

## “GIVING THEM AID AND COMFORT”

*The international publicity surrounding her trip may have helped prevent U.S. plans for bombing the dikes of North Vietnam (Tom Hayden, Reunion, 450)*

We know that the Communist North Vietnamese were conducting an international propaganda war, especially aimed at the “hearts and minds” of the American people and their military forces in Vietnam. We know that indispensable foot soldiers in the propaganda war were disaffected Americans, preeminent among them Jane Fonda, who journeyed to the very heart of the North Vietnamese homeland to serve their cause. We know that Fonda made pro-Communist, anti-American broadcasts and engaged in other conduct — aimed at our troops, free and captive — intending to contribute to the Communists’ effort to further their propaganda campaign, to improve their military position, and thus to injure the United States.

Did Fonda succeed?

When we focus on what the North Vietnamese needed from their propaganda campaign — namely, to portray themselves as victims of post-Franco aggressive American neocolonialism, to legitimize their attack on the South, to undermine our military effort in defense of the South and, in Jim Stockdale’s words, achieve “a propaganda-induced disillusionment of the Western adversary”<sup>1</sup> — it readily becomes clear that Fonda’s activities in Hanoi were directed to those ends. Indeed, during a September 1972 shootdown’s “initial interrogation, while they were trying to convince me that the war was bad and that the American people were against it, the [North Vietnamese] repeatedly reminded me that *even ‘the great Jane Fonda’ labeled us as war criminals*, so I should admit my crimes and receive more lenient treatment.”<sup>2</sup>

It is indisputable that American prisoners in South and North Vietnam were forced to listen to Hanoi Jane’s pro-Communist, anti-American propaganda broadcasts.

- “Jane Fonda’s tape was played in my camp repeatedly...”<sup>3</sup>
- I heard “her taped broadcast advising us, ‘You are war criminals and should be tried as such,’ and to ‘do everything you can to help the (North) Vietnamese!’”<sup>4</sup>
- “Inside the famed ‘Hanoi Hilton’ POW camp, Fonda’s words were broadcast over loudspeakers day and night until,

in the words of one prisoner, ‘we almost went fucking crazy. It’s difficult to put into words how terrible it is to hear that siren song that is so absolutely rotten and wrong.... It was worse than being manipulated and used. She got into it with all her heart. She wanted the North Vietnamese to win. She caused the deaths of unknown numbers of Americans by buoying up the enemy’s spirits and keeping them in the fight. That’s not what you’d expect from Henry Fonda’s daughter.’<sup>5</sup>

- Fonda’s tapes were played not only in the Hanoi Hilton itself, but in virtually every other Communist prison. One of the POWs who was forced to meet with Fonda has said, “One of the most demeaning and infuriating results of this criminal act she performed [the meeting] was the fact that the V [North Vietnamese] played statements by Hanoi Jane on the prison radio for days following her appearance.”<sup>6</sup>
- “When the [North Vietnamese] announced on the radio (Radio Hanoi,

which was piped to speakers high in our cells, so we couldn’t cut them, and which was played at 6:30 AM and 8:00 PM daily) that there was going to be a visit to Hanoi from these two (Ramsay Clark and Jane Fonda), by name, we discussed it in our daily communications time (during the noon siesta, when there was only an occasional roving guard coming into the cell block) and graded this as being an A-visit. We had started grading the visits from groups, according to the importance given them by the [North Vietnamese]. We knew these two would be given the red carpet treatment, and they were. ... [After repatriation] I was asked to be interviewed on a national TV broadcast, by Harry Reasoner. I was asked how I felt about Jane Fonda, and I replied, ‘The kindest thing I can say about that is that I’m not fonda Jane.’ To this day, I get a sick feeling in the pit of my stomach, whenever her name comes up ... including right now, as I write this!’<sup>7</sup>

Col. Larry Guarino remembers Fonda’s visit very well:

The Box [loudspeaker] hailed the arrival of a famous American movie actress who had “come to Hanoi to demonstrate her friendship with the Vietnamese people and her opposition to the illegal immoral, and unjust war.” The Box also told us that “their friend Jane Fonda” had met with some American prisoners, to talk about the war and their treatment ... The Vietnamese played a tape, which they said had been made by Fonda and a group of young American women, demonstrating against the war outside the main gate of the U.S. Army base at Fort Dix, New Jersey. We were all sitting on the pad listening to the women singing, in lusty voices, a song entitled, “Fuck the Army!” Actually, they didn’t sing it, they screamed it. *We sat there in shock, trying to adjust to the harsh realization that these were our own American women! We couldn’t believe that they would involve themselves in such filth to show their dissension and encourage our soldiers to desert!*<sup>8</sup>

