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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

10 JAN 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Walt W. Rostow
Special Assistant to the President

SUBJECT : Beheiren and the Four U.S. Navy Deserters

1. The following information on Beheiren was compiled by a representative of this Agency in [redacted] and comprises his personal interpretation and knowledge based on overt and covert information available to our [redacted] as of 20 December 1967. Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Director, Naval Investigative Service; Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence, Department of the Army; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security, Department of State; Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation; Chief, Counterintelligence Division, Directorate of Special Investigations, The Inspector General, USAF; Commandant, Headquarters United States Marine Corps; and Chief, Counterintelligence & Security Office (DIACI), Defense Intelligence Agency. This report partially answers DIA letter S-4845/CI-4 of 29 December 1967 and oral requests of similar nature from the Department of the Navy.

2. Summary. On 13 November 1967, when the leaders of the Japan "Peace for Vietnam" Committee (Beheiren) dramatically announced at a press conference in Tokyo that four U.S. sailors from the aircraft carrier USS INTREPID had deserted their ship because of opposition of the Vietnam War, the name Beheiren suddenly assumed a degree of prominence. The four sailors' successful flight to Moscow, with Beheiren aid, where the Soviet propaganda machinery proceeded to make capital out of this windfall, has kept Beheiren in the public spotlight in succeeding weeks. The incident has already stimulated a new would-be defection case involving two sailors from Yokosuka U.S. Navy Base, and Beheiren

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itself has tried to keep the "desertion mood" alive by organizing a new group to promote and aid the defection of future U.S. military servicemen in Japan. End of Summary.

3. Following is information on Beheiren and its involvement in the case of the four U.S. Navy deserters.

a. Origin and Development of Beheiren

(1) Founding: Beheiren was organized in April 1965, nominally as a politically independent group of intellectuals and cultured persons whose purpose was "to help restore peace in Vietnam." Actually, it is a loosely organized group of ex-Japan Communist Party (JCP) members, progressive intellectuals, leftist cultured persons, and leftwing students - banded together in the name of opposition to the Vietnam War by two common denominators, dedicated anti-Americanism and refusal to be dominated or controlled by the orthodox JCP.

(2) Hard-Core Secretariat: The real force behind the organization of Beheiren has been a brillant Communist named YOSHIKAWA Yuichi, whose conspiratorial organizational skills have been perhaps the most indispensable ingredients in Beheiren's development. YOSHIKAWA was expelled from Tokyo University for his role as an All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations (Zengakuren) leader in the 1960 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty riots. He then went into full time JCP mass movement professional work, becoming the Secretariat official in charge of international relations for the Japan Peace Committee. YOSHIKAWA broke with the JCP in late 1964, following the rupture in relations between the JCP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in May that year. The inspiration for Beheiren springs in large measure from YOSHIKAWA's personal desire to use his organizational talents in countering the JCP and its Japan Peace Committee. YOSHIKAWA, in addition to being a well qualified English linguist himself, years ago surrounded himself with a small following of similarly qualified lieutenants, whom he brought along into Beheiren to give him the necessary depth and experience to run this new organization. YOSHIKAWA functions as Beheiren's Secretary General.

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(3) Respectable Intellectual Front: Following fundamental Communist principles for mass movement work, the ex-JCP organizers of Beheiren kept themselves in the background and lined up a number of prominent Japanese progressive intellectuals and leftist cultured persons to front for Beheiren. The choice of ODA Makoto, ex-Fulbrighter and popular young novelist, to be the Chairman was a fortunate move for Beheiren. ODA has taken to this front work like a duck to water. It has given him a chance to give unbridled vent to his own latent anti-American feelings, puffed him up to the extent that he has been dubbed "the emperor" by other Beheiren activists, and given him at long last an ideological mission to pursue. YOSHIKAWA has performed magnificently in feeding ODA's ego needs and in infusing and indoctrinating ODA so that his words and actions take on sufficiently virulent anti-American overtones. ODA has served another vital function for Beheiren by recruiting a sizable number of fellow intellectuals to join the ranks of Beheiren activists. (See paragraph 4 for a listing of a number of those Japanese who have been identified as active Beheiren supporters or sympathizers.)

