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the Four U.S. Navy Deserters

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

TOKYO 7263

As noted in reference, forwarded herewith is a copy of the subject memorandum. Please note that the information in the memorandum Paragraph B. 4. b) is particularly sensitive and should only be given properly restricted dissemination.

Mark J. Lidgerwood
Mark J. LIDGERWOOD

ATTACHMENT

Memo dtd 27 Nov 67

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CLASSIFICATION

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27 November 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD:

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

A. Origin and Development of BEHEIREN.

1. Vietnam" Com-
a politically
persons whose
peace Vietnam.' Actually, it
group of CP members, progressive
cultured persons, and leftwing students
name of opposition to the Vietnam war
dedicated anti-Americanism and
by two refusal to ominated or controlled by the orthodox Japan
Communist Party.

2. Hard-Core Secretariat: The real force behind the
organization of BEHEIREN, right from the beginning to the
present, has been a brilliant 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 a ZENGAKUREN leader in the 1960 U.S./Japan
Security Treaty riots. He then went into fulltime 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 CPSU
in May that year. The inspiration for BEHEIREN springs in
large from YOSHIKAWA's personal desire to use his
talents in countering the JCP and its Japan
Pe YOSHIKAWA, in addition to being a well
linguist himself, years ago surrounded
a small following of similarly qualified
whom he brought along into BEHEIREN to give
depth and experience to run this new
the organization.
General. functions as BEHEIREN's Secretary

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3. Respectable Intellectual Front: Following fundamental Communist principles for mass movement work (better than the JCP itself follows these tenets), 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 chief front man - Chairman - was an extremely lucky stroke for BEHEIREN. ODA has taken to this grand-standing, 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 sizeable number of fellow intellectuals to join the ranks of BEHEIREN activists. (Attachment 1 is a listing of a number of those Japanese who have been identified as active BEHEIREN supporters or sympathizers.)

4. Organizational Development: In its 2 1/2 year history, BEHEIREN has not appreciably changed 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 sizeable 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 paltry 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

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the verge really picking up speed and 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 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 last August, 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 the U.S. pacifist movements, and has 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 "johnny-on-the-spot", ready and capable (unique in Japan in this regard) to take the ball and run with it. BEHEIREN ran all the way in this case and scored its most notable success since it was organized. (Attachment 2 is a listing of BEHEIREN's more notable activities since its founding. Attachment 3 is a partial listing of American and other foreign persons known to 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 overt media material, 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 mis-adventure is not yet 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 cases far from unique.

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2. How It Became an Incident: But 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 are no available overt nor covert reports that indicate otherwise. But, once the BEHEIREN people made contact, they recognized the potential immediately and moved fast for the kill. (Attachment 4 is a Yomiuri Newspaper clipping, 22 November 1967, that is both a representative and comprehensive account of this phase of the case. Even if this article should contain some minor inaccuracies, the basic line seems factual and has not been challenged elsewhere.)

3. BEHEIREN Takes Over: When the four made contact with BEHEIREN, it suddenly became an entirely different ballgame. 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 KUEO 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, enough is known now, through overt and covert sources, that the picture of BEHEIREN's adept handling of this case shines through clearly. 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 about 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 FUKASAKI 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

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for hiding the four deserters. Other private dwellings, belonging to BEHEIREN leaders and loyal supporters, are scattered throughout both the Kanto and Kansai 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. The exact means of how this liaison was accomplished in this case is precisely known from a covert phone tap on the Soviet Embassy's line. A full transcript is available of two phone calls made on 30 October, first by Brian Victoria to Chief Press Attache Nikolay V. Vasilyevich, and second by YOSHIKAWA to First Secretary Sergey D. Anisimov, urgently requesting a private meeting later that day to discuss "an extremely important, extremely delicate matter", without doubt the case of the four sailors.

c) BEHEIREN/U.S. Pacifist Liaison: BEHEIREN contacted Dartmouth University professor Ernest P. Young, 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. (Attachment 5 is the translation of a Sankai Shimbun article, dated 21 November, reporting an interview with Young, giving his version of his role in this case.)

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 nor 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 this maneuver. But with the sailing of the Baikal from Yokohama, BEHEIREN completed its most highly successful and beautifully executed activity in its 2 1/2 year history. Not only did BEHEIREN smear the American Government's image in Japan, not only did BEHEIREN 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".

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Attachment No. 1.