When POWs had a choice whether to listen to Fonda’s propaganda, which was not often, predictably they refused, although there was a price to pay. One POW recalls, “About 100 of us were in a compound near the Chinese border in 1972.... One day all of the cells were opened in our building ... and we were ordered out of our cell and marched over to some outside area to listen to a tape of [Fonda] spewing garbage about the war. I do recall she was using every bit of her acting training to convince the listener of her anti-war, anti-American opinions. After a few minutes of listening I asked the guard if we had to stay and listen to that tape. He surprisingly

said, "No," so I went back to the building/cell. Shortly thereafter everyone else had returned to their cells and we were 'punished' for our transgressions by being locked up for 7-10 days without being permitted outside to bathe/wash clothes or have a lamp in the cell. Previous camps had bare light bulbs in the cells which were on all the time. This camp had none. Our only light was what came thru the small windows during the day and an oil lamp made out of an empty tuna fish type of can."<sup>9</sup> Another report from the camp on the Chinese border confirms that the North Vietnamese were intent on exposing the POWs to Fonda's propaganda:

They brought Sony tape recorders that were battery operated, and we all had to sit around and listen to tapes that were done expressly for us by [Clark] and Jane Fonda ... basically telling us what a bunch of good guys the North Vietnamese were, and what a bunch of jerks we were. We ought to be sorry, and we ought to protest the war, and rise up and criticize the war, and these kinds of things. It just really pissed you off if nothing else.<sup>10</sup>

Fonda's propaganda junket to North Vietnam had an adverse impact not only on the American POWs held captive there, but also on those who were still free: "I wasn't yet in Hanoi when Fonda made that infamous visit in July 1972," one of the last shootdowns remembers. "I offer you a thought that might prove appropriate to consider while you evaluate the impact of her actions. There were a lot of us who were also still flying combat missions in July of 1972. As one of them (I was shot down in September), I shall never forget the picture in *Stars and Stripes* of her sitting in a NVA [North Vietnam Army] AA [anti-aircraft] gun looking through a gun sight, or the words she spoke. Great stuff to see, hear and read as you man up for a combat mission. My point is this: the true costs Jane Fonda inflicted on our country and people in that war go far, far beyond those which could be construed as the misguided pontifications of a Hollywood diva. She truly caused significant pain and suffering to those who honorably served this country.... Clearly, those already in North Vietnamese prisons bore the brunt ... but her actions were also ... deliberate stabs in the back to those of us still fighting our country's bidding in cockpits, ships and foxholes."<sup>11</sup>

Understandably, the POWs subjected to Fonda's diatribes—broadcast not only to them, but throughout North and South Vietnam and around the world—reacted strongly.<sup>12</sup> After all, she had accused them of gratuitously killing innocent civilians, of using illegal weapons, of being war criminals, of fostering the imposition of neo-colonialism, and more. At the same time, she had attacked their Commander-in-Chief, and lauded the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. Worse, Fonda had implied that American soldiers should desert and mutiny. This was the precise propaganda line the North Vietnamese had been putting out for years, but now it was coming from an American actress who possessed worldwide celebrity, and whose celebrity guaranteed that her statements and other conduct in Hanoi would garner international publicity, as they certainly did.

As to the effect of Fonda's activities in North Vietnam on the home front, an American law professor writing about the esoteric subject of "protest travel" has

inadvertently provided us with further evidence of the value to the Communists of her trip to Hanoi. “High-profile ‘protest’ travel, such as that of actress Jane Fonda and others to North Vietnam during the undeclared war, provides an apt illustration: their travels conveyed a message that urged [the American] people to question government policy. Their meetings with North Vietnamese leaders humanized the enemy, challenging the public to think the unthinkable: Perhaps we can talk to them, perhaps they don’t have horns and tails after all.”<sup>13</sup>

Fonda’s trip to Hanoi sent a message not only to the American public, but to the North Vietnamese as well. Here is an exchange between *The Wall Street Journal* and Col. Bui Tin, a dedicated Communist cadre for most of this life, and one of the first officers of the North Vietnamese army to enter Saigon on the day it fell.

Q: Was the American antiwar movement important to Hanoi’s Victory?

A: *It was essential to our strategy.* Support for the war from our rear [from China] was completely secure while the American rear was vulnerable. Every day our leadership would listen to world news over the radio at 9 a.m. to follow the growth of the American antiwar movement. *Visits to Hanoi by people like Jane Fonda ... gave us confidence that we should hold on in the face of battlefield reverses.* We were elated when Jane Fonda, wearing a red Vietnamese dress, said at a press conference that she was ashamed of American actions in the war and that she would struggle along with us.

Q: Did the politburo pay attention to these visits?

A: Keenly.

Q: Why?

A: Those people represented the conscience of America. The conscience of America was part of its war-making capability, and we were turning that power in our favor. America lost because of its democracy; through dissent and protest it lost the ability to mobilize a will to win.<sup>14</sup>

There is perhaps no better testimony to how Fonda’s activities in North Vietnam may have inhibited U.S. war policy than that provided by Tom Hayden: “The international publicity surrounding [Fonda’s] trip may have helped prevent U.S. plans for bombing the dikes of North Vietnam.”<sup>15</sup>

To examine the success of Fonda’s pro-Communist, anti-America propaganda efforts on behalf of the North Vietnamese, the House Committee on Internal Security at the time of the September 1972 hearing obtained the analyses of three experts on enemy propaganda and psychological warfare. The pertinent testimony of Edward Hunter and reports of Francis M. Watson, Jr., and Brigadier General S.L.A. Marshall is reproduced here verbatim, except for material indicated as having been omitted.