(4) Organizational Development: In its two and one-half year history, Beheiren has not changed appreciably its organizational format, although it has moved its office three times and modified its name even oftener. Beheiren is not a "mass organization," because it has had no sizable popular backing to the present time. Its hard core, secretariat organization is run by YOSHIKAWA and his lieutenants. Its public image, intellectual front is led by ODA, and given body by a score of like-minded intellectual friends of ODA and YOSHIKAWA, who form the loose body of Beheiren's activist leadership. Under this Beheiren leadership superstructure lies a base of only several hundred Beheiren "rank-and-file" supporters, mostly young Japanese students. Organizationally, Beheiren has no formal membership system, so its base of supporters is fluid and not precisely measurable. However, the base support for Beheiren has

definitely been on the upswing during 1967, and made such notable strides during the past summer that JCP Headquarters officials finally felt constrained to note with concern that Beheiren was beginning to drain off a growing number of progressive youth who otherwise would have been absorbed into the JCP's own youth movement. Beheiren leaders have tried to help this growth along by setting up a youth section, calling it "Young Beheiren." Beheiren's imaginative actions and publicity-conscious programs have been responsible for its recent growth, and this period of growth seems to be now on the verge of really gaining momentum. As a result of its role in the case of the four deserting sailors, Beheiren has reaped bountiful publicity, has succeeded in touching a delicate Japanese public nerve of sympathy and pacifism, opening a floodgate of support for Beheiren from all over Japan. When this case fades from the limelight, it is still most likely that a fair percentage of the current wave of popular support for Beheiren will solidify into permanent mass backing, giving Beheiren, for the first time, a meaningful base to support its future activities.

(5) Activities and Accomplishments: Beheiren has engaged in a number of propaganda actions, and participated in international anti-Vietnam War activities. It has tried to cooperate with certain front activities in Japan controlled by the JCP, most notably the Japan Committee to Investigate War Crimes in Vietnam activities, which culminated in the Tokyo Court of August 1967, but has been soundly and rudely rebuffed by the JCP. In spite of this, Beheiren has churned along at its own pace, with a continuing series of anti-Vietnam War actions, most of them related in some way to the American pacifist movement. In this regard, Beheiren has succeeded in cornering a virtual monopoly on Japanese contacts with U.S. pacifist movements and effectually capitalized on this to promote its own action program. The case of the four deserting sailors, while an apparent lucky windfall for Beheiren, only points up the fact that Beheiren, through past organizational work and promotional activities, was ready and capable

(unique in Japan in this regard) to take the ball and run with it. Beheiren ran all the way and scored its most notable success since it was organized. (Paragraph 5 contains a listing of Beheiren's more notable activities since its founding. Paragraph 6 is a partial listing of foreigners who have been in contact with or cooperated with Beheiren.)

b. The Case of the Four Sailor Deserters and Beheiren

(1) How It Started: The consensus of all available press reports, with no recorded dissent, indicates that the four sailors voluntarily left their ship, went AWOL, and ended up wallowing around Tokyo's hippie-land. Precisely what personal grievances prompted the four to embark on this misadventure is not known. But, up to this point, the four could fairly be categorized as misguided youngsters, gone astray in a foreign land, and due to get slapped back in line with traditional Navy justice when they finally decided to stop the fun and go back to the ship. So far, this made their case far from unique.

(2) How It Became an Incident: Instead of returning to their ship of their own volition or being apprehended by the Shore Patrol, the four made contact with Beheiren leaders. Again, press reports indicate that this was just a coincidence, that there was no pre-planning by the four to contact Beheiren. There is no available reporting that indicates otherwise. But, once the Beheiren people made contact, they recognized the potential immediately and moved fast for the kill.

(3) Beheiren Takes Over: When the four made contact with Beheiren, it suddenly became an entirely different ball game. Beheiren had everything needed to capitalize on this: veteran activist leaders who are experienced enough to recognize the windfall that had come their way; an apparatus that could provide hiding places for the four; long standing liaison contacts with Soviet Embassy officials for use in planning exit from Japan; solid contacts with

reliable American pacifists with whom the bona fides of the four sailors could be checked; money and organization to capitalize on the propaganda potential (such as preparing a movie film for the initial Beheiren press conference announcing the desertion, prepared more likely than not by Beheiren stalwart KUBO Keinosuke, an independent film producer); and English speaking activists capable of sympathizing, encouraging, soothing, or agitating the four young sailors, so that there would be no turning back.

