

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION-PRIVACY ACTS SECTION

SUBJECT: VVAW

FILE NO: HQ 100-448092

SECTION: 70

PAGES REVIEWED: 480

PAGES RELEASED: 476

REFERRALS: _____

EXEMPTIONS: b2, b7C, b7D, b1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Assoc. _____
Dep.-A D.-Adm. _____
Dep.-A D.-Inv. _____
Asst. _____
Admin. _____
Comp. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Intell. _____
Lab. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

NR001 BU PLAIN

TELETYPE

9:17PM NITEL JANUARY 27, 1975 ESC

TO DIRECTOR

FROM BUFFALO (100-NEW) (C)

ATTN INTD

DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS

AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

(VVAW/WSO), LAFAYETTE SQUARE, BUFFALO, NEW

YORK IN SUPPORT OF PEOPLE OF INDOCHINA,

JAN. 27, 1975, IS - VVAW/WSO

AT 12:15 P.M., JAN. 27, 1975, APPROXIMATELY 30 PERSONS

BEGAN MARCHING IN CIRCLE AND CHANTING AT LAFAYETTE SQUARE,

BUFFALO, NY. DEMONSTRATORS DISPLAYED BANNERS AND PLACARDS

IN SUPPORT OF PEOPLE OF INDOCHINA. SIGNS DISPLAYED SUCH WORDS

AS "END U.S. SUPPORT OF FASCISM;" "SOLIDARITY WITH INDOCHINA;"

"FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS" AND "VICTORY TO THE INDOCHINESE

PEOPLE."

MOST DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED BANNERS AND PLACARDS OVER NAME

OF VVAW/WSO. YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM (YAWF) BANNERS ALSO

OBSERVED. MOST INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED AFFILIATED WITH VVAW/WSO.

APPROXIMATELY THREE PERSONS AFFILIATED WITH YAWF OBSERVED.



b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/12/94 BY SP6 bjk/...

REC-87

100-4148092-4122



JAN 29 1975

Noted in informative note
54 FEB 5 1975 separate tel 1/28/75 HE14

BU 100-NEW PAGE TWO

VVAW FORMED AS ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. VVAW LEADERS HAVE STATED VVAW IS REVOLUTIONARY GROUP, NOT "JUST ANOTHER GROUP OF WAR VETERANS." GROUP CHANGED NAME TO VVAW/WSO SO NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. CURRENT VVAW/WSO OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED.

YAWF IS YOUTH GROUP OF WORKERS WORLD PARTY (WWP).

WWP FOUNDED BY INDIVIDUALS WHO DISAGREED WITH POLICIES OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP).

SWP IS REVOLUTIONARY, TROTSKYIST-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION.

AFTER BRIEF DEMONSTRATION AT LAFAYETTE SQUARE, DEMONSTRATORS PROCEEDED ON SIDEWALK TO U.S. COURT HOUSEN COURT ST., WHERE THEY MARCHED IN CIRCLE AND CHANTED DEMAND FOR UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR VIETNAM WAR RESISTERS.

DEMONSTRATION CONTINUED UNTIL 1:00 P.M. WHEN IT TERMINATED WITHOUT INCIDENT. DEMONSTRATION CREATED NO UNUSUAL INCIDENTS OR DISTURBANCES.

LOCAL NEWS COVERAGE AFFORDED. LOCAL AUTHORITIES COGNIZANT. ADMINISTRATIVE

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

DEMONSTRATION OBSERVED BY SA [REDACTED]

END.

JAC FBIHQ CLR

b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 27 1975

TELETYPE

NR 013 CV CODE

8:35 PM NITEL 1/27/75 JSM

Assoc. Dir.	
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	
Comp. Syst.	
Ext. Affairs	
Files & Com.	
Gen. Inv.	
Ident.	
Inspection	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Plan. & Eval.	
Spec. Inv.	
Training	
Legal Coun.	
Telephone Rm.	

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CLEVELAND (100-34273) (P)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), AKRON, OHIO, IS-VVAW.

ON JANUARY 27, 1975, [PER OBSERVATION BY SPECIAL AGENTS
OF THE FBI], CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION SPONSORED PICKETING AT
FEDERAL BUILDING, MARKET AND MAIN STREETS, AKRON, OHIO. APPROX-
IMATELY 14 PICKETS PROTESTED U.S. POLICY IN INDOCHINA.

ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT FROM 12:05 PM TO 1:05 PM AND ENDED WITH-
OUT INCIDENT OR ARREST. [PRESENT WERE ADEX SUBJECTS

[REDACTED], [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AS WELL AS OTHER SUBJECTS OF ACTIVE INVESTIGATIVE
INTEREST TO THE FBI.]

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-117

REC-57

100-4-17073 4123

PHOTOGRAPHIC COVERAGE WAS PROVIDED BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF

THE FBI.

END

JAC FBIHQ CLR

61 JAN 29 1975

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Noted in informative note on
separate tel 1/28/75 HEM
Sent by 0-73 to USSS + AAG, Civil Div
(+cc, GCS + CDU) of Dept 1/28/75 HEM

DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6 BJA/JAC

INTELLIGENCE DIV

58 FEB 6 1975

RECEIVED

30 512 b7c

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 1/27/75

Transmit in CODE (plaintext or code) via teletype the attached PRIORITY (precedence) message.

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO:
- RUEADWW/ The President
 - RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
 - RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
 - RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 - and National Indications Center
 - RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
 - RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
 - RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
 - RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
 - RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 - and Internal Security Section
 - and General Crimes Section
 - RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
 - RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
 - RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration
 -
 -

SACS:

LEGATS:

REC-67

4124
JAN 29 1975

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

unclassified
SUBJECT: See Next Page

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically
with _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 28 1975

INTELLIGENCE DIV. RECEIVED (Text of message begins on next page.)
RECEIVED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/17/94 BY SP4/S...
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

TELETYPE

STAMP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 27 1975

TELETYPE

NR 001 BU PLAIN

9:17PM NITEL JANUARY 27, 1975 ESC

TO DIRECTOR

FROM BUFFALO (100-NEW) (C)

ATTN INTD

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

WRW/PAT



67C

DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS
AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), LAFAYETTE SQUARE, BUFFALO, NEW
YORK IN SUPPORT OF PEOPLE OF INDOCHINA,
JAN. 27, 1975, IS ~~VVAW/WSO~~

AT 12:15 P.M., JAN. 27, 1975, APPROXIMATELY 30 PERSONS
BEGAN MARCHING IN CIRCLE AND CHANTING AT LAFAYETTE SQUARE,
BUFFALO, NY. DEMONSTRATORS DISPLAYED BANNERS AND PLACARDS
IN SUPPORT OF PEOPLE OF INDOCHINA. SIGNS DISPLAYED SUCH WORDS
AS "END U.S. SUPPORT OF FASCISM;" "SOLIDARITY WITH INDOCHINA;"
"FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS" AND "VICTORY TO THE INDOCHINESE
PEOPLE."

MOST DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED BANNERS AND PLACARDS OVER NAME
OF VVAW/WSO. YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM (YAWF) BANNERS ALSO
OBSERVED. MOST INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED AFFILIATED WITH VVAW/WSO.
APPROXIMATELY THREE PERSONS AFFILIATED WITH YAWF OBSERVED.

INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION
RECORDED

~~100-NEW~~ PAGE TWO

VVAW FORMED AS ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. VVAW LEADERS HAVE STATED VVAW IS REVOLUTIONARY GROUP, NOT "JUST ANOTHER GROUP OF WAR VETERANS." GROUP CHANGED NAME TO VVAW/WSO SO NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. CURRENT VVAW/WSO OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED.

YAWF IS YOUTH GROUP OF WORKERS WORLD PARTY (WWP).

WWP FOUNDED BY INDIVIDUALS WHO DISAGREED WITH POLICIES OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP).

SWP IS REVOLUTIONARY, TROTSKYIST-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION.

AFTER BRIEF DEMONSTRATION AT LAFAYETTE SQUARE, DEMONSTRATORS PROCEEDED ON SIDEWALK TO U.S. COURT HOUSE, COURT ST., WHERE THEY MARCHED IN CIRCLE AND CHANTED DEMAND FOR UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR VIETNAM WAR RESISTERS.

DEMONSTRATION CONTINUED UNTIL 1:00 P.M. WHEN IT TERMINATED WITHOUT INCIDENT. DEMONSTRATION CREATED NO UNUSUAL INCIDENTS OR DISTURBANCES.

LOCAL NEWS COVERAGE AFFORDED. LOCAL AUTHORITIES COGNIZANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

DEMONSTRATION OBSERVED BY SA 

END.

JAC FBIHQ CLR

b7c

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 1/27/75

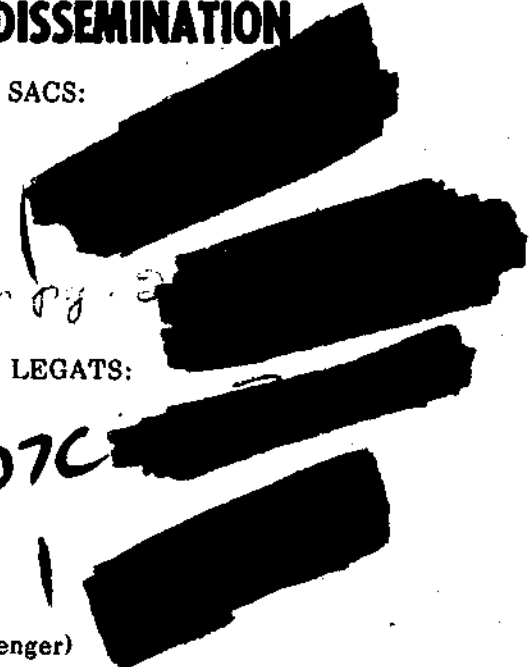
Transmit in CODE (plaintext or code) via teletype the attached PRIORITY (precedence) message.

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO:
- RUEADWW/ The President
 - RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
 - RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
 - RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 - and National Indications Center
 - RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
 - RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
 - RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
 - RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
 - RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 - and Internal Security Section
 - and General Crimes Section
 - RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
 - RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
 - RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration

SACS:



LEGATS:

b7C

EX-117

REC-57 100-448092-



Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)
~~Confidential~~ Unclassified
 See Next Page

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared for release 1975
 with _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

(Text of message begins on next page.)
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 10/27/94 BY SP6/BJW/MLP

JAN 28 1975

332 ARMS

MAR 7 1975

TYPE UNIT

RES/PAF

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 185-499

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. A.D. Adm.	_____
Dep. A.D. Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Rec. Mgmt.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

URGENT SF CODE

6:01PM NITEL JANUARY 27, 1975 KCK

TO: DIRECTOR (100-448092)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-71012)

JAN 27 1975
TELETYPE

DEMONSTRATION AT UNION SQUARE, SAN FRANCISCO, JANUARY 27, 1975,

SPONSORED BY THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER
SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO). IS - VVAW/WSO.

A DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY THE VVAW/WSO AND OTHER
ORGANIZATIONS TOOK PLACE THIS DATE AT UNION SQUARE, SAN
FRANCISCO. APPROXIMATELY 300-400 WERE PRESENT.

TALKS AT THE DEMONSTRATION WERE ON ALLEGED VIOLATIONS
OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES; SUPPORT FOR THE
PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND
THE PHILIPPINES.

DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED SIGNS CALLING FOR "END ALL AID TO
THIU AND LON NAL", "UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY",
"UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETERANS", "DUMP THIEU", AND
"REPEAL THE PEACE AGREEMENT."



b7c





~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

January 29, 1975

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO)

The VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) (See attached Appendix) has had declining activities in the Eastern Region of Pennsylvania and, in particular, the Philadelphia Chapter. Philadelphia sources provided the following information in regard to the declining activity of the VVAW/WSO and its actual dissolved status in December, 1974.

On January 6, 1975, [redacted] advised that the VVAW/WSO, Eastern Region of Pennsylvania, cancelled a regional coordinators meeting for December 22, 1974 in Reading, Pa. However, no one notified the coordinators that the meeting had been cancelled and [redacted] individuals showed up for the December 22, 1974 meeting. At this meeting, it was disclosed that three of the regional coordinators had sent in their resignations to the National VVAW/WSO Office.

b2
b7D

[redacted] is a Philadelphia REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) member who has worked closely with the VVAW/WSO. (See Appendix). [redacted] coordinators prior to the December 22, 1974 meeting to ascertain the time of the meeting. During the conversation, [redacted]

[redacted] Eastern Region of Pennsylvania VVAW/WSO. [redacted]

[redacted] informed of the dissolved status of the Eastern Region of Pennsylvania Chapter of VVAW/WSO. [redacted] stated that he

100 - 448092 - 4126

SOURCES WHOSE IDENTITIES ARE CONCEALED HEREIN HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE NOTED.

Classified by 5933
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4/epj/llk
ON 10/17/99

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO)

would have argued against the dissolution of the organization but, since it was already a fact, [REDACTED] and take no additional action.

[REDACTED] further advised that, although this decision was made to dissolve, [REDACTED] advised they would continue as members but that they do not plan to carry out any active organizing [REDACTED]. They will retain the Chapter's name only in order to receive correspondence from the National Office, as well as to be able to receive the "Winter Soldier."

The decision to dissolve the Eastern Region of Pennsylvania VVAW/WSO was based on the feeling that this organization is not really a veteran's organization interested in better benefits for veterans.

[REDACTED] regional coordinator at [REDACTED], on at least two occasions to find out what was going on and urge the continuation of the Eastern Region of Pennsylvania, but he was not successful.

In addition, [REDACTED] stated that no members of the Eastern Region of Pennsylvania attended the VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee meeting at St. Louis December 27 - 31, 1974.

[REDACTED] has continually advised that there has been a decline of activity on the part of VVAW/WSO in the Eastern Region of Pennsylvania and, in particular, Philadelphia, Pa. On December 10, 1974, he advised that meetings are rarely being held and no one is interested in any activities of the VVAW/WSO. The members do not seem to have the time, cannot get organized and it is continually going down hill. [REDACTED] was not present or knowledgeable of the December 22, 1974 meeting in Reading, Pa.

2 -
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

The VVAW was formed in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Since that time VVAW leaders have told members the VVAW is a revolutionary group, not "just another group of war veterans." Also, the membership has been told the VVAW has been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist and Maoist groups. Additionally, it was indicated that "anti-imperialist groups" consider the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the U. S. In April, 1973, the group changed their name to VVAW/WSO so that non-veterans could become members. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented and strive to educate their membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

- 3 -
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY UNION

The Revolutionary Union (RU), founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers," and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution," are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxist-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU national headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.

- 4 -
CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TS
RUB/B
FROM :
SUBJECT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) DATE: 1/29/75
SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-51647) (RUC)
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO)
IS - VVAW/WSO
OO: CHICAGO

Re Philadelphia letter to the Bureau dated 1/15/75.

Enclosed LHM is classified Confidential to protect [redacted] who is a continuing source of value.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM. One copy is enclosed for Chicago.

For the information of Chicago, referenced Philadelphia letter set forth information regarding the Philadelphia Chapter of VVAW/WSO and the Bureau by return routing slip requested that this information be submitted in a form suitable for dissemination.

One copy of the LHM is being furnished to U. S. Secret Service, Philadelphia.

In view of the information in the enclosed LHM Philadelphia is placing captioned organization in an RUC status.

[redacted] and [redacted] will have sufficient contact with the former members that, if they wish to reorganize and start again in the future with possible influence of outside organizations, it will be immediately known to [redacted] and [redacted] Philadelphia will then reconsider opening if this should happen and advise the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/16/94 BY SP-4 JPA/LUB

- 2 - Bureau (100-448092) (Encls. 5) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772) (Encl. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-51647)

DPH/kgg
(5) rec-destroyed
rec-Dept. (ISS)

7 FEB 10 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

b2
b7D

EX-112 REC-46 100-448092-4121

FEB 3 1975

ENCLOSURE 5

DOG/ASS



PH 100-51647

ADMINISTRATIVE

Sources in the enclosed LHM are:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM : *H/KW* SAC, ALEXANDRIA (100-670) (P)

DATE: 1/30/75

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIERS ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 28, 1974
IS - VVAW/WSO

Re Baltimore letter to the Bureau, 12/26/74.

By instant communication, photographs taken at captioned demonstration are being returned to WFO. No additional identification effected.

REC-63

100-448092-4127

1-44440 JEM

EX-103
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *10/17/94* BY *SP6 BJA/100*

JAN 31 1975

2-Bureau
2-WFO (100-58810) (Encs 28)
2-Alexandria
JEM:mew
(6)

51 FEB 07 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



MESSAGE RELAY *KAC*

Date 1/30/75

Transmit in CODE via teletype the attached URGENT message.
(plaintext or code) (precedence)

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO: RUEADWW/ The President SACS:
- RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 Att.: _____
- RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 Att.: _____
- RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
- RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
- RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency LEGATS:
 and National Indications Center
- RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
- RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
- RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
- RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
- RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 AND CIVIL DISTURBANCE UNIT
 and Internal Security Section
 and General Crimes Section REC-67
- RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
- RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
- RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration
-
-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 30 11:30 AM
TELETYPE *KAC*

100-447092-4128

JAN 31 1975

EX 104

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT:

See Attached

(Text of message begins on next page.) MAIL RECEIVED

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically
with _____

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

DECLASSIFIED BY *S662 IUP*
TJM/DR 10/17/94

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

RO
TJM
1012
KAC

~~QNR 007~~ ~~00DE~~

~~Q 7:44 PM URGENT JANUARY 29, 1975 TDS~~

~~TO DIRECTOR (100-448092)~~

~~CHICAGO (100-50772)~~

~~ST. LOUIS (100-21693)~~

~~LOS ANGELES~~

~~SAN FRANCISCO~~

~~FROM~~ ~~[REDACTED]~~ (P)

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), IS - VVAW/WSO. OO: ~~CHICAGO~~.

ON JANUARY 29, 1975, SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN PAST, ADVISED ~~[REDACTED]~~

~~[REDACTED]~~ THE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING (NSCM)
HELD IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 27-31, 1974, SOURCE ~~[REDACTED]~~

NOTICE READ AS FOLLOWS:

"AT THE ST. LOUIS NSCM, WE VOTED TO HOLD PICKET LINES ON
FEBRUARY 1, 1975, AT LOCAL FEDERAL BUILDINGS, DISTRICT ATTORNEY
OFFICES, ETC., IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF GARY LAWTON. THESE
ARE TO BE NATIONAL ACTIONS. IN DECIDING THE DATE, HOWEVER, A

b7D

~~IN REPLY TO [REDACTED]~~

(2)

~~PAGE TWO~~

MISTAKE WAS MADE. THE WORK SHOP FELT THAT THESE PICKET LINES SHOULD BE HELD AT A TIME WHEN THE ABOVE TYPES OF OFFICES WOULD BE OPEN FOR BUSINESS. WE HAVE SINCE REALIZED THAT FEBRUARY 1, 1975, IS A SATURDAY. THEREFORE, PICKET LINES SHOULD BE HELD ON JANUARY 31, 1975, INSTEAD. SORRY ABOUT THE CHANGE, BUT WE THINK WE WERE LOOKING AT A 1974 CALENDAR INSTEAD OF 1975.

CHAPTERS SHOULD GET REPORTS ON THEIR PICKET LINES, PETITIONING, ETC., AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE SO THAT WE CAN REPORT ON THEM IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF WINTER SOLDIER.

"PICKET LINES DEMANDING THE FREEING OF GARY LAWTON,
JANUARY 31!!"

^{7225 x}
~~CLASSIFIED BY 142, 83DS 2, INDEFINITE.~~

END.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: JAN 28 1975

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-180910) (C)

b7c

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
SM-VVAW/WSO

ReNYlet and LHM, to Bu, 10/7/74.

Enclosed for FBIHQ are four copies of an Investigative Summary, two copies of an FD-376 attached.

One copy of Investigative Summary disseminated to Secret Service, NY.

Subject does not meet ADEX criteria.

Interview not being recommended since subject offers no informant potential and there is no information that he would cooperate.

*1 cc of let destroyed
1 cc of JS (JB 3/16)
see GCS OAS
CML/meg
2/6/75*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6BJ/108

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encls 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York

EX-117

REC-46 100-442092-4129

6 JAN 31 1975

RFP:mmm
(3)

C. [Signature]





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

JAN 29 1975

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: [REDACTED]

b7c

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

- 1. Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
- 2. Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
- 3. Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
- 4. Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
- 5. Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
- 6. Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
- 7. Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph has been furnished enclosed is not available.

Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) (1)
U. S. Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Enclosure(s) (1)

10/17/94
SP6 BJA/100



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

JAN 29 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

[REDACTED]
SUBVERSIVE MATTER-
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

This investigation is based on information which indicates that [REDACTED] in view of his affiliation with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WFO), (see appendix), is engaged in activities which could involve a violation of Title 18, United States Code (USC), Sections 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the United States Government), or Title 50 USC, Sections 781-798 (Internal Security Act of 1950).

b7c

[REDACTED] white male, was born [REDACTED] [REDACTED] resides at [REDACTED] New York.

sub. organization

[REDACTED] has been identified as a member of the VVAW/WSO, New York Chapter and has attended six meetings of this group during the period September through December, 1974.

On [REDACTED] participated at a VVAW/WSO gathering and demonstration at Shea Stadium, New York. During the above demonstration [REDACTED] was arrested and charged with assault, disorderly conduct and harassment due to an altercation which ensued with Shea Stadium police officers.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6/BJM

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

44-8092-4129
ENCLOSURE



APPENDIX

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR

The Vietnam Veterans Against The War (VVAW) was formed in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam Veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Since that time, VVAW leaders have told members that VVAW is a revolutionary group, not "just another group of war veterans". Also the membership has been told the VVAW has been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist and Maoist groups. Additionally it was indicated that "anti-imperialist groups" consider the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the U.S. In April, 1973, the group changed their name to Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) so that non-Veterans could become members. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented and strive to educate their membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

APPENDIX

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 1-25-75

Transmit in Code via teletype the attached Priority message.
(plaintext or code) (precedence)

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO:
- RUEADWW/ The President
 - RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
 - RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
 - RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 - and National Indications Center
 - RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
 - RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
 - RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
 - RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
 - RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 - and Internal Security Section
 - and General Crimes Section
 - RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
 - RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
 - RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration
 -
 -

SACS:

ord on pg. 2

LEGATS:

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 25 1975

TELETYPE

Att: Civil Disturbance Unit

Ade

UNclassified

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

SUBJECT:

SEE NEXT PAGE

Foreign Liaison Unit

- Route through for review
- Cleared telephonically

with _____

REC-57 100-44 8092-4130

(Text of message begins on next page.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

JAN 28 1975

10/17/99 BY SP4BJG/100

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

F 519

FEB 12 1975

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

*WRW
RM*

M

Dep. A.D. Adm.	
Dep. A.D. Inv.	
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	
Comp. Syst.	
Ext. Affairs	
Files & Com.	
Gen. Inv.	
Ident.	
Inspection	
Intell.	
Laboratory	
Plan. & Eval.	
Spec. Inv.	
Training	
Legal Coun.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director Sec'y	

~~JAN 27 1975~~
~~RECEIVED~~

~~NR 045 47 00DE~~

~~440587-1 NITEL JANUARY 25, 1975 ALI~~

~~TO DIRECTOR~~

~~ALEXANDER~~

~~BALTIMORE~~

~~NEW YORK~~

~~FROM SAC BALTIMORE FIELD (100-29852) (P) 3P~~

~~ATTENTION: INFO.~~

DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY THE COALITION TO IMPLEMENT THE
AGREEMENTS, AT WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY 25, 1975. IS VVAV/WSO.

ON JANUARY 25, 1975, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FBI OBSERVED SMALL GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS GATHERING AT KALORAMA PARK, 19TH AND COLUMBIA ROAD, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. (WDC) SHORTLY AFTER 10:15AM. THE INDIVIDUALS CONTINUED TO GATHER IN THE PARK UNTIL ABOUT 11:15AM AT WHICH TIME SPEECHES WERE MADE BY SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS. AT ABOUT 11:30AM, THE GROUP BEGAN ITS MARCH FROM THE PARK VIA 19TH STREET, FLORIDA AVENUE, AND MASSACHUSETTS TO DUPONT CIRCLE. THE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP CARRIED BANNERS WHICH IDENTIFIED SOME OF THE GROUP AS MEMBERS OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAV/WSO). OTHER BANNERS READ AS FOLLOWS:

END PAGE ONE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PAGE TWO ~~41-59050~~

"VICTORY FOR THE PRG", "IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS, END ALL AID TO THIEU AND LOU NOL" AND "DEFEAT IMPERIALISM". THE GROUP OF ABOUT 100 PERSONS ARRIVED AT DUPONT CIRCLE AT ABOUT 12:10PM WHERE TERRY SELZER OF THE VVAW/WSO MADE A SHORT SPEECH. SHORTLY AFTERWARD, THE GROUP MARCHED FROM THE PARK USING P STREET N.W. AND STOPPED FOR A SHORT TIME IN FRONT OF THE VIETNAM INFORMATION OFFICE, 1728 P STREET, N.W. FOR A FEW CHANTS. THEN THE GROUP MARCHED UP 17TH STREET TO U STREET, N.W. WHERE THEY DISBANDED AT 12:45PM WITHOUT INCIDENT OR ARREST.

VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IN APRIL 1973, THE GROUP CHANGED THEIR NAME TO VVAW/WSO SO THAT NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE.

U.S. PARK POLICE, U.S. SECRET SERVICE, EXECUTIVE PROTECTIVE SERVICE, AND METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT COGNIZANT.
END ~~PAGE TWO~~

3
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PAGE THREE ~~(100-30000)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL - INFORMATION NOT TO BE RELEASED - 1/21/79~~
~~FOR THE INFORMATION~~
~~OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE DEMONSTRATION,~~
~~ARRIVED AT HUNTERDALE PARK, ILL.~~
~~DRIVER LICENSE 601-384.~~
~~AND ONE CARRIED~~
~~FOR THE INFORMATION OF NEW YORK,~~
~~BY ANY OF THE ABOVE AGENCIES WITH~~
~~"ASSEMBLY TO~~
~~AND CANDLELIGHT WALK TO WHITE HOUSE,~~
~~JANUARY 25-27, 1979. MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION~~
~~CONCERNING" - HOWEVER, AS REPORTED BY NEW YORK SOURCES, WAA/ASO~~
~~APPEARED TO BE THE LEADERS OF INSTANT DEMONSTRATION~~
~~TO FOLLOW.~~

END

100-448092-4131
4132

CHANGED TO

185-499-1
2

MAR 11 1975

AC / JS

10-17-94 SB4 Bgmu

C

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 1/28/75

Transmit in CODE (plaintext or code) via teletype the attached PRIORITY (precedence) message.

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO: RUEADWW/ The President
- RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 - Att.: _____
- RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 - Att.: _____
- RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
- RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
- RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 - and National Indications Center
- RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
- RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
- RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
- RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
- RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 - and Internal Security Section
 - and General Crimes Section
- RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
- RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
- RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration

SACS:

Opp 2

Shawford

LEGATS:

(Handwritten mark)

ATTN: CIVIL DISTURBANCE UNIT

REC-67 EX-101

700-448092-4133

15 JAN 28 1975

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: **SEE NEXT PAGE**

Foreign Liaison Unit

- Routed through for review
 - Cleared telephonically
- with _____

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

(Text of message begins on next page)

JAN 28 1975

58 FEB 6 1975

MAIL ROOM F329

TELETYPE UNIT

WRW/HEM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-94 BY SP6 BJK/MLK

5- Shawford

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	
Ident.	
Insp.	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Plan. & Insp.	
Rec. Mgmt.	
Tech. Serv.	
Training	
Off. Liaison & Int. Affs.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Sec'y	

~~813 04 003~~
~~8:15 PM NITEL 1/27/75 JSM~~

TELETYPE

~~TO DIRECTOR~~
~~FROM CLEVELAND (100-51271) (P)~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINIER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), AKRON, OHIO, ~~TO WFO~~ JANUARY 27, 1975

ON JANUARY 27, 1975, ~~PER OBSERVATION BY SPECIAL AGENTS~~
~~OF THE FBI~~, CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION SPONSORED PICKETING AT
FEDERAL BUILDING, MARKET AND MAIN STREETS, AKRON, OHIO. APPROX-
IMATELY 14 PICKETS PROTESTED U.S. POLICY IN INDOCHINA.

ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT FROM 12:05 PM TO 1:05 PM AND ENDED WITH
OUT INCIDENT OR ARREST. PRESENT WERE ADEK SUBJECTS ~~_____~~
~~_____~~ AND ~~_____~~

~~_____~~ AS WELL AS OTHER SUBJECTS OF ACTIVE INVESTIGATIVE
INTEREST TO THE FBI.

END

ADMINISTRATIVE

~~PHOTOGRAPHIC COVERAGE WAS PROVIDED BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF~~

~~THE FBI.~~

~~END~~

~~JAG FBIRG ULR~~

*Noted in information report
1/28/75*

~~100-51271-10~~
~~100-51271-10~~

~~100-51271-10~~
~~100-51271-10~~

b7c

b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Asso. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	<u>WR/TC</u>
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Off. Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

NR005 CI CODE

JAN 28 1975

511PM NITEL 1/28/75 BJE

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CINCINNATI

DEMONSTRATION CONDUCTED AT FEDERAL BUILDING, 85 MARCONI BOULEVARD,
COLUMBUS, OHIO, SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER
SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), COLUMBUS, OHIO CHAPTER, JANUARY
1975; IS - VVAW/WSO.

ON JANUARY 27, 1975, CORPORAL [REDACTED] GSA GUARD, [REDACTED]
FEDERAL BUILDING, 85 MARCONI BOULEVARD, COLUMBUS, OHIO, ADVISED [REDACTED]
INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING THE VVAW/WSO APPEARED UNANNOUNCED ON THE
SIDEWALK AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE FEDERAL BUILDING, 85 MARCONI BOULE-
VARD AT 12:15 PM, JANUARY 27, 1975, CARRYING SIGNS CAPTIONED,
"UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL".

CHARACTERIZATION: VVAW/WSO LEADERS HAVE TOLD THEIR MEMBERS
THAT THE VVAW/WSO IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP WHICH HAS BEEN ASKED TO
COOPERATE ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL WITH MANY ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUD-
ING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUPS.

A SA OF THE FBI OBSERVED THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEMONSTRATION
HANDING OUT A LEAFLET TO PASSERSBY. THE LEAFLET STATED THE COLUMBUS
CHAPTER OF THE VVAW/WSO WAS CONDUCTING THE DEMONSTRATION ON THE
SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS ACCORDS TO SPOTLIGHT THEIR DEMAND FOR

*0-9 GCI - Retel contains no indication
that local U.S. Secret Service (USSS) was
advised re capt. demonstration. Insure
that notification to USSS is made locally on
connection with all such demonstrations.
Dissemination to USSS HQs, Washington
handled by 3457HQ 1/29/75.*

REC-16

100-448092-4134

15 JAN 31 1975

54 FEB 7 1975

1/29/75

THIS IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/17/94 BY SP4 Bym/MS

b7c

b7c

PAGE TWO CI 100-NEW

THE END OF ALL UNITED STATES AID TO SAIGON AND PNOM-PENH. THE SITE OF THE DEMONSTRATION WAS CHOSEN TO FOCUS ON THE VVAW/WSO'S SECOND DEMAND FOR UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL WAR RESISTORS AT THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY AND HIS ROLE IN PRESIDENT FORD'S CLEMENCY PROGRAM SINCE HE IS THE ONLY AGENT IN CENTRAL OHIO ADMINISTERING THE CLEMENCY/PUNISHMENT PROGRAM.

PARTICIPANTS DISPERSED AT APPROXIMATELY 12:45 PM WITH NO INCIDENT OR ARREST.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, COLUMBUS, OHIO, AND COLUMBUS, OHIO POLICE DEPARTMENT ADVISED. b7c

SA [REDACTED] OBSERVED THE DEMONSTRATION. THE LEAFLET OBTAINED BY CORPORAL [REDACTED] IS BEING RETAINED IN CINCINNATI FILE OF CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION. |

END

MAH FBHQ ACK FOR TWO

WA CLR

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 1/28/75

Transmit in CODE via teletype the attached PRIORITY message.
(plaintext or code) (precedence)

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO:
- RUEADWW/ The President
 - RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
 - RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
 - RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 - and National Indications Center
 - RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
 - RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
 - RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
 - RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
 - RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 - and Internal Security Section
 - and General Crimes Section
 - RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
 - RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
 - RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration

SACS:

LEGATS:

not on page 2

[Handwritten signature]

100-448092-4135

REC-16

1 JAN 29 1975

EX 104

- Exec. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

unclassified

SUBJECT:

See Next Page

Foreign Liaison Unit

- Route through for review
 - Cleared telephonically
- with _____

(Text of message begins on next page.)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 29 1975

msg 12 13
TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP-6 [Signature]

4 FEB 7 1975
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

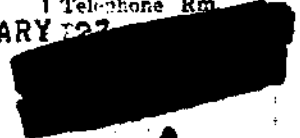
JAN 28 1975

TELETYPE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. Dir. Adm.	_____
Dep. Dir. Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	<u>WR</u>
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____

NK005 CI CODE
511PM NYTEL 1/28/75 BJE
TO DIRECTOR
FROM CINCINNATI

DEMONSTRATION CONDUCTED AT FEDERAL BUILDING, 85 MARCONI BOULEVARD, COLUMBUS, OHIO, SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), COLUMBUS, OHIO CHAPTER, JANUARY 1975; IS ~~VVAW/WSO~~



b7c

ON JANUARY 27, 1975, CORPORAL [REDACTED], GSA GUARD, FEDERAL BUILDING, 85 MARCONI BOULEVARD, COLUMBUS, OHIO, ADVISED 6 INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING THE VVAW/WSO APPEARED UNANNOUNCED ON THE SIDEWALK AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE FEDERAL BUILDING, 85 MARCONI BOULEVARD AT 12:15 PM, JANUARY 27, 1975, CARRYING SIGNS CAPTIONED, "UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL".

CHARACTERIZATION: VVAW/WSO LEADERS HAVE TOLD THEIR MEMBERS THAT THE VVAW/WSO IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP WHICH HAS BEEN ASKED TO COOPERATE ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL WITH MANY ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUPS.

~~A SA OF THE FBI OBSERVED THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEMONSTRATION WERE OBSERVED~~
HANDING OUT A LEAFLET TO PASSERSBY. THE LEAFLET STATED THE COLUMBUS CHAPTER OF THE VVAW/WSO WAS CONDUCTING THE DEMONSTRATION ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS ACCORDS TO SPOTLIGHT THEIR DEMAND FOR

PROJECT SOURCE DIA
SERIAL 1212

3/18/68 WLB
D-1 CODE

PAGE TWO 61-100-NEW

THE END OF ALL UNITED STATES AID TO SAIGON AND PNOM-PENH. THE SITE OF THE DEMONSTRATION WAS CHOSEN TO FOCUS ON THE VVAW/WSO'S SECOND DEMAND FOR UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL WAR RESISTORS AT THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY AND HIS ROLE IN PRESIDENT FORD'S CLEMENCY PROGRAM SINCE HE IS THE ONLY AGENT IN CENTRAL OHIO ADMINISTERING THE CLEMENCY/PUNISHMENT PROGRAM.

PARTICIPANTS DISPERSED AT APPROXIMATELY 12:45 PM WITH NO INCIDENT OR ARREST.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, COLUMBUS, OHIO, AND COLUMBUS, OHIO POLICE DEPARTMENT ADVISED.

b7c

SA [REDACTED] OBSERVED THE DEMONSTRATION. THE LEAFLET OBTAINED BY CORPORAL [REDACTED] IS BEING RETAINED IN CINCINNATI FILE OF CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION.

END

KAH FBHQ ACK FOR TWO

VA CLR

NR 015 SF CODE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

6:01PM NITEL JANUARY 27, 1975 KCK

JAN 27 1975

TO: DIRECTOR (100-443092)

TELETYPE

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-71012)

DEMONSTRATION AT UNION SQUARE, SAN FRANCISCO, JANUARY 27, 1975

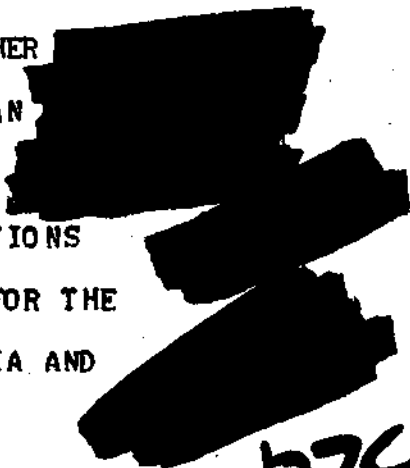
SPONSORED BY THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER
SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO). IS - VVAW/WSO.

Asso. Dir.	
Dep. A.D.-Adm.	
Dep. A.D.-Inv.	
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	
Comp.	
Ext.	
Files	
Gen. Inv.	
Ident.	
Insp.	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director Sec'y	

A DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY THE VVAW/WSO AND OTHER
ORGANIZATIONS TOOK PLACE THIS DATE AT UNION SQUARE, SAN
FRANCISCO. APPROXIMATELY 300-400 WERE PRESENT.

TALKS AT THE DEMONSTRATION WERE ON ALLEGED VIOLATIONS
OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES; SUPPORT FOR THE
PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND
THE PHILIPPINES.

DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED SIGNS CALLING FOR "END ALL AID TO
THIEU AND LON NAL", "UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY",
"DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETERANS", "DUMP THIEU", AND
"IMPLEMENT THE PEACE AGREEMENT."



b7c

4136

100-448092

JAN 31 1975

REC-104

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6/BJW/LLR
MAR 7 1975



UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 185-499

FBI SF
54 FEB 7 1975

JAN 31 1975

PAGE TWO SF 100-71012

THE DEMONSTRATORS THEN MARCHED TO THE FLOOD BUILDING, 870 MARKET ST., SAN FRANCISCO, WHERE THE SOUTH VIETNAM CONSUL GENERAL HAS ITS OFFICES. DEMONSTRATORS PICKETED THE OFFICE BUILDING UNTIL 3:00PM.

THE VVAW/WSO WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THAT THE VVAW/WSO IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

THE DEMONSTRATION WAS OBSERVED BY SA [REDACTED]

AND [REDACTED]

LIAISON WAS MAINTAINED WITH THE INTELLIGENCE UNIT OF THE SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT.

END

HOLD

CC External Affairs Dir
Mr. Wannall
Mr. [REDACTED]
Mr. [REDACTED]
Mr. [REDACTED]

b7c

b7c

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm.	_____
Comp. Svcs.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

QNR 007 [redacted] CODE

Q 7:44 PM URGENT JANUARY 29, 1975 TDS

TO DIRECTOR (100-448092)

CHICAGO (100-50772)

ST. LOUIS (100-21603)

LOS ANGELES

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM [redacted] (P)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), IS - VVAW/WSO. OO: CHICAGO.

JANUARY 29, 1975, SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST ADVISED [redacted]

[redacted] THE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING HELD IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 27-31, 1974. SOURCE [redacted]

NOTICE READ AS FOLLOWS:

"AT THE ST. LOUIS NSCM, WE VOTED TO HOLD PICKET LINES ON FEBRUARY 1, 1975, AT LOCAL FEDERAL BUILDINGS, DISTRICT ATTORNEY OFFICES, ETC., IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF GARY LAWTON. THESE ARE TO BE NATIONAL ACTIONS. IN DECIDING THE DATE, HOWEVER, A

DECLASSIFIED BY SP6 bja/vd
ON 10/18/94

[Large redacted block]

b7c
b7D

4137

REC-103

5 JAN 31 1975

F 309
FEB 13 1975

0-13 to USSS: 11/9/75

PAGE TWO

MISTAKE WAS MADE. THE WORK SHOP FELT THAT THESE PICKET LINES SHOULD BE HELD AT A TIME WHEN THE ABOVE TYPES OF OFFICES WOULD BE OPEN FOR BUSINESS. WE HAVE SINCE REALIZED THAT FEBRUARY 1, 1975, IS A SATURDAY. THEREFORE, PICKET LINES SHOULD BE HELD ON JANUARY 31, 1975, INSTEAD. SORRY ABOUT THE CHANGE, BUT WE THINK WE WERE LOOKING AT A 1974 CALENDAR INSTEAD OF 1975.

CHAPTERS SHOULD GET REPORTS ON THEIR PICKET LINES, PETITIONING, ETC., AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE SO THAT WE CAN REPORT ON THEM IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF WINTER SOLDIER.

"PICKET LINES DEMANDING THE FREEING OF GARY LAWTON, JANUARY 31!!!"

~~CLASSIFIED BY 142, XGDS 2, INDEFINITE.~~

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS 

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

Q

~~LAST LINE PAGE TWO OF MAIN TEXT CORRECTION~~
~~CLASSIFIED BY 142, XGDS 2, INDEFINITE.~~

END

b2
b7D

100-100000

Intelligence Division

SUMMARY

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1/28/75

Attached pertains to demonstration sponsored by Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO), Union Square, San Francisco, California, on 1/27/75. About 300 to 400 persons were present. Speakers were concerned with alleged violations of Vietnam peace agreement by U.S. and were in support of provisional revolutionary governments in southeast Asia and the Philippines. Demonstrators marched to the office of the South Vietnam Consul General (SVCG) and picketed there.

Separate teletypes report: There were about 100 to 200 demonstrators at SVCG; about 20 forcibly entered and caused some damage. Fifteen persons arrested for trespass; 2 arrested for battery. Consulate General filed complaint. Assistant U.S. Attorney deferred prosecution to local authorities but authorized continuance of FBI investigation. Other Vietnam-related demonstrations, without violence or arrests, were held on 1/27/75, at Akron, Ohio; Buffalo, New York; Minneapolis, Minnesota and Washington, D.C. (WDC). At WDC and Minneapolis, demonstrators for a time occupied offices of U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn). A peaceful counter demonstration by about 75 persons took place at U.S. Capitol building, WDC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

CONTINUED-OVER

DOJ/FBI

Pertinent data sent by teletype to Secret Service and Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division (and Internal Security and General Crimes Sections and Civil Disturbance Unit) of the Department, and, where appropriate, to State Department.

HEM:ch
HEM1

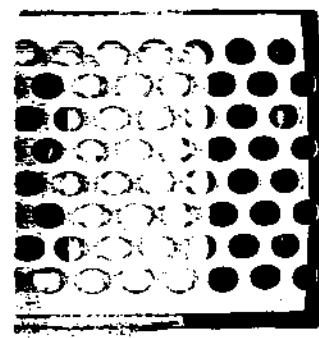
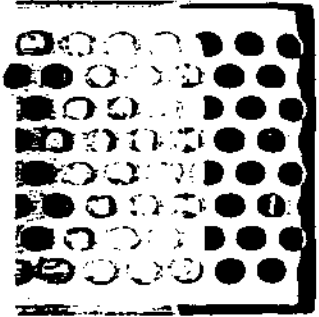
PS
cut *FB/ssm*

WRW
PLM

1 - External Affairs Division

SPB
oo

[Signature]



FBI

Date: 1/28/75

WAV
14

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-22052) (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: PROPOSED LEAFLETING BY VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) OF
U. S. ARMY INSTALLATION, FORT KNOM, KENTUCKY,
ON JANUARY 25, 1975
IS - VVAW



Re Cincinnati teletype to Bureau, 1/24/75 and Louisville teletype to Bureau, 1/24/75.

Classified confidential to protect source.

b7c

On 1/27/74 [redacted] advised that captioned leafleting was called off on the evening of 1/24/75, by Cincinnati VVAW member [redacted]. Source stated that [redacted]

b2
b7D
b7C

He therefore advised those members in [redacted]

the evening of [redacted]

1/24/75.

100 - 448092 - 4139

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - Louisville (100-6401) (Info)
- 2 - Cincinnati (1-100-22052)
- (1-100-19317) [redacted]

16 FEB 1 1975

(EAT)

HWR:gmb
(5)

DECLASSIFIED BY *SOL B...*
ON *10/17/94*

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified By *6282*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite

F329
10 FEB 1/2 1975

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

CI 100-22052

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Inasmuch as captioned activity did not take place, Cincinnati is conducting no further investigation in this matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 1/31/75

Transmit in CODE (plaintext or code) via teletype the attached PRIORITY (precedence) message.

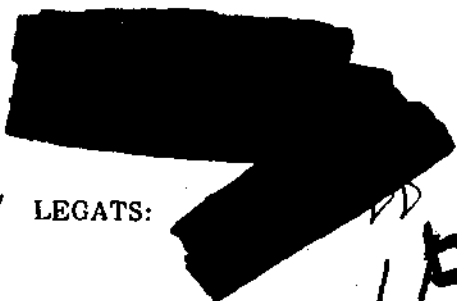
FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO:
- RUEADWW/ The President
 - RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
 - RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
 - RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 - and National Indications Center
 - RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
 - RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
 - RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
 - RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
 - RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 - and Internal Security Section
 - and General Crimes Section
 - RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
 - RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
 - RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration
 -
 -

SACS:

LEGATS:



op 2

H 107C

ATTN: CIVIL DISTURBANCE UNIT

100-477212-4139

EX-101 REC-53

14 FEB 3 1975

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office) **UNCLASSIFIED**

SUBJECT: **SEE NEXT PAGE**

- Foreign Liaison Unit
- Route through for review
- Cleared telephonically
- with _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/17/94 BY SP2 BJA/LA

JAN 31 1975

TELETYPE

1050 A SUP

WRW/HEM

RLS/HEM

107C

36 FEB 13 1975 TELETYPE UNIT

94

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	
Ext. Affairs	
Files & Com.	
Gen. Inv.	
Ident.	
Insp.	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Plan. & Eval.	
Spec. Inv.	
Training	
Legal Coun.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director Sec'y	

NRC10 SE PLAIN

11:25 PM NITEL JANUARY 30, 1975 GJW

TO DIRECTOR (100-448092)

BUTTE (100-9147)

CHICAGO (100-50772)

NEW YORK (100-RSB)

PORTLAND

~~FROM SEATTLE (100-30753) (P) 2P~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

~~(VVAW/WSO), IS VVAW/WSO, OO: CHICAGO.~~

ON JANUARY 29, 1975, ^ASOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST, REPORTED VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE (RSB), AND OTHER UNNAMED GOUPS PROPOSE TO MEET AT COWEN PARK, SEATTLE, ^{WASHINGTON}(WASH), SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1975, AT ONE P.M. AND MARCH TO SCHMITZ HALL ON CAMPUS OF UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON (UW), SEATTLE, WHERE RALLY WILL BE HELD FOLLOWED BY SECOND MARCH TO UNSPECIFIED LOCATION DURING WHICH SOME VIOLENT ACTIVITY, NOT FURTHER DESCRIBED, MAY OCCUR.

PURPOSE OF AFFAIR IS TO EXPRESS OPPOSITION TO CONTINUED AID BY U.S. TO SOUTH VIETNAM, INTERVENTION BY U.S. IN MID-EAST AND TO ADVOCATE UNIVERSAL AND UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL WAR RESISTERS. ENTERTAINMENT AT RALLY WILL INCLUDE TWO-MEMBER RSB SINGING GROUP CALLED

"PRAIRIE FIRE" FROM SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, ACCOMPANIED BY THREE-

END PAGE ONE

PAGE TWO

~~SE 100-80733~~

MEMBER RSB BAND FROM TACOMA, WASHINGTON, KNOWN AS "RISING STORM". UW RSB CHAPTER IS ATTEMPTING TO GET UW STUDENT BODY FUNDS TO PAY AIRLINE FARE AND OTHER EXPENSES FOR SINGERS AND BAND MEMBERS. RSB PROPOSES TO RENT TWELVE PASSENGER VAN TO TRANSPORT COMBINED ENTERTAINMENT GROUP FOR PERFORMANCES IN IDAHO, MONTANA, OREGON, AND WASHINGTON CITIES. PROFITS FROM TOUR WILL BE SPLIT THREE WAYS: 40 PER CENT FOR REVOLUTION-

ARY UNION PUBLICATION NORTHWEST WORKER; 30 PER CENT RSB; AND 30 PER CENT ENTERTAINERS.

RSB CONSIDERS ITSELF TO BE ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANIZATION VIEWING U.S. IMPERIALISM AS MAIN ENEMY OF PEOPLE OF WORLD. RSB FAVORS VIOLENT ACTIONS TO FURTHER ITS CAUSE AND IS MOVING CLOSER IN IDEOLOGY OF RU WHICH HAS SIGNIFICANTLY INFILTRATED RSB AND PLAYS MAJOR ROLE IN RSB POLICIES, DECISIONS, AND ACTIVITIES.

RU IS BASIC MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION. VVAW/WSO NATIONAL LEADERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND HAVE TOLD MEMBERS ORGANIZATION IS REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.

SEATTLE POLICE, UW POLICE, AND SECRET SERVICE, SEATTLE, ALERTED.

~~ADMINISTRATIVE:~~

~~RE BUTTE TEL TO BUREAU, JANUARY 29, 1975. SOURCE IS~~

~~NITEL FOLLOWS DEMONSTRATION. NEW YORK INCLUDED AS RECIPIENT THIS NITEL~~

~~BECAUSE ORIGIN FOR RSB.~~

E N D

b2
b7D

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 1/22/75

Transmit in CODE via teletype the attached PRIORITY message.
(plaintext or code) (precedence)

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO: RUEADWW/ The President
- RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 Att.: _____
- RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 Att.: _____
- RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
- RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
- RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 and National Indications Center
- RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
- RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
- RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
- RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
- RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 and Internal Security Section
 and General Crimes Section
- RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
- RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
- RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration

SACS:

copy 2

SEARCHED _____
 REASON FOR REVIEW _____
 DATE OF REVIEW 7/29/83
12/15/81

LEGATS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE _____ BY _____

21 JAN 30 1975

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

SUBJECT:

Confidential

See Next Page 100-448092

(Text of message begins on next page.)

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically
 with _____

NOT RECORDED
 28 FEB 5 1975

DECLASSIFIED BY 8632/UA
 ON 10/17/94

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

51 FEB 07 375

JAN 22 1975
 852977 RF RAS/FRF

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Adm. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-184619-11-71

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 29 1975

TELETYPE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR 002 CI CODE

553PM NITEL 1/29/75 CFR

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CINCINNATI

ATTN INTD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATION TO PROTEST UNEMPLOYMENT, CINCINNATI, OHIO, FEBRUARY 1, 1975, PS.

