of Vietnam, I have seen what you have been ordered to do to these people. Very frankly, you know what you are doing is criminal, for the same action many persons were convicted of being war criminals. You must become men who will stand up and say no when you are given criminal orders.... Black brothers, do not kill women and children. You. can shoot over their heads, you can prevent the racist white soldiers from slaughtering these people: you can disobey all racist officers and their racist orders. Black brothers, the real war for independence, freedom and justice is being fought in the United States. What you do now in Vietnam will determine what you do back home. If you join the ...Vietnamese forces ... your black brothers and sisters in the United States will welcome your return as a true black man. But if you continue to be used ...your black brothers and sisters ...will surely see you as members of a black police force returning to their black community.

(September 24, 1970)

In an interview in the *Kansas City Star* in October 1970. Lawson readily admitted the accuracy of his statements as broadcast. Claiming he spoke as "a black minister talking to black soldiers," he further stated that "he did not consider the broadcast as 'giving aid or comfort to the enemy', particularly since the United States has never declared war on North Vietnam." "[I]t's a matter of defining the enemy." Lawson concluded, "In the Vietnam war, who is our enemy? I don't think the Communists are the enemy in Vietnam."

After Reverend Lawson's broadcast, a delegation from the National Student Association, which visited Hanoi to negotiate the "People's Peace Treaty" in December 1970, made six separate broadcasts from Hanoi. Such antiwar activists as Noam Chomsky, Richard Fernandez, Robert Scheer, Sidney Peck and Ann Froines also made broadcasts during their respective visits to North Vietnam in 1970. In addition, *Movement for a Democratic Military* leader Hideko "Pat" Sumi, who traveled with the Cleaver Black Panther group to Hanoi, Peking, and Pyongyang, was another individual identified as making GI broadcasts in September 1970.

On February 27, 1972, *Radio Hanoi* presented an interview with Harvard biology professor and Nobel Prize winner, George Wald. Evidently, the delayed-tape had been made a week or two before when Wald visited the DRV as a guest of the Vietnamese Committee for Solidarity with the American People, the same group which has sponsored many U.S. antiwar activists since 1965, including Jane Fonda. At that time, Professor Wald claimed that the U.S. was guilty of conducting the deliberate chemical, biological and ecological campaigns to destroy South Vietnam. Conversely, Wald claimed that the American public was being misled by the military in that the damage to Vietnamese agriculture and forests by herbicides and defoliation was "largely permanent."

Claiming that he and many other American scientists have been in the forefront of the U.S. antiwar movement, Wald added that another strong element in that coalition was the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Recalling the April 1971 VVAW activities in Washington, D. C., Wald noted that these veterans were "now the most bitter opponents of the war," and were "ashamed of their part" in it. In addition, Wald mentioned his interview with two captured American fliers, in which he noted:

I think that from those conversations that you could find no more powerful voices against the American part in the Vietnam war than the voices of those American prisoners...they explained that they hardly knew why they were coming. They were simply following orders. But now they know, and are violently against this war and want our country to get out of it as quickly as possible. And one of the reasons for that

feeling is the great consideration and kindness and care with which they were treated, immediately from their capture onwards (February 28, 1972)^[23]

Another visitor to North Vietnam (and also to Red China) in March 1972, folksinger and identified CPUSA member Pete Seeger, admitted to having made tapes for GI's to be broadcast by *Radio Hanoi*.

Seeger claimed in a *Saturday Review* article:

Monday [March 20, 1972]—I do two twenty-minute broadcasts that will be broadcast to GIs over "Voice of Vietnam." I have been thinking all week about what I will say and sing and, after talking with Seymour Hersh [the U.S. writer and author of *My Lai 4*] and Toshi [Mrs. Seeger], decided to stay strictly away from political explanations of any sort.

I start with the song "Turn, Turn, Turn" Then I say, "Yes, this is Pete Seeger from Beacon, New York and some of my friends will say 'What the hell are you doing up there?' Perhaps the question is "What are any of us doing in this part of the world?" ... [Pete Seeger, "Strummin' Banjo in North Vietnam," *Saturday Review* (May 13, 1972), p. 32].

