

III

BEHEIREN AND THE GI MOVEMENT

The first rumbles of organized protest among American servicemen in Japan came from Misawa Air Force Base in the late Summer and Fall of 1969. There on 15 October 1961, fifteen GI's gathered around a flagpole on base in the evening to observe Moratorium Day and were arrested by military police. During this period Hair, the first GI underground newspaper in Japan was published at Misawa and Beheiren began publishing Kill for Peace and an Asian edition of We Got the BrASS in Tokyo for distribution to GI's.⁸⁹ The "Oizumi Citizens Council at this time had begun broadcasting a tape program of anti-war songs and messages called "Radio Camp Must-Go" through the fence to GI's at Camp Drake and was reporting favorable results such as soldiers flashing peace signs to the activists.⁹⁰ These were only ripples on the water, though, and events were brewing at the Marine Corps Air Station in Iwakuni which would rock the boat of military composure and make dissident American GI's a common topic in Japanese society.

MCAS Iwakuni was beset with the usual problems of enlisted dissatisfaction caused by the petty harassments and alienating arrogance of military officers and senior NCO's as typical to most regular American units anywhere. Added to this in the Fall and Winter of 1969-70 was growing dissatisfaction among the troops over the war, paralleling the civilian protest at home, and an intensified level of racial problems as black Marines became increasingly militant towards discrimination against them. As a result of this situation racial violence began to erupt sporadically on one hand and on the other anti-war literature began to appear. The Ally, a New Left newspaper for servicemen was circulated at Iwakuni in the Fall of 1969, distributed by a sergeant named Fitzpatrick;⁹² and shortly thereafter a few copies of other anti-war papers began appearing here and there. The command at Iwakuni made no noticeable reaction however until Semper Fi, a paper published by GI's stationed aboard the Iwakuni base, began distribution in January of 1970.

Semper Fi was a product of Cpls. Lonnie Renner, Robert Dorton, and a few other fellow dissidents who were determined to organize against military oppression. As they developed their plans they discovered that the expenses involved in producing a paper by themselves were prohibitive, so Renner set out to seek Japanese assistance. Knowing that the Zengakuren was involved in student protest, Renner went to the campus of Hiroshima University near Iwakuni and inquired around for them. He was eventually taken to Sakurai Joji, a physics instructor, who agreed to aid in the publication by furnishing the facilities which were used by the students. Semper Fi was born, and late one night towards the end of January 1970 the first issue was quietly distributed around the Iwakuni base. The military was shocked and shortly promulgated an order at Iwakuni prohibiting the distribution of "unauthorized literature."⁹³ It was at this time also that Renner subscribed to Beheiren's paper We Got the BrASS and in late January or early February, Eibisu Masao of Beheiren delivered the paper to Renner and established Beheiren's first contact with the Iwakuni movement. In short order the GI's were put in touch with two other Beheiren members in Hiroshima, Chris Cowley, an Englishman, and his Japanese wife. Through Cowley a working arrangement was set up whereby the Marines would write and paste up Semper Fi while Beheiren would print and distribute it. The January issue was followed by a two-page issue each in February and March and then in April regular bi-weekly publication began. By mid-summer the size had also grown to five or six times that of the earlier issues, and despite military attempts to destroy it, Semper Fi was becoming an institution at MCAS Iwakuni.⁹⁴

With the appearance of Semper Fi the base command, hitherto visibly unaffected by the occasional circulation of copies of imported dissident publications, was put on the spot. On 9 March 1970, the Asahi Shimbun published an article on Semper Fi and when Japanese would call the base Public Affairs Office to inquire for more information, the military's first response was to refuse to comment.⁹⁵ The issue could not be avoided however, and the first public official notice of the existence of Semper Fi came when in the 20 March 1970 Torii Teller, the official MCAS Iwakuni weekly periodical, carried an editorial attacking Semper Fi by calling it

"half-right to dead wrong," "illegally written," and by intimation, seditious. The fight against Semper Fi was on, but for the military authorities it was like trying to bail out a boat with a leaky bucket. Beheiren members passed out Semper Fi frequently in the evenings near the main gate of the base, and the newspaper's popularity and circulation spread. It carried articles on GI legal rights, local movement news as well as news from the U.S., attacks upon the war and government policy, and exposés of incompetence and corruption aboard the Iwakuni base, and adopted a "print it all" policy which actively solicited contributions of any slant of opinion from everyone who wanted to write. It was a refreshing reminder that the real spirit of America still lived; for the editors of Semper Fi, like the founders of Beheiren, were imbued with a heavy dose of American idealism, an idealism which they found lacking in American practice.

To counter the upsurge of dissent the military resorted to confiscation of "illegal literature" and when that failed, the transfers of activists. The confiscations concerned mostly the Ally, a newspaper for servicemen published in Berkeley, California and shipped to certain GI's at Iwakuni in bulk. Lonnie Renner reported in a letter to the Ally dated 12 February 1970, that Naval Intelligence agents were seizing Ally's at the base post office and gave instructions to have his bundle sent to a Japanese address. In his letter of 23 February to the Ally he again mentions official confiscation of Ally's. In this letter Renner points out that bundles of the Ally received at the post office are sent to the addressee's Executive Officer. The addressee is called in, shown the bundle which has been "damaged" in shipping, warned against distributing "unauthorized literature," given one copy and sent out. Dave Newcomb, in his letter to the Ally of 14 April 1970, also mentioned that he could no longer trust the military mail system. In a letter to the Ally dated 27 February 1970, Renner instructed that 300 copies of each issue be sent to Eibisu Masao of Beheiren in Iwakuni who was going to arrange distribution. It was easy to hamper the spread of outside newspapers by tampering with the mails, but to stop Semper Fi the only recourse the military had was to tamper with the editors. The tactic they adopted was to transfer them.

