



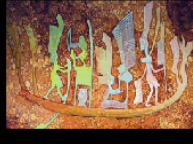
**A COUNTRY
STAYS ALIVE
WHEN ITS
CULTURE IS
ALIVE.**

- SACEI Newsletter updates you on the latest news about Vietnamese-America.
- It serves as a LINK between SACEI members and those who are interested in the Vietnamese or Vietnamese-American culture.

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SAIGON ARTS, CULTURE & EDUCATION INSTITUTE



To Research, Document & Promote Vietnamese Culture

NEWSLETTER # 61

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A History of the Vietnamese

by Keith W. Taylor

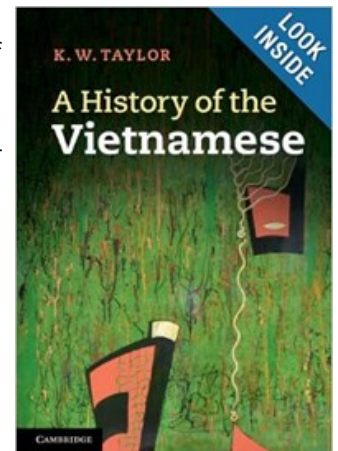
Book Review by Nghia M. Vo

When American GI returned home from their Vietnam tour of duty, they wrote about a hot, turbulent third-world country that was mired in an unending war. Later, U.S. academicians did not help the matter by just focusing on the pros and cons of the war and the American involvement in Vietnam as well as the enigmatic Diem and Ho. It is no wonder why readers trying to learn Vietnamese history are usually swamped by a deluge of books about "stories" or histories of the Vietnam War, although only a few have sat down to put everything in the context of Vietnamese history and to analyze Vietnamese history on its merit. It is therefore time to have a clear, concise, and objective view about Vietnamese history.

Vietnamese, French, and American writers have in the past written about Vietnamese history, although the result has not been good. Part of it was because Vietnamese history is complex, repetitive, and sometimes gory. KW Taylor recently penned a 676-page *A History of the Vietnamese* trying to define the history of Vietnam in general, and the Vietnamese in particular. This is, to my knowledge, one of the best history books about Vietnam in a long time. It is not repetitive or boring; although it skips on details when needed, it gives a breathtaking view of the Vietnamese world during each period in history. His unconventional findings are listed below.

First, Vietnam is of country of wars and has been shaped and made by wars. It was not a rustic, calm, and benign country as many have believed. From its historic foundation in the first mil-

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Prof. Tran Van Khe, Musician

Professor Tran Van Khe is one of the greatest masters of traditional Vietnamese music. Born into a four-generation-family of musicians, he was taught the basics of music by his paternal aunt Tran Ngoc Vien and his maternal uncle Nguyen Tri Khuong after having lost his parents at a very early age. Professor Tran Van Khe is a Doctor in Musicology; he carries out research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (C.N.R.S.), has been a teacher at Paris-Sorbonne University, and is a Honorary Member of the Conseil international de la musique (Unesco). His scientific research along with his activity in traditional music (participation in numerous festivals, several recordings edited with Ocora, l'Unesco and A.C.C.T.) have led to his receiving many distinctions and prizes from prestigious universities, academies and international institutions. He is able to play many Vietnamese instruments: dan kim or dan nguyet (moon-shaped lute), dan tranh (sixteen stringed zither), dan co or dan nhi (two-stringed fiddle), dan ty ba (pear-shaped, four stringed lute) and the trong nhac, ceremonial drum. He knows how to recite poems and sing in northern and southern traditional styles.



History...continued

lennium AD until today, Vietnam has progressed from a small tribal province in the Red River delta in present-day North Vietnam to its present geographic territory. To achieve that goal, it has gone through various regime changes as well as major wars that not only made expansion possible, but also caused serious harm to the people who lived in the territory called "Vietnam" or similar appellations.

Despite their erudition, western academicians do not seem to have a broad view about Vietnamese history. Their opinions are rather insular. Instead of talking or writing about the first Vietnam War (1945-1954) between the communists and the French and the Second Vietnam War (1954-1975) between the Americans/South Vietnamese and the North Vietnamese communists, they should have mentioned instead about the third and fourth Vietnamese Wars respectively. Simply because there were two other Vietnam Wars before the two recent ones.

The First Vietnamese War (1627-1675) pitted the North (dang ngoai) against the South (dang trong). Without external help, the war dragged on for fifty years until both sides could no longer afford to fight and decided to simply mind their own businesses. And, for two hundred years (1600-1802), North and South were divided into two Vietnamese nations that did not have diplomatic relations or commercial trades. This is similar to present-day North and South Korea.

The Second Vietnamese (1773-1800) which lasted almost thirty years began as a civil war in the South pitting the Tay Son against the Nguyen before involving the northern Le/Trinh regime. It became a regional war as the Siamese and Chinese jumped in to fight on the side of one party or another; it finally ended with a definitive victory of the southern Nguyen over the Tay Son and northern Le/Trinh.

Only then came the above mentioned Third (1945-1954) and Fourth (1954-1975) Vietnam Wars. These major wars did not include the innumerable other battles that pitted the Kinh (or capital like in Kinh do) from the Red River delta against the Trai (garrison, outpost) people from the Thanh Hoa, Nghe An regions in the thirteenth century; the Le against the Trinh and Mac, then the Le/Trinh against the Mac; the Trinh against the Nguyen; the Nguyen against Le Van Duyet/Le Van Khoi and so on.

If the Vietnamese were not fighting against themselves, they fought against foreigners (the Chinese, the Mongols, the Chams, the Khmers, the Siamese (Thai), the Laotians, the French, and the Americans. These were also major wars that destroyed harvests and countryside leaving peasants poor and destitute.

Second, Taylor's historical narrative reveals that Vietnamese leaders were cruel against each other and against their own people. They fought against each other, killed each other in order to promote their own agendas and priorities instead of the rights of the people. To this day, these rights are not even recognized in Vietnam. The passage from one dynasty to another or from one king to another was often times violent. In 1232, Tran Thu Do arranged a ceremony for the Ly noblemen to honor their ancestors that was held in a hall overlying a deep pit. Once guests were drunk, he collapsed the floor and buried them alive. With no Ly royal family member remaining, Do inaugurated the Tran regime by marrying the Ly Mother Queen preventing her from having another child with any Ly nobleman. His son who had already married the Ly child queen thus became the founder of the new Tran dynasty. In 1399, Ho Quy Ly took the opportunity to kill over 370 people and to imprison hundreds more dealing the Tran royal clan a mortal blow. On the other hand, the king's many concubines competed with each other to promote their sons to becoming crown prince with the assistance of the court's strongman. This, of course, would call for plots to dispose of a potential heir, to induce abortions in rivals or to rescind a decision already made about the crown prince. Then from 1947 to 1959, to force the northern populace into submission, Ho through his *Land reform* put to death more than 70,000 people whose crimes were to own no more than half an acre of land. Although he later admitted the communist party had erred, the damage was done: the middle class was decimated, the owners had lost their lives, and the people had become compliant for fear of becoming the next victims. In the following *Nhan Van Giai Pham* Affair, journals were shut down, intellectuals imprisoned or sent to reeducation camps. The trio Ho-Duan-Giap then spearheaded their brutal conquest of the South and had no qualms about sending to their deaths more than one million northern soldiers in order to achieve their goal.