[REDACTED] b7c

A FIRST SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST, ADVISED ON JANUARY 29, 1975, THAT MEMBERS OF REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU), REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE (RSB), VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) AND UNEMPLOYED WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (UWOC) WOULD RALLY AT FOUNTAIN SQUARE, DOWNTOWN CINCINNATI, OHIO, AND MARCH TO WASHINGTON PARK, 1:30PM, ON FEBRUARY 1, 1975. SOURCE ADVISED SPEECHES WOULD BE GIVEN AT WASHINGTON PARK TO PROTEST UNEMPLOYMENT AND HIGH SALARIES OF "RICH". SOURCE STATED

ABOUT 75 TO 100 PEOPLE WOULD ATTEND AND NO VIOLENCE ANTICIPATED. (S) u

A SECOND SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, CONFORMED ABOVE. (S) u

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____
JAN 30 1975
FBI - CINCINNATI

PAGE TWO ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE RU, FOUNDED IN EARLY 1968 IN SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED TOWARDS THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND TEACHINGS OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG. ITS OBJECTIVES ARE STRIVING TO OVERTHROW GOVERNMENT OF UNITED STATES BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE.

THE RSB IS A STUDENT BASED ORGANIZATION FOUNDED IN NEW YORK CITY IN FALL OF 1971. RSB FAVORS VIOLENT ACTIONS TO FURTHER ITS CAUSE AND IT HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY INFILTRATED BY RU WHICH PLAYS MAJOR ROLE IN RSB POLICIES, DECISIONS AND ACTIVITIES.

THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST INVOLVEMTN IN WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. VVAW LEADERS HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THE VVAW IS REVOLUTIONARY GROUP AND MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN TOLD VVAW HAS BEEN ASKED TO COOPERATE ON INTERNATIONAL LEVEL WITH MANY ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUPS. IN APRIL, 1973, GROUP CHANGED THEIR NAME TO VVAW/WSO SO NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS.

THE UWOC IS A FRONT ORGANIZATION OF RU IN SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA USED PRIMARILY AMONG UNEMPLOYED PERSONS FOR PURPOSE OF RAISING LEVEL OF AWARENESS AND STRUGGLE BY MOVING UNEMPLOYED TOWARD BETTER

PAGE THREE CI ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

UNDERSTANDING OF MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST IDEOLOGY.

1720

~~CLASSIFIED BY 6282, X0DSZ, INDEFINITE,~~

ADMINISTRATIVE

THIS COMMUNICATION CLASSIFIED TO IDENTITY OF SOURCES: (S)W

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

BOTH SOURCES ATTENDING DEMONSTRATION.

US SECRET SERVICE, CINCINNATI PD, HAVE BEEN ADVISED.

CINCINNATI WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT RESULTS ONLY IF CONFRONTATION OCCURS OR ARRESTS MADE, UACB.

END

b2
b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 31 1975

TELETYPE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Ident. & Com.	_____
Intell.	_____
Insp.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

NRO10 SE PLAIN

11:25 PM NITEL JANUARY 30, 1975 GJW

TO DIRECTOR (100-448092)

BUTTE (100-9147)

CHICAGO (100-50772)

NEW YORK (100-RSB)

PORTLAND

FROM SEATTLE (100-30733) (P) 2P

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), IS - VVAW/WSO, OO: CHICAGO.

ON JANUARY 29, 1975, SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST, REPORTED VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE (RSB), AND OTHER UNNAMED GROUPS PROPOSE TO MEET AT COWEN PARK, SEATTLE, WASH., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1975, AT ONE P.M. AND MARCH TO SCHMITZ HALL ON CAMPUS OF UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON (UW), SEATTLE, WHERE RALLY WILL BE HELD FOLLOWED BY SECOND MARCH TO UNSPECIFIED LOCATION DURING WHICH SOME VIOLENT ACTIVITY, NOT FURTHER DESCRIBED, MAY OCCUR.

PURPOSE OF AFFAIR IS TO EXPRESS OPPOSITION TO CONTINUED AID BY U.S. TO SOUTH VIETNAM, INTERVENTION BY U.S. IN MID-EAST AND TO ADVOCATE UNIVERSAL AND UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL WAR RESISTERS. ENTERTAINMENT AT RALLY WILL INCLUDE TWO-MEMBER RSB SINGING GROUP CALLED

"PRAIRIE FIRE" FROM SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, ACCOMPANIED BY THREE-

END PAGE ONE

58 FEB 3 1975

Sent 100-73 to USSS
+ 105, 600 Div (+155,605)
Rec'd at Dept 1/31/75 H&H

REC-100

FEB 4 1975

b7c

PAGE TWO

SE 100-30733

MEMBER RSB BAND FROM TACOMA, WASHINGTON, KNOWN AS "RISING STORM". UW RSB CHAPTER IS ATTEMPTING TO GET UW STUDENT BODY FUNDS TO PAY AIRLINE FARE AND OTHER EXPENSES FOR SINGERS AND BAND MEMBERS. RSB PROPOSES TO RENT TWELVE PASSENGER VAN TO TRANSPORT COMBINED ENTERTAINMENT GROUP FOR PERFORMANCES IN IDAHO, MONTANA, OREGON, AND WASHINGTON CITIES. PROFITS FROM TOUR WILL BE SPLIT THREE WAYS: 40 PER CENT FOR REVOLUTION-ARY UNION PUBLICATION NORTHWEST WORKER; 30 PER CENT RSB; AND 30 PER CENT ENTERTAINERS.

RSB CONSIDERS ITSELF TO BE ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANIZATION VIEWING U.S. IMPERIALISM AS MAIN ENEMY OF PEOPLE OF WORLD. RSB FAVORS VIOLENT ACTIONS TO FURTHER ITS CAUSE AND IS MOVING CLOSER IN IDEOLOGY OF RU WHICH HAS SIGNIFICANTLY INFILTRATED RSB AND PLAYS MAJOR ROLE IN RSB POLICIES, DECISIONS, AND ACTIVITIES.

RU IS BASIC MARXIST-LENINIST-MACIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION. VVAW/WSO NATIONAL LEADERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND HAVE TOLD MEMBERS ORGANIZATION IS REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.

SEATTLE POLICE, UW POLICE, AND SECRET SERVICE, SEATTLE, ALERTED.
ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE BUTTE TEL TO BUREAU, JANUARY 29, 1975. SOURCE IS [REDACTED] NITEL FOLLOWS DEMONSTRATION. NEW YORK INCLUDED AS RECIPIENT THIS NITEL

BECAUSE ORIGIN FOR RSB.

E N D

b2
b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

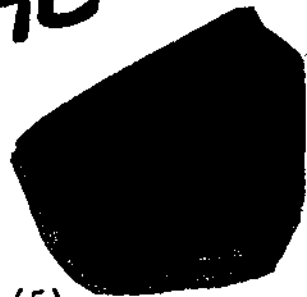
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 2/5/75

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-19743) (P)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
IS
(OO: CG)

b7c



Re CI let and LHM, 6/17/74.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM regarding captioned matter. Two (2) copies of an FD-376 are stapled thereto.

One (1) copy of this LHM is designated for Chicago which is office of origin.

One (1) copy of this LHM is being disseminated to the following agencies:

U. S. Secret Service
Cincinnati, Ohio

Defense Investigative Service
P. O. Box 416
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 5)
- 1-Chicago (100-50772) (Enc. 1) (Info)
- 10-Cincinnati
 - (2-100-19743)
 - (2-100-21818) (VVAW-Athens)
 - (2-100-18902) (VVAW-Columbus)
 - (2-100-20591) (VVAW-Cincinnati)
 - (2-100-20314) (VVAW-Dayton)

JMC:jal
(13) *cc - Dept (ISS)*
cc - SS
cc - DIA 2/18/75
CH/APB

ENCLOSURE

REC-6

5 FEB 10 1975

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/16/99 BY SP6/jeu/ik

[Handwritten signature]



51 FEB 19 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Fifth District
Office of Special Investigations
Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio

112th MIG
Defense Construction Supply Center
Building 306
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Enclosed LHM is classified confidential to protect [redacted] Information from the second source in the LHM is to be made public only upon the issuance of a proper subpoena duces tecum.

Sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are:

First source is [redacted] Location: [redacted]

Second source is a well placed source in a position to furnish such information. Location: CI 100-19743-1028.

Third source is [redacted] Location: CI 100-20591-245.

Fourth source is [redacted] Location: CI 100-20591-251.

Fifth source is [redacted] Location: CI 100-20591-253.

Sixth source is [redacted] Location: CI 100-20314-213: [redacted]

Seventh source is [redacted] Location: CI 100-19743-1026.

Eighth source is a well placed source in a position to furnish such information. Location: CI 100-19743-1026.

Ninth source is [redacted] Location: CI 100-21818-20.

Tenth source is a well placed source in a position to furnish such information. Location: CI 100-21818-13.

b2
b7C

CI 100-19743

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT CINCINNATI, DAYTON, COLUMBUS, AND ATHENS, OHIO

Will follow and report pertinent activities of
VVAW/WSO Chapters.

.Bufile: 100-448
CI File: 100-1

Re CI let and LHM to Bureau, 2/5/75.

Second source is [REDACTED]
Provident Bank, Cincinnati, Ohio, contacted by SA [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] on 1/30/75.

Eighth source is [REDACTED]
Office of Dean of Students, Ohio State University, contacted
by SA [REDACTED] on 11/19/74.

Tenth source is [REDACTED] Clerk, U. S. Post
Office, Athens, Ohio, contacted by SA [REDACTED] on
10/18/74.

1
b7c
b7d



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
February 5, 1975

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-19743

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WISO)

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

- 1. Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
- 2. Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
- 3. Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
- 4. Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
- 5. Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
- 6. Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
- 7. Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph has been furnished enclosed is not available.

Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/16/99 BY SP6/BA/UA

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) 1
U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio

Enclosure(s)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cincinnati, Ohio
February 5, 1975

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

This investigation is based on information which indicates that captioned organization is engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), 2387 (Sedition), and 793 (Espionage).

VVAW/WSO was organized in New York City in 1967, as an organization of Vietnam veterans to protest the American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. VVAW/WSO engaged in various protest activities, but during late 1971, demonstrated increasing militancy, culminating in December, 1971, with VVAW/WSO takeover of various American landmarks and public buildings. Information was also developed indicating that some VVAW/WSO chapters were cooperating with or infiltrated by communist-dominated groups including the Communist Party, USA, and the Socialist Workers Party. Certain VVAW/WSO leaders were quoted as telling members VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization and not "just another group of war veterans." VVAW/WSO leaders have travelled to North Vietnam and have reportedly established liaison with revolutionary or terrorist groups internationally. In January, 1973, at a National Steering Committee meeting, VVAW/WSO leaders discussed programs aimed at obtaining support from or influencing active duty military personnel. They also discussed obtaining access to classified Government information to be used against U. S. interests and one leader subsequently actively engaged in such activity. There were also indications at this meeting that VVAW/WSO activists possessed the technical knowledge and training to carry out

~~CLASSIFIED BY 6282~~
~~EXEMPT FROM GDS,~~
~~CATEGORY 2~~
~~DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

100-448092-414

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY g/b/uv
ON 10/17/94

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIERS ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

any revolutionary program proposed. In August, 1973, at a National Steering Committee meeting, some members of the national leadership promoted education of the entire VVAW/WSO membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine directing the organization into political growth along Marxist-Leninist lines. The VVAW/WSO currently has a factional dispute between Maoist and Stalinist Groups. The Stalinist group is supported by the National Office of VVAW/WSO. Additionally, the National Office contributed financial support to a program of recruitment of military personnel designed to promote political indoctrination with the objective of creating disruption and disorientation within the military at such time as there is a revolution within the United States. VVAW/WSO is currently headquartered in Chicago, Illinois.

A characterization of the VVAW/WSO is contained in the appendix section of this communication.

CHAPTERS

A source advised on January 27, 1975, that chapters of the VVAW/WSO currently exist in Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, and Athens, Ohio.

I. Cincinnati, Ohio Chapter

Headquarters

The first source advised on January 27, 1975, that the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO still maintains as a headquarters a residential type building at 450 West Mc Micken, Cincinnati. In view of the generally undesirable nature of the neighborhood, several of the VVAW/WSO members have ceased to use this building as a residence. The Cincinnati Chapter continues to maintain as its mailing address Post Office Box 19304, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Membership

The first source advised on January 27, 1975, that the VVAW/WSO membership in Cincinnati has dwindled to about [REDACTED]. The chapter continues to discuss methods of recruitment, but are not effective in following through on actual plans to recruit additional members.

Leadership

The first source advised on January 27, 1975, that [REDACTED] continues as coordinator of the Cincinnati

b7c

b7d

chapter of VVAW/WSO and he is responsible for the formulation and implementation of policy within this chapter.

Finances

A second source, advised on January 30, 1975, that VVAW/WSO continues to maintain a checking account at the Provident Bank in Cincinnati for which [REDACTED] is the signator, however, the account has a current balance of zero.

b7C
b7D
On January 27, 1975, the first source advised that [REDACTED] is the leader of the VVAW/WSO at Dayton, Ohio.

Meetings

The first source advised on January 27, 1975, that the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO had been meeting over the past several months regularly at 450 West Mc Micken on the first and third Monday evenings of each month, but this schedule had recently deteriorated and over the past two months, chapter meetings have been infrequent.

Philosophy of
Cincinnati Chapter

The first source advised on January 27, 1975, that the VVAW/WSO in Cincinnati, as led by [REDACTED] wished to work closely with the Revolutionary Union (RU) (see appendix), in areas such as demonstrations on current issues.

Publications

The first source advised on January 27, 1975, that the VVAW/WSO in its four chapters in southwest Ohio attempts to distribute "Winter Soldier", the national publication of VVAW/WSO, at all demonstrations and other functions.

Activities

The first source advised on July 5, 1974, that [REDACTED] the Cincinnati chapter of VVAW/WSO had travelled to Washington, D. C., and participated in a demonstration in Washington to demand amnesty for Vietnam war deserters and other resisters and to demand the impeachment of President Nixon.

On September 11, 1974, the first source advised that at 12:30 PM, on that date, a group of about thirty persons, including several persons known to the source as members of the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO, gathered at City Hall, Cincinnati, where City Council was holding its regular meeting. Several persons demanded the right to speak before council in behalf of James Hardy, a Negro male who had previously been imprisoned on a burglary charge and who was then under local indictment, charged with writing intimidating letters to the Chief of Police, Cincinnati. One person known to source as a member of the RU, spoke, followed by [REDACTED] of the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO, who demanded that City Council drop outstanding charges against Hardy.

b7c
b7D

On September 17, 1974, a third source advised that on that date, a group of individuals demonstrated at the Federal Building, Cincinnati, Ohio, in support of prisoners from Attica, New York, who were then on trial in Buffalo, New York. A scuffle between demonstrators and police ensued, and the following persons known to source as members of the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO were arrested on various charges:

1

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

The third source advised on February 3, 1975, that hearings on these charges have not yet been held following a series of continuances.

On September 23, 1974, the first source advised that forty-five individuals, some known to source as members of the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO, and some known as members of the RU, held a demonstration at the Hamilton County Courthouse, Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 23, 1974, where James Hardy was scheduled to go on trial for writing intimidating letters to the Chief of Police, Cincinnati. The group disbanded when they learned that Hardy's trial had been continued until a later date.

On September 28, 1974, the first source advised that a demonstration under sponsorship of the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO was held on September 28, 1974, at the Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital, Cincinnati, Ohio, demanding complete amnesty for deserters and other Vietnam war "exiles",

upgrading of veterans' benefits, and upgrading of less than honorable discharges. Between thirty and forty persons participated without incident.

On October 7, 1974, a fourth source advised that on that date, a demonstration fostered by the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO and RU was held at the Hamilton County Courthouse, Cincinnati, in behalf of James Hardy who went on trial on that date on a charge of writing intimidating letters to the Chief of Police, Cincinnati, Ohio.

On October 11, 1974, a fifth source advised that on that date, about 38 individuals, including some known to source as members of the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO, or the RU, had demonstrated at an appearance on the University of Cincinnati Campus by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Casper W. Weinberger.

On January 13, 1975, the third source advised that some members of the Cincinnati VVAW/WSO had participated in a demonstration at the inauguration of Governor James A. Rhodes held at Columbus, Ohio, on January 13, 1975. The main stated purpose of the demonstration was to protest the killing of four students from Kent State University by the National Guard in 1970, during Governor Rhodes' previous administration.

On January 24, 1975, first source advised that a group of members of the Cincinnati chapter of the VVAW/WSO planned to go to Fort Knox, Kentucky, on January 25, 1975, to distribute amnesty leaflets and talk to GIs. Source subsequently advised that this plan was cancelled when it was learned that Fort Knox, Kentucky, was not open to the public.

II. Dayton, Ohio Chapter

Headquarters

A sixth source advised on January 10, 1975, that the headquarters of record for the Dayton chapter of the VVAW/WSO continues to be 1203 Salem Avenue, Dayton, Ohio.

Meetings

The sixth source advised on January 10, 1975, that regular meetings of the Dayton VVAW/WSO are held

every Wednesday night at their headquarters while others are held at residences of the various members, the most common being the residence of [REDACTED]

Officers

b7C
b7D
The sixth source advised on January 10, 1975, that there are no formal officers of the Dayton VVAW/WSO, but [REDACTED] the former coordinator, continues to influence and dominate the chapter.

Membership

1
The sixth source advised on January 10, 1975, that the normal active membership of the Dayton VVAW/WSO is about 12 persons with an additional estimated six persons being less regularly active.

Philosophy of the
Dayton VVAW/WSO

The sixth source advised on January 10, 1975, that the Dayton chapter of the VVAW/WSO has no specific chapter-wide political persuasion, although the consensus of the chapter is anti-RU.

Activity

The sixth source advised on January 10, 1975, that the chapter offers military and GI counseling in connection with a military counseling service at 1203 Salem Avenue and has a weekly radio program on WYSO, a radio station, at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, on Thursday evenings at 8:00 PM, called "The Winter Soldier". Some of the members of the chapter occasionally pass out leaflets and sell the "Winter Soldier" in the vicinity of nearby Wright Patterson Air Force Base in an effort to reach the GIs assigned at that base. The chapter has also expended effort in the downtown area of Dayton, Ohio, concerning amnesty in attempts to obtain petition signatures.

On December 3, 1974, the sixth source advised that on November 23, 1974, the Dayton VVAW/WSO sponsored a speaking engagement by Steve Grossman at the University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio. Grossman was described as a draft resister who was living in exile in Canada. Grossman urged draft resisters to boycott the amnesty offered by President Ford.

On November 21, 1974, the sixth source advised that two members of the Dayton VVAW/WSO were at the Montgomery County Jail, Dayton, Ohio, on November 16, 1974, in an attempt to talk and counsel with military Absent Without Leave (AWOL) prisoners there.

III. Columbus, Ohio Chapter

Regional Office

A seventh source advised on January 15, 1975, that the regional office for the Michigan-Ohio-Indiana-Northern Kentucky-West Virginia-Western Pennsylvania region of the VVAW/WSO is at 255 West Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, Post Office Box 10116. The regional coordinator is [REDACTED]

Columbus, Ohio
Chapter Office

The seventh source advised on January 15, 1975, that the Columbus Chapter of the VVAW/WSO has its office at 255 West Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, Post Office Box 10116.

Finances

The sixth source advised on December 19, 1974, that at a regional meeting of the VVAW/WSO, the finances of the Columbus chapter were described as being "drained financially" by the regional office and it was stated that sales of "Winter Soldier" had declined.

Officers

An eighth source advised on November 19, 1974, that [REDACTED] is the President and Treasurer of the Columbus chapter of VVAW/WSO.

Philosophy of Chapter

The seventh source advised on January 15, 1975, that [REDACTED] is known to have indicated that the "region is fed up with the RU line."

The sixth source advised on January 10, 1975, that [REDACTED] of the Columbus chapter had been elected to the national office of VVAW/WSO and had left Columbus for Chicago.

b7c
b7D

Activities

The "Columbus Free Press" issue of October 23 - November 12, 1974, contained an article submitted by the Columbus VVAW/WSO announcing "Vets to March in Cleveland" on October 26, 1974. This article reflects that the purpose of the march would be to propagandize for universal and unconditional amnesty, decent benefits for all veterans, a single grade discharge, and to protest the continuing war in Indo-China.

b7C
[REDACTED] Columbus, Ohio, advised on November 13, 1974, that VVAW/WSO members were present at a morning worship at the First Unitarian Church, Columbus, Ohio, on Sunday, November 10, 1974. [REDACTED] of the Columbus VVAW/WSO, spoke on universal amnesty and a single type discharge for everyone from the military service. The VVAW/WSO members distributed free copies of "Winter Soldier" and thereafter, took up a collection from the congregation.

The Ohio State "Lantern", a campus publication, issue of September 30, 1974, contained an article reflecting that about forty persons, from organizations including the VVAW/WSO, had demonstrated on August 30, 1974, on the occasion of President Ford's appearance on the campus of Ohio State University. The article quoted Bill Davis speaking for the VVAW/WSO as "outraged" by Ford's pardon of Nixon.

On January 27, 1975, [REDACTED] Federal Building, Columbus, Ohio, made available a copy of leaflets distributed on that date by demonstrators in front of the Federal Building. These leaflets bore the letterhead of the VVAW/WSO, 255 West Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio. This leaflet reflected that the protest picketing on January 27, 1975, by the Columbus VVAW/WSO was being held on the second anniversary of the Paris "Accords" to spotlight a demand for the end of all U. S. aid to Saigon and Phom-Penh. The flyer reflected a second demand for unconditional, universal amnesty for all war resisters.

IV. Athens, Ohio Chapter

Office

"The Post", a student newspaper, at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, issue of November 14, 1974,

contains a letter to the editor which states in part that the office of VVAW/WSO is located in the Morning Star Book Store at 106 Union Street.

A tenth source advised on October 18, 1974, that the Athens VVAW/WSO currently holds Post Office Box 146, Athens, Ohio.

Officer

b7c A ninth source advised on January 21, 1975, that the VVAW/WSO is a recognized campus organization at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, and the President of the group is [REDACTED]

Membership

The ninth source advised on January 21, 1975, that he estimates the membership of the Athens VVAW/WSO to be only four or five.

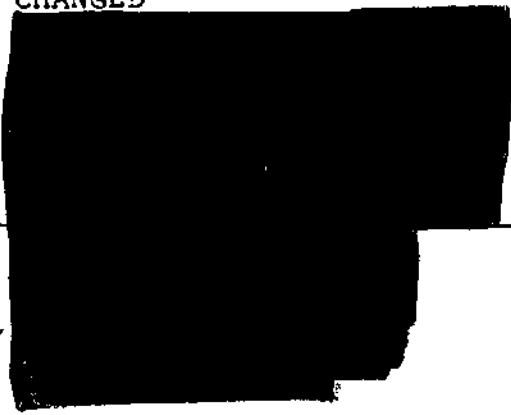

Activities

The ninth source advised on January 21, 1975, that the main activity of the Athens VVAW/WSO appears to be attempts to sell their publication, "Winter Soldier". They additionally concern themselves with propagandizing for discharge upgrading, removal of special processing numbers from military discharges and support of local striking coal miners.

The sixth source advised on December 19, 1974, that the Athens chapter of the VVAW/WSO had hosted the regional meeting of VVAW/WSO held in Athens, Ohio, on December 14, 1974, and December 15, 1974.

At that regional meeting, the Athens chapter stated they were having trouble holding the interest of current members, having trouble attempting to recruit new members on the campus of Ohio University, and stated that the sales of "Winter Soldier" were down.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MILWAUKEE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN MILWAUKEE	DATE 2/5/75	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/18/74 - 1/28/75
TITLE OF CASE CHANGED 		REPORT MADE BY SA 	TYPED BY lav
		CHARACTER OF CASE CGR - ASSAULT	

b7c

Title marked changed to reflect full names of captioned individuals.

REFERENCES

Milwaukee nitel to Bureau dated 12/19/74, Milwaukee airtel and LHM, dated 1/3/75, captioned "VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION."

-P-

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: COPY COUNT ON COVER PAGE B		<i>100 - 448092</i>
<u>3</u> - BUREAU 2 - 70- 1 - 100-448092		NOT RECORDED 82 FEB 12 1975

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10/17/84 BY SP6 BJA/VA
Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By					

57 FEB 26 1975

COVER PAGE A

MI 70-1353

COPY COUNT

3 - BUREAU
2 - 70-
1 - 100-448092
1 - USA, MILWAUKEE
13 - MILWAUKEE
2 - 70-1353
1 - 100-22297
1 - 100-20659
1 - 100-16543
1 - 100-20061
1 - 100-15714
1 - 100-20020
1 - 100-15804
1 - 100-21649
1 - 100-21487
1 - 100-21523
1 - 100-21761



b7c

ADMINISTRATIVE

The security aspects of this investigation were handled per referenced Milwaukee airtel and LHM dated 1/3/75.

In view of the fact no final decision has been made by the United States Attorney, Milwaukee, Milwaukee will continue to follow this matter through their office.

LEAD

MILWAUKEE DIVISION

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Will continue to maintain contact with United States Attorney's Office, Milwaukee.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - UNITED STATES ATTORNEY, MILWAUKEE

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: FEBRUARY 5, 1975

Office: MILWAUKEE

Field Office File #: MI 70-1353

Bureau File #:

Title: [REDACTED]

b7c
1

Character: CRIME ON A GOVERNMENT RESERVATION - ASSAULT

Synopsis: On 12/18/74, approximately thirty to forty people gathered in front of the Veterans Administration Hospital, Wood, Wisconsin, in order to demonstrate. This demonstration was sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). As a result of a confrontation between the demonstrators and the hospital police, eleven of the demonstrators were arrested. Names of demonstrators arrested set forth. Discussion with Assistant United States Attorney, Eastern District of Wisconsin, reflected no final decision reached whether or not to charge those arrested.

-P-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/81 BY SP6 BJS/MS

MI 70-1353

DEMONSTRATION

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1-

Date of transcription January 6, 1974

[REDACTED] Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital Police, provided the following information regarding the demonstration which took place at the hospital on December 18, 1974, from noon to approximately 1:15 p.m.:

Approximately 30 - 40 demonstrators gathered on the sidewalk located approximately 200 feet from the front entrance to the hospital. This demonstration consisted of chanting, leafleting, and the displaying of posters. The demonstration was sponsored by a group known as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO).

According to [REDACTED] representatives of this group met with [REDACTED] the VA Hospital, on December 17, 1974, at which time the group was given permission to demonstrate on the sidewalk about 200 feet in front of the main hospital entrance.

b7c
After demonstrating for approximately 30 minutes, the group moved to an area located directly east of the main entrance, approximately 30 feet from the hospital. At that point, the demonstrators became loud, boisterous, and created unusual noise.

While in that area, [REDACTED] stated to an unidentified person who appeared to be a leader, to move the demonstrators back to the designated area; and this individual replied, "Keep out of it." At that point, Officers [REDACTED] were sent into the group to identify this individual for the purpose of citing him for disorderly conduct. At that point, a fight broke out between the officers and demonstrators; the fight broke up and no one was arrested at that point.

Interviewed on 12/24/74 at Woods, Wisconsin File # MI 70-1353
by SA [REDACTED] dgr Date dictated 12/31/74

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

MI 70-1353

-2-

The demonstrators moved to the east entrance of the hospital where the demonstration continued for a short time. The demonstrators then returned to the area directly east of the main hospital entrance. The demonstrators continued to be loud, boisterous, and continued creating a lot of unusual noises.

After the above fight, assistance was requested from the Milwaukee Police Department and by the time the demonstrator returned to the area directly east of the main entrance, Milwaukee police officers were at the scene.

b7C
The demonstrators were again asked to return to their designated area and again the reply was to, "Keep out of it." At that point, orders were given to approximately 15 police officers to move the group to their designated area and also to attempt to identify their leader and those who assaulted Officer [REDACTED]. At that point, another fight broke out between the hospital police and demonstrators, with 11 demonstrators being arrested. At that point, the demonstrators returned to their vehicles and left the premises.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 1/2/75

The following observations were made by Special Agent [redacted] of Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital Security Police and demonstrators during a demonstration at VA Hospital, Wood, Wisconsin, on December 18, 1974:

At approximately 12:10 p.m., about 30 to 40 people representing the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) and Revolutionary Union (RU) gathered in front of VA Hospital where a demonstration commenced about 200 feet from the hospital main entrance. The demonstration consisted of chanting, leafletting, and carrying posters. Special Agent [redacted] was sitting in a Bureau car approximately 100 to 150 feet away from the demonstrators. The group moved to a point just east of the covered front main entrance to the hospital and continued the demonstration. At this point a fight broke out between Hospital Security Police and demonstrators; however, it was broken up with no arrests noticed.

The demonstrators moved to the east entrance of the hospital where demonstration continued for a time and then they moved back to the front entrance of the hospital. While at the main entrance of the hospital, another fight broke out between the Hospital Security Police and the demonstrators. At this time approximately ten of the demonstrators were arrested. After these arrests, the remaining demonstrators broke up and everyone departed the scene at approximately 1:15 p.m.

Interviewed on 12/18/74 at Wood, Wisconsin File # MI 70-1353

by SA [redacted] lrh Date dictated 12/24/74

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

MI 70-1353

AJE/dgr

-1-

b7C

On December 24, 1974, [REDACTED] Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital Police, Woods, Wisconsin, advised Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] that on December 18, 1974, those demonstrators who were arrested were transported to the District Attorney's Office by the Milwaukee Police Department. The group appeared before Assistant District Attorney WILLIAM GARDNER and the decision was made to transfer the matter to the United States Attorney's Office, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

MI. 70-1353

INJURIES

MI 70-1353

AJE/dgr

-1-

On December 24, 1974, [REDACTED] Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital Police, Woods, Wisconsin, provided to Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] list of officers sustaining injuries during a fight with demonstrators which occurred during a demonstration at the hospital on December 18, 1974:

[REDACTED]
Abrasions to the left hand and arm; kicked in the groin area

[REDACTED]
Abrasions to the right leg and left elbow; X-ray taken for head injury; injury to the left eye area; pain in lower back

[REDACTED]
Injury to the left hand; small finger broken

[REDACTED]
Head injury; cut, right eye

[REDACTED]
Head injury; cut, left small finger area

[REDACTED]
Injury to the chest area from being kicked several times

b7c

MI. 70-1353

ARRESTS AND ARREST CHECKS

MI 70-1353
AJE/dgr
-1-

On December 24, 1974, [REDACTED]
Veterans Administration (VA) Hospital Police, Woods, Wisconsin,
advised Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] that the following
people were arrested as a result of the demonstration at the
hospital on December 18, 1974:

b7c

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Wisconsin Date of birth - [REDACTED]

MI 70-1353

AJE/dgr

-2-

b7C

[REDACTED]

Wisconsin

[REDACTED]

Wisconsin

Date of birth -

[REDACTED]

Date of birth -

[REDACTED]

MI. 70-1353

The following are arrest checks conducted on the above listed individuals:

On December 30, 1974, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] who provided the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identification Number: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED] Wisconsin
Occupation: Salesman
Race: Caucasian
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Sex: Male
Place of Birth: [REDACTED] Wisconsin
Height: 5'8"
Weight: 150 pounds
Build: Medium
Complexion: Medium
Hair: Dark brown
Eyes: Hazel
Social Security Account Number: [REDACTED]
Scars: 1/2" horizontal scar across bridge of nose
Parents: [REDACTED] Wisconsin
Brothers; [REDACTED] with parents
Sisters: [REDACTED] with parents
Marital Status: Single, never married
Military Service: Registered in Milwaukee
Fingerprint Classification: [REDACTED]

b7c

On December 24, 1974, [REDACTED] Greendale Police Department, Greendale, Wisconsin, furnished the following information regarding [REDACTED] date of birth [REDACTED] address - [REDACTED] Bureau of Identification Number [REDACTED]

MI, 70-1353

[REDACTED]
Auto speed 44/25
\$40 fine

[REDACTED]
Disorderly Conduct/Breaking Glass
No prosecution

[REDACTED]
Sale of Marijuana
One year probation

[REDACTED]
Property damage under \$200 (auto)
No disposition shown

[REDACTED]
Criminal damage to property
No prosecution

[REDACTED]
Criminal damage to property
One year probation and \$50 fine

[REDACTED]
Theft (auto)
\$50 fine

[REDACTED]
Theft (air conditioner)
90 days House of Corrections, stayed, two
years probation if restitution made

[REDACTED]
Possible theft (wheels)
No disposition shown

[REDACTED]
Auto speed 44/25
\$45 fine

[REDACTED]
Auto Parking
\$3 fine

b7c

MI. 70-1353

[REDACTED]
Auto parking
\$3 fine

On December 26, 1974, an inquiry into the Department of Transportation, Madison, Wisconsin, reflects the following information under Operator's License Number [REDACTED]

b7c

Name: [REDACTED]
Race: Caucasian
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 5'7"
Weight: 137 pounds
Hair: Brown
Eyes: Hazel
Social Security Account Number: [REDACTED]
Occupation: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED] Wisconsin
Expires: June 22, 1976
Vehicle: [REDACTED]

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] who provided the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identification Number: [REDACTED]
FBI Number: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Laborer
Race: Caucasian
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]

MI, 70-1353

Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 6'0"
Weight: 145 pounds
Build: Slim
Complexion: Medium
Social Security Account Number: Not on person
Hair: Dark brown
Eyes: Brown
Mustache: Thin, dark brown and bearded
Parents: [REDACTED]
Brothers: [REDACTED] whereabouts unknown
Sisters: [REDACTED] with parents
[REDACTED] with parents
[REDACTED] Mrs. (Unknown) whereabouts unknown
Marital Status: Single
Military Service: United States Army, enlisted August 26, 1969, to September 22, 1972, honorable. Member VVAW
Fingerprint Classification: [REDACTED]

(Above as of July 24, 1974)

Arrests

[REDACTED]
Drunk
\$10, September 2, 1972
(6872 North 41st Street)

[REDACTED]
Drunk
\$10, November 11, 1972
(Unemployed)

b7c

MI. 70-1353

[REDACTED]
Drunk

\$10, March 11, 1973
(814 East Clarke Street, Unemployed)

[REDACTED]
Resisting Officer

Fined \$41, September 19, 1974
(2532 North Holton)
(Laborer - Milwaukee Brush Company)

[REDACTED]
Disorderly (Disturbance) - Picketing
at Harley-Davidson Strike
Fined \$41, September 19, 1974

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were checked by Special Clerk [REDACTED] with negative results.

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] with negative results.

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were checked by Special Clerk [REDACTED] and reflected the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Milwaukee County
Sheriff's Office: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Unemployed
Race: Caucasian
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 5'11"
Weight: 170 pounds
Build: Medium
Complexion: Light
Hair: Blond

MI, 70-1353

Eyes: Hazel
Characteristic: Wears mustache
Social Security
Account Number: Unknown
Parents: [REDACTED]
Brother: [REDACTED]
Sister: [REDACTED]
Marital Status: Married, wife [REDACTED]

(Above as of December 20, 1974)

b7C
Arrests

[REDACTED]
Loitering Summary
Disposition not shown

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] who provided the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identification Number: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Laborer
Race: Mexican
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED] Wisconsin
Height: 5'10"
Weight: 180 pounds
Build: Medium
Complexion: Dark
Hair: Black
Eyes: Brown
Mustache: Full, black
Social Security
Account Number: [REDACTED]
Parents: [REDACTED]
Brothers: [REDACTED]

MI. 70-1353

Sisters:

[REDACTED] with
parents
[REDACTED] with
parents
[REDACTED] with
parents
[REDACTED] with
parents
[REDACTED] with
parents

Marital Status: Single, never married

Military Service: None, registered in
Milwaukee

Fingerprint

Classification: [REDACTED]

(Above as of February 20, 1970)

On January 6, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police
Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] providing the
following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identifi-
cation Number: [REDACTED]
FBI Number: [REDACTED]
Sex: Male
Race: Caucasian
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED] Illinois
Height: 5'7"
Weight: 150 pounds
Build: Medium
Complexion: Fair
Hair: Brown, brown full
mustache
Eyes: Blue, wears glasses
Social Security
Account Number: [REDACTED]
Parents: [REDACTED]

b7C

MI. 70-1353

Brother: [REDACTED] with parents
Sisters: [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]
with parents
Marital Status: Single

(Above as of January 26, 1970)

Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Unemployed (previously
[REDACTED])

(Above as of April 3, 1974)

Arrests

[REDACTED]
Resisting Officer
One year Wisconsin State Reformatory (WSR)
Green Bay, December 16, 1970

[REDACTED]
Resisting Officer
Two years WSR, Green Bay, December 16,
1970

[REDACTED]
Obstructing Officer
Dismissed, December 16, 1970

[REDACTED]
Hindering
Dismissed, July 2, 1974

On January 7, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee County
Sheriff's Office were checked by Special Clerk [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] with the following results:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identifi-
cation Number: [REDACTED]
Sex: Male
Race: Caucasian
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]

b7c

MI 70-1353

Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Social Security
Account Number: [REDACTED]
Build: Medium
Height: 5'6"
Weight: 150 pounds
Hair: Brown
Eyes: Gray
Marital Status: Single
Parents: [REDACTED]

Brothers and
Sisters: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Unemployed
Arrests: [REDACTED]
Loitering
No disposition shown

b7C

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] who provided the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identification Number: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Draft Counselor
[REDACTED]

Race: Caucasian
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED] Wisconsin
Height: 6'0"
Weight: 195 pounds
Build: Medium
Complexion: Medium
Hair: Dark brown
Eyes: Hazel
Mustache: Thick

MI, 70-1253

Social Security
Account Number:
Parents:

(memory)

Brother:
Sisters:

with parents
with parents
with parents
with parents
with parents

Marital Status:
Military Service:

Single, never married
None, registered Monroe,
Michigan

Fingerprint
Classification:

(Above as of January 16, 1970)

Arrests

Disorderly
Fined \$100, April 2, 1970

Subject along with three other accomplices was at the Induction Center and when they were given a lawful order to leave the premises they refused. Seventeen other persons were also at the scene.

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were checked by Special Clerk [redacted] and reflected the following information:

Name:
Sheriff's Office
Number:
Address:
Occupation:

Laborer

Race:
Sex:

Caucasian
Male

MI. 70-1353

Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 5'11"
Weight: 210 pounds
Build: Heavy
Complexion: Medium
Hair: Brown, has mustache
Eyes: Hazel
Parents: [REDACTED]

Brother: [REDACTED]
Sisters: [REDACTED]

Marital Status: Single

(Above as of December 20, 1974)

Arrest: [REDACTED]
Loitering Summary
Disposition not shown

On January 6, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] providing the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identification Number: [REDACTED]
FBI Number: [REDACTED]
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 6'1"
Weight: 160 pounds
Build: Medium
Complexion: Medium
Hair: Blond
Eyes: Brown
Social Security Account Number: [REDACTED]
Parents: [REDACTED]

MI 70-1353

Brothers:
Sisters:

Marital Status: Single, never married
Military: None, registered in
Bowling Green, Ohio

Address:

Occupation:

Record:

Disorderly conduct
Dismissed, April 30, 1970

On the same date the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, were checked by Special Clerk [REDACTED] with negative results.

On January 8, 1975, a recheck of Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification records regarding [REDACTED] reflected subject's name as [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and FBI Identification Record, dated April 29, 1969, reflects both [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] who provided the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Bureau of Identification Number: [REDACTED]
FBI Number: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Auto mechanic--unemployed
Race: Caucasian
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 6'0"
Weight: 170 pounds

MI, 70-1353

Build:	Medium
Complexion:	Medium
Hair:	Brown
Eyes:	Blue
Mustache:	Thick and full beard

MI. 70-1353

Social Security
Account Number:
Parents:

(memory)

Brothers:

with parents
with parents

Sister:

with parents
with parents

Marital Status: Single, never married

Military Service: United States Navy
Enlisted April 1971 to
September 1971, claims
General Discharge -
Honorable

Fingerprint
Classification:

(Above as of August 6, 1974)

Arrests

Disorderly Conduct (Running from Officer)
Warrant refused, August 6, 1974

Criminal Damage to Property
Disposition not shown

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were checked by Special Clerk [redacted] with negative results.

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [redacted] with negative results.

On January 3, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were checked by Special Clerk [redacted] and reflected the following information:

MI. 70-1353

Name: [REDACTED]
Sheriff's Office
Number: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: Laborer
[REDACTED]
Race: Caucasian
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 6'1"
Weight: 235 pounds
Build: Heavy
Complexion: Medium
Hair: Brown
Eyes: Blue
Social Security
Account Number: [REDACTED]
Parents: [REDACTED]
Brothers: [REDACTED]
Marital Status: Single

(Above as of December 20, 1974)

Arrests

[REDACTED]
Loitering Summary
Disposition not shown

(On above charge subject also struck
Deputy on right forehead causing
glasses to break.)

On December 27, 1974, Officer [REDACTED] Cudahy
Police Department, Cudahy, Wisconsin, advised that the
only record regarding [REDACTED] date of birth -
[REDACTED] was two traffic citations for parking
violation.

On January 6, 1975, the records of the Milwaukee Police
Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by

b7c

MI' 70-1353

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] providing the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Sex: Male
Race: Caucasian
Marital Status: Single
Address: [REDACTED]
Occupation: [REDACTED]

Record

[REDACTED] (Juvenile)
Negligent handling of burning material
Ordered to appear at Children's Center,
August 27, 1962

[REDACTED]
Operating Motorcycle without eye protection
\$20 and costs, July 23, 1968

[REDACTED]
Inattentive Driving
Stipulated \$10, October 14, 1968

On the same date, the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, were checked by Special Clerk [REDACTED] with negative results.

On December 30, 1974, the records of the Milwaukee Police Department, Bureau of Identification, were checked by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] with negative results.

On December 30, 1974, the records of the Milwaukee County Sheriff's Office, Bureau of Identification, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were checked by Special Clerk [REDACTED] and reflected the following information:

Name: [REDACTED]
Sheriff's Office
Number: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Telephone: [REDACTED]

MI, 70-1353

Occupation: None
Race: Caucasian
Sex: Female
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 5'4"
Weight: 140 pounds
Build: Medium
Complexion: Medium
Hair: Brown
Eyes: Blue
Social Security
Account Number: [REDACTED]
Parents: [REDACTED]

Brothers: [REDACTED]
Sisters: [REDACTED]
Marital Status: Single

(Above as of December 20, 1974)

Arrests

[REDACTED]
Loitering Summary
Disposition not shown

At 12:30 p.m. on [REDACTED] subject did intentionally loiter and cause disturbance in Milwaukee County property. She also struck Deputy in the face.

On January 6, 1975 [REDACTED] Waukesha County Sheriff's Office, and [REDACTED] Waukesha Police Department, Waukesha, Wisconsin, both advised that their records were negative concerning [REDACTED] date of birth - [REDACTED]

MI, 70-1353

MISCELLANEOUS

MI. 70-1353

On December 18, 1974, contact was made with Assistant United States Attorney D. JEFFREY HIRSCHBERG, Eastern District of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, at which time he advised that those arrested had been released with no charges being issued. On December 19, 1974, Mr. HIRSCHBERG advised that after a further review of this matter is made, a determination will be made as to whether or not to issue any charges.

MI 70-1353

AJE/cmg

1

b7c The following investigation was conducted by
Special Agent [REDACTED]

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

On January 13, 1975, Assistant United States Attorney JOSEPH P. STADTMUELLER, Eastern District of Wisconsin, was contacted; and the facts of this matter were discussed. During the discussion, Mr. STADTMUELLER was advised that films of the incident could be made available; however, he advised that he saw films of the incident on television.

Assistant United States Attorney STADTMUELLER advised that they would probably not issue charges, but a final decision would be made in a week to ten days.

MI, 70-1353

On January 28, 1975, Assistant United States Attorney JOSEPH P. STADTMUELLER was recontacted and he advised that they now were considering a possibility of charging the demonstrators with Disorderly Conduct, but a final decision has not been made. Mr. STADTMUELLER further advised that due to the back log of work that a final decision in this matter may not be made for some time.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 08 1975

Dew

WATERS

NR013 SL CODED

5:07 PM URGENT 02/07/75 MAT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)
BUTTE (100-9147)
DENVER (100-10467)

FROM: ST. LOUIS (100-21603) (P)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c



UVAW-WSO NSCM, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 27-21, 1974.

RE ST. LOUIS NITEL TO BUREAU, JANUARY 24, 1975.

ST. LOUIS HAS STILL NOT RECEIVED REPORTS FROM RECEIVING OFFICES TO DATE RE COVERAGE OF CAPTIONED NSCM.

ST. LOUIS IS ONLY IN RECEIPT OF CHICAGO INFORMANT REPORT RE CONFERENCE. RECEIVING OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO EXPEDITE OBTAINING REPORTS FROM INFORMANTS WHO TRAVELED TO NSCM AND FORWARD RESULTS IMMEDIATELY TO ST. LOUIS. UPON RECEIPT OF NECESSARY REPORTS, ST. LOUIS WILL COMPLY WITH BUREAU'S INSTRUCTIONS AND PREPARE DISSEMINATABLE COMMUNICATION.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 3867, XGDS 2, INDEFINITE~~

100-448092-4142

END

EX-111

REC-57

123
56 FEB 18 1975

DECLASSIFIED BY *SPL B p 1 M*
ON *10/16/94*

5-ear

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 2/8/75

Transmit in CODE (plaintext or code) via teletype the attached PRIORITY (precedence) message.

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

TO: RUEADWW/ The President
RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 Att.: _____

SACS:

RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 Att.: _____

Opg 2

RUEHOC/ Secretary of State

RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA

RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 and National Indications Center

LEGATS:

RUEACSI/ Department of the Army

RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)

RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service

RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)

RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)

RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)

RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 and Internal Security Section
CIVIL DISTURBANCE UNIT.

RUEBWJA/ and General Crimes Section
REC 20 100-448092-4143

RUEOIAA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service

RUEOGBA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))

RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration FEB 10 1975

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

SUBJECT: *SEE NEXT PAGE.*

UNCLASSIFIED

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically
with _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10/16/94 BY SP6 BJA/LLA

DATE 10/16/94 BY SP6 BJA/LLA

DATE 10/16/94 BY SP6 BJA/LLA

FEB 10 1975

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 08 1975
11:20 PM
TELETYPE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~NR 052 SF CODE~~

~~505 PM NT NITEL 2/8/75 JGR~~

~~TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443000)~~

~~FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-71410)~~

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

DEMONSTRATION AT CALIFORNIA STATE PRISON, SAN QUENTIN,
 CALIFORNIA, FEBRUARY 8, 1975, SPONSERED BY THE VIETNAM VETERAN,
 AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLIDER'S ORGANIGATION (VVAV/WSO)
 IS-VVAV/WSO.

A DEMONSTRATION BY THE VVAV/WSO AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS
 TOOK PLACE ~~THIS DATE~~ ²⁻⁸⁻⁷⁵ AT SAN QUENTIN - SUPPORT OF RUCHEL
 MAGEE, PRISON INMATE AT SAN QUENTIN WHO IS SERVING SEVERAL
 LIFE SENTENCES AND RECENTLY RECEIVED ANOTHER LIFE SENTENCE
 FOR INVOLVEMENT IN THE AUGUST, 1970, MARIN COUNTY COURT
 HOUSE SHOOTOUT IN WHICH JUDGE HAROLD HALEY AND GUARDS AND
 PRISONERS KILLED. TALKS AT DEMONSTATION CONCERNED
 BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF MAGEE IN THE CALIFORNIA PRISON
 SYSTEM, HIS FRAME UP BY AUTHORITIES AND HIS RIGHT TO PICK UP
 ARMS TO ESCAPE.

DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED SIGNS CALLING FOR THE FREEDOM OF
 MAGEE.

THE DEMONSTRATORS MARCHED IN FRONT OF THE EAST GATE
 OF SAN QUENTIN FROM 12 NOON TO TWO P.M. AT WHICH TIME

PAGE TWO, ~~SE 100 71812~~

THE DEMONSTRATION ENDED.

THE VVAW/WSO WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICES HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THAT THE VVAW/WSO IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.

~~ADMINISTRATIVE. THE DEMONSTRATION WAS OBSERVED BY~~

~~SA~~ 

b7c

~~LIASON WAS MAINTAINED WITH INTELLIGENCE UNIT OF THE~~

~~MARIN COUNTY CALIFORNIA SHERIFF'S OFFICE AND OFFICIALS OF SAN QUENTIN PRISON.~~

END.

~~DBS FBIHQ CLR AND TKS~~

FEBRUARY 3 1975

TO: DIRECTOR
FROM: HOUSTON

REVOLUTIONARY UNION SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION, FEDERAL BUILDING, HOUSTON, TEXAS, FEBRUARY 1, 1975, SM - RU.

ON FEBRUARY 1, 1975, AT APPROXIMATELY TWELVE NOON, APPROXIMATELY 50 TO 75 INDIVIDUALS GATHERED IN DOWNTOWN HOUSTON FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROTESTING ANY ADDITIONAL U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. GROUP MARCHED THROUGH DOWNTOWN HOUSTON CARRYING SIGNS AND PLACARDS AND SINGING ANTI-WAR CHANTS. AT APPROXIMATELY 1:00 PM, DEMONSTRATION ARRIVED AT FEDERAL BUILDING, HOUSTON, WHERE THEY MARCHED AROUND THE BUILDING AND SUBSEQUENTLY TWO INDIVIDUALS, ONE SELF-IDENTIFIED AS AN IRANIAN, GAVE SPEECHES UTILIZING A BULLHORN WHICH CONDEMNED CONTINUED U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE POLICIES OF THE SHAH OF IRAN.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10/17/94 BY SA6 BYA/VA

120-447097
NOT RECORDED
78 FEB 7 1975

50 FEB 13 1975

SOME BANNERS OBSERVED ON THIS OCCASION INCLUDED:

A LARGE BANNER WITH THE WORDS "VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION";

"SMASH U.S. IMPERIALISM" - REVOLUTIONARY UNION;

"NO MORE TAX DOLLARS TO SUPPORT DICTATORS."

INCLUDED IN THE APPROXIMATELY 75 DEMONSTRATORS WERE SEVEN REVOLUTIONARY UNION MEMBERS/ASSOCIATES AND APPROXIMATELY 15 ARABIAN APPEARING INDIVIDUALS.

THE DEMONSTRATION DISBANDED AT APPROXIMATELY 1:30 PM WITH NO INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THERE WERE FOUR MEMBERS OF THE ORIGINAL KU KLUX KLAN (KKK) IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DEMONSTRATION. THE KLAN GROUP TOOK NO ACTIVE PART AGAINST THE PROCEEDINGS AND NO CONFRONTATION/VIOLENCE OCCURED.

THE RU WAS FOUNDED IN EARLY 1968 AND IS A MILITANT,

SEMICLANDESTINE ORGANIZATION. ITS OBJECTIVES, AS SET

OUT IN ITS PUBLICATIONS, ARE THE DEVELOPMENT OF
A UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM, THE FOSTERING OF
REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS UNITY AND LEADERSHIP IN
STRUGGLE AND THE FORMATION OF A COMMUNIST PARTY BASED
ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT, LEADING TO
THE OVERTHROW OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE.
THE OKKK WAS FIRST FORMED IN AUGUST, 1974, AND IS
BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF PRESERVATION OF THE WHITE
AMN AND HIS LEADERSHIP OF THE U.S. ITS LEADERSHIP
PREACHES HATRED OF NEGROES AND ZIONISTS. ITS
OFFICIAL PUBLICATION, "THE KLAN SENTINEL", IN NOVEMBER,
1975, ANNOUNCED THAT THE OKKK WAS FORMED BECAUSE VARIOUS
KLAN IN TEXAS WERE TOO SPLINTERED TO SUCCESSFULLY
ACHIEVE THE GOALS NECESSARY FOR VICTORY OVER THE ENEMIES
WITHIN THE COUNTRY. IT WAS THEREFORE DECIDED TO RALLY
ALL OF THE MILITANT KLANSMEN UNDER THE BANNER OF THE OKKK.