The first transfers directly aimed at Semper Fi, though not the first aimed at dissidents, came on 2 June 1970, when Cpl. Renner and Pvt. Dennis Hahn were shipped out of Iwakuni under guard on two hours notice. The following day Cpl. George Bacon was similarly transferred on one hour notice. All three were prominent members of the dissident community at Iwakuni and instrumental in publishing Semper Fi. The transfers, however, damaged the command more than the movement. On both days the shanghaied GI's were seen away at the air terminal by a crowd of cheering fellow servicemen, to the military's dismay; and before the dust had even settled on the runway, news of the transfers was rolling off the regular Japanese press. A tape recording made by Bacon on the night before his transfer was released to the press by Beheiren, and the Chugoku Shimbun of 4 June 1970, ran an article on Renner and Hahn's transfers with the title "Demonstration Inside American Military Base, Anti-war Soldiers Protest Forced Repatriation" and a photograph of a dozen demonstrating GI's standing in uniform with their fists raised above their heads. The military was so shaken by the publicity that it printed a rebuttal in the 5 June issue of Stars and Stripes denying that the transfers of Renner and Hahn were for involvement with Semper Fi.⁹⁶

Following the transfers of Renner, Hahn, and Bacon, the publication of Semper Fi was taken over by LCpl. Vern Kemp, Cpl. Thomas Frensch, Sgt. Charles Sundeen, and Sgt. Jerry West, who maintained the paper's close association with Beheiren. Though in the next few months all four were shipped out of Iwakuni, it was not in the manner employed against earlier activists; however, turnover within the movement continued at a high rate and many people passed through the editorship of Semper Fi. In an undated letter circa December 1970 - January 1971, Yamazaki Shinji, a Beheiren member, reported to Jerry West that over ten people were presently editing Semper Fi. A year later in a letter dated 20 January 1972, Joe Sonntag reported to West that between mid-November 1971 and mid-January 1972 the military had shipped out thirteen editors of Semper Fi, many with less than twenty-four hours notice, yet new GI's kept steadily replacing them.

The fight over the paper continued, and for about a year from the Fall of 1972, GI's through legal maneuver, managed to actively utilize

the right to distribute Semper Fi. The military kept fighting back though, and on 14 December 1973, Gen. Lang of the 1st Marine Air Wing issued an order prohibiting the writing for or distribution of Semper Fi without prior command approval. GI's sought redress against this order and were harassed and intimidated by the command. The Iwakuni project report in GIPA of March 1974 characterized this situation by saying that:

Everyone submitting the redress letter was called into his CO's office and lectured on how the Commies out at the Semper Fi house were using him, told that though their letters were legal that they would be watched, and told that they would be smart to stop such foolishness. ...one GI who is not sympathetic with the Fi but thinks the order is bad submitted a prior approval request to circulate a petition to Congress requesting that the order be rescinded.

The report goes on to relate that the GI who wanted to petition Congress was blackmailed, by threat of court martial for something he had done, to forget the petition. Despite all of the military's efforts, however, Semper Fi was never silenced and has published 105 issues through December of 1974.

Beheiren was instrumental in the early phases of Semper Fi in providing technical support and a distribution system, and remained involved in varying degrees throughout the years. The existence of Semper Fi was a public sore spot of the U.S. military as it was visible evidence of discord among its ranks, a discord frequently made the subject of Japanese newspapers and magazines, and a rallying point around which dissident servicemen could unite their efforts of opposition. The military feared its influence as can be seen from the actions taken to crush it and from the standard warning given to new Marines at Iwakuni against association with Semper Fi.⁹⁸ Semper Fi, though it was the most consistent, was not the only GI paper in Japan published against the military. As mentioned before there was Hair at Misawa, also at various times there was Yokosuka David at Yokosuka, the First Amendment at Yokota, all published by GI's with Beheiren's aid, and Beheiren's We Got the BrASS and Kill for Peace, as well as other English language papers aimed at servicemen which were distributed in the Tokyo area.⁹⁹ These newspapers kept alive the voice of dissent but were only one facet of the movement alliance. Perhaps

most important for the GI's was Beheiren's role in the establishment of an American civilian counseling and support activity to aid the servicemen and coordinate the movement on a national scale.

In late 1969 there were two American activists, known as Annie and Jan, looking into the possibilities of GI resistance in Asia. By January of 1970 with both the past flare-ups at Misawa and the independent rise of protest at Iwakuni, the two Americans along with Gaikokujin Beheiren and Beheiren decided to call for organized help from the States to provide experienced assistance to the movement. As a result, Sidney Peterman, a Unitarian Minister with the West Coast Counseling Service in Monterey, California, was asked to come to Japan and assess the situation. Peterman went on a preliminary trip, decided that there was a need for full time involvement, and returned to the States. He raised funds in the U.S. for the project and then returned to Japan in early 1970 and set up office with Beheiren at Kagurazaka in Tokyo.¹⁰⁰ Concerning Beheiren's role Peterman said, "It would have been impossible to do any of our work in Japan without having a Japanese group to work with and...Beheiren was the best group to associate with."¹⁰¹