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ANALYSIS OF JANE FONDA’S ACTIVITIES IN NORTH VIETNAM<sup>16</sup>

Edward Hunter<sup>17</sup>

I had the opportunity as part of my responsibility in World War II to review and analyze enemy propaganda for the U.S. Government. This came in many

forms, from radio broadcasts directed at Allied forces and publics, to enemy films and photos, devised to weaken and subvert morale on our side....

Troops ordinarily discount anything known to come from the enemy's side. They know that the enemy has a harmful intent in telling it. The enemy knows this, and so a number of devices are concocted to lend credibility to what emanates from its territory....

The enemy seeks to add credibility to its propaganda, too, by putting an American citizen before the microphone, and by having him or her address the American troops. ...When the American citizen, especially one with the glamour and the prestige value of a Jane Fonda, can travel back and forth between the United States and the enemy capital without interference or arrest by the American authorities, the effect on military morale is bad to devastating.

What comes from a source on one's own side commands attention, under any circumstance. When the enemy can obtain the assistance of a national of the country it is fighting, to propagate its material in his or her own country, and also to broadcast it personally over the enemy's radio, going to its capital city to do so, it has achieved a form of war propaganda for which as yet there is no professional term—except, perhaps, the old fashioned word, treason....

The effect on Americans stationed in the Asian theatres, within hearing distance, or in reach of propaganda leaflets, pamphlets, or other materials in which her statements are quoted, are obviously expected to be injurious to stamina and morale. The question is only whether the communists have achieved this objective. A study of this approach, that takes advantage of our leniency unparalleled in military annals, shows that damage must certainly have been inflicted by it. Indeed, Fonda's impact is certainly greater than the achievements of a Tokyo Rose in World War II, or even a Hanoi Hanna of the early period of the Vietnam warfare. Fonda has taken this technique a big step forward, proportionate to the new "psywar" dimension in modern warfare, by being able to operate both on her own soil and in communist areas. Once we entered World War II, neither Germany or Japan had this advantage.

Jane Fonda seriously assaulted the stamina of any fighting American listening to her highly dramatic and professional war propaganda. An incalculable number of Americans must have been more or less shaken. The impact of war propaganda is frequently a delayed reaction, that rises to the surface during a period of fatigue, frustration or personal danger. Jane Fonda's emotional outpourings were particularly attuned to this characteristic.

I have just read and analyzed the text of the numerous statements, interviews and broadcasts made by Jane Fonda during her July, 1972 trip to North Vietnam. This survey will therefore be limited to her activities, and her impact, particularly on American troops in Vietnam. Her broadcasts to the American forces and the Vietnamese and her declarations made during that journey continue to be put on the air, directed at U.S. troops and the Vietnamese, after her departure. The enemy obviously recognizes this as highly suitable for exploitation as propaganda weaponry against the Americans, the South Vietnamese, and others helping us.

1. *Identification*—Jane Fonda is not restricted to the scene of her operations, on enemy soil, as was Tokyo Rose, sure to be arrested and prosecuted upon her return to the United States. She is able to pursue her propaganda work in her native land, this is the target of communist international operations, while sup-

porting Hanoi's position on every issue. The mind of an American soldier in Vietnam is attacked this way from front and rear.

The enemy is not only in front of him, but behind him, in his homeland. At the same time, those whom he is fighting are being portrayed to him as not really the enemy.

If this weren't so, they obviously would be arrested, wouldn't they! This is the confused picture that is being presented to the typical soldier, who is forced to do the fighting and the dying.... Such broadcasts and other activities of Fonda constitute a propaganda pressure in which foe becomes friend, making foes of one's friends....

2. *Coordination*—Jane Fonda's broadcasts and declarations parallel, in the points she stressed and in what she did not mention, precisely what the enemy was insisting upon, or ignoring....

3. *Reinforcements and Orchestration*—Two of the most forceful tactics in a propaganda warfare assault on troops require precisely the contribution made by Fonda. The one is reinforcement. When a soldier hears something from his own as well as the enemy's side, this is the strongest possible reinforcement....

4. *Professionalism*—Jane Fonda's broadcasts and other declarations made in North Vietnam fit neatly into the up-to-the-minute, Communist Party line, and were tactically adapted to the most recent developments in the fighting and "peace" sectors. They were visibly the product of communist psychological warfare planning. Their wording was highly professional in structure and aims. Her varied talks and statements dove-tailed, with her arguments adapted to different audiences. Her operations were those of a team member in the enemy's "psywar" organization.

Any soldier who listened, or read her crisp, dramatic presentations, could not help but be at least subtly affected, in present or future attitudes....

