4

"Adhering to Their Enemies"

Our country has no capability to defeat you on the battlefield.
But war is not decided by weapons so much as by national will.
Once the American people understand this war,
they will have no interest in pursuing it.
They will be made to understand this.
We will win this war on the streets of New York.
(Jim and Sybil Stockdale,* In Love and War, *181)

This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi… **(Hearing Report, *7647*)**

On July 11, 1972, a confidential cable from the American embassy in Vientiane, Laos, to the Secretary of State in Washington, the United States delegation at the Paris peace talks, the Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Forces and our embassy in Saigon, South Vietnam, revealed the following:

Subject: Travel to NVN: Jane Fonda
As Dept is likely aware from press reports, actress Jane Fonda arrived in Hanoi 8 July via Aeroflot from Moscow. *Subject was not carried as passenger on Aeroflot manifest* deposited during Vientiane transit morning July 8 nor did she disembark to transit lounge.[1]

Fonda had left the United States, traveled to Paris and, fittingly, flown from there to Moscow. Boarding an Aeroflot flight in the Soviet capital, apparently incognito, she remained on the airplane when it landed in supposedly neutral Laos, and exited only when she arrived in Hanoi, North Vietnam. "Clad in black pajamas [typically worn by the Viet Cong in the South] and a white tunic, Jane stepped off her Aeroflot jet on July 8, 1972…. She arrived, she told her uniformed, helmeted hosts, with 'greetings' from revolutionary 'comrades' in America."[2]

Fonda had come to Hanoi — as had Hayden, Joan Baez and other Americans before her — willingly and knowingly to provide grist for the North Vietnamese propaganda mill, an operation that had been in place for decades. In fact, when ranking U.S. Naval POW Jim Stockdale was dragged before an assemblage of top North Vietnamese officers and an interpreter-announcer from the English-language propaganda program, "Voice of Vietnam":

The unwary announcer started addressing the important one as "Vien" until [one of the interrogators] came forward and whispered to him what I suppose was a reminder that criminals like me were never to hear a proper Vietnamese name. But I had all I needed. "Vien" had to be Nguyen Khac Vien, a name with which I had become familiar through my research in graduate school. Vien is a medical doctor and a longtime resident of Paris. He is a master Communist propagandist, a better-than-average writer in English, and an intellectual of sorts, a former acquaintance of Albert Camus. He led the Viet Minh propaganda and agitation campaigns and demonstrations in Paris and in the French countryside during 1953 and 1954, efforts that had a part in discouraging the French people and French government from pursuing their war in Asia. Moreover, Vien is known to be a longtime close personal friend of Premier Pham Van Dong. During our ensuing talk through the radio-announcer interpreter, it became clear that as far as Vien was concerned, the master game plan for this war had been well in the works for a long time: It was to be a replay of the Dien Bien Phu era, *including the propaganda-induced political disillusionment of the Western adversary.*[3]

Indeed, from the very beginning of Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh resistance to French rule, the guerrillas' command structure "was divided into a military arm and a political-psychological warfare arm, with the political commander, Ho, supreme."[4]

As we noted in the previous chapter, despite the "public relations" risk of torturing American prisoners of war, the North Vietnamese chanced it because of the high value they placed on propaganda.[5] At no time was this more apparent than in 1967, when the Communists opened yet another POW facility in Hanoi — this one "*devoted specifically to the production and dissemination of propaganda.*"[6] Among its several prisoner-given names, it is probably best known as the "Plantation." "The Vietnamese converted a portion of the facility into a Potemkin village of sanitized cells, garden patches, and scrubbed corridors that would serve as a showplace for displaying the captives to visiting delegations and conducting photo sessions and other propaganda activities."[7]

The POWs, however, were not going to play Hanoi's propaganda game. As we have seen, they resisted torture as best they could. Another method of thwarting the Communists' propaganda plans was self-defacement.

Stockdale was convinced that officials at the Hilton were after him to make a movie for PW consumption in which he advised junior officers to cooperate with the captors. To defeat the plan, he tried fasting, then disfigured himself by chopping his hair and scalp with a razor and, when the Vietnamese requisitioned a hat, pounding his face with a stool and against the wall until he was unfit to be photographed or filmed. … But the best counterextortion technique proved to be the self-defacement. Painful as it was — he had to "freshen" his bruises with his fists to keep his eyelids swollen and cheekbones mashed — it allowed him to regain some measure of control from his tormentors.[8]

Yet, in the face of the heroic, mostly successful efforts of American POWs to deny the North Vietnamese their much-needed propaganda victories — by taking indescribable torture, by voluntarily defacing themselves, by seeing the Plantation for what it was and acting accordingly and by every other means open to them — Jane Fonda handed her Communist hosts a pro–Communist, anti–American propaganda coup.