It wasn't long before Peterman and the group in Tokyo had set up offices in Iwakuni, Misawa, Yokosuka, and Koza in Okinawa, while an associate set up a project in the Philippines, and the name of the organization was changed to Pacific Counseling Service (PCS). Peterman made his first visit to Iwakuni in April of 1970 and met with Lonnie Renner, Vern Kemp, Jerry West and other GI's at the Christian Church in Kintai (West Iwakuni) where Rev. Iwai and other Iwakuni ministers of the Kyodan (Japanese Christian Church) along with Rev. Robert McWilliams, a Canadian missionary, had been sponsoring weekly discussion meetings for the dissident servicemen. GI resistance, military regulations, and the problems of discharge from the service for reasons of conscientious objection were talked over with Peterman at the meeting, and one result was that several weeks later Jan and Annie took up residence in Iwakuni and began working as full time counselors for the movement. Barbara Bye and others followed Jan and Annie and the Iwakuni Project has been kept operating by PCS up to the present date.¹⁰² The relationship between these project staffers and Beheiren was a close one and attests both to Beheiren's continuing interest

in the GI's and its ability as a group to cross all kinds of social barriers with its universalistic posture. This interrelation is illustrated by Bruce Hartford, a PCS staffer at Iwakuni in 1972-73, when he described the connection with Beheiren. "My partner lived at the Hobbit [Beheiren's coffee house] and our printing facilities were at the Hobbit. We would have meetings between us and Beheiren there. Also some of the Beheiren people lived at the GI house because we wanted to keep ties."¹⁰³ The introduction of PCS brought counseling for military problems and conscientious objection, and provided a core group immune to the military which gave continuity to the GI movement. It also forged closer ties with Beheiren, but the most devastating thing for the military was that it paved the way for the National Lawyers Guild.

With the rise of the GI movement and the subsequent quasi-legal and out right illegal shenanigans of the military authorities to crush the movement, it became apparent to both the GI's and PCS that civilian lawyers were needed both to defend servicemen in the military courts, and to take civil action against the military when it infringed upon the servicemen's rights. Beheiren furnished Japanese lawyers to the movement to handle cases in the Japanese courts, as on the occasion when Vern Kemp and Mitchell Tubman were arrested on a train for suspicion of marijuana possession;¹⁰⁴ but seldom could the Japanese lawyers get into military courts. So, the National Lawyers Guild, which worked with GI's in the States, joined the PCS projects in Japan to provide free service to GI's in trouble.

Mark Amsterdam and Carol Dudek, along with the Japanese lawyer, Ono Noboyuki, defended Norm Ewing in November of 1970 against charges arising out of the Iwakuni brig riot of 4 July 1970. Ewing had previously been AWOL for three months before the riot, living amongst the Japanese with the aid of JATEC, giving the case more meaning for the Japanese than just a fact of riot. The court room was packed at his trial and though he was found guilty, the presence of civilian lawyers and spectators bode no good for the military's usual practice of only token opposition on the part of the defense.¹⁰⁵ Ewing's case was not a complete victory, but many to follow were, as the NLG successfully defended GI's against an assortment of charges, irritating the military to no end. On 2 March 1972, LCpl. Clifford Hunt was defended by NLG lawyers Sandy Karp and Eric Seitz against

charges of assaulting an intelligence agent. The court was again packed with spectators as Karp and Seitz brought down a verdict of not guilty.¹⁰⁶ On March 26th of the same year Todd Looney, a sailor, jumped the USS Hancock in Yokosuka before it departed for Vietnam. Supported by Beheiren he held a television and press conference in Tokyo explaining his opposition to the war and then gave himself up at the U.S. Embassy. During his time in Japan, Looney was represented by Eric Seitz.¹⁰⁷ On 15 April Dr. Richard Scotti, an Air Force doctor charged with dealing in drugs at Yokota AFB, was given an administrative hearing instead of a court martial because he was represented by Seitz. The reason for a hearing was to bypass the normal rules of evidence, since the military's case was based on extensive illegal wiretapping. In the crowded court room Seitz ran the government witnesses through the mill, proving their ignorance of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 9th Amendments to the Constitution, and caused the Air Force to dismiss the case anyway.¹⁰⁸ Also in April of 1972, while Seitz and Karp were in Japan, GI's at Iwakuni filed a lawsuit against the Commanding Officer of the Marine Corps Air Station in federal court claiming violation of their First Amendment rights;¹⁰⁹ and on 29 June 1972, shortly after the Commanding Officer placed the coffee house Hobbit off limits, GI's filed a suit in federal court seeking an injunction.¹¹⁰ Numerous other cases were also taken up by the NLG and needless to say, the military was highly displeased as shown by their reactions.

In the Spring of 1972 Major Granger, a legal officer at MCAS Iwakuni, sent letters to Japanese immigration asking to have Sandy Karp deported. Granger refused to let Karp see copies of the letters and said his reasons were to keep the provisions of the Security Treaty. Granger then said that he would advise that the NLG be barred from the base and that he would refuse to judge any trial in which they participated.¹¹¹ On 10 November 1972 (The Marine Corps Birthday), the Torii Teller printed an article red-baiting the NLG and attacking the professional conduct of NLG lawyer Reber Boulton.¹¹² Plainly the military was irritated, after years of doing as it pleased, right or wrong, at having to face the situation of servicemen standing up for their rights within the system. This irritation and exasperation is best portrayed by a statement ascribed to the Staff Judge Advocate at Iwakuni who said, after Seitz on 17 December 1973, got Pfc.