...The enemy's success in enlisting Americans who possess what is called "prestige value" to help in the execution of its propaganda warfare catches the target soldier off balance. He does not anticipate being deceived and lied to by fellow Americans. His stamina, therefore, is more likely to be shaken. In war time, this is tantamount to being wounded. A psychological casualty is as advantageous, or more so to the enemy as any other kind. The enemy finds its best use for such as Jane Fonda in this area of service.

*Her broadcasts and statements at Hanoi reinforced and coordinated major issues that the communists are propagandizing in the United States and elsewhere....*

She supported the communist claims by clever use of calculating selected material such as the Pentagon Papers. She simply did not mention the invasion across the DMZ (demilitarized zone) by most of the North Vietnamese Army, but by reverse logic, she accused the United States of being the invader.

5. *Reverse Logic*—Rarely did even Goebbels go to greater extremes of calculated distortion and propaganda lying against the United States than Fonda did during her brief month of North Vietnamese vituperation against her native land. She kept sounding the Red note of inevitable American military defeat and inevitable Red victory—a win policy becomes the desirable goal for the communists, whereas a no win policy has to be America's destiny. Indeed, she called on

Americans to help this process along, of achieving a Red victory and American defeat.

*She supported, in this contest, Hanoi's insistence on American submission to each of its demands....*

Subtly, she supported the build-up by the Reds of an Orwellian basis for the concocted charge of genocide against the United States, that we can surely anticipate, if Red psychological warfare deceptions enable communist conquest to succeed. She repeatedly used such terms as crimes, heinous crimes, and criminals—all referring to Americans and the United States. She had only the greatest praise for the North Vietnamese. *Her accusations against us actually surpassed those of Tokyo Rose.*

*Certainly, anyone who recalls the text of Tokyo Rose's broadcasts must admit that Jane Fonda's goes far beyond what Tokyo Rose said, certainly in the actress' condemnation of the United States.*

*An up-to-the-minute propaganda service was rendered to the enemy by Fonda.* Frequent references to the fighting at Quang Tri, the provincial capital in South Vietnam that was captured by the North Vietnam divisions in their dash across the demilitarized zone—demilitarized unilaterally, only to our side—demonstrates this.

Communist atrocities against the Quang Tri residents are an international scandal. So was the set-back to the communist divisions. Red troops, fleeing from the city, slaughtered civilian men, women and children indiscriminately along with South Vietnamese prisoners. Residents of the city significantly fled toward the South, into Saigon-controlled areas, and away from the North and Hanoi-controlled territory, even when it was American planes that were bombarding the Red troops. Nobody wanted to stay with the communists.

Yet Fonda took this opportunity to demonstrate her loyalty to the communist side. She referred to the strategic hamlets in the South where the refugees were being given a haven as "concentration camps". She indulged in the big lie that the "liberation troops"—meaning the Red divisions—occupied the province "in cooperation with the peasants.... All the people in the province arose like birds breaking out of their cages."

*These lies by an American citizen whom every movie goer knew, whose prestige had only just been shockingly enhanced by receipt of a top Hollywood award, were translated into Vietnamese. They could not be without impact on those who heard her in the South.* She shifted the facts, in her English text for Americans, away from Red terror and the flight from the Reds, and the Red set-backs, to which she made no reference. She spoke, instead of the thousands of years the Vietnamese fought for "freedom and independence" and identified this with the present fighting by the invading communists in their occupation of Quang Tri.

She made a hero out of the Vietnamese hijacker. Nguyen Thai Binh, who was killed trying to seize a plane at Saigon to go to Hanoi after returning from his education in the United States. He "wanted to do nothing more than to return to his people and fight for freedom and independence for his country," she said in a Hanoi broadcast beamed to "the Saigon students."

"We have a common enemy—U.S. imperialism", she declared, identifying herself in plain English with the enemy. "Imperialism" is a present day code word used by Reds when they specifically mean United States.

This broadcast declared that the American people were demanding acceptance

of Hanoi's demands, and that "we identify with the struggle of your people," referring to the communist side. The Vietnamese who hear this—and many Americans too—knowing that she passed freely between the United States and enemy territory, implementing her self appointed task, *could only be confused, certain that for her to be able to do this, there must be powerful influences in the American Government—wittingly or unwittingly—supporting this.* Vietnamese must remember that treason inside the French Government facilitated France's defeat in Indo-China, and cannot help but equate the situation today. *Too many parallels exist. Americans hearing her preach this way can only have their doubts and frustrations increased.*

When an American travels to an enemy capital, and coordinates his or her declarations with enemy needs and claims, what else can it be but conspiratorial, and what other description can apply but treasonable? Of course, this has to have a detrimental influence on stamina and morale. This impact is increased and given a respectability when the propagandist is able to go back and forth between her own and enemy soil. A legitimacy is given by government in this way to whatever she says as if it had secret approval. What other impression can a soldier, for whom facts stand out starkly—you either live or you die—be expected to get?

My propaganda analysis of the Fonda broadcasts from Hanoi were made in the same manner as I analyzed propaganda in World War II for the Government. *What I have found in her work was irrefutable evidence of intent to assault the morale and stamina of the American fighting man and the South Vietnamese soldier.* Her outpourings also were translated into Vietnamese, and beamed at the South Vietnamese troops and civilians alike, to soften both up for fifth columnism and treason.