Why? Again, Fonda biographer Peter Collier understood what was driving the

actress-turned-militant: " When she arrived in Hanoi, Jane was as malleable as she had been when she returned to the United States after her Paris exile two years earlier — ready to find her relevance in the use others could make of her."[9]

And use her, to good effect, the "others" — the Communists — would. Indeed, as we shall see in this chapter and even more in the next, the use to which the North Vietnamese put Fonda — with her knowing consent and active participation — gave them what they needed: legitimacy and favorable propaganda.

Once Fonda was in Hanoi, her Communist hosts laid on a full schedule for their American comrade who had come halfway around the world to assist them in their international propaganda efforts.[10] Fonda's North Vietnamese itinerary is reproduced here verbatim as it appears in the *Hearing Report*, except for material indicated as having been omitted or added.[11]

July 8	Arrival in Hanoi.
July 9–11	Visit to Hanoi "War Museum" … and Bach Mai … to view alleged bomb damage to the hospital there.
July 12	Visits to Nam Sach district … and Hong Phong Village to view bomb damages 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 [probably live] 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 [live] broadcast to GIs via Radio Hanoi in which she described previous visits to Bach Mai Hospital and Hanoi War Museum.[12]
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 [live] broadcast to GIs via Radio Hanoi.
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 [Army of the Republic of (South) Vietnam] counteroffensive was doomed to failure; fourth [live] broadcast to GIs explaining U.S.-SVN (South Vietnam) violations of the Geneva Accords of 1954.
July 21	Fifth and sixth [live] 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 [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] Government the Vietnamese people will certainly win brilliant victory."
July 21	Fonda [probably taped] 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 represssions of the Thieu government and the VC [Viet Cong] 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."[13]
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."

In the years since Fonda's July 1972 pilgrimage to Hanoi, there have been many reports of what she did there. Some have been accurate, some not. *Since our opinion that she could have been indicted and tried for treason rests mostly on Fonda's actual pro–Communist, anti–American, propaganda broadcasts and her other conduct in North Vietnam, it is essential to get the facts down correctly.* Principally, Fonda's activities in North Vietnam fell into four categories: (1) broadcasts — some live and some taped — under the auspices of Radio Hanoi; (2) meetings with senior Communist officials; (3) tours of civilian and military sites; (4) an "interview" with seven American prisoners of war.

To set the record straight, let's begin with the broadcasts, which, outside a few government agencies, have never been heard in the United States in their entirety. Indeed, few people outside of government have ever even read the transcripts. There are two categories: (1) Fonda's broadcasts to American military personnel, and (2) her broadcasts targeted to others. The list of Fonda's broadcasts is reproduced here verbatim, except for material indicated as having been omitted.[14]

To American Military Personnel[15]

Date/Time	*To Whom Addressed*
July 14, 1972	"All of you in the cockpits of your planes … in the 7th Fleet"
July 17, 1972	"U.S. Servicemen"
July 19, 1972	"American Servicemen"
July 21, 1972	"U.S. Pilots"

July 22, 1972	"U.S. Flyers and Airmen"
July 20, 1972	"the U.S. men who … have been sent here to fight"
July 24, 1972	"U.S. Pilots and Airmen"
July 25, 1972	"U.S. Pilots and Airmen"
July 28, 1972	"U.S. Servicemen"
July 30, 1972	"American GIs"
August 15, 1972 (Recorded July 20, 1972)	"American Servicemen"
August 22, 1972 (Recorded ca. July 22, 1972)	"American Servicemen"

To Others

July 20, 1972	Re North Vietnamese Army liberation of Quantri Province
(Hanoi domestic service in translated Vietnamese)	
July 20, 1972	Recorded passage from her Hanoi Press Conference Statement
(English to Europe, Africa and Mid-East)	
July 21, 1972	"Message to South Vietnamese People"
(Liberation Press Agency [clandestine] in English to Eastern Europe and Far East)	
July 23, 1972	"Letter to Southern Youths"
(Translated Vietnamese to South Vietnamese)	
July 26, 1972	"Talk with Saigon Students"
(English to American Servicemen involved in The Indochina War)	
July 29, 1972	"Message to Saigon Soldiers"
(English to South East Asia)	
August 1, 1972	"Fonda … message to Mme. Binh in Cuba" sends her a "warm kiss"
(Liberation Radio [clandestine] in Vietnamese to South Vietnam)	

From this list of broadcasts, it is apparent that Fonda was addressing not only every American serviceman and woman (enlisted and officer) on the ground in Vietnam and on ships off the coast, but also South Vietnamese soldiers and civilians as well. Her broadcasts were beamed to the jungles of the South, the prisons of the North and even to Eastern (that is, Communist) Europe.