Who Have Identified as
Active BEHEIREN Supporters or Sympathizers

1. YOSHIKAWA Yuichi (BEHEIREN Secretary General) - former JCP member.
2. ODA Makoto (BEHEIREN Chairman) - popular novelist.
3. KAIKO Ken - Akutagawa prize winning novelist.
4. KUBO Keinosuke - film producer and director.
5. TSURUMI Shunsuke - Doshisha University professor.
6. TSURUMI Kazuko - sister of Shunsuke (their father is the late philosopher, Yusuke).
7. FURUYAMA Yozo - high school teacher.
8. 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.)
9. YAMADA Atsushi - ex-JCP.
10. FUKUDA Yoshiyuki - playwright.
11. TOMINAGA Ichiro - cartoonist.
12. FUKASAKU Mitsusada - professor.
13. AWAZU Kiyoshi - graphic designer.
14. TAKADO Kaname - Christian leader.
15. YOSHIDA Kiju - film director.
16. UMIHARA Shun - writer.
17. HASHIMOTO Mineo - Buddhist priest.
18. HOTTA Yoshie - novelist.
19. GOTO Hiroyuki - scientist.
20. KUWABARA Takeo - professor at Kyoto University.

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21. SAKAMOTO Yoshikazu - professor at Tokyo University.
22. HIDAKA Rokuro - at Tokyo University.
23. IIDA Momo - writer.
24. TSURUMI Yoshiyuki - at International House in Tokyo.
25. TERAI Minako
26. ANAI Fumihiko
27. NASU Masanao
28. MATSUMOTO Ichiju
29. FUKUTOMI Setsuo
30. KURIHARA Yukio
31. etc: ANDO Jimbei, CHIBA Hideo, EGAWA Taku, FUJII Nittatsu,
HARIYU Ichiro, HOSHINO Yasusaburo, ICHII Saburo, IKKEYAMA Juro,
ISHIDA Takeshi, KANAI Yoshiko, KASAI Seichi, KATAGIRI Yuzuru,
KATO Shuichi, KAZAMA Michitaro, MATSUURA Sozo, KIDOKORO Masao,
KITAKOJI Satoshi, KOBAYASHI Shoichiro, KOMATSU Sakyo,
KOBAYASEI Tomi, KUNO Osamu (Shu), KURODA Hidetoshi, MARUYAMA
Masao, MIDORIKAWA Toru, MIZUSAWA Yana, MORITAKI Ichiro,
MUCHAKU Seikyo, MURAMATSU Hiro, NISHIO Noboru, NOMURA Koichi,
OGOSEI Teruo, OTSUKOTSU Yoshiko, SERIZAWA Tae, SHIRAI Shinpei,
SHINMURA Takeshi, SHISHIDO Hiroshi, SUGIURA Mitsuo, SUGIYAMA
Tatsumaru, SUZUKI Masahira, TAKESUCHI Yoshitomo, WADA Nagahisa,
YAMADA Munenitsu, YAMADA Toshio, YAMAGUCHI Kosaku, YAMANISHI
Keichi, YASUDA Takeshi, YOSHINO Genzaburo, YOSHIWARA Koichiro,
OKAMOTO Taro, MATSUMOTO Seicho, EI Rokusuke, IZUMI Taku,
AWAYA Noriko, KATO Yoshiro, SHIROYAMA Saburo, TAKABASHI
Taketomo, ODAGIRI Hideo, OKUMA Minoru, SANO Kenji, SUZUKI
Michihiko, KUBATA Hanyu, SHINOHARA Seiei, MARUYAMA Kunio,

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TSURUSHIMA Sotsurei, MURO Kenji, KONAKA Yotaro, SAKAMOTO
SAITO Masahiko, etc.

Although not
are ex-JCP

here, many of the above persons

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Attachment No. 2

BEHEIREN Activities and

1. once-per-month demonstrations at a public park in of anti-American speeches and followed by street
2. 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.)
3. 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.
4. 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.
5. A mass meeting in Tokyo in October 1966, guest speakers of which were French pacifists, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir.
6. Nationwide tours of Japan for lectures and peace rallies for such anti-Vietnam war pacifists as Professor Howard Zinn and the late A. J. Muste of the United States, Claude Bourdet of France, and Thich Nhat Hanh of South Vietnam.
7. A mass meeting in Tokyo in January 1967, sponsored by BEHEIREN and featuring U.S. folk singer and pacifist Joan Baez.
8. 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.
9. Participation by two BEHEIREN activist leaders (Kyoto University professor KUWABARA Takeo and International House staffer TSURUMI Yoshiyuki, 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.
10. Continuing efforts to bring to Japan for a nationwide

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on behalf of
that has not yet

Soviet poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko,
fruition but is still per~~petrating~~

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

12. Cooperation with the U.S. Quakers, pacifists, and Earle Reynolds 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.