Prior to Miss Fonda, Seeger was the last reported U.S. national involved in *Radio Hanoi* broadcasts to U.S. servicemen.

The second category of broadcasts, that is. Those originated elsewhere but transmitted from North Vietnam has also been utilized frequently since 1965. Two early broadcasters in this category were black militant Robert Williams and another black Korean War defector Clarence Adams, who taped their messages in Peking for replay over North Vietnamese media. Aimed primarily at blacks and other minorities, these messages called on American servicemen to desert or to demand their return to the U.S. where they were to aid in the "real struggle," that is, in the ghettos of American cities. This divisive theme, as can be seen with the previously-mentioned "live" broadcasts by Cleaver and Lawson, has been continued to the present. In 1967-1969, black militant activists such as Charles Cobb and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC (now SCC), Julius Lester and James A. Johnson made similar appeals to black and minority GI's. With respect to Williams and Adams, however, both men have been permitted re-entry into the United States after making such blatant propaganda.

Several other taped broadcasts made during 1966 were originated in the U.S. One, a Fourth of July Message by an otherwise unidentifiable female, Elizabeth Stafford, declared the war "unjust" in light of the Founding Fathers concepts of freedom and independence, and accused the U.S. of war crimes in Vietnam. Another, a Christmas message by an Ed Anderson, played up domestic problems such as racial strife, hunger and disease along with portraying the "hopeless" war in Vietnam. Finally, the year 1966 saw several broadcasts by "Radio Stateside," which made tapes in Los Angeles for broadcast from Hanoi. Two announcers, Steve Fisher and Joe Epstein, combined music with a highly-slanted analysis of the news, especially on the Vietnam War. Sandwiched in between were appeals for desertion and conscientious objector applications. In particular, the pair asked GI's to contact the heavily Communist-Infiltrated Vietnam Committee which was headquartered at Berkeley, and also the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In total, *Radio Stateside* made three known broadcasts (January 4, February 16, and August 17 in 1966), and thereafter ceased operations. According to testimony given during HCIS military subversion hearings in October 1971, this technique was again employed in early 1971 with WPAX, Inc., the brainchild of Yippie leader and "Chicago 8"^[24] de-

fendant Abby Hoffman. This time, according to Hoffman, in his "official retirement from the Movement" letter published in the *Guardian* during September 1971, Federal authorities reportedly seized the WPAX tapes at the airport.

The third category consists of U.S. servicemen in the custody of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong. Here a distinction must be made between the broadcasts of American airmen held prisoner in North Vietnam and a select group of U.S. Army and Marine Corps personnel in custody of the Vietcong. For the most part, American airmen who have been captured after being downed over North Vietnam have been permitted to make statements to alert military authorities and next of kin of their present sates. Although some of these messages have included passages that the pilots were "reconsidering" U.S. involvement in Vietnam and their own roles therein, the employment of an ethical technique known as a "broad mental reservation" is fairly obvious. In 1971-1972, some of these messages have become rather propagandistic, but a hard core of "progressives" cannot be detected based on the continual traffic analysis of the *Radio Hanoi* broadcasts.

On the other hand, it is evident that a "hard core" group has emerged among U.S. Army and Marine Corps personnel held by the Vietcong. In this group of about a dozen men is a U.S. Army doctor captured in early 1968. Others are a self-admitted U.S. Army defector to the Viet Cong, two Army aviators, two Army Special Forces personnel and several enlisted members of the Marine Corps. The defector, a black soldier who went over to the Vietcong in May 1968, told American troops this past April:

Refuse to go out on any type of operation, especially combat, including support of the ARVN who'll only let you down.

In an earlier broadcast in February, this same individual in a joint broadcast with another soldier and a marine endorsed the World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Indochinese People and such domestic activities as the six-week series of NPAC/PCPJ demonstrations of March-May 1972, and the earlier protest and "Winter Soldier Investigation" of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War in January and April, 1971, respectively. Since April 1971, this small elite has broadcast continually these propaganda themes to U.S. forces in South Vietnam on a regular basis. Although these broadcasts have generally been timed with major events in the combat zone and on the domestic scene, That is, anti-war activities and the like, the median of broadcasts has been 4-6 per month.