To the extent there is sympathy among Americans for Fonda's activities in North Vietnam, it is probably because they have never known what she actually said in Hanoi, and what was attributed to her.[16] The list follows:

- American pilots were bombing non-military targets, such as hospitals, villages, schools, factories, pagodas, theaters and dikes.[17]
- Americans were using "illegal, outlawed weapons," including chemical bombs and chemical toxic gases.
- Ordering the use of, and using, these weapons makes one a "war criminal."
- In the past, users of such weapons were "tried and executed."
- The Vietnamese people were peasants, leading a peaceful bucolic life before the Americans came to destroy Vietnam.

- The Vietnamese seek only "freedom and independence," which the United States wants to prevent them from having.
- The Vietnamese fighters are her "friends."
- The million infantry troops the United States put into Vietnam, and the Vietnamization program, have failed.
- The United States seeks to turn Vietnam into a "neocolony."
- Patrick Henry's slogan "liberty or death" was not very different from Ho Chi Minh's "Nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom."
- Her meeting with seven "U.S. aggressor pilots" found them "healthy and repentant."
- Nixon violated the 1954 Geneva Accords.
- Vietnam is "one nation, one country."
- The Communists' proposal for ending the war is "fair, sensible, reasonable and humanitarian."
- The United States must get out of South Vietnam, and "cease its support for the … Thieu regime."
- "I want to publicly accuse Nixon here of being a new-type Hitler whose crimes are being unveiled."
- "The Vietnamese people will win."
- "Nixon is continuing to risk your [American pilots'] lives and the lives of the American prisoners of war … 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?"
- "Can you justify what you are doing?"
- Nixon "defiles our flag and all that it stands for in the eyes of the entire world."
- "Knowing who was doing the lying, should you then allow these same people and some liars to define for you who your enemy is?"
- "If they told you the truth, you wouldn't fight, you wouldn't kill."
- "Our parents were having to pay in order to finance, to buy weapons for the French to kill the Vietnamese people."
- American troops are fighting for ESSO, Shell and Coca-Cola.
- "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…. And I don't think … that we should be risking our lives or fighting to defend that kind of government."
- "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."
- "We have understood that we have a common enemy — U.S. imperialism."
- "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…."
- "We thank you [the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese] for your brave and heroic fight."
- "Nixon's aggression against Vietnam is a racist aggression, [and] the American war in Vietnam is a racist war, a white man's war…."
- Soldiers of the South Vietnamese army "are being sent to fight a war that is not in your interests but is in the interests of the small handful of people who have gotten rich and hope to get richer off this war and the turning of your country into a neocolony of the United States."
- "We read with interest about the growing numbers of you [South Vietnam Army troops] 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 intruder."

- "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."
- "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 advisors and to stop the support of the Thieu regime in Saigon…."
- "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 … to expose his crimes…."
- "In 1969–1970 the desertions in the American army tripled. The desertions of the U.S. soldiers almost equaled the desertions from the ARVN army…."
- Although "we do not condone the killing of American officers … we do support the soldiers who are beginning to think for themselves."
- American soldiers in Vietnam discovered "that their officers were incompetent, usually drunk…."
- "Perhaps the soldiers … who have suffered the most … [are] the black soldiers, the brown soldiers, and the red and Asian soldiers."
- Recently I talked 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."
- "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."
- "I think Richard Nixon would do well to read Vietnamese history, particularly their poetry, and particularly the poetry written by Ho Chi Minh."

On that literary suggestion, we can end this summary of Fonda's propaganda statements in Hanoi.

Fonda's own words, and the thematic analysis that follows, make plain beyond any reasonable doubt the intent and import of her statements. They contained lies about the United States, its leaders, their motives and their acts. They maligned the President of the United States. They spouted the Communist propaganda line in every respect. They sought to undermine the morale and military effort of our soldiers in the field and our prisoners in jungle camps and North Vietnamese prisons.

And her words even encouraged mutiny and desertion.

That there was a consistent pro–Communist, anti–American, propaganda theme to virtually everything uttered by Fonda in her broadcasts from Hanoi, that Fonda's

statements reveal a clear intent to aid the North Vietnamese and injure the United States, cannot be disputed. Indeed, a research analyst[18] for the House Internal Security Committee prepared the following "Theme Analysis" of Fonda's Hanoi statements for the Committee in July 1972.[19] Its conclusion clearly identifies what she was trying to accomplish in North Vietnam. The Theme Analysis is reproduced here verbatim, except for material indicated as having been omitted.[20]

THEME ANALYSIS OF FONDA STATEMENTS TO MEDIA FROM HANOI

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 [House Internal Security] 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.