13. 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.

14. 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.

15. 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.

16. 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.

Comment: For other details, see Tokyo intelligence reporting:

FJT-11547, 31 May 1966
FJT-12046, 14 October 1966
FJT-12690, 10 May 1967
FJT-12851, 5 July 1967
FJT-13081, 8 September 1967
FJT-13154, 27 September 1967
FJT-13303, 22 November 1967
Also, OSS-6790, 11 July 1967

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ATTACHMENT 3

Partial Listing of American and Other Foreign
Persons Known to Have Been in Contact with or
Cooperated with DEFEIREN

A. Americans.

1. Staughton Lynd (ex-Yale professor)
2. Norman Mailer (novelist)
3. Dave Dellinger (Editor of Liberation)
4. Howard Zinn (Boston U. professor)
5. Donald Keyes (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy)
6. David McReynolds (Chairman, War Resisters' League)
7. A. J. Kuste (now deceased)
8. Karl Meyer
9. William Davidson
10. Bradford Lytle
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)
16. Barbara Deming (Associate editor of Liberation)
17. Joan Baez (folk singer)

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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-shaved 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 Komoyama 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

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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

COMMENT: This is not, by any means, a complete listing, nor does it necessarily list BEHEIREN's most important activist contacts abroad. But this list is representative in showing the breadth of BEHEIREN liaison abroad, particularly with the American "new left".

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November 21, 1967

Prof. YOUNG

Four

Seamen Not in Ja

More

Went to Tokyo and Tried to Dissuade Them;
 Probably Escaped from Japan on the 12th or the 13th

(New York, November 20, Correspondent Tadashi ONODERA) Professor Ernest P. YOUNG of Dartmouth College in the U.S., consented to an interview with this reporter on the question of the four American seamen who deserted from the U.S. aircraft carrier Intrepid. At the interview held on the 19th, Professor YOUNG clarified that the Peace for Vietnam Association (Beheiren, with Makoto ODA acting as its representative) contacted an anti-war organization in the U.S., and at this, Professor YOUNG hurriedly visited Tokyo, and meeting the four seamen in a room in an apartment house in Tokyo on the 9th and 10th, tried to persuade them to return. In regard to the present whereabouts of these four seamen, he made the noteworthy statement that "those four were still in Japan, up until the night of the 11th, when I left Japan, but they are probably no longer in Japan now."

Families Perplexed

The questions and answers exchanged with Professor YOUNG are as follows:
 -- Why did you go to Japan?

Professor: Beheiren contacted David DEKINGER, a pacifist activist in the U.S., asking him to "send someone to Japan to hear the stories of the four seamen and announce them in the U.S." I have been in Japan twice, and I also once served as special assistant to Ambassador REISCHAUER.

During that time, I became friends with Beheiren representative ODA and other intellectuals in Japan. It was for these reasons that I was given this assignment. I personally have never participated actively in the anti-Vietnam war movement so far.

-- When did you arrive in Japan, and where did you meet the four seamen?

Professor: I arrived in Haneda on November 8, and met the four seamen on the 9th and the 10th. The place of interview was in an apartment house in Tokyo, but I cannot say at this time where that apartment house was and who owned it. However, on both days, I talked fully with these four seamen, for more than three hours on each occasion (according to an investigation made by the public security authorities, Professor YOUNG arrived in Japan toward the evening of the 8th, and stayed at Hotel Tanakanwa in Shiba, Minato-ku, until the morning of the 11th).

-- What were the motives for these four seamen's desertion?

Professor: The desertion was completely the decision of these four persons. It seems that the four seamen decided not to return to the ship, when the Intrepid entered Yokosuka Port on October 17, and they were permitted to go ashore for rest for one week. My impression on meeting these four seamen was that they were definitely not deserting for the purpose of self-advertisement or that they were giving false reasons. I am convinced that they deserted really out of doubt about the Vietnam war.

-- What were the movements of the four after they deserted?

Professor: On the night of the 23rd, two days before the Intrepid was due to sail, the four went to Shinjuku, and told the people whom they met at a bar they happened to visit, that "we are fed up with war." The Japanese who heard them sympathized with them, and at one time, the four lived with some hippies (according to this paper's investigations, they include Mr. K., a student of Tokyo University's Liberal Arts Department, and vanguard artist A., who gather at Fugetsudo in Shinjuku.) Finally,