(4) The Beheiren Apparatus at Work: While many of the small pieces of this puzzle, which would put the whole case in proper detailed chronological order and eliminate speculation on minor points, are still missing, the following elements, all part of the Beheiren apparatus, make up the bulk of the picture:

(a) Hide-out: When Beheiren got hold of the four on 26 October, they had to be hidden out for the approximate two week period until their exit from Japan could be arranged. This presented Beheiren no great logistical problem. A number of the Beheiren activist leaders have homes well suited to harboring fugitives. For example, Beheiren activist leader FUKASAKU Mitsusada has a villa hidden away in Chigasaki, which was used on the night of 12 September for a meeting of about 20 top Beheiren leaders, and which would be highly suitable for hiding the four deserters. Other private dwellings, belonging to Beheiren leaders and loyal supporters, are scattered throughout both the Kanto (Tokyo) and Kansai (Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto) areas.

(b) Beheiren-Soviet Liaison: Beheiren Secretary General YOSHIKAWA has maintained periodic contact with Soviet Embassy officials for years. Beheiren Chairman ODA has met Soviet Peace Committee officials in Moscow. In the case of the four sailors, information provided by a reliable sensitive source has clearly established that both

YOSHIKAWA and Beheiren American collaborator [redacted] met with Soviet Embassy Chief Press Attache Nikolay V. Vasilyevich and First Secretary Sergey D. Anisimov on 30 October. This meeting was urgently requested by the Beheiren side, to discuss "an extremely important, extremely delicate matter," without doubt the case of the four sailors.

(c) Beheiren-U.S. Pacifist Liaison: Beheiren contacted [redacted], who flew to Japan on 8 November, apparently helped Beheiren leaders check out the bona fides of the deserters, and returned to the U.S. on 11 November.

(5) Escape to Moscow: The four deserters turned up in Moscow on 20 November. The press has speculated widely and unanimously that the four left Japan on the Soviet passenger ship BAIKAL on 11 November. Again, there is no dissenting opinion, overt or covert. The only mystery concerning this final phase of the Japanese portion of this case concerns the mechanics of how the four boarded the BAIKAL and who assisted in the maneuver. But with the sailing of the BAIKAL from Yokohama, Beheiren completed its most highly successful and beautifully executed activity in its two and one-half year history. Not only did Beheiren smear the United States Government's image in Japan, gain a vast amount of priceless publicity that will swell the ranks of its supporters and be invaluable in future activities, but Beheiren doubtlessly even made a profit, financially, on this low budget operation--donations are still pouring into Beheiren headquarters from all over Japan to "help and protect U.S. deserters."

(6) New Deserters: The successful flight to Moscow, through the good offices of Beheiren, has already stimulated one new would-be defection case in early December, involving two sailors from Yokosuka U.S. Navy Base, and prospects are that more will follow. Beheiren itself has tried to keep the "desertion mood" alive by organizing

a new group to promote and aid defection of future U.S. servicemen in Japan. Beheiren Chairman ODA is now preparing to depart for Europe in order to contact and study European anti-Vietnam War and deserter organizations.

4. Japanese who have been identified as active Beheiren supporters or sympathizers:

YOSHIKAWA Yuichi (Beheiren Secretary General) - former JCP member.
ODA Makoto (Beheiren Chairman) - popular novelist.
KAIKO Ken - Akutagawa prize winning novelist.
KUBO Keinosuke - film producer and director.
TSURUMI Shunsuke - Doshisha University professor.
TSURUMI Kazuko - sister of Shunsuke (their father is the late philosopher, Yusuke).
FURUYAMA Yozo - high school teacher.
MUTO Ichiyo - ex-JCP (tried to travel to U.S. to represent Beheiren at October 21 demonstrations this year, but was denied a visa to enter the U.S.).
YAMADA Atsushi - ex-JCP.
FUKUDA Yoshiyuki - playwriter.
TOMINAGA Ichiro - cartoonist.
FUKASAKU Mitsusada - professor.
AWAZU Kiyoshi - graphic designer.
TAKADO Kaname - Christian leader.
YOSHIDA Kiju - film director.
UMIHARA Shun - writer.
HASHIMOTO Mineo - Buddhist priest.
HOTTA Yoshie - novelist.
GOTO Hiroyuki - scientist.
KUWABARA Takeo - professor at Kyoto University.
SAKAMOTO Yoshikazu - assistant professor at Tokyo University.
HIDAKA Rokuro - professor at Tokyo University.
IIDA Momo - writer.
TSURUMI Yoshiyuki - employed at International House in Tokyo.