1. "Hanoi VNA International Services 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 communications 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.

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 Gulk [sic] of Tonkin, in the 7th Fleet, in the Anglico[21] Corps in the south of Vietnam

After a rather pointed diatribe 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") 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, That is, to refuse to participate in bombing raids. *The message, therefore, represents a highly subliminal appeal to servicemen to disobey orders, etc.*[22] evidently prepared by professional propagandists.

3. "Hanoi in English to Europe. Africa and the Middle East, 2000 GMT 19 Jul 72." This a North Vietnamese 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 Geneva 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.

Although more detailed analyses of Fonda's Hanoi propaganda statements are found in the next chapter, which addresses her statements' impact, it is useful to emphasize a related point here. Consider some of the statements made by this young actress who lacked political sophistication, who was ignorant of history, who had an almost non-existent knowledge of international affairs, and who probably had never before written anything more complicated than a check: "neocolonialism," the 1954 Geneva Accords, what constituted a military target, different types of aircraft and ordnance, the "Anglico" reference and more. It is obvious that in Hanoi, Jane Fonda was acting as a willing tool of the Communists, to a considerable extent simply reading "canned" material created by professional Communist propagandists (albeit perhaps with an occasional ad lib). Indeed, some of the words and syntax are those of a person or persons for whom English was not a first language, and it is doubtful that the political language came from Fonda herself.[23]

It is apparent from Mr. Thach's analysis that Fonda's broadcasts had a central pro–Communist, anti–American, theme and that by those statements she intentionally sought to undermine the United States' military effort in Indochina. But Fonda's broadcasts were not her only statements in aid of the North Vietnamese. In addition to the live broadcasts made by Fonda on Hanoi Radio, and replayed endlessly not only throughout Vietnam but also within the Northern prison camps, she made many other statements while being escorted around the city and its environs to view what

her hosts claimed were bombed-out civilian installations like schools and hospitals. Examples abound. She was taken to a hamlet called Hong Phong, and afterward the North Vietnamese issued a news release saying that the day before Fonda's visit, American bombing had killed two elderly people — and adding that "Jane Fonda felt great indignation at the U.S. attack on civilian populations."[24] As some of her propaganda broadcasts indicated, she "was taken to see dikes allegedly destroyed the day before. 'In her assessment,' read the Hanoi news release, 'the U.S. had made deliberate attacks on dikes to jeopardize life and terrorize the people.' At a press conference she said that every evidence of bombing that she had seen was directed at a nonmilitary target."[25]

As to Fonda's tours, it is noteworthy that virtually on her first day in Hanoi she was taken to the North Vietnam Communists' "War Crimes" museum which displayed ordnance and artifacts allegedly used by American forces in Vietnam. When, in early 1970, Everett Alvarez, Jr., the first airman–POW in Hanoi, was taken to the museum, he saw his own helmet and uniform and photographs and equipment of other captured pilots.[26] Apparently during her visit to Hanoi, Fonda had told her hosts that every American should tour the museum.

> As a result, the North Vietnamese made most of us captive POWs visit the museum against our will. …In regard to the visit to the War Crimes Museum; yes my room was forced to go there along with other rooms. …On the night we were forced to visit the War Crimes Museum we were driven by a bus to the site a few miles from the Hanoi Hilton. We knew as soon as we got there that something different was in the mill. There were quite a few extra guards and a large table where they had us sit down. Candy and cigarettes were available — this meant that they were trying to be nice. We thought that we saw some cameras behind the screen and were immediately suspicious. The Vietnamese officer told us that we were in the War Crimes Museum and that they were going to allow us to visit it. Being the ranking officer (SRO) I replied that we had no interest in seeing the display and wanted them to return us to the camp. This did not set too well with them. When everyone at the table stayed in position (I was really proud of my men) they again ordered us to rise and tour the displays. We still did not respond. Three of the soldiers grabbed me knowing that I was the SRO and the spokesman and wrestled me to the floor. The next man in the line was [Big Bill], he was quite big and tough as he had played tackle for [a college] football team. They grabbed him and started to force him to the ground. It took about five of them and it got quite rough. I feared that they would break some of Bill's bones, etc and since we had made the point that we were being forced to attend, I gave the order to Bill to stop resisting and for the remainder of the troops to go on the tour without any further resistance. I did this so that my men would not be injured for it was obvious to me that they had the available manpower to handle any resistance from us. And we had made the point that they were forcing us to visit the facility. As we approached each station we turned our backs to the display and gave the one finger salute to any cameras that might have been recording our visit. It was very obvious by our gestures and positioning that we were not there willingly. They would get no propaganda value from our visit. Shortly after the tour began and it was obvious that they had failed to show willing viewers we were taken back to the prison.[27]