Edward V. Lawrence, charged with attempting to murder an officer, off-the-hook because there were gross errors in the military's case, "I guess everyone is going to ask for a civilian lawyer now. Mr. Seitz here walked off with everything but the court house door."¹¹³

Besides lawyers and counselors, to further promote the movement on the bases the Americans and Beheiren adopted a tactic prevalent in the resistance within the U.S., the GI coffee house. In Japan the chief forms of leisure for off duty servicemen who did not assimilate into the local culture were either the military operated clubs on base offering cheap booze and a military atmosphere, or the local bars on the strip in front of the base which provided expensive drinks and commercial sex. As an alternative to this the coffee houses proffered a quiet, low key atmosphere without alcohol or military pressures, and also exposure to radical people and literature. The first GI coffee house, The Owl, was opened by Beheiren in Misawa on 15 July 1970,¹¹⁴ and much later the New People's Center was opened in Yokosuka.¹¹⁵ Between these two though came the most controversial GI coffee house in America's Asian history, the coffee house Hobbit.

The Hobbit was opened on 25 February 1972, funded and hand-built by Beheiren in a building near the base in Iwakuni. Two rooms of the Hobbit were set aside for GI work and two others were made into a restaurant.¹¹⁶ AMPO reported that the reason for Beheiren building the Hobbit was to expand its anti-war organizing gains in Iwakuni, the vanguard of the GI movement in Japan.¹¹⁷ In the following month on the 19th and 20th Beheiren held a national meeting at the Hobbit with people from all over Japan to discuss, as Semper Fi reported, the Vietnam War, the problem of the Red Army (The Sekigun of Japan Airlines hijack and LOD airport massacre infamy) and Japanese government over-reaction, as well as the problem of Okinawa revision with the prospect of spreading Japanese military imperialism by the redeployment of Japanese troops to Okinawa.¹¹⁸ From the Marine Corps view Col. Murphy in his affidavit said that the meeting discussed the topics of supporting anti-war GI's, opposition to Japanese munitions industries, transfer of Japanese troops to Okinawa, and forming an opposition movement to Japanese troops stationed at MCAS Iwakuni. In either case, the topics of the Beheiren meeting were an indication that

the tone of the Hobbit was to be a theme set in opposition to the policies of the U.S. and Japanese governments. By drawing GI participation into the Hobbit Beheiren not only facilitated the growth of the GI movement, but was also able to exhibit visible American support for its aims against American and Japanese policy.

Reaction to the Hobbit came from both the Japanese and American governments. On 4 June 1972, the Japanese police raided the Hobbit claiming that weapons from the Marine Corps Air Station had been passed through the Hobbit to the Red Army. This was a two edged sword for the Marine Corps, it was nice to have the Hobbit maligned, but horrendous to suggest that U.S. arms were going to Japanese guerillas, indicating either design or incompetence by military authorities responsible for the security of weapons. Col. Murphy is quick to point out in his affidavit that no substantial evidence was ever produced to indicate this fact. Shortly after the Japanese raided the Hobbit the Marine Corps took steps to prevent GI's from frequenting it. On 22 June Col. H.L. VanCampen, Commanding Officer of MCAS Iwakuni, placed the Hobbit off limits to U.S. military personnel,¹¹⁹ touching off a fight which is not yet settled. The GI's have kept the military under constant pressure over the Hobbit through Congressional inquiries and legal battles including civil suits and court martials. At least one court martial for failure to obey the off limits order was dismissed to avoid testing the order's legality¹²⁰ and currently a civil suit is pending in the federal court challenging the order.¹²¹ A direct outgrowth of the Hobbit problem was the Hobbit Mobile Bookstore, a portable book wagon devised by GI's and Beheiren to spread literature from the Hobbit around to the servicemen in Iwakuni.¹²² Besides establishing a rallying point for GI's, Beheiren, through the Hobbit, managed to create a tangle of administrative and legal problems to encumber the U.S. military.

Coffee houses, counselors, lawyers and newspapers were aimed largely at the struggle within the military and were carried on for the most part, except for the coffee houses, by the Americans with only supportive, though vital, assistance from Beheiren. In essence Beheiren had, by aiding the underground newspapers and promoting the appearance of PCS in Asia, set loose a fox in the military chicken coop and by so doing it upset and

impaired the immediate effectiveness of U.S. activity in Asia more than any demonstration alone would have done. This was one side of the Beheiren-GI alliance. The other side focused not on the internal encumberment of the military, though it was encumbering, but upon the public show of opposition to the establishment represented by official American and Japanese policy, an opposition conceived to quicken public conscience and bring pressure upon the official order.

The first tactic used in the public phase of the struggle was the bringing together of dissident GI's and the Japanese press. In January of 1970 MCAS Iwakuni was rife with racial tension punctuated by sporadic outbursts of violence. In the nights paranoia gripped the base as blacks and white traveled in packs for fear of being assaulted, and all news of the situation was suppressed, except for classified messages to Washington, in an attempt to keep the fact of discord from public view.¹²³ On 5 February 1970, Gen. W.G. Johnson of the 1st Marine Air Wing held a meeting with about forty GI's, mostly black, to discuss the race problems. Johnson ran the issue around in circles, avoiding any hint of a solution which would change the situation, and left the group dissatisfied. Cpl. Robert Dorton, a white, surreptitiously made a tape recording of the entire affair and through Beheiren it was both published in English and given to the Japanese media at a news conference.¹²⁴ The military was beginning a long ride of bad publicity in the Japanese press generated by its own people and Beheiren.