The information that an American of glamour such as Jane Fonda, was telling them that they were on the wrong side, that they should be distrusting and opposing the Americans, and rejecting their own elected government in favor of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese communist forces, could even have a decisively detrimental impact in some minds. Jane Fonda's broadcast of July 21 from Hanoi to U.S. pilots was typical, in this framework.

This was essentially a wedge-driving or splitting job, with this added subtlety. She, as an American, simultaneously identified herself with the American pilots and with the side they were fighting. Quite specifically, she identified the U.S. pilots with herself against their higher officers and against the American government. This was a tactical transfer—a transfer tactic—in which sides were transposed, the enemy becoming our own side. Indeed, this was a highly professional piece of "psywar" propaganda.

*Indeed, it is so concise and professional a job that I most strongly doubt that she wrote it herself. She had to have been working on it with the enemy. Her movements and utterances disclose skilled indoctrination—a brainwashed mind—but even so, her work in Hanoi could not have been an unassisted effort.*

The listener, charmed by the voice of the "famous actress" hearing it come so appealingly from the enemy capital at Hanoi, might well have his own thoughts of war guiltily shifted entirely to himself and to the military machine to which he was attached, making it seem as if these were the source of the fighting and the cruelties of war, being convinced that the other side really consisted only of peaceloving people, busily building up, as she said, a free country, who "cannot

understand what kind of people would fly over their heads and drop bombs on them." Such inside-out logic is constructed in an appealing manner, so as to exploit the target-recipient's best traits. What can be made to sound more rational, particularly to a calculatingly confused war-weary mind?

No hint was contained in anything she said of any invasion having taken place of South Vietnam, or of any attack from the North across the officially agreed-upon demilitarized zone. No hint that this was accompanied by a terror campaign planned by communist "psywar" tacticians with cruel fitness. Hers was a sob-sister-type of appeal, skillfully and professionally designed to inject guilt feelings into the minds of the American officers and men. "Tonight, when you are alone, ask yourself, what are you doing?" she asked dramatically. "Do you know why you are flying these missions, collecting extra pay on Sundays?"

Yes, indeed, pay for this sort of national task, much more so, overtime pay, did seem incongruous. The injection of the element of financial compensation in terms even of overtime pay subtly suggested to the American pilots that they were hired hands, killing as a job, comparable to gangsters who collect from their bosses to "rub-out" some civilian. Indeed, she used this term, "your bosses", with its sinister connotation, declaring that they had created militarily useless instruments of torture that were being employed against "babies and women and old people" alone. Her words well fitted the actress role in which she was raised.

She referred in this way to "pellet bombs," containing "plastic pellets," which she said "cannot destroy bridges or factories ... they cannot pierce steel or cement." The listener would have to shake himself to recall that there were any communist soldiers using any sort of weaponry at all, especially any devilishly cunning booby traps, or that any military supplies were being sent by the Reds into South Vietnam. Her description was of an idyllic countryside, despoiled by us. "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," she declared. Thus subtly, she injected hate of their own side.

Her strictures, in common with communist-type propaganda in general, were adapted to long range, world-wide aims, as well as to short-range, local objectives. Her message undercut the use of tactical weaponry developed for our forces, while at the same time supporting the campaign to induce our scientists to sabotage the development of advanced defense production. She referred to people "whose minds think in terms of statistics, not human lives," who "are proud of this now perfection"—that she described as "rough-edged plastic pellets." She closed this broadcast with the declaration, "I believe that in this age of remote controlled push button war, we must all try very, very hard to remain human beings."

Who could argue with this? Except that it related to an extraneous state of affairs, apart from the warfare being fought at that moment, in which all the aggressions actually were those of the communists, who were implying, through her, in effect, that any defense against the rapist, the mugger, and the invader constituted the assault, not the acts themselves. This is the "psywar" contest in which Fonda represented world-wide communist corrosion of will and character in those being set up as their next target.

Her broadcast, referring to the enemy side, portrayed all of it as people who do not differ "from our own children, our mothers, or grandmothers." The fatigue and understandably frustrated mind of a pilot, fresh from a mission over North

Vietnam, cannot be considered wholly invulnerable to such plaintive appeals from such an American source, particularly in view of the anti-anticommunist policy that permeated most of what he read that issued from his own country, and seemed to be official government policy, as if Fonda only were echoing American official and intellectual views.

The communists were being given all the advantage by default. Jane Fonda being allowed to assault every phase of our society specifically, *by name*, whereas even the words communism, and treason, were practically taboo on our side....

Here, in front of me, is another Fonda broadcast from Hanoi, of July 30, about 1500 words long, announced as "An address to American GIs in South Vietnam." Her appeal to the American flyers had been directed toward breaking their will to hit the targets assigned to them. *This appeal to GIs encouraged them to disobey orders ... desert, and generally take the side of the enemy.* Her broadcasts to the GIs were more brashly worded than to the usually better educated pilots. She preached subversion with subtlety, using as a vehicle the descriptions of what she said other supposedly rebellious American soldiers were doing, dramatically leaving the impression that such insurrection is right and good, and that those hearing her should go and do likewise.