But even worse than her "War Crimes" museum tour, Fonda's most notorious

visit was to the site of a Communist anti-aircraft gun, which was used to blast American pilots and their planes out of the sky. Even many of Fonda's supporters were shocked and disgusted to see the helmeted Fonda smiling, clapping, shaking hands and otherwise fraternizing with the weapon's crew. Film of this episode makes clear beyond any doubt whatsoever that Fonda was enjoying herself greatly; indeed, she looks nearly orgasmic.[28] Fraternizing with the gun crew was obscene enough. But then Fonda climbed into the anti-aircraft weapon's control seat, put her eye to the sight, and feigned taking a bead on imaginary American aircraft. The Communist crew smiled and applauded. The North Vietnamese propagandists had a field day, and French and other cameramen distributed the film worldwide. The photo's caption reads: "American actress and activist Jane Fonda is surrounded by soldiers and reporters as she sings an anti-war song near Hanoi during the Vietnam War in July 1972. Fonda, seated on an anti-aircraft gun, is here to 'encourage' North Vietnamese soldiers fighting against 'American Imperialist Airraiders.' She is wearing a helmet and Vietnamese-made ao-dai pantaloon and blouse." Seventeen years later, Fonda was still trying to explain away her conduct, apparently not understanding that what she said then simply reinforced what she had done in 1972 in Hanoi. Here's what a Fonda interviewer wrote in 1989:

> "And merely visiting the gun on that trip was not in itself unusual or shameful," she says. "It was a very normal thing for people visiting Vietnam to be taken to an air-defense installation. Hundreds of people had gone and done the same kind of tour. You visited military installations and when you were there you wore a helmet wherever you went."
>
> Still, in that notorious film clip we see her in her helmet, striding up to the gun turret, then suddenly breaking into this rapturous grin and waving her arms as if she's making a theatrical gesture of hailing the deadly weapon. Next she's bouncing up to take a seat on the firing chair behind the barrel of the gun, smiling and waving as if she were blowing kisses.
>
> What was that show-biz–like song-and-dance gesture she made before the gun? It was a song, in fact, that led to the gesture, she explains. While it looks as if she is hailing or blowing kisses to the gun, that arm-waving gesture was actually a show-bizzy flourish to an American song she was singing to the gun crew in exchange for a song they had sung to her.
>
> "There was a group of young soldiers, 17 or 18 maybe, and they sang me their national anthem," she says. It was translated for her and she was struck by the fact that it contained a passage from the American Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident." Caught up in her naive enthusiasm for the solidarity of spirit between the American Revolution and the Vietnamese struggle, she responded with theatrical gusto when the gun crew asked her to sing them an American song.[29]

In addition to this photo-op, there were many others— with "workers, peasants, students, artists and dancers, historians, journalists, film actresses, soldiers, militia girls, members of the women's union, writers"[30]— especially when Fonda met and socialized with high-ranking North Vietnamese officials. At the end of her trip, she spent some time with Nguyen Duy Trinh, Vice Premier of North Vietnam. Fonda "told him that she was deeply impressed by the Vietnamese people's determination to emerge

victorious. She also told the Vice Premier that his people would 'certainly triumph' over the Americans."[31]

Even worse than Fonda's broadcasts, her photo-op tours and her chumminess with North Vietnamese Communists, was her encounter with American POWs being held captive in Hanoi. Since one of the two essential elements of the crime of treason is "adhering" to the enemy — that is, committing an "overt act" — it is unfortunate that there has been so much erroneous reportage about Fonda's interaction with American POWs in Hanoi. The fact is that Fonda is not guilty of certain acts attributed to her, but she is certainly guilty of others.

Let's set the record straight. It has been reported on the Internet in recent years that POWs surreptitiously slipped Fonda messages which she turned over to the North Vietnamese. That story is false.[32] Also untrue is that any POW died for refusing to meet with Fonda.[33]

It is true, however, that POWs were unwillingly made to meet with Fonda. One prisoner didn't even know where he was being taken:

> I was informed … to get ready to leave. We were put on a bus, blindfolded and driven away. Others were loaded on the bus at another stop and the bus left again. We were unloaded, lined up and had the blindfolds removed. We were then taken into a room and seated. The next thing that occurred was the appearance of Hanoi Jane and she began to speak.[34]

But there's more to this story, which reveals just how much Fonda was in the sway of Communist propaganda experts.