In the following months the press covered Semper Fi and the transfers of dissident GI's as has been previously mentioned, as well as several public gatherings between GI's and Beheiren. Then the GI movement hit TV. On the 13th of June 1970, a camera crew from RCC television Channel 4 in Hiroshima, was let on the base to do a documentary. To the perturbation of the base command the half hour program was on the GI movement at Iwakuni and featured GI activist Vern Kemp.¹²⁵ A little over a week later on 21 June an interview was arranged between activists Vern Kemp, Charles Sundeen, Thomas Frensch and Jerry West representing the GI movement and a reporter from the Mainichi Shimbun. On the 22nd an article on the interview appeared in the Japanese language Mainichi which said that the four hoped that the Japanese would understand their wish for

peace and that the numbers of servicemen responding to Beheiren's anti-war campaign were increasing. In the article the four also took a stand against the U.S. - Japan Security Treaty. No sooner had the dust settled from this interview when on 4 July 1970, the prisoners confined in the Correctional Facility (brig) at MCAS Iwakuni revolted and destroyed the entire interior of the facility, while holding troops at bay for fourteen hours. First hand news of this disturbing event was all over Japan the following day, released by Beheiren. Oda Makoto, in Iwakuni for a meeting with GI's, was taken on base by GI activists to view the riot;¹²⁶ and later that evening Jerry West, who had been on duty as a guard inside the facility at the time of the riot, met with Oda in Kintai and delivered a statement for the press written by the prisoners.¹²⁷

The military continued to receive bad press through Beheiren's efforts, especially on racism and anti-war protests, as illustrated by the conferences in the Spring of 1972. On 23 February 1972, Beheiren held a press conference in Tokyo to explain the racist situation aboard MCAS Iwakuni and to describe the outbreaks of violence which occurred there over the New Year's period.¹²⁸ Then on 22 April 1972, Beheiren sponsored a press conference, again in Tokyo, attended by GI's from four major bases in Japan including three Marines and a dependent wife from Iwakuni. The servicemen gave public statements protesting the war in Vietnam and Japan's role in it.¹²⁹ Close behind this conference was another one, likewise in Tokyo, which Behieren sponsored on 6 May. At this conference two black Marines from Iwakuni made statements charging racial discrimination within the Marine Corps at Iwakuni, and the story went all over Japan.¹³⁰ By encouraging and facilitating the increasing willingness of GI's to speak out, Beheiren helped to erode away the effect of the military's most cherished tradition, the custom of managing the news.

Related to the practice of GI's and Beheiren exposing the military in the media is the shocking disclosure of November 1971, an event whose finer details are still hidden in obscurity. In the middle of the debate on the revision of Okinawa, on 16 November 1971, Diet Member Narasaki Yanosuke got up and revealed that he had evidence of the presence of nuclear weapons at MCAS Iwakuni. The Diet went into confusion and in haste the Liberal-Democrats (party which favors U.S. military and con-

trols Japan) closed off debate and forced the revision through. As a result of the disclosure irate Iwakuni citizens flocked to the base fence to view the storage area and the Marine Corps was forced to go through the motions of allowing two Japanese officials to inspect the base. Also, since Narasaki based part of his claim upon the color code of the storage area, the military quickly repainted it. The information which Narasaki publicized was so detailed that an inside observer seemed obvious, and Paul Neighorn says in his interview that Narasaki mentioned that he got the information from a GI at Iwakuni.¹³¹ The presence of nuclear weapons in Japan would be in violation of Japanese-American agreements and Japan's non-nuclear principles, and proven knowledge of it could cause a political crisis. The Marine Corps' reaction was to deny existence of the weapons, and quickly ship out four editors of Semper Fi, Paul Neighorn, Jim Yeakley, Vince Brew, and Don Spreuer.¹³² Though there is no public evidence on who gave Narasaki his information the fact that the Marine Corps took action against GI activists associating with Beheiren indicates where their fears were, and points to the effectiveness of the protest movement.

Press conferences and disclosures of information were not the only means of showing opposition to established policy, this opposition was also exposed by joint gatherings of GI's and Beheiren in public places and by their sponsoring of anti-war shows in Japan. The first public display of solidarity against the war was on 4 April 1970, when dissident Marines and Beheiren held a "Peace and Love" gathering at a park in Kintai where they played guitars and sang songs around a bonfire.¹³³ Eight days later on the 12th they held another gathering in Kintai while over 70,000 people there were viewing the cherry blossoms.¹³⁴ Under banners of peace symbols amidst the cherry trees they played music, sang songs and passed out anti-war literature, and received wide coverage in the Japanese press. The military was publicly embarrassed. Lonnie Renner, Robert Dorton, and Dennis Hahn, three leaders of the GI's, were called in by their Executive Officer and warned against political activity, and shortly thereafter Dorton, who had also mailed out love beads to his supervisors, was shipped out of Japan on thirty-six hours notice.¹³⁵