FBI

Date: 2/3/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)
FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-22519) (P)
SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
IS
(OO: CHICAGO)

S/pen
[Redacted]
b7c

Re New York airtel and LHM to Bureau, dated 12/24/74.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM concerning the rescheduling of next Regional Meeting of New York - Northern New Jersey Region of VVAW/WSO. Two copies of LHM are being enclosed for recipient offices.

Source utilized in LHM is [Redacted] (reliable).

For information of Buffalo, source anticipates attending rescheduled Regional Meeting.

b2
b7D
b7c

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 5) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo (100-21623) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-55565) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (100-160644) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 5 - Albany (2-100-22519) [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted] (VVAW/WSO Syracuse Chapter)

EX-117

REC-63

100-448092-1119

FEB 6 1975

JFB/kap (15)

1 cc LHM destroyed
1 cc ss.
1 cc 3 pp.
JFB/mey
2/10/75

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/1/95 BY [Signature]

DO NOT CLASS

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Albany, New York

February 3, 1975

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

On February 3, 1975, a confidential source advised the next Regional Meeting of the New York - Northern New Jersey Region of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) (see Appendix) has been re-scheduled for March 1-2, 1975, at the Universalist Unitarian Church in Buffalo, New York. Source advised the meeting had originally been scheduled to be hosted by the Syracuse Chapter of VVAW/WSO at the residence of [redacted] New York, on February 15-16, 1975; however, [redacted] residence could not accommodate the number of individuals expected to attend the Regional Meeting.

b7c
b7D

DECLASSIFIED BY Sp6 BJA/VA
ON 10/17/14

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOURCES WHOSE IDENTITIES ARE CONCEALED HEREIN HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE NOTED.

CLASSIFIED BY 168
EXEMPT FROM GDS. CATEGORY NUMBER 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION

100-448092-4144

APPENDIX . .

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

The VVAW was formed in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Since that time VVAW leaders have told members the VVAW is a revolutionary group, not "just another group of war veterans." Also, the membership has been told the VVAW has been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist and Maoist groups. Additionally, it was indicated that "anti-imperialist groups" consider the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the U.S. In April, 1973, the group changed their name to VVAW/WSO so that non-veterans could become members. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented and strive to educate their membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE FEB 7 1975	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 6/22/74 - 1/31/75
TITLE OF CASE VIETNAM-VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY catd
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS	

REFERENCES: Chicago report of SA [REDACTED] 6/27/74.
Buffalo airtel and LHM, 9/3/74.

- P -

LEAD

CHICAGO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/95 BY 2663/MLP

b7c

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activities regarding VVAW/WSO National Headquarters.

- A -
COVER PAGE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
VIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			PENDING OVER ONE YEAR	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED: [Signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- COPIES MADE:
- Bureau (100-448092) (RM)
 - Albany (100-22519) (RM)
 - Albuquerque (100-3808) (RM)
 - Atlanta (100-8910) (RM)
 - Baltimore (100-27909) (RM)
 - Birmingham (100-6041) (RM)
 - Boston (100-42739) (RM)
- (copies continued on Cover Page B)

100-448092-4145

FEB 14 1975

REG-28 ST-104

REG-28 ST-105

REC-100

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Dep't (ISS): SS, VA; Federal Bureau of Investigation
Requestor	of Parsons, Dep't of State - Respected
Date Fwd.	3/19/75
How Fwd.	FILE
By	CNL/RDB

Notations

1-4440 (FE 4)

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

57 JUN 20 1975

COVER PAGE

CG 100-50772

for Veterans and "kick Nixon out"; National GI Conference, Chicago, Illinois, October, 1974; activities in connection with Revolutionary Union, Revolutionary Student Brigade and amnesty in general. Activities with foreign groups listed.

- P -

DETAILS:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
I. ORGANIZATION	
A. Incorporation	4
B. Location	5
C. Chapters	5
II. AIMS AND PURPOSES	13
III. OFFICERS	57
IV. MEMBERSHIP	67
V. PUBLICATIONS	67
VI. FINANCES	67
VII. NATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS	69
VIII. INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES	100
IX. APPENDIX - CHARACTERIZATION, ORGANIZATIONS	101

CG 100-50772

Copies: (continued)

- 1 - Buffalo (100-21623) (RM)
- 1 - Butte (100-9147) (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte (100-11256) (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (100-19743) (RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-31431) (RM)
- 1 - Denver (100-10467) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-39271) (RM)
- 1 - Houston (100-12219) (RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis (100-) (RM)
- 1 - Jacksonville (100-1745) (RM)
- 1 - Kansas City (100-14836) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-77703) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (100-16340) (RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100-15674) (RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (100-15819) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-53565) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (100-19054) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-160664) (RM)
- 1 - Omaha (100-8410) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-52640) (RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (100-17114) (RM)
- 1 - Portland (100-12313) (RM)
- 1 - St. Louis (100-21803) (RM)
- 1 - Salt Lake City (100-11144) (RM)
- 1 - San Antonio (100-12820) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-71012) (RM)
- 1 - Savannah (100-5469) (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (100-31285) (RM)
- 1 - Tampa (100-2514) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (100-47162) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
 - 1 - 100-50772 (VVAW/WSO)
 - 1 - 100-53924 (VVAW/WSO - CHICAGO CHAPTER)

ADMINISTRATIVE

No dissemination of this report is made locally by the Chicago Office.

Copies of this report have been designated for those offices covering the territory of current VVAW/WSO regions and chapters as set forth in their December, 1974, breakdown, located in Section I, Item C, of this report.

Organizations mentioned in this report have been characterized in the appendix pages where such information was available to the Chicago Office.

All VVAW/WSO National Officers mentioned in the report have been the subject of a security type investigation and are, or were formerly, on the ADEX.

The details of this report are classified "CONFIDENTIAL" in order to protect [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS

Source

Location

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is former [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

CG 100-50772

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

100-50772-2272

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-50772-1857

[REDACTED]

100-50772-2286

b2
b7D

b2
b7D

NON-SYMBOLIZED SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

[REDACTED] is Chicago Police Department Intelligence.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] **b7c** Office: CHICAGO
Date: FEB 7 1975

Field Office File #: 100-50772

Bureau File #: 100-448092

Title: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST
THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER
ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY

Synopsis:

VVAW/WSO National Headquarters located 827 West Newport Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Regions and chapters set forth. Aims and purposes and position paper on the future of the VVAW/WSO set forth. Former and current officers listed with their background data and function within VVAW/WSO. Estimated membership between 500 and 750. VVAW/WSO publishes "Winter Soldier" newspaper; a general information type newsletter regarding their activities on a regional and national basis; the "GI News", which specializes in matters of GI interest. Also, they publish "Inside/Out", a newsletter for prisoners. As of August, 1974, VVAW/WSO National Office was \$20,000.00 in debt with \$900.00 in their bank account, \$100.00 in petty cash and office assets of \$2,300.00. VVAW/WSO National Office activity mainly concerned with their own national projects, protest demonstrations directed at Veterans Administration; National Defense Committee Meeting, St. Louis, Missouri, June, 1974; demonstration July, 1974, Washington, D.C., demanding amnesty, benefits for

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/16/94 BY SP6 SA/VA

*Declassified by
6347 on 8/23/76
EJH*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classified by 6607
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification
Indefinite

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MARCH 15, 1974

working-class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR

The VVAW is a national organization composed primarily of veterans of the war in Vietnam, that has organized and participated in numerous demonstrations against the war in Vietnam during 1970 - 1972, including the seizure of the Statue of Liberty, New York City, New York, and the occupation of the Betsy Ross House, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in December, 1971. Six members of the VVAW were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, Tallahassee, Florida, July, 1972, on charge of conspiracy to violate the Federal Antiriot Law.

ATTICA BRIGADE

The AB is a student-based organization founded in New York City in the fall of 1971. The AB considers itself to be an anti-imperialist organization which views "U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of the people of the world." The RU has significantly infiltrated the AB and plays a major role in the AB policies, decisions, and activities.

The remainder of the individuals boarding the bus were unknown members of the AB and the VVAW/WSO in Milwaukee.

The Vietnam Veterans Against The War (VVAW) was formed in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam Veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Since that time, VVAW leaders have told members that VVAW is a revolutionary group, not "just another group of war veterans." Also the membership has been told the VVAW has been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist and Maoist groups. Additionally it was indicated that "anti-imperialist groups" consider the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the U.S. In April, 1973, the group changed their name to Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) so that non-veterans could become members. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented and strive to educate their membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Characterizations of organizations mentioned in this report are set out in the Appendix Section of the report where suitable information was available.

Those items in the report followed by a (C) are classified "CONFIDENTIAL". The remainder of the report is not classified.

VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings are hereafter being referred to as NSCM.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Incorporation

On October 18, 1973 [redacted] Clerk, Corporation Division, Secretary of States Office, State of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois, advised that a search of their records revealed that on June 18, 1973, Articles of Incorporation, under the General Not For Profit Corporation Act was filed by the VVAW/WSO. The Board of Directors were listed as R. SCHORR, BRIAN ADAMS and EDWARD J. DAMATO, all of [redacted] NY.

827 West New Port, Chicago, Ill. Ed DAMATO Edward DAMATO

- 4 - B. Approx. 1948 in NY NY

FRANCE
ITALY

VIETNAM
CANADA

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

b7c

CG 100-50772

B. APPROX. [REDACTED]

MICH.
N.Y.
WIS.

listed an address of 827 West Newport, Chicago, Illinois.
This is the same address listed for the VVAW/WSO Headquarters.
The registered agent is listed as SAMUEL R. SCHORR.

B. Location VIETNAM SAM. SCHORR
ISRAEL SAMUEL SCHORR

The National Office of VVAW/WSO is located at 827 West Newport Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
[REDACTED] (1/20/75)

C. Chapters and Regions

During December, 1974, [REDACTED] made available the following VVAW/WSO regional and chapter list:

b2
b7D
|

VVAW/WSO CHAPTER LIST

December 1974

ALABAMA/LOUISIANA/MISSISSIPPI/
TENNESSEE

Alabama Contact:

[REDACTED]
Birmingham, Alabama 35205

Louisiana Contact:

[REDACTED]
LSU-NC Lake Front
New Orleans, Louisiana 70122

ALASKA/WASHINGTON

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO
215 Viking Union--VWSC
Bellingham, Washington 98225
(206)676-3469, ext 22

Tacoma Chapter

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 411
Tillicum, Washington 98492

CALIFORNIA/NEVADA/ARIZONA

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO
255 East William St
San Jose, California 95112
(408)998-4210

Irvine Chapter

VVAW/WSO
c/o A. S. U. C. I.
University of California at Irvine
Irvine, California 92664
(714)833-7247

Long Beach Chapter

VVAW/WSO
1810 East Anaheim
Long Beach, California 90813

Los Angeles Chapter

[REDACTED]
VVAW/WSO
4228 Sunset Blvd
Los Angeles, California 90028
(213)660-2676

Oakland-East Bay Chapter

VVAW/WSO
4919 Telegraph Ave
Oakland, California 94609
(415)658-7806

San Bernardino Chapter

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 5154
San Bernardino, California 92405
(714)682-3486

San Jose Chapter

VVAW/WSO
Office of Veterans Affairs, Bldg #2
San Jose State University
125 South 7th Street
San Jose, California 95192
(408)277-2486

Santa Barbara Chapter

VVAW/WSO
c/o Community Union
1421 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93105

Santa Cruz Chapter

VVAW/WSO
Box 83
Brookdale, California 95007
(408)333-3416

South Bay Chapter

VVAW/WSO
16533 Chancera Ave
Gardena, California 90247
(213)324-1552

Venice Chapter

VVAW/WSO
1102 W. Washington Blvd
Venice, California 90291

b7C

CALIFORNIA, cont.

Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee
P. O. Box 244
Riverside, California 92502
(714)686-2363

COLORADO/NEW MEXICO/UTAH/
WYOMING

Regional Office
VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 18591
Denver, Colorado 80218
(303)477-0587

Antonito Chapter
VVAW/WSO
c/o [REDACTED]
Box 66
Antonito, Colorado 81120

Boulder Chapter
VVAW/WSO
University Memorial Center
Room 177
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado 80302
(303)443-2211, ext 8877

Colorado Springs Chapter
VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 6133
Colorado Springs, Colorado 80904

Denver Chapter
VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 18591
Denver, Colorado 80218
(303)477-0587

Ft Collins Chapter
[REDACTED]
Ft Collins, Colorado 80521
(303) [REDACTED]

Greeley Chapter
[REDACTED]
Greeley, Colorado 80631
(303) [REDACTED]

Albuquerque Chapter
[REDACTED]
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87110
(505) [REDACTED]

Salt Lake City Contact
VVAW/WSO
[REDACTED]
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

Wyoming Contact
[REDACTED]
AC-307
Laramie, Wyoming 82070
(307) [REDACTED]

DELAWARE/EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA/
S. NEW JERSEY

Regional Office
VVAW/WSO
315 Peffer St
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17102
(717)232-6794

Reading Chapter
VVAW/WSO
c/o [REDACTED]
2827 Wilson School Court
Sinking Spring, Pa 19608

Delco Chapter
VVAW/WSO
C-412 Merion Trace Apts
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania 19082

Philadelphia Chapter
VVAW/WSO
c/o [REDACTED]
5102 Wayne Ave, 2nd Floor
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19144
(215) [REDACTED]

b7c

MARYLAND/VIRGINIA/WASHINGTON DC

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO
521B 2nd Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202)543-0817

Baltimore Chapter

VVAW/WSO
911 Gorsuch
Baltimore, Maryland 21218
(301)366-5693

College Park Chapter

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 35
College Park, Maryland 20740

Highway 13

Highway 13
108 Washington Blvd
Laurel, Maryland 20810
(301)792-0915
366-7200

Washington DC Chapter
no current address
(301)422-7670

FLORIDA/GEORGIA

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO
1405 E. Jefferson
Orlando, Florida 32802

Ft Lauderdale Chapter

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 965
Ft Lauderdale, Florida 33302
(305)524-2021

Homestead Chapter

[REDACTED]
Homestead, Florida 33030

Jacksonville Chapter

[REDACTED]
Jacksonville, Florida 32207

Miami Chapter

VVAW/WSO
7610 Biscayne Blvd
Miami, Florida 33138
(305)757-0673, 0674

Albany Contact

[REDACTED]
Albany, Georgia 31705

Atlanta Contact

[REDACTED]
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

Augusta Contact

[REDACTED]
Augusta, Georgia 30905

Tampa Contact

[REDACTED]
Tampa, Florida 33617

IDAHO/MONTANA

Regional Contact

[REDACTED]
Boise, Idaho 83707
(208) [REDACTED]

Mt Home Chapter

VVAW/WSO
c/o The Covered Wagon
P. O. Box 729
Mountain Home, Idaho 83647

b7c

NORTHERN ILLINOIS/ICVA

Regional Office

VVAW/WSC
827 W. Newport
Chicago, Illinois 60657
(312)327-0488

Chicago Chapter

VVAW/WSC Chicago
827 W. Newport
Chicago, Illinois 60657
(312)327-0488

Iowa City Chapter

[REDACTED]
Iowa City, Iowa 52240
(319) [REDACTED]

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS / EASTERN MISSOURI/OKLAHOMA

Regional Office

VVAW/WSC
1023 Allen Avenue
St Louis, Missouri 63104
(314)621-2648

OHIO/INDIANA/KENTUCKY/MICHIGAN/
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA/WEST VIRGINIA

Regional Office

[REDACTED]
P. O. Box [REDACTED]
Columbus, Ohio 43201
(614) [REDACTED]

Akron Chapter

VVAW/WSC
P. O. Box 903
Akron, Ohio 44309

Athens Chapter

VVAW/WSC
P. O. Box 146
Athens, Ohio 45701

Cincinnati Chapter

VVAW/WSC
P. O. Box 19302
Cincinnati, Ohio 45219
(513) 961-6585

Cleveland Chapter

[REDACTED]
Parma Heights, Ohio 44130

Columbus Chapter

VVAW/WSC
P. O. Box 10116
Columbus, Ohio 43201
(614)299-6921

Dayton Chapter

VVAW/WSC
P. O. Box 1625
Dayton, Ohio 45401
(513)274-3171

b7c

Ann Arbor Contact

[REDACTED]
Ann Arbor, Mich 48104
(313) [REDACTED]

Indianapolis Contact

[REDACTED]
Indianapolis, Indiana 46227
[REDACTED]

Muncie Contact

[REDACTED]
P. O. Box [REDACTED]
Muncie, Indiana 47305

Pittsburgh Contact

[REDACTED]
Pittsburgh, Pa 15206

KANSAS/WESTERN MISSOURI/NEBRASKA,
NORTH & SOUTH DAKOTA

Regional Office

VVAW/WSC
1715 N St Francis
Wichita, Kansas 67214
(316)264-7264

KANSAS, cont

Wichita Chapter

[REDACTED]
Wichita, Kansas 67218
(316) [REDACTED]

WISCONSIN/MINNESOTA

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO
2532 N. Holton
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212
(414)264-0822

Mankato Chapter

[REDACTED]
Mankato, Minnesota 56001
(507) [REDACTED]

Milwaukee Chapter

VVAW/WSO
2532 N. Holton
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212
(414)562-9371

Twin Cities Chapter

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 7083
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55409

Oshkosh Contact

[REDACTED]
University of Oshkosh
Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901
(414) [REDACTED]

MASSACHUSETTS/VERMONT/NEW
HAMPSHIRE/MAINE

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO
15 Clymer
Burlington, Vermont 05401
(802)862-8175

Amherst Chapter

[REDACTED]
South Deerfield, Mass 01373
(413) [REDACTED]

Boston Chapter

VVAW/WSO
355 Boylston St
Boston, Mass 02116
(617)262-1431

Boston Chapter

VVAW/WSO
c/o [REDACTED]
26 Norton St
Dorchester, Mass 02125
(216) [REDACTED]

Bucksport Chapter

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 352
Bucksport, Maine 04416

Fitchburg Chapter

VVAW/WSO
c/o [REDACTED]
185 Townsend St
Fitchburg, Mass 01420
(617) [REDACTED]

Norton Chapter

[REDACTED]
Norton, Vermont 05907

Portsmouth-Dover Chapter

VVAW/WSO
c/o [REDACTED]
223 High St
Somersworth, New Hampshire 03878
(603) [REDACTED]

b7c

NEW YORK/NORTHERN NEW JERSEY/
RHODE ISLAND/CONNECTICUT

Regional Office

VVAW/WISO Regional Office
P. O. Box 902, Ellicott Station
Buffalo, New York 14205
(716) 886-8645

Downstate Sub-regional Office
VVAW/WISO

135 West 4th St
New York, New York 10012
(212) [REDACTED]

Upstate Sub-regional Office
VVAW/WISO

10 Forest Ave
Oneonta, New York 13820
(607) [REDACTED]

Buffalo Chapter

VVAW/WISO (Buffalo Chapter)
P. O. Box 902, Ellicott Station
Buffalo, New York 14205
(716)886-8645

Nassau County Chapter

VVAW/WISO
SUNY at Old Westbury
P. O. Box 210
Old Westbury, New York 11568
(516)876-3241

Newark/Jersey City Chapter

VVAW/WISO
285 St Pauls Ave
Jersey City, New Jersey 07307
(201) [REDACTED]

New York City Chapter

VVAW/WISO
135 West 4th St
New York, New York 10012
(212)473-3636

Oneonta Chapter
VVAW/WISO

10 Forest Avenue
Oneonta, New York 13820
(607) [REDACTED]

Providence Chapter
VVAW/WISO

P. O. Box 6711, Charles St
Providence, Rhode Island 02940

Rochester Chapter
VVAW/WISO

40-H Ramona Park
Rochester, New York 14615
(716) [REDACTED]

Syracuse Chapter
VVAW/WISO

102 Bradley St
Syracuse, New York 13204
(315) [REDACTED]

Westchester/Putnam Chapter
VVAW/WISO

People's Center
169 Main St
Ossining, New York 10562
(914)225-3941

Organizing Contacts

[REDACTED]
Canton, New York 13617

[REDACTED]
Student Center
SUC at Fredonia
Fredonia, New York 14063

[REDACTED]
Ithaca, New York 14850

[REDACTED]
Saugerties, New York 12477

b7c

NEW YORK cont

[REDACTED]
Teaneck, New Jersey 07333

[REDACTED]
Utica, New York 13501

NORTH & SOUTH CAROLINA

Regional Office

[REDACTED]
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603
(919) [REDACTED]

OREGON

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 5193
Eugene, Oregon 97405

Eugene Chapter

VVAW/WSO
454 Willamette St
Eugene, Oregon 97401
(503)485-0757

TEXAS

Houston Chapter

VVAW/WSO
2912 Wentworth
Houston, Texas 77004

San Antonio Chapter

[REDACTED]
San Antonio, Texas 78209
(512) [REDACTED]

INTERNATIONAL

London Chapter

VVAW/WSO
2 Turquand St
London, SE 17,

Liberated E racks
Liberated Barracks
525 N Kalaheo Avenue
Kailua, Hawaii 96734
(808)261-4855
262-5764

Iwakuni
VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 49
Iwakuni-shi, Yamaguchi-Ken
Japan 740
(0827)22-0238

b7c

Koza
VVAW/WSO, c/o People's House
P. O. Box 447
Koza, Okinawa
Japan
(098937) 3107

Yokosuka
VVAW/WSO, co/ New Peoples' Center
P. O. Box 26
Yokosuka-shi
Japan
(0468)25-0157

NATIONAL OFFICE
VVAW/WSO
827 W. Newport
Chicago, Ill 60657

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

The objectives of the VVAW/WSO as stated in the January, 1975, issue of "Winter Soldier" are as follows:

1. To struggle for an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops, advisors, planes, and military and economic aid from Southeast Asia. We support as a basis for the cessation of these hostilities the various peace proposals of the people of Southeast Asia based upon their right of self-determination and actual control of their own destinies.
2. To struggle for the immediate termination of all other operations by the United States Government, its agencies, and American business interests that are designed to suppress the rightful struggles for liberation and self-determination of the people of the world. This includes the creation and maintenance of dictatorial governments, economic domination and the theft of the natural resources of this and other countries.
3. To struggle for the goal that all military people (Active-duty, Reserve and National Guard) be afforded their constitutional rights which are denied by the Uniform Code of Military Justice. We condemn the use of the National Guard, Reserves and Active-duty personnel as strikebreakers, and we support the efforts of service-people in the struggles against military repression. We oppose the use of the military as an oppressive and policy-making force domestically and overseas.
4. To struggle for universal unconditional amnesty. This will include a single-type retroactive discharge for all vets, and amnesty for all persons in prison, underground, or in exile as a result of their resistance to the imperialist war machine as well as the clearing of all their resulting civil and criminal records.
5. To struggle for decent benefits, full medical care (including the recognition of Post Vietnam Syndrome as

a service-connected disability), and productive employment for all veterans with parity for all war resisters. We demand an end to discriminatory corporate-hiring practices based on Vietnam-era service or Special Processing Numbers or descriptions, and the exploitation of veterans as a tool to divide the working class.

6. To struggle against racism which is historically used as a tool of U.S. imperialism to prevent and destroy unity among the people and justify the oppression and exploitation of third-world people at home and abroad. We must fight this dehumanizing tactic which divides us, and strive to build unity between all people.

7. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans our society is permeated by sexism, which forces an inferior status upon women, reducing them to subservient sexual objects, and which robs both men and women of their natural growth. This institutionalized sexism channels women into unfulfilling, lower-paying jobs which are servile in nature and purpose; it exploits their bodies for sex and profit; and it degrades and dehumanizes them by a double standard of morality wholly dependent on the myth of male supremacy. This sexism is exploited by the military, officially defining servicewomen as subordinate and thoroughly subjugating them to servile work and the role of a sexual object. We resolve to fight sexism within our society, within our own organization and within ourselves.

8. To struggle for the right of all workers to organize and strike to protect their income and safeguard their employment. We support progressive struggles aimed at improving working conditions.

9. To struggle against the use of the criminal justice system (police, courts, prisons, grand juries) as a tool of political repression, recognizing that this system now serves the interests of the rich and powerful while suppressing the majority of poor and working people. We will fight for the freeing of all political prisoners.

CG 100-50772

PRW/dlb

3

10. To dedicate ourselves to these principles and objectives which directly relate to the imperialist suppression of the People of the World by the United States Government. We understand this war is imperialist in origin and affirm that the membership of VVAW/WSO is not only concerned with ending this war, but with changing the domestic, social, political, and economic institutions that have caused and perpetuated its continuance.

On November 1, 1974, [REDACTED] provided the September-October, 1974, issue of the VVAW/WSO Chicago Chapter newsletter which sets forth the following VVAW/WSO national policy that was established at the August, 1974, NSGM:

"The VVAW/WSO is an anti-imperialist mass organization with a veteran and GI base that should focus on more particular aspects of the struggle in order to build the overall anti-imperialist movement.

Implementation of this program would be based around the following four demands:

Universal, unconditional amnesty;

Implement the agreement and end all aid to THIEU and LON NOL;

Decent benefits for all veterans;

A single type discharge for all veterans.

During 1974-75, the VVAW/WSO will build a peoples campaign around these issues with coordinated nationwide demonstrations on four dates:

Veterans Day;

The anniversary of the signing of the Paris Accords;

Vietnam Veterans Day;

Armed Farces Day."

On December 3, 1974, [REDACTED] provided the following document which was received from the VVAW/WSO National Office:

1
b2
b7D

CLARIFICATION PAPER
of
NATIONAL COLLECTIVE
POSITION PAPER
ON THE FUTURE OF VVAW/WSO

NOVEMBER , 1974

PREFACE

This Clarification Paper is being written for the purpose of clearing up some of the confusion that has surrounded our original position paper on the future of VVAW/WSO. We stand by our original paper and its thrust -- that if VVAW/WSO is to survive as a viable organization, we must consciously focus our work on veterans and GIs. However, we do recognize that the original paper had certain weaknesses, and that we did not always explain our thoughts as well as we should have. These weaknesses have led to some confusion, to the point that we were often amazed that what we had said in our original paper could be so incorrectly interpreted by chapters and individuals. It is because of these misinterpretations and general confusion that we felt the need to write another paper which we hope will clarify some of the major points and answer the major questions that we have heard raised with regard to adopting a veteran and GI focus. This paper contains two major sections. The first is a general discussion of what we see as the major weaknesses of our original paper and some of the criticisms we have received; the second section consists of answering questions that have been asked of us. We feel that it is important to answer these questions in such a way so as to allow the entire organization to be able to read and study our clarifying response to what the adoption of a veteran and GI focus will mean for VVAW/WSO. We hope that what follows will clear up the majority of confusion and answer people's questions with regard to our original position paper.

Introduction	p. 1
1. If we accept the position of a Veteran and GI focus, does that mean we have to accept the united front against imperialism?	p. 6
2. What do we mean by "Focus?"	p. 8
3. Does a focus on Vets and GIs negate the Winter Soldier concept; is it a step backward?	p. 10
4. What is the role of non-veterans in VVAW/WSO with a Veteran and GI focus?	p. 13
5. What is the relationship between our position on the future of VVAW/WSO and a particular program of action?	p. 16
6. How does a national focus on Vets and GIs affect local organizing?	p. 18
7. Are vets demands necessarily reformist?	p. 21
8. Does a focus on Vets and GIs mean that we raise Vets and GI demands only?	p. 25
9. What is support work and what is direct organizing and how does one differ from the other?	p. 27
10. Does a Veteran and GI focus ignore racism?	p. 30
11. What does a Veteran and GI focus mean in terms of our prison work?	p. 32
12. How does building the anti-imperialist Veterans and GI movements push forward the overall struggle against imperialism?	p. 36

INTRODUCTION

We would like to begin by making a brief statement concerning one criticism that was made within the organization. In the introduction to our original paper, we said that there were 3 existing positions within the organization concerning the nature and future of VVAW/WSO. Since that time, we have been criticized for saying that there were 3 positions and we were accused of setting ourselves up to take the middle one so that our position would look more credible. Our response to this accusation is that it is pure baloney! Our position paper flowed out of the discussions and struggle that took place at the Milwaukee Steering Committee Meeting and our experiences at the July demonstration in Washington, DC. At the Milwaukee meeting, there were three positions, and this is a fact whether people recognize it or not. We did not fabricate one position just to make us look good. We are pleased that the position which said that VVAW/WSO should be an exclusively veterans and GI organization has not taken root and is no longer a major point of struggle, but it would be a grave error to discount the existence of this position simply because it did not have overwhelming support. The people who put this position forward did so in an honest way, and we tried to deal with it in an honest way -- both at the Milwaukee meeting and in our paper. We hope that this response to this specific criticism will put an end to it.

In this attempt to clarify our position, we feel it is important to speak to the concept of the united front against imperialism that was put forward in our first paper. We stand by the united front concept and believe it is the correct strategy for revolution in this country. However, we placed a great deal of emphasis on this concept and have since realized that by doing so, we initiated a great deal of confusion. Some people fully accepted the concept of a united front. Some people were not at all familiar with such a concept and were confused as to what a united front means in practice. These people did not necessarily agree or disagree with the concept; they simply were not familiar enough with it to have made a judgment. Other people disagreed with this concept but were able to get past it and to the meat of the paper with no problems and reach the understanding of what we were really talking about. Even though they did not agree with the united front concept, they did agree that we should be focusing on vets and GIs. Other people who disagreed with the united front against imperialism strategy proceeded to disregard the rest of our paper on that basis. These people set up the united front concept as a "straw dog" and it took much struggling to get past this particular strategy in order to deal with the major thrust of the position paper. The thrust of our position does not necessarily rest with the acceptance or the negation of the united front strategy; and it may be that because we placed heavy emphasis on this concept, the central issue of the paper became clouded.

We also are aware that there were weaknesses in our explanation of the united front concept, particularly a lack of clear distinctions between a formalized or developed united front and a developing united front. We believe that, objectively, a united front is growing in the U. S., outside of any plan or proclamation, but it would be an error to focus on its primitive or embryonic stage as opposed

to how such a front can be further developed and strengthened. We feel that the major error with regard to our presentation of the united front concept was that we tended to present the united front strategy as though it consisted of separate, isolated groups of people, i. e. workers should be organized separate from veterans who should be organized separate from students who should be organized separate from women, etc. (A more detailed discussion of "constituencies" will follow). This is not the essence of a united front against imperialism (or a united front against anything, for that matter). Instead, a united front is the uniting of all who can be united for the purpose of directing organized and strategic blows against the common enemy -- whether this be an internal or an external enemy. In the U. S., that enemy is U. S. imperialism. This front will be under the leadership of the working class and its Party; but as to how and when this leadership will develop, or what organizational forms this front may encompass, we cannot say at this time. The answers to these questions will come out of the struggles of the entire anti-imperialist movement, including VVAW/WSO.

In looking at the confusion and discussion that the united front concept has caused, we can see that there were many positive points about the fact that this concept was raised in our position paper. While it is not necessary to accept the united front strategy in order to accept the fact that VVAW/WSO should focus on veterans and GIs, people have begun to discuss what the correct strategy for revolution is in this country and we feel that this is a very good and healthy thing. The struggle that has gone on around the united front concept has led many members to further study and it has enriched the political growth and awareness of VVAW/WSO. We hope that this type of healthy struggle will continue around important questions such as this.

A major point of confusion which has resulted with regard to our original position paper is around "constituency organizing."¹ In our paper we used the term "constituency," and that was an incorrect and unfortunate choice of words which did not adequately represent what we were speaking of. When we talk about focusing on veterans and GIs, we are not talking about constituency organizing; in fact, we do not agree with the tactic of constituency organizing. Constituency organizing forces the organizers into a sort of "tunnel vision," or seeing their particular "constituency" as the most important grouping within a population and separated from other people and other struggles. This type of organizing will lead to isolation and an inability to link the struggles of the "constituency" with the struggles of others. By no means are we speaking of this type of organizing when we refer to a veteran and GI focus. This is because we find it a dead end for the people we are trying to organize, i. e. leading them down a blind alley so that they are unable to really struggle against imperialism. Constituency organizing does not approach organizing people in an anti-imperialist context and must be avoided at all costs.

When we used the word "constituency" in explaining a focus on veterans and GIs, we did not mean that we should begin to "divide up" the population and claim a segment of it as ours. We shouldn't be staking out an area, spotting a veteran and then heroically claiming, "That veteran's ours!" Instead, we are talking about

¹Constituency: An artificially defined group of people who are put together not on the basis of common needs, etc., but for the purposes of political representation under imperialism, i. e. a ward or precinct.

the objective fact that veterans and GIs do have specific contradictions with imperialism that are particular to them. These contradictions arise from the serving within an imperialist military which is spreading chaos and havoc throughout the world and here at home, and the contradictions remain throughout the life of a veteran and constitute a real oppression (in the form of bad discharges, job discrimination, the VA and its inability to serve the real needs of vets even though GIs were promised that it would and could, etc). These specific contradictions, which only veterans and GIs face, must be spoken to; VVAW/WSO is the organization which must begin to speak to these contradictions in a consistent manner.

We are saying that there is an identifiable segment of society that has particular and concrete contradictions with the system of imperialism. We realize that every veteran and every GI is also something else, i. e. a woman, a Chicano, a steel worker, a student, etc; and because of this, the veteran or GI also feels a particular form of oppression other than that felt by being a veteran or a GI. However, we are not in the business of "ranking oppression," or stating that since the oppression of being a veteran may be less than the oppression felt by being a steel worker, we need not organize people around their oppression of being veterans. What we are in the business of, however, is recognizing that we have both the ability and the responsibility to try to reach veterans and GIs and educate them to the nature of their oppression and bring them into the struggle against imperialism. Again, this is not "ranking oppression," and therefore, ignoring the oppression that is felt by vets and GIs; instead, it is recognizing the concrete fact that veterans and GIs do face specific contradictions with imperialism because they are veterans and GIs.

Reaching out to vets and GIs and trying to involve them in the anti-imperialist struggle will most definitely cross class lines, racial lines, sexual lines, etc. It is for this reason that it is vitally important to consistently link the struggles of vets and GIs with the struggles of all people. By doing this, we will then be able to lead people to understand that all of our oppression comes from the same place -- the system of imperialism. Our job is to raise the consciousness of vets and GIs around their particular oppression, while broadening that consciousness to an understanding of who the real enemy is. In the majority of cases, this initial reaching out to people and raising their consciousness will come through speaking to their concrete conditions and immediate needs as veterans and GIs. We all are aware that anti-imperialist consciousness does not fall from the sky, and that we have to struggle to build this consciousness. This is not done by making high-sounding speeches which do not relate to the day-to-day oppression, showing people where that oppression comes from, while showing people how the oppression of all people comes from that same place. By doing this, we will be in a position to mobilize people and teach them that the only way this oppression can be eliminated is through the process of fighting back in unity -- fighting back with other veterans and GIs, as well as fighting back in unity with all oppressed people.

A final criticism that we wish to deal with is one which a few chapters in different parts of the country have raised. This is our supposed failure to deal with the question of women and the question of racism. We agree that there was

no specific mention of women's oppression in our original paper. The purpose of our first paper was to lay out the general, political reasons why we felt that VVAW/WSO should consciously adopt a veteran and GI focus. We were not trying to deal with all aspects of the contradictions facing vets and GIs, nor were we trying to lay out programmatic approaches necessary to speak to these contradictions. It is for this reason that we felt the questions of women's oppression and national oppression were inherent within our original paper. It is true that we could have spoken directly to these questions, but again, this was not the purpose of our position paper.

The oppression of women under the system of imperialism is an important question for VVAW/WSO. Well back in our history, members began to grasp the real depth of this oppression. The awareness of it primarily came through the growing understanding of how male chauvinism and supremacy played a major role in conducting the war in Indochina. Veterans came to understand that they have been taught by society, and further brainwashed by the military into viewing women as inferior, as objects of pleasure, and male veterans were taught that the self-image of being a "he-man," and John Wayne-type was the correct attitude for them to possess. As the organization developed and deepened its understanding of the system that gave rise to the Indochina war and to such chauvinistic ideas, a deeper understanding of the oppression of women and the ideology of that oppression, sexism, also grew.

Although they make up a relatively small percentage, women veterans face many different kinds of oppression that their male counterparts do not face. For example, there is a disproportionately high number of women who received less-than-honorable discharges from the military. Also, the VA virtually ignores the needs of women vets in its programs and in its hospital care. Maternity care is almost non-existent, and the male doctors at the VA have little understanding of the special medical needs of women. A far greater section of women who feel the oppression that comes down on vets are those women who themselves are not veterans but whose lives and welfare depend on what is happening to their veteran husband or family supporter. These women have a very deep interest in fighting the oppression that is coming down on vets and also in the kind of treatment that is offered by the VA. If a veteran cannot get a job because of a bad discharge, his wife or girlfriend is going to be greatly affected by the financial crisis or the fact that the vet cannot get treatment from the VA. Also, the family of a veteran who is going to school on the GI Bill will feel a great financial crunch to the point where the spouse, usually a woman, will be forced to seek the usual assortment of low-paying, demeaning jobs now open to her.

The question of women in the military provides an even greater picture of oppression. There are very few women in the military these days who do not consciously feel the weight of some sort of sexism by the military. Any superficial glance at the military structure and attitudes toward women held by the military reveals the utter degradation and brutality that women GIs face. This sexism is rampant from the job classification that a woman is placed in, through totally inadequate medical care, down to the fact that they are given inappropriate clothing in the winter time simply because to be properly kept warm would not conform with a

"feminine" appearance. We feel that the position of focusing on veterans and GIs will strengthen the ability of VVAW/WSO to attack these conditions and problems -- either by providing these women with an organizational vehicle through which they can fight back against their oppression, or by us providing active support for the struggles that these women will be involved in.

Because the question of racism is dealt with more thoroughly in question #10, we will not go into this in much detail here. We will say that our organization has to become more conscious of the special oppression that faces third world vets and GIs if we are to truly become a multi-national organization and be better able to struggle against imperialism. We have the ability to organize third world vets, yet our success has been limited; this stems largely from our failure to consciously reach out to third vets and GIs and approach organizing them in a programmatic way. We must begin speaking more concretely to national oppression by showing how third world vets receive proportionately high numbers of less-than-honorable discharges, discrimination by the VA (i. e. the VA does not provide any help to those Spanish-speaking vets who are trying to muddle through the bureaucratic red tape), job discrimination against third world vets. At the same time as we are doing this, we must point out how national oppression affects all third world people, and tie the struggles of vets and GIs into the struggles of the national minorities.

It should again be pointed out that the purpose of our last paper was not to deal with all the aspects and forms of oppression coming down on veterans and GIs, but to lay out our position on why this organization must lead these struggles. But, when addressing such specific issues as women's oppression and national oppression, we must say that we believe a veteran and GI focus will force VVAW/WSO to deal in a more thorough and systematic way with these questions. If VVAW/WSO is to lead veterans and GIs to the conscious understanding that only by smashing the system of imperialism will the foundation be laid for the complete elimination of all forms of oppression, then we need all people who suffer the oppression of the military experience to join in our struggle. This will require more programmatic work around these problems if we are to be successful in our organizing and in our ability to reach and educate these people. We believe that by focusing more on the concrete contradictions that veterans and GIs face, this area of our work will be further enhanced and developed.

Again, this portion of this Clarification Paper has tried to discuss what we see as the weaknesses of our original paper and some of the criticisms that we have received with regard to that first paper. We hope that this has cleared up some confusion. In the following section, we are presenting general questions which we have been asked, along with our answers to these questions. We hope that the following will provide a vehicle for further healthy struggle and the resolution of the major questions that are facing VVAW/WSO in the near future.

1. IF WE ACCEPT THE POSITION OF A VETERAN AND GI FOCUS, DOES THAT MEAN WE HAVE TO ACCEPT THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM?

This question has come forward in a number of different forms, but the essence is that, "Although I see the need for organizing vets and GIs, and understand that VVAW/WSO is equipped to do that organizing, I disagree with the united front against imperialism concept, and therefore, I cannot agree with the position set forth in the National Office position paper (that VVAW/WSO should have a veteran and GI focus)."

The National Collective does agree with the united front against imperialism concept; we look forward to struggling around that concept with those who disagree. But, we do not believe that accepting the position on a vets and GI focus, or the program that flows from this focus, requires that someone also accept the united front concept. In fact, a strong argument for accepting the vets and GI focus comes not from seeing us as necessarily a part of the united front against imperialism, but from our common experience in organizing (that is, our practice over the past period) and our understanding of the resources that we do have as an organization.

We know that there are 6.8 million Vietnam-era veterans in this country, of which we have managed to organize an infinitesimal part. We know that there are 580,000 Vietnam-era vets with less-than-honorable discharges. We know there are vets issues -- GI Bill, the VA, single-type discharge, etc -- which many of these veterans are affected by directly. We also know that vets, by the fact that they have seen and experienced imperialism in a direct way, both through serving as its tools and through seeing its results here at home, have a special understanding of what imperialism is, and for this reason, are important to organize. For many veterans, the various manifestations of vets benefits or the discharge system are the clearest present example of how imperialism affects their daily lives.

The organization as a whole agrees that there is a large, as-yet-untapped reservoir of vets and GIs, and significant issues to which they directly relate. There is also general agreement that VVAW/WSO has the capability and the experience needed to organize and mobilize these vets and GIs into VVAW/WSO and into the overall anti-imperialist movement.

At the same time, we recognize that veterans and GIs are not only vets and GIs -- they are also oppressed because they are national minorities, or because they are women, or because they are workers or because they are unemployed, or because they are in prison, etc, etc; if we did not concern ourselves with all these specific forms of oppression, we would be making a serious mistake: in fact, we would have failed to bring anti-imperialism to the struggle. But one of the reasons for focusing our work on vets and GIs is because they, as a group, include a wide variety of people, particularly working people, who suffer under imperialism in a wide variety of ways. The one point they have in common is military service, and our work must concentrate on the oppression that results from that service. Through a focus on vets and GIs, we can tie all these various struggles together.

There is no doubt that we have the practice in working with vets and with GIs, and we all realize there is much work still to be done in this area. And we have to recognize that the organization cannot specifically take on all the areas of organizing in the country that need to be accomplished -- we are limited by the number of people, by money, and by our experience. We are not equipped to be the umbrella mass organization to coordinate all struggles. But we are equipped to do a good job of vets and GI organizing. Common sense dictates that we should focus our work on what we can -- and do -- do well: organize vets and GIs (a different area that is related to vets organizing, where we are acquiring the necessary experience) into VVAW/WSO and through our organization, into the anti-imperialist movement.

None of the logic of this argument requires the united front against imperialism concept to be accepted. What is required is a sense of what can be the basis of unity for a mass organization. To make the united front against imperialism -- which is a strategy for revolution -- a basis of unity for VVAW/WSO at this time would be an error, just like making agreement with the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao a basis of unity (for a mass, anti-imperialist organization) would be an error. We do agree, as an organization, on the accomplishment of ten objectives; we do believe in the struggle against imperialism. A person who is gut-level pissed off at one aspect of imperialism has a place in the organization; this individual would, through practice, learn more about the system and would come to accept the struggle against all aspects of imperialism -- it is our responsibility to make sure this happens. If we adopt the focus on vets and GIs, that pissed-off individual would probably be a vet or GI or someone closely connected with vets and GIs, because VVAW/WSO could provide the vehicle for him or her to express anger and fight back against their oppression. This is, we feel, how a militant, effective, organization is build -- by organizing people around their immediate contradictions with imperialism.

While some people in the organization continue to grow politically, through their practice and their theory, and acquire a fuller understanding of the nature of imperialism, we cannot make that understanding a basis of unity for the organization as a whole. Without a constant flow of new members, VVAW/WSO cannot perform its function, and those new members are not going to come from the ranks of the conscious revolutionaries. Certainly, the organization has the right and the duty to weed out bad elements, but this must be done on the basis of their practice (or lack of it), not because they have failed to "measure-up" to a specified level of theoretical excellence. Anti-imperialism, from being pissed off at the VA to seeing the overall exploitation of the imperialist system, is the correct basis of unity for a mass organization. The specific target for our work -- a focus on vets and GI issues -- will provide the common, national-level programmatic unity needed to build the organization and move the overall struggle forward.

2. WHAT DO WE MEAN BY "FOCUS?"

The National Office position paper on the future of VVAW/WSO holds that the "focus" of the organization should be on veterans and GIs. By focus, we mean that the central thrust of our organizational work, the center of activity or attention around which we build the organization, should be veterans and GIs. This focus for VVAW/WSO flows from the basic position that the strategy of the organization, the goal we are working towards, should be to build a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veteran and GI focus and base. To more fully understand what we mean by focus, we must understand its relationship to the base of the organization.

At the Buffalo National Steering Committee Meeting in August, 1974, there was full agreement on the fact that the base of VVAW/WSO is vets and GIs. While there was agreement on the question of what our base is, there was definitely not agreement on what the organization's focus of organizational activity should be. Therein lies a very basic contradiction. There is a direct relationship between the focus of organizational activity and the base of the organization -- that, in fact, the focus of organizational activity will ultimately determine the nature of an organization's base.

The logic of this statement is simple. As we engage in mass work, and as we become more proficient in the practice of our mass work, we will naturally be recruiting more new members into the organization. It stands to reason that the makeup of the new membership we recruit will directly reflect the focus of our work; if we are doing work largely directed at veterans and GIs, it stands to reason that the membership coming into the organization will basically be vets and GIs. If our work is primarily directed at women, the majority of new membership coming into the organization would primarily be women. The same would hold true if our work was directed primarily at steel workers, students, welfare mothers, or unemployed workers. To say that this direct relationship between the focus of organizational activity and the nature of the base of the organization does not exist is to badly distort reality.

A simple analogy might make this point more clearly. If a person goes out to hunt for ducks, he or she would take a certain type of gun, go to a certain type of terrain at a certain time of the year and try to find ducks. Now, chance may have it that the hunter will be sitting in a duck blind in the middle of a lake during duck hunting season and end up shooting a bear. But, it is far more likely that he or she will end up shooting ducks. Particularly as skill at hunting improves, his or her practice improves, they can consistently expect to end up bagging ducks and not bears.

While this is an extreme example, the same relationship would also hold true for organizations. If the organization is to have a membership base of vets and GIs, then it will focus its organizational activities in such a manner that one can logically expect to end up with a membership base of vets and GIs. (By base we mean

both the active membership of VVAW/WSO and that much larger group of potential members, supporters, and sympathizers that identify with VVAW/WSO because of their common oppression under imperialism). There may, in fact, be a number of non-vets coming into the organization -- steel workers, students, unemployed workers, etc. This is good; we need these people. But the majority of new members coming into the organization will, because of an organizational focus of activity directed at vets and GIs, be vets and GIs.

A final point. As will be covered in the answer to question #8, because the focus of our primary organizational activity is directed at vets and GIs, that does not mean that we are narrowly limited to only working around immediate vets and GI issues. If we conceptualize the focus of the organization as a camera lense, we can understand this more clearly. A camera lense takes in a scene and brings certain objects into focus. It does not exclude other objects from the image made on the camera, but it does make the objects focused on stand out much more clearly than others in the same image. The same can be said of an organizational focus. While it does highlight a primary task or objective that work is directed towards, it does not imply that all other tasks are excluded. It is merely a way of delineating which tasks take precedence, which are priorities in our work.

3. DOES A FOCUS ON VETS AND GIs NEGATE THE WINTER SOLDIER CONCEPT; IS IT A STEP BACKWARDS?

This question has already come up in a number of different forms; to reach unity on the answer requires that we all agree on just what the Winter Soldier (or WSO) concept was and is. It is clear that different people historically saw the addition of WSO to the name of the organization as meaning different things. Also, many people in the organization at the time of the various meetings (Palo Alto, Chicago, and Placitas) about the future of the organization had only a limited understanding of the nature of imperialism and the movement to combat it; and while there was a great deal of discussion around the WSO concept, it was on a different level politically than the present struggle around the focus of the organization. The long-range political results were not the center of discussion at that time.

For many people, WSO was nothing more than a way to legitimize the participation of non-vets -- particularly women -- in the organization. As stated in the earliest discussion of the future (minutes of the Palo Alto Steering Committee meeting), "Since a veterans organization by its very nature excludes the participation of non-vets, both men and women, there is a structural barrier precluding further development." For many of us who had strong non-veterans working in our chapters, the status of VVAW "supporter" membership (the role into which VVAW forced non-vets at that time) was an absurdity, and in fact, many chapters were already moving independently to accept non-vets into full membership. The National Office believes that the organization as a whole has no disagreement with this portion of the WSO concept; to return to a strictly veterans and GI organization would be a backward step and, as will be explained in the next answer, is not what the vets and GI focus entails. There is, we believe, unity on the need for non-vets in VVAW/WSO, and that non-vets in the organization must have all the rights and responsibilities of vet and GI members.

There was another aspect of the WSO concept at the Palo Alto meeting -- the idea of a separate organization of which VVAW would be the veterans arm. Quoting again from the minutes of that meeting: "We do realize, however, that there will be a continuing need for a veterans organization. Veteran service programs should and will continue. Similarly, the sense of group identity particular to veterans is a valid basis for organizing groups for political action. At the same time we see the need for VVAW of being part of an organization open to all people, whether they are vets or not, who are commonly dedicated to the struggle of building a new society. An organization of Winter Soldiers could conceivably be created that would be open to all people who are in spirit and in action truly consistent with the goals that we are struggling for. VVAW would be but a part of this organization, not the chauvinistic counterpart to a VVAW women's auxiliary or a VVAW non-vet auxiliary. This concept of such an all more encompassing organization would permit VVAW to grow and respond to the need of becoming an evermore sophisticated and relevant organization for realizing and accomplishing major social change."

This workshop report, which was taken back to the regions and chapters for discussion, speaks directly to the concept of a mass umbrella organization of which VVAW would be one segment. This concept presumably saw the Winter Soldier Organization which had under its name a VVAW doing vets work and other groupings doing other kinds of work. We feel that this concept was based on some wrong ideas. Because of our limited political understanding of the movement at that time, we did not see that other organizations, doing specific work around specific issues but with an anti-imperialist perspective, were coming into being and growing. We did not understand our own limitations -- many of us idealistically thought that simply raising the banner of WSO would bring people flocking to us. And, while we did understand the need to organize around veterans' issues, we did not try to apply that understanding to other areas of work -- nor did we really see the need to put our veterans work into the context of anti-imperialist work (as indicated in the minutes by our "service work.") This sense of the WSO concept was, we feel, wrong. And the organization, in the next several steering committee meetings, discarded much of this concept.