While common people are kind-hearted, their leaders were not. They spearheaded all the battles and waged wars against each other to promote their own agendas and to consolidate their regimes. They did not care about the well being of their own people. Besides paying taxes to sustain these wars, the common people were mere fodders that allowed their leaders to wage wars. For example, Tay Son Nguyen Hue, a famous hero who defeated the Siamese in the South and the Chinese in the North was found to have no mind for the details of administration. As a result, his government collapsed following his early death at a young age. The defeat of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, which was trumpeted as a "great moment of glory" was followed by nearly a decade of famine and starvation leading to the enslavement of a large part of the rural popula-

History...continued

tion by the warriors who had fought off the Mongols. Victory over the French at Dien Bien Phu was "followed by a homicidal cauterization of the northern rural population into the discipline of obedience to state authority."

The common people had almost absolutely no rights. All these tragedies/wars, which occurred in succeeding regimes as "one random thing after another" belied the overarching narrative of "the Vietnamese people" or the "Vietnamese nation" or a continuous improvement of the well being of the common people who were adequately cared for. In fact, they were just ignored as exemplified by the fact that Vietnam today, after a more than three-millennium culture, remained stuck in the lower third tier in the world in terms of income and rights. A close look at the history of the Vietnamese reveals that "times of prosperity and well being alternated with times of misery and violence" in a continuous and sad karmic circle. This allows KW Taylor to conclude that the "Vietnamese past is, among other things, a great swath of failed experiments in social organization and governance."

Third, KW Taylor argues that,

"Who and what we call Vietnamese did not exist prior to the centuries during which Vietnamese ancestors lived as inhabitants of Chinese dynastic empires. Every aspect of Vietnamese culture appeared as a result of being in that empire and from the existence of a large Chinese speaking population that developed over several generations and that eventually melted into the local population when the imperial connection was severed."

This statement would certainly be contested by many Vietnamese who believe that Vietnamese civilization began, centuries before its assimilation by the Chinese, as the Lac Viet tribes that lived separately outside the Chinese realm. The Lac Viet people, when they were conquered and assimilated by the Chinese Han in 111 BC, were matrilineal in nature, wore tattoos on their bodies and their hair in chignon behind their necks. Women wore jewelry and met men freely. The Chinese, on the other hand, being Confucians were patriarchal in orientation and followed a strict hierarchical system where women were subdued into the service of men. The Vietnamese who knew all along they were not Chinese found ways to get out of Chinese control. That experiment ultimately lasted almost ten centuries. It seems strange that Taylor who wrote about these differences between Vietnamese and Chinese more than two decades ago in his *Birth of Vietnam* has decided to disavow his own previous statement.

Fourth, the Vietnamese since the beginning of ages were divided as a family. It began when Lac Long Quan, the *Dragon King* decided to split off from his wife, Au Co, the beautiful fairy, who gave him one hundred children. This was probably the first recorded divorce in human history. Half of the children followed Lac Long Quan to the seashore where they settled and became the Kinh (the majority of the Vietnamese) while the other half followed their mother to the mountains to become the Thuong or highlanders. From then on, the Vietnamese house remained divided.

"Even among northerners, people from Thanh Hoa, Nghe An and Ha Tinh sometimes express disdain toward those who live in the Red River plain, considering them as passive and susceptible to Chinese blandishments. On the other hand, people of the Red River plain resent what they view as the arrogance and pushiness of people from the three coastal provinces immediately to their south, the birth places of Le kings, Trinh lords and of many cadres of the communist party who flooded into Hanoi to occupy positions of authority after 1954."

And of course, northerners and southerners have diverged significantly since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

"Northerners are more disciplined to accept and exercise government authority...they tend to be cautious about contact with the outside world, and they are inclined to view what is happening in China as a model. Southerners are more individualistic, egalitarian, entrepreneurial, interested in wealth more than in authority, proud of carrying within themselves their own sense of culture, open to the outside world, and wary of how things as done in China."

The clash between northerners and southerners that began in the seventeenth century continued after the second World War and led to the partition of Vietnam in 1954 into two states that went to war against each other. After the war, even though the North Vietnamese controlled Vietnam over which they imposed a strict communist regime, three million southerners decided to go their own way and to form a global non-communist expatriate community in over seventy countries worldwide. The fact that they were willing to abandon their roots, their mother to seek refuge in foreign lands could only speak of the deep division between northern communists and democratically oriented southerners.

And thus, concludes KW Taylor, the real Vietnam does not exist although the country shares values or ideas coming from

History...continued

Europe: North Vietnam through Marxism from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and South Vietnam through democratic ideals from Western Europe. Being Vietnamese has many forms, the connection of which is the Vietnamese language and the country everyone calls Vietnam.

While French colonialists in the past tend to write about their "colony," today's American academicians argue about the Vietnam War or the Vietnam they imagine instead of the Vietnam of the Vietnamese. "*A History of the Vietnamese*" by proposing to "look at what survives from the past as coming from people with their own existence" has set the bar higher for Vietnamese historical scholarship. The result is a remarkable book that describes in a concise, but complete way the various dynasties from Vietnam's birth until today; it implies a tour de force from the author who was able to summarize the 3,000 plus-year-history and a complicated one in 696 pages.

KW Taylor is not a newcomer to the field of Vietnamese history. In 1991, he has penned the much acclaimed *Birth of Vietnam*, that defines the origins of Vietnam. With this *History of the Vietnamese*, he closes the loop on his important contributions to the Vietnamese history. The book is a masterpiece that will no doubt remain an essential, important, and easy to read reference material for the learned students of Vietnam, general readers and scholars and the Vietnamese people in particular. By advancing Vietnamese historical scholarship and opening new vistas about Vietnamese culture, he has presented himself not only as a learned man, but also a long-lasting FRIEND of Vietnam.