These gatherings became common place occurrences for the GI's and Beheiren, displaying their solidarity of purpose to the public and ser-

ving as an ever present reminder that all servicemen did not support their military's activity. In Iwakuni festivals were held at Kintai on 4 July 1970, 7 August 1971, 3 October 1971, as well as at other times later and in between.¹³⁶ The gathering of 3 October was of special significance as it received broad public notice. On that day about twenty GI's with Beheiren members held a sit in on the famous Kintai Bridge¹³⁷ and displayed huge banners in Japanese and English saying, according to Col. Murphy in his affidavit, "Give Iwakuni Base Back to the Japanese People," "American GI's Say No More War," and "U.S. Forces Take Your Hands Out of Asia;" and according to Paul Neighorn in his interview, "Get U.S. Bases Out of Asia" and "Iwakuni Base Must Go." As a result of this action three GI's Paul Neighorn, Jim Yeakley, and Vince Brew, were charged by the military for taking part in a demonstration,¹³⁸ but the charges were dropped when the three were sent out of Japan later over the nuclear weapons scandal. Though Iwakuni was the hot spot of activity for GI organizing in Japan, similar gatherings were held at other bases also. On 18 July 1971, Beheiren sponsored a joint rock festival with GI's from Yokota and Tachikawa Air Force Bases to celebrate the inaugural issue of Yokota's GI paper, The First Amendment. The festival was held in Fussa Park with approximately 300 GI's and dependents participating.¹³⁹

Along with organizing festivals Beheiren helped to sponsor anti-war tours of American entertainers. In late 1971 Barbara Dane and Pablo Mendez came to Japan and Beheiren rented the Iwakuni Labor Hall for their concert on November 9th, which was attended by about 150 servicemen.¹⁴⁰ This show, however, was only a preview for the next month when Jane Fonda and the FTA Show hit Japan. On 10 December 1971, approximately 1,000 people including about 600 Americans, attended the show at Fussa Citizens Hall near Yokota Air Force Base.¹⁴¹ On 18 December it appeared in Iwakuni where about 1,000 servicemen attended, and after the show two GI's got up and read a petition of twelve demands which, among other things, asked that 1) the U.S. allow the Japanese people to search Iwakuni base for nuclear weapons, 2) that no more planes fly from Iwakuni to Southeast Asia nor fly from Iwakuni with live ordinance, and 3) that the U.S. make financial retribution to the Japanese people for the suffering caused

them by the base. These demands were then signed by 150 other Iwakuni GI's and presented to the base Commanding Officer on the following day, resulting in the instigators being returned quickly to the United States.¹⁴² From Iwakuni the show went to Misawa where it played to a crowd of about 600 Japanese and 400 Americans in the Misawa Civic Center, and Beheiren provided an interpreter for the Japanese audience.¹⁴³ The tours of Jane Fonda and Barbara Dane in Japan, as well as the frequent occurrence of GI-Beheiren peace gatherings was a continuing reminder, to both the Japanese people and the U.S. military, of the discordance created by current policy.

The festivals, shows, and press conferences were non-aggressive vehicles of public protest, aimed at showing solidarity and at publicizing the cause of Beheiren and the GI's. They were not, however, designed to directly confront or obstruct normal military routine. Beheiren and the GI's also engaged in the latter tactic by holding demonstrations and passing out literature on and in front of military bases. In the Spring of 1970 Beheiren demonstrated frequently in front of MCAS Iwakuni and also broadcasted "Radio Camp Must-Go," adopted from the Oizumi citizens, across the fence to the GI's. These demonstrations were ill received by the military authorities. Semper Fi reported that on their demonstration of 5 April 1970, in Iwakuni Beheiren carried placards in English reading "Rise and Unite for Peace," "Support GI's Who Reject the War," "Remove Iwakuni Base," and "Crush Racism,"¹⁴⁴ and Lonnie Renner reported that on several occasions GI's were forced away from "Radio Camp Must-Go" broadcasts by military police and also ordered not to watch demonstrations.¹⁴⁵ Dave Newcomb in his letter to the Ally of 14 April 1970, best expressed the military reaction to the peaceful demonstrations when he said:

MCAS Iwakuni is not healthy. Today there are anti-U.S. demonstrations outside, troops impressed into riot control squads, no liberty, and restrictions on troop enlightenment such as, no photography of demonstrations, threats of non-judicial (fitting expression) punishment if we watch from our barracks, and no knowledge of the purpose of the demonstrations.

The Marine Corps was afraid of common cause between the GI's and Beheiren, and tried to keep the two apart. When the GI's sent out a message of

encouragement to Beheiren demonstrators on 31 May 1970, the military publicly denied in the Stars and Stripes (5 June 1970) that it had happened. Denying the truth didn't change things, though, and against all the military's wishes the GI's continued to support Beheiren. Beheiren in return supported the GI's like at Yokosuka on 12 July 1970. On this day a small group of Beheiren members gathered at the main gate of Yokosuka Naval Base to show solidarity with six Marines being held in confinement at Yokosuka for rioting in the Iwakuni brig. About 150 military and riot police were on hand to outnumber the demonstrators.¹⁴⁶

Throughout the years Beheiren maintained itself as a thorn in the military's side with its various protest tactics around the bases. At Iwakuni for example, on 10 June 1972, they passed out leaflets to GI's coming off base to discourage them from going to Thailand where the combat units were being deployed.¹⁴⁷ They also blocked traffic at the main gate on Nixon's inauguration day in 1973,¹⁴⁸ and when the Commandant of the Marine Corps visited Iwakuni in September of 1973 they broadcasted tapes alleging his involvement in Watergate.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, they developed a tactic for halting air traffic at Iwakuni by flying kites off the end of the runway which they did periodically in every year from 1971 through 1973.¹⁵⁰ These are only a few cases out of many, though, as Beheiren was always at the forefront of the anti-base protests during the early seventies.