Rather than forming the new "organization of Winter Soldiers" as seen in the Palo Alto Workshop report, we added "WSO" to "VVAW" -- first, with the idea that, after a year-long trial period, we would drop the "VVAW" (if concrete conditions made that possible) and, by the time the proposal was passed at Placitas, making VVAW/WSO the name of the organization for an indefinite period of time. In short, we realized that we could not set up a separate WSO but that VVAW/WSO was one organization with vets and non-vets as members. This move was a good thing, something that no one in the organization (so far as we know) would now undo. Even more progressive was the sense (never formally set down, but clear from our practice as an organization) that we had to move away from the single issue of the war and begin to struggle against imperialism in its other manifestations -- a sense that grew directly from our expanding understanding of the nature of the imperialist system.

The fact that we did not try to create a separate Winter Soldier Organization shows that we understood, however unclearly, that the organization grew from a vets (and, to a lesser extent, GI) base. This characterization of the organization was again accepted in St. Louis when we reaffirmed the nature of the organization -- "that we are a veterans based organization" -- while taking the progressive step of removing the restrictions (the necessity of being a Vietnam vet) on holding office in the organization. We see no essential disagreement within the organization to this step. Today, the point at which the struggle arises is how best to organize from a vets base in such a way as to strengthen the organization and build the overall struggle against imperialism.

If a veteran and GI focus were a step backwards, that would mean that it would not build either the organization, specifically, or the movement in general. Obviously, we believe just the opposite. Nor do we see this focus as a step backwards in terms of the organization itself (that is, returning to pre-WSO days). We fully agree with the correct parts of the WSO concept -- that is, full member-

ship for non-vets, and the understanding that imperialism is more than the Vietnam War -- and that we must struggle against it directly. We reject the aspect of the Winter Soldier concept which saw the mass umbrella organization; it was based on an incorrect analysis of the political situation (insofar as there was such an analysis) and on an idealistic and incorrect notion of how to organize most effectively. The WSO concept was, in many ways, an attempt to bind the organization together when our primary issue (the war) was no longer the center of the attention of the American people, and an attempt to be all things to all people.

A summing up of our mistakes from the past is important in order to avoid them in the future, but the important point is not that the WSO as a mass umbrella organization was wrong then -- the important point is that it didn't work in practice, and that the idea is even more incorrect today than it was then. We see, in a general way, the history of the organization as having come from a campaign against the war with a focus on vets and GIs, to an organization with an expanding membership (that is in terms of vets and non-vets) with local focal points but without a clear national focus, to what we now see arising -- through an understanding of the system and of the nature of the method to organize against that system, an organization with a clear national focus (of veterans and GIs), with vets and non-vets as members, and supporting work around those projects which we understand are part of the struggle against the imperialist system.

4. WHAT IS THE ROLE OF NON-VETERANS IN VVAW/WSO WITH A VETERAN AND G.I. FOCUS?

Some of the opposition to the adoption of a veteran and GI focus has centered around feelings that "we will lose half our membership," i. e. non-veterans and particularly our women members. Other remarks such as, "I am not a veteran, therefore, what is my place in VVAW/WSO if we adopt a veteran and GI focus," have also been heard. We do not want to lose our non-veteran membership; nor do we think that the adoption of a vet and GI focus means that we will, or that we should, lose this membership. In short, the above question can be answered by saying that the role of non-veterans in VVAW/WSO with the adoption of a veteran and GI focus will be the same as is the current role of non-veterans in the organization.

To begin discussing why we do not believe we will lose our non-veteran members, we must begin with the politics of our work and understand its importance. We don't know of anyone who disagrees with the need to organize veterans and GIs. We must understand that a revolutionary situation is building within the U. S. and the anti-imperialist forces are a major part of this growing movement. Along with this, we have to realize that veterans will play an important role in bringing anti-imperialist consciousness to the masses of people. They are in a good position to do this because they have served in the imperialist military and many of them have served in an imperialist war. The lessons of this experience of having witnessed imperialism abroad from a first-hand perspective must be brought to the American people and will be a great benefit in raising the anti-imperialist consciousness of those people who have not yet reached a point of understanding the nature of the system. At the same time, the importance of organizing GIs to resist the imperialist military cannot be overlooked. GIs are forced into the position of providing the imperialist state with its primary armed tool for oppressing the people of the world, including the people here within the U. S. As the state is increasingly backed up against the wall, it will attempt to unleash its military arm upon the masses of people to keep them down and to stop any revolutionary tide. If we have not done our work well, GIs may go along with this plan of the imperialists. The necessity of organizing within the military so that GIs will resist and neutralize attempts by the military to stop the revolutionary movement of the people cannot be stressed too much.

All of us, veterans and non-veterans, can understand the importance of organizing veterans and GIs into the anti-imperialist struggle. And as with all of us, we make political decisions based upon the political importance of doing a certain type of organizing. We must choose our political involvement on the basis of its necessity and work where we are best able to work and where our skills and abilities will best be put to use. We have to face the reality that non-veterans, as well as veterans, may see that their political abilities would be better used if directed toward other areas of struggle. Speaking specifically to non-veterans, if we agree with the objectives and politics of VVAW/WSO, if we agree that the organization needs to be strengthened and built, and if we realize the importance of organizing veterans and GIs into the anti-imperialist struggle, VVAW/WSO is a perfect organi-

zational form for non-veterans to be involved in. The non-veterans in the organization have experience and knowledge about working with veterans and GIs, and this knowledge is invaluable.

When speaking of building the veteran and GI movements, we must understand that these movements do not belong only to vets and GIs; i. e. the struggles of veterans and GIs belong to all of us. It is a struggle against imperialism and that is a struggle which all of us must be involved in. Another way of looking at this is the fact that a victory for one segment of the working class and the revolutionary movement, is a victory for the entire working class and the revolutionary movement as a whole. This feeling of unity in purpose and in struggle is the key to understanding the role of non-veterans with the adoption of a veteran and GI focus. All of our membership is needed to build a strong, anti-imperialist movement of veterans and GIs, and the struggle for building this movement belongs to all of our membership. Non-vets are just as integral to building this movement as are veterans.

Along with this, non-veterans have played a very important role in the historical development and growth of VVAW/WSO. Non-veterans have been in the lead of the struggle against incorrect ideas, such as the tendency toward "veteran chauvinism" which once existed in the organization; an attitude which would have held our organization back and might have led us to viewing our work as isolated from other people's struggles. Non-veterans have given a perspective on our work that otherwise might not have been developed as quickly -- a perspective of seeing our particular struggle as directly related to other struggles going on in the U. S. and around the world. Another contribution to VVAW/WSO has come from the ability of non-veterans to see specific areas of work that we, and are, neglected; i. e. working with families of veterans and GIs. This is the understanding that the oppression that is brought down on veterans and GIs by the imperialist system is also suffered by their wives, lovers, husbands, etc.

At the same time, non-veteran leadership has developed on all levels of the organization and this leadership has helped the organization to grow. We cannot afford to lose this developed leadership, nor can we "close the door behind us" and stop recruiting and developing the leadership potential of non-vets with the adoption of a veteran and GI focus; we do, and will continue to, need these people to build the organization. Non-veterans have always been an integral part of the organization (even when they were excluded from official membership by the rules of the organization), and we must continue to recruit them as full and equal members.

In discussing the role of non-veterans in VVAW/WSO, we must also understand that there is a difference between people who understand the political necessity of doing a certain type of organizing, (i. e. bringing veterans and GIs into the anti-imperialist struggle) and those people who join the organization as a result of our organizing. This is to say that not only veterans can organize veterans, nor can only GIs organize GIs. An example of this fact is that without civilians, the GI movement would never have been able to survive. It required the work of civilians who understood the political necessity of doing GI organizing to begin to build the GI movement. When speaking of organizing veterans, the majority of recruiting

that has been done by our membership has been shared by veterans and non-veterans and that both have been equally successful. Many of the organization's DUPs have been organized and staffed primarily by non-veterans whose job was to work with veterans and explain the nature of the imperialist system to them. This work would not have been more effective if a veteran happened to be the person making the initial contact with the less-than-honorably discharged vet.

The reason that organizing veterans and GIs can be done just as well by non-veterans as by veterans is that the day-to-day work of our organization is the most important work that we do. Non-veterans can do this day-to-day work just as well as veterans can, and our practice has proved that both have and can work together to get the necessary work completed. A division of labor along "veteran lines" should not exist in our daily work, but veterans and non-veterans, men and women, should share this work equally. There are times when a veteran may be needed to speak for the organization, and we must all face this reality. For example, in past years, in our work around the war in Indochina, it often made sense to have a veteran who had participated in that war present the organizations' position on the nature of the war. Also, if we are trying to explain to people how the VA screws veterans, it might be good to have a vet who has been directly involved with the VA speak for the organization. However, this is not always the case. Non-veterans can speak about the war in Indochina or about the VA and its inability to serve the needs of veterans with just as much force as veterans. It all depends on the particulars of the situation and having a veteran speak for the organization will be a tactical decision, rather than a policy.

With the adoption of a veteran and GI focus, the role of a non-veteran will be just as equal and just as important as is the role of veterans. This is especially true in our day-to-day work, which is the most essential work that we do as we struggle to build the anti-imperialist movement. Again, the most important thing to stress when answering the question about the role of non-veterans in VVAW/WSO is the importance of organizing vets and GIs into the struggle against imperialism. None of us, veterans or non-veterans, can afford to view the struggle of vets and GIs as belonging only to vets and GIs. It is a struggle that belongs to all of us, and building a movement of fighting veterans and GIs which is guided by a correct political understanding of imperialism is a task which will require the energies and political know-how of us all. We all must recognize our responsibility to building this movement and understand that every victory in the fight against imperialism is a victory for our entire struggle.

5. WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR POSITION ON THE FUTURE OF VVAW/WSO AND A PARTICULAR PROGRAM OF ACTION? OR, WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF OUR ORGANIZATION?)

Throughout the discussion of the National Office position paper on the future of VVAW/WSO there has been a misunderstanding of what the relationship is between the nature of the organization itself and the particular programs of action, campaigns, etc, it may take up on a national level during a given period of time. In a general sense, the answer to this question lies in defining the differences between our organizational strategy for VVAW/WSO and the organizational tactics we utilize to implement that strategy.

Our strategy as an organization, the overall goal we are working towards from our position is to build a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI focus and base. This organization, and the larger movement of vets and GIs, would be part of the overall people's movement struggling to defeat imperialism. This is the main direction all of VVAW/WSO's work should be oriented towards-its strategic aim.

The tactics of implementing this, however, are quite another matter. Tactics must be seen as a part of strategy that are both subordinated to it and designed to serve it. Tactics are a determination of the best plan of action we should follow. As we have seen in the few years of VVAW/WSO's existence as an organization, the particular conditions affecting our work will vary greatly in relatively short periods of time. These changing conditions present us with new tactical situations that we must adapt our political work to, for again as we have learned through our own practice, we must always apply our political work to the specifics of the time, condition, and place. As a basically anti-war organization up until the end of 1972, we clearly were presented with a new tactical situation with the signing of the Paris Agreements in January 1973. Similarly, we have had to adopt to the new conditions presented us by the unfolding of the Water-gate scandal, the popular disgust with the Nixon administration and now the rapidly developing economic crisis.

Quite correctly our tactics, as embodied in our organizational programs, campaigns, activities, etc, reflected these changing conditions. Before the signing of the Paris Agreements, VVAW primarily did work around the war in Indochina; demanding the US sign the Seven, then the Nine, Point Peace Proposals; demanding that all US military intervention in Indochina be terminated; and demanding that the US cease all aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol dictatorships. With the signing of the peace agreements and a decrease in the level of intensity of the mass struggle around the war, we began moving as an organization into other areas of work in addition to anti-war work. December 1973 saw the National Steering Committee adopt a national program around the war, amnesty and discharge upgrading. Later this was expanded to include demands for decent benefits for all vets and for kicking Nixon out of office. Now as the economic crisis is rapidly engulfing the country we have begun to do more work around economic issues, inflation, unemployment, etc with chapters and regions specifically focusing on a campaign at work around veterans and the VA. These changes in our organizational programs, or our national campaigns, are a reflection of the need for our tactics to change according to the ebb and flow of the people's struggle, to adjust to new conditions.

While the object of our organizational strategy would be to build an anti-imperialist

veterans and GI movement with the ultimate goal of smashing US imperialism, our organizational tactics pursue goals that stop short of the destruction of imperialism. The aim of tactics is not winning the whole war, i. e. defeating US imperialism, but to win some of the particular engagements or battles that must be fought along the way. These battles are fought and won by carrying out particular programs or organizational campaigns.

Tactics then, deal with the forms of struggle and the forms of our organizing efforts to carry that struggle out. We utilize whichever tactic is most effective at a given time to carry out the general strategy. If, at a given period of time and under the specific conditions existing at that time, a certain program or organizational campaign would more successfully advance our organizational work towards its overall strategic aim, then that is the tactic VVAW/WSO must select from the various alternatives available. When the National Steering Committee develops the national program VVAW/WSO will follow for the upcoming period, this is exactly the process we are involved in.

Given this general understanding of how tactics must flow from VVAW/WSO's general strategy--are a part of it and must serve it--we can more clearly understand our tasks in developing the future programs of VVAW/WSO. Truthfully, the first real attempt at consciously developing an organizational program that would give consistency and coherence to our work on a national level began at the Yellow Springs NSCM where we basically adopted the national program we are following today (more developed, of course). This was an important step forward for VVAW/WSO; a step forward in understanding the need for conducting our work on the basis of a predetermined plan of action and not allowing ourselves to, willy-nilly, get caught up in whatever activities might happen down the road as a matter of chance.

The basic problem with the process we followed at the Yellow Springs NSCM, and again at the Milwaukee and Buffalo NSCMs, was attempting to develop our tactics, meaning our organizational program, without first having come to agreement with what our overall strategy was. It was this contradiction that has led to so much confusion about what a veterans and GI focus would mean in practice for the organization, what programs would be developed to implement it, etc. We unavoidably confused the question of what our national program should be with what the overall strategy of the organization itself should be. At this time the primary issue we must resolve is our organizational strategy. Questions about whether we conduct a war on the VA or a campaign around the GI Bill, etc are tactical questions. Depending upon the specifics of time, condition and place, the solutions to these questions will correspondingly change. In the course of our struggle as an organization we will utilize many tactics, implement many programs and carry out many different campaigns. The primary question we must resolve, however, is what is the future of the organization: is it to be a mass anti-imperialist organization with a vets and GI base and focus or is it to be something else. Once this question of strategy is answered, we can then proceed to more correctly assess what the best tactical approach will be to attain the strategic goals.

HOW DOES A NATIONAL FOCUS ON VETS & GIs AFFECT LOCAL ORGANIZING?

Let us assume for the sake of argument that VVAW/WSO is united behind a veterans and GI focus. Let us also assume that chapters across the country are focusing their day-to-day organizing efforts on reaching and mobilizing veterans and/or GIs. Would this mean that these chapters would no longer take up struggles, either in their area or of national importance, that are not directly veterans or GI issues/demands? No, of course not.

While the national organization focuses its work on mobilizing and organizing vets and GIs, the particular conditions that face each chapter will dictate how that chapter applies our national focus and national program (whatever our program may be at a particular time). What this means is that we must be realistic and understand that in many cases, local conditions will have an effect on our local work. Among such local conditions may be instances when VVAW/WSO is the only progressive, anti-imperialist organization in the community and because of this, the burden of building the anti-imperialist movement is greater in these places than in those areas where there are several other progressive groups. In practice while the national organization may be raising four particular demands (as we are now doing) and unfolding these demands in a particular way (i. e. possibly around the VA), many times it will be necessary for local chapters to take up the national program at the same time they are facing an important struggle locally. This will necessitate in addition to the national program, developing local programs of action to meet the changed conditions brought on by that local struggle.

An illustration of this is the recent example of what happened in Columbus, Ohio. In Columbus, the workers at a plant owned by the Borden Corporation went out on strike for better working conditions. VVAW/WSO was one of the only progressive, anti-imperialist organization in Columbus and the chapter had been doing some picket line work with the strikers. Then, the workers called for a nationwide boycott of Borden products and the chapter was asked to help spread the news of this boycott. The chapter did this. If the Columbus chapter had a veteran and GI focus, would it be incorrect for them to do this strike-support work? No, quite the opposite. It was, and will be in the future, necessary for the Columbus chapter (or any chapter) to support such a boycott and help spread the word about the strike. Even if the chapter was waging a campaign around, say, the GI Bill, not to have supported the workers would have isolated their campaign and struggles from the workers at Borden, which is one of the largest industries in Columbus.

To use another example, in Buffalo the chapter is heavily involved in work around the Attica Brothers and their defense. Again, if Buffalo was actively focusing its efforts around vets and GIs, should the chapter drop its work around Attica? No. Ceasing work around Attica would only serve to isolate the chapter, and the struggles of veterans and GIs, from one of the major battles being waged in this country against repression of the imperialist system. Though the Buffalo chapter should continue its consistent support of the Attica Brothers (as should the entire organization) our national organization is not organized as a defense/support committee for the Attica Brothers, nor is the struggle around Attica the thrust of the national organization's daily work.

The key to understanding the position that all local work will not cease if it is not directly related to veteran and GI demands is to see the difference between local work and conditions and national work and conditions. With regard to the Borden strike in Columbus, VVAW/WSO did not become the national boycott/support group for the workers in Columbus. Nationally, VVAW/WSO asked its members and other people to support the boycott, but this did not become the central work of VVAW/WSO. The same is true in the case of the Attica Brothers. Though the struggles of the Attica Brothers have not become the thrust of the national organization's work, we should continue to take up and support the struggle against political repression and expose the nature of the system which uses this type of repression to try to crush resistance. Wherever and whenever time and conditions permit, VVAW/WSO has the responsibility to support the Attica Brothers specifically, and raise the question of political repression generally. This can be done either through using local or national cases.

When discussing this question, the major aspect to be addressed is what actually defines a national organization. Is it just using the same name? No, we believe there is unity in VVAW/WSO around the point that to be a national organization calls for more than just using the same name. The essential ingredient in defining a national organization is the fact that chapters are doing work around the same issues and the same program of action. It also means that nationally, we have the same principles of membership and approach questions with the same political perspective, in our case, anti-imperialism. In other words, a national organization requires programmatic and basic political unity between its chapters.

If the National Steering Committee votes to adopt a veteran and GI focus, we must all understand that this will not mean that all chapters will stop doing everything else and just work on veteran and GI issues; nor should they. What the adoption of a veteran and GI focus does mean is that all local chapters will begin doing veterans and GI work on a consistent, day-to-day basis. It will also mean that chapters will have to analyze their past and present practice and work and re-evaluate which work is most important and how the national focus will affect that work. This analysis may lead to the realization that some projects or areas of work will have to be dropped, while other areas of work will have to begin and tactics to implement a focus on vets and GIs will have to be developed. We would see the National Steering Committee coming up with a national program of action aimed at implementing the focus of vets and GIs in such a way as to allow chapters the ability to adapt the program of action to their local conditions; and this is because the program of action will be the result of the chapters' examinations of their practice, enabling them to make the determination of how a national focus and program can best be implemented within a variety of communities. Again, without this process of adapting programmatic work to the local level based on an analysis of past practice, and concrete conditions of a given area, the words "national organization" become meaningless.

It is necessary for local chapters to realize that what may be successful in their local area will not necessarily work across the country; that is, applying an analysis based solely on one chapter's local conditions may lead to an incorrect analysis for the national organization. We must always keep this in mind when making decisions which will affect the national organization, and continue to maintain a perspective that all of our chapters are part of the same, larger network of chapters striving for pro-

grammatic and political unity. We feel that chapters that implement the decisions of the national organization gain immense strength from the fact that the local struggle becomes an extension of the struggle of thousands of others, all guided by the same political understanding, all implemented in a similar way, and all directed at the same enemy. Those chapters that continue to "do their own thing" with no regard for the decisions of the national organization (which are made through the summation of our work by all chapters) not only demonstrate contempt for the national organization and its democratic processes, but will become isolated and weak, leading eventually to defeat for their struggle and their work.

7. ARE VET. DEMANDS NECESSARILY REFORMIST?

The first point that must be spoken to in terms of answering this question is the concept of "reform issues" in general. The question is--do we struggle to win immediate goals from the imperialist system or do we out-of-hand reject such tactics as liberal, reformist and a waste of time? The answer to it should be self-evident. First of all, we aren't interested in the slimey, opportunistic tactics employed by trotskites. We don't raise pie-in-the-sky demands like calling for immediate revolution. The masses of people living under imperialism have real needs and suffer real oppression. When we raise demands and then try to mobilize people to fight for them we must honestly be trying to win real victories by actually obtaining the goals of the demands.

Secondly, we understand that we are carrying of a life and death struggle against imperialism--that it most certainly isn't any game. Realizing this and to then refuse beforehand to maneuver, to utilize the conflicts of interest (however temporary) among our enemies, to reject agreements and compromises with potential (however temporary, unstable and vacillating) allies is the height of folly. To refuse to struggle for the immediate needs of the people and demand instead something like "revolution now" is like trying to climb a steep, unexplored mountain and to refuse--even before we start climbing--to move in zigzags or to change our course to avoid obstacles in our path.

Our goal is to serve the people, not to make a few sanctimonious statements on their behalf and then use them as stepping stones to some sort of mystical revolution in the sky. But just as importantly, we want to win real victories, not go down to "noble" defeat in a foregone lost cause just because we were too stupid or dogmatic to make a necessary change of course in our political handling of a given struggle. Clearly, the answer to the question of whether we struggle to win "reforms" from the imperialist system is yes. Under certain conditions reforms in general and compromises and agreements in particular, are necessary and useful.

The question then is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and agreements, but of the USE people make of "reform issues." It is the question of whether we build a fighting anti-imperialist movement or a reformist movement. There are no innately "anti-imperialist" issues, nor are there any innately "reformist" issues. The question is the manner in which they are raised, the manner in which they are brought to the people. For anti-imperialists any struggle is potentially a path to a broader anti-imperialist consciousness: correspondingly, we can use the same struggle to sidetrack the people's movement down a dead-end of sterile reformism. The same issue, depending on the way it is politically handled, can either be used to weaken imperialism or it can be used to actually strengthen it.

To a reformist, reforms are everything, while anti-imperialist work (building mass anti-imperialist consciousness, organizing people to fight back against imperialism, etc) is an incidental matter of idle curiosity. This is why when we struggle against the imperialist system with reformist tactics we inevitably find those reforms transformed into an instrument for further strengthening imperialist rule.

To an anti-imperialist, on the other hand, the main thing is building anti-imperialist consciousness and building a mass movement to smash imperialism; to the anti-imperialist, reforms are a by-product of the anti-imperialist struggle. They are tactical victories won in the course of struggle, as a natural consequence of that struggle. They are not the end goal in themselves. The "reforms" we must fight for, whether it's a single-type discharge, or universal, unconditional amnesty, etc, are all just aspects of the larger struggle against the system of imperialism. The goal of the people's movement is to cure the disease, US imperialism, and not to just apply stop-gap remedies to the symptoms of the disease.

In building a fighting anti-imperialist movement we will work on issues in order to use them as a means to developing the larger struggle of actually ending US imperialism. The reformist, on the contrary, will advocate reforms in order to actually renounce struggle against the system, to thwart the preparation of the people's movement to fight back against imperialism and to laud the praises of "bestowed" reforms: "My goodness! LOOK how well the system works after all."

The essence of carrying out struggles in an anti-imperialist, and not in a reformist, manner, lies in who we rely on to wage the struggles and how thoroughly we bring class consciousness to these struggles. The real weapon we have at our disposal with which we can fight back against imperialism is the united, militant mass action of the people. All the various arms of the state, the schools, the courts, the police, the military, etc, all serve one master: US imperialism. They cannot, by definition, serve the real interests of the people. They must, by definition, serve the interests of the imperialists AT THE EXPENSE OF the people. In the interests of building the anti-imperialist movement, in the interests of determining our own initiative rather than reacting to the actions of the imperialists, we then must always wage our struggles against the system utilizing the method of relying on the people; not on the courts, the legal eagles, the "heroes" on the big white horse, the "good guys" in Congress or anything else. Most importantly, we must politically connect the struggles to win these reforms to the overall struggle against imperialism.

As was stated above, there are no innately "reformist" issues, nor are there any innately "anti-imperialist" issues. Anyone doubting the truth of this need only look at the way Eugene McCarthy or George McGovern handled the question of the war in Indochina. Instead of being an anti-imperialist issue, one at the very heart of the imperialist system, McCarthy and McGovern managed to portray it as an utterly reformist issue, one where the solution to the problem was in making the system "work like it's supposed to"; all the people have to do is "vote out a few of the rascals in Congress" and "vote in some good guys" and everything will be all right. Or just look at the way the government tries to sum up the movement that kicked Nixon out of office: again, it's a "My Goodness! LOOK how well the system works after all."

By the same token, we can see how bread-and-butter "reform" issues have sparked some of the most militant struggles yet seen in the US. Certainly the fight for the 8-hour day, for unemployment compensation, for a minimum wage, the right to unionize, etc, were bread and butter issues. But the MANNER in which these

struggles were conducted was anything but reformist in nature. Just look at the fight to build the CIO in the '30's, the birth of the UAW, the 1914 Ludlow miners strike, or the more recent struggles of the coalminers as proof of this.

In terms of our organizational work we have many examples of how an issue can be raised in a reformist or an anti-imperialist manner. For example, we have utilized discharge upgrading as part of our campaign for universal and unconditional amnesty and a single-type discharge. Unfortunately many chapters approached discharge upgrading in a thoroughly reformist manner. These chapters fell into the error of working through and relying on the system in the hopes of getting more from it or making it work a bit better for us. Chapters making this error were getting caught up in a very legalistic approach, in "counsellingism" and in orienting the primary thrust of their work to winning a given case at the Discharge Review Boards and not in the communities. Such an approach objectively strengthens the system rather than weakens it. Not only is it tacitly admitting the "fairness" and "impartiality" of the boards and their very right to hear the appeal in the first place, but it is making a more serious error by saying that the system will work and that we can trust it to serve the people, that we can get "justice" from it.

Other chapters did not make these mistakes and consciously took an anti-imperialist approach to their DUP work. They saw discharge upgrading as being just one tool out of many to be used in building a people's movement for amnesty and a single-type discharge. Rather than relying on organizing paperwork in Washington and the Discharge Review Boards, these chapters correctly saw that they must rely on organizing people into the streets to fight for these demands if they are to be won. This same analysis could be made of literally every issue VVAW/WSO has ever worked on. They all could have anti-imperialist politics in command or reformist politics in command. It is all in how the issue is raised, how we do our work.

The struggles for better working and living conditions, democratic rights under imperialism, etc, or for decent benefits for all vets, a single-type discharge, an improved GI Bill, etc, are no less struggles against imperialism than the struggles to end the war in Indochina or to force the US to end its support of the dictatorships in South Korea, the Philippines or Chile. It all depends on the political context in which the issues are raised. The goal of our work is not to artificially divide our work into "anti-imperialist" work and "day-to-day" or "reform" work. Rather, our goal is to turn every struggle, every act of resistance into a fight that will enable people to see what the real enemy is, and to understand that the solution to our problems lies in smashing imperialism once and for all. The practical effect of artificially dividing "reform" work from "anti-imperialist" work is to abstract the struggle against imperialism to such a point that it doesn't permit people to see the unity between their own oppression under imperialism, between their own struggle and that of the rest of the people around the world fighting imperialism.

We can't build a consciousness of this unity between the struggles for reforms, for an end to the specific oppression people suffer under imperialism, and the overall anti-imperialist movement in a mechanical "stage" manner: "first we fight for reforms (in a reformist way), and then secondly we 'graduate' to anti-imperialist consciousness." It simply doesn't work that way. Not only does this actually hold the struggle back but it is showing disdain for the people as well. Not only can people grasp anti-imperialist consciousness in the struggle for reforms but they must if our movement is to succeed.

8. DOES A FOCUS ON VETS & GIs MEAN THAT WE RAISE
VETS AND GI DEMANDS ONLY?

No. It has been put forward that with a veteran and GI focus, VVAW/WSO can only organize around demands that reflect the immediate interests of vets and/or GIs, and not around general demands. This came out in practice by saying that with this focus, VVAW/WSO could not call amnesty demonstrations because amnesty was not an immediate demand of veterans and GIs. We think this position is a narrow application of what we mean by focus, and is incorrect.

In organizing against the system of imperialism, we are saying that the focus of the national organization is reaching out to veterans and GIs and mobilizing them into the anti-imperialist struggle. To do this, it is vital to raise demands that are in the immediate interests of veterans and GIs, and showing how only through combatting the system of imperialism can they ever hope for a complete solution to those immediate problems. This is because anti-imperialist consciousness does not fall from the sky one day when someone sees a leaflet about imperialism, and rarely does that consciousness come spontaneously; it must be developed. We are saying that the best way to develop that understanding is by linking up the fight for immediate needs (i. e. decent benefits) with the overall struggle against imperialism by showing concretely how that system is the root of their immediate problems. It is not a matter of exclusively raising demands around immediate needs or exclusively raising more general demands. The idea is to make a fighter for one into a fighter for all. To do this, we must show how immediate demands are integral to the overall worldwide struggle against imperialism. The consciousness of "I'm getting screwed" must be transformed into "We are getting screwed," by linking the immediate interests of vets and GIs to the broader interests of the masses of people--smashing imperialism.

If VVAW/WSO is to LEAD veterans and GIs in the struggle against imperialism, then we must raise broader demands and show how it is in their interests to fight for these broader demands. There are many examples of how the organization has already done this. When building for the July demonstration in Washington, DC, we put forward immediate demands and general demands. In other words, we raised demands which spoke to the particular oppression of vets and GIs, as we put forward demands which are in the interests of the overall struggle against imperialism. Individual chapters have also carried this forward successfully in their day-to-day work. We have pointed out in the past how the Milwaukee chapter has been able to move the struggle of vets forward by building on the immediate demands around the VA while at the same time building the more general movement around amnesty and the continued war in Indochina.

A clearer example can be made from the work of the Inland Empire chapter in California. The reason for this example is the importance of the Gary Lawton case and its effect on the work of the chapter in Riverside (which is the chapter most directly involved in the case). The primary thrust of the chapter's work is on organizing the veterans and GIs in their area. At the same time, some of the chapter's members are actively involved in the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, doing day-to-day work around Gary's case. While the chapter

as a whole does not do the primary day-to-day work around the Lawton trial, they also do not just raise demands for better benefits for veterans. Instead, they tie the demands of veterans closely to the general question of political repression and in particular, the case of Gary Lawton. This means that VVAW/WSO is not focused nationally on political repression, but the Riverside chapter does tie its focus (vets and GIs) closely to the general question of political repression under the system of imperialism. While Gary's freedom is an immediate demand in the community, it is a general demand of veterans, GIs and all oppressed people.

Again, a veteran and GI focus does not mean just raising demands that are immediate to their needs. To do so would isolate their struggles from the masses of people and eventually lead them and the anti-imperialist struggle to defeat. The question is how to take the struggle for immediate needs of millions of people, move it forward to point out who the real enemy is, and concretely link that struggle up with the overall struggle against the enemy--the system of imperialism. In the broader sense, the demands of vets and GIs are the demands of all working, poor and oppressed people; good, free medical care, good education, a good job and a decent life are the rights of all people. It is because of this that by successfully linking up the struggles of vets and GIs with the struggles being waged by different forces can we completely realize the transformation of a "fighter for one," into a "fighter for all."

9. WHAT IS SUPPORT WORK AND WHAT IS DIRECT ORGANIZING AND HOW DOES ONE DIFFER FROM THE OTHER?

There have been questions in the organization about what it would mean to chapters in terms of "support work" if we finally decided that the focus of this organization was around the struggles of veterans and GIs. In answering this complex question, we must generally define what support work and direct organizing are and what is the difference between them.

By direct organizing we are talking about that organizing which flows from the focus of the organization -- in this case, a focus on the struggles of veterans and GIs. In focusing on vets and GIs, we would be primarily engaged in organizing both these groups. This would be our main organizing task as we would assume primary responsibility for consciously providing leadership and direction to these struggles. The major strategy of the organization would be directly organizing veterans and GIs into VVAW/WSO and the general anti-imperialist movement.

By support work we are talking about the work that chapters would be involved in where we do not necessarily assume the primary responsibility of organizing people directly into the movement. We are all agreed that organizing veterans and GIs (as well as students, unemployed workers, coal miners, etc) is necessary for building the anti-imperialist movement. For VVAW/WSO this would mean, focusing on vets and GIs as DIRECT ORGANIZING, and providing the necessary political support for other anti-imperialist and progressive struggles through our organizational SUPPORT WORK.

We recognize that both support work and direct organizing are necessary for any anti-imperialist organization. The struggles of vets and GIs exist because of the imperialist system -- a system that oppresses all people. By seeing these struggles as an integral part of the anti-imperialist movement, we can determine to what extent we do support work in relation to our direct organizing based on our primary organizational tasks, i. e. our focus, an assessment of our capabilities and resources, and a political determination of our priorities.

By involving ourselves in only direct organizing, we would be isolating the struggles of vets and GIs from the other anti-imperialist struggles going on in the U. S. We can fall into a reformist error in this way by failing to concretely link all of these struggles together by attacking the system. On the other hand, by doing only support work, we would be making the "left" error of negating the actual oppressive conditions facing vets and GIs by denying that these oppressive conditions exist or that they can be fought in an anti-imperialist way.

The correct balance of the two is key to deciding the tactics of implementing our strategy of organizing vets and GIs into the anti-imperialist movement. These tactics are our day-to-day practice, flowing from our programs. In focusing on vets and GIs, our programs (i. e. our four demands) would be around their struggles. To clearly point out what a correct balance of the two would be and how to approach both direct organizing and support work, we can cite the example of the

Chicago chapter around the work at the VA and their participation in the struggle to free Antowyn Cauley.

The Chicago chapter of VVAW/WSO sees that the focus of their work is around the struggles of veterans. In recognizing this, they have embarked on a program around the VA. Their day-to-day practice in fighting for decent benefits for all vets includes leafletting, selling Winter Soldier at the VA, holding periodic demonstrations there, and talking about the oppression of vets at the VA in their general propaganda around their other work. They correctly analyze that the oppression facing the veterans at the VA is a direct result of the imperialist system and link this struggle with the war in Indochina, the struggle for universal and unconditional amnesty and the single-type discharge. Their work at the VA is anti-imperialist work. As a result of this program, they have begun to draw into the organization veterans and non-veterans who recognize this oppression and the need to fight back against it.

^{III}
As part of its general program, the chapter works with the Committee to Free Antowyn Cauley (a black victim of police repression). The chapter sees as its primary task building the anti-imperialist vets movement. As such, they directly organize around the struggles of vets in their day-to-day work. At the same time, seeing that the system of imperialism must be defeated, they participate in this struggle to free Antowyn Cauley because his struggle against police repression is inalterably linked to repression under the imperialist system. The chapter has not made the error of raising the Cauley work to their primary task. Through their day-to-day work around the struggles of vets, they bring the strength and experience of the vets struggle to the Cauley work, thereby providing valuable support to the Cauley committee.

When the chapter has a demonstration at the VA, in turn, members of the Cauley committee provide support to the struggles of veterans by bringing their experience in fighting the imperialist system and linking their struggles to the fight for our four demands. This committee does not participate in the VA demonstrations as its primary work, but sees how the struggle it is waging is linked to the program of the VVAW/WSO chapter, and how together these struggles must strike blows at the system.

In order for chapters to give support to other struggles, they must be able to provide support that comes from mass struggle. If a chapter is providing conscious anti-imperialist leadership and direction to the struggles of vets and GIs, and is drawing new members into the organization, then the quality of support work takes a giant leap. If a chapter does not do day-to-day work, and is therefore not recruiting new members and not making a meaningful attack on the imperialist system, then the amount of support that it gives to other struggles is weakened and merely token. The stronger the organization, the more entrenched in mass work, the greater the ties with the struggles against the imperialist system, the greater the support it can provide to other struggles. This type of solid support comes from the quality of our direct organizing.

While the example of the Chicago chapter is a good one in understanding the correct balance between direct organizing and support work, there are times when conditions will exist when it becomes necessary to temporarily elevate our support work to a higher priority. This is because at times, a certain struggle will demand immediate support. We can cite an example of this.

In March, 1973, the American Indian Movement took over the town of Wounded Knee. This take-over brought to the fore the oppressive conditions that Native Americans suffer under the rule of the imperialists. Recognizing this, many chapters in VVAW/WSO correctly provided support by collecting supplies, money, and other necessities to send to the Indians so that they could maintain their stand at Wounded Knee. At the same time, chapters educated people in their cities to the reasons for the take-over, linking them up to the war in Vietnam, and attacking the system in general.

It is important to understand that anti-imperialist organizations, regardless of focus, are part of the same struggle to defeat imperialism. This means that while we focus on the struggles of specific segments of society, we are not in isolation, but rather all bound up together attacking the same monster from a hundred sides. In recognizing this, we can determine which support work should be elevated when the conditions are ripe. This elevation should not become a general strategy. That would make us fall into the error of negating direct organizing and bowing to spontaneous movements. If every time a particular struggle came to the fore and VVAW/WSO rushed to support it, we would lose our base and water down the impact of our struggle against the imperialist system.

Let's take a hypothetical example. Over the past few months, various struggles have arisen that could have necessitated elevating support work to a higher priority. We could have decided that we have to drop everything else (as we did during Wounded Knee) and: involve ourselves in the Boston busing struggle; or work around the labor struggles of the coal miners or the steel workers; or support the struggles of the Palestinian people, or the independence movements of Guinea-Bissau or Mozambique or Angola; or work around the energy crisis or the food shortage, or etc, etc. We would have diffused ourselves and lessened our impact on the general anti-imperialist struggle.

There is a limit to our capabilities. We must always keep our focus in mind, and we must always decide carefully what support work we are capable of providing. Understanding the necessity, on occasion, of temporarily elevating the priority of support work, we must guard against negating the necessity of direct organizing by elevating that support work to our primary task. We have, at times, confused support work with direct organizing, turning their priorities upside down and becoming "anti-imperialists in the sky" rather than effective revolutionaries.

The only way we can take a correct path is to constantly understand the focus of the organization, determine what support work we can realistically do, and always sum up our work to see if we are making errors. If we do this, we will advance the impact that we have in the struggle to defeat U. S. imperialism.

10. DOES A VETERAN AND GI FOCUS IGNORE RACISM?

Any focus, whether veterans, GIs, students, workers, women, welfare mothers, etc. does not inherently ignore the question of national oppression and its ideology -- racism. It is the manner in which we take up the political tasks of organizing against imperialism that leaves room for the error of not combatting, or even ignoring, racism. What this means for VVAW/WSO (or any organization or movement) is that unless we take up the struggles of oppressed nationalities for liberation and actively combat the special oppression they face, we will be holding back the anti-imperialist struggle and refusing to deal with one of the major strongholds which maintains and keeps the system of imperialism alive.

When speaking of racism and national oppression in the context of a veteran and GI focus, it only takes a superficial glance at the problems of veterans and GIs to see that national oppression is a cornerstone of the imperialist oppression that is coming down on all third world people. National oppression is one of the key tools used by imperialism to divide people from one another; the ruling class uses this tactic of "divide and conquer" to try to insure that people will not unite and begin struggling together against the system. Our responsibility is to show the imperialists that this tactic of theirs will not work.

National oppression is felt in particular ways by third world veterans and GIs. Of the vets with less-than-honorable discharges, third world vets have disproportionately higher numbers of less-than-honorables than do white vets. Third world vets face a doubly high percentage of unemployment. At the VA, Spanish-speaking veterans face the usual red tape, along with the added burden, in many cases, of a language barrier. On top of this, the majority of third world veterans can't even think about college (many having been forced out of high school to join the military for economic reasons), let alone go to school on an inadequate GI Bill.

Third world GIs face the same kind of double oppression, similar to that faced by the third world veteran. Any brief survey of GIs in the stockade will show a highly disproportionate percentage of black GIs doing time for military "crimes." The worst military occupations are given in higher numbers to third world GIs, as are the worst forms of harassment. The Brass is constantly pitting blacks against whites, regularly fostering racism through special programs supposedly aimed at ameliorating such differences. On top of all this, many third world GIs have been forced to face their own people when the military has been called in to suppress domestic rebellions of people fighting back against their oppression, i. e. the Watts and Detroit uprisings.

When dealing with this special oppression of veterans and GIs, it is not a matter of how many times we say that racism is bad, nor how many times we say that the root of the problem is the system of imperialism. It is a matter of how thoroughly we take up the struggles of third world veterans and GIs in a systematic way to combat the special problems and oppression they face. It is this systematic practice which will enable us to build a strong multi-national organization--

to bring more third world people into our organization. This will happen because we will be speaking directly to these peoples' daily oppression and the concrete conditions they are forced to live under.

Some ideas for building this systematic practice could include attacking cases of institutionalized racism such as inferior living conditions for third world GIs and their families, discriminatory job placement within the military, racist harassment by the use of Article 15's, courts-martial, discharges, etc. For veterans, it might mean fighting for an end to job discrimination, fighting for Spanish VA forms and Spanish-speaking VA employees, or mobilizing vets with less-than-honorable discharges, particularly black and brown vets, to build the campaign for a single-type discharge. This type of work will have to become ingrained in our day-to-day practice, and we will also have to be certain to link these struggles with the overall struggles of third world people, i.e. the case of Gary Lawton.

We believe that a veteran and GI focus not only takes up the question of racism, but actually forces VVAW/WSO to begin playing a more concrete role in the struggle to end all forms of national oppression. It also forces the membership of VVAW/WSO to begin dealing with racist practice and ideas, in the same way that the struggle around women in the organization has led the membership to deal with sexist practices and ideas. Because racism is used by the military and its discharge system, by the VA, by employers, and throughout society, and because a veteran and GI focus means actively reaching out to the masses of vets and GIs, it will be imperative for VVAW/WSO to wage consistent, programmatic struggles against national oppression. With a focus on veterans and GIs, we will have to deal with racism where it actually exists, rather than pronouncing lofty phrases about how ugly it is. As a result, we will have to develop methods of work that speak directly to the oppression of third world vets and GIs in a consistent, systematic way. By doing this, we will be building a multi-national VVAW/WSO and the entire anti-imperialist movement through our work.

11. WHAT DOES A VVAV/WSO CHAPTER AND GI FOCUS MEAN IN TERMS OF OUR PRISON WORK?

To make this answer as clear as possible, we begin with an example from outside prison work -- strike support. Local chapters of VVAW/WSO have, and will continue to, get involved in strike support work around the struggles of workers to improve their living and working conditions. It is quite possible that we would be supporting strikes which our members are participating in, i. e. members of VVAW/WSO who are workers would (hopefully) be playing leading roles in organizing a strike in their factory. These members would not be organizing a strike as VVAW/WSO, but as members of their union or caucus within the factory. A VVAW/WSO chapter could well be helping out on the picket lines or leafletting or helping to keep scabs out, etc. In short, VVAW/WSO would be doing strike support work.

In many ways, our present prison work is comparable to this (though there are significant differences which will be discussed later). We would not go into prisons in order to organize, though we may well have members in those prisons. We support the work that those members are doing (as we would do with strike support). At the same time, we recognize that our organizational form, which did not grow out of the prison struggle, is not the best, nor the correct form to organize prisoners into -- even if that were possible -- in just the same way that we would not organize the workers in a factory around their demands, say for higher wages, through VVAW/WSO.

At the time when the organization decided to have a National Prison Project (at the Yellow Springs Steering Committee Meeting) there were some ambitious plans for what the project could and should become. As the organization saw it, the prison project office would act as a clearinghouse for information from the local work being done by chapters and regions, and it would also serve as a research and resource center. It would also publish a newsletter for prisoners and provide news for Winter Soldier. The chapters and regions were to be doing day-to-day work around the conditions in prisons -- things like organizing prisoners and their families around specific demands of the prisoners, trying to persuade prisoners to form VVAW/WSO chapters in prisons, doing correspondence, performing minimal service-type activities (getting together transportation to prisons, DUPs, providing literature), etc. This general program never materialized and in summing up that experience, we can see several reasons for this.

First, we did not understand the nature of organizations in prisons. We now know that there are several types of organizations in prison: first, there are the large organizations which generally constitute a power block, i. e. the Muslims, Black Culture Clubs, White Unity Clubs (they go under different names) which are directed toward in-prison politics and survival. For the most part, these groups have no relationship at all with outside groups. Second, there are the tightly knit political groups -- often along the line of study groups. Because of the preponderance of informants within prison, and because these groups deal in clear revolutionary politics, they are small and secret. The third general type of organization in prison is the social club (for lack of a better term) and this is the area where VVAW/WSO came in. These groups are seen as official organizations (that is, recognized,

or trying to be recognized. by the prison administration). They have something like regular meetings (giving the prisoners a chance to get together as a group); sometimes, depending on the restrictions at a given prison, they may have outside speakers. conduct general educational programs, etc; and sometimes, they achieve some kind of political unity around specific issues within the prison.

The important point here is that it makes little difference what the name of that group is -- in a number of prisons where a VVAW/WSO chapter had started, and was later repressed by the prison administration or simply ceased to exist, the same group of people have regrouped as Jaycees, the 7th Step (an inside/outside coalition of prisoners and ex-prisoners directed toward finding jobs, etc) and similar organizations. In short, becoming a VVAW/WSO chapter is simply a vehicle that prisoners use to educate and organize themselves. There is no way that there can be consistent support for the programs of the organization, and in almost every case, the chapters have been destroyed by the prison administration or ceased to exist for reasons of apathy. While we certainly have no trouble with the idea of VVAW/WSO's name being used as this kind of tool or vehicle for general unity, we must understand that these are not -- and never were -- chapters in the same sense that outside chapters are. They simply do not have the same level of programmatic or political unity as our outside chapters.

Second, many prisoners who join the organization are not (and do not see themselves as) members in the same sense that outside members are. This partly comes from prisoners inability to conduct consistent practice with the organization; but more importantly, few, if any, prisoners who have joined VVAW/WSO see us as their primary organization for accomplishing their goals. They also belong to other organizations (as well as ours) which can deal with the immediate problems they face. Also, a large number of the prisoners who are on our mailing list are there because they are interested in receiving Winter Soldier and "Inside/Out" -- both of which contain information they are not likely to get from other sources.

Third, and most important, is what the practice of VVAW/WSO as a national organization has been with regard to prison support work. Overall, there has been little. Where serious prison work was attempted, it faltered in most cases, or it grew into a coalitional effort in which VVAW/WSO played less and less of a leading role. In most places where prison work was begun, there is now some correspondence with prisoners, but that is the extent of the work. In a few places, there is continuing work around VVAW/WSO projects in prisons, such as discharge upgrading. There is also a good deal of work around political prisoners, defense committee work, or defense committee support work. While this is an area of our work which may grow from prison work (i. e. Leavenworth), it is a different kind of work and working with political prisoners in prison is not the same thing as prison work.

The major lesson that we have learned during the last year with regard to our prison work is that it is impossible for us to ORGANIZE prisoners. You simply cannot organize people through the mail, especially when trying to get mail inside a prison. We have done a good deal of educational work with prisoners, and in some cases, we have been able to inspire a prisoner into seeing that he/she must organize the other brothers or sisters within the prison. But we have not done prison organizing. That requires direct and consistent contact over a period of time

and the eventual mobilization of people which we are not in a position to do. Organizing has to be done by the prisoners themselves, and even though we do have VVAW/WSO members in prison, they are not necessarily trying to organize other prisoners as VVAW/WSO or into VVAW/WSO. (Just as VVAW/WSO members who are involved in organizing a strike are not doing it under the guise of VVAW/WSO).

At this point, we see that the majority of work now being done around prisons comes from the prison project office. (This is not including defense work that is going on around the country with regard to political prisoners). The work of the prison project office consists of a constant stream of letters, mostly with highly politicized prisoners who are trying to do organizing (where possible) inside their respective prisons. We feel this is an important aspect of our work. We have obtained a great deal of information as to what is going on inside the prison system and a better understanding of that system and its relationship to imperialism. At the same time, we have been able to help prisoners through discussions around political questions and the sharing of our practice as an organization with the theory that prisoners often have in abundance. We have maintained an extremely useful and, we think, progressive political relationship with hundreds of prisoners across the country.

Second, we do communicate with an even larger number of prisoners through the mailings of Winter Soldier and "Inside/Out" (which attempts to look at the specific problems of the prison system and put them in an anti-imperialist context). This is the basic means of communication with most of the prisoners now on our mailing list, and we feel it is an extremely useful educational tool which prisoners relate to very well. As prison repression increases and the divisive tactics of administrators grow more brutal, we can see this publication playing an increasingly larger role in point out the true nature of the enemy and the need for unity in struggling against that enemy.

Third, we can and do provide a minimum sort of "service" in terms of giving information to prisoners. We receive a lot of requests about VA benefits, the GI Bill, discharge upgrading, SPN codes, etc. from prisoners who look to us as being able to provide this type of information. Also, we are beginning to develop good relations with many of the veterans groups which exist inside prisons. There is a growing number of such groups inside prisons, and their goal is to organize prisoners who are vets. These groups have asked us for help, for information, for guidance, etc. and have in return, shared their work experiences with us. There are some very interesting campaigns being waged (though still in the beginning stages) around the GI Bill, the lack of VA benefits, etc. and demands such as "Make the VA come to us with medical treatment" are being raised. We have done our best to inject an understanding of imperialism into these campaigns and we believe we have been able to direct several of these projects away from reformism to a revolutionary understanding of the nature of the system.

Finally, we have built up a good reputation within the prison movement. We feel that we have done this through our practice -- both the practice of the organization (the DC demonstration, VA take-overs, etc) and in terms of our publications which prisoners think very highly of. Also, prisoners have given us their respect for our honesty in being up front about our abilities and our limitations with regard

to doing prison work. All of this has led to the fact that there will be prisoners who will want to work with the organization once they are released from prison and some of them will want to become involved in our prison support work. We should not discourage this. At the same time, it is clear to people in prison that prison support work is not the major thrust of our organization's work; people understand this and have related to us on that basis.

In summary, while we do have a number of "members" in prisons, we do not have a prisoner base (in the same way that we have a base among veterans and GIs). This is because the practical and realistic relationship of prisoners to VVAW/WSO is far different than the relationship of people who are outside. Our practice since the formation of the national prison project has demonstrated that we are not equipped to handle prison work on a large scale, nor can we realistically create a network of VVAW/WSO chapters in prisons. We have learned a great deal through the prison work we have done, both about the work we are able to do and about the nature of the prison system. Because of this, we see a real need to continue doing the work we are now involved with, particularly because there is such a void within the prison movement that we have been able to help fill. We are gaining contacts in more prisons, and we hope that these contacts will continue to grow so that we can reach and learn from more people. If local chapters have the people-power, the skills and the energy to do prison support work, we would encourage them to do so. However, we have learned from the experience of the organization that coalitions (with groups such as the National Lawyers Guild) may be the best way to proceed. At this time, we see no cut-back in our prison support work. We want the prison newsletter, "Inside/Out" to continue and we want our prison contacts to continue. However, we do feel it is time to look at the National Prison Project as it was originally set up and realize that some of the ideas contained within this project have proved themselves to be unattainable. We have to examine our past practice in an objective and realistic way, learn from our idealistic expectations and from what we have been able to do. If we do this, we can then move forward with a healthy understanding that we can play an important role in providing support for prison struggles. We cannot organize the prison movement, but we can help it to grow -- through our contact with that movement, through our ability to provide educational materials and ideas, and through our ability to support this vital struggle.