> Fonda … was doing a script, at one point she got lost in what she was saying, went back and used *exactly* the same words again for about two sentences to get back on track. I never got a chance (nor did I want to) say anything, it was a listen and be on display thing … anything else would have brought on problems.[35]

What did she say? Pointing at a chart,

> Jane Fonda's theme was that we [the United States] were committing genocide on the Vietnamese people. She also asserted that we were bombing the dikes which was against the rules of war.[36]

At this staged performance, Fonda was parroting a theme provided her by Communist North Vietnam propagandists, one entirely consistent with broadcasts and other statements she had already made in Hanoi.

Needless to say, Fonda quickly lied about her meeting with the Hanoi Hilton POWs, continuing to parrot the North Vietnamese propaganda line:

> This is Jane Fonda speaking from Hanoi. Yesterday evening … 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 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 that 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 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 was 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 that 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 [Quakers], 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.[37]

This live broadcast by Hanoi Jane, directed to American troops, free and captive, throughout North Vietnam, was blatantly false.

- The prisoners were not "all in good health."
- Fonda did not have "a very long talk" with them.
- The meeting was not "very open and casual."
- They did not "exchange ideas freely."
- The prisoners did not express "their sense of disgust of the war and their shame for what they have been asked to do."
- They did not ask Fonda to encourage their "loved ones and friends … to please be as actively involved in the peace movement as possible."
- They did not assure her "that they have been well cared for."
- They did not express "a very sincere desire to explain to the American people that this was a terrible crime and that it must be stopped, and that Richard Nixon is … endangering their lives while saying he cares about the prisoners."

These lies were simply more canned North Vietnamese propaganda, broadcast in furtherance of Fonda's intent to damage the United States and help the North Vietnamese.

Can it be said that these lies, and the rest of what Fonda said and did in Hanoi, could have been construed by a jury as having provided "aid and comfort" to our North Vietnamese enemy? We'll have the answer in the next chapter. For now, suffice it to note the words of an American POW who would later become a United States Congressman: In the summer of 1972, "the voice of Jane Fonda hung in the air over Camp Unity. Our camp guards and the commander were overjoyed to have a celebrity of her status come over and align herself with their 'humane cause.' I'll never forget seeing a picture of her seated on an antiaircraft gun, much like the one that had shot my plane out of the air and given seven years of my life to the North Vietnamese prison system. I stood in front of her photograph in a quiz [interrogation] room and stared in disbelief until the twisting in my gut made me turn away."[38] While Sam Johnson was revolted by Fonda's visit, a prominent North Vietnam colonel—"journalist" Bui Tin—saw the value of her presence in Hanoi: "That visit and the support it showed had great impact on the Vietnamese people…. We realized that there were two Americas—one who dropped bombs on us, and the other who had sympathy."[39]

As Colonel Bui Tin's "sympathetic" comrade boarded a Soviet "Aeroflot jet in Hanoi for the flight to Paris … [s]he hugged her Vietnamese hosts. As a pledge of solidarity, they gave her a ring made out of the wreckage of a downed U.S. plane."[40] Soon after, Fonda continued to parrot the North Vietnamese propaganda line, intentionally lying about her meeting with the American POWs. *The Washington Post* reported that at a stopover Paris press conference,

> Jane Fonda, back from Hanoi, said today that a group of American war prisoners asked her to tell their parents and friends to work for the victory of Sen. George McGovern because "they fear if Nixon stays in office they will be prisoners forever."
>
> The actress said at a news conference that seven prisoners she met gave her messages for scores of people urging them to defeat President Nixon in the November election.
>
> The prisoners, wearing purple and red striped uniforms, were shown in a 20-minute silent color film with Miss Fonda…
>
> The rest of the film, emphasizing what the actress considers to be deliberate American attacks on the North Vietnamese dike system, showed her in black native pajama pants and a black T-shirt touring paddy fields and wading through bomb ruins.
>
> The actress acknowledged that she had made daily radio broadcasts over Hanoi radio aimed at American servicemen…
>
> The longest-serving prisoner she saw had been in Hanoi since 1967, the most recent since last month. "They assured me that they were in good health," she said. "When I asked them if they were brainwashed they all laughed. Without exception, they expressed shame at what they had done."[41]

From Paris, having spent nearly a month in North Vietnam consorting with America's enemy—by making broadcasts, by meeting with senior Communist officials, by touring civilian and military sites, by "interviewing" American prison-

ers of war — Fonda returned to New York. She landed at Kennedy Airport — reportedly wearing the black pajamas and coolie hat of the Viet Cong.[42]

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1. Emphasis added. A copy of this cable is in the possession of the authors.

2. Andersen, *Citizen Jane,* 253.

3. Stockdale, *In Love and War*, 179; emphasis added. The "We will win this war on the streets of New York" statement, quoted above, was made to Stockdale by one of the Communist North Vietnamese's chief propagandists.