Even those who listened to her out of curiosity, to hear a glamorized film star in a real life role, sure that they could not be influenced, could be softened up by it to accept the same line when they came across it elsewhere reinforced and orchestrated in our customary channels of communications. We would be foolish to discount this impact simply because we cannot pin down what will bring it to the surface later on, when and where.

*Jane Fonda's July 30 broadcast to the GIs was in unabashed support of the campaign to destroy the American forces, particularly the U.S. Army, from within.* This has been an enemy tactical objective that was built up out of the antidraft movement.

The broadcasts in which she was introduced as talking to Saigon students, was adapted to that age level, which provides the fighting forces of the country, almost wholly so now that the American and other foreign troops are leaving. *The patent objective too, was to encourage treason in faculties and student bodies, a prime target of world-wide communism. The age of the American troops made them particularly vulnerable to this approach.*

At the start of the broadcast, she said, "I loudly condemn the crimes that have been committed by the U.S. Government in the name of the American people against your country," thus supporting the Red splitting tactic that differentiates between the American people and their government. She subtly proceeded along this line, as if what she termed "the repression by the U.S. Government and the Saigon clique" were recognized facts accepted by the peoples of both countries.

Her broadcast gave a shocking insight into the conduct of the American-educated Vietnamese student-hijacker. She told of talking to the Vietnamese students in the United States—one can imagine what she told them!—and of their longing to return "to a peaceful Vietnam."

"For the time being," she said, "they feel that their duty is to remain in the United States and do their political work among the American people."

She subtly put over a particularly cunning piece of enemy propaganda pressure by this approach. She casts suspicion on every patriotic South Vietnamese student in the United States by classifying them all as pro-Red conspirators.

One of the major propaganda gimmicks of the Reds, wherever their people are living a particularly onerous life in a controlled environment that excludes information from the outside, is to portray conditions in the non-communist world as even worse. The truth about the incomparably better life led by people in the United States than elsewhere can hardly be suppressed, so particular attention is paid to whatever isolated case can be drawn on to dispute this fact.

*When Jane Fonda can come out and say over the air, as she did that July 26, from Hanoi, describing the United States as a country where "people have no reason for living", it is a particular propaganda gain for the Reds. Those inside communist quarters who are thinking of resistance can be discouraged from undertaking it, and in frustration, may even turn their hatred against America, which they then see as letting them down. This is a long-time Red propaganda operation to which Jane Fonda contributed her prestige and dramatic skill.*

She engaged in a transfer tactic, too, telling the South Vietnamese that their troubles were due to the United States. She described it as "the American cancer in the Southern part of your country."

*Indeed, one would have to go with a hair comb through the rantings of Lord Haw Haw to find much, if anything, equivalent in spleen against the Allies in World War II equivalent to Jane Fonda's tirades against the United States.*

Obviously addressing those who are engaged in guerrilla warfare and in other forms of terrorism in South Vietnam, whose booby traps and ambushes have dismembered and disfigured so many American and Vietnamese, she told them: "We thank you for your brave and courageous and heroic fight."

Her report on American prisoners of war followed the long established routine by which a few were trotted out for abject interviews, obviously cowed and rehearsed. The Hanoi regime, in support of this P.O.W. operation, extracts weeks of favorable nation-wide publicity in the United States by releasing, at long intervals, three American prisoners—always three.

Accordingly, a statement broadcast of a "press conference" by Fonda on July 20 records her as saying: "There were seven prisoners that I talked to, some of them who had never spoken to Americans before, and they all expressed regret about what they had done, and they said they had come to recognize that the war is a terrible crime that must be ended immediately."

*This must have been a cruel ordeal for the P.O.W.s. The questioning by an American actress who was taking the enemy's position on all things assaulted whatever stamina they had been able to maintain, and to have seemed to confirm the communist propaganda that their country was letting them down, and of invincible Red victory.*

*Her July 30 broadcast that encouraged mutiny in the American forces generalized with the remark: "In America we do not condone the killing of American officers; we do not condone the killing of anyone."...*

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

One hardly needs knowledge of communist double talk to see through these sentences, particularly when they emanated from the enemy capital at Hanoi, uttered by an American known to be favoring the Hanoi cause.

*The deteriorating effect on morale and stamina of the Fonda broadcasts should not be underestimated, nor the delayed impact of her tactically chosen subject matter, and its relationship to the major issues with which the Marxists network was concerned.*

She went farther, in her assaults on her own country in this Vietnam warfare than Tokyo Rose or even Lord Haw Haw in World War II. The prestige value to the enemy of her as a movie star gave her activities an added impact that none of her predecessors in wartime broadcasting from enemy capitals possessed.

The fact that she can engage in such corrosive activity with impunity, and be accorded a respectability by the press that is without precedent in the annals of warfare, and be able to travel freely to the enemy capital and back is worth Army divisions to the foe. We can be sure they know this, and are determined to take full advantage of it.