12. HOW DOES BUILDING THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST VETERANS AND GI MOVEMENTS PUSH FORWARD THE OVERALL STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM?

Ho Chi Minh stated that imperialism is a two-headed monster; it sucks the blood of the people of the colonies with one head, while at the same time it sucks the blood of the working class of its own country with the other head.

There seems to be no question in the organization around the importance of organizing veterans and GIs. It is universally accepted that veterans and GIs have seen both heads of the imperialist monster. While there is a question around the tactics of organizing vets and GIs, we clearly understand that it is important to do so. Why is this so and will it push forward the anti-imperialist movement?

In answering this question it is important to understand the role that vets and GIs play in an imperialist country. The military is used by the imperialists both internally and externally. They are used as strikebreakers and riot cops internally, and as a force to dominate other countries. GIs are the backbone of the military. We can clearly see how GIs were used in both of these instances by looking at several examples. GIs, national guardsmen, state militias were used to squash workers rebellions such as the Ludlow, Colorado miners in 1914; they were used to squash rebellions of blacks in Watts in 1965 and Detroit in 1967; they were used to break up the veterans Bonus March in 1932; and they were used at the anti-war demonstrations at the Pentagon in 1970. In addition to the internal use, GIs were used as tools to try to crush independence movements in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the Dominican Republic, Lebanon, etc. etc.

It is a necessity for the anti-imperialist movement to organize GIs to insure that the military is neutralized and incapable of carrying out its imperialist functions. Organizing GIs must be seen in this context. GIs must be organized around the understanding of the role that they play in an imperialist system and around the oppressive conditions forced on them while in the military. The organizing of GIs must be done on these two inseparable bases. Avoiding reformism and avoiding "anti-imperialism-in-the-sky" is the only way this can be done successfully. By involving ourselves in the day-to-day struggles of GIs, we can make this important, vital link between the oppression of GIs and the oppression that the military forces on all the people of the world. By doing this, we are striking a decisive blow against U. S. imperialism and for the overall struggle in building the anti-imperialist movement.

In building the anti-imperialist movement, we must also recognize the importance of veterans and the role that they play within an imperialist country. Traditionally, veterans have been called upon to support wars of imperialism. After the first world-wide imperialist war -- World War I -- veterans organizations such as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars became important in fostering imperialism. These organizations were built on the ideology of "100% Americanism," "America, Right or Wrong" and "I Am A He-Man," which have historically been used to hype reactionary patriotism. After WWI, these veterans groups

were used by the reactionaries to try and squelch the growing discontent of veterans who were coming back to the U. S. and finding it difficult to get jobs, while at the same time beginning to understand that WWI was not fought "to make the world safe for democracy."

This oppression of veterans is nothing new. Today there are approximately 6.8 million Vietnam-era veterans and 42 million veterans of all wars. The Vietnam-era veterans are chronically unemployed, suffer from over 580,000 less-than-honorable discharges, find it difficult to go to school and support families, etc. As such, veterans are a significantly visible force in America. While veterans are also black, women, workers, students, etc, they all have in common the fact that they have served in an imperialist military and as such, have seen the two heads of imperialism.

It is the duty of anti-imperialists to organize these veterans. Potentially, veterans have the ability to reach the broad masses of Americans as they did during the Bonus March in 1932. At that time, thousands of veterans from across the country came to Washington, DC to demand bonuses that were promised to them for their WWI service. As the demonstrations went on, the demands became broader and linked up with the struggles of all Americans, yet focused on the struggles of veterans. While the military broke up the Bonus March, the organized action of veterans gave impetus to the rising worker rebellions during the depression years of the 1930's.

In organizing veterans today, we must follow this lead set by the examples of the veterans struggles in the 1930s and learn from the lessons of the Bonus March. We must organize veterans because of their common experience in the military, because of the common oppression of being veterans and we must show the obvious links between this oppression and the oppression of all the American people. We can do this only by building an anti-imperialist movement focusing on the struggles of veterans. We can do this only by involving ourselves in the day-to-day struggles of veterans, by avoiding reformism and by avoiding "anti-imperialism-in-the-sky" where we abstractly toss about the ideas of imperialism without linking it up to the real oppression veterans face.

In doing this, we have taken a force which has been both historically revolutionary and historically reactionary and introduced this group into the current anti-imperialist movement. And by organizing veterans in an anti-imperialist way, we will have dealt a major blow to the imperialist system.

On January 23, 1975, [REDACTED] provided the January, 1975, issue of "GI News" which is self-described as a publication of the VVAW/WSO. This publication set forth the following information:

b2
b7D

"WHAT IS VVAW/WSO?"

"Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) is a mass, anti-imperialist organization which focuses its work on the struggles of veterans and GIs. We began as a group of Vietnam veterans actively protesting the war in Indochina. As our protest grew, however, we came to realize that the real problem was not just the war but the system of imperialism. Based on our experiences in Vietnam and our experiences after we returned to the United States, we now see what imperialism is: the system which exploits the poor and working people around the world and here at home in the interests of the corporate profit-makers. Imperialism needs wars like Vietnam in order to survive.

"Today, we are fighting against imperialism on two fronts. As we have in the past, we actively support the liberation struggles of the Indochinese people and demand an end to US involvement in Indochina. Since we see that imperialism also exploits people all around the world, we support the many other liberation struggles as people fight for freedom and independence.

"But we see that the same system of imperialism which tries to suppress other people is hard at work here in the United States. As a result, we have taken up peoples' struggles at home. We have declared war on the whole Veterans Administration network which does not and cannot meet the real needs of veterans. We struggle against the racism and repression in the US military. Because of the current economic crisis, we are fighting for jobs or income for all, not just for veterans who are hard hit by unemployment, but for all people who cannot get work under the system of imperialism.

We work with political prisoners around the country in support of their struggles. And we are in the forefront of the fight for universal, unconditional amnesty for all war resisters. All of these struggles are part of the overall struggle against imperialism; they make up our national program for action.

"This program is carried out by our members who work in chapters throughout the US and overseas in Japan and England. Chapters also work on local programs and campaigns. Our members are veterans and non-veterans, GIs and civilians who struggle to end imperialism, understand the importance of building a fighting veterans and GI movement, and are making that movement grow. We are doing our part to fight a system which oppresses us all; if you want to join in that fight, or to get more information about our national or local programs, contact the local VVAW/WSO chapter, or the VVAW/WSO National Office, 827 W. Newport. Chicago Illinois 60657 (phone: 312-935-2129).

"BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST VETS & GI MOVEMENT!"

"JOIN VVAW/WSO!"

During the December, 1974, St. Louis NSCM, the VVAW/WSO changed their political position from a largely Marxist dogmatic approach to one of following a strict Maoist line. The VVAW/WSO has chosen slogans of Chinese revolutionaries to assist them in bringing about revolution in this country.

[REDACTED] 12/17/74) ()

b2
b7D

III. OFFICERS

The National Office Report of the VVAW/WSO 12th NSCM held April 11 through 15, 1974, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, indicated their National Officers and duties as follows:

BRIAN ADAMS - Amnesty, External Liaison

RICHARD ~~BANGERT~~^{Ohio} - Veterans Affairs, Research,
County Fair, Speakers Bureau,
Press, GIS

ED DAMATO - Internal Liaison, Amnesty, GIS

BARRY ROMO - External Liaison, "Winter Soldier"

SAM SCHORR - Fund Raising, Financial Books,
Incorporation, Material Sales

MARLA WATSON - Internal Liaison, Prisons, Women,
Office Manager

[redacted] April, 1974)

b2
b7D

During the April, 1974, NSCM held at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, PETER ZASTROW was elected as National Coordinator to fill the position vacated by BARRY ROMO and SAM SCHORR was re-elected as a National Coordinator. There were no other changes made in National Coordinators at this meeting.

[redacted] April, 1974)

J.H.
Pete
N.Y. J...
1974

During the August, 1974, NSCM held at Buffalo, New York, BRIAN ADAMS, RICHARD BANGERT, EDWARD DAMATO, PETER ZASTROW, SAMUEL SCHORR and MARLA WATSON were re-elected as VVAW/WSO National Coordinators. It was noted, however, that BANGERT would leave the National Office in October, 1974, and that ADAMS would leave the National Office in January, 1975.

[redacted] 8/13/74)

During December, 1973, [redacted] furnished VVAW/WSO newsletter number 14, dated November 4, 1973, which sets forth the following resumes of individuals nominated for the position of VVAW/WSO National Coordinator:

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

CG 100-50772

PRW:kmb

Resume of MARLA WATSON

WIS NY

Background

22 years old B. APPROX [REDACTED]
Born and raised (in Kansas City,
Kansas

b7c

Attended University of Kansas
from 1969 to 1973

Military

None (and proud of it)

Political History

Worked with Black Panther Breakfast
Program 1968-69 and did organizing
in Kansas City inner-city ghettos

Joined K.U. Women's Caucus and
worked with other women's organiza-
tions in 1970 and 1971 (at which
time I realized they were sexist)

Active in "campus" politics from
1969 to 1973 (remnants of SDS) -
served on just about every steering
committee of the various political
coalitions which so often arise on
campuses

Joined VVAW/WSO in March, 1972, and
became Lawrence Chapter coordinator

Member of Regional Staff from summer
of 1972 to May, 1973

Joined National Collective in May,
1973 and am still there

Current functions
in the National
Collective

Internal Liaison, Political
Prisoners, Prisons, Financial
records, Women, Office Manager

CG 100-50772
PRW:kmb

b7c

Resume of BRIAN ADAMS

Background

30 years old
Born in Gainesville, Texas, and
raised in McLean, Virginia
Attended University of Wisconsin
from 1962 to 1968

Military

Commissioned Second Lieutenant,
University of Wisconsin ROTC,
June, 1966
Active Duty - June, 1968 - June, 1970
Vietnam - August, 1969 - June, 1970
13th Scty. Plt., 164th Cbt. Avn.
Gp. 1st Avn. Bde.

Political History

VVAW/WSO - Joined August, 1970
Regional Coordinator of Colorado,
Utah, Wyoming from February, 1971
to November, 1971
Regional Coordinator of Colorado,
Utah, Wyoming from June, 1972, to
January, 1973
National Coordinator from January,
1973 to present

Operation RAW, Dewey Canyon III,
Colorado Winter Soldier Investigation
National office representative in
Gainesville 8 New Bureau and support
demonstration

VVAW/WSO delegate to 18th World
Conference Against A&H Bombs, Tokyo,
August, 1972

VVAW/WSO delegate to Moscow World
Congress of Peace, October, 1973

Miscellaneous

Has never been affiliated with any
other political organization other
than VVAW/WSO with the exception of
La Brigada Venceremos. Member of
5th Contingent of VB from February
to May, 1972.

CG 100-50772

Current functions
in the National
Collective

Amnesty, External Liaison,
Security

CG 100-50772

PRW:kmb

Resume of ED DAMATO

Background	27 years old Born and raised in New York City Ex-Catholic
Military	Drafted into Army in May, 1966 Released in 1968 Vietnam - HHC 2nd Bde, 9th Inf. Div. - February, 1967, to February, 1968
Political History	VVAW/WSO - Joined August, 1970 Regional Coordinator of New York State - February, 1971, to January, 1973 National Coordinator from January, 1973 to present
Miscellaneous	Veteran of Operation RAW, Dewey Canyon III, Republican Convention, Winter Soldier Investigation - January, 1971 (did not testify)
	Delegate to World Peace Congress, Versailles, France, February, 1972
	Delegate to World Peace Congress, Rome, Italy, February, 1973
	Member of Steering Committee - National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA)
Current functions in National Collective	Internal Liaison, Amnesty, GI's Press Clippings file

CG 100-50772

PRW:kmb

Resume of SAM SCHORR

Background

26 years old
Born and raised in Los Angeles -
middle class Jewish family
Two years of college but [REDACTED]

b7c

Military

Enlisted on February 23, 1966, in
Army
Released January 17, 1969
Vietnam - Charley Co., 86th Combat
Engineer Bn. 1st & 9th Inf.
Div. September, 1966 - September,
1967

Political History

Joined SDS immediately after release
from service and stayed until the
summer of 1969

Dropped out and moved to Israel in
October, 1969, returned to States,
July, 1970

Started a Vets for Peace club at
school which later became a VVAW
chapter

Worked at VA hospital as a drug
counselor on their Methadone program
until bombing of Hanoi

Regional Coordinator of California
VVAW/WSO from June, 1972, to January,
1973

National Coordinator from January,
1973 to present

Participated in WSI in Detroit,
1971, and in Dewey Canyon III

CG 100-50772

Miscellaneous

VVAW/WSO delegate to 10th World
Festival of Youth and Students,
August, 1973

Current functions
in National
Collective

Fund raiser, financial records,
legal and incorporation, office
machines, W.S. subs and literature
sales

CG 100-50772
PRW:kmb

b2
b7D

During February, 1974, [REDACTED] furnished VVAW/WSO
newsletter Number 21, dated February 12, 1974, which set forth
the following:

CG 100-50772
PRW:kmb

Resume of PETE ZASTROW

Background

34 years old
Received a BA degree from Dartmouth
College and an MA degree from
Indiana University

Military

Commissioned through ROTC, June,
1961
Went on active duty (as a First
Lieutenant) in January, 1967
(deferment for graduate school)
Vietnam service from December 4, 1968
to December 4, 1969.
Promoted to Captain in January, 1969,
MOS 1542 (small unit leader), and
whatever the MOS is for information
office

Political History

Served with the 1st Air Cavalry Divisi
Never belonged to any political or-
ganization prior to VVAW/WSO. Joined
VVAW/WSO in early 1970, but did not
become active until April, 1972, when
a chapter was started in Cincinnati.
One of the chapter coordinators (in-
sofar as there is one) from that time
on. Became regional coordinator in
May, 1973. First major VVAW/WSO
event - Miami Beach, summer, 1972;
Washington, January, 1973; Gainesville
summer, 1973. Has attended NSCOMs
since the first Milwaukee meeting
(with the exception of Placitas).
Represented VVAW/WSO in Paris in
December, 1973, at the Conference
of Solidarity with the Cambodian
People.

Miscellaneous

IV. MEMBERSHIP

The estimated membership of the VVAW/WSO is probably between 500 and 750.

[REDACTED] 1/23/75)

b2
b7D

V. PUBLICATIONS

The National Office of the VVAW/WSO publishes and distributes the "Winter Soldier" newspaper on a monthly basis. Periodically they publish a newsletter which contains general information regarding their activities on a regional and national basis. This newsletter is distributed to active VVAW/WSO regions. The VVAW/WSO publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "VVAW/WSO GI News". This newsletter specializes in matters of GI interest. Also, they publish a newsletter for prisoners entitled "Inside/Out" that is sent to all VVAW/WSO chapters as an aid for prison support work.

[REDACTED] 1/23/75)

VI. FINANCES

On June 15, 1974, "Peoples Voice" sponsored a fund raising affair in Chicago to assist the VVAW/WSO in the financing of a demonstration scheduled to be held in Washington, D.C. during the period July 1-4, 1974. A total of \$230.00 was raised, with \$130.00 of this amount being turned over to the VVAW/WSO.

[REDACTED] 6/17/74)

During June, 1974, the VVAW/WSO, Revolutionary Union (RU), and October League (OL) sponsored a fund raising affair to assist in financing the VVAW/WSO demonstration scheduled to be held in Washington, D.C. during the period July 1-4, 1974. A total of \$212.00 was collected.

[REDACTED] 6/5/74)

During the August, 1974, NSCM, BRIAN ADAMS gave the National Office report in regard to finances stating that the National Office was then \$20,000.00 in debt, noting that the July demonstration, Washington, D.C., had cost \$9,000.00. He suggested that the VVAW/WSO should switch to an internal funding system whereby each member would give \$1.00 per month to be sent to the National Office. ADAMS noted that in the past the VVAW/WSO depended upon rich liberals for donations, but that they are now losing this liberal support.

ADAMS stated that the VVAW/WSO then had \$900.00 in their bank account and \$100.00 in petty cash, with office assets of \$2,300.00. He noted that the VVAW/WSO lost over \$1,000.00 for each of the first two quarters of the year.

[REDACTED] 8/13/74)

b2
b7D

It was learned that during the August, 1974, NSCM there was criticism of SAM SCHORR for not having any articles regarding the Middle East situation in the "Winter Soldier". When questioned in this regard, SCHORR's reasons were lack of time, lack of understanding as to which group was right, and that a lot of money for the VVAW/WSO National Office comes from people of the Jewish faith in New York City and he did not wish to offend them.

[REDACTED] 11/3/74)

On December 23, 1974, [REDACTED] provided a copy of VVAW/WSO newsletter number 32 which indicated that the funding procedure initiated at the Buffalo NSCM (\$1.00 per month per member) had been largely ignored by the majority of the chapters with only seven out of 17 regions participating by submitting a total of just over \$400.00.

The newsletter further indicated that it was important that chapters begin to implement the funding program since the VVAW/WSO was rapidly sinking into debt and that the amount of money that comes in from direct mail fund raising is the only current way the National Office is funded.

It was pointed out that any member who could not afford the \$1.00 per month could sell four copies of the "Winter Soldier" each month in order to raise the dollar.

VII. NATIONAL ACTIVITIES
AND CONNECTIONS WITH
OTHER GROUPS

A. National Projects

The VVAW/WSO, on a national basis, endorses the following projects:

The VVAW/WSO Amnesty Clearinghouse publishes literature regarding unconditional amnesty.

The VVAW/WSO GI Project Office attempts to maintain liaison with current and former GIs in connection with the upgrading of poor military discharges.

The VVAW/WSO National Prison Project attempts to build liaison with, and enlighten prisoners regarding programs of the VVAW/WSO.

The Gary Lawton Defense Committee continues to function in Riverside, California, where they are assisting in the defense of GARY LAWTON who has been charged with the murder of two Riverside, California, Police Officers. The VVAW/WSO maintains a high level of interest in this matter.

[REDACTED] 1/23/75)

During the August, 1974, NSCM it was decided to drop the United Front of Cairo as one of the VVAW/WSO national projects. Also, it was decided to drop the Operation County Fair Project at Bogue Chitto, Alabama.

[REDACTED] 8/13/74)

1
b2
b7D
1

VVAW/WSO newsletter number 29 set forth information indicating that their National Office had met with GI Project people in Dayton, Ohio, at which time it was agreed that the GI Project Office would be moved to Chicago in order to do more effective and coordinated work.

It was learned on November 3, 1974, that [REDACTED] had just returned from Dayton, Ohio, where he had gone to move the Dayton aspect of the VVAW/WSO GI Project to Chicago.

[REDACTED] 11/29/74)

On November 21, 1974 [REDACTED] furnished the following letter from the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee to the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression:

b7c
b2
b7D

November 4, 1974

~~Wichita~~
National Alliance Against Racist
and Political Repression
New York, New York

Dear Sisters & Brothers of the NAARPR,

This letter is in response to "An Open Letter to Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). Our letter will deal specifically with your charge of racism in the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee (LBODC) and the necessity of principled criticism in the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

We recognize that we all exist under U. S. imperialism that is fundamentally exploitative, repressive, racist, and sexist. Racism is a principle strategy of the ruling class to divide the working class. White people, regardless of how progressive or revolutionary will have some subjective traces of racism, from the years of institutional racism. We will not be able to eliminate racism until we eliminate U. S. imperialism.

We view your charge of racism at work within the LBODC, and specifically only the white VVAW/WSO members, as unprincipled criticism. Criticism should be done in a comradely way to the people involved stating specific objective occurrences and whenever possible suggest ways of improvement. We will welcome criticism from you in this manner and seriously investigate and analyze it. Presently, we reject the premise that there is objective racism with the LBODC.

To clarify a point, Carl Braden, Co-Chairperson for the NAARPR has worked with the LBODC, however, in the capacity of Director of the Training Institute for Propaganda and Organizing (TIPO). Lennox Hinds, Vice-Chairperson for the NAARPR, has worked with the LBODC in the capacity of Director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL).

Carl Braden did conduct workshops on propaganda and organizing with the LBODC in March of 1974. During this time tactics in community organizing that could be considered racist were discussed. Wherever possible we have Black LBODC members organize in the Black community, Chicano LBODC members organize in the Chicano community, and white LBODC members organize in the white community. We have the utmost respect and admiration for Carl and seriously consider his advice. Two days before your letter arrived Carl was in Wichita, Kansas, where the LBODC work is taking place, to assist our propaganda and agitation work. Carl did not mention anything concerning racism within the LBODC during his stay.

(OVER)

To the best of our knowledge neither Angela Davis or Lennox Hin's has discussed racism with the LBODC members.

We want to continue our affiliation with the NAARPR and welcome propaganda distribution on the struggles of the Leavenworth Brothers through your communications network. Please forward copies of any propaganda that you have distributed on the struggle of the Leavenworth Brothers since our affiliation with the NAARPR in May of 1974. Currently we send you our weekly news releases, and additional propaganda that we develop.

As a statement of principle the LBODC opposes any unprincipled attack by any organization or individual, whether it be NAARPR or VVAW/WSO, on another organization or individual. All organizations should constantly keep in mind who is the real enemy. Our common enemy is U. S. imperialism. We should remember who are friends, allies, and comrades.

The attack by VVAW/WSO on the NAARPR is not in the best interests of the overall struggle against imperialism. We would recommend the current struggle between VVAW/WSO and the NAARPR cease in its present form. Attacks and counter-attacks can only further divide a fragmented left and in essence serves the interests of our real enemy.

Any internal struggles of the LBODC should remain within the LBODC.

The LBODC is a completely independent organization. We will continue to seek a broad base of support to build a mass movement for the freedom of the Leavenworth Brothers as a part of the overall struggle against U. S. imperialism. This includes the continued support of VVAW/WSO.

In Revolutionary Struggle,

The Leavenworth Brothers
Offense/Defense Committee

c.c. Sisters & Brothers of
VVAW/WSO to the National Office

B. Activities Directed at
the Veterans Administration

During 1974, the VVAW/WSO National Office urged their various regions and chapters throughout the country to conduct protest activities at various Veterans Administration facilities. Points of contention were:

Single type discharge for all veterans;

Full Veterans Administration benefits for all veterans;

End racial and national discrimination;

Treatment and compensation for post-Vietnam syndrome;

Education and public training for all veterans;

Raise and extend the GI Bill;

No more red tape and harrassment;

End military control over benefits.

VVAW/WSO estimates of the success of the Veterans Administration protest activities were varied with results depending on the capability of the individual VVAW/WSO chapters and the manner in which personnel at the Veterans Administration facilities reacted to the protests.

[REDACTED] 1/23/75)

On September 30, 1974, a number of organizations participated in a Chicago Chapter VVAW/WSO sponsored demonstration at the Veterans Administration Regional Office, Chicago, Illinois. Among the participants were EDWARD DAMATO and PETER ZASTROW representing the VVAW/WSO National Office.

[REDACTED] 11/1/74)

b2
b7D

CG 100-50772

During August, 1974 [REDACTED] furnished VVAW/WSO newsletter number 26 which contained the following information:

b2
b7D

The following is the text of the speech which was delivered by Sam Schorr at the July 4th rally in D. C. The speech deals with the demands of Decent Benefits for All Vets and a Single-Type Discharge specifically, while also discussing the rising veterans movement in this country. Since this was the primary organizational speech given at the rally, we felt that many people might be interested in reading the full text.

Brothers and Sisters, Veterans and Non-veterans,

Remember all those promises made to America's brave and finest men and women, the smooth, easy phrases of bright promise the recruiters and wielders of the draft laid on those of us who were to serve democracy? Remember the great education to come? or the job training? or even the damn job? How about the fantastic care of a VA hospital, the concern of our leaders for their bloodied heroes? Can the veterans of this country ever forget the praises and laurels thrown around by presidents, generals, patriots, Congress and all the rest of those who sent men and women to war or to far off places to defend someone else's interests? Hell NO, we can't forget!

It is the John Waynes, the Richard Nixons, the Donald Johnsons, the corporate elite who have forgotten, as if they ever really cared. What has been apparent to the vast majority of veterans long before discharge is only now reaching the eyes and ears of our government. "What are those vets yelling about?" they cry. "Are we not always explaining to them our great concern, the fantastic programs we have created for vets?" they are whimpering. Bull, we shout. Its only a bunch of hot air that they've created, a distorted caricature of concern -- pure baloney!

We know what the problem is. Unemployment and sham jobs. 6% unemployment for all Americans, 10% for vets generally, and 14% for minority vets. Or those incredibly bogus job fairs so many of us have been to where they tell us to be a janitor or a laundry helper or a part-time gas pumper.

Or the GI Bill. Do they really expect us to swallow their line that \$220 or even \$260 a month will pay tuition, books and living expenses, and learn something at the same time? Maybe Nixon would like to trade places. Then he can try to get his so-called law degree, the one he's forgotten about.

Do any of our great legislators know what its like to lie in their own excrement for hours, or wait all day for someone to turn them over to their other side in a VA hospital? Do they know what its like to get hooked on methadone in trade for heroin?

Do they know what its like to be branded for life by a bad discharge? We know that the vast majority of bad discharges weren't even given at a court-martial, that most were issued administratively by the military to get rid of dissidents, to get rid of men and women who wouldn't submit to the racism and oppression of the military or fight against the Indochinese people. Maybe they would like a secret code, a SPN number, placed on their employment record branding them as "deviant" or having "unclean habits."

These are the things that face the veterans of today. We no longer have any illusions about the great future the recruiter painted for us. We no longer trust the government or the VA to fulfill their responsibility to veterans on their own initiative. We've learned one thing the recruiter didn't tell us, one thing that is now crystal clear. If veterans want their benefits, then we have to fight for them. That's why we are here. That's why we are demanding decent benefits for all vets and a single-type discharge.

What do we mean by decent benefits? Just that. We are demanding benefits that meet the needs of each veteran, no matter what living situation he or she may be in. If a vet needs assistance to go to college and live, then it is the responsibility of the VA to provide that assistance. If a vet needs job training, then job training must be found. If a VA hospital needs more doctors, then find them. If an addict needs help, then help, not re-addict them to another junk. If it is a job that is needed, then get on the backs of those huge corporations with their superprofits to create good jobs. We're sick and tired of having to make our lives fit the needs of the bureaucrats. We are not here to nit-pick with the government. We are here to demand, and demand we will! The VA, third largest agency in the federal government, second largest employer behind the Pentagon, and with a budget of 12 billion dollars, better have the ability to get the job done!

And what of the 500,000 men and women with less than honorable discharges. What about a discharge system that acts as a terror weapon for the military brass against enlisted GIs? We know that the discharge system is used as a tool of repression; for isn't it a fact that 80% are administrative where the GI is not put on trial for any crime. Isn't it a fact that third world GIs get twice as many bad discharges in proportion to their numbers in the military? What about the fact that no other criminal sentence brands you for life except major felonies? We are tired of being told that only the "unfit" get bad discharges. It is the U. S. Military that is unfit! We demand that this weapon of terror be taken from the military. Let GIs have the same rights as any citizen under our so-called justice system. Let the military then try to wage wars against our will! Let them then try to kick around GIs with petty harassment and racial oppression!

There is another trick to be played on veterans, a blatant tactic which can only spell defeat. Many have said, "You have just demands. But you shouldn't demand an end to the war or demand amnesty. Just stick to vets issues and you'll be better off, you might even win." Its the same trick the police, government and other vets groups tried to play on the men and women of the Bonus March of 1932. The trick of dividing vets against their friends and neighbors. The trick of separating vets from their real allies. That is the little told story, the one ignored by the pimps of the veterans movement. Those first marchers weren't dumb, as these opportunists soon learned. They had the greatest weapon of all on their side, unity -- unity with the rest of the poor and working people of America. After all, where are vets if not overwhelmingly from the poor and working class. The Bonus Marchers didn't just demand their bonus, but also the end to all wars of aggression and the paying of unemployment insurance to all workers.

Today we are faced with similar tactics. But we will not be deceived! We will not separate ourselves from our real allies, the poor and working people of this country!

To raise demands that only reform our present system would sell veterans and non-veterans out to the interests of the ruling class, to that tight circle of power of the Pentagon, VA, and older vets groups. They would love for us to just ask for a few dollars. That they can afford. After all, did not our grandparents and parents get social security and unemployment, and a GI Bill, not at the expense of the big profit makers, but from the taxes of other working people, off the sweat of those who could least afford it.

No, they don't fear reforms. What they fear is our willingness to unite with other people. What they fear is our understanding that it is the system, imperialism, that lies at the root of our common problems. They fear our anti-imperialism. They fear it because it rips away the facade of respectability and legitimacy that hides their greed. They fear it because it is a consciousness that cannot be coopted by them.

Brothers and sisters, the line is clearly drawn! Will we stand idly by in our suffering? NO! Will we allow the pimps to divide us? NO! Will we fall for sweet reforms that will leave us bitter later? NO!

Let us raise and fight for our demands with no compromise, with a unity of spirit and organization that cannot be stopped! We are the real makers of history, and let history show that it is the power of our unity that will win our demands! Fight for decent benefits! Fight for the single-type discharge!

C. VVAW/WSO Sponsored National
Defense Committee Meeting,
St. Louis, Missouri, June, 1974

During the period June 7-9, 1974, the VVAW/WSO National Defense Committee held a meeting in St. Louis, Missouri. The purpose of the meeting was to ascertain the feasibility of setting up a National Defense Committee which would be truly operational throughout the United States. This committee would protect the membership of the VVAW/WSO from harrassment by the police for political reasons. It was planned that subsequent to any arrest of a VVAW/WSO member, a representative of the National Office would ascertain if the arrest was criminal or political in nature. If the arrest was for political reasons, a local Defense Committee would go into action with the possibility that the entire National VVAW/WSO Organization might, in the future, get behind the member in order to secure his freedom.

Indications were that the proposal to make the National Defense Committee operational would be discussed at the next NSCM.

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] 6/19/74)

D. VVAW/WSO Sponsored National
Demonstration, Washington,
D.C., July, 1974

During the period July 1-4, 1974, the VVAW/WSO sponsored a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., their published demands being:

- 1) Universal and unconditional amnesty for all draft dodgers and deserters.
- 2) End support of THIEU and LON NOL in Asia
- 3) Decent benefits for all Veterans.

4) "Kick Nixon Out".

5) Full employment and education for all veterans.

Other groups participating in the July 1-4, 1974, activity were the American Veterans Movement, the Second American Bonus March Coalition, the RU, Revolutionary Student Brigade and Youth International Party.

Activities of these various groups in Washington, D.C. were centered around Lafayette Park, Veterans Administration Headquarters, the Mall, Court of Military Appeals, the United States Capitol, Department of Justice, Arlington National Cemetery, Lincoln Memorial, and the Ellipse.

Varied activities at these facilities consisted of handing out leaflets, marching and making speeches, which in general were centered around the VVAW/WSO demands.

[REDACTED] 7/9/74)

E. VVAW/WSO Sponsored National
GI Conference, Chicago,
Illinois, October, 1974

During the period October 11-14, 1974, the VVAW/WSO initiated a National GI Conference (NGIC) at Chicago, Illinois, in the interest of beginning an effort to build a fighting anti-imperialist movement in the United States military. Representatives of a number of organizations throughout the country attended this conference.

The VVAW/WSO proposed that the NGIC adopt a unified political proposal for GI work around a minimum goal Armed Forces Day. Armed Forces Day was referred to as being "one of the few times of the year when widespread efforts were made to mobilize GIs toward certain very basic or general goals".

The proposal included a plan that local and regional actions and/or demonstrations should take place at or near United States military installations around the world on Armed Forces Day, May 16, 1975.

[REDACTED] 10/23/74)

b2
b7D

CG 100-50772

[REDACTED] provided page 8 of a "RESIST" newsletter dated September 20, 1974, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, which he obtained at the NGIC. Under the heading "Grants" this newsletter stated "VVAW/WSO, 827 W. Newport, Chicago, Illinois. They were given a grant to help out with the conference that they are planning for the October 11 weekend. The conference was called out of a need for unity and a national focus, in the hope that it would be a major step in reviving the GI movement and developing a program that all GI organizing groups could relate to. They hoped to begin building a strategy that would seriously challenge the role of the United States military under imperialism."

On November 1, 1974 [REDACTED] furnished the following paper concerning the NGIC which was received from the VVAW/WSO:

1
b2
b7D

NATIONAL GI CONFERENCE

For the first time in over two years there was a national GI organizing conference, during the weekend of October 11 - 14, 1974, in Chicago, Illinois. Called by Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO), this important conference was attended by 60 people working with 25 GI groups across the country. In addition to summarizing people's experience, there was long and principled struggle over many different theoretical points effecting GI organizing. There was also discussion over ways in which programmatic unity could be achieved.

Conference participants agreed that the bourgeoisie would not hesitate to attempt to use its military forces to suppress national liberation struggles around the world or to suppress liberation struggles here in this country; that they will continue to conduct campaigns of intimidation, harassment and suppression of other progressive struggles here and abroad; and that the military will continue to be an oppressive, racist and sexist system for the people it bribes into service with ever-higher pay and reenlistment bonuses, etc. One inherent weakness of this plan to use economic incentives for raising its military is that it is forced to hire its class enemies, the working class, to support its efforts against the working class and other progressive elements both overseas and at home. This weakness combined with growing militancy on the part of GIs has already led to many situations where GIs are refusing to do someone else's 'dirty work' for them. The military authorities have responded with increased discipline and harassment while arbitrarily enforcing already repressive regulations, and letting working and living conditions deteriorate.

There was complete agreement on the fact that the GI movement is an important part of the overall struggle for socialism in this country and that the development of class unity is essential. Participants at this conference did, however, recognize that

he conference did not divide into two or three monolithic camps over differences, as there were a variety of positions on many issues.

One such topic was the important issue of the double oppression of Third World GIs. There was no disagreement that it is essential to unity and final victory that oppression of nationalities be smashed. All participants felt as though it is necessary to support the right of Third World GIs to establish separate Third World organizations within the GI movement. Some participants felt as though at this time it is essential to encourage separate Third World organizations as the best way of ultimately developing GI unity and class unity. Other participants felt it is necessary to encourage multi-national forms as the best means to developing that unity. A resolution was passed that called for upholding the right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities and that the development of independent Third World forms of organization is essential as a way of building unity between GIs.

Another such difference came about over the issue of women's oppression in the military. All participants felt it necessary to support the right of women to form independent organizations/caucuses within the GI movement. Some felt women should not be encouraged to form independent organizations/caucuses within the GI movement - that to do so indicates a weakness in the overall effort to end women's oppression. Other participants felt that at this time it is necessary to encourage such independent organizations so that women have a material base for control of their lives. Everyone agreed it is essential to place special consideration on the oppression of Third World women in the military. A resolution was passed that called for upholding the right of women to organize themselves into autonomous women's groups/caucuses within the GI movement and that special oppression of Third World women must be exposed. In addition, a resolution was passed establishing a task force to analyze the practice on these issues and to identify problem areas with women in the military (both active duty, reservists and mem-

bers of military families) as well as to make programmatic suggestions for the future.

Another major difference was around the issue of the role of GIs. There was no disagreement about the necessity to develop working class consciousness among GIs nor that efforts at working with GIs are an important part of our efforts to build a socialist revolution in this country. The differences came down to the position that GIs hold in society. One position holds that GIs are workers; that they do not play exactly the same role as workers because of their special position of enforcing imperialist foreign and domestic policies, but they are so similar that the two can and should be treated in a like manner. Another position is that GIs are not "workers" in a theoretical sense - that they play a different role from workers in society predominantly because they hold a special position as a body of armed people to carry out the policies of imperialism. Still other participants said that in general GIs are not workers, as such, but at times, depending on their assignments, take on similar roles and can be approached at that time as "workers".

The final major difference was around the concept of a United Front Against Imperialism as the strategy to building a socialist revolution in this country. The positions on this strategy were much more varied and diverse, although two main approaches seemed to develop. One position holds that the UFAI is the correct strategy to building a socialist revolution in this country and incorporates the GI movement into this strategy. The other position rejects the United Front strategy, basing its arguments on the historical use of united fronts. This position did, however, include the tactical use of united fronts around specific issues.

Some of the other issues and topics discussed at the conference were tactics in counseling, defense committee work, attacking the UCMJ, amnesty, attacking the discharge system, attacking the brass's tool of anti-homosexuality, discussion of the use of the Reserves and National Guard and our tasks in organizing those people.

In addition to the above the conference passed a variety of resolutions, which

included: A resolution to analyze the class, national, sexual and tactical composition of each service and the bases of the US military; to strengthen ties between the labor struggles and the GI movement; to attack as a divisive tool the brass's anti-homosexual tactics; to raise GI consciousness around riot control/martial law activities of the US military; to support the Anti-NATO soldiers conference being held in Holland this November and to send delegates to it; to support Puerto Rican independence and send a letter of solidarity to the upcoming rally in Madison Square Garden in New York City; to financially support and increase the input into the work of the GI Project Alliance in San Diego in their efforts to publish the GIPA News and Discussion Bulletin, the internal bulletin of the GI movement; that the GI Assistance Project in St. Louis, MO, or the VVAW/WSO National Office be the center for GI-related film distribution to the various projects; and a call for demonstrations at or near US bases all over the world, where feasible and desirable, on Armed Forces Day, 1975 (May 17).

The vast majority of participants viewed this as the most productive GI organizing conference they have attended and that the ideological struggle was advanced to an even higher level in a principled and positive manner. Plans were made to hold regional conferences and to call another National Conference next year.

F. Activity in Connection
With RU

A number of RU delegates attended the August, 1974, NSCM where they seemed most interested in the workshop on the direction of the VVAW/WSO.

[REDACTED] 8/13/74)

On August 19, 1974, BRIAN ADAMS, representing the VVAW/WSO National Office, participated in a RU sponsored demonstration in the vicinity of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, in conjunction with a visit to Chicago by President FORD.

[REDACTED] 8/20/74)

On October 6, 1974, the RU sponsored Antowyn Cauley Group held a demonstration in Chicago. A number of organizations were represented and PETER ZASTROW and EDWARD DAMATO participated as VVAW/WSO representatives.

[REDACTED] 11/1/74)

On October 6, 1974, the RU sponsored Antowyn Cauley group held a rally and march on the north side of Chicago. PETER ZASTROW, as a VVAW/WSO National Coordinator, participated in this affair.

[REDACTED] 10/7/74)

On November 2, 1974, the RU sponsored a forum in Chicago in commemoration of the Russian and Chinese Communist revolutions. Approximately 70 persons attended, two of whom were SAM SCHORR and PETER ZASTROW, VVAW/WSO National Coordinators.

[REDACTED] 11/4/74)

On December 14, 1974, VVAW/WSO National Coordinators PETER ZASTROW and BRIAN ADAMS attended an RU sponsored fund raising affair.

[REDACTED] 12/16/74)

On December 21, 1974, BRIAN ADAMS, VVAW/WSO Coordinator, attended a meeting of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, a new group formed by the RU.

[REDACTED] 12/31/74)

G. Activity in Connection
With the Revolutionary
Student Brigade

On August 17, 1974, SAM SCHORR, BRIAN ADAMS and MARLA WATSON, representing the VVAW/WSO National Office, attended a fund raising affair sponsored by the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

[REDACTED] 8/20/74)

H. Activity in Connection
With Amnesty

During the weekend of September 21-22, 1974, representatives of a number of United States groups attended a conference in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Also in attendance were members of various exile groups which are comprised of deserters from the United States military and individuals who refused to be inducted into the United States military. The purpose of the conference was for the exiles to determine what course of action they would follow in response to the amnesty program promulgated by President FORD. It was the decision of the conference to boycott President FORD's "punitive amnesty program".

Several VVAW/WSO members attended this conference and EDWARD DAMATO, of the VVAW/WSO National Office, addressed the conference and indicated that, speaking for the VVAW/WSO as an organization, they would give full support to the exiles' decision to boycott the amnesty program.

[REDACTED] September, 1974)

On December 20, 1974, [REDACTED] furnished VVAW/WSO newsletter number 31 which set forth information that the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty held its second annual amnesty conference in Louisville, Kentucky on November 16-17, 1974. Approximately 35 VVAW/WSO members were in attendance and EDWARD DAMATO, VVAW/WSO National Coordinator, was elected as one of five representatives to the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty Steering Committee.

CG 100-50772

I. Relationship With Indochina
Peace Campaign

On June 24, 1974, [REDACTED] made available a letter from the Indochina Peace Campaign Resource Center to the VVAW/WSO and the VVAW/WSO reply to this letter. These letters are as follows:

b2
b7D

May 17

Dear Friends:

Thank you for the National Office Report and National Steering Committee minutes of your April 11-15 meeting. We are concerned with healing the relationship between our two organizations as much as possible, and sorry for anything on our part which has contributed to your feeling of an "anti-VVAW-WSO" stance by IPC. We reaffirm our continuing support for VVAW-WSO and all groups struggling against the Indochina War. To use your slogan: Unity, Struggle, Victory.

We would like to answer the specific points covered in your documents:

1. IPC is not trying to "build" AVM, especially not at the expense of VVAW-WSO.
2. We have struggled with AVM about its lack of a public position against the Indochina War, and we will continue to do so.
3. About the protest at Cranston's office:
 - a) Focal Point covered the veterans' sit-in and fast at Cranston's office because we believed it to be a courageous and politically powerful event, and we had every reason at the time to believe that the vets were anti-war. They were anti-war in their rhetoric and media presentation, and local VVAW/WSO supported their action with a demonstration. It was covered extensively in the media because it was a dramatic action which forced the head of the Veterans Administration to move, and to finally capitulate, because of the determined resistance of the vets.
 - b) at the time we began coverage of the sit-in, AVM had not been publicly established and there was no talk of it with us. o o o
4. At the time of the sit-in, we invited Ron Kovic to speak at the Kent State Rally because we knew him to be an effective and moving anti-war speaker. When his AVM identity emerged, and there was concern from Ohio VVAW-WSO, we and OHIO IPC were careful to ask that he not bring up AVM-VVAW-WSO differences at the Kent State rally. Ron was very principled and non-divisive about this, and the speech he gave was strongly anti-war and one of the most powerful of the day.
5. Focal Point coverage of the VVAW/WSO has and will continue, especially where there is action, e. g., the Gainesville trial, and the January 27 takeover of the Saigon Information office, the upcoming July 1-4 Washington DC demonstration.
6. We criticize ourselves for an "overenthusiasm" in the AVM coverage, resulting in two errors:
 - a) not carefully checking that the new group was explicitly anti-war and
 - b) not considering the effect of this coverage on interorganizational conflicts in which we should not intervene directly or indirectly.

This stemmed from subjectivity (the coverage)--the action happened here in Los Angeles; we know many of the vets personally; the vets took the initiative to provide us with information, etc.

7. About 3 past items you mention:

a) "interfering in relations with the Indochinese people." We are still checking into the possible source of this fear and as yet are unable to determine the problem. However we can tell you that the official position of IPC is clearly expressed in Focal Point--a high regard for all organizations actively supporting Indochina and a strong endorsement of a United Campaign of many peace groups, e.g. Coalition to Stop Funding the War, AFSC, MAI, including VVAW and many others. We do not criticize groups or individuals to the Indochinese friends.

b) Jane's decision not to attend a Washington Press conference on the January 27th Saigon information office takeover by VVAW/WSO was an individual tactical judgement on her part which we support. She had just arrived in Washington to begin a lobbying campaign in which even some peace groups believed she might be baited and discredited. She told the VVAW/WSO representative that she couldn't take part in the sit-in and therefore didn't believe she should be a publicity focus for the act. However, she and IPC supported the act and covered it in Focal Point.

c) The Karl Armstrong matter. The IPC tour group went to Madison in September, 1973, under the auspices of the Karl Armstrong Defense Committee, and planned to divide the proceeds. The Defense Committee in turn agreed to support IPC's programs as the main focus for the tour events. When the tour arrived, however, they were asked to defend bombing as a tactic and were told by a Defense Committee member that the question of Saigon prisoners was "not an important issue." The tour felt it was being used by some in the Defense Committee for political and financial purposes. The tour nevertheless publically attacked the prosecution of Karl and avoided any condemnation of his act. There was no IPC policy line that would permit the tour any further position.

We hope these replies clarify the issues helpfully. However, we also realize there may be more general questions at issue than those raised simply in the notes of your meetings. For instance, there may be different viewpoints regarding strategy and direction for the anti-war movement; our organization itself has constant internal discussion on this subject. We would welcome greater political discussion with you on these matters in the future, and we hope this letter is only a beginning in that direction.

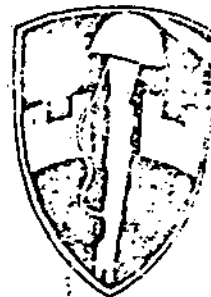
In Solidarity,

IPC Resource Center

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/ WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION, INC.

VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICE

827 West Newport
Chicago, Illinois 60657
Tel. (312) 935-2129



May 27, 1974

Indochina Peace Campaign
181 Pier Avenue
Santa Monica, Calif 90405

Dear Friends,

We welcome this opportunity to outline the differences listed in the letter written by the Resource Center of the Indochina Peace Campaign. Through the years VVAW/WSO and IPC have worked closely together in exposing the United States' imperialist policies in Indochina and we look forward to working with you closely in the future. Briefly, we would like to explain why in our National Office Report and in the minutes of our National Steering Committee Meeting there were references to the IPC which prompted the letter of response from the Resource Center and a meeting between two members of your organization and three members of our National Office in mid-May.

Over the years VVAW/WSO has worked to draw veterans into the anti-imperialist movement. We carefully avoid putting forward reformist demands in isolation from the struggle to overthrow US imperialism. We have found that veterans as a historical special interest group has in its power the ability to extract demands from the various administrations on the basis of the veteran mystique that has been carefully built up by the system that relies on the GIs and veterans to carry out its wars of aggression. At the same time the system promises benefits for veterans and yet does not deliver. We feel that these benefits for veterans should be given and that it is the duty of anti-imperialist veterans to demand this. In making these demands for veterans' rights, whether it be in regard to the Veteran's Administration or to the system of military discharges, we feel it vital that these demands be put forward as part of a general line aimed at raising anti-imperialist consciousness in veterans and in the rest of the working class.

During the past year there has emerged a segment of the veteran's movement that is putting forward demands aimed at obtaining benefits for veterans solely on the basis that if veterans fought for their country they deserve privileges for it. While we understand that this is an honest feeling of veterans and is a call that is deserving of action, that it is in error; an honest error. We feel that these veterans that put forward these demands can and must be worked with, hoping that in working with these veterans that we can bring them to the same understanding that the veterans in our organization have reached.

Certain veteran's organizations and individuals who lead these groups have that basic understanding of anti-imperialism and yet at the same time refuse to make these anti-imperialist views part of their programs for obtaining benefits for vets. We see this tactic as being reformist and opportunist in that it will not in the long run benefit anyone. While on one hand honest veterans could easily join these organizations, honest leadership should be up front with their politics. To do anything else is dishonest. In recognizing the basic of imperialism, there is a knowledge that reforms will lead you up a blind alley. In fighting for these demands and making the links with the system of imperialism you can bring down this system that oppresses the peoples of Indochina, the United States and throughout the world.

We feel that this brief summation of the veterans movement and its trends is essential in putting our reports in proper perspective. In those reports we pointed out that the Indochina Peace Campaign seemed to be supporting one of these organizations in Focal Point and in the instance of the Kent State rally on May 4th. What led us to the feeling that IPC had to be mentioned in this respect was a series of events that we noticed during the nine months, or so. The letter above written by the IPC Resource Center goes over these point by point and presents their views of the events listed in our reports. We do not feel it necessary to respond to these points in this letter. What we do feel is necessary is to explain why we wrote the reports.

The various concerns we had dealt with: the press conference in Washington DC at the time of our VVAW/WSO chapter's take-over of the Saigon Information Office; the conference on Cambodia held in Paris in December of 1973 and the reports we received from international delegations about their impression of the movement in the United States; the situation in Ohio regarding the Kent State rally and the planning of that rally between the Ohio IPC and Ohio VVAW/WSO; the impressions we were given concerning IPC's role in the Karl Armstrong case; and the coverage of the American Veterans Movement action in Los Angeles, along with the choice of Ron Kovic as a speaker at the Kent State rally.

We discussed these points with Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda, here in Chicago, and during that meeting we went over our views and we listened to theirs. The meeting was very productive for all of us as it allowed us to express our concern over these developments in the veterans movement and the relations between our organizations, and it allowed them to explain to us their organization's views of these events. Differences and misunderstandings on both of our parts were ironed out and we feel that because of the meeting a new relationship will grow between us.

We criticize ourselves for our presentation of these concerns in our National Office Report without having checked into each of the points in more detail. What we learned at this meeting threw a different light onto some of the points, especially the Karl Armstrong case. In areas where neither of us had a clear understanding of these impressions, particularly on the part of the international delegates to the Paris conference, we feel that these contradictions can work themselves out.

At that meeting we explained our views on the veterans movement and we think that we made clear our opinions concerning it. We also briefly discussed the tactical differences between our two organizations and we felt that since we both were working toward an end to the war, in Indochina that we could, and should, work together in the future.

As part of this, we invite all of you to participate with us in our national action in Washington DC from July 1-4 and we hope to see your organizational banner present with ours for the march and rally.

In Solidarity and Struggle,


The National Office Collective
VVAW/WSO

cc: VVAW/WSO chapters

CG 100-50772

J. Activity Directed at
President FORD

On October 24, 1974, a number of organizations participated in a demonstration starting at the Civic Center, Chicago, and ending at a park near the Conrad Hilton Hotel. The protest was against the appearance of President FORD in Chicago. SAM SCHORR, BRIAN ADAMS and RICHARD BANGERT participated as representatives of the VVAW/WSO National Office.

 11/1/74)

b2
b7D

CG 100-50772

PRW:MAH

1

The 12/74 issue of the "Winter Soldier", which is self-described as a publication of the VVAW/WSO, set forth the following summary of their activities during 1974:

**"1974 * THE PEOPLE UNITED
WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!"**

VVAW/WSO was in the middle of many of the peoples' struggles during 1974. Whether walking picket lines with Harley-Davidson workers in Milwaukee; or setting up discharge upgrading projects in prison in Santa Barbara; or leafletting for the Attica Brothers in Buffalo; or passing out GI News at Rickenbacker Air Force Base in Columbus; most of the work of VVAW/WSO was day-to-day, grassroots work. It was not news-worthy, and got no headlines. It was the work needed to move the struggle against US imperialism forward. Throughout the year VVAW/WSO was guided by a national program, built around five (and later four) demands:

- *Universal, Unconditional Amnesty For All War Resisters
- *Implement the Agreements; End All Aid To THIEU and
LON NOL
- *Single-Type Discharge For All Vets
- *Decent Benefits For All Vets
- *Kick NIXON Out

The success of this program in leading up to and building the July 1 - 4 national Demonstration in Washington, led the organization to adopt a similar program for the next nine months at our August National Steering Committee meeting.