The Peace Movement by Roger Canfield

After serving in the Navy, Roger Canfield earned PhD degree in Government from the Claremont Graduate School. Among other teaching, he was Assistant Professor at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice at the CUNY. Thereafter, civilian Commander of Technical Services Division of the San Mateo Police Department; Chief of Staff, Press Secretary and Policy Consultant for State Senators and Assemblymen in California. He is the author of four books on the political and intelligence operations of China in the USA, *China Doll* (with Richard Delgaudio, 2000), *Stealth Invasion* (2002), *China Traders* (2000), and *China's Trojan Horses* (2002) with 2 million copies in circulation.

Summary—the Lead

The crises in South Vietnam during 1963 and the signing of the partial nuclear test ban led the peace movement to pivot away from the issue of nuclear disarmament and toward the Vietnam War. That pivot was a reflection of the larger Cold War conflict heating up in Vietnam. The war in Vietnam was a battle of the Cold War waged not only in the whole of Indochina, but ultimately inside the USA with the active assistance of Hanoi and its allies.

Harold W. Rood, military strategist, sums it up nicely,

The victories denied the Communists on the battlefields of South Vietnam were recouped strategically through a campaign waged within the West. Campuses, editorial offices, film and television studios became the strategic arena.... The politics of peace in the West was the politics of war for the communist conquest of Indo-China.

The peace movement, the press, and academia provided the ground troops, the agents of influence, for Hanoi's political war in the USA concluding in Hanoi's favor in the halls of Congress a decade later. Very early Hanoi could confidently count in its order of battle ABC, CBS, and NBC, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*. In their war museums and in commemorations of key events in the Vietnam War, Hanoi still thanks the antiwar movement and the press.

Setting the Stage: The New Players.

Peace Movement...continued

Hanoi first created a political military apparatus in the south of Vietnam, the National Liberation Front, NLF. Le Duan, the Vietnamese Communist Party chairman, later said that the North Vietnamese "set policy, ran operations, and drafted all major party documents on the South including... the... (1959) resolution that ordered the start of the war." Vietnam's January 1959 Resolution 15 of Hanoi's Third Congress of the Fifteenth Plenum launched the armed struggle. Similarly, the *History of the Vietnamese Communist Party* (Vol. II) "makes it abundantly clear that Southern leaders from the very beginning of the war were under the disciplined control of the Politburo in Hanoi."

By the early sixties Hanoi began a worldwide campaign of outreach to communists, fellow travelers, and progressives. In a very short time, the American peace movement shifted from nuclear disarmament to Vietnam, in some part because of the mounting influence of domestic and foreign communists and fellow travelers on the peace movement who were being welcomed into an increasingly "inclusive" peace movement. With the encouragement, cash, and tactical assistance, the movement decided to join forces with domestic and foreign communists in an international campaign to stop the war in Vietnam and bring social justice to America.

In South Vietnam the Diem regime developed a growing economy, and ruthlessly rounded up Viet Cong. In addition the Strategic Hamlet program was providing security and improved education and agriculture.

Hanoi and the communist cause were in trouble.

The Diem regime needed to be discredited in South Vietnam and in world public opinion including the USA. Communist models for assassinations of characters and of their persons were well-practiced: Stalin's purge of former Bolshevik heroes; besmirching and killing Mihailovich in Yugoslavia, Chiang Kai-shek in China, and London exile government of Poland; Ho Chi Minh's murdering nationalist competitors, class enemies in Land Reform and South Vietnamese hamlet officials, teachers and intellectuals.

There were plenty of opportunities to question the Diem regime: Press coverage, Buddhist protests, battle of Ap Bac, napalm, and the poisoned tongue of Madame Nhu. In 1963 political conflicts inside South Vietnam largely set Hanoi's propaganda themes: The corrupt Catholic regime of President Diem oppressed majority Buddhists; its troops were cowardly on the battlefield of Ap Bac; Diem's regime abused the America's Saigon press corps; and napalm was chemical war banned by international law. These were powerful half-truths.

American newsmen in Vietnam were young and inexperienced with Vietnam, war and politics. Ambassador Lodge thought US newsmen capable of "average" reporting of "earthquakes or Hollywood divorces" and routine police beat, but lacked judgment on the complexities of Vietnam. That would be "too much to hope for from young reporters."

By 1963, if not earlier, the American press corps in South Vietnam had come to adopt much of Hanoi's propaganda. The press mocked the U.S. Missions' daily press conference as the "Five O'Clock Follies" as inaccurate, but left Hanoi's propaganda unexamined. Allied claims, easily verified, of a communist campaign of terror was unbelievable "atrocious propaganda." Nothing was said about Hanoi's oppressive regime far worse than Diem's failures. It was easier to believe rumors at the bar of the Continental or at the Givral coffee shop than to believe American and South Vietnamese authorities, let alone check out stories on their own.

Meanwhile, academics in the USA were busy publishing materials and signing petitions with a pro-Hanoi tilt.

In 1963 Hanoi's political strategy to win the war on the streets of America began to emerge as Hanoi's agents of influence began to meet across the globe. First in Prague and Moscow and Havana and then later the leaders and top activists of the American peace movement would, on an increasingly frequent basis, meet Vietnam communists not only in Hanoi and Paris, but also Vancouver, Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Windsor, Havana, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo, Helsinki, Geneva, Munich, East Berlin, Moscow, Budapest, Sofia, Bratislava, Tokyo, Jakarta, Peking, Phnom Penh, and Vientiane. Here we report on the beginnings of such meetings and conferences in 1962 and 1963.

Under the *dau tranh* theory of revolutionary war, visitors to North Vietnam following the Hanoi line, could be considered "fighting the U. S. aggressors" in the political struggle prong of their strategy for revolutionary war. Similarly friendly news men could be fellow "combatants." Both would afterwards receive war medals. How was this so?

Hanoi Political Strategy of War

Peace Movement...continued

Hanoi understood that the political struggle in South Vietnam and in the USA, like that previously in Indochina and in France, sometimes bore sweeter fruit than military struggles. The communist doctrines of Lenin, Stalin and Mao had long held that politics and war were one and the same. As V.I. Lenin said, "War is simply the continuation of politics by other (violent) means." For Communists--Lenin, Mao, and Ho--war and statecraft were indistinguishable.

American antiwar leaders were an integral part of Hanoi's grand unified war winning strategy (*dau tranh*) for People's Revolutionary war against a stronger enemy. Hanoi targeted the antiwar movement and U.S. media. As Doug Pike described it, this was a well-designed program of unified "political actions among the enemy" (*dich van*). Political action was one of three tactical pincers of "political struggle" (*dau tranh chinh tri*) equal to or greater than "armed struggle" (*dau tranh vu trang*). Political struggle had three tactical elements, political actions against the enemy (*dich van*), political action against the military (*binh van*) and political actions among the people (*dan van*).

Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap wrote, "Political struggle [*dau tranh chinh tri*] plays a very fundamental role because it is in the political field that lies our fundamental superiority and the enemy's fundamental weakness."

Armed Brigade of Propaganda, First Unit of Liberation Army

The political and propaganda contributions of the antiwar movement to communist victories were integral to Hanoi's long-term war strategy and continuation of long held doctrine. On December 22, 1944 Ho Chi Minh instructed Vo Nguyen Giap that the first unit formed of the Liberation Army of Vietnam was the Armed Brigade of Propaganda (*doi tuyen truyen vo trang*), because Ho told Giap, "Politics is more important than military affairs" and "fighting is less important than propaganda."

The strategy of political struggle is the politics of war at the grassroots played across the planet and across great cultural divides. It was the politics of total war on all fronts from the battlefields in Vietnam to the streets, newsrooms, editorial boards, classrooms, and sometimes-corporate boardrooms of America.

People's Army of Viet Nam (PAVN), Sr. Col. Bui Tin, editor of the Army newspaper *Nhan Dan*, later described the unique political value of the antiwar movement to military victory:

[The antiwar movement] was essential to our strategy. ...The American rear was vulnerable.... These 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 the will to win. ... Every day our leadership would listen to the 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."

In short, the Vietnam War was a war of ideas lost by the USA. This war largely began in 1961-63.

Hanoi's Propaganda Narrative:

Emerging Talking Points for the Antiwar Movement

By 1963 a surprisingly a pro-Hanoi narrative, a template, a paint the numbers story line on Vietnam was already being developed. The Saigon press corps had adopted most of it as had leftist university faculties: an imperialist capitalist U.S. was conducting an illegal, immoral, unjust and unwinnable colonial war in Vietnam, a place far, far away from our national interest. Hanoi declared the conflict a civil war over national unity, claimed peasant support in South Vietnam for the Viet Cong, US napalm, declared chemicals and artillery were harming the innocents and demanded an immediate cease fire. Forced to confess, POW Everett Alvarez, Jr., said, "I protest the long, involved, costly, controversial war, a violation of the gallant, heroic, liberated, freedom loving, independent loving Vietnamese people," which should have been a clue that the Hanoi line was a fraud.

Many of the top leaders in the peace movement found it easy to believe the worst about the U.S. because they saw communists as good socialists representing "justice, peace, democracy." They transformed all American and South Vietnam's military actions and weapons into illegitimate "terror, repression or war crimes."

Crude Propaganda Not Ready for USA: Eating Babies, Livers

Hanoi kept up a drum beat of incredulous claims of intentional war crimes and genocide.

Peace Movement...continued

Early propaganda was very crude. In September of 1954, attempting to halt the mass exodus to the south, Ho Chi Minh warned Vietnamese mothers that American sailors were eating their babies. A Navy Lieutenant aiding refugees at the port of Haiphong, Dr. Tom Dooley, wrote of Communist propaganda leaflets telling of American sailors "roasting a child alive." The National Liberation Front, a creature of North Vietnam, in South Viet Nam later wrote:

You have probably hear [sic] about the U.S.-Diem troops indulging in cannibalism, disemboweling a man, and *eating his liver*... Young men eat human liver... during dancing party or fishing trip."

Later settling on gentler terms with the help of its American advisors at Bratislava and elsewhere, Hanoi settled for the theme that Vietnam War was an illegal, immoral and unwinnable war, skipping the less credible details about eating babies and livers. Ho Chi Minh now said American tactics followed a "burn all, kill all, and destroy all" policy in which American troops used "napalm bombs, poison gas, and toxic chemicals to massacre our compatriots and ravage our villages." Westerners were aware of Nazi war crimes. Going to the very edge of credibility Hanoi would also claim that schools, hospitals and pagodas and later dikes were intentional targets. Many credulous visitors and fellow travelers believed such claims. Napalm used against military targets, troops and fortifications, is lawful. Schools and hospitals had no military value. Dikes were off limits, but they could have been easily wiped out as they often were in Vietnam's annual floods.

Such propaganda helped restrain and nullify the full use of allied military power, reinforced a policy of limited war and graduated responses, and created complex rules of engagement.

Hanoi's Propaganda Themes: the Narrative, Template, Paint by the numbers

The National Liberation Front, NLF, sought to liberate the nation of Vietnam from corrupt and inept puppets of the United States. This despite Ho Chi Minh murdering Vietnamese nationalists and Le Duan, first Secretary of the Communist Party, saying "The Vietnamese Revolution is to fulfill the internationalist duty...under the leadership of the Soviet Union."

It was a civil war between north and south in which the USA was not to interfere despite massive aid Soviet and Chinese aid given to Hanoi.

The corrupt Diem regime was oppressing the people of South Vietnam, particularly Buddhists despite evidence to the contrary (Higgins, UN) and minor compared to oppression in Communist North Vietnam where there was no religious freedom and nationalist leaders had already been executed.

A cowardly ARVN of South Vietnam would not fight; take casualties, a result of misreporting of the battle of Ap Bac. Military experts disagreed about Ap Bac and ARVN had other successes.

The American war worsened the lives of the Vietnamese people, and America's gross overuse of weaponry devastated the countryside and killed hundreds of thousands of innocents. Viet Cong assassinations of officials, teachers and intellectuals went unreported.

U.S. use of herbicidal spraying was illegal chemical warfare destroying the ecology and creating generations of birth defects and diseases down to the present day.

A web of allied lies justified the war. Claims of a communist conquest, false reports of Hanoi troops in South Vietnam, attacks on US warships and false theories like the Domino Theory.

All this was used to avoid free elections in Vietnam. Free elections never occurred in North Vietnam.

Meanwhile, after internal struggles the antiwar movement would soon adopt much of Hanoi propaganda as its own.

Hanoi propaganda was shaped by political opportunities on the ground in South Vietnam.

1963 Peace Movement in Transition from Nuclear Disarmament to the Vietnam War

Former SDS President Todd Gitlen remembers 1963,

That whole year was full of signs of opening. The movement against the Bomb subsided with [a Kennedy speech on] de-tente and the Soviet and US signing of a [nuclear] test ban [in August, 1963].

The Peace Players

In 1963 the established old soldiers of the peace movement included the Fellowship for Reconciliation, FOR, the American

Peace Movement...continued

Friends Service Committee, AFSC, Catholic Worker, Student Peace Movement, SPU, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, SANE. In early sixties these groups were focused on nuclear disarmament sometimes, except for SANE, in collaboration with American communists and soviet front groups. American peace groups joined with communist party factions in the USA—the Stalinist Communist Party USA, CPUSA, the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, SWP, Young Socialists Alliance, YSA.