In summary, the Vietnamese Communist manipulation of these three major types of U.S. broadcasters has, since 1965, provided a steady stream of propaganda directed against American forces in Southeast Asia. In terms of the first category alone, U.S. visitors to North Vietnam have made 82 identified broadcasts. By co-timing broadcasts from all three types, it is apparent that the Vietnamese Communists have attempted to gain credibility for their propaganda by means of a technique called theme reinforcement, whereby various speakers from different backgrounds reiterate the same basic theme time and time again somewhat akin to the Nazi propagandist Dr. Goebbels' dictum: "Truth is merely an oft-repeated lie."

The recent dike bombing theme is a case in point. Besides Ms. Fonda, U.S. prisoners of war, foreign correspondents and a former U.S. attorney general have mutually reinforced the theme that U.S. aircraft were intentionally bombing the

dikes in North Vietnam, along with schools, hospitals and populated areas. When the evidence for these allegations are examined closely, however, the conclusive proof becomes quicksilver and would scarcely hold water in any but a highly slanted tribunal of Justice.^[25]

As the House Committee's Memo makes clear, this Communist-engendered propaganda had its effect on America's military effort in Vietnam. Fonda's activities, as we shall see in Part II, were considerably more notorious than most others because of her celebrity. She became an even bigger celebrity, in certain circles, when she joined forces with one of the propagandists mentioned in the foregoing Congressional report: the poster boy of the anti-war movement, Tom Hayden. It was Hayden more than anyone else — Indians, feminists, farm workers, the Panthers — who was responsible for providing Fonda with the sense of self that she had been so desperately seeking since childhood. "More than any other American radical, Hayden had become associated with the gradual transition of the New Left from antiwar to pro-Hanoi. He had gone to Vietnam in 1965 and had come back rhapsodizing about the 'rice-roots democracy' he had seen there. What he said then and three years later when he brought out the first American POWs, made him Hanoi's leading spokesman in this country."²⁶

Hayden, "Mr. Anti-America," thus played Svengali to Fonda's Trilby.

Hayden's radical résumé reflected his involvement in some of the most notorious radical events of the '60s: the founding of Students for a Democratic Society in 1961; the pilgrimage to Hanoi in 1965; the Newark riots of 1967; the meeting with North Vietnamese leaders in Communist Czechoslovakia in 1967²⁷; the student strike at Columbia University in 1968; the street warfare at the Democratic Party National Convention in 1968; and his own arrest and subsequent trial as one of the "Chicago Seven."

Hayden and Fonda, who had met in passing, connected once again in 1972 when Fonda, immersed in her Vietnam mode, was narrating a slide show in Los Angeles. Afterwards, Hayden left the audience and approached her. Whatever Hayden was, he was not stupid. Indeed, without necessarily knowing much about her background, Hayden, though no psychiatrist, had sized up Fonda very well. As biographer Peter Collier wrote,

Hayden saw in Jane someone at the end of her tether. Her hyperkinetic tour of the New Left had exposed her to its ideas and jargon. But now that world view was crumbling and she was as isolated as he.^[28] Tom saw her as someone who had been drained by the Movement. He had seen others who gave all they could in hopes of achieving radical salvation but were always found wanting for not giving everything. "Their real solution," he later said of the leftists who had been influencing Jane, "was for her to give everything to them and then commit suicide. And she was headed in that direction."

He knew she had been seeing other men of the left, but thought she was being used as a

mark on their scorecard and was not getting what she needed from her affairs. He also realized that she had stretched herself across too many political commitments, from feminism to black revolution. It seemed that his own solution — to draw away from the intramural fighting of the left and return to the single issue of Vietnam — might work for her too. He got Jane to agree to look at the slide show on Indochina he had put together.

The slides he brought to her ... were different from her own harshly propagandistic ones. His pictures tried to evoke what he saw as the subtle tragedies behind the long war.²⁹

Apparently, Hayden's soft-sell worked. After he and Fonda became intimate, she signed on with him — no surprise to those who knew her well.