Amnesty

A campaign of VVAW/WSO for well over a year, Universal Unconditional Amnesty for All War Resisters drew growing support around the country. VVAW/WSO constantly raised the issue of the Indochina War, a war fought in the interests of US business by showing that the resisters were right to resist a war of aggression and exploitation. The way in which the sons and daughters of third-world, working and poor people were sent to fight and die in Indochina was brought out in the campaign for a single-type discharge, a part of the overall amnesty struggle.

VVAW/WSO helped to build the amnesty movement, not by writing letters to Congress but by working to gain the support of, and mobilize the people. We fought to make sure that the 580,000 vets with less-than-honorable discharges would be seen as a major part of the amnesty movement, and through discharge upgrading projects, enlisted many of the vets in the struggle for amnesty.

In the face of the growing demand for amnesty, the US government under GERALD FORD reacted with the "earned re-entry" program, a bankrupt attempt to co-opt the amnesty movement. VVAW/WSO chapters around the country challenged the program and, a few days later, challenged the pardon of RICHARD NIXON. Often confronting representatives of reactionary veterans organizations such as the VFW or American Legion, VVAW/WSO members supported the boycott of "earned re-entry" called by exile groups in Canada, and continued the fight for a single-type discharge for all vets.

Indochina

VVAW/WSO in all its actions through 1974 pointed out the nature of the war in Indochina, and the fact that the war has not stopped; US support for the dictatorship of THIEU allows him and his forces to continue to violate the Paris Peace Accords, and repress the struggle for liberation of the Vietnamese people. Recent demonstrations in Saigon, and the consistent battlefield victories of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) show that THIEU's days are numbered. 1974 began with VVAW/WSO demonstrations around the country on the anniversary of the signing of the agreements on January 27th; in Washington, DC, VVAW/WSO members seized the Saigon Embassy there. In late October, a similar action took place at the Cambodian Mission to the UN.

Throughout the year there was a growing awareness on the part of VVAW/WSO that the US war of imperialism--the search for profits at the expense of the people of Indochina using third-world, working, and poor people to pursue those profits--was not the only issue. More emphasis was placed on the way in which the PRG and the United Front in Cambodia were rebuilding the liberated areas of their countries, and were in fact meeting the immediate needs of their people. Meanwhile, the US-supported governments of THIEU and LON NOL were operating in the interests of no one but themselves and their US corporate masters.

Veterans

1974 saw a consolidation of the organizational work around veterans issues, and a growing understanding of the need to do anti-imperialist work around the demand of Decent Benefits for All Vets. As the US economy worsened, adequate vets benefits assumed a growing importance to millions of Vietnam-era veterans--they were often the only way to survive. Anger at the VA and the US government for their broken promises and inability to provide adequate benefits created a spontaneous movement of veterans, their friends and families, which led to the resignation of the VA head. The brief appearance of the reformist American Veterans Movement demonstrated the attempts of the government to sap the strength from the growing vets movement, and was thoroughly exposed.

Around the country many VVAW/WSO chapters began to confront the VA with demonstrations, picket lines, and takeovers of VA facilities. Veterans representative programs on college campuses were attacked, and contact began with the hundreds of thousand of unemployed vets for whom the economic crisis is an immediate, vital problem. Bad discharges--which mean no VA benefits--were another target of veterans work.

Kick NIXON Out

The campaign to get rid of NIXON was a success. VVAW/WSO, often working with the many organizations with similar campaigns, built and participated in demos and actions around the country, until mass pressure from the people led to NIXON's resignation. With the pardon by FORD, the demonstrations continued: when FORD appeared outside Washington, he was guaranteed to be met by a militant demonstration, and VVAW/WSO was sure to be a part of it. Again and again we said that it was good that NIXON was gone, but the system remained, and it was that system that is not responsive to the real needs of the American people. Demonstrations against ROCKEFELLER, when he was nominated for vice-president, carried the same message, and pointed to people like him as the corporate masters pulling the strings of the country.

GIs

A growing understanding of the uses of the military as a potent weapon of the US government for exploiting people abroad and here at home led VVAW/WSO to increase its concentration on GI organizing. The VVAW/WSO chapter in Yokosuka, Japan, played an important role in support of Black sailors who left the USS Midway in protest to the racism aboard that ship. In Iwakuni, Okinawa, VVAW/WSO worked with sailors arrested while pointing out the nature of the repressive regime in South Korea. And the end-point of military "justice"--the USDB at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas--remains a target of work, particularly around the cases of [REDACTED]. Local chapters distribute GI News (a newspaper version first appeared in August) on bases and to GIs in their areas.

Political Prisoners

Support for GARY LAWTON and ZUREBU GARDNER grew throughout the country, despite the consistent postponements and delays in their third frame-up murder trial in Riverside, California. In October, charges against GARDNER were dismissed, but the racist and repressive attack on GARY LAWTON goes on. VVAW/WSO chapters sponsored several speaking tours for GARY, giving him the chance to take his case--and all that it represents--to the people, to build support for his struggle, and for local struggles against racism and repression.

1974 also saw police attacks on the organization in an attempt to intimidate VVAW/WSO members. In Oakland, [REDACTED] was singled out for a brutal police attack, and charged with assault--his trial has also gone through numerous delays, and like other cases, has been used to expose the nature of police repression. During the DC Demo, in New York City, in Cincinnati, police assaulted members of the organization, vividly showing us the nature of repression in this country, and teaching us that our strength lies in unified action of the masses of people.

National work around the trials of the Leavenworth Brothers has helped to point out the nature and uses of the American prison system. In Buffalo, New York, the beginning of the trials

of the ATTICA Brothers brought out 2000 people to a rally in early September, including VVAW/WSO chapters from the east and middle west. The case of RUCHELL MAGEE has been a focus of prison support work in Northern California, and many local chapters have been active in support of community political prisoners and local cases of police repression and brutality.

Support Work

Local chapters and regions of VVAW/WSO have worked on a long list of local, national, and international struggles during the year, from tenants rights to the boycott of South African chrome. On a regional basis, VVAW/WSO concentrated on support for the truckers strike early in the year, not only working directly with the truckers but also talking with and leafletting members of the National Guard (acting as strikebreakers) and consumers (who were being told to blame high prices on the truckers). Support for the Independence of Puerto Rico focused on the Puerto Rican Solidarity Rally in late October. Chapters in the mid-west worked with strikers at a Borden's subsidiary in Columbus, Ohio, and helped spread the word about a national boycott of Borden's products, until that strike was resolved. Support for the miners in Harlan Country grew to support for striking coal miners around the country.

DC Demonstration

The high point of VVAW/WSO activity for the year was a national demonstration in Washington, DC, on the 1st through the 4th of July. At first, hundreds, and by the final day, thousands of people fought sleeplessness, the weather, police harassment and finally outright attacks, in order to bring the five demands of the demonstration to the American people. Demonstrations, marches, rallies filled the four days. While VVAW/WSO planned, organized, and led the demonstrations, members of other anti-imperialist and progressive organizations, seeing the importance of the struggle around our five demands, joined in and helped to build the successful action. As with all VVAW/WSO's activities, there were important lessons which flowed from the demo: that leadership can never tail behind the militance of the people; and, more important, that the strength of our organization, and the peoples' movement in general, comes from real unity of purpose and action.

CG 100-50772

6

Building for the demonstration was the work of chapters for months before the demo took place. There were support and building actions around the country in mid-May, and day-to-day work constantly talked about the demo and its demands. Learning through our past practice, however, the organization did not see the demo as an end in itself--it was a tactic by which to continue to grow. New members and chapters did join the organization as a result of the demonstration; the lessons learned from the demo have been an important factor in seeing how we can continue to build, both in numbers and effectiveness. And work did not stop once the demo was over, but continued to grow and build toward 1975 and beyond, in the expanding struggle against imperialism."

VIII. INTERNATIONAL
ACTIVITIES

During the period June 7-9, 1974, the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada held a conference at the University of Quebec, Montreal, Canada, to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Representatives of the VVAW/WSO and a number of other organizations attended this conference where a resolution was drawn setting forth demands on both the Canadian and American Governments.

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] (1/10/75)

On September 29, 1974 [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] NSCM wherein it was indicated that a proposal was made and adopted that the VVAW/WSO send a letter of solidarity and support to the "IWAKUNI 5". These five brothers are facing court martial proceedings as a result of circulating leaflets protesting the PAK regime of South Korea.

The VVAW/WSO newsletter number 31 set forth information that the VVAW/WSO sent four delegates to the Dutch Soldiers Union, the Bond Voor Dienstplichtigen, Anti-NATO Soldiers Conference in Utrecht, Netherlands, November 21-23, 1974. It was expected that GI organizers from all over Europe would attend the conference, whose aim was to build international anti-NATO solidarity among European GIs.

The December, 1974, VVAW/WSO regional and chapter list was made available by [REDACTED] during December, 1974, and it reflected they had chapters in London, England, Kailua Hawaii, Koza, Okinawa, Iwakuni and Yokosuka, Japan.

APPENDIX PAGE

American Indian Movement (AIM)

The AIM was founded in Minnesota in 1968, dedicated to improving conditions for the American Indian. AIM recently led and participated in confrontations with local authorities in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, and the Rapid City-Custer area of South Dakota. AIM led the takeover and occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in February-May, 1973.

APPENDIX PAGE

American Veterans Movement (AVM)

The AVM was formed in 1974 as an organization of former VVAW/WSO members. AVM is presently headquartered at 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ Hurricane, Marina Del Rey, California, and reportedly has 35 chapters in the United States. The aims and purposes of the group are to obtain better benefits for veterans, to end bad conditions in Veterans Administration Hospitals and to obtain the rewriting of laws pertaining to veterans' benefits.

APPENDIX PAGE

Gary Lawton Defense Committee

The Gary Lawton Trial is a project of the California/Nevada Region VVAW/WSO of major proportion. The Los Angeles area VVAW/WSO acts as a coordinator of the National Organization Project in this regard. The published literature to the case of GARY LAWTON and ZUREBU GARDNER is handled by the Lawton, Gardner Offense-Defense Committee, Post Office Box 244, Riverside, California, which is in fact the Riverside Organizing Committee of the VVAW/WSO. The case relates to the murder of two Riverside, California, policemen for which GARDNER and LAWTON are charged. GARY LAWTON is a member of the VVAW/WSO and has traveled extensively throughout the United States in the last several months on speaking engagements in his defense while out on parole.

APPENDIX PAGE

"GI Project" (formerly NOSCAM)

NOSCAM was created by the VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee in July, 1972, in Milwaukee. NOSCAM's job is to help VVAW/WSO build a strong, viable, and on-going GI movement. Recently the NOSCAM name was changed to "GI PROJECT" to more closely describe the duties of this group.

APPENDIX PAGE

National Alliance Against Racist
and Political Repression

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) is a front group of the Communist Party, USA, a subversive organization that serves as an arm of the international communist movement dominated by the Soviet Union. A source advised that it was formed under communist initiative at a founding conference in Chicago, Illinois, in May, 1973. It is targeted against the American penal system and has among its objectives the freeing of all "political prisoners." The NAARPR is headquartered in New York, New York, and has branches throughout the United States.

APPENDIX PAGE

National Council for Universal
and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA)

The minutes of the Steering Committee, NCUUA, dated June 28, 1973, reflect the purpose of the NCUUA to be to mobilize the American people to work for a universal and unconditional amnesty and to educate them concerning the structures and institutions that created the war in Southeast Asia. The council is committed to working for universal and unconditional amnesty for all persons suffering disabilities because of opposition to United States involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, to the draft, and to the military. The council is demanding an immediate amnesty review for all military resisters including deserters and draft resisters whether in exile or underground in the United States, all persons who because of their opposition to the war and the military have been administratively punished, convicted by civil or military courts, or are subject to prosecution, and all veterans with less than honorable discharges.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

(b)(1)

(b)(7)(A)

(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

(b)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request.

Information pertained only to a third party. The subject of your request is listed in the title only.

Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

_____ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

For your information: NLG vs Atty General
77 CIV.999 (U.S.D.C. S.D.N.Y.)

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-448092-445 pg 107

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

APPENDIX

OCTOBER LEAGUE

The October League (OL) was founded in 1969 in Los Angeles, California, and in May, 1972, merged with the Georgia Communist League, a small Marxist-Leninist organization, having the same goals as the OL. The OL maintains its Headquarters in Los Angeles. The OL's published "Statement of Political Unity of the Georgia Communist League (M-L) and the October League (M-L)" dated May, 1972, states, "The alliance and merger of the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the general workers movement is the basic strategic alliance for revolution in the United States; a revolution that will accomplish, in one sweep, the liberation of the oppressed nationalities and the emancipation of the working class." Various OL leaders have visited the People's Republic of China.

APPENDIX PAGE

"Peoples Voice" ("PV")

"PV" is self-described as a United Front paper which is published bi-monthly in the Chicago area. The "PV" is controlled and dominated by the Chicago RU and is used by them as a news outlet.

APPENDIX PAGE

"RESIST"

According to a pamphlet published by "RESIST" this group was founded in mid 1967 by a group of draft-exempt individuals mostly from the academic and intellectual communities, who pledged themselves to raise funds to organize draft resistance units, to supply legal defense for people, to support families and organize aid to resisters to the war in whatever way may seem appropriate.

APPENDIX PAGE

Revolutionary Student Brigade

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), formerly known as the Attica Brigade, is a student-based organization founded in New York City in the Fall of 1971. The RSB considers itself to be an anti-imperialist organization which views United States imperialism as the main enemy of the people of the world. The RSB favors violent actions to further its cause and is moving close in ideology to the Revolutionary Union (RU), which has significantly infiltrated the RSB and plays a major role in the RSB policies, decisions and activities. As of July, 1974, the RSB is headquartered in New York City. The RU is a basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary organization.

APPENDIX PAGE

Revolutionary Union (RU)

The RU, founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers," and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution," are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU national headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.

APPENDIX PAGE

Second American Bonus March Coalition

The Second American Bonus March Coalition was formed in June, 1974, as a coalition of the American Veterans movement, the American G.I. Forum and the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, for the purpose of demonstrating for better veterans' rights.

APPENDIX PAGE

United Front of Cairo (UFC)

The UFC is a predominantly black organization which has maintained an economic boycott of the white merchants of Cairo, Illinois, since August, 1969.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX PAGE

Youth International Party

The Youth International Party, also known as Yippies, is a loosely-knit anti-establishment, violence prone youth organization formed in New York City in January, 1968. In May, 1972, a small faction calling itself Yip-Zippie came into being, but currently does not exist as an organized faction of YIP.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6BJM/ML

Asst. Dir.:	_____
Adm. Serv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR 002 SF CODE

525PM NT NITEL 2/8/75 JGR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443992)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-71312)

DEMONSTRATION AT CALIFORNIA STATE PRISON, SAN QUENTIN,
 CALIFORNIA, FEBRUARY 8, 1975, SPONSERED BY THE VIETNAM VETERAN
 AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLIDER'S ORGANIZATION (VVAV/WSO)
 IS-VVAV/WSO.

A DEMONSTRATION BY THE VVAV/WSO AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS
 TOOK PLACE THIS DATE AT SAN QUENTIN - SUPPORT OF PUCHEL
 MAGEE, PRISON INMATE AT SAN QUENTIN WHO IS SERVING SEVERAL
 LIFE SENTENCES AND RECENTLY RECEIVED ANOTHER LIFE SENTENCE
 FOR INVOLVEMENT IN THE AUGUST, 1970, MARIN COUNTY COURT
 HOUSE SHOOTOUT IN WHICH JUDGE HAROLD HALEY AND GUARDS AND
 PRISONERS KILLED. TALKS AT DEMONSTRATION CONCERNED
 BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF MAGEE IN THE CALIFORNIA PRISON
 SYSTEM, HIS FRAME UP BY AUTHORITIES AND HIS RIGHT TO PICK UP
 ARMS TO ESCAPE.



b7c

EX-104 REC-67 4146

DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED SIGNS CALLING FOR THE FREEDOM OF
 MAGEE.

THE DEMONSTRATORS MARCHED IN FRONT OF THE EAST GATE
 OF SAN QUENTIN FROM 12 NOON TO TWO P.M. AT WHICH TIME

14 FEB 12 1975

0-73 to 100-
 3 DEPT (100-511, 100)

54 FEB 10 1975
 RES-100

UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6BJM/ML

5- cur

PAGE TWO, SF 100-71012

THE DEMONSTRATION ENDED.

THE VVAW/WSO WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICES HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THAT THE VVAW/WSO IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.

ADMINISTRATIVE. THE DEMONSTRATION WAS OBSERVED BY SA [REDACTED]

LIAISON WAS MAINTAINED WITH INTELLIGENCE UNIT OF THE MARIN COUNTY CALIFORNIA SHERIFF'S OFFICE AND OFFICIALS OF SAN QUENTIN PRISON.

END.

DBS FBIHQ CLR AND TKS

b7c



Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep. A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

b7c



NR 009 BT CODE

SENT 1240AM FEBRUARY 3, 1975 PM NITEL FEBRUARY 7, 1975 TDS

TO DIRECTOR (100-443092)

ST. LOUIS (100-21603)

FROM BUTTE (100-9147)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WVAW-WSC, NSCM, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 27-31, 1974.

RE ST. LOUIS TEL FEBRUARY 7, 1975.

INFO FURNISHED ST. LOUIS BY FD-306, JANUARY 31, 1975.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 142, XSDS 2, INDEFINITE.~~

ENDO

-4147

100-147072

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP6BAWA*
ON *10/17/94*

REC-53

EX 104

FEB 10 1975

FC 229

5-enc

70 FEB 24 1975

FBI

Date: March 27, 1974

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: INTD

FROM: SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-21861) (C)

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
3/15/74

(OO: CHICAGO)

Re Milwaukee teletype to Bureau dated 3/6/74;
Milwaukee teletype to Bureau dated 3/11/74;
Milwaukee teletype to Bureau dated 3/14/74;
Bureau nitel to Chicago dated 3/13/74 en-

titled, "Revolutionary Union (RU); IS; IS - CH; OO:
Chicago."

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies and for
Chicago, two copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above
regarding the travel from _____
of individuals to Chicago, Illinois, who participated in
captioned demonstration.

For the information of Chicago, _____ advised
that _____
the beginning stages of the march, _____ was ob-
served to be holding onto a black briefcase which he

- 3 - BUREAU (Encls. 5) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - CHICAGO (Encls. 2) (Regular Mail) (RM)
- 5 - MILWAUKEE
 - (1 - 100-21861)
 - (1 - 100-15674) (VVAW/WSO)
 - (1 - 100-21121) (AB)
 - (1 - 100-21351) (AB, Milwaukee)
 - (1 - 100-16234) (RU)

MJH/dgl
(10)

100-448092-
NOT RECORDED

JAN 8 - 1975

15 APR 1 1974

DECLASSIFIED BY _____
 ON _____
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11/14/94 BY SP6/SP7/SP8

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

FEB 05 1975

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b7c
[Redacted]

b7D
b2

FILE

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

MI 100-21861

b2
b7D
b7C

clutched tightly to his person. Once the march began in earnest from the Civic Center to the Conrad Hilton [REDACTED] was observed to be slowly falling back out of the crowd and shortly thereafter was observed to be absent from the demonstration. He was not observed again for approximately two hours and when he returned, he no longer had the black briefcase. The source did not know what [REDACTED] may have done with the briefcase and did not hear [REDACTED] making any comments about passing the briefcase along to other unknown individuals.

The same source also advised that upon departing Chicago via bus, [REDACTED] did not join the group nor did [REDACTED] stayed overnight in Chicago at an unknown location and traveled back [REDACTED] the following day via unknown transportation. [REDACTED] returned to [REDACTED] but by unknown transportation.

The enclosed LHM is not being afforded classification as the information contained therein does not warrant such classification.

The following sources were utilized in the LHM:

First source is [REDACTED]

Second source is [REDACTED]

Third source is [REDACTED]

-2-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

March 27, 1974

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MARCH 15, 1974

First, second, and third sources advised between March 18 and 22, 1974, that a bus load of individuals, numbering approximately 40, departed from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at approximately 9:00 a.m., March 15, 1974, en route to Chicago, Illinois, in order to take part in a demonstration against President Nixon. Individuals leaving from Milwaukee congregated at St. Michael's Community Center, 24th and Vliet Streets, Milwaukee, between 8:30 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. prior to boarding the bus. The following individuals were noted to be among those boarding the bus and later taking part in the demonstration in Chicago:

b7D
b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Revolutionary Union (RU)

RU

RU

RU

RU

RU

Vietnam Veterans Against
the War/Winter Soldier
Organization (VVAW/WSO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/12/94 BY SP6 BJA/VA

Sources whose identities are
concealed herein have furnished
reliable information in the past
except where otherwise noted.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-442092-

~~ENCLOSURE~~

268

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MARCH 15, 1974

b7D
b7C

[REDACTED]	VVAW/WSO
[REDACTED]	Attica Brigade (AB)
[REDACTED]	RU
[REDACTED]	RU
[REDACTED]	RU
[REDACTED]	AB
[REDACTED]	AB
[REDACTED]	AB
[REDACTED]	AB
[REDACTED] also known as [REDACTED]	AB
[REDACTED]	Unknown affiliation
[REDACTED]	Unknown affiliation
[REDACTED]	VVAW/WSO
[REDACTED]	VVAW/WSO

REVOLUTIONARY UNION

The RU was founded in early 1968 and is a militant, semi-clandestine organization. Its objectives, as set out in its publications, are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MARCH 15, 1974

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR
MILWAUKEE BRANCH

During May, 1972, a source advised that the Milwaukee Branch of the VVAW is a local branch adhering to the aims and goals of the national organization known as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The bus was chartered from the Mid America Coach Lines, Incorporated, Milwaukee, by the RU, Milwaukee, at a cost of \$182.00 which was to be divided evenly among the members traveling thereon. It departed Milwaukee at approximately 9:00 a.m. and arrived at the Civic Center, Chicago, at approximately 11:00 a.m. Upon arriving at the Civic Center, the Milwaukee group deboarded and joined in with other groups who were still arriving at the site.

Two bus loads of individuals were observed to arrive from Madison, Wisconsin, which had been chartered by the AB, Madison. Among the approximately 80 people who traveled with the AB from Madison were the following individuals:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7c

Once all the groups had arrived at the Civic Center, numbering between 1,500 and 2,000 individuals, a march began

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MARCH 15, 1974

from the Civic Center to the Conrad Hilton Hotel where President Nixon was said to be engaged in a luncheon. The march proceeded east on Washington Street to State Street, south on State Street to Jackson Street, east on Jackson Street to Michigan Street, and south on Michigan Street to the Conrad Hilton. Upon arriving at the Conrad Hilton, the demonstration took place which consisted mainly of shouting anti-Nixon slogans and the displaying of placards. No violence took place; however, there did appear to be at least one arrest, but it was unknown who was arrested or for what reason.

A leaflet which was distributed prior to the march from the Civic Center advised the demonstrators to avoid "provocateurs" and if charged by the police, to not run, but rather stay in small groups of 15 - 20 individuals.

Other leaflets passed out prior to the beginning of the march stated that the march and demonstration were sponsored by a group known as the Student Impeach Nixon Committee (SINC), 1043-A Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois, 60202.

Those who traveled from Milwaukee met again at the Civic Center at approximately 3:00 p.m., boarded the bus for the return trip to Milwaukee, and departed Chicago at approximately 3:15 p.m., arriving in Milwaukee at approximately 5:00 p.m. Upon arriving in Milwaukee, all participants returned to their homes.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MILWAUKEE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE 2/13/75	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 6/23/74-2/3/75
TITLE OF CASE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) MILWAUKEE DIVISION		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY DSS
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - VVAW/WSO	

b7c

REFERENCES

Milwaukee report of SA [REDACTED] dated 8/5/74
 Milwaukee report of SA [REDACTED] dated 10/28/74 entitled,
 "Revolutionary Union; IS - RU".
 Milwaukee airtel and LHM dated 1/3/75

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" as marked by (C) to protect [REDACTED]

**b2
b7D**

Two copies of an FD 376 are stapled to this report.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			PENDING OVER ONE YEAR	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE				DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW			
COPIES MADE:					100-11480-1-4148			
6 - Bureau (100-448092) (RM)					FEB 18 1975			
1 - Secret Service, Milwaukee (RM)					EX-110			
1 - Albuquerque (Info) (RM)					REC-10			
2 - Chicago (100-50772) (RM)								
1 - Los Angeles (100-77703) (RM) (Info)								
1 - Minneapolis (100-15819) (Info) (RM)								
3 - Milwaukee (2 - 100-15674)								
(1 - 100-15234) (RU)								
Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations			
Agency	VCC destroyed				FIVE ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10/11/95 BY SP6/BJM/WR			
Request Recd.	VCC destroyed							
Date Fwd.	VCC destroyed (10-316)							
How Fwd.	VCC destroyed							
By	[REDACTED] 2/25/75							

MI 100-15674

One additional copy of this report is being furnished to the Bureau for dissemination to Secret Service at Headquarters and one copy is being furnished Secret Service, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

An information copy is being furnished to Albuquerque due to their interest in [REDACTED] (refer to sub-heading 5B - Visit of [REDACTED])

b7c

An information copy is being furnished to Los Angeles due to their interest in GARY LAWTON (refer to sub-heading 5C - Other Activities by Milwaukee Chapter or Members).

An information copy is being furnished to Minneapolis due to chapters within their division (refer to sub-heading - Leadership).

Investigation regarding chapters in Minnesota being handled by Minneapolis Division.

INFORMANT COVERAGE

The following informants provide direct coverage on a regular basis on the Milwaukee VVAW/WSO:

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

The following informants provide direct coverage on a semi-regular basis on the Milwaukee VVAW/WSO:

[REDACTED]

The following informants provide indirect coverage on the VVAW primarily thru coverage within the RU:

MI 100-15674



b2
b7D

COMMENTS

Since last report, it is apparent that the VVAW has come under the influence and direction of the RU in the Milwaukee area as evidenced by the Vets Study Group, with the exception of a few, includes all the active VVAW members. Almost all the demonstrations, rallies, etc., are attended by both the VVAW and RU and both organizations have turned their attention towards organizing the veterans around the VA issues.

In view of the close association between the VVAW and RU, Milwaukee will continue to follow captioned organization's activities in view of the RU's militaristic attitude toward the overthrow or change of the government thru revolution whether it be thru peaceful or violent means.

The following is the status of individuals mentioned in this report:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Bureau Cognizance</u>
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Pending	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Closed	Cognizant
	Pending - ADEX	Cognizant
Closed	Cognizant	

b7c

MI 100-15674

b7C

[REDACTED]

Closed Cognizant
Chicago believed to be office of origin
Albuquerque is office of origin
Minneapolis is office of origin
Chicago is office of origin

Wisc.

Members of
Subject Organization

In view of the fact that [REDACTED] is only a contact and not known to be an active member, no investigation is being conducted by Milwaukee; however, his name has been indexed to this file.

SOURCES

Identity

Location

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b2

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

100-15674-1603

b7D

[REDACTED] is a well-placed source

100-15674-1579

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a well-placed source 100-15674-1581

[REDACTED] is a well-placed source 100-15674-1332

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

MI 100-15674

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED] (former) [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] is [REDACTED] (former) [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] is [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] is [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] is [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] is [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] is [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

100-15674-1336

100-15674-1273

1
b2
b7D

MI 100-15674

NONSYMBOLIZED SOURCE PAGE

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]
University National Bank, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (requested).

[REDACTED] is trash cover at "Milwaukee Worker"s office,
3631 West North Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Police Department.

b2
b7D
b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

COPY RECORD

In the event it is necessary to make additional copies of the attached classified FBI communication, please complete the "From" line as well as part A. on the lower portion of this form and return it to the FBI office indicated. Retain the upper portion in your file. If necessary to make further duplication subsequent to the use of this form, specific clearance should be secured from the FBI.

FBI File and Serial No. MI 100-15674

To: FBI Headquarters
 FBI Field Division, Milwaukee

From: Secret Service, Headquarters

Regarding FBI report memorandum dated (month, day, year)
February 13, 1975 at (city, state) Milwaukee, Wisconsin
concerning (title - not necessary if file number is shown) _____

it has been necessary to make additional copies for official use within this agency, as indicated below:

(A) Number of Copies Made	Distribution

COPY RECORD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/16/94 BY SP6BJA/VA



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 13, 1975

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

~~CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL~~
~~ATTACHED~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. MI 100-15674

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
MILWAUKEE DIVISION

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

- 1. Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
- 2. Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
- 3. Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
- 4. Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
- 5. Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
- 6. Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
- 7. Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph has been furnished enclosed is not available.

Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL~~
~~ATTACHED~~

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) (1)
U. S. Secret Service, Milwaukee (RM)

Enclosure(s)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/17/94 BY SP6/BJM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Milwaukee (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] **b7c**
Date: FEBRUARY 13, 1975

Office: MILWAUKEE

Field Office File #: MI 100-15674

Bureau File #: 100-448092

Title: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

Synopsis: The VVAW/WSO regional and chapter headquarters are located at 2532 North Holton Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. They hold weekly meetings on Saturdays at Humboldt Gardens, 2249 North Humboldt Avenue, Milwaukee, and in addition, hold the Vets Study Circle meetings at headquarters or 2303 North Holton Avenue, and the VA/Amnesty meetings at headquarters on Sundays. Two new chapters have been organized at Mankato and Minneapolis, Minnesota. The membership consists of anyone showing an interest and attends the meetings. They adhere to the aims and objectives as put out by the National Office, Chicago, Illinois. The finances are derived from fundraising activities, paper drives, bake sales, etc. They have savings accounts at University National Bank; one account has a balance of \$12.80 and one account has a balance of \$1.33. Their activities during the past six months seemed to be directed towards the VA facilities or supporting the RU in their causes. During one demonstration at the VA Hospital on 12/18/74, 11 demonstrators were arrested for fighting with hospital police, but were later released without charges being brought against them.

-P-

Details:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SA 6/3/11/VA
ON 10/14/94

Classified by 456
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SOURCES WHOSE IDENTITIES ARE CONCEALED HEREIN HAVE ALL PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE NOTED.

Only those paragraphs marked with (C) should be considered classified "CONFIDENTIAL".

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. ORGANIZATIONAL DATA	
1. Leadership	2
2. Membership	3
3. Headquarters	3
4. Aims and Objectives	4
5. Finances	4
6. Publications	5
7. Structure	6
Regional Collective	6
Chapter Collective	6
Veterans Administration (VA) Amnesty Committee	6
Security	6-7
II. ACTIVITIES	
1. Political affiliations with the Revolutionary Union (RU)	8
2. Demonstrations, marches, benefits held in conjunction with the RU and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB)	15
3. Actions directed against VA facilities	17
4. Activities around the amnesty issue	18
5. Miscellaneous	19
A. National Meetings	19
B. Visit [redacted] New Mexico/Arizona VVAW Coordina- tor to Milwaukee	20

b7c

MI 100-15674

Page

C. Other activities by Milwaukee Chapter or members	20
---	----

MI 100-15674

I. ORGANIZATIONAL DATA

A characterization of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WISO) is contained at the end of this report.

1. Leadership

A. Regional Collective consists of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

B. Chapter Collective consists of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

(The responsibilities of these collectives are set forth under the sub-heading - Structure)

The December, 1974, National Chapter list reflects the following for Wisconsin/Minnesota Region:

Regional and Chapter Office
2532 North Holton Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
414-264-0882

Oshkosh Contact

[REDACTED]
Oshkosh, Wisconsin
414-[REDACTED]

1
b2
b7D
b7C
b7C

MI 100-15674

Mankato Chapter

[REDACTED] apartment 16
Mankato, Minnesota
507-[REDACTED]

b7c

Twin Cities Chapter

VVAW/WSO
P. O. Box 7083
Minneapolis, Minnesota

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] on December 23, 1974)

2. Membership

This chapter has no formal membership. The membership consists of anyone showing an interest in the current struggles and are willing to attend the meetings.

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

3. Headquarters

The Milwaukee VVAW/WSO Chapter still maintains their regional and local headquarters at 2532 North Holton Avenue.

They still hold their regular meetings on Saturdays at the Humboldt Gardens located at 2249 North Humboldt Avenue. The Veterans Administration (VA)/Amnesty meetings are held at headquarters Sunday mornings.

The Vets Study Circle, which is an educational directed by the Revolutionary Union (RU) (see appendix) and consists of VVAW members and instructed by [REDACTED] who is recognized as one of the RU leaders, are also held Sunday mornings at either VVAW headquarters or the residence of [REDACTED] (S) U

b2
b7D
b7c

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

MI 100-15674

4. Aims and Objectives

This chapter strictly adheres to the aims and objectives as set forth by the National Office (NO). In addition, they continue their efforts toward the VA facilities calling for the better treatment and benefits for all veterans.

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

In an article taken from the August 25, 1974, issue of the "Milwaukee Journal", a daily evening newspaper published in Milwaukee, reflects that the Milwaukee VVAW/WSO supports total universal unconditional amnesty with no punitive service, and does not support the limited or conditional amnesty program as suggested by President FORD.

5. Finances

The Finance Committee has become defunct and VVAW, as a whole, will handle the finances.

[REDACTED] on August 5, 1974)

Finances are derived from paper drives, bake sales, benefits, and personal contributions from members. It is reported that this organization is about \$300 in debt and it is believed they still maintain a bank account at University Bank located on Downer Avenue.

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

This chapter currently maintains two savings accounts at the University National Bank, 2567 North Downer Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

Account #1

Name	Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc.
Amount	\$12.80

b2
b7D

MI 100-15674

Names of those authorized to make withdrawals;
two signatures required:

[REDACTED]

b7c

Account #2

Name	Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization
Amount	\$1.33

Names of those authorized to make withdrawals;
two signatures required:

[REDACTED]

b7c
b2
b7D

[REDACTED] on January 9, 1975)

[REDACTED] has been put in charge of collecting
finances for the Milwaukee VVAW/WSO chapter.

[REDACTED] on February 1, 1975)

6. Publications

The "Winter Soldier" is still the official VVAW
newspaper which is published by the NO in Chicago. The
regional collective puts out a regional newsletter whenever
funds permit.

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

MI 100-15674

7. Structure

The Regional Collective is responsible for forming policy, coordinating functions and activities and implementing instructions from the NO on a regional level consisting of the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The Chapter Collective is responsible for forming policy, coordinating functions and activities, and implementing instructions from the Regional Collective on a chapter level.

VA/Amnesty Committee is responsible for coordinating efforts against the VA facilities; they hold meetings on Sunday mornings.

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

[REDACTED] is currently in charge of the security within the organization.

[REDACTED] on October 3, 1974)

"What to do if the FBI or Police come" was the topic of discussion at a VVAW/ISO meeting held in Milwaukee on August 10, 1974. Members were told to remain silent, not to identify anyone, including yourself, do not sign anything and do not allow anyone into your house without a proper search warrant. If anyone is contacted by the FBI or police, they are to contact the regional collective, 2532 North Holton, immediately.

[REDACTED] on August 12, 1974)

During recent meetings, numerous discussions centered around "What to do if visited by FBI or other police agencies". The following "Security Report Form" is made available and is to be filled out if contacted by any law enforcement officer.

[REDACTED] on January 17, 1975)

b2
b7D
b7C

SECURITY REPORT FORM

If you receive a visit from the FBI, State or local police agencies or witness some form of overt harassment of VVAW/WSO members, we urge you to complete this form and return it to:

VVAW/WSO-Milwaukee
2532 N. Holton Street
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53212
562-9371

Date this form filed _____
Date of contact or incident _____ Time occurring _____
Name of person filing report _____
Address _____ Telephone No. _____
Name of individual(s) involved in contact or incident _____

Address _____

Address _____

Address _____

Address _____
Name of FBI Agent(s), Police Agent(s) - Indicate agency _____

Location of contact or incident _____

How long did contact or incident last? _____
What was said to you? (Please try to remember exact wording if possible. This section should be as complete as possible.)

If you said anything at all besides nothing or go away, please write it out and enclose it with this form. (Again, as complete and as close to exact wording as possible.)

Follow up actions taken:

MI 100-15674

II. ACTIVITIES

In addition to the weekly meetings which are held on Saturdays and Sundays (refer to sub-heading - Headquarters), the Milwaukee VVAW/WSO chapter participated in the following activities:

1. Political Affiliation with the RU

A bulletin entitled, "District Bulletin on Veterans Work" was obtained from an RU collective meeting on June 23, 1974, which directly points to the RU's blossoming interest in the VVAW/WSO:

"The district leadership has begun to sum up and discuss how to develop veterans work in the area. National has given us some clear guidance on the importance of this work in the political report and the national newspaper. In a nutshell:

Veterans are an extremely important potential revolutionary force, both in their struggle as veterans, and as a spark within the overall working class. . . it is very important to link up with veterans, the greatest number of whom are 'third world' and to build a veterans movement that fights in the interests of vets against the Veterans Administration, for benefits, and so on--and links this with the broader anti-imperialist struggle. (R)u

"Our district's work in building the veterans movement is very uneven. Where it exists, it is primarily with VVAW/WSO. And this makes the upcoming demonstration in Washington even more important. In and of itself the demonstration is extremely important for it will have a significant

MI 100-15674

effect in determining the direction of the vets movement. Overall the demands of the demonstration reflect the urgent needs of veterans as well as the broader anti-imperialist struggle. By helping to build the Washington Demonstration, while bringing forward our independent line, we will build the veterans struggle, strengthen the correct line, and our work within the veterans movement . . . we can begin to realize our goal of linking the veterans struggle with the overall anti-imperialist movement." (S) u

The above-described pamphlet called on RU members to focus on the veteran's movement and its relationship to the United Front Against Imperialism.

The September, 1974, issue of "Revolution" contained an article entitled, "Good Debate at Important VVAW/WSO Meeting", which tends to portray the RU's interest linking up with that organization as part of a united front against imperialism, while at the same time indicating the shifting of VVAW/WSO away from a reformist movement, interested only in increasing veteran's benefits, into an anti-imperialist organization. The article read in part:

"An important National Steering Committee meeting of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization was held in Buffalo, N.Y. last month, focusing on the key question confronting VVAW/WSO recently about whether or not it should be built as an organization with a veterans and GI focus.

". . . both positions agreed that VVAW/WSO's purpose should be to build anti-imperialist struggle and that VVAW/WSO should be an anti-imperialist organization, there was a difference on the question of how to build struggle and what it meant for VVAW/WSO in particular to be an anti-imperialist organization.

MI 100-15674

". . . the delegates voted that VVAW/WSO should be developed as an anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus.

"Accordingly, the majority felt that the best way at this time to strike blows against the system is to win real concessions and build revolutionary understanding among vets by uniting with them in their struggles, which are focused at the present on the VA and for benefits, and in the course of these struggles to unfold the wider picture."

The following excerpts were taken from City Bulletin 20 (an internal document of the Milwaukee RU) which was obtained from an RU collective meeting. The following excerpts tend to show the affiliation between the RU and the VVAW: (S)u

"In the past several months our organization (RU) and VVAW/WSO have been active in building the veteran's 'war on the VA'. A lot of good mass work has been done, including several major actions and work at the hospital itself. As an organization we have begun to grasp and build the veterans struggle as part of the United Front Against Imperialism under proletarian leadership." (S)u

"It is our task to take this campaign to the class as a whole. We must do this 1. to build the veterans movement against imperialist cutbacks and 2. as part of building a revolutionary workers movement that fights all oppression." (S)u

"Some vets who we have met and worked with in the shops have participated in the veterans struggle. This has helped not only to develop them from fighters for one into fighters for all, but has also strengthened the outlook and class character of VVAW/WSO." (S)u

MI 100-15674

The bulletin ends by stating:

"Comrades we are sure that if we grasp our line on vets and the lessons we summed up we can build a fighting veterans movement that wins real concessions, strikes blows against the imperialist enemy and that sparks the workers movement and the entire United Front." (8) 4

 on December 12, 1974)

The following excerpt was taken from one of several typewritten pages referring to the VVAW/WSO:

"Because of the economic and political crisis of the system, the potential for unleashing the anger of veterans into a revolutionary storm is growing daily.

"Within the VVAW/WSO, this has meant that a two-line struggle has sharpened and become much more critical. One line is to take up the struggle of veterans around the GI Bill, health care, bad discharges, discrimination against veterans from the oppressed nationalities, and unemployment and through this struggle, turn 'fighters for one into fighters for all!' The task of uniting with the day to day struggles of vets and linking them with the overall anti-imperialist movement is seen as key to developing the revolutionary consciousness of vets and to building a powerful United Front against Imperialism that can smash the system.

"The other line has a number of forms. One is that we must take up everything all at once in order to be revolutionary. Because nothing is really concentrated on, nothing is ever really done. As smaller numbers of people hold to a position that essentially boils down to having little faith in the ability of vets or the majority of the American people, led by the working class and its party, to make revolution.

"One of the weaknesses in this two-line struggle

b2
b7D

MI 100-15674

within VVAW/WSO has been that it has tended to be a little abstract, that is, separated from practice. We hope this will show what it means in practice to build a veterans' movement and link it to the overall anti-imperialist movement."

[REDACTED] on January 5, 1975)

It is felt that the VVAW/WSO chapter is becoming more and more influenced by the RU in Milwaukee. It seems that the main people who are in the influential positions are either self-admitted RU members or closely associated with RU people or adhere to the Marxist-Leninist-MAOist philosophies. The following people are those fitting the above category:

- [REDACTED] - closely associated
- [REDACTED] self-admitted RU member
- [REDACTED] - self-admitted RU member
- [REDACTED] - closely associated
- [REDACTED] - closely associated
- [REDACTED] - closely associated
- [REDACTED] - closely associated
- [REDACTED] - closely associated (S) W

[REDACTED] on October 11, 1974)

[REDACTED] a self-admitted VVAW/WSO and RU member, was overheard stating that the RU was currently running the VVAW chapter as they were on the verge of total collapse due to lack of organization, leadership and discipline. The RU did this so the VVAW would not collapse.

[REDACTED] on December 6, 1974)

b2
b7D

b7C
b7D
b2

MI 100-15674

The Vets Study Circle is directed by the RU and consists of VVAW/WSO members. They hold their meetings on Sunday mornings at either [redacted] house, [redacted] or the VVAW headquarters, 2532 North Holton Avenue. This Circle is instructed by [redacted] who is recognized as the RU leader in Milwaukee. These instructions adhere strictly along the Marxist-Leninist-MAOist lines. Following are the questions currently under study by this group:

1. Why is it wrong to separate capitalism and imperialism instead of seeing imperialism as the highest stage of monopoly capitalism? What does this error lead to? How has this led people in VVAW/WSO to seeing amnesty as more revolutionary than the struggle of decent benefits? How are both the result of imperialism?

2. Why is it important that imperialism is characterized by the dominance of finance capital?

3. Why is it important that imperialism is characterized by the export of capital?

4. What are the five features of imperialism?

5. How does imperialist competition and expansion lead to world wars? How does this affect the world today?

6. Why is [redacted] definition of imperialism not only incorrect, but leads to reformism? What importance does this have in the movement today?

7. Why is imperialism the eve of prol; revolution?

The following people have attended these meetings on a regular basis and seem to adhere to these teachings:

[redacted] instructor

b7D
b7C



b7c

b2

b7D

(S) 4

[redacted] on January 17, 1975)



(C)

1. Get acquainted

- "Correct line achieved through study, struggle, Criticism", Rev. December 1
- "Strengthen the ranks of the Marxist theorists Peking Review"
- Intro by the RU, discussion by people involved on how they got to their present stand, and finalizing study circle.

2. Dialectical and Historical Materialism

- "The Exorcist" March Revolution '74
- STALIN, Dialectical and Historical Materialism
- MAO, On Practice

3. Political Economy

- "Classes and Class Struggle" Revolution April '73
- "How Socialism wipes out Exploitation" Revolution April '73
- MARX, Wage Labor and Capital

4. The State

- Selections from State and Revolution
- "Prol Dictatorship vs Prol Democracy" Revolution July '73

MI 100-15674

5. Imperialism

----Selections from Imperialism by LENIN

6. The Party

----Chapter 4, What Is to Be Done; chapter on the party
in STALIN's Foundations

----Articles in Red Papers 6

----Articles in recent Revolutions

7. The National Question

----STALIN, Marxism and the National Question

----Article by LENIN, "The Right of Nations to Self-
Determination Summed Up"

----Red Papers 5 and 6

8. The Veterans Movement

----RU Pamphlet

----Comintern Statement of 1934

9. The Woman's Question

----Revolution article from March 1973

----Revolution articles on the ERA and forced sterilization

10. The United Front Against Imperialism

----The UFAI in Red Papers 1, 2, 3

----Proposal for a general line by the PRC

(S)

██████████ on October 11, 1974)

2. Demonstrations, marches, benefits held in conjunction
with RU, and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB)

A characterization of the RSB is contained in
the appendix section of this report.

b2
b7D

MI 100-15674

On August 27, 1974, a benefit was held in conjunction with the RU at Solski's Hall, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The featured speaker at this meeting was [REDACTED] National leader of the RU.

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] on August 28, 1974)

b7C

On October 17, 1974, [REDACTED] University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee (UWM), advised that the VVAW/WSO in conjunction with the RSB, conducted an anti-recruiting campaign on the UWM campus during the week of October 14-18, 1974. This campaign consisted of verbal confrontation, rallies, leafletting and throwing water balloons. During a short rally on October 16, 1974, three people were arrested during a scuffle with campus police but were released with no charges being brought against them.

On November 9, 1974, representatives of the VVAW/WSO, RU and RSB staged a rally and skit in front of the courthouse in Sparta, Wisconsin. This rally was in support of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on November 11, 1974)

On November 10, 1974, Milwaukee VVAW representatives traveled to Chicago, Illinois, to help support a VVAW-sponsored demonstration in that city.

[REDACTED] on November 12, 1974)

On November 11, 1974, a benefit and Universal and Unconditional Amnesty seminar was held in Milwaukee with the featured speaker being JOHN YOUNG, an ex-POW from Chicago, Illinois. This benefit was sponsored by the Milwaukee Coalition for Universal, Unconditional Amnesty, which is made up mainly of members representing VVAW/WSO, RU and RSB in Milwaukee.

[REDACTED] on November 12, 1974)

MI 100-15674

During the afternoon of November 11, 1974, at the Milwaukee VVAW headquarters, JOHN YOUNG spoke about his experiences as a POW during the Vietnam conflict. He stated that while a prisoner he was supplied with all underground newspapers, both civilian and military. He participated in Marxist-Leninist-MAOist (MLM) study while a prisoner and was furnished by his captors with selected readings of HO Chi-minh. He stated he and other prisoners were not forced to take part in such study and reading, but that his captors made such material available to the prisoners so that the prisoners would be able to make up their own minds as to what form of politics was right. YOUNG said that he, himself, came to believe thru such study, that MLM philosophy was correct. He further stated that after all of the fighting is over in Vietnam, he would like to return as a student to the University of Hanoi, and that he has good friends there.

[REDACTED] on November 13, 1974)

b2
b7D

In addition to the above, sources collectively advised that 21 demonstrations, marches, rallies and benefits were sponsored by the VVAW or held in conjunction with the RU and RSB or other New Left groups during the period July, 1974, thru January, 1975, in the Milwaukee area.

[REDACTED] on July 19, 1974
[REDACTED] from July 20, 1974, to February 3, 1975
[REDACTED] on August 28, 1974
[REDACTED] from August 20, 1974, to September 11, 1974
[REDACTED] from September 2, 1974, to December 4, 1974
[REDACTED] from September 25, 1974, to October 27, 1974
[REDACTED] on October 22, 1974
[REDACTED] from October 20, 1974, to December 17, 1974
[REDACTED] on November 1, 1974
[REDACTED] on November 2, 1974

3. Actions directed against VA facilities

On August 7, 1974, [REDACTED] Milwaukee Police Department, advised that [REDACTED] a known member of the VVAW/WSO and RU, and [REDACTED] a known

b7C

MI 100-15674

member of the VVAW/WSO and associated with the RU, were arrested on [REDACTED] and charged with criminal damage to property as a result of painting obscene phrases on Armed Forces recruiting billboards and on VA Regional Office. They were subsequently released on \$250 bond. 1
b2
b7D

On August 19, 1974, representatives from VVAW/WSO, RU and RSB traveled to Chicago for a demonstration against President FORD. While in Chicago the demonstrators took over the VA Center for approximately 2 1/2 hours.

[REDACTED] on August 20, 1974)

On December 24, 1974, [REDACTED] VA Hospital (VAH), Milwaukee, advised that on December 18, 1974, approximately 30-40 demonstrators representing the VVAW gathered in front of the hospital and began demonstrating. This demonstration consisted of chanting, leafletting and displaying of posters. The demonstrators moved from their designated area to an area next to main entrance of the hospital. Subsequently a fight broke out between demonstrators and VAH police when police attempted to move demonstrators to their designated area. As a result, 11 demonstrators were arrested; however, to date, no charges have been issued against these demonstrators. 1
b7C

In addition to the above, sources collectively advised that three demonstrations, and benefits sponsored by the VVAW and held in conjunction with the RU, were directed towards VA facilities in the Milwaukee area during the month of August, 1974.

[REDACTED] on August 5, 1974
[REDACTED] on August 6, 1974
[REDACTED] on August 6, 1974
[REDACTED] on October 26, 1974 b2
b7D

4. Activities around the amnesty issue

On October 10, 1974, [REDACTED] UMN, advised that the VVAW held a two-day camp-in on the UMN b7C

MI 100-15674

mall over October 9-10, 1974. The camp-in was in support of universal and unconditional amnesty.

Representatives from the VVAW/NSO appeared on "WOKY Talkie", a talk show sponsored by WOKY, a Milwaukee-based radio station, from 12 AM to 1 AM on October 13, 1974. The representatives aired their views on the amnesty and veterans issues and then answered questions called in by listeners.

[REDACTED] on October 15, 1974)

The Milwaukee VVAW/NSO chapter was represented at the Universal and Unconditional Amnesty National Conference, Louisville, Kentucky, during the week of November 10-16, 1974. It was mentioned that the conference held discussions regarding pressure tactics to be used to further the struggles around the amnesty issues.

[REDACTED] on November 22, 1974)

5. Miscellaneous

A. National Meetings

Representatives of the Milwaukee VVAW/NSO chapter attended the National Steering Committee Meeting (NSCM) which was held in Buffalo, New York, from August 8-12, 1974.

[REDACTED] on August 21, 1974)

At a VVAW meeting on December 7, 1974, delegates were elected to represent the Milwaukee Chapter at the upcoming NSCM scheduled for St. Louis, Missouri, over December 27-31, 1974.