Front Groups: Soviet and Vietnamese

Soviet front groups, united and popular fronts, were well established for decades. Willi Munzenberg described them as Innocent's Clubs to "get hold of artists and professors ...spread the doctrine that Russia is prepared to sacrifice everything for peace." Similarly, Comintern's Otto Kuusinen said, "We must create... organizations...under the influence of our party." Lenin had proposed fronts, the Comintern had ordered them, Willi Munzenberg had created many of them, and Communist Parties dutifully applied them worldwide.

Some Americans were comfortable in joining front groups and attending their conferences. The Vietnamese Communist Party under Ho's leadership and the Soviet payroll adapted broad-based fronts as early as 1930. Quite comfortable in such Communist venues and organizations were members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; the American Friends Service Committee; Women Strike for Peace; the National Welfare Rights Organization; Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam; the National Peace Action Coalition; and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ); the American Deserters Committee, the VVAW and assorted professors.

Though a numerical minority, the collaborators with Hanoi created a large number of front groups claiming to speak for vast constituencies: women, lawyers, doctors, students, racial minorities, and war veterans. They would finally settle on united antiwar front groups claiming to represent and "mobilize" absolutely all democratic and progressive people's dedicated to peace, social justice and a communist victory in Indochina.

Some Peace Groups Were Split over Communist Participation

In the late fifties and early sixties, organizations in the American peace movements were internally split over whether Communists would be allowed into their membership and leadership. Some groups had long been allied with communists in prior work for peace, sometimes on Soviet terms. Others would quickly join with Communists for common causes of peace and social justice. Others were penetrated. Some objected some did not.

It was not long before some groups, led by a few communists and fellow travelers with outsized influence, openly cheered not for the home team but the other side in the Vietnam War in particular, Women Strike for Peace, SDS, American Friends Service Committee, and the Weather Underground.

Peace groups having trustful and civil relations with communists were helpful to Vietnamese communists who were ready to exploit the peace movement for its own purpose, military victory. Each group had its own history before 1963.

Major Antiwar Groups, 1962-1963

The Model: Soviet Fronts

Moscow was already setting the table with a plethora of peace and disarmament front groups claiming to represent a wide spectrum of interests, "false flags," but serving the interests of their masters: American Peace Mobilization (APM), Christian Peace Conference (CPC), International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), International Union of Students (IUS), Liaison Committee of the Stockholm conference Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC), People's Peace Treaty, Russian Orthodox Church, Secours Populaire Français (French People's Aid), Soviet Peace Committee, Soviet Women's Committee, U. S. Peace Council, Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), World Council of Churches (WCC), Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, World Council for Peace (WCP), World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), World Peace Council (WPC), World Youth Festival (WYF), World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

In scores of international conferences, many of these fronts would play important roles working with American peace movement actions against the Vietnam War and coordinating common strategies, tactics, dates, locations and propaganda themes. Very specific tactics and themes were found repeatedly in captured enemy documents on the battlefields of South Vietnam. These instructions detailed arguments and themes given to Viet Cong troops in South Vietnam were near identical to the advice and

Peace Movement...continued

instructions given to the anti-war movement in the USA, often word for word, picture by picture, and number by number. Leaflets printed in Hanoi were distributed on the battlefields of South Vietnam and in the streets, coffee houses and colleges of America.

In the West some antiwar groups enthusiastically participated in international communist front groups and conferences. Those who did were often self-described as pacifists or progressives who saw hope for social justice and world peace in socialism and communism. Some found hope in Mao Tse-tung, Kim Ill Sung, and Brezhnev as well as Ho Chi Minh.

If social justice and peace cannot be achieved without the defeat of capitalism and imperialism then America became the enemy at home and abroad. Hence Vietnam was a crucial battlefield for the domestic Left as well as the Right inside the USA.

In Peace and Revolution, Guenter Lewy describes the widespread compromising of pacifist principles within the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the War Resisters League (WRL), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Some American groups already had long term relations with Communists, e.g. Catholic Worker, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), ETC. Others were quick to adopt them, Women Strike for Peace, Students for a Democratic Society. Some slowly came about after Hanoi rejected their overture, FOR.

Others agonized and disappeared into history, SPU, SANE.

SANE, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy

Through the mid-sixties SANE, refused to participate in front groups and tried to keep communists out of its organizations and demonstrations. They said the Communists wanted not peace, but a Viet Cong victory. This restricted their recruitment of an ideologically committed cadre to organize nationwide protests.

Sanford Gottlieb, SANE organizer, said he wanted no "kooks, Communists, or draft-dodgers" in his marches and refused sponsors. Gottlieb said the Vietnamese people were victims of both sides and urged both sides to accept a ceasefire and an international settlement. Gottlieb asked Ho Chi Minh to "respond favorably to immediate peace talks" without requiring a prior American withdrawal. In secret talks Hanoi was refusing a ceasefire and demanding complete unity of Viet Nam.

A Congressional report said,

The leaders of ... pacifist organizations like ... SANE ... have sought to protect themselves by demarcating their own position from that of the Communists and by establishing certain criteria and certain controls to protect their organization against Communist infiltration. . . .

Marxist anti-war leader and former CPUSA member Sidney Peck remembered:

[At first] the moderates ... had political control and dominance of the peace movement until 1965 through SANE. They wanted a respectable peace movement and a respectable opposition. ... They were exclusionary. They continued the pattern of McCarthyism (Red-Baiting) in the peace movement. They excluded the Left.... [By 1965] the dominant leadership of the anti-war coalition was in the hands of progressive left people.... We [progressives] assumed the public leadership of the movement over the tremendous opposition of these other (moderate) forces.

After a series of moderate speeches came the high point of the successful SANE rally-- the SDS President's concluding speech for the rally. While attacking Viet Nam policies, Carl Oglesby did not want to sound too anti-American to his SANE crowd. He said, "Don't blame me.... Blame rather those who mouthed my liberal values and broke my American heart." Later, Oglesby described his speech as an:

attempt to describe Imperialism without giving it that name, and to attribute Imperialist policy to the structure of Monopoly Capitalism without pronouncing that term either... Imperialism and Monopoly Capitalism were concepts proper and necessary... but... drained of meaning by... cold war propaganda.

Some among the SANE crowd loved Oglesby carrying signs saying, "Put an End to Imperialism in Asia," and "We are maintaining a fascist clique in Saigon."

SANE hung around for a while finally petering out in the SANE sponsored rally in Washington on November 27, 1965 of 30,000 was to be SANE's "Last Hurrah" as a recognized leader of the American peace movement. Other groups were rapidly emerging and forming broad coalitions of major peace groups. Emerging from the united front strategy as a creature of the combined efforts of the Vietnam Day Committee and the SDS, the new National Coordinating Committee, NCC, had met before the SANE rally. Accord-

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ing to historian and SDS member James Miller, "The born again Marxist-Leninists sects turned out in full force -- there were Trotskyites, Maoists, Castroites, even some old-fashioned Communists."