4. Rochester and Kiley, *Honor Bound,* 3.

5. In Korea, "while maltreatment had often enough been the lot of prisoners of war … [t]he Korean experience added a new dimension – the comprehensive exploitation and indoctrination of the Americans in furtherance of the enemy's political aims. As official U.S. writings later stated, the Communists made the prison compound an extension of the battlefield, and their treatment of prisoners was 'but another weapon in the worldwide war for the minds of men.' In the camps, political and ideological warfare continued, directed against the prisoners and through them, against world support for the United Nations' effort" (Vernon E. Davis, *The Long Road Home: U.S. Prisoner of War Policy and Planning in Southeast Asia,* 7).

6. Rochester and Kiley, *Honor Bound,* 340.

7. Rochester and Kiley, *Honor Bound,* 341. Not surprisingly, in this respect, the Plantation was not unlike the Nazis' Theresienstadt ghetto. "Situated near the Czech city of Prague, it served a dual function. An assembly center for transports of Czech Jews to Auschwitz, Theresienstadt also was a 'model' to reassure foreign governments and international welfare agencies that Jews, especially elderly ones from Germany, were living in a decent place. … Most were eventually deported and murdered" (Richard L. Rubenstein and John K. Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz, the Holocaust and Its Legacy*, 254).

8. Rochester and Kiley, *Honor Bound,* 337.

9. Collier, *The Fondas,* 225. Fonda's need to be of use to others was not limited to her North Vietnam pilgrimage. Indeed, on Barbara Walters' February 9, 2001, TV show, Fonda admitted that she "needed to be needed." Collier's use of the term "malleable" was an accurate characterization of Fonda, for on the same TV show she made several admissions to the same effect: "I became what my father wanted"; "I became whatever the man wanted me to be"; and her last husband, Ted Turner, "got used to me being malleable."

10. Fonda's itinerary in North Vietnam was pieced together from various descriptions in the press, and her own statements at press conferences held in Hanoi on July 20, Paris on July 25, and New York on July 27. Doubtless, intelligence sources contributed information.

11. In order that Fonda's North Vietnamese itinerary be presented exactly as it appears in the *Hearing Report*, no effort has been made to correct typographical or other errors.

12. One consequence of Fonda's visit to the so-called "War Crimes" museum is discussed later in this chapter.

13. At this entry, the *Hearing Report* raised the question of why an English-language tape would be aimed at "Saigon Soldiers," and asked whether the broadcast could also have been "meant for American ears with respect to desertion?" (*Hearing Report*, 7641).

14. In order that the list of Fonda's broadcasts be presented exactly as it appears in the *Hearing Report,* no effort has been made to correct typographical or other errors.

15. *Hearing Report,* 7642.

16. The complete texts of Fonda's broadcasts in Hanoi, and the statements attributed to her at press conferences and related events by the North Vietnamese (for example, "In her opening statement Jane Fonda pointed out…" *Hearing Report*, 7652) are reproduced in the Appendix exactly as they appear in the *Hearing Report* of the House Committee on Internal Security, September 19, 1972.

17. Of all Fonda's statements, this is among the worst. One pilot explains: "Our ROE [Rules of Engagement] specifically prohibited attacks on dikes, pagodas and hospitals. In fact they went so far as [to] call for us not to make any attack on a 'legitimate' target that would possibly endanger those three if we missed our targets by bombing long, short or wide of them. I'm not suggesting that we wanted to attack pagodas or hospitals, but in announcing that self-imposed limitation, we tied our hands. The enemy knew that ROE. So guess where a lot of the AA [anti-aircraft] sites were emplaced. Yup. On those very dikes and near those very pagodas and hospitals that were prohibited, indeed, protected by our own ROE." Email in the possession of the authors.

18. Joseph E. Thach, author of the "Memo Re Radio Broadcasts from North Vietnam by U.S. Citizens" set forth in Chapter 2.

19. The analysis of five of Fonda's principal broadcasts from North Vietnam are reproduced here *verbatim*.

20. In order that Mr. Thach's analysis be presented exactly as it appears in the *Hearing Report*, no effort has been made to correct typographical or other errors.

21. Mr. Thach's Theme Analysis contained a footnote explaining the term "Anglico": "*Anglico* is a current military term which stands for '*A*ir-*N*aval *G*unfire *Li*aison *Co*mpany,' 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."

22. Emphasis added.

23. A good example is Fonda's use of the term "neocolony." That, and associated terms like "neocolonialism," have been favorite buzz words of the Communists for decades. As Isaiah (Ike) McMillan, a prisoner of the Viet Cong in the South later incarcerated in North Vietnam, stated, "The North Vietnamese also explained about colonialism. They told us about the British empire and pointed out the difference between the British method and the American method, which they called *neocolonialism*" (Grant, *Survivors,* 291; emphasis added).