Others:

TERAI Minako,	KOBAYASHI Tomi,	YAMANISHI Eiichi,
ANAI Fumihiko,	KUNO Osamu (Shu),	YASUDA Takeshi,
NASU Masanao,	KURODA Hidetoshi,	YOSHINO Genzaburo,
MATSUMOTO Ichiju,	MARUYAMA Masao,	YOSHIWARA Koichiro,
FUKUTOMI Setsuo,	MIDORIKAWA Toru,	OKAMOTO Taro,
KURIHARA Yukio,	MIZUSAWA Yana,	MATSUMOTO Seicho,
ANDO Jimbei,	MORITAKI Ichiro,	EI Rokusuke,

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CHIBA Hido,
EGAWA Taku,
FUJII Nittatsu,
HARIYU Ichiro,
HOSHINO Yasusaburo,
ICHII Saburo,
IKEYAMA Huro,
ISHIDA Takeshi,
KANAI Yoshiko,
KASAI Seiichi,
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NISHIO Noboru,
NOMURA Koichi,
OGOSHI Teruo,
OTSUKOTSU Yoshiko,
SERIZAWA Tae,
SHIRAI Shimpei,
SHINMURA Takeshi,
SHISHIDO Hiroshi,
SUGIURA Mitsuo,
SUGIYAMA Tatsumaru,
SUZUKI Masahira,
TAKEUCHI Yoshitomo,
WADA Nagahisa,
YAMADA Munemitsu,
YAMADA Toshio,
YAMAGUCHI Kosaku,
IZUMI Taku,
AWAYA Noriko,
KATO Yoshiro,
SHIROYAMA Saburo,
TAKAHASHI Taketomo,
ODAGIRI Hideo,
OKUMA Minoru,
SANO Kenji,
SUZUKI Michihiko,
KUBATA Hanya,
SHINOHARA Seiei,
MARUYAMA Kunio,
TSURUSHIMA Setsurei,
MURO Kenji,
KONAKA Yotaro,
SAKAMOTO Yoshikazu,
SAITO Masahiko.

5. Some Beheiren activities and accomplishments:

a. Regular once-per-month demonstrations at a public park in Tokyo, consisting of anti-American speeches and followed by street marches.

b. An all night TV "teach-in" with Beheiren activist leaders, along with special guest, U.S. pacifist Carl Oglesby (Chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society.)

c. A full page advertisement in the New York Times (16 November 1965), followed by another full page ad in the Washington Post (3 April 1967), appealing to Americans to stop the war in Vietnam.

d. A "Meet in Conference of Two Nations for Peace in Vietnam," held in Tokyo in August 1966, and attended by Beheiren activists and seven U.S. pacifist leaders (including Dave Dellinger), and observers from France, England, Canada, the USSR, Pakistan, and Mongolia.

e. A mass meeting in Tokyo in October 1966, guest speakers of which were French pacifists, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir.

f. Nationwide tours of Japan for lectures and peace rallies for such anti-Vietnam war pacifists as

Professor [redacted] and the late [redacted] of the United States, Claude Bourdet of France, and Thich Nhat Hanh of South Vietnam.

g. A mass meeting in Tokyo in January 1967, sponsored by Beheiren and featuring U.S. folk singer and pacifist Joan Baez.

h. A continuing program of direct distribution of pamphlets to U.S. troops stationed in Japan, and those coming to Japan on warships, and for rest or hospitalization from Vietnam.

i. Participation by two Beheiren activist leaders (Kyoto University professor KUWABARA Takeo and International House staffer TSURUMI Yoshikyuki, taking advantage of a trip to the U.S. to attend a non-political Japan-America Congress on Cultural Problems) in anti-Vietnam War Speech rallies and demonstrations at Dartmouth University in early May 1967, followed by an unsuccessful attempt to invite Cassius Clay to visit Japan on behalf of Beheiren.

