

**ABSTRACT. “1967: How the American Homeland Became Hanoi’s Second Front.”<sup>1</sup>** by

Roger Canfield, ATN2 (USN), Ph.D. Histories of the peace movement<sup>2</sup> minimize or outright deny any significant foreign influence upon the movement. In fact in 1967, Hanoi advanced its political strategy of “combining the political struggle with the armed struggle,”<sup>3</sup> making the American peace movement its Second Front. On Radio Hanoi and in *Thoi Moi*, Hanoi praised top antiwar leaders in the National Mobe as Comrades in Arms<sup>4</sup> and gave them rings made from downed American aircraft.<sup>5</sup> Hence, the “peace” comrades, using Hanoi’s propaganda, organized protests against the American common enemy for conducting an illegal, immoral, criminal, unjust, racist, genocidal, and/or unwinnable war.<sup>6</sup>

In 1967 Vietnamese communists and leaders of the peace movement met in many places.<sup>7</sup> Individuals<sup>8</sup> representing many antiwar organizations<sup>9</sup> met top Vietnamese Communists.<sup>10</sup> Peace movement activists provided Hanoi intelligence on the antiwar movement, vetted travelers, coordinated schedules, and disseminated Hanoi’s major propaganda themes.<sup>11</sup> Some<sup>12</sup> cited in whole or significant part Hanoi propaganda word for word, number for number. Others offered advice on improving communist propaganda.<sup>13</sup> Some, usually journalists, acted as peace entrepreneurs on Hanoi’s terms.<sup>14</sup>

The results were mixed. Rallies of the Spring Mobe, Pentagon protests and a meeting of World Peace Council covered propaganda themes and increased militancy. The media declined to report supporters of the war. Some results were unhappy: a few pacifists/democratic socialists blasted the movement for seeking a communist victory, not; Despite Viet Cong terror, South Vietnamese elections had a 73-83% turnout; Dean Rusk, J. Edgar Hoover, Bui Diem, Westmoreland warned Hanoi was influencing the antiwar movement; and public opinion supported winning the war against communist aggression in Indochina and held contempt for the peace movement.<sup>15</sup>

**RELEVANCE.** Peace movement collaboration with Hanoi coupled with radical militancy in the USA denied the legitimacy of the American civilization, a view increasingly held today by a large, growing, minority of social justice progressives. Dominant histories of the war portray a blame-America narrative. A nation torn apart over its values, its history, its future began in Vietnam’s political warfare.

---

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from “Vietnam: From Protest to Resistance: How the American Homeland Became the Second Front,” *IndoChina in the Year of the Goat-1967*, Houston: Radix Press, 20016, 182-255.

<sup>2</sup> Wells, *The War Within*, xii; Nancy Zaroulis & Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up*, 211; DeBenedetti w/Chatfield, *An American Ordeal*, 177.

<sup>3</sup> The Military History Institute of Vietnam, Merle L. Pribbenow (Trans.) *Victory in Vietnam: Official History of the People’s Army of Vietnam, 1954-1975*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002, 57, 64, 80, 82, 110, 111, 118, 120, 136, 150, 174, 219, 253, 337, 416.

<sup>4</sup> Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong and others recognized many comrades in arms. Robert Allen, Stokely Carmichael, Bronson Clark, Eldridge Cleaver, Stoney Cooks, Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Ross Flanagan, Jane Fonda, Norman Fruchter, Tom Hayden, Russell Johnson, Carol McEldowney, Vivian Rothstein, Bertrand Russell, Dagmar Wilson, John Wilson, Ron Young, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Todd Gitlen, *Sixties*: Bantam, 1987, 264; Jane Fonda, *Life Magazine* April 23, 1971; Bill Ayers, *Fugitive Days*, Penguin Books, 2001, 74; *Washington Post*, September 21, 1968; *USA*, September 27-October 11, 1968; Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech, “Cuba: School for US Radicals,” *Chicago Sun Times*, October 1970; Mary McCarthy, 1974; Connie Uhlman and Gerry Long “Cuba Youth Pour into Fields,” *New Left Notes*, January 15, 1968; *Florida Alligator*, February 20, 1968; *Guardian*, March 23, 1968, 13; Senate Permanent Subcommittee on investigations, June 30, 1969, 4485; Barbara Olson, *Hell to Pay*, Washington: Regnery, 1999; *Columbia Spectator*, Feb. 9, 1968.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard Fall, (ed.) *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution...1920-66*, Prager, 1967, 322; Douglas Pike, *PAVN: People’s Army of Vietnam*, Presidio Press, Novato, California, 1986, 243; *Guardian*, May 21, 1975, 3; Leonard P. Liggio in Louis Menashe and Ronald Radosh, (eds.) *Teach-Ins: U.S.A.: Reports. Opinions. Documents*, New York: Praeger, 1967, 43-44; *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1966, L-6; Robert Sam Anson, *War News*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989; National Veterans Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam, Washington D.C., *Congressional Record*, March 1, 1971, 4238; Hayden/Fonda/Wexler film “Introduction to the Enemy;” Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, 19; Joyce Hoffmann, *On Their Own: Women Journalists and the American Experience in Vietnam*.

<sup>7</sup> Hanoi, Havana, Montreal, Bratislava, Phnom Penn, Stockholm.

<sup>8</sup> Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Carl Oglesby, Dagmar Wilson.

<sup>9</sup> AFSC, CPUSA, Lawyers Committee on Am. Policy toward Vietnam, National Mobe, SNCC, Student Mobe, Russell War Crimes Tribunal, World Peace Council, National Mobe, A Quaker Action Group, Women Strike for Peace, etc

<sup>10</sup> Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong, Truong Chinh, Ha Van Lau, Madame Binh, Do Xuan Oanh, Nguyen Van Hieu, Nguyen Minh Vy, Nguyen Thi Dinh, Trinh Thi Ngo ..

<sup>11</sup> War crimes--napalm, bombing schools, hospitals and dikes.

<sup>12</sup> Salisbury, *Ramparts*, *Lady’s Home Journal*, and *Redbook*, Bertrand Russell, John Gerassi, Carol Brightman, Vivian Rothstein, Norm Fruchter.

<sup>13</sup> Hayden’s Bratislava group, Carol McEldowney, Salisbury.

<sup>14</sup> Harrison Salisbury, David Schoenbrun, Mary McCarthy, Baggs and Ashmore.

<sup>15</sup> 68-22% Americans thought antiwar events were “acts of disloyalty against the boys fighting in Vietnam.” Only 3% were antiwar sympathetic to protesters. See: Harris Poll in late 1967 in Herbert S. Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America*, N.Y: Konecky & Konecky, 1990, 465.