This was yet to come but the ingredients were forming in 1962-63. Many groups too numerous to discuss here became Soviet shills and eventually carriers of Hanoi propaganda.

We take the major players before we describe their actions in the early sixties.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

In the spring of 1962 at Port Huron, Michigan at the founding conference of Students for a Democratic Society, Tom Hayden defeated democratic socialist Michael Harrington who had desired to exclude communists. Hayden's Port Huron Statement adopted the public posture of moral equivalency between U.S imperialism and Communist imperialism. Yet in fact, Hayden and SDS, far from believing in their moral equivalency, thought Communism had a superior vision of the future. Hence, SDS animosity toward President Kennedy.

Kennedy Commits to Vietnam

John Fitzgerald Kennedy belatedly decided he had to make U.S. "power credible" after his humiliation by Khrushchev in a Vienna meeting. Kennedy told James "Scotty" Reston, "Now is the time, Vietnam is the place." Kennedy told the Economic Club of New York in 1962, "Viet-Nam would collapse instantaneously if it were not for United States assistance." And in March 6, 1963 President Kennedy asked about Senator Mansfield's recommendation to cut aid, Kennedy said,

I don't see how we are going to be able, unless we are going to pull out of Southeast Asia and turn it over to the Communists, how we are going to be able to reduce very much our economic programs and military programs in South Viet-Nam in Cambodia, in Thailand.

SDS Commits to Oppose Kennedy Anti-Communism

So by 1963 Students for a Democratic Society, SDS, had moved swiftly away from moral equivalency of communism to capitalism in the spring of 1962's Port Huron Statement. By the fall, SDS had moved to the outright defense of the Soviet Union in the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. Similarly, the "red diaper babies" at Berkeley, "We regarded President John F. Kennedy as an arch Cold Warrior, a liberal agent of the imperial ruling class" responsible for 'Radiation, Reaction, and Repression.'" On October 24, 1962 Professor Howard Zinn joined a protest of twenty against Kennedy's "quarantine" Soviet ships to stop missile deliveries and Kennedy's demand that the Soviets remove the missiles from Cuba. Zinn, a secret Communist, said the President's response was "hasty and provocative." The group of twenty urged peaceful diplomatic means instead. Accompanying Zinn were CPUSA members Dorothy Miller, Harry C. Steinmetz and Herbert Shapiro and Staughton Lynd.

On October 28, 1962 Khrushchev wrote Kennedy indicating missiles were being withdrawn on the condition Cuba would never again be invaded. Khrushchev told his Central committee the pledge of no invasion of the Cuban island was a great public victory.

On the next day, Harold W. Rood writes, "by a happy coincidence...terms for ending the crisis... (the) same as those put forth by Premier Khrushchev" were published in "An Appeal to President Kennedy and Comrade Khrushchev," signed by about 500 college professors.

SDS's Tom Hayden and others claimed that JFK, not [Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev](#), was dangerous. Hayden said Kennedy was "trafficking in human life" during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 when the President objected to Soviet placing intermediate range nuclear missiles into the hands of Fidel Castro. The missiles were only ninety miles from America's homeland and less than fifteen minutes away from incinerating New York and Washington. Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence was not pacifism as many in the West presumed, but sought the defeat of U.S. imperialism, soon an objective of SDS.

The Democratic socialist patrons of SDS were unhappy.

Dissent editor Irving Howe objected to the SDS's,

readiness...to excuse the lack of freedom in Cuba, a country that seemed to them the home of a better or more glamorous kind of communism. They... [have a]... distaste for our 'rigid anticommunism'.... "How can you be in favor of Castro, who speaks of exporting revolution to South America, and then also be in favor of nonviolence?"

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SDS was not only breaking away from its democratic socialist benefactors in the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it was joining the other side.

SDS allied itself with a Maoist group the Progressive Labor Party which openly declared itself

Communist. In December 1962 SDS roundly applauded Soviet spy Alger Hiss. SDS was ready for

prime time participation in a pro-Hanoi peace movement. With the U.S. military on wartime alert, Hayden, the SDS and then Student Peace Union, SPU, a spinoff of the AFSC, led protests against the USA in Vietnam in 1962.

War Resisters League (WRL)

The War Resisters League (WRL), started as a strictly pacifist, peace organization sometimes aligned with the Socialist party. WRL leaders were Jim Peck, Bayard Rustin, David Dellinger, and Ralph DiGia. During WWII WRL members conducted hunger strikes among imprisoned conscientious objectors to the draft. After WWII it shifted to social justice. These pacifists turned to direct action, nonviolent civil obedience sometimes provoking force from police authorities.

WRL chose to criticize both American and Soviet foreign policy. Yet WRL's civil disobedience protests against American nuclear civil defenses was in effect urging U.S. unilateral actions while the Soviets and the Chinese were working vigorously to build civil defenses. WRL joined Women Strike for Peace in "a series of daring trespasses and civil disobedience actions" against nuclear proliferation.

Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA)

WRL formed the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) to protest nuclear testing in Nevada. CNVA pioneered nonviolent direct action, including civil disobedience in the peace movement.

Brad Lyttle had organized in 1960-61, the "San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk for Peace," a multi-national effort. In Moscow Lyttle said, "I have protested against American rockets aimed at your cities and families. There are Soviet rockets aimed at my city and my family. Are you demonstrating against that?" Signs included "We oppose both Russian and American Bombs" and "Neither Red nor Dead," but CNVA policy was unilateral American disarmament even in the face of Soviet rockets aimed at America.

In 1963 Lyttle led the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace, a racially integrated peace walk most noteworthy for a march on Albany Georgia halted by brutal police action. Major participants were Lyttle, David Dellinger, Barbara Deming, Gene Keyes, and AJ Muste. Some carried signs "For Cuba, Compassion, Understanding, Reconciliation, Mutual Aid."

CNVA later traveled to Hanoi under the leadership of pacifist A.J. Muste. Muste in the early sixties had joined Norman Thomas in objecting to communists in the antiwar movement, but, before he died, argued for inclusion of Communists in the peace organizations.

Christmas Eve 1963 in Champaign, IL, Gene Keyes of CNVA "lit a candle with a draft card, following a 12-hour vigil in front of the Selective Service office."

In the end, WRL's greatest contribution to the pro-Hanoi peace movement, like SDS's Tom Hayden, was David Dellinger, a key leader of the pro-Hanoi movement as well as a frequent traveler to Hanoi and Paris to confer with Vietnamese communists.