[REDACTED] on December 11, 1974)

b2
b7D

MI 100-15674

B. Visit of [REDACTED] New Mexico/Arizona VVAW
Coordinator to Milwaukee

It was determined that [REDACTED] was in Milwaukee during October, 1974, and [REDACTED] both active in the Milwaukee VVAW/WSO Chapter. While in Milwaukee, [REDACTED] stated that he has organized two VVAW chapters; one in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and one in Tucson, Arizona.

[REDACTED] on October 17, 1974)

It has been determined that efforts are being made to remove [REDACTED] as head of the New Mexico/Arizona VVAW as it is felt he is too reactionary and is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on December 3, 1974)

C. Other activities by Milwaukee Chapter or members

[REDACTED] from the Milwaukee VVAW/WSO chapter, and who was in Washington, D.C., to help organize the mass demonstration for over July 1-4, 1974, was one of several individuals who attended a meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, on June 20, 1974. This meeting was called by the RU with attendance from various other New Left organizations for the purpose of formulating plans for a new VVAW/WSO chapter in the Baltimore area.

[REDACTED] on June 27, 1974)

The local VVAW chapter has representatives which are coordinating their effort towards organizing the veterans groups on the campus of UWM and Milwaukee Area Technical College (MATC).

[REDACTED] on October 2, 1974)

b2
b7D
b7C

b6

MI 100-15674

The local chapter of VVAW sent approximately 10-12 people to Gresham, Wisconsin, on January 4, 1975, to show support of the Indians who took over the Alexian Brothers novitiate on January 1, 1975. They returned the same day and as nothing was mentioned, it is doubtful any contact was made with the Indians. (b)w

[REDACTED] on January 7, 1975)

The following petition was distributed to VVAW members and there will be a mass drive to get signatures for this petition on February 5, 1975. This petition calls for dropping charges against GARY LAWTON, who is currently on trial in Riverside, California.

[REDACTED] on February 3, 1975)

b2
b7D

PETITION TO DROP CHARGES AGAINST GARY LAWTON

Since April of 1971 Gary Lawton, a black political organizer in Riverside, California, has had two trials for the 1971 shooting of two Riverside policemen. Both trials ended in hung juries, with a majority voting for innocence.

Even before being arrested, Gary Lawton took three lie detecto tests, all of which showed no deception on his part; yet he was still arrested. He spent the next two years in jail. Shortly after the first jury voted 9 to 3 for innocence, he was released on \$25,000 bail.

A third trial after two hung juries is almost unprecedented in California history. Millions of our dollars have already been spent trying to convict this innocent man.

We the undersigned demand that the charges against Gary Lawton be dropped and that the continued persecution against him and his family be halted.

NAME

ADDRESS

[A series of horizontal lines for signature and address entry.]

RIVERSIDE POLITICAL PRISONERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 244

RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA

MI 100-15674

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

The VVAW was formed in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Since that time VVAW leaders have told members the VVAW is a revolutionary group, not "just another group of war veterans". Also, the membership has been told the VVAW has been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist and MAOist groups. Additionally, it was indicated that "anti-imperialist groups" consider the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the United States. In April, 1974, the group changed their name to VVAW/WSO so that non-veterans could become members. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented and strive to educate their membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY UNION

The Revolutionary Union (RU), founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers", and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution", are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU national headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), formerly known as the Attica Brigade, is a student-based organization founded in New York city in the fall of 1971. The RSB considers itself to be an anti-imperialist organization which views United States imperialism as the main enemy of the people of the world. The RSB favors violent actions to further its cause and is moving closer in ideology to the Revolutionary Union (RU), which has significantly infiltrated the RSB and plays a major role in the RSB policies, decisions and activities. As of July, 1974, the RSB is headquartered in New York City. The RU is a basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary organization.

APPENDIX

NR 008 BT CODE

@ 7:41 PM NITEL JANUARY 29, 1975 TDS

TO DIRECTOR (100-448092)

CHICAGO (100-50772)

PORTLAND

SEATTLE

FROM BUTTE (100-9147) (P)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2 Ru b7D b7C

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

(VVAW/WSO), IS - VVAW/WSO. OO: CHICAGO.

JANUARY 29, 1975 [REDACTED] WHOSE IDENTITY IS KNOWN TO

BUREAU, ADVISED HE RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT "REVOLUTIONARY

STUDENT BRIGADE" AND "NORTHWEST WORKER" WERE PRESENTING

"A SINGLE SPARK CAN START A PRAIRIE FIRE" AND EVENING OF

REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE. SOURCE ADVISED THE REVOLUTIONARY SINGING

GROUP FROM SAN FRANCISCO, PRAIRIE FIRE, AND A REVOLUTIONARY

WORKING CLASS BAND FROM TACOMA, WASHINGTON,

RIISING STORM, AND SPEAKERS FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION

SPEAKING ON REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE WERE CONDUCTING A TOUR ON

THE FOLLOWING DATES:

FEBRUARY 5, 1975 - TACOMA, WASHINGTON;

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep. A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Plan. & Insp.	_____
Rec. Mgmt.	_____
Tech. Serv.	_____
Training	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

WRU

[REDACTED]

EX-101

REC 98

100-448092-4149

FEB 3 1975

DECLASSIFIED BY *SL6B/MS*
ON *10/16/94*

5-WNP

57 FEB 20 1975

7000 (no. 2)

PAGE TWO

FEBRUARY 6, 1975 - OLYMPIA, WASHINGTON;

FEBRUARY 7, 1975 - SEATTLE, WASHINGTON;

FEBRUARY 9, 1975 - MISSOULA, MONTANA;

FEBRUARY 11, 1975 - BOISE, IDAHO;

FEBRUARY 13, 1975 - CORVALLIS, OREGON;

FEBRUARY 14, 1975 - PORTLAND, OREGON;

FEBRUARY 15, 1975 - EUGENE, OREGON.

SOURCE HAD NO INFORMATION ON EXACT FORMAT IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS AND ADVISED PLANS ARE ONLY BEING STARTED FOR FEBRUARY 11, 1975, APPEARANCE IN BOISE.

PORTLAND, AT PORTLAND AND EUGENE, OREGON. THROUGH SOURCES, ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION.

SEATTLE, AT TACOMA, OLYMPIA, AND SEATTLE WASHINGTON. SAME LEAD AS PORTLAND.

END

QHOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 14 1975

TELETYPE

b7c



Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Int. Aff.	_____
Lab.	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

NR 027 LA PLAIN

704 PM NITEL 2-14-75 VLB

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-77723) (P)

ATTN: INTD

DEMONSTRATION, VETERANS ADMIN. (VA) HOSPITAL, WILSHIRE BLVD., LOS ANGELES, CALIF., SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), FEBRUARY 14, 1975, IS - VVAW/WSO.

ON FEBRUARY 14, 1975, VVAW/WSO SPONSORED A DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE GATE OF THE VA HOSPITAL, WILSHIRE BLVD., LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

VVAW/WSO IS ANTI-WAR ORGANIZATION ORGANIZED IN 1967, COMPOSED OF VETERANS. ORGANIZATION NOW, ACCORDING TO MEMBERS IN NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, IS REVOLUTIONARY GROUP OF WAR VETERANS WHICH HAS BEEN TOLD TO COOPERATE ON INTERNATIONAL BASIS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUP. IN APRIL 1972, NAME CHANGED TO THE VVAW/WSO SO NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. LOCAL VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE ALL MEMBERS IN SUCH DOCTRINE.

EX 104 REC-89

100-77723-4150

THE PURPOSE OF THE DEMONSTRATION WAS TO PROTEST THE CONDITIONS AFFORDED VETERANS IN THE VA HOSPITALS. THE DEMONSTRATION BEGAN AT 11:50 AM AND ENDED AT 12:40 PM EIGHT INDIVIDUALS COMPRISED OF SIX WHITE MALES AND TWO WHITE FEMALES PARTICIPATED IN THE DEMONSTRATION

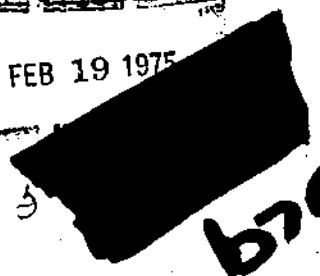
5-736 Sant Louis,
Dep AGall: AEU, AAC Com. Di
(355.605) 2-15-75 CAR

FEB 21 1975

F2329

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01/17/94 BY SA 6 B J/LR

FEB 19 1975



b7c

PAGE TWO

LA 100-77703

WHICH WAS PEACEFUL IN NATURE WITH NO PROPERTY DAMAGE OR ARRESTS.
TWO SIGNS WERE DISPLAYED, ONE READING "END JAIL CONDITIONS IN VA"
AND THE OTHER READING "DECENT BENEFITS FOR VETS".

THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS WERE ALERTED TO THE DEMONSTRATION:

LAPD, LASO, SGT. BRISCOE, VA POLICE [REDACTED] USA'S OFFICE. **b7C**

ADMINISTRATIVE

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END

HOLD

FBI

Date: 2/12/75

WRH
PCC

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (100-21623) (P)

B7C
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR
(VVAW)/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (WSO)
IS

Re Albany airtel and LHM to the Bureau, dated 2/3/75

Referenced airtel and LHM indicates next regional meeting of New York-Northern New Jersey Region of VVAW/WSO will be held at the Universalist-Unitarian Church, Buffalo, New York on March 1-2, 1975.

New York and Newark should advise the Bureau and Buffalo if they have any sources in a position to attend this conference.

Albany should advise Buffalo of the code name of their source attending the conference in the event an emergency contact is necessary with the Buffalo Office. Identity of Buffalo Agent and confidential telephone number will be provided by separate communication.

H-44 *4/1 Jek* **EX-101** **REC-56** Buffalo sources will attempt to attend.

4151

- 2 - Bureau (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Albany (100-22519) (AM) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (Info) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (AM) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-160644) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo

14 FEB 17 1975

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GGL:sjp
(11)

CLASSIFIED BY 3463
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP6 BJA/NAK*
ON *10/17/94*

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

51 FEB 24 1975

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 2-15-75

Transmit in Code via teletype the attached Priority message.
(plaintext or code) (precedence)

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO:
- RUEADWW/ The President
 - RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 - Att.: _____
 - RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
 - RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
 - RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 - and National Indications Center
 - RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
 - RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
 - RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
 - RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
 - RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
 - RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 - and Internal Security Section
 - and General Crimes Section
 - RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
 - RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
 - RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration

SACS:

LEGATS:



089

a

448092 - 4152

EX-112 REC-90

UNCLASSIFIED

7 FEB 18 1975

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

SUBJECT: SEE NEXT PAGE

- Route through for review
 - Cleared telephonically
- with _____

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

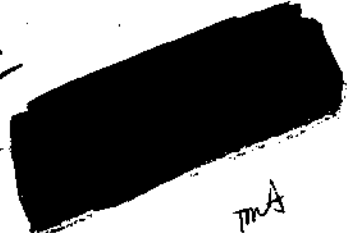
(Text of message begins on next page.)

FEB 16 1975
4:20A TMA
TELETYPE

TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10/16/94 BY SP6/BJA

b7c



51 FEB 24 1975 TELETYPE UNIT

NR 227 LA PLAIN

704 PM NITEL 2-14-75 VLE

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-77703) (P)

ATTN: INRD

DEMONSTRATION, VETERANS ADMIN. (VA) HOSPITAL, WILSHIRE BLVD., LOS ANGELES, CALIF., SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), FEBRUARY 14, 1975. IS ~~VVAW/WSO~~.

ON FEBRUARY 14, 1975, VVAW/WSO SPONSORED A DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE GATE OF THE VA HOSPITAL, WILSHIRE BLVD., LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

VVAW/WSO IS ANTI-WAR ORGANIZATION ORGANIZED IN 1967, COMPOSED OF VETERANS. ORGANIZATION NOW, ACCORDING TO MEMBERS IN NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, IS REVOLUTIONARY GROUP OF WAR VETERANS WHICH HAS BEEN TOLD TO COOPERATE ON INTERNATIONAL BASIS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUP. IN APRIL 1972, NAME CHANGED TO THE VVAW/WSO SO NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. LOCAL VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE ALL MEMBERS IN SUCH DOCTRINE.

THE PURPOSE OF THE DEMONSTRATION WAS TO PROTEST THE CONDITIONS AFFORDED VETERANS IN THE VA HOSPITALS. THE DEMONSTRATION BEGAN AT 11:50 AM AND ENDED AT 12:40 PM. EIGHT INDIVIDUALS COMPRISED OF SIX WHITE MALES AND TWO WHITE FEMALES PARTICIPATED IN THE DEMONSTRATION

PAGE TWO

~~62-100-70703~~

WHICH WAS PEACEFUL IN NATURE WITH NO PROPERTY DAMAGE OR ARRESTS.
TWO SIGNS WERE DISPLAYED, ONE READING "END JAIL CONDITIONS IN VA"
AND THE OTHER READING "DECENT BENEFITS FOR VETS".

THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS WERE ALERTED TO THE DEMONSTRATION:

LAPD, LASO, SGT. BRISCOE, VA POLICE, KATY CLARK, USA'S OFFICE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

~~NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.~~

END

HOLD

10/1/71

10/1/71

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 001 BA CODE

240PM URGENT 2-7-75 BJC

FEB 07 1975
JES
TELETYPE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

TO: DIRECTOR

WFO

LOS ANGELES

NEW YORK

[REDACTED]

10/16/94 50654 10A

HT

FROM: BALTIMORE (100-NEW) (R) u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATION AT U.S. SUPREME COURT BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 8, 1975, SPONSORED BY VVAW AND RU, IS - VVAW (IS - RU), OO: WFO.

REC-104

b7c-4153

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

ON FEBRUARY 7, 1975, A RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THAT THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (VVAW) AND REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) ARE PLANNING TO HOLD A DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC) FEBRUARY 8, 1975, IN FRONT OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT BUILDING TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR GARY LAUGHTON, A VVAW MEMBER FROM LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA ON TRIAL FOR MURDER OF A POLICE OFFICER. IT IS BELIEVED THE DEMONSTRATION WILL BE HELD AROUND NOON. POSSIBLY [REDACTED]

b7D

Retained
CLASS. & EXT. BY 9629 KIK/RUS
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 (2)
DATE OF REVIEW 8-7-95
Paras. marked otherwise (y) 5

70 FEB 24 1975

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 7-30-79

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO [BA 100-NEW] (S) U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WILL PARTICIPATE. DEMONSTRATION IS EXPECTED TO BE PEACEFUL WITH NO VIOLENCE. (R) u

THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SINCE THAT TIME, VVAW LEADERS HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THE VVAW IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP, NOT "JUST ANOTHER GROUP OF WAR VETERANS." ALSO, THE MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN TOLD THE VVAW HAS ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUPS. ADDITIONALLY, IT WAS INDICATED THAT "ANTI-IMPERIALIST GROUPS" CONSIDER THE VVAW A POTENT ORGANIZATION OF SIMILAR STATURE IN THE UNITED STATES. IN APRIL, 1973, THE GROUP CHANGED THEIR NAME TO VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) SO THAT NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE.

THE RU, FOUNDED IN EARLY 1968 IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED TOWARDS THE PEOPLES'

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0-83 5#433 7- 100-NEW

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE TEACHINGS OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG. ITS OBJECTIVES AS SET FORTH IN ITS THEORETICAL PUBLICATION, "THE RED PAPERS," AND IN ITS MONTHLY NEWSPAPER, "REVOLUTION," ARE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM, THE FOSTERING OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS UNITY AND LEADERSHIP IN STRUGGLE, AND THE FORMATION OF A COMMUNIST PARTY BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT, LEADING TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE. MEMBERS OF THE RU HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS COLLECTING WEAPONS WHILE ENGAGING IN FIREARMS AND GUERRILLA WARFARE TRAINING. AS OF JULY, 1974, RU NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS WAS LOCATED IN MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 5863, KSDS 2, INDEFINITE.~~

ADMINISTRATIVE: SOURCE IS [REDACTED] SOURCE ALSO ADVISED BENEFIT DANCE BEING HELD P.M., FEBRUARY 7, 1975, AT UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND FOR THE BENEFIT OF LAUGHTON. SPONSORS AND LOCATION OF DANCE NOT KNOWN. (S) U

b2
b7D
1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FOUR [BA 100-NEW] (Q)u

BUREAU, WFO AND INTERESTED OFFICES WILL BE ADVISED OF
ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION DEVELOPED. MAIL COPY TO CHICAGO.
END.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: February 6, 1975

FROM : Legat, Paris (100-3189) (RUC)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
IS - VVAW/WSO

Re: Paris letter, December 13, 1974.

No information has been developed by Paris sources to date which would indicate that a chapter of captioned organization currently exists or is in the process of being organized in France.

Paris sources are aware of our continuing interest in this matter and will furnish any information which may be developed in the future.

All logical investigation at this time has been completed and captioned matter is being RUC'd.

EXP. PROC.

S. G.

EX 104

REC-71

4154

- 5 Bureau
 - (1 - Foreign Liaison Unit)
 - (1 - Buffalo)(100-21623)
 - (1 - New York)

1 - Paris
VVK:CAK
(6)

16
7 FEB 11 1975

100-4440 g/bt
100-66, NY, Bu
Sy 0-7 (Info)
CWL/mcg
2/12/75

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01/17/94 BY SP6 BJA/ED



FEB 23 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

10/17/94 SP6 B. J. W.

100-448092-4155

CHANGED TO

185-499-3

MAR 11 1975

BC / JS

C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21370) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
Ree [REDACTED]
SM-VVAW/WSO
OO: ST. LOUIS

10/17/94 50622108
DATE: 2/18/75
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/25/81 BY SP4JAM/va
207,144

Vietnam Veterans Against
The War

Enclosed for FBI Headquarters are four copies of an investigative summary and two copies of an FD-376.

One copy of investigative summary disseminated to Secret Service, St. Louis, Missouri.

Subject does not meet ADEX criteria.

Interview not being recommended as St. Louis no longer is investigating St. Louis Chapter of VVAW/WSO or its members under new Bureau guidelines and there is no information that she would cooperate.

The following is additional background of the subject:

Height: 5'6"
Weight: 150 pounds
Eyes: Brown
SSAN: [REDACTED]
Missouri Driver's License: [REDACTED]
Education: Four years at St. Louis University, majored in English

Father: [REDACTED] *METIORS*

Mother: [REDACTED]
Brother: [REDACTED]

Subject's husband: [REDACTED]

b7c

*1 cc each destroyed
1 cc S (FD-376)
see 300 988
CML/meg
9/3/75*

EX 104

US Marine Corps ■ 448092-4156
(June, 1969) FEB 24 1975

- 2 - Bureau (Enc 6)
- 1 - St. Louis
- RJN:dly
- (3)

ENCLOSURE



SL 100-21370

Subject [REDACTED] is
subject of SL 25-22033 and was convicted of violation
of the Selective Service Act in 1969, sentenced to five
years in prison and \$10,000 fine, however, his conviction
was overturned by the Eighth U.S. Court of Appeals in
1970. [REDACTED] is currently active in the St. Louis Chapter
of the VVAW/WSO and [REDACTED] of the St. Louis Chapter
of the American Friends Service Committee.

b7c



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 18, 1975

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE:

[REDACTED]

nee

b7c

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

- 1. Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
- 2. Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
- 3. Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
- 4. Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
- 5. Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
- 6. Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
- 7. Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph has been furnished enclosed is not available.

Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service St. Louis

Enclosure(s)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

St. Louis, Missouri
February 19, 1975

10/12/94 5066X1111
**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/25/88 BY SP-4 JRM/UA**

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

[REDACTED] nee
[REDACTED] SUBVERSIVE MATTER -
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

A preliminary inquiry has been initiated concerning the subject for the purpose of determining if she is a leader or activist of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) (See Appendix), activities of which could involve violations of Title 18, U.S. Code 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), 2387 (Sedition) and 793 (Espionage).

1
b7c

[REDACTED] white female, was born [REDACTED] in the State of Wisconsin. In 1969, she married [REDACTED] and currently resides at [REDACTED] Missouri, telephone [REDACTED]. She has a [REDACTED] who was born in December, 1969, or January, 1970.

[REDACTED] was a member [REDACTED] of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (See Appendix) at St. Louis University and Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, during 1969. She attended regular meetings of the Resistance Action Committee (RAC) (See Below) from March, 1969, through November, 1969, during which time [REDACTED] at the RAC headquarters located at 4487 McPherson, St. Louis, Missouri. [REDACTED] attended VVAW/WSO meetings in St. Louis, Missouri, from March, 1974, through November, 1974. She has participated in demonstrations and other activities sponsored by different coalitions of New Left and Anti-War Groups in St. Louis, Missouri, from March, 1969, through November, 1974 and

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-440075-4156
ENCLOSURE

b7c

[REDACTED]

she traveled to other cities in the United States in support of similar activities.

RAC was an ad hoc group of individuals in St. Louis, Missouri, which was organized in early 1969. It opposed selective service, defense and military spending, and it provided draft counseling to draft resisters. The group has been defunct since the Spring of 1972.

b7c

A P P E N D I X

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY/
WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) came into existence in June, 1962, and for the remainder of that decade functioned as the leading New Left campus-based student organization in the United States. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," SDS moved toward Marxist-Leninist ideological predomination with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. During 1968-1969, internal factionalism developed within SDS resulting in a split in June, 1969, into three organizations: Weatherman; Worker Student Alliance (WSA); and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). Weatherman and RYM are no longer affiliated with SDS, however, WSA continues to use the name SDS.

At the 1970 SDS/WSA National Convention, a confrontation occurred between Progressive Labor Party (PLP) (a Marxist-Leninist organization advocating violent overthrow of the Government) oriented leadership and various caucuses opposed to PLP domination. The resulting struggle left the PLP-oriented leadership in complete control of SDS/WSA, which was headquartered in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

PLP control of SDS/WSA continued until February, 1974, when the Boston chapter of PLP split from PLP National Headquarters and formed Party for Workers Power (PWP) (a "revolutionary communist" organization advocating the violent overthrow of the government by the workers). SDS/WSA is now fragmented into two groups, one which supports PWP policy headquartered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the much larger group which supports PLP policy headquartered in New York City.

b7c

A P P E N D I X

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
(ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI BRANCH)

A source advised that the captioned organization was formed in June, 1969, and was known then as the St. Louis Veterans for Peace in Vietnam (SLVPV). From June, 1969, to January, 1970, this organization was under partial control and influence of members of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. The organization was dissolved in January, 1970, due to inability to recruit members. In October, 1970, the group reorganized and since that time has not been visibly controlled or influenced by the aforementioned groups.

A second source advised that during 1971, the SLVPV affiliated with and adopted the name of the national organization known as Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). St. Louis members have attended National VVAW meetings and have participated in local and national demonstrations. The purpose of the St. Louis organization according to source is to work for peace and for rights of minority groups, through peaceful means. Members have participated, however, in guerrilla-type training and reportedly have maintained a cache of arms to be used in the streets if needed. "Winter Soldier Organization" was added to the name of the organization in 1973 upon instructions of the National Office.

A source advised in January, 1974, that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War was organized in New York City in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam Veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. In 1967-1971, the VVAW engaged in various protest demonstrations of a non-violent nature but during late 1971 evidenced increasing militancy, culminating in December, 1971, with the takeover of various American landmarks and public buildings. In 1972 certain VVAW leaders were quoted as telling members the VVAW was a revolutionary organization and not "just another group of war veterans."

VVAW leaders have traveled to North Vietnam in 1972-1973 and have reportedly established liaison with revolutionary or terrorist groups internationally. During the January, 1973, National Steering Committee (NSC) meeting, VVAW leaders discussed programs aimed at obtaining support from or influencing active duty military personnel to act contrary to orders. Also

b7c

discussed was obtaining access to classified Government information to be used against U. S. interests, and one leader subsequently reportedly engaged in such activity.

During 1972, VVAW leaders and activists reportedly made several trips to Europe and Asia during which they participated in conferences with representatives and/or officials of the Soviet Bloc, North Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The membership was also told the VVAW had been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist or Maoist groups, describing them as "our friends." Commitments of support for the VVAW were reportedly received from throughout the world, and it was stated the VVAW had strong ties with nearly all revolutionary organizations. Further, international "anti-imperialist groups" considered the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the United States.

At one NSC meeting in 1972, the speakers presented their views in a manner demonstrating the VVAW utilized a Marxist-oriented analysis of world problems.

In April, 1973, an organizational name change to Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) was made to indicate inclusion as members individuals other than veterans of military service.

During the April, 1973, NSC meeting, the attendees were told the group has communication with over 200 foreign organizations and was considered a credible organization by these groups. In October, 1973, representatives of the VVAW/WSO attended and participated in the World Peace Congress in Moscow, USSR.

In mid-1973 an ideological split within the organizational leadership became evident, with those espousing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine having to contend with the growing influence of the Maoists. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented, and have expressed determination to educate the VVAW/WSO membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The VVAW/WSO publication "Winter Soldier" is considered a very useful tool in this regard.

The VVAW/WSO is composed of approximately 130 chapters nationwide. Current estimated membership is 2,000. National Headquarters is located at 827 West Newport, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/20/75

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-21874) (P)

SUBJECT: PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT
OF ATTICA DEFENDANTS, SPONSORED
BY REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) AND
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR,
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION,
CINCINNATI, OHIO
9/17/74
IS

b2
b7D

Re CI letter to Bureau, 1/17/75.

On 2/13/75, [REDACTED] advised on 2/13/75, that the trials for the seven individuals arrested in this matter on 9/17/74, are going to be scheduled for April, 1975. Source advised that no exact dates have been set for April.

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will follow and report results of disposition in this matter.

- 2-Bureau
- 8-Cincinnati
 - (1-100-21874)
 - (1-100-21134)
 - (1-100-21674)
 - (1-100-19317)
 - (1-100-21881)
 - (1-100-20280)
 - (1-100-21229)
 - (1-157-6188)

100-448092-

NOT RECORDED
46 FEB 27 1975

RCD/kaw
(10)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/12/94 BY sp6 Bja/va

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-184369-10-83

5 MAR 05 1975
[Signature]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 25 1975
TELETYPE

Assec. Dir.	_____
Dep. A.D.-1 & 2	_____
Dep. A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR003 AL CODE

3:15 PM NITEL FEBRUARY 25, 1975 BAB

TO : DIRECTOR (100-448092)
BUFFALO (100-21623)
CHICAGO (100-50772)



FROM: ALBANY (100-22519) (P)

ATT: INTD

b7C

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO); IS. OO: CHICAGO.

ON FEBRUARY 25, 1975, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS
PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THE NEXT
REGIONAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK-NORTHERN NEW JERSEY REGION
OF VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER
ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) WILL BE HELD IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK, ON
MARCH 1-2, 1975, AT THE UNIVERSALIST UNITARIAN CHURCH. THIS
SOURCE ADVISED THAT THE [REDACTED] NEW YORK, VVAW/WSO CHAPTER
HAS CHOSEN [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] AS DELEGATES. [REDACTED]
AND [REDACTED] WILL [REDACTED] 1975,
TO ATTEND REGIONAL MEETING.

1
b7D
b7C
D
1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/10/95 BY 60110/10/95

00 MAR 05 1975

17 FEB 26 1975



4157
b7C

PAGE TWO, AL 100-22519

THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SINCE THAT TIME VVAW LEADERS HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THE VVAW IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP, NOT "JUST ANOTHER GROUP OF WAR VETERANS." ALSO, THE MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN TOLD THE VVAW HAS BEEN ASKED TO COOPERATE ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL WITH MANY ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUPS. ADDITIONALLY, IT WAS INDICATED THAT "ANTI-IMPERIALIST GROUPS" CONSIDER THE VVAW A POTENT ORGANIZATION OF SIMILAR STATURE IN THE U.S. IN APRIL, 1973, THE GROUP CHANGED THEIR NAME TO VVAW/WSO SO THAT NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE BUFFALO AIRTEL FEBRUARY 12, 1975, AND ALBANY TELCALL TO BUFFALO, FEBRUARY 25, 1975.

PAGE THREE, AL 100-22519

SOURCE UTILIZED IS [REDACTED] (RELIABLE), WHO IS
[REDACTED] TO ATTEND THIS REGIONAL MEETING.
ALBANY WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE.

END.

JDR

~~FBIHQ CLR~~

1
b2
b7D
1

REPORTING OFFICE: ST. LOUIS; OFFICE OF ORIGIN: CHICAGO; DATE: 2/27/75

TITLE OF CASE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO); INTERNATIONAL STOPPING COMMITTEE (ISC); REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]; CHARACTER OF CASE: CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY: SP4 [redacted] ON: 11/15/94

REFERENCE: SL teletype to Bureau, 2/7/75.

CLASS: & EXT. BY: [redacted] / VA; REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2; DATE OF REVIEW: 2/27/95

ENCLOSURES:

Enclosed for the Bureau are leaflets and [redacted] captioned conference by [redacted]

- (1) 12 page (legal size) leaflet from VVAW/WSO, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; (2) 6 page New York chapter "Newsletter"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Classified by 3067; Exempt from GDS, Category 2; Date of Declassification: Indefinite

Table with columns: SAVINGS, RECOVERIES, ACQUISITIONS, CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR, PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE; Bureau (Enc 12) (100-448092) (RM); USA, St. Louis (RM); U. S. Secret Service, St. Louis (RM); "ENCLOSURE ON BULLY RAMP"

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

MAR 3 1975; Classified by 8029KHE/VEJ; Declassify on: OADR

(COPIES CONTINUED ON COVER PAGE B)

Table with columns: Request Recd., Date Fwd., How Fwd., BY

Notations: JUL 22 1975; 100-30384

COVER PAGE

SL 100-21603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COPIES (CONTINUED):

- 1 - Albany (100-22519) (RM)
- 1 - Albuquerque (100-3808) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-8910) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (100-27909) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (100-6041) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Boston (100-42739) (info) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo (100-21623) (RM)
- 2 - Butte (100-9147) (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte (100-11256) (info) (RM)
- 3 - Chicago (100-50772) (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (100-194743) (RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-31431) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Denver (100-10467) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-39271) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Houston (100-12219) (RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis (info) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Jacksonville (100-1745) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Kansas City (100-15886) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-77703) (info) (RM)
- 2 - Miami (100-16340) (info) (RM)
- 2 - Milwaukee (100-15674) (RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (100-15819) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-22565) (info) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (100-12064) (info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-16064) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Omaha (100-8410) (info) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (100-52640) (RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (100-17114) (info) (RM)
- 2 - Portland (100-12313) (RM)
- 1 - Salt Lake City (100-11144) (info) (RM)
- 1 - San Antonio (100-12620) (info) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-71012) (RM)
- 1 - Savannah (100-5469) (info) (RM)
- 2 - Seattle (100-31285) (RM)
- 2 - Tampa (100-2514) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (100-47162) (RM)
- 1 - St. Louis (100-21603)

COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- (3) 15 page leaflet and papers dated 12/74 from the St. Louis chapter of VVAW/WSO to "Brothers and Sisters"
- (4) 44 page working paper entitled "Draft Program Proposal - VVAW/WSO G.I. Organizing"
- (5) 3 page leaflet entitled "Some Notes and Comments on the National Office Position Paper and the Majority Report from the 13th NSCM by [REDACTED]"
- (6) 58 page pamphlet entitled "An Investigatory Paper Into the Current Political Struggle Taking Place Within VVAW/WSO by the Buffalo Chapter"
- (7) 4 page newspaper entitled "Let's Set the Record Straight" printed by Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, Riverside, California
- (8) 3 page paper entitled "A Suggested Outline for Summing Up Work Reports of Political Defense Efforts"
- (9) 6 page letter to the National Office dated 11/12/74 from the St. Louis VVAW/WSO
- (10) 12 page letter to the St. Louis VVAW/WSO from VVAW/WSO National Office dated 12/20/74
- (11) 2 page "Position Paper From Highway 13" entitled "Forward for the GI Movement"
- (12) 8 page newspaper entitled "Highway 13", November - December 1974, Volume 3, Number 2

b7c
b7d

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF 0/1/23
DATE 10-23-81

COVER PAGE

C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JASIA100521603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

movements into that area public and in the worse possible light. The Florida chapters as well as Milwaukee are much more 'ultra-left' than the organization as a whole and their actions will tend to be more militant as time goes by. The existing PI projects and any emerging area will rapidly become new centers of focus rather than the chapters as has been the case to date. Any hope of a major division over the Mideast has been quashed but a tactical split may well occur. A split is imminently possible on the issues of alliance and support of movement groups other than those falling under 'party line'. Overall the organization is still viable but rapidly attempting to leytokus itself in a public sense and organize an effective care internally."

u



COVER PAGE

F*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is being submitted in lieu of an LHM as required by SAC memo 72-3. Report is late due to sickness of source which resulted in St. Louis receiving informant reports late.

Portions of these cover pages are ^{(S) u} classified Confidential, designated so by (C), to protect [redacted] from their respective areas attending captioned conference and the disclosure of whom could reasonably be expected to cause damage to national security.

Sources used in this report are as follows: ^{su}

- [redacted] is [redacted] located in CE 100-11256-1A-12;
- [redacted] is [redacted] located in SL 100-21603-1012(S); ^u
- [redacted] is [redacted] located in [redacted]; ^u
- [redacted] is [redacted] located in BT 100-9147-1A-16, 17, and 18 (S). ^u

Persons from St. Louis mentioned in this report are currently or have been in the past subjects of security investigations.

On 1/7/75, [redacted] furnished the following personal summary of captioned NSCM: ^{su}

"By and large the minutes and National Office report sum up the situation with some careful between the lines reading. One of the major factors contributing to the general inefficiency of the organization has been the autonomy of each chapter. The NSCM ^{su}

COVER PAGE

D



b2
b7D



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

seems to have realized this and the organization has a hold in tightening up this. If it succeeds it will make it more bureaucratic but also perhaps more effective; however, several areas may well divide from the main body if they lose much autonomy, specifically Florida, Southern California, and Pennsylvania. The most notable change in the organization is from the standpoint of its political line. The Marxist/Leninism line that allied it with the Alliance Peoples and Weathermen type organizations of the early 70s has given way to very strict and unending Maoist line. This is especially apparent in the National Office and the Northwest and New England regions. Much future leadership is going to be from Washington, Oregon, and Alaska as they are solidly Maoist. Maoist sloganeering and criticism are pushing a great many of the more militant members out of VVAW and into more 'activist' organizations, e.g. Haukins and Savage in the 5th Estate. We will see much more of this until VVAW is in a position analagous to the CP. Alla in the East during the late sixties. The change to a GI focus is the more considerable threat since the idea of incapacitating effective military organization in the first days of a crisis inherent in that focus.

"The coming over of active duty GIs in sensitive positions is a real aim and one that can be possibly obtained. If the success rate is even moderate then the ability to keep movement of troops 'secret' will be seriously hampered if not downright impossible. The diversity of actions has limited the organization's effectiveness since the tactical Vietnam cease-fire but this ~~know~~ ore focus approach may increase that effectiveness by orders of magnitude. The organization is acutely aware of the Mideast situation and with only a little work could make any

COVER PAGE

E

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1- United States Attorney, St. Louis
1- United States Secret Service, St. Louis

Report of: S. [REDACTED] Office: ST. LOUIS
Date: February 27, 1975

Field Office File #: SL 100-21603 **b7c** Bureau File #: 100-448092

Title: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
14TH NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING (NSCM),
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
DECEMBER 27 - DECEMBER 31, 1974

~~XXXXXXXX~~
Character: INTERNAL SECURITY

5/2/84 8719 JHE/WEB/TCY
Classified by
Declassify on: OADR
Comp # 241312

Synopsis:

The VVAW/WSO 14th NSCM organized and held at St. Louis, Missouri from 12/27 - 12/31/74. Delegates seated and Round Robin reports and National Office report given. Report on GARY LAWTON trial given, followed by old business. Only two NSCMs to be held in future. Three National Coordinators elected. VVAW/WSO Base to be anti-Imperialist with a Veteran and G.I. focus. Delegates voted to become affiliated with Revolutionary Union (RU). Votes of regions and persons believed RU members set forth. Workshops on 11 topics held and reports given. Proposals to censure Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and merger several states and regions set forth. Nominations made for National Office and tentative date of 7/4/75 at Columbus, Ohio for next NSCM. 14th NSCM ended. Details set forth.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

- P -

4-24-85
5668 SAB-B7C
Pg. 9 reviewed +
declassified
appal # 82-1865

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP [Signature]*
ON *10/16/94*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I) PREDICATION	5
II) ORGANIZATION FOR VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING (NSCM)	6
III) REGISTRATION - DECEMBER 27, 1974	7
IV) ACTIVITIES ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1974 ..	8
A) Seating of Delegates	8
B) Agenda Discussion	11
C) Round Robin Reports From Regions	11
1) Alaska/Washington	12
2) California/Nevada/Arizona	13
3) Colorado/Utah/New Mexico/ Wyoming - "Rocky Mountain"	18
4) Eastern Pennsylvania/Delaware/ Southern New Jersey	18
5) Florida/Georgia	18
6) Idaho/Montana	18
7) Kansas/Western Missouri/ Nebraska/North and South Dakota - "Great Plains"	19
8) Massachusetts/New Hampshire/ Maine/Vermont - "New England" ...	19
9) New York/Northern New Jersey/ Rhode Island/Connecticut	20
10) Northern Illinois/Iowa	22
11) Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky/Michigan/ Western Pennsylvania/West Virginia	22
12) Oregon	24

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Page

13)	Southern Illinois/Eastern Missouri/Oklahoma/Arkansas	24
14)	Texas	30
15)	Maryland/Washington, D.C./Virginia	31
16)	Wisconsin/Minnesota	33

(S) u

D)	National Office (NO) Report	34
E)	Report on GARY LAWTON Trial	70
F)	Old Business	72
	1) Number of NSCMs Per Year	72
	2) Proposed Objective on the Oppression of Women	72
	3) Objective Concerning Homosexual People	72
	4) Election of National Coordinators	73

(S) u

(S) u

G)	Discussion and Vote on the Base and Focus of VVAW/WSO	73
H)	VVAW/WSO Affiliation with the Revolutionary Union (RU)	74

A

V)	ACTIVITIES ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1974 ...	76
----	---	----

VI)	ACTIVITIES ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1974 ...	78
-----	---	----

A)	Workshop Reports	78
	1) Amnesty	78
	2) G.I.	80
	3) Indochina/Wars of Imperialist Aggression	84
	4) Internal Organization/Democracy ..	86

(S) u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

	<u>Page</u>
5) Mass Organization	96
6) Multi-National Organization	97
7) Political Defense Committee/ National Alliance	100
8) Program	105
VII) ACTIVITIES ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1974 ...	108
A) Workshop Reports (continued)	108
9) Strategies for Revolution	108
10) Veterans/Veterans Administration (VA)	111
11) Winter Soldier	113
B) New Business and Proposals	115
1) Censure of Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)	115
2) Armed Forces Day	115
3) G.I. Organizers Workshop	116
4) Merger of Connecticut and Rhode Island Into the "New England" Region	117
5) Merger of Oregon Into the Alaska/ Washington Region	117
6) North and South Carolina Recognized as a Regional Organizing Contact	117
7) San Diego Organizing Committee ...	117
8) Statement From the Minority on Base and Focus	118
9) Nominations for NO	118
10) Date and Site of Next NSCM	119
11) Proposal on the Post Vietnam Syndrome (PVS) Clearing House ...	119
C) Criticism and Self-Criticism	120
D) NSCM Ended	120

Handwritten marks: a circled 'A' and a '2'.

SL 100-21603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETAILS: AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

I) PREDICATION

This investigation is based on information which indicates that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) (see appendix) is engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), 2387 (Sedition), and 793 (Espionage).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

II) ORGANIZATION FOR VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER
SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) NATIONAL STEERING
COMMITTEE MEETING (NSCM)

The VVAW/WSO "Newsletter #32" dated December 9, 1974 on page 1 set forth the following information re captioned conference:

"The St. Louis National Steering Committee meeting is rapidly approaching and is set for December 27 - 31. The St. Louis Chapter has sent out the first mailing regarding this meeting and regional offices should have received this mailing by now. If not, contact either the St. Louis Chapter or the National Office and the information will be sent to you. People should begin registering immediately. Registration is \$10 per delegate and since St. Louis has to pre-pay the majority of their costs, they have asked that registration also be prepaid so the bills can be met. So, regions should fill out the forms sent out by St. Louis and return them to:

"VVAW/WSO
1023 Allen Avenue
St. Louis, Mo. 63104

as soon as possible."

[REDACTED] January 21, 1975] 44

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

III) REGISTRATION - DECEMBER 27, 1974 (u)

On the evening of December 27, 1974 registration of delegates to the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) National Steering Committee Meeting (NSCM) was held at a Lutheran church in St. Louis, Missouri. (u)

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975 (u)

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IV) ACTIVITIES ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1974 & u

The National Steering Committee Meeting (NSCM) for Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) convened on December 28, 1974 at 9:30 A.M. The meeting was held in a church located at 1319 Boland Place, St. Louis, Missouri. & u

[REDACTED] January 27, 1975] & u

b2, b7D

A) Seating of Delegates

Approximately 80 delegates were present for the NSCM and among those in attendance were the following:

Alaska/Washington Region

[REDACTED]

California/Nevada/Arizona Region

[REDACTED]

CALL NEV. ARIZONA

(Last Name Unknown)

& u

b7D
b7C

Maryland/Washington, D.C./Virginia Region

[REDACTED] MD VA DC

Florida/Georgia Region

[REDACTED] FL GA

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Southern Illinois/Eastern Missouri/Oklahoma/
Arkansas Region

[REDACTED]

ILL
OKLA.
ARK.

b7D
b7C
u

New York/Northern New Jersey/Rhode Island/
Connecticut Region

[REDACTED] New York City)
[REDACTED] Conn. RI NY NJ.
[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown)
[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown)
[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown)

Massachusetts/New Hampshire/Maine/Vermont Region -
"New England"

[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown) -
[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown)

Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky/Michigan/Western
Pennsylvania/West Virginia Region

[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown)
[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown)
[REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown)

W.VA.
PA
Ohio
Ky.
MICH

Oregon Region

[REDACTED]

ORE.

(9)
h

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INDEX OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Texas Region

[Redacted] (Last Name Unknown)
[Redacted] (Last Name Unknown)
[Redacted] (From Houston, Texas)

Wisconsin/Minnesota Region

[Redacted] MINN.
[Redacted] WIS.

Kansas/Western Missouri/Nebraska/North and South Dakota Region - "Great Plains"

[Redacted] KANSAS S.D.
[Redacted] NEB. N.D.

National Office

BRIAN ADAMS
ED DAMATO
MARLA WATSON III.
SAM SHOER SAM SHORE
PETER ZASTROW
ELLIE (Last Name Unknown)

ED DAMATO PA. Mich
PA. Mich

Unidentified delegates were also present from the following regional offices: &u

Colorado/Utah/New Mexico/Wyoming;
Eastern Pennsylvania/Delaware/Southern
New Jersey;
Idaho/Montana;
Northern Illinois and Iowa

[Redacted] January 7, 1975;
[Redacted] January 29, 1975) &u

b2
b7D
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At this meeting, Idaho/Montana (Mountain Home, Idaho) was seated as a regional organizing contact with one vote. The Eastern Pennsylvania region has recently suffered some problems and activity in that region is very low; therefore, the representative from the region asked to be seated at the meeting with only one vote. Also, the "Great Plains" region abstained three votes on all questions because of the low level of activity within that region. This will account for the fact that with all regions present and voting, the total number of votes to be cast was 72 with 3 abstentions coming from the "Great Plains" region. *Q u*

[REDACTED] January 29, 1975) *Q u*

B) Agenda Discussion *Q u*

Following the seating of delegates, a discussion of the agenda to be followed was held. The St. Louis Chapter, which hosted the NSCM, proposed that the first day and a half be spent in small workshops for the purpose of discussing the future of the organization. Following these workshops, the St. Louis Chapter suggested that they either proceed into reports, old business, workshops on other subjects, and new business. The National Office submitted an alternative agenda. A vote on the two agenda proposals was taken and the agenda proposal submitted by the National Office was accepted and followed by the meeting. *Q u*

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975;
January 29, 1975) *Q u*

C) Round Robin Reports From Regions

Reports from the majority of the regions and the National Office were prepared prior to the meeting and handed out to those regions present.