One big protest in which Beheiren was involved was the Sagami-hara action of 1972. Though Beheiren this time was only a contributing member, the protest is notable because of its implications on anti-U.S. military demonstrations as a whole, since it brought on a crisis of sorts between the United States and Japan. The Sagami Depot was an important facility for supplying tanks and armored vehicles in the Vietnam War and on 5 August 1972, demonstrators led by the Japan Socialist and Communist Parties, declaring Japan should not cooperate in the Vietnam War, halted American tanks enroute from Sagami to the port at Yokohama. The demonstrators were supported by Yokohama's Mayor Asukata Ichiro who, invoking a section of the Vehicle Control Ordinance, denied permission for the tanks to pass over Murasame Bridge on the grounds that they were too heavy. The tanks returned to Sagami and were bottled up there for three

months while protesters erected a tent city in front of the base to maintain surveillance. The involvement of Mayor Asukata and Japanese law threw the whole affair into the Japanese Diet where the Liberal-Democrats and the opposition parties began to hash out a settlement. The United States meanwhile, began applying pressure to its friends, the ruling Liberal-Democrats, to force a favorable settlement. The Japan Quarterly reported that:

The U.S. Army in Japan...pressured the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo to take all steps necessary to insure the uninterrupted passage of American combat vehicles. A similar request is reported to have been made by the U.S. Presidential Advisor, Dr. Henry Kissinger, during the Japan-U.S. summit talks in Honolulu early in September.¹⁵¹

In the end the government revised the law which Asukata had invoked to stop the tanks, thus pulling the rug out from under the protest and giving the U.S. free rein on the highways.¹⁵² However, the fact that American operations were impeded by the demonstrations and the fact that local government officials were willing to help protesters against these operations pointed out the potential for any anti-base movement to adversely affect important operations, as illustrated, and cause friction within the U.S.- Japan Alliance. Beheiren strove to utilize this potential to the fullest, as did the dissident GI's who on occasion demonstrated alongside Beheiren.

In the early stages of the GI movement sympathy towards Beheiren's demonstrations would be shown by gestures such as flashing the two-fingered "V" Peace sign, showing a fist and other signs of solidarity against the established order. This supportive action continued as the most prevalent form of involvement, as Bruce Hartford mentions;¹⁵³ but on more than one occasion GI's in open defiance of all regulation would join or lead the demonstrators on the street. Clyde Weddel, a Marine AWOL from MCAS Iwakuni being harbored by the Japanese, gave a press conference on Christmas Eve 1970, and following that conference led a Beheiren demonstration in which he was forcibly arrested by Japanese police. Subsequently he was turned over to the military.¹⁵⁴ In the following year two GI's, Sgts. Dale Gilsinger and James Foster, were court martialed for marching with three other servicemen in a Beheiren demonstration at Yokota on 13 June;¹⁵⁵

and on 6 August Vince Brew with PCS staffer Joe Sonntag led a group of sixty Japanese yippies in an impromptu demonstration that blocked the main gate at Iwakuni and resulted in two GI's being arrested.¹⁵⁶ On the same day in 1972 GI's from Iwakuni, in violation of military policy, participated in the demonstration in Hiroshima's Peace Park which marked the anniversary of the atomic bombing of that city.¹⁵⁷ Two weeks later on the 21 of August Lawrence E. Zambanini, a sailor from the USS Oriskany, refused to board his ship and joined Beheiren in the protests at Sagami where he was arrested by Japanese police on the 22nd,¹⁵⁸ and shortly after Zambanini, Seaman Apprentice Douglas Weaver of the USS Gurkey was also arrested for participating in political activities in Japan. In response to Weaver's arrest five other GI's held a press conference in Yokosuka on 10 September 1972, to protest. As a result of this action one of the five, PO2 Glen Kerr, was subsequently court martialed for demonstrating in a foreign country on the grounds that previous the the press conference he allegedly raised his fist in salute to Japanese anti-war demonstrators on the street.¹⁵⁹ During 1972 also, GI's were demonstrating indirectly at Kitafuji by making tapes for the Fuji Mothers Group to broadcast onto the base;¹⁶⁰ and in Iwakuni at Christmas time, when Beheiren held a sit-in at the main gate to protest the Christmas bombing of North Vietnam, a handful of servicemen turned out to support the demonstration by getting as close to full involvement as possible without being liable for arrest.¹⁶¹

Demonstrations against the military, however, were not confined only to areas outside the periphery of the American strongholds. From the earliest period of the GI movement public protest was also carried aboard to the bases, to be displayed on the home fields of the war machine both by GI's alone and by GI's in concert with their Beheiren friends. As noted before, open GI dissidence appeared in Japan in late 1969 at Misawa where GI's were arrested for a public observance of Moratorium Day, and we have seen how this dissidence then appeared at Iwakuni and, among other forms, was manifested by GI's turning out to hear Beheiren's "Radio Camp Must-Go" broadcasts. GI's at Iwakuni also adopted more direct forms of publicly exhibiting their dissatisfaction. On Armed Forces Day, 16 May 1970, five Marines, George Bacon, Jerry Yingling, Charles Sundeen,