24. Collier, *The Fondas,* 225.

25. Collier, *The Fondas,* 225.

26. Alvarez and Pitch, *Chained Eagle,* 218.

27. Email from the narrator, in possession of the authors.

28. On Sunday, November 19, 2000, the E! Channel presented a two-hour biographical documentary on Jane Fonda in which the anti-aircraft gun film clip was shown. That presentation also featured sound bites of some of Fonda's North Vietnam broadcasts. The voice was unquestionably hers.

29. *Chicago Tribune*, interview of Jane Fonda by Ron Rosenbaum, January 20, 1989 (excerpted from *Vanity Fair*).

30. *Hearing Report*, 7671.

31. Andersen, *Citizen Jane,* 256.

32. See *www.Hanoijane.net* for a statement by Mike McGrath, president of NAM-POW rebutting this story.

33. It has been reported in the media and on the Internet that two POWs were tortured in an effort to force them into meeting with Fonda. However, despite considerable effort to find independent corroboration of these stories, we have been unable to do so. Accordingly, in assessing Fonda's conduct in North Vietnam, we cannot base any of the case against her upon either of these stories.

34. Email in the possession of the authors.

35. "Problems" is a euphemism. Lack of cooperation at this show interview would surely have resulted in more torture. The source of the former POW's quoted words is an email in the possession of the authors.

36. Email in the possession of the authors.

37. *Hearing Report,* 7670. Back in the United States, Fonda telephoned the wife of one of the POWs: "She called me after that meeting to let me know [my husband] was fine. I said I just didn't see how he could be fine held in prison, kept from his country, his home and his family. She hung up on me." Email in the possession of the authors.

38. Sam Johnson and Jan Winebrenner, *Captive Warriors: A Vietnam POW's Story*, 264.

39. Andersen, *Citizen Jane,* 256–57. When Fonda departed Hanoi, seeing her off were members of the Vietnam Committee of Solidarity with the American People and the Vietnam Film Artistes Association.

40. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 257. There is no way to know whether an American airman perished in the crash of the aircraft from which Fonda's souvenir was made.

41. *The Washington Post,* July 26, 1972.

42. The day after arriving in New York, Fonda held another press conference, continuing her attacks on the United States and her defense of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. Within a month, she was back on the platform, this time in San Francisco. Among other statements, Fonda said that the Communists "are fighting for us, and their victory is our victory" (F.B.I.–prepared transcript of F.B.I.–recorded tape of Fonda's speech, in the possession of the authors). Fonda's attacks on American POWs continued until after their repatriation in 1973. When the last accounted-for American POW was out of Vietnam, officially April 1, 1973, stories of the brutal treatment to which they had been subjected began to surface. True to form, Fonda castigated them. Hanoi Jane called these Americans—who had suffered indescribably, and walked into freedom with their heads held high and their wounds, psychological and physical, mostly hidden from public view—"'liars, hypocrites, and pawns.' She was livid at the charge that these men had been tortured: 'Tortured men do not march smartly off planes, salute the flag, and kiss their wives. They are liars. I also want to say that these men are not heroes.' One of the first contingent of POWs said that, indeed, he had not only been tortured, but that the Viet-

namese had tortured him — broken his arm — for the specific purpose of forcing him to see her during her visit to North Vietnam. Jane's response was a shrug: 'Nobody's perfect, not even the Vietnamese'" (Peter Collier, *National Review*, July 17, 2000). This POW's statement has not been corroborated. Fonda's impugning of POW torture stories persisted: "At home, there were some Americans who refused to believe that POWs were tortured. Others believe that their torture was somehow justified. In 1973, shortly after the American POWs were repatriated, anti-war activist Jane Fonda, after hearing reports, of Americans tortured in the camps in North and South Vietnam, commented to *Newsweek* reporters: "There was most probably torture of POW's[,] guys who misbehaved and treated their guards in a racist fashion or tried to escape were tortured. Some [U.S.] pilots were beaten to death by the people they had bombed when they parachuted from their planes. But to say that torture was systematic and the policy of the North Vietnamese is a lie" (Robert C. Doyle, *Voices from Captivity,* 192, citing *Newsweek*, April 16, 1973, 51). See also "Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden — Candid Conversation, "*Playboy* (April 1974): 67. Interestingly, in *Reunion* Hayden writes, "Instead of trying to heal the wounds of war, Nixon chose the POWs as his true heroes.… Nixon resurrected an old rage still close to my surface. Asked for a reaction by reporters, I recall snapping back that the POWs were 'liars, hypocrites, and pawns in Nixon's effort to rewrite history.' Jane remembers that it was actually she who made the comment" (Hayden, *Reunion*, 454).