Francis M. Watson, Jr.<sup>18</sup>

The enclosed selection of broadcasts, attributed to actress Jane Fonda, were reviewed as you requested. Frankly, although I have pored over literally thousands of pages of underground press material in the past few years, *I have found little that I felt qualified more precisely as purely psychological warfare than these....*

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

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

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

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

...to convince the world and the local population that the motives of nations assisting the threatened government are false. Through national and international media, the insurgent will attempt to malign the motives of all assistance to the local government. Economic exploitation, neo-colonialism, genocide, and capitalism seeking

raw materials and markets are some of the numerous themes used to elicit sympathy and support. [p. 35, U.S. Army FM 33-5, October 1966]

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

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

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

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

Look at Vietnam....

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

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

Finally, there are some distinct advantages to Jane Fonda, American movie star, and frequent personality around Army posts, as a speaker. She is immediately known. She is glamorous. She has all the trappings of self-sacrifice, and she has rapport. She knows youth and she knows the Army. In this respect she is better than any Tokyo Rose history has ever known—she is a walking encyclopedia

of current, cultural and technical intelligence on the U.S. military and the young people who occupy so many of its ranks. She is even an expert on the anti-military movement. She mentions that and thus provides a readily available philosophy and group-association for her listeners.

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

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

Brigadier General S.L.A. Marshall, USA (Ret.)<sup>19</sup>

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

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

Would it have any one or all of these effects provided the words of the broadcaster were heard by a vulnerable individual? Here I speak of the Fonda production as a whole. *There is no reason to doubt that it would.* To be effective, what is said has to be credible. When the propagandist speaks in the idiom of the audience to whom the words are directed, and in reporting as an eye-witness, cites facts, objects and circumstance with which the listener is likely to be familiar, that meets all of the requirements that insure maximum belief.

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

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

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

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

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With these analyses on the impact of Fonda's broadcasts from North Vietnam, we conclude Part II of this book. We can now turn to the law of treason and its application to Jane Fonda's activities in North Vietnam.

1. Stockdale, *In Love and War*, x.
2. Email in the possession of the authors; emphasis added. He continued: "[S]everal weeks after I was put in isolation," in the fall of 1972, "an officer came into my cell and asked if there was anything I wanted ... so I said I would like something to read. Almost immediately I received a copy of Tom Hayden's book ... with the admonition that he was Fonda's husband, and that if I read it I would learn the errors of my way."
3. Email in the possession of the authors from a POW Navy pilot.
4. Email in the possession of the authors from a POW Air Force pilot. How did the pilot know that the speaker was Fonda? "[T]he camp commander or one of the English speaking interrogators announced who it was and that the tape had been made exclusively for POWs ... although they never used the term POWs, usually criminals, air pirates, etc.... I believed it was Fonda at the time, and still do. The tape was played through the speakers in each cell."
5. Andersen, *Citizen Jane*, 225.
6. Email in the possession of the authors.
7. Email in the possession of the authors. "Right now" was January 26, 2001.
8. Guarino, *A P.O.W.'s Story*, 321–22; emphasis added. Other POWs have informed us that they, too, heard Fonda's broadcasts, either live or on tape. One has written us that he heard the Fort Dix tape, and that "I did recognize her voice on tape and she was introduced."
9. Email in the possession of the authors.
10. Oral history of Ralph T. Browning, page 37. See note 12 below for other oral histories.
11. Email in the possession of the authors.
12. It was common for the POWs who were exposed to Fonda's broadcasts to want her punished for what they deemed illegal behavior. For example, nearly 20 years later, one former prisoner stated, "I really sort of feel like she should have been tried on some kind of ground for having exceeded the acceptable limits...." This statement — by former POW William J. Reich — and others to the same effect, appear in oral histories given by POW graduates of the United States Air Force Academy to Dr. James C. Hasdorff. Mr. Reich's quotation appears at page 43 of his October 2, 1992, oral history. Nearly two score of these oral histories are archived in the Special Collections department of the United States Air Force Academy library in Colorado Springs, Colorado. The impact of Fonda's 1972 sojourn to North Vietnam remained strong even 20 years later, with some of the former POWs' oral histories containing statements to the effect that they continued to boycott