Catholic Worker

The religious were particularly vulnerable to organizations claiming to seek social justice relief from poverty and materialism. The Archbishop of Canterbury once found the future of civilization in Stalin's Soviet Union. *The Protestant* magazine thanked "God for the Red Army" in Central Europe at the end of WWII.

Dorothy Day of Catholic Worker wrote in June 1963, that in the past the War Resisters League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Friends Service Committee, the Peacemakers, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, had barred Communists from membership. "But undoubtedly with the thousands now participating in mass demonstrations around the country, this is no longer true."

Lay Catholic critic David Lukinbill writes,

The major Communist-inspired voice in progressive American Catholic circles (often working under the social justice banner) was surely Dorothy Day, and the movement she began, the Catholic Worker Movement, virtually parallels

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the antiwar, [and other policies]... which Communist governments working in America advocate."

Day's authorized biographer Miller (1973) wrote that Catholic Worker's "affront" to most Catholics was "its disposition to make common cause with Communists" even "speaking of Communists as 'brothers'" and "recognizing the shortcomings of... capitalism were as obvious" as the shortcomings of capitalism. Dorothy Day wrote, I have spoken...at Carnegie Hall against the Smith and McCarran acts, with Communists, and fellow travelers, others of us have walked on picket lines protesting the payment of income tax...in Peter Maurin's words, 'we have no party line, neither Communist or Catholic.'

In contrast from the beginning, newly formed antiwar groups like Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (1960-62) and Women Strike for Peace (WSP), (1961) and later Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam (CLC), WSP welcomed communists.

Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR)

Muste, A. J., an early member, executive director and chairman of Fellowship of Reconciliation was a committed pacifist, a long time fellow traveler and only sometime critic of Communists, later explained the necessity of the inclusion of Communists in the antiwar movement and of the united front strategy:

The ordinary run of American citizens... tend to be scared off by the more "Communist" [participants]... Therefore, we should *dilute, cover up*,... our "non-exclusion" policy in order to gain mass support... In practice, a non-communist coalition is in danger of becoming an anti-communist one... [I]f we... abandon... non-exclusion... we would quickly disintegrate.

Alfred Hassler, Muste's successor at FOR, had for two prior decades excluded Communists as untrustworthy—loyal agents of the Soviet Union—and fought to avoid a CPUSA takeover of antiwar SANE. Communists had a greater loyalty to the Soviet Union than they did to peace. Some FOR members objected to assisting the North Vietnamese who were victimizing civilians. FOR was still a few years away from expressing "solidarity" with the North and being invited to Hanoi. That would come in time.

Catholic Peace Fellowship at Christian Peace Conference in Prague

Fellowship of Reconciliation's John Heidbrink invited Catholic Worker's Jim Forest, Father Daniel Berrigan, Herman Evans and James Douglass to, very curiously, the Communist capitol of Prague to formalize the Catholic Peace Fellowship as an affiliate of FOR. Happy coincidence?

Perhaps the Catholic Peace Fellowship wanted or needed the formal blessing of the Communists. James H. Forest who represented FOR's affiliate the Catholic Peace Fellowship was a former editor of the *Catholic Worker* and a son of a prominent member of the CPUSA. A James Forest, perhaps the father, was a CPUSA member "assigned as head of the American Desk at the Soviet controlled WCP (World Council for Peace) headquarters in Helsinki."

At the time BBC reported that Soviet Bloc communists... "constantly make elaborate attempts to attract Christians everywhere into 'peace fronts'". So, the Christian Peace Conference "is [such]...a carefully groomed, important front organization." The Christian Peace Conference (CPC) "tends to promote aims identical to those of the (World Peace Council), which... supports Soviet foreign policy."

Soviet policy was neither Christian salvation nor world peace nor brotherhood; it was a communist victory in Indochina and national liberation in the third world (and not in eastern Europe). The BBC reported, "The Christian Peace Conference has appointed itself as one of the champions of the new nations of Africa and Asia." The coffers were full. "Since it disposes of large funds, money almost entirely derived from East European sources, invitations to delegates from Asia and Africa to Prague are almost invariably accompanied by free tickets. According to accounts of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, FOR, John Heidbrink had funded the trip of the U.S. Catholic group to the Christian Peace Conference through an anonymous donor.

Throughout the war the Soviets, Cubans and East-bloc communists organized conferences and invited antiwar activists.

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

American Friends Service Committee had long leaned toward communist regimes. The AFSC opposed every war and wanted

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peace everywhere, under any and all circumstances and with any and all opponents—WWI, WWII, Hitler, and Stalin. AFSC always settled for the peace with police states that oppressed and murdered their own citizens. The AFSC Friends displayed a willful blindness to the need for American national security against tyranny and espionage. In the late forties AFSC supported, like every Soviet agent on FDR's payroll, every concession Stalin demanded from the West. In the early fifties AFSC donated to the legal defense funds of atom spy Morton Sobel and Soviet espionage agent Steve Nelson.

In 1963 American Friends Service Committee formed the Washington Peace Center, "active on many social justice fronts," soon thereafter began organizing multiple protests against the war and opposing the draft.

By 1964 the AFSC would adopt the complete Hanoi narrative on the Vietnam War: demanding an immediate cease fire, declare the conflict a civil war, peasant support in South Vietnam for the Viet Cong, the war was unwinnable, and US napalm, chemicals and artillery were "shrivelling... villages" and harming the innocent.

During the Vietnam War AFSC would in the end support the Communist enemy at every turn.

Women's International League For Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

During the 1950s the Women's International League For Peace and Freedom (WILPF) opposed the Korean War, McCarthyism, supported civil rights and refused to ban communists from membership. Like other peace groups, WILPF was active in seeking to end nuclear weapons testing, presenting a 10,000 signature petition to the White House.

From the mid-1960s on, WILPF was actively involved all over the country in demonstrations, meetings, vigils, and rallies to stop the war in Vietnam. In the 1970s and 1980s, WILPF worked on disarmament issues, the nuclear freeze...

Women Strike for Peace (WSP)

Though they systematically feigned the innocence of naïve housewives, many Women Strike for Peace (WSP) advocates had prior experience as members of the communist Party or of WILPF. Indeed, WSP founders, Bella Abzug and Dagmar Wilson, were communists or experienced fellow travelers. They were very comfortable working with Communists. Abzug had participated in Communist Party and Soviet fronts, including the World Peace Council (WPC), the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) She was a known Communist sympathizer who a number of FBI sources had identified as a Communist.