Dennis Hahn and David Gillette were arrested for wearing black armbands, watching "Radio Camp Must-Go" and picking up literature from Beheiren through the base fence. As a result of his activities Cpl. Gillette, who worked in Public Affairs, was, like Dorton before and so many after, transferred out of Iwakuni on short notice.¹⁶² Besides operating "Radio Camp Must-Go" Beheiren carried out other activities at Iwakuni on this Armed Forces Day, and many members were tossed off base at the main gate by military police as they tried to enter without invitations.¹⁶³ The mere fact that invitations were required, to what had traditionally been an open house affair to the general public, was a Beheiren triumph. Prior to Armed Forces Day Beheiren had let it be known that they would be taking advantage of open house to demonstrate aboard the base. As a result, shortly before the day arrived the military announced its invitation only policy, severely restricting the usual crowd of Japanese spectators.¹⁶⁴ The device of taking advantage of days of traditional military celebration was a tactic which Beheiren and the GI's were to utilize on various occasions, to the authorities' dismay.

On Navy Day, 25 October 1970, about twelve Americans and sixty Japanese gave out cookies with peace signs on them and also little peace sign stickers during the open house at Yokosuka Naval Base. The Navy responded by tossing several of the Japanese off the base.¹⁶⁵ In the following year at Misawa on May 2nd about thirty GI's and some dependents wore black armbands and passed out leaflets to protest the war and racism. Approximately the same number turned out again on 15 May, Armed Forces Day, wearing black armbands and joining in with the Japanese to demonstrate against the military.¹⁶⁶ On Navy Day in 1972, 14 October, GI's and Beheiren totally disrupted the ceremonies at Yokosuka. In the middle of the program of speech making by American officials the Japanese turned on an air raid siren they had out in a small boat in the bay. With the siren whinning the Japanese and GI's in the stands began yelling "Free Doug," referring to the imprisoned seaman dissident Douglas Weaver, and "Stop the War." Following these chants they began broadcasting a tape recording of a Hanoi bombing raid to further disrupt the proceedings. The ceremonies became unceremonious, the military police were called in to quell the pandemonium, and physically ejected about twenty-five

Japanese from the base. On the next day the Japanese and GI's capped this achievement with a GI Rights rally followed by a demonstration at the main gate with Japanese carrying a sign reading "Human Rights for GI's." After the demonstration five servicemen burned their Vietnam Campaign Ribbons in opposition to the war.¹⁶⁷

In 1973 the Marine Corps at Iwakuni, instead of an Armed Forces Day open house, had one called "Friendship Day," a development which however did not change the attitude of the dissident elements. "Friendship Day" was on May 6th and to prepare the base for the celebration, on the night of the 5th resistance GI's pasted up anti-war posters everywhere. This endeavor in turn filled the evening for the authorities who finally managed to get most of the posters removed before morning.¹⁶⁸ On "Friendship Day" itself Beheiren, "calling for an 'end to the aggression in Asia,' and sabotage of the 'U.S. War Machine',"¹⁶⁹ protested in front of the main gate at Iwakuni by sitting along the road and passing out literature. According to Col. Murphy Beheiren attempted to infiltrate the base after failing to pass through the gate "en masse," and also managed to disrupt the flow of traffic by lying down in the road. The Hobbit Mobile Bookstore was also present at the gate and from the demonstrators viewpoint, Bruce Hartford described the day as a "good day,"¹⁷⁰ Another good day was had by the anti-military forces two months later on July 4th when six GI's were arrested for passing out copies of the Declaration of Independence. Permission to pass out the Declaration was requested in writing by the GI's ahead of time, and typically, to avoid the issue, the military never responded formally to the request.¹⁷¹ The six Marines, Pfc. Bobby E. Monfort, LCpl. Paul M. Norman, Pvt. Daniel L. Planty, Pfc. Edward Shephard, LCpl. Carl D. Badington, and Pfc. William F. Cox, distributed the Declaration anyway without permission and were arrested by military police.¹⁷² According to Hartford this arrest triggered such a response, even among officers, that a crowd of servicemen and dependents assembled at the military police office to protest the arrest and to shout at the MP's.¹⁷³ The military was so shaken by these events that an explanatory article appeared in the July 6th issue of the Stars and Stripes.

While the GI's kept going strong, 1973 was a transition year for Beheiren. The homeporting issue which saw the establishment of the "Yokosuka Information Center to Block Homeporting" by PCS, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and Japanese groups; and mutiny on the Midway itself was the last singular issue in the joint campaign. Up to 30,000 people a day demonstrated in Yokosuka prior to the Midway's arrival on October 5th but the political climate was changing.¹⁷⁴ The Vietnam Peace Accords were signed in Paris, signaling a change in the war, and the energy crisis erupted to dampen the national economy and raise new spectres on the Japanese horizon. The citizens now faced other questions that went beyond Vietnam and required a more complex explanation of the mechanics of imperialism and Japan's role in the world. To fit this emerging era Beheiren needed a change in image. In January 1974, Oda Makoto declared Beheiren dissolved and proclaimed the birth of a new movement, Yonaoshi, to take up the struggle. (The name Yonaoshi itself echoes Japanese history and indicates the roots not only of itself but of Beheiren, Koe Naki no Koe and all the groups before it, but that is for another project.) The GI's movement still continues, and many of the old Beheiren cells still function at places like the Hobbit and maintain solidarity with the GI's, but the all encompassing Beheiren coalition is gone. With the total victory of the Vietnam liberation forces in the last few months, the name Beheiren itself is an anachronism.