~~X~~

(1) Alaska/Washington Region J L

The Washington Region reports an active chapter in Tacoma, Washington and efforts are being made to organize a chapter in Bellingham, Washington. The Tacoma Chapter is made up primarily of veterans and GIs, and its activities are centered around issues involving these two groups. At present their chapter consists of eight dues-paying members with a larger number that is preferably involved in various activities. Their activities in the recent past have been film showings, demonstrations, and paper sales. Their most successful action to date was the October 29, 1974 Veterans Day demonstration at the Regional Veterans Administration Office in Seattle, Washington. This demonstration consisted of a militant picket line and speech followed by the burning in effigy of FORD and the discharges of 4 or 5 veterans in the group. Along with the focus of the action for decent benefits, they raised the demand for universal and unconditional amnesty because President FORD's amnesty plan had just been released and because Vancouver, British Columbia (where there is a very large exile population) is very close to Seattle and there is a keen awareness among the masses in the area over this issue. At present they are planning to become a recognized organization at one of the community colleges in the area where they have some members as there are currently 1500 veterans at this particular school and there has been a history of reformist led struggles around the GI bill and veterans benefits in general and they feel it crucial to bring revolutionary politics to the veterans and other students at the school. At the same time they would provide them with much needed office space and hopefully some money for the school. They are also selling "Winter Soldier" papers at the employment office and plan to continue this as a regular practice. They have been concentrating their greatest percentage of efforts among veterans but have also been doing as much as possible with GIs. They have been distributing "GI News" on a regular basis and their immediate plans call for the printing of a broad sheet introducing VVAW/WSO to GIs. They plan to extend their contact to Bremerton Naval Shipyard, which is located 30 miles from Tacoma, Washington. They feel at this point that their main strength is in the members of the chapter ~~developing~~ a great deal

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of unity through struggle over ideas and practices in the organization and that this strength will enable them to overcome their main weakness, which is a lack of consistent day-to-day work. & u

[redacted] January 7, 1975;
[redacted] January 27, 1975) & u

(2) California/Nevada/Arizona Region & u

b2
b7D
b7C

The regional office is located in San Jose, California and the Regional Coordinator is [redacted] of San Jose. Northern Sub-regional Coordinators are [redacted] of San Jose and [redacted] of East Bay. Southern Sub-regional Coordinators are [redacted] of South Bay and [redacted] of Inland Empire. The regional steering committee is composed of the above five people elected by the sub-regions and the region and they have started to meet again after a long lapse to coordinate the work of the organization between regional conferences (every 4 months) and sub-regional conferences (every 2 months) and also to deal with organizational problems. & u

The following chapters consist of 9 or more members:

- East Bay;
- San Jose;
- Santa Cruz;
- Los Angeles (Silver Lake);
- South Bay;
- Inland Empire;
- Venice

u
|
u

Organizing committees consisting of between 2 and 8 members are located in the following areas:

- Santa Barbara;
- Long Beach;
- San Fernando Valley;
- Las Vegas;
- Fresno;
- San Diego;
- Irvine;
- San Francisco

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

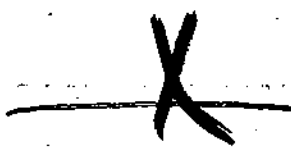
Members-at-large are located in Redwood City, Sacramento, and Palo Alto, California and they have contacts in the State of Arizona. *u*

Most chapters in the region have either formed political education study groups or its members participate with other people. They have been distributing 5,000 issues of "Winter Soldier" per month in the region at plants, demonstrations, unemployment offices, bookstores, and super-markets. They have not as a region been disciplined about sending a nickel per copy sold to the National Office and they have to work on this. *u*

Four chapters currently produce monthly newsletters which are regarded as important for making initial contact with potential members, keeping fringe members up to date, maintaining communication with other local movement groups, teaching their own people the scales involved in propoganda, encouraging less active members to become more involved as their interests can be reflected in the newsletter, and by publishing the monthly calendar in advance they are forced to be more long-range in their planning. It is easy for them to call a 40 - 50 person demonstration consisting of members and friends and they have tended to fall into these actions quickly and thus have not concentrated on more consistent and daily forms of outreach. They are struggling to correct this problem. *u*

USA Only a few chapters have put on cultural programs or developed guerrilla theatre as a tool of outreach and where it has been done, it has been very successful in terms of digging into the community and talking with new people. They have continued their mass work on behalf of amnesty, GI organizing, legal defense - offense of BOB HOOD, GARY LAWTON, and AL GLATKOWSKI, and the situation in Indo-China. A larger conflict has developed around attempts to form a chapter in San Diego, California which would be involved in GI work as the chapter has met with great resistance from the Center for Servicemen's Rights (CSR), not further identified, which has been doing GI work in San Diego and feels it should have control over all such work there. The region has grown in membership during the last four months, both in the size of chapters and in new chapters being formed. They feel this *u*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



growth is due to mutual support between chapters; a higher level of political study and struggle which has resulted in members taking greater responsibility for the work of the organization and people consciously seeing themselves as organizers; there has been an increase in long-term planning and the development of program and ideological education. They have had difficulty with educating and finding new leadership; however, they now have a functioning and politically responsible steering committee for the first time in a year. The region as a whole has few Third World members. *qu*

Overall, the region did not support the National Office position on veterans and GI focus because of one or more of the following: *qu*

- 1) they disagreed with the politics out of which the position was drawn;
- 2) they felt that the veterans and GI focus was relegating anti-imperialism to a secondary status to veterans' issues in spite of the paper's title *qu*
- 3) people were unclear about exactly what a veterans focus would mean in terms of program and, therefore, had unanswerable questions about reformism and about how anti-imperialism would be part of it

They have good working relationships on a regional level with the following groups: *qu*

Union of Vietnamese Students
(not further identified);

Revolutionary Union
(see appendix);

American Friends' Service Committee;



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Women's Strike for Peace
(not further identified);

National Lawyers Guild
(see appendix);

Prairie Fire Distributing Committee
(see description below);

Women's Prison Project
(not further identified);

October League
(see appendix)

Q4

They are beginning to develop relationships with the following groups: Q4

American Indian Movement
(see appendix);

Casa De Las Americas
(see appendix);

Partido Socialista Puertoriqueno
(Socialist Party of Puerto Rico)
(see appendix);

United Farm Workers
(see description below)

Q4

They have been incorporated as a non-profit organization in California and are applying for Federal status. Q4

Through all of their struggles, disputes, and faults most people in the Southern California sub-region are concerned primarily with building the VVAW/WSO and to deepen their understanding of imperialism and how to smash Q4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

it. The East Bay Chapter is the strongest chapter in the region and they currently have a weekly hour long radio show on a community sponsored radio station in San Francisco, California. & 4



January 7, 1975;
January 27, 1975)

b2

& 4 b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- (3) Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Wyoming
"Rocky Mountain Region" (S)(u)

The "Rocky Mountain Region" did not have a Round Robin Report prepared and made no presentation. (S)(u)

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975) (S)(u) u

- (4) Eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, Southern New Jersey (S)(u)

This Region reported that there is no significant organization or VVAW/WSO activity in their area. (S)(u)

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975) (S)(u) u

- (5) Florida, Georgia (S)(u)

This Region reported that the VVAW/WSO activities center around the Miami Coast Guard Institute and the Homestead Air Force Base; however, they made no further report of their activities. (S)(u)

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975) (S)(u) u

- (6) Idaho, Montana (S)(u) u

The VVAW/WSO in this Region has grown from a "strictly anti-war organization" to a project with a much deeper understanding of the world situation today, the role of monopoly capitalism and its effect on the working class in the states and the further need for imperialistic expansion and "investment economics" that flows from this historical phenomenon. They now understand that GIs are the strong arm of imperialism and that as such they play an important role in International Revolution. Consciousness must be elevated to the level of struggle; unified struggle with the people of this country and people of the world. They feel that VVAW/WSO has shown itself to be a strong and unified organization and they have come to the conclusion that with principled struggle GI organizing can and should be done within WAW/WSO. (S)(u) u

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



They made it clear that if they are accepted as a Region into the VVAW/WSO it will be as a separate group from the "covered wagon", (not further identified), as the "covered wagon" has not reached the level of unity necessary to join the national organization. They feel that the VVAW/WSO should become an anti-imperialist organization with a Vet/GI focus. In essence, this means that the correct way to educate Vets and GIs and to raise their anti-imperialist consciousness and actions is to take up their democratic struggles and consciously build those struggles into direct and revolutionary blows against imperialism. In their opinion there are no demands which are intrinsically reformist just as no demand is inherently revolutionary. Seizure of state power is on the surface of a revolutionary demand; but to put that forth as a mass demand in the current situation would at the least be ineffective and at the worst be counterproductive. In the same manner higher wages is a reformist demand but when it is used to build a fighting organization such as the old CIO then the demand becomes a progressive one, useful in the campaign against Imperialism. The role that the VVAW/WSO can and should play is that of an anti-imperialist Vet/GI organization while at the same time they should be supportive of all other anti-imperialist groups and movements. (S)(C) u

[redacted] January 7, 1975] & u

- (7) [Kansas, Western Missouri, Nebraska, North and South Dakota - "Great Plains Region"] (u)

This Region reported that they have only one active chapter at Leavenworth, Kansas, consisting of six to eight active members. (u)

[redacted] January 7, 1975] & u

- (8) [Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont - "New England Region"] (u)

This Region reported that they are expanding into the State of Rhode Island and that there has been (u)



1
b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

trouble between the National Caucus of Labor Committees and the International Workers Party in their Region. National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) (See Appendix) and International Workers Party (IWP) (See Appendix). The NCLC is believed to be a CIA front because of their counter-Revolutionary actions and accusations that other organizations are CIA fronts. Members of the RU and the VVAW/WSO are currently organizing efforts involving the bussing issue in Boston, Massachusetts. One member of this Region by the name of JIMMY (Last Name Unknown) and described as a Negro male, 5' 5" tall, 125 pounds, thin build, advised he is associated with a group known as "The Union of Democratic Philippines in the State of Vermont" (not further identified). The Boston Chapter is affiliated with the "Committee for a Decent Education" (not further identified), the RU, and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) (See Appendix) (X) (u)

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975] (u) 4

(9) [REDACTED] New York, Northern New Jersey, Rhode Island and Connecticut (u) (X)

b2
b7D
b7C

Since the Buffalo NSCM in August, 1974, this Region has lost three chapters and re-evaluated two more as organizing contacts. This gives the Region eight active chapters and eight organizing contacts. Currently, they have chapters in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Oneonta, Westchester/Putnam Counties, New York City, Nassau County, New York and Newark/Jersey City, New Jersey. Their organizing contacts are in Thredonia, Ithaca, Auburn, Muntica, Canton, Albany, Saugerties and in Tenac, New Jersey. All of their chapters function consistently and have unity around the need to make the organizing of Veterans and GIs a main emphasis of their work. In early November, they consolidated the upstate New York chapters consisting of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse and Oneonta into a Sub-Region with [REDACTED] of Oneonta as the coordinator. A chapter was formed in Providence, Rhode Island; however due to the distance between Providence and the rest of the Region, Providence has been working with the "New England Region", and would like to join that Region which they as a Region support. Some of their activities during the past few months have been as follows: (u) (X)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

In early September, the Syracuse Chapter held its first demonstration and rally followed by a picketing outside the Veterans Administration Extension Office. This was the first VVAW/WSO activity in Syracuse in over two years and approximately 50 people participated. Also in early September, the Westchester/Putnam Chapter held a benefit picnic and concert at Mahopac, New York in which over 1,000 people attended to hear singers including PETE SEEGER and BARBARA DANE. In mid September, over 100 people marched in the VVAW/WSO contingent in the Attica Support Rally and March in Buffalo, New York. Members of the New York City Chapter joined people from White Lightning (not further identified), RSB, IPC (not further identified) and Indochina Solidarity Committee (not further identified) in taking over the Lon Nol Puppet Governments U. N. Mission in support of the GRUNC (not further identified). On October 28, members from six chapters in the Region attended a Madison Square Garden Rally in support of the independence and self determination of the Puerto Rican people. A few chapters have managed to secure a funding base, however, this continues to be a problem on all levels of the Region. A pledge system is starting to have an effect currently and the Regional Office is now capable of doing a minimal amount of work without having to scrounge funds or drain a chapter. They believe it is both necessary and desirable that the VVAW/WSO organize around the genuine and concrete demands of Veterans and GIs; however, this must be with an anti-imperialist focus. Otherwise, regardless of the stated intent of these programs the narrowness of their scope will lead to constituency organizing and from there to reformism. Their goals should not be to correct the shortcomings of the VA nor should it be to build a "Revolutionary Veterans and GIs Movement" but must be to organize Veterans and GIs to be a strong part of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement in this country, a movement that requires class consciousness, a strong anti-imperialist prospective and they must be constantly alert for divisive tendencies such as Chauvinism. To reduce their focus and tactics by the error of economism would seriously impair their ability to do this task. X (u)

The New Jersey Chapter is opposed to New York's position on the base and focus of VVAW/WSO and wanted to X (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

implement the Veterans/GIs base and focus. They feel the Chapter should fight for the real needs of all Veterans against the VA's lousy benefits, medical service and they should fight the Vets with bad discharges and unite the struggle of Veterans to the overall struggle against imperialism. Basing their work on the masses of Vets, their chapter has been growing into a real fighting chapter and a multi-national chapter from a committee of seven people to 15 solid members and another 10 who have attended meetings and will come to demonstrations and other actions. Most of their members are new in the struggle against imperialism and come from the working class. Because the war on the VA Campaign which they started speaks to the real needs of all Vets, black people have stepped forward to join their chapter. The RSB in conjunction with the VVAW/WSO did a guerrilla theatre action on a college campus to kick the recruiters off. They were successful in getting rid of the recruiters and were able to bring new students to a film showing and meeting afterwards. (u)

[redacted] January 7, 1975] (u)

(10) [Northern Illinois, Iowa] (u)

The Northern Illinois/Iowa Region did not prepare a report and there was no concrete data from this Region. (u)

[redacted] January 27, 1975] (u)

(11) [Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, West Pennsylvania, West Virginia] (u)

They have six active chapters in the following locations: (u)

- Columbus
- Dayton
- Cincinnati
- Akron
- Cleveland
- Athens
- Ohio

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2
b7D

SL 100-21603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

They have seven organizing contacts in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Allendale, Michigan, Goskin, Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana, Muncie, Indiana and Lima, Ohio. Amnesty is their Region's strongest point of activity. The Dayton Chapter has been working at the Wright Patterson Air Force Base, passing out Winter Soldier/GI News and other leaflets and the Columbus Chapter has been working with active duty GIs at Rickenbacker Air Force Base. As a Region, they see the necessity of GI organizing and agree that all chapters should be doing work around it. The Cincinnati Chapter is the only one in their Region at this time which is doing any meaningful prison support work. Four members of this chapter were arrested while passing out leaflets in downtown Cincinnati. Their Region distributes an average of 2,700 copies of "Winter Soldier" per month with the Dayton Chapter selling close to 400 issues itself each month. When the United Mine Workers went on strike almost all chapters in the Region entered into some type of support-work for them. At their last Regional meeting held in Athens, Ohio, the proposal that VVAW/WSO be a mass anti-imperialist organization with Veterans and GIs in focus was voted on and the results were those in favor were 8.25; those opposed were 9.75. This vote does not in the opinion of some thoroughly reflect the feeling of the people in their Region. There was general agreement by the members of this Region that they should continue to speak to Vets and GI issues and that GI organizing should continue to be one of this organization's higher priorities. They added one chapter since the Buffalo NSCM which is located in Cleveland, Ohio and by the next NSCM, they plan to add at least two chapters. Their main weakness is finances as chapters in the Region have not taken the internal funding seriously. National membership dues must be pried out at times and money to run the Regional Office is almost non-existent. They believe that VVAW/WSO's aim as an organization is to smash imperialism swiftly and soundly and a rising Veteran and GI Movement with good sound anti-imperialist politics will speed up this process. An open diffuse organization with no sense of national unity will hasten this process. *qu*

This Region also reported that they are organizing around the Wright Patterson Air Force Base and they claim four contacts for the VVAW/WSO in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Fort *qu*

SL 100-21603

Benjamin Harrison, Indiana and two in Indianapolis, Indiana. *h*

[redacted] January 7, 1975)
[redacted] January 27, 1975) *h*

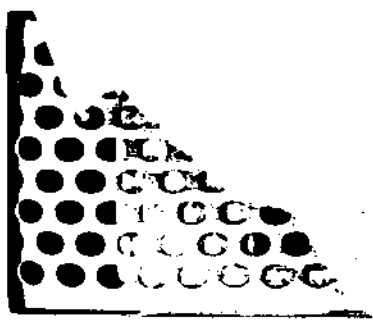
(12) Oregon *h* (u)

This Region reported that the only VVAW/WSO Chapter in the Region is at Eugene, Oregon; however, they have contacts in the Portland, Oregon area. *h* (u)

[redacted] January 7, 1975) *h*

(13) Southern Illinois, Eastern Missouri, Oklahoma
Arkansas *h*

b2
b7D



The period of this report, Aug.-Dec. 1974, has been a most productive one for the St. Louis chapter of VVAW/USO. We must attribute much of that success to the organization's current political program. In particular we have been able to carry out much work around amnesty. In addition we must report that, while being ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ almost endless day to day work, preparation for the present NSCH has brought the level and intensity of political awareness to new heights. The outline of this report will follow that of the national program, include a report of our preparations for the NSCH, and the controversy regarding our delegates to the G.I. conference and the chapter's subsequent decision to publicly criticize the practice of the N.O. at that conference. The report will also discuss the nature of the struggle over the future of VVAW/USO. Our working paper represents the results of the struggle. *qu*

AMNESTY WORK. Since the Buffalo NSCH the chapter has held two actions around amnesty. In September the chapter held a picket at opening night of a popular play, "Clarence Darrow." While the individual's attending the play were not exactly proletariat, our intention was to compel the attention of the press. We were able to effectively tie Carrow's 1930's defense of union organizers, Nixon's pardon and the total injustice of 'learned re-entry.' Two network T.V. stations carried excellent coverage of our's spokesperson's statements. A picture and accompanying caption appeared on the front page of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. On Nov. 25, the exiled Canadian war resistor, Steve Grossman, whose national tour was sponsored by NCUSA, was in St. Louis, we arranged for him to speak at two local universities. Attendance was disappointing (only about 25-30 people at each site.) But again press coverage was excellent. Two network T.V. affiliates, two radio stations, and the Post-Dispatch covered our press conference, and Steve appeared on the news-at-noon feature of one T.V. station, live from the studio. Perhaps most importantly we cooperated with other groups, Revolutionary Student Brigade, and an ad hoc student group for Universal unconditional amnesty, in setting up Steve's campus appearances, and hope to continue these valuable new contacts.

Chapter members have appeared three times on a 90 minute late night news feature on the CBS T.V. affiliate in ST. Louis, debating American Legion Vietnam era vets on the topic of amnesty. We answered a radio editorial on the largest A.M. radio station in ST. Louis and were able to state our position on amnesty to listeners at the busy rush hour newscast. Two members spoke on Amnesty and related subjects to about a total of 100 students in different classes during a day spent at a local high school. In addition to the above mentioned contacts with student organizations the chapter maintains contact with NCUSA and the local chapter of Americans for Amnesty. *qu*

DECENT BENEFITS, SINGLE TYPE DISCHARGE (cold war of the V.A.)

The chapter held a demonstration at the V.A. regional office on Nov. 11th (veterans day in Missouri). The V.A. office was open for business and we were able to leaflet many veterans and Federal Building employees. The V.A. regional Director was spotted entering the building and he was questioned about why he refused to extend V.A. benefits to less-than-honorables. This is an issue we comment to other regions to push with V.A. directors since this is within their discretionary authority. They can snuck and jive about benefit levels and having their hands tied. *qu*

25 CONFIDENTIAL

on the issue of benefits for undesirable and bad conduct discharges they cannot duck their responsibility, without making their reactionary and anti-veteran position obvious. Of course, we raise all our demands in every demonstration but this issue is a good one for confronting the director. X4

Two women who have been doing work in the psych. ward with Vietnam-era vets at the local V.A. hospital and have not previously been members of any political group, sought membership and became members in November. We have voted to support their work in whatever way will be possible. X4

The above mentioned T.V. appearances by chapter members also allowed us to put forth our position on decent benefits and a single type discharge. u.k.

END ALL AID TO THIEU AND LOU NOC. On the issue of the continuing war in Indochina the primary work of the chapter has been an educational role. On speaking gigs we have shined our little light on the ugly face of imperialism. Our political education classes have made sure that our own members are kept informed on the status of the ongoing struggles in that part of the world and elsewhere. We have arranged with AFSC to add their film on the post-war war (it has been updated) to those available for our speaker's bureau. X4

PREPARATION FOR THE PRESENT NSCM:

The first two general meetings following the Buffalo NSCM included long hours of discussion of the original N.O. position paper on the future of the organization. Continuation of that struggle in our weekly political education classes has resulted in our working paper sent to the regions and representing our contribution to the ongoing struggle within the organization. Beginning early in November our political action committee began meeting on a weekly basis and devoted most of it's time to concrete preparations for the NSCM. A tentative schedule for mailings was set up. A committee was established to arrange menus and purchase foodstuffs. Well in advance, chairpersons were chosen and chaired our weekly meetings in order to gain practice. The search for a meeting site was begun very early. The key in every case was early preparation and clear designation of who was responsible for accomplishment of each task. Our reorganization, reported in the Buffalo roundrobin made the work much easier. X4

THE G.I. ORGANIZING CONFERENCE: The St. Louis Chapter sent four representatives to the G.I. Conference in Chicago who have been doing G.I. work in the context of the G.I. Assistance Project (GIAP) here in St. Louis. When they returned, they expressed some criticisms, doubts and reservations they had with respect to the organization and conduct of that conference. Consequently the Chapter decided that it would be appropriate to put these criticisms and feelings into writing and to distribute them to the participants in the conference for their responses and criticisms. Our participants, [redacted]

[redacted] there upon drafted a letter and presented it at a general business meeting of the chapter. This letter additionally responded to the omission of an invitation to our chapter to participate in the GI Workshop called by the National Office as a follow-up to the GI Conference. The chapter went over that letter very carefully and requested a re-write on certain points for accuracy. This re-written X4

b7c
b7D

CONFIDENTIAL
26

letter was subsequently sent to the NO with copies mailed to organization-
participants in the Conference and Regional Offices.

Subsequently, three of our four Conference representatives, Denny,
Jane and Art attended the Workshop in Chicago. At that Workshop a formal
criticism of our chapter for sending our letter to organizations outside
VVAW/WSO was drafted (although never formally sent to our chapter).

That criticism noted that the ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ sending the letter to other
organizations outside VVAW/WSO made it impossible for the NO or some of
the other delegates to the Workshop to deal with the merits of our
criticisms in a principled manner. This is clear since, in our opinion,
our representatives to that Workshop were personally trashed during the
entire weekend. They have been subsequently personally trashed by the
response letter of the National Office dated December 21, 1974. With
this in mind, we feel it is important to make a few fundamental points
regarding the manner in which our criticisms were received. & u

(1) Our letter of November 12th was a letter from the St. Louis
Chapter of VVAW/WSO. We utterly reject any attempt to split our repre-
sentatives (Denny, Art and Jane) off from the Chapter; & u

(2) We reject outright the personal and unprincipled attacks
made upon our representatives. No matter how much one might disagree
with the merits of our criticisms or our method of raising them, that
should never be adequate grounds to justify name-calling and a refusal
to listen objectively. If that is to be our practice, our meetings will
soon degenerate into nothing but name-calling and slogan-shouting. We
want no part of that. & u

(3) We are deeply hurt that members of the National Office and
some chapters are no longer able to call us their brothers and sisters.
It seems we have been labeled "enemies of the people". We cannot accept the
loss of trust and comradeship those statements reflect; & u

(4) Our intent, in sending out the November 12th letter, was to
further the growth of VVAW/WSO and the GI Movement by expressing
honest criticisms, doubts and reservations about the GI Conference to
those who were directly involved in it. At the time we wrote and sent
the letter: (a) we were unaware of any "internal channels or procedures"
by which to express our thoughts; (b) we were unaware of any organi-
zations seeking to seize upon an "internal matter" to destroy VVAW/WSO;
(c) we were unaware that open criticisms, even on "internal matters"
could damage a mass organization; our meetings themselves are open to
anyone who desires to attend; (d) we were unaware that our letter
could be seen as an attack on the National Office and an attempt to
split them off from the rest of the organization. The letter was directed
to the NO because they organized the Conference and were primarily re-
sponsible for its conduct. The omission of our chapter from the Work-
shop was from a meeting the National Office had called. We don't feel
our criticisms were misdirected. & u

We have raised these issues in our Round Robin because they have
taken a great deal of our Chapter's time. We also raise these issues
here because the way in which criticism is dealt with in VVAW/WSO has a
great deal to do with whether or not many of energetic and productive
members in the Chapter will find VVAW/WSO as the organization in which
they desire to struggle for the revolutionary changes we all understand
is necessary in this country. & u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STRENGTHS: The St. Louis chapter regards our beginning political education classes as representing one of the most important contributions to the chapter's strength since the Buffalo USCM. In fact, we used the practice of the Buffalo chapter as a model for our political education. A weekly PE class alternates with our regular Sunday evening Business meeting. In order to be sure that PE reaches all members and not just those who attend the study group, we show films, ordered from Ohio Newsreel and other sources, at the end of our regular meetings. The study group read and discussed Felix Greene's book, The Enemy, as its first effort and in November took up discussion of the future of the organization, resulting in our working paper. *SW*

our planned "coffeehouse" which took what, in retrospect, we see was too much of our time and effort in the past, has been dropped. It has been dropped, it has been dropped in terms of ever becoming a coffeehouse or other income generating business. We still feel that our purchase of the building itself constitutes a strength, freeing us from the whim of a landlord and giving us a real base in the community. The chapter no longer collectively supports a member to manage the defunct coffeehouse. Pledges have been transferred to an internal funding plan which we hope will free the chapter from the burden of repeated fund-raisers. *SW*

The chapter's "core group", those members who attend most meetings, join committees, and do daily work, has grown to approximately 20. The committee structure itself is something we regard as a strength. Other regions might avoid a mistake in our practice regarding committees. Our funding and finance committee began feeling that it was doing a disproportionate share of the shit work and that the choice "political" work was going to the Political Action committee. After struggling with their initial tendency to defensiveness, the political action committee acknowledged the substance of those criticisms. It was made clear to all the committees that their role was to act as coordinators and planners of action by the whole chapter, not to do the work itself.

We regard the chapter's press relations to be a strength. We have analyzed both successful and unsuccessful demos (in terms of media coverage) and concluded that we must (1) be doing something truly newsworthy, not contrived, (2) have a designated spokesperson who (3) is prepared to make a clear point around a sharply focussed demand or position which (4) is also the focus of most banners or slogans. We have also found it important to take our demo to where masses of people will already be congregated and not hope (usually against hope) that we will "attract" large numbers of people. Following these guidelines the press has come to respect our news releases and most importantly will not be able to distort our political point, especially if the site of the demo is chosen so that a single picture will convey our message, even if the caption reads "alleged veterans and female companions demonstrate..." *SW*

In summary, while our local program has developed at a slow pace, we believe that the intense political struggle we have gone through in the past four months has brought us to a far greater personal and political unity than our chapter has ever experienced. This has built for us a mutual trust and a growing dedication to struggle which we believe will enable us to proceed with building our program locally and developing within the region in the near future. *SW*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
28

WEAKNESSES: Our primary weakness was and remains the fact that we are a single chapter "region". This is not something that we take lightly. It is our most serious self-criticism that no effort has been made in anything approaching the ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ^{changes} required to change that situation. At this NSCM we will be seeking a good model from the practice of other regions for building new chapters. Sales of Winter Soldier have increased but this is still a sporadic individual effort despite efforts to come up with an organized plan for distribution. We feel we have not devised an adequate means of introducing new members to the chapter's activity. In the past people have attended one or two meetings and being unable to make heads or tails out of what they saw, have not come back. Again, we will be seeking models from the practice of other regions. We regret, and consider as a self criticism, the fact that we may have disseminated our criticisms of the National Office practice at the G.I. Conference in a way that has contributed to the process of criticism and self-criticism within the organization and the larger G.I. movement. However we invite others to examine and criticize their own response to our paper, maligning our intent and motivation. & h

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975
January 27, 1975

b2

& h b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(14) Texas & u

It was reported that currently there is no VVAW/WSO organization within the State of Texas; however, they have three contacts in that State. & u

[REDACTED] January 27, 1975) & u

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15) MARYLAND/ WASHINGTON, D.C./ VIRGINIA & u

The Maryland/ Washington, D.C./Virginia region fully supported the position that the VVAW/WSO should be an anti-imperialist organization with veterans and GI base and focus. In addition, they contend that the primary campaign that VVAW/WSO should be waging at this time is a national "war on the V.A." Their experience over the past 18 months demonstrated to them that this would be the correct line for building VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist movement. & u

Following the Buffalo NSCM, a regional study group was set up in this region. This study group consisted of the region coordinator and leadership from the Baltimore, College Park and Washington, D.C. chapters. It meets every Saturday morning after which a regional meeting is held and following the regional meeting, those in attendance participate in distributing "Highway 13", (not further described) papers at Fort Mead, Maryland or at various strike support picket lines. This activity helps to create political unity and regional cohesiveness. This study group was one of the major reasons for the success in building VVAW/WSO in their region. The region reached unity to implement the campaign "war on the V.A." and on Veterans Day 1974 they successfully held a militant anti-imperialist demonstration. Approximately 50 people came but because of the good leadership, everyone was spirited and militant. Despite police threats, they marched in the streets, not on the sidewalk, stopped in front of the Safeway Store to chant militant support for the farm workers even though requested by police to leave or move on and then in front of the Veterans Administration Office they burned over 200 discharges to show disgust with the multiple discharge system. The militancy of their demonstration impressed many persons and most then signed up on the VVAW/WSO mailing list. & u

The Central Maryland Chapter has been reorganized at College Park and has grown due to the work of a new member who participated in the region's study group. The future of that chapter, however, is in jeopardy because that person recently resigned her leadership with the primary reason being that in trying to rebuild the chapter, she tried to & u

~~X~~

do everything herself rather than get the members involved in the day to day work. The regional leadership has criticized itself for not recognizing the problems of the chapter sooner and doing more work in support of the leader's efforts. It is hoped that a collective leadership can be developed among new members in the chapter. *Q u*

The Washington, D. C. Chapter has fallen into a period of inactivity following the Veterans Day demonstration and this is the result of the failure of the chapter leadership to implement the "war on the V. A." campaign on a local level. They have failed to organize any picket lines or leafleting around the V.A. and no study groups have been organized on the chapter level. *Q u*

The Baltimore Chapter is steadily growing due to implementing the "War on the V.A.". This region proposed that the "war on the V.A." be made the primary national campaign of the VVAW/WSO. They also criticized themselves for not maintaining better communications with other regional offices, for not answering letters, for not forwarding dues and money for "Winter Soldier" to the National Office (NO) sooner and for not informing the St. Louis Chapter quicker about the delegates to the NSCM. These failures are due primarily because of one person trying to do too much at once and not setting priorities or attempting to see to it that such matters are handled in a more efficient manner. *Q u*

This region furnished a position paper from "Highway 13" which in part set forth the following: "All over the world the imperialist powers are in trouble. Internationally and nationally they find they can't maintain the profits they need to exist and they are dragging the capitalist system down with them. This is an excellent situation for all anti-imperialist forces to strike. Our present task is to stop them from involving the world in another war ... They would prefer to do like they did in Vietnam. That is to revitalize their economy by gearing up for war production, by crushing the social movement, and by controlling raw materials and labor power of the Indochinese people. But as they found out this was just another trap because the Vietnamese not only defeated the imperialist but also lit the spark that led to the development of the anti-imperialist movement around the world." *Q u*



SL 100-21603

"Because of the crises of unemployment that exists, many people are enlisting in the military because they need a job and are forced to take the only alternative they have. This creates a favorable situation for organizing GIs around working and living conditions and around national oppression. Some of these demands in connection with legal rights and economic position of the soldier are as follows: increased pay for soldiers; improved maintenance - health, barracks, clothing; abolition of uniform code of military justice Article 15; abolition of compulsory saluting; severe penalties for officers and NCOs hitting an enlisted person; the right to determine length of hair; the right to call in sick; extra pay while on leave; right to marry whoever they want; extra pay for family; right to buy and sell newspapers; right to unionize; right to attend political meetings without harassment; one discharge system; enlistment bonus or out; promotions by seniority; use of native languages for drilling and instructions; end all racial and national oppression; military service in their own home towns; right to get family housing; only one command; open job classifications up; maternity leave with extra pay; specific medical care." *qu*

"These demands will only be revolutionary if they are linked up with a distinct political plan for disrupting the imperialist military and making it impossible for them to effectively smash revolutionary forces". *u*



January 7, 1975
January 27, 1975 *qu*

b2
b7D

16) WISCONSIN/ MINNESOTA *qu*

The Wisconsin/Minnesota Region advised that they are involved with a group known as "Minnesotans for Amnesty" which they describe as a leftist group which they are infiltrating and steering. *qu*



January 27, 1975 *qu*



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

D. NATIONAL OFFICE REPORT & u

PETE ZASTROW and MARLO WATSON made a presentation on the internal status of VVAW/WSO. SAM SHORE discussed financial and legal problems of the organization and BRIAN ADAMS and ED DAMOTO discussed the internal effects of VVAW/WSO. The following items were the major points in the National Office Report which report will be set forth hereafter: & u


1) The NO recommended censoring the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (see appendix) for its attacks on VVAW/WSO. & u

2) The general consensus of the delegates indicated that the NO should have written a political critique on the "Trial of Billy Jack" for accepting the movie for organizational use and that the movie puts forth a pacifist and reformist line. & u

3) VVAW/WSO is approximately \$25,000 in debt. This was considered to be a confidential figure not to be written down. The various regions are not implementing the dues program of \$1 per member per month and the "Winter Soldier" newspaper is not paying for itself. The newspaper is published at the cost of approximately 5¢ per copy and this amount is needed for the newspaper to break even. & u

4) Five months ago there were approximately 139 chapters of VVAW/WSO internationally and currently there are approximately 100 chapters. There are approximately 170 subscriptions to the newspaper "Winter Soldier" and it was estimated that there are not more than 1000 members in VVAW/WSO internationally. & u

b2
b7D

 January 7, 1975
January 27, 1975
January 29, 1975 & u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INTERNAL REPORT

During the past four months, three major conferences were held that were of great importance to VVAW/WSO: the Exile Conference held in Toronto, Canada, the National GI Conference held in Chicago, Illinois and the NCUUA Amnesty Conference held in Louisville Kentucky. Each was of a different character and resulted in a greater knowledge for the organization as a whole. Our relations with the exile groups has never been better. We have come to know many members of AMEX Magazine and have been in a lot more contact with them over the past few months. The exile conference gave us a chance to meet with members of organizations other than from Toronto. We have made new contacts with the Vancouver American Exiles Association, the American Deserters Committee in Sweden, DRO in France and have met again with a member of our London chapter and the Union of American Exiles in Britain.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

We find that the exile groups think very highly of the work that we have been doing. They talked about the need for us to constantly raise the issue of the less than honorably discharged veterans as a major part of our amnesty work.

The GI conference held in Chicago was an important step in building new unity in the movement. While there was much debate at the conference, the clarity of positions moved the struggle forward and clearly gave VVAW/WSO GI chapters a better sense of the differences in organizing GIs that exists in the country.

The amnesty conference in Louisville, organized by the NCUUA and the Louisville People for Amnesty was a success also. It gave VVAW/WSO the opportunity to meet with many representatives from various organizations around the country. It showed that NCUUA is more than just an office in New York, but truly a national network of organizations working for a universal and unconditional amnesty, and as such showed us that we have a lot of work to do in order to put forward our anti-imperialist views. (This is more detailed in the amnesty section of this report.) This amnesty conference was a major development in the amnesty movement.

We have seen the emergence of many coalitions and committees formed around particular repression cases. Chapters across the country have joined them or work closely with them. We think that this is a good thing. Support for the Attica Brothers, Antwony Cayley, Mendoza, the Leaverworth Brothers, Tyrone Guyton, etc. shows that the organization has begun to seriously take up the struggles of political prisoners and repression cases in a national way. This work is being done in coalitions and committees, linking VVAW/WSO with other progressive organizations in the fight against repression. We think that this type of work will be done more and more as conditions in the imperialist system worsen.

ANTWONY CAYLEY

As part of the fight against repression, the case of Gary Lawton has begun to generate international support. Organizations from Japan, Guyana, Germany and Canada have sent telegrams of support to Gary. Recently, we have embarked on a campaign to intensify support both nationally and internationally. We think chapters that work in these coalitions should raise the repression of Gary with banners or signs and leaflets at anti-repression picket lines.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Internationally we continue to make new contacts and establish new relations with a variety of organizations. We have received New Years cards from the Vietnamese and the Cambodians and we have sent telegrams of support to a series of international organizations supporting demonstrations held in Germany, Italy and England. Due to financial consider

ns, we could not attend the Anti-NATO conference held recently in Holland, but representatives of our London Chapter attended for us. In addition to establishing a London Chapter a year ago, the GI organization Liberated Barracks in Hawaii has officially joined VVAW/WSO recently.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Our support for liberation struggles has continued also. In addition to supporting the struggles of the Indochinese, we have co-sponsored the Puerto Rican Independence rally held in New York City in October. Members of the NYC chapter were part of a group welcoming the newly formed coalition government in Laos, and presented them with WINNER SOLDIER and VVAW/WSO buttons.

While VVAW/WSO continues to develop in its relations with other organizations there is however, one aspect of our external work that is of major importance to not only this organization, but the entire mass movement as well. This is the situation that has developed between VVAW/WSO and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. Recently, in response to Gary Lawton's letter to Angela Davis, the NAARPR published an open letter to VVAW/WSO chapters. This letter was an outright attack on us and was done in a devious, opportunist fashion. The issue is developing to be larger than one letter from Lawton to Davis. What is at issue is whether or not the Alliance, in its present form, is serving the interests of political prisoners. We say it is not. Davis is a leading figure in the Alliance and a leading member of the CPUSA. The political line being put forward by the CPUSA and the Alliance is reformist and opportunist. We believe that their letter to us is typical of that political outlook. We feel that this should be discussed in the Alliance Workshop and when presented with the facts of the situation, we believe that the delegates to the NSCM will vote to censure the Alliance for its work around political prisoners and its attack on us. We totally support this position. *This is a major point of controversy that makes a serious split organizationally.*

As part of the mass movement and as a responsible mass organization we have the duty to put forward the ideas that will best serve that movement. When organizations consistently fight the building of that movement, it is our necessary task to expose them for it. We believe that the Alliance and the CPUSA are doing this and should be held accountable for it.

We believe that unity is vital in our work in the mass movement. However, unity must be based on more than working together. When politics are not put in command then that unity is false and can set back the movement. We do not think it is politically sound for us to ignore the present situation with the Alliance and the CPUSA. To shirk our responsibility in the struggle; to hide under a false hood of unity in order not to make waves is a dangerous trap that we should not fall into. Our task as a mass organization is to move the struggle of the masses forward. To do this we must expose those who are consciously holding that movement back.

We state that we do not believe that all organizations in the Alliance are guilty of holding the movement back. Our differences lie with the political leadership of the Alliance, and one of its major influences, the CPUSA. A letter of response written by the National Office is being circulated at this meeting and will be presented in the Alliance Workshop. We ask that people carefully read it and also read the response from Leavenworth and the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INTERNAL REPORT

1. Trends and Tendencies: The major trend which overshadows all others is the revitalization of VVAW/WSO in areas which have been dormant, particularly the Northwest, the Northeast, and Florida. The Northwest has a new chapter in Mountain Home, Idaho (in part as a result of contact with VVAW/WSO during the Chicago National GI Conference); a relatively new and growing chapter in Tacoma, Washington and increased activity in the chapters in Bellingham, Washington; and Eugene, Oregon. While there is much work to be done, particularly in the major cities, we see the work of these chapters as an excellent core for the future in that part of the country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In the Northeast where VVAW/WSO has just managed to survive over the past year, there are new chapters in Providence and in the Portsmouth-Dover area of New Hampshire, as a result of work done around the DC Demo, and a New England region is again beginning to function. There are five chapters in Florida. In Texas, where nothing has happened for some time (as far as the NO knows), there are signs of life in Houston which is also beginning to reach out to other parts of the state, notably the Killeen/Ft Hood area. The Rocky Mountain states of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Wyoming have gone through internal re-organization and have the potential to grow in the near future. All of these areas the NO sees as a real plus for the organization; it means that we are able to reach out to people who are looking for the politics and programs that VVAW/WSO has to offer. These two are both new and imminent

On the minus side is Eastern Pa; while we don't yet have enough information to sum-up the problems there, from our understanding the region has almost collapsed, and what seemed to be promising work did not get carried forward. The initial sum-up suggests that some people were looking for quick victories and immediate gains; when these did not come, they were demoralized. Another lesson learned is the need for a regional structure which functions effectively and consistently. There have been many contacts from people in that region--usually isolated individuals--with nothing to plug into. A regional structure (office, coordinator, collective or whatever) which does follow up on these contacts is demonstrated in Ohio (with a new Cleveland chapter), in Florida (where a number of contacts have now become chapters), in Southern California (where a chapter is growing in San Diego), in New York (with the Syracuse chapter, and a number of contacts around the region), and in Wisconsin/Minnesota (where there is an active chapter in Minneapolis); all of these are the direct result of following up on contacts by regional or sub-regional officers of the organization. Where this has been done consistently, there are clear results (though not every contact is ever going to become a chapter); where it has not been done, little or nothing has happened.

Based on our contacts with chapters and regions, we in the NO have an urgent sense of the tremendous potential which the organization has. At this point, we see only the beginnings of the growth which is clearly possible. For many chapters, the Buffalo NSCM marked a consolidation of their ideas of what a program could be: but that meeting took place only four months ago, and we all know that the organization is built through consistent, daily work, not through magic, get-rich quick elixirs. Work takes time to bring concrete results. Chapters which went to work immediately after the Buffalo meeting in order to implement the focus, now have some practice which can be summed up--we point to the work reports on Chicago and Milwaukee as examples of what can be done.

In some places in the organization, practice has stopped as people have struggled for the organizational focus and the many political questions surrounding it; this force of theory and practice is clearly a mistake a fact which is further demonstrated by the loss of members which these chapters have suffered. While the struggle is good, and the political consolidation and unity which can come with it are vital, they cannot replace practice.

CONFIDENTIAL

The New York City chapter, from the information we have gotten, has been seriously divided over the question of focus, before and after the Buffalo meeting. They have not, however, let internal struggle keep them from practice; through a period of searching and experimentation, they have recently proposed a program with vets and GI focus, and have begun to test it out in practice--their Vet's Day actions are headed in that direction. We see this as applying theory in practice, and then using that practice to evaluate the theory--and we believe that is a good thing.

Chapters which came out of the Buffalo meeting with a consolidated position against a vets and GI focus have, at the very least, held their own during the last six months. The Buffalo chapter has established itself as a real community presence (over a period of years) and has been conducting on-going educational work in that community; strong support work around the Attica Brothers Defense has been possible through the size and strength of the chapter. In Dayton, there has been the ability to implement a consistent program of GI work at Wright-Patterson Airforce Base, though there are differing reports on the growth of membership in that chapter. In Northern California, we have gotten consistent input only from the Oakland chapter which is growing; a number of different projects are involved in the work including much energy taken up with the Bob Hood Defense Committee, as well as support for various struggles now going on in the Oakland area.

We also see real differences in the quality of growth--we do not feel that growth can be measured just in terms of numbers of people. Some chapters have consolidated their own line around a working class ideology; the result has been the beginning of an increase in membership among working people and their allies, with the militant and revolutionary approach which grows that political position. Chapters which have consistently worked toward organizing "movement" people into VVAW/WSO have often been able to do so--working on prisons one month, tenant's unions another, Indochina a third (or in some cases all three at once). Often, this has resulted in gathering together people who are interested in each of these projects. These chapters have often turned into a kind of movement support committee without an independent presence without the ability to reach out to people who are not already involved in the movement. Without the ability to bring into the anti-imperialist movement or into VVAW/WSO those people who are responding to gut-level disgust with the system. Growth, in short, means both quantity and quality--proletarian ideology leads to organizing masses of people into VVAW/WSO and into the anti-imperialist movement; "movement" organizing leads to shuffling people around inside the anti-imperialist movement and not real growth.

Another major point of contention among many chapters

CONFIDENTIAL

From the communications we get from around the country, we recognize that the levels of development of various chapters of the organization is vastly different. Not only are there consolidated political lines which differ from one another, but there

are many chapters for which some of the political issues are of only minor importance. Individuals and chapters in the organization range from consolidated Marxist-Leninists (all of whom do not agree with each other) to pissed-off vets and non-vets who are barely anti-imperialist. This is not a bad thing. Through the practice of the organization, consciousness will be raised and we will make fighters for one into fighters for all. But it is necessary to keep the levels of development in mind when discussing policies for the entire organization, whether that is around Winter Soldier, or the vets and GI focus, or anti-imperialism in general. There is a good deal of tunnel vision in the organization where specific chapters, from their practice, make the mistake of not seeing the needs and abilities of the organization as a whole, and this should be guarded against.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

There is also considerable variation in the actual practice of the organization in terms of people's approach to daily work. From the Milwaukee work report comes the clear lesson that effective work depends on daily practice over a long period of time. In terms of VA work, the Milwaukee chapter has not only learned to focus attention on a given hospital, but even a particular floor in that hospital; in short, they have learned the lesson that they should organize people to organize more people, and that to do that requires a specific target. The opposite tendency is best exemplified by a comment overheard by a member of the NO attending a meeting a few days after a demonstration at an office building: "Well, now we've educated these people, we're ready to go somewhere else next time." This "butterfly" approach--that is, we've left our mark on one flower, now we'll move on to the next one--may be doing something toward educating people; it is not organizing people.

We do see a real growth, both in quantity and in quality, in those chapters which have clearly implemented the focus on vets and GIs. It has meant that the chapters have gone out to where vets or GIs are--the VA, unemployment offices, college vets clubs, community vets meetings, factories, reserve meetings, offices of various government sponsored vets programs, community colleges, or technical schools, and, in the case of GIs, bases and National Guard meetings. Those chapters which have been most effective have not tried to do everything but have concentrated their efforts; as they grow larger, those efforts will be expanded. At the same time, these chapters have worked on local issues--for instance, local defense committees or political prisoner committees--always keeping their primary task in mind.

The first point to be drawn from this applies to the organization as a whole: a focus of work is important to the growth of any chapter, whether that focus is around amnesty or political prisoners or GIs or vets. Concentration of effort is essential. Second, the vets and GI focus has been effective where it has been well implemented. Third, the vets and GI focus has brought into the organization people who have not been involved in the struggle against imperialism in the past, though they have certainly suffered the effects of that system. These are people who, in our opinion, the organization should be reaching.

A positive note is that the organization is making steps toward becoming multi-national, though many of these steps are only tentative at this time. We see two ways in which we are beginning to deal effectively with the problems of national oppression: first, as pointed out in the Milwaukee work report, the demand for "Decent Benefits For All Vets" is a multi-national demand. Because work done around this demand--

39 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

as well as the demand for a single type discharge--addresses the immediate needs of a cross-section of the population, it is relevant to the needs of vets, no matter what race. Second, there has been more consistent work around political prisoners where VVAW/WSO have consistently done support work with defense committees. The Gary Lawton case, on a national scale, and numerous other cases which are regional and/or local projects, demonstrate our attitude around the racism inherent in imperialism. And it is through our practice that we are seen by members of national minorities. We see this as an encouraging step and one which it is vitally important to build on in the future.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2. Internal Structure of the Organization: The attempt to deal with the internal organization of VVAW/WSO through the working paper, as put forth at the Buffalo NSCM, was pretty much a failure. With the exception of the New York regional meeting, there has been no substantial input from the organization, nor has the NO been able to do its part in terms of putting out a prospective working paper. While we wish this had all been done, we recognize that members of the organization had higher priority issues to deal with--the NO was in the same position, and we believe that decision was correct given the time, energy and priorities. We have brought to this meeting a working paper which we hope can serve as a basis of discussion for re-writing the organizational by-laws; it is not as complete as it could be, nor does it have the organizational input it should have, as yet.

We feel that the essential change which must be made deals with the democratization of the organization; it is wrong for a region which has a number of strong chapters and a large membership to have the same number of votes in the NSC as a region with only one chapter and a much smaller membership. As a result we are starting with a proposal from the New York regional meeting and proposing that voting at the NSCM be based on 2 votes per region, plus 1 vote for each 15 voting members. While this system is not perfect, it goes a long way toward the essential democratization of the organization. Other points which flow into that proposal (such as definition of a voting member) are contained in our draft working paper.

With democratization must go discussion of what it means to be part of a national, democratically operated organization. Our position is set out on page 19 of the NO Clarification Paper: the organization must share the political perspective of anti-imperialism, and it must have programmatic unity. A chapter, for instance, which feels it should spend the majority of its time, over a long period, on women's issues should join an organization which nationally focuses its work on women's oppression; that is where they will get the most support and help. This does not negate the need to consistently work around local issues--that is essential. Nor does it negate the need to sometimes drop everything for some vital local work which is not directly connected with the VVAW/WSO national program. It does mean that the national program is based on consistent daily work, and to ignore that work for months at a time would be a real setback; even to neglect it temporarily should be done only for the most pressing political reasons.

We feel the organization made a step forward in its action of expelling the leadership of the ex-Tampa chapter from the organization--that this was done on correct political grounds since they consistently refused to work within the organization and to work around the national program, and actively supported enemies of the organiza-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
40

tion... We feel that the national organization, and specifically the NO, needs to take the responsibility of making these decisions. At this time, we have only loose guidelines in general, and the one set of specific guidelines for dealing with unprincipled organizations (that is, Trotskyist organizations specifically named in the "Proposal for Dealing with Unprincipled Organizations.") We believe that these criteria need to be tightened up in order to push the organization as a whole forward, and we are proposing some ideas (in the draft working paper) by which this can be done.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

There are two mechanical changes which we would make at this meeting--first, we concur with the proposal that Rhode Island and Conn be annexed to the New England region. This recognizes a de facto situation, and the New England region is now rebuilding and can handle this new territory. Second, we propose that the Carolinas no longer be considered a region; our contact there has been primarily with one individual in Raleigh, and that communication has been irregular. We have no sense of on-going VVAW/WSO work being done in that region at this time.

3. Work Reports: We believe that the most important documents at this meeting are the work reports; the Chicago and Milwaukee reports are examples of what work reports should be, both in explaining what was done and in drawing the lessons from practice. We cannot stress enough the need for chapters to sum-up their work and draw the lessons from it; at the same time, it is essential that chapters get that information to the NO--this has been one of the major failings of the organization as a whole, and one of the failings of the NO has been to not aggressively demand these detailed reports from the chapters and regions. We now rely on sum-ups given to regional meetings (such as those from Buffalo, Dayton, Oneonta) as well as consistent correspondence with many chapters; while this is both good and necessary, it is not enough. Chapters and regions need to analyze their own work and give us that analysis, rather than just giving us the raw material for us to do the analysis.

There are two aspects to getting these reports to the NO; first, we feel it is vital for the organization as a whole to learn from people's practice; second, we make our analyses (such as the original position paper) on the basis of what is happening around the country. We have to have that input. As we have said before, this means something more than just giving us a run-down of what happened (although that information is also important), but also a sum-up of the lessons learned; again, we point to the Milwaukee and Chicago work reports as good examples. While we commend those work reports and believe that they are extremely positive, we also feel that we should criticize the Milwaukee chapter for getting us a sum-up of an Oct. 27th action a month and a half after it occurred. While that is far better than not getting any sum-up, which is the case with many chapters, that could be improved. For instance, while we have heard about good work going on in Northern New Jersey, we have not seen anything in the way of a sum-up or even anymore description of what is happening there than a couple of phone calls. That denies both the NO and the rest of the organization the benefit of this practice.

We also recognize our inability at this time to make the most of these work reports. Our resources do not allow us to reprint all work reports we could be reprinting--we're stuck with the situation of reprinting summaries of these reports in the Internal Newsletter. In the future, as resources allow, we want to be able to

41 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

move toward printing regular internal reports from the chapters; this would include things like the position papers which have been written concerning the future of the organization as well as the work reports. At this time, however, we have to rely on chapters and regions getting that information to as much of the organization as they can by mailing copies around the country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4. The Nature of Internal Struggle and Security: Because of the recent struggles that have gone on within VVAW/WSO during the recent months, we would like to briefly discuss the nature of struggle and how we feel it should be conducted. During the past four months, VVAW/WSO has been dealing with questions which are of major importance to the future of our organization and to the general anti-imperialist movement. Deciding the future of an organization is something which we feel needs the principled participation of us all. Such decisions are no minor thing. We believe that the struggle that has been going on within the organization has been a good thing and something which has made us grow and mature as a national organization.

When talking about struggle, we see that its purpose is to gain clarity of political line and through this, to push the anti-imperialist movement forward. Through struggle, positions are clarified and through this "clarification," a higher sense of unity develops. The basis for struggle is unity (i.e., we are all interested in seeing the organization move forward and become more effective). Likewise, the aim of struggle is also unity -- only a unity on a higher level. We don't think that struggle should be conducted for the purpose of reaching paper or phoney unity because this type of unity is usually achieved at the expense of the interests of the masses who are struggling against imperialism. It is for the purpose of reaching a higher level of unity that struggle is a good thing and something which pushes our organization and the people's movement forward.

We have seen that, for the most part, the internal struggle within VVAW/WSO has been carried out in a principled manner. We feel that the vast majority of people involved in this struggle have been genuinely concerned with the future and direction of VVAW/WSO and have honestly tried to move the organization forward. However, there have been times when we think the nature of the current struggle has taken on an ugly, unprincipled character, and this is something which can only hold us back. Since we see that the basis of struggle is unity, struggles will get out of hand if the desire for unity is not present. Along with this, the desire to provide constructive criticisms, rather than falling into name-calling and "trashing" is very important. Without principled and constructive criticism, we feel the struggle will degenerate and serve not the people, but the enemy.

With regard to all of this, one thing we see a real need for internally within VVAW/WSO is a better sense of security on all levels of the organization. We all know that the imperialist state is watching us closely, and because we are a threat to the existence of that state, our telephones are tapped, our meetings and their content discovered, etc. We have seen many occasions wherein the current struggle has fallen into gossip and slander, and we should be aware that this kind of behavior (whether it is intentional or not) will end up in the hands of our enemies. Unprinci-

pled talk and actions something which the government will use to try to distort the real purpose of struggle and undermine the unity which we feel is the basis of that struggle. We feel, therefore, that it is important for us to develop a higher consciousness around the fact that our enemies will try to use any tiny piece of information they receive which is potentially divisive. A stronger sense of security in our own ranks is necessary because when struggle fails to be real, healthy struggle and degenerates into gossip, rumor-mongering and slander, we push nothing forward except the ability of the imperialists to rule us. The people's movement is held back and it is the people of this country and around the world who suffer most.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

One aspect of the current struggle that we would like to specifically talk about is the tactic of trying to separate or single-out leadership from the rest of the organization. We have seen this tactic recently employed and we believe it is unprincipled and dangerous to the organization. We know that as national leadership, we are not perfect; and by no means are we saying that leadership is or should be "above" criticism. However, when leadership on any level of the organization makes mistakes, they should be criticized and struggled with directly and honestly. Distortions, gossip and slander are not correct ways to criticize anyone, including leadership; at best, this type of "attack" is non-productive, and it is often destructive. Leadership is a part of the organization, not something separate from it; and the purpose of leadership is to lead -- to provide political direction and programs for the organization (based on the in-put from the membership) and to implement the decisions of the majority.

One thing we should understand is where leadership comes from. On the chapter level, chapter members discuss the abilities of other members, decide which people they feel have the qualities for being leadership in their chapter, and then elect those people to leadership positions. The same should hold true on the regional and national levels of the organization. To "trash" leadership without offering anything constructive is to ignore and negate this process of election. It is saying that the masses of members are too stupid to realize that their leadership is bad and not serving their interests. Trashing leadership in an effort to divide it from the rest of the membership is a divisive tactic, shows no faith in the masses, and can lead to contradictions between the leadership and the membership which will destroy the cohesiveness, unity and purpose of the organization.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RESPONSE TO "THE VENICE CRITIQUE"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As leadership in VVAW/WSO, we feel it is our responsibility to comment on "The Venice Critique," a paper written by members of the Venice, California chapter in response to our original position paper on the future of the organization. We do not feel it is necessary to respond to all of the political points raised in the Venice paper as to why VVAW/WSO should not have a veteran and GI focus; in our position paper and subsequent clarification paper, we have already discussed why we feel VVAW/WSO must have a veteran and GI focus if it is to survive as a viable organization. However, since the "Venice Critique" has been held up by some chapters as the "alternative" to our position regarding a veteran and GI focus, we feel the necessity of commenting on what we see to be the real essence of the paper from Venice.

We believe that the Venice paper has, in reality, very little to do with the two-line struggle going on within VVAW/WSO concerning the question of a focus for the organization. The paper does make some political points about why we should not have a veteran and GI focus, but we feel the thrust of this critique is an attack on the National Office in particular, and on the organization in general. It is for this reason that we see the need to discuss some of the underlying points the Venice paper is making.

We begin with a few quotes from the second paragraph of the "Venice Critique." "In our opinion, they (the NO) are doing a disservice to the organization that they have been elected to serve... they should have put their faith in the VVAW/WSO masses to make the correct decision and concerned themselves with coordinating the activities of the organization." We feel that these few lines are at the heart of what the Venice paper is talking about, and we see this