her films, and that her videotapes should not be sold in military facilities. See, for example, the following oral histories: Thomas G. Storey (October 9, 1972, page 89); Paul A. Kari (April 5, 1992, page 61), "In fact, all these people kept the war going because the Vietnamese people knew if they could get the American people to lose their will to fight, they would win. And every time something like this happened [visits from anti-war activists], it just put another nail in our coffin. I was there for seven years and eight months because creeps like this, Fonda and [former United States Attorney General Ramsey Clark], were over there. It's one reason I'm not a General; it's one reason I'm not in the Air Force; it's one reason I got my vision damaged. There are a lot of reasons, and it makes me very angry that they weren't strung up"; Edward J. Mechenbier (June 20, 1991, page 58), who made the point that if one had been shot down in 1967 or earlier, he would have been unaware of the virulent anti-war movement, and thus overwhelmed when a celebrated American actress showed up in Hanoi to denounce the United States; Ben M. Pollard (May 11, 1992, page 94), "The [Fonda] tape was terrible on the morale of the camp. I thought it was terrible. Yes, there is nothing I can say except total contempt. You know, it's one thing to be anti-war in the United States. It's totally different to be in the arms of the enemy in Hanoi and saying detestable things about your country. Frankly, I hope he [Clark] and Jane Fonda fry in hell..."; Myron L. Donald (September 26, 1991, page 54), "Jane Fonda came traipsing in and said, 'Gee, I would like to see the POWs.' We didn't want to be seen with her. Even standing next to her looks like we're supporting her horseshit. Well, the Vietnamese had told all these people [anti-war visitors] that we were all opposed to the war and this and that, so they've got to find somebody. If nobody would do it, they'd go in and kick the crap out of somebody until they would do it. So Jane Fonda's visit ... directly caused a lot of guys to get the shit kicked out of them..."; John L. Borling (July 1, 1991, page 25), "The anti-war activities were very distressing, had a very negative effect on POW morale."

13. Jeanne M. Woods, "Travel That Talks: Toward First Amendment Protection for Freedom of Movement," 65 *George Washington Law Review* 106 (1996), note 175. At the time of this article's publication, Ms. Woods was associate professor of law at Loyola University School of Law in New Orleans. It is naïve and obscene for Prof. Woods to have believed that Fonda's trip to Hanoi somehow "humanized" for the American public the enemy who, among other atrocities, treated

American prisoners of war in the manner described in the previous chapter.

14. "How North Vietnam Won the War," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 3, 1995; emphasis added.

15. Hayden, *Reunion*, 450. Although Fonda's statements strongly implied that U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese dikes would be some sort of atrocity, the fact is that "destroying dikes to weaken North Vietnam's economy would have been not a war crime, but an attack on a legitimate military target. The British destroyed German dams in World War II, and the NATO bombing of Serbia in the Kosovo war also targeted its economic infrastructure" (*National Review*, February 19, 2001).

16. *Hearing Report*, 7581-7602. In order that Mr. Hunter's testimony and Mr. Watson's and Gen. Marshall's reports be presented exactly as they appear in the *Hearing Report*, no effort has been made to correct typographical and other errors.

17. The *Hearing Report* set forth Mr. Hunter's credentials as follows: "Mr. Hunter served as a propaganda specialist with the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. Later ... he went to the CIA when it was organized.... He also served the U.S. Government abroad as a propaganda specialist, including the Korean war theater. He learned about the new techniques from the inside. He is a leading authority on the techniques of Communism. He put the word 'brainwashing' into our language.... His basic books on the subject are classics, and include 'Brain-Washing in Red China' and 'Brainwashing: Pavlov to Powers.' ... He has served as a consultant and as a staff member for various members of the Congress and Congressional committees, as a psychological warfare specialist in the Pentagon, and for various government agencies at home and abroad." Emphasis in Mr. Hunter's Report added.

18. The *Hearing Report* set forth Mr. Watson's credentials as follows: He "is a graduate of the University of Georgia where he received both a BS in Education and a Masters degree in journal-

ism. In the early 1960s he was Deputy Manager of an information analysis center for the American Institutes for Research where he conducted research in insurgency and propaganda techniques and revolutionary tactics. He became a specialist in media analysis whereby public opinion trends may be determined from newspapers and other information sources. In 1970 he became chief analyst for a Washington, D.C., firm named National Media Analysis where he studied the so-called 'underground' press and edited published reports detailing the propaganda impact of such newspapers with respect to revolutionary and protest movements in the United States...." Mr. Watson's report was addressed to Dr. Joseph Thach, Research Analyst, Committee on Internal Security, House of Representatives. Emphasis in Mr. Watson's Report added.

19 The *Hearing Report* set forth Gen. Marshall's credentials as follows: "The author of more than 25 books, Brig. Gen. S.L.A. Marshall, USA (Ret.), has been a military writer both in and out of uniform since 1922 after service in World War I during which he rose from infantry private to lieutenant. ... During World War II, Marshall first served as Chief of Orientation for the Army and later was named by Chief of Staff George C. Marshall as one of three officers to establish the Army's historical division. Marshall left active service after World War II but returned to uniform in 1948 to assist in formation of the North Atlantic Alliance. He served in Korea during the war there from 1950 to 1953 and was later an Army observer of conflicts in Sinai, Lebanon, the Congo and Vietnam. Marshall retired in 1960 as Deputy Chief of Information of the Army but returned to Vietnam in 1967 as a columnist, historian and training advisor to Army historians. He is presently the author of a newspaper column on military affairs that is syndicated by the Los Angeles Times and Washington Post." Gen. Marshall's report was addressed to Robert M. Horner, Chief Investigator, House of Representatives Committee on Internal Security. Emphasis in General Marshall's Report added.