A former colleague of theirs noted that to understand Hayden and Fonda, “all you have to know is that they are both very, very ambitious people. Tom was a big hero to the people who mattered most to Jane. *She still had lingering doubts about herself, and he could dispel them.* I mean, this great intellectual was taking her seriously, so she figured everyone else would have to, too.’ And Hayden? ‘Jane was still a pretty glamorous creature, and Tom was a fan, let’s face it. When they got together, he was broke and she was worth millions. Jane was also a powerful force — she was a hundred times more famous than he was — and he had been out of the spotlight for a while. He wanted the access to middle America that she gave him.’ Overriding all else in Jane’s mind was one paramount consideration. Sisterhood aside, she needed another mentor, another substitute for her father. Hayden filled the bill nicely.”³⁰

As a Fonda friend put it: “By the spring of 1972, Jane had reached something of a dead end. She’d tried everything in the Movement and she hadn’t found a foothold. She was in a sort of free-fall. People laughed behind her back. She was out of synch. It doesn’t sound very flattering, but those of us who knew her well realized that she needed a man to follow.”³¹ That man was Tom Hayden, and Fonda followed him across the threshold, beyond which lay wartime North Vietnam.

1. Collier and Horowitz, *Destructive Generation*, 267.

2. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 194.

3. Anderson, *Citizen Jane*, 193. Collier has said “It was at this moment he realized that the New Left had become chic” (Collier, *The Fondas*, 220).

4. Accompanying Fonda on a tour of Indian reservations, college campuses and military installations was her old French Marxist friend, Elisabeth Vailland, whose limited English nevertheless did include the clichéd slogan “All power to the people” (Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 209).

5. Herman and Downing, *Jane Fonda*, 62.

6. Tom Hayden, among the earliest pilgrims to North Vietnam, and Fonda’s next husband, adoringly characterized the Black Panthers as “America’s Vietcong” (Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 213).

7. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 213. According to

Collier, some of the Panthers called Fonda “a ‘rich white bitch’ behind her back and bragged about having sex with her.” For her part, Fonda is reputed to have said, “[m]y biggest regret ... is that I never got to fuck Che Guevara” (Collier, *The Fondas*, 197).

8. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 214.

9. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 209.

10. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 209.

11. *Hearings Before the Committee on Internal Security, House Of Representatives, Ninety-Second Congress, Second Session, 7679*. This Report will hereafter be cited as *Hearing Report*.

12. *Hearing Report*, 7680.

13. *Hearing Report*, 7680.

14. Collier, *The Fondas*, 194.

15. Collier, *The Fondas*, 199.

16. Collier, *The Fondas*, 201.

17. Herman and Downing, *Jane Fonda*, 66.

18. Collier, *The Fondas*, 208.
19. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 230. So, too, were her later Communist friends in Hanoi.
20. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 241.
21. In order that Mr. Thach's report be presented exactly as it appears in the *Hearing Report*, no effort has been made to correct typographical and other errors.
22. See Chapter 4 for details concerning these statements, and the Appendix for their complete texts.
23. Not coincidentally, Wald's report of his "interview" with American POWs in Hanoi was the same in form and substance as Fonda's would be several months later. See Chapter 4.
24. The number "8" appears in the *Hearing Report*, although the correct reference is to the "Chicago Seven."
25. *Hearing Report*, at 7688–7694.
26. Collier, *The Fondas*, 220–221.
27. As a result of this meeting, the Viet Cong released three POWs to Hayden in Vietnam. One of those, Dan Pitzer, who had been a captive for five years, said that Hayden "played right into [Hanoi's] hands. Besides, Hayden's visa and passport had been yanked by the U.S. The only way the State Department would let him back in the States without a hassle was with us. We were his ticket home — not the other way around" (Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 270).
28. Hayden had recently been purged from his collective, the Red Family, largely because of accusations of "anti-feminism."
29. Collier, *The Fondas*, 223–24.
30. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 251; emphasis added.
31. Collier, *The Fondas*, 219. As recently as early 2001, on Barbara Walters' TV show, Fonda admitted that she had spent her life trying to please men.