Dagmar Wilson, a WSP founder believed "the Russians want to disarm.... They do not have private money tied up in the armament industry They won't have... vested interests profiting from the arms race." Dagmar Wilson and a WSP delegation met the Soviet Ambassador to the UN, attended a seventeen nation disarmament conference in Geneva, spent a week in Moscow in July 1962 at the Soviet funded World Peace Congress (WPC). Some American women in Women Strike for Peace (WSP), including Ruth Gage-Colby, also attended the conference in Moscow.

As the CIA suspected, the Soviets picked up the WSP travel tab, according to Barbara Bick. During 1962 WSP would travel to other disarmament conferences in Accra, Vienna, and Geneva as well as Moscow. During 1962 San Francisco and East Bay Women For Peace, an affiliate of WSP, distributed radiation test ban leaflets and bumper stickers at a daily vigil at the Federal Building.

By April 1963 the FBI saw no effort of the CPUSA to takeover WSP Party influence was already considerable among its own communist members.

Though allegedly formed at a kitchen table with no leaders, no members, and no organization, WSP eventually claimed 500,000 "advocates" and received extensive press coverage, not possible with bake sale financing and tiny budgets.

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2. "We would like to thank the communist parties...in the world,... international democratic organizations and progressive human beings for their wholehearted support and strong resistance against U.S. for national salvation." Sign inside door of exhibit 6 at War Remnants Museum in Sai Gon in March 2008, author's photo Viet II DSC_316.

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5. *The History...*, Hanoi: Marxist- Leninist Textbook Publishing House, 1986 is cited in *Indo. Chron...*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (July-Sept. 1988), 22.
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12. Quoted by Vu Can, "The NLF and the Second Resistance in South Vietnam," in *South Viet Nam: From NLF to PRG*, Hanoi: Vietnamese Studies #23, 1969, 40.
13. Bill Bell and George Veith, "After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam, Texas Tech, Vietnam Center 2009A, 10.
14. Ho Chi Minh, Directive on Establishing Liberation Army of Vietnam Propaganda Units, December 1944, Historic Lao Dong Documents, Hanoi Feb 3, 1970, JPRS, 30 May 1970, Indochina Archives, Univ. California, 011043; Also Tran Van Dinh, "Cigarette Pack Helps Start North Vietnam Army," Collegiate Press Service, (National Student Association) November 10, 1967; Arlene Eisen Bergman, *Women of Vietnam*, San Francisco: People's Press, 1975, 148; SGM Herbert A. Friedman, "National Liberation Front (NLF) Anti-American Leaflets of the Vietnam War," 2, psywarrior.com/VCLefletsProp.html.
15. *Wall Street Journal* interview of Bui Tin is cited by both Bell and Veith and Arnaud de Borchgrave, Monday, April 19, 2004, *Newsmax*.
16. Gannon, Vol II, 54-5.
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19. Douglas Pike, *PAVN: People's Army of Vietnam*. Presidio Press, Novato, California, 1986, 239-40.
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22. M. Stanton Evans, *Black listed by History: The Untold Story of Joe McCarthy and his Fight Against America's Enemies*, New York: Crown, 2007, 54 cites Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade*, Bobbs Merrill, 1941, 47
23. After a decision in Moscow, the popular front strategy became the official Soviet policy established at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in July and August 1937. Those European Communists who failed to follow Stalin's line of cooperation with Democratic Socialists and others were denounced, purged or executed. See: Arthur Koestler, *The Invisible Writing*. Also, see: Klehr, *Heyday of Communism*. From the beginning, some, although not all, American radicals and liberals opposed popular fronts, because they feared Communist domination of such organizations. Many, including non-Soviet Communists, denounced popular fronts as Stalinist.
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25. Jean E. DeLord, Miriam Edera, Anne Florant, Cathern Flory, Libby Frank, Margaret Hayes, Joyce McLean, Beatrice Milwe, Maggie Olesen, Irma Prior, Helen Rees, Pat Samuel, Jean Thurman. Icord, H-172-3.
26. Bronson P. Clark, Eleanor Clark, Wallace Collett, Bob Eaton, Virginia Hill. Icord, H-172-3.
27. Madeline Duckles, William Goodfellow, Blanch Haber, Elizabeth A. Lichtenberg, Elizabeth Moos, Pauline Rosen, Frieda Schiffman. Icord, H-172-3.
28. Ed Deberry, Mary Glendinning, Maria Holt, Josephine Irwin, Robert S. Lecky, Max Surjadinvasta. Icord, H-172-3.
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30. Barbara Dane, Ned Dobner, John Froines, Mary Lee Barbara Gilbertson, John Gilman, James Lafferty, Joseph Miller, Marece Neagu, Sidney Peck, Daphne Pounos-Clinton, Vivian Raineai, George Vickers, Lee Webb. Icord, H-172-3
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35. John Schmitz, et al, *Viet Cong Front...*, 34. April 8, 1967 Attorney General Ramsey Clark supplied Marvin Watson with an FBI report on the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.
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37. Zaroulis, 64.
38. *Who Spoke Up*, 418.
39. Sale, SDS, 245, cites Carl Oglesby's Introduction to "Trapped in a System," R.E.P. Pamphlet (January, 1969).
40. Author's photos Viet II DSC_321,322 taken at War Remnants Museum in Saigon.
41. Caption and Photo in "Hanoi Hilton" Museum in Hanoi. Author's Viet I DCS_200,201. Also caption and photo at War Remnants Museum in Saigon as Author's Viet II DSC_319, 320.
42. Miller, 254.
43. American Friends Service Committee, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, Fellowship for Reconciliation, Mobilization for Survival, Presbyterian, [Weather Underground's] Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. Also Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Institute for Policy Studies, United Church of Christ, War Resisters League, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women Strike for Peace. Also Communist party USA, National Lawyers Guild, Veterans for Peace, Nicaraguan Solidarity Network, Democratic Socialists of America, Grey Panthers. American Deserters Committee, American Friends Service Committee, Christian Peace Conference, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam, Episcopal Church, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Fifth Avenue Parade Committee, Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, May Day Tribe. Also National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, National Council of Churches, National Lawyers Guild, National Mobe, National Peace Action Council, New Mobilization. Also People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, Russian Orthodox Church, Soviet Peace Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, South Vietnam People's Committee in Solidarity with the American People (*Viet My*), Student Mobilization, United Church for Christ, United Methodist Church, United Presbyterian Church, Venceremos Brigade, Vietnam Day Committee. And Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Weather Underground Organization, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Council of Churches.
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59. Pacifist credentials of Bradford Lyttle, <http://www.uspacifistparty.org/bradbio2.html>
60. The Quaker Testimony for Peace: Archival Resources at Swarthmore College Swarthmore College Peace Collection Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/manuscriptcollections/Peace%20in%20Friends/Peace_Testimony_Archives.html
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