j. Continuing efforts to bring to Japan for a nationwide speech tour on behalf of Beheiren, Soviet poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko, an effort that has not yet reached fruition but is still pending.

k. Participation in the Stockholm July 1967 "World Conference on Vietnam," by sending two Beheiren activist leaders as delegates.

l. Cooperation with the U.S. Quakers, pacifists, and [redacted] in sending the yacht "Phoenix" with medical aid, first to Haiphong, then on a second trip in the Fall of 1967, seeking but failing to find landfall to deliver medical aid to either North or South Vietnam.

m. Attempted, but failed due to inability to obtain U.S. visa, to send a Beheiren activist leader (MUTO Ichiyo) to the U.S. to participate in the 21 October 1967 anti-Vietnam War demonstrations.

n. Currently carrying out a fund raising campaign to send an aid ship to North Vietnam. In this, and other activities, Beheiren leaders are maintaining ever closer liaison contact with their counterparts abroad, such as the French "Comite' Vietnam National." In an effort to generate public support for this aid ship fund raising campaign, Beheiren succeeded in issuing a public appeal under the endorsing signatures of Tokyo Governor MINOBE Ryokichi and Yokohama Mayor ASUKATA Ichio, as well as the usual intellectuals supporting Beheiren.

o. In October 1967, Beheiren solicited approval to hold anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, expecting to be denied and then intending to make this denial a court test case. Instead, Beheiren was given this permission, and conducted two orderly and well-publicized demonstrations in front of the American Embassy, garnering a larger public turn out of participants than in any previous Beheiren-sponsored demonstration.

p. Assisted and abetted the defection to the USSR of four American sailors from the U.S. Navy carrier INTREPID. Following this success, Beheiren's most effective activity to date, Beheiren leaders are organizing a permanent "underground railway" of Japanese intellectuals who will volunteer their homes as possible "way stops" for hiding future U.S. military deserters that Beheiren now hopes to induce.

6. Partial listing of American and other foreign persons known to have been in contact with or cooperated with Beheiren:

a. Americans

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

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(6) David McReynolds (Chairman, War Resisters' League)

(7) A. J. Muste (now deceased)

(8) Karl Meyer

(9) William Davidson

(10) Bradford Lyttle

(11) Charlotte Thurber

(12) (Miss) Quentin Bassett (Students for a Democratic Society)

(13) Murray Levin (Boston U. professor)

(14) Robert Ockene (Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam)

(15) Carl Oglesby (Chairman, Students for a Democratic Society)(until 1966)

(16) Barbara Deming (Associate editor of Liberation)

(17) Joan Baez (folk singer)

(18) Ira Morris (Paris expatriate)

(19) Otto Naisan (phonetic, New York City peace activist)

(20) Barbara and Earle Reynolds (divorced but separately active long-time residents in Japan)

(21) William R. Christensen (an American pacifist drifter, who gave Beheiren its first experience in the summer of 1966 in exploiting for propaganda in Japan, and then in arranging the onward journey of an American who wanted to defect to the USSR)

(22) Brian Victoria (head-shaven pacifist and "converted" Buddhist priest, known to be in regular contact with the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo)

(23) Mr. Willowby (fnu, phonetic, "chief of the Quaker Peace Action movement in the U.S.")

(24) An unidentified American of Japanese descent, from Hawaii, who is currently a student at Waseda University

(25) Kosaku Yamaguchi (reportedly born in U.S., present citizenship status unclear--formerly was a professor at Momoyama University in Osaka, but has been teaching at the University of California in Berkeley for some time)

b. Other Foreigners

(1) Mikhail Kotov, USSR (Soviet Peace Committee)

(2) Claude Bourdet, France (French Committee to Support the Vietnamese People)

(3) Peggy Duff, Great Britain (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament)

(4) James Endicott, Canada (World Peace Council)

(5) Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Pakistan

(6) Gabita Muslepov, USSR

(7) Mrs. Erdenebat Ojon, Mongolia

(8) Konstantin Shugnov, USSR

(9) Francis Marcel Kahn, France (Comite' Vietnam National)

(10) Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, France

(11) Thich Nhat Hanh, South Vietnam

Thomas H. Karamessines
Deputy Director for Plans

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cc: Naval Investigative Service
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Department of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation
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