

Hayden, Long a Peace Activist, Never Thought War Would End

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By ROBERT REINHOLD APR 18 1975
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SANTA MONICA, Calif., April 17—After years of seemingly futile protest, pilgrimages to Hanoi, arrests and trials, some leaders of the antiwar movement find it a little hard to believe that the end in Indochina is developing so swiftly.

"I never thought the war was going to end, except for now—it's all over," said Tom Hayden, his black hair a little gray after a decade of bitter struggle against American policy. Mr. Hayden, 35 years old, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, is married to the actress, Jane Fonda, and both have been crusaders in the peace movement.

They take some satisfaction that American public opinion now supports their view that aid to Saigon should be cut.

They have watched the television scenes of refugee flight and death with dismay, but not surprise. They place the blame not on advancing Vietnamese Communist forces, but on American policy.

"The suffering and turmoil have been going on for decades—this is just a pittance," Miss Fonda said as she folded her children's laundry. "Obviously, we care about the suffering, but unless the United States stops channeling the wherewithal to the Thieu Government to permit him to continue the military struggle, then the other side is going to escalate."

A Hardy Band

While the peace movement's mass appeal waned with the end of direct American involvement in 1973, a hardy band still goes on. Last weekend, Mr. Hayden and 100 other members of the Indochina peace campaign met at a rural retreat in Ohio and went on an "emergency footing" to intensify pressure on Congress to end aid to Saigon.

The Haydens have maintained the campaign from their modest, almost shabby, two-story home on a crowded street half a block from the Pacific

Ocean. Their home has become somewhat of a local center for followers of the peace movement.

Despite Miss Fonda's success in films, they live simply, doing their own shopping and laundry, cooking meals in a tiny kitchen with an old stove and sharing child-care duties for Vanessa, 6, and Troy, 1.

They spend much time in a newly built playroom in the rear of their comfortably cluttered home, where a poster on the yellow wall sums up family politics: "Cut aid to Thieu."

Like many their age, they were deeply radicalized by the war. This was particularly true for Miss Fonda, for whom the war was "a complete turning point in my life."

Her husband, considered by many one of the most intelligent of the movement's leaders, was politically engaged long before Vietnam, but the war caused him to shift his energies from domestic to foreign concerns in 1967.

With Troy playing in a toy fire engine, the couple discussed their feelings as Communist troops moved closer to Saigon.

"I see this as a result of something we've been working toward for a long time," Mr. Hayden said. "Indochina has not fallen—it has risen. What has fallen is the whole cold war establishment. We now have the opportunity to define a new policy."

He said that he hoped America would abandon "knee jerk acceptance of right-wing dictatorships" and recognize that "Communism is one of the options that can improve people's lives."

But he maintained that there would not be a "Communist take-over" in Vietnam, saying that a coalition government would be formed under the terms of the original peace agreement. "The policy of the other side is reconciliation," he said of the advancing North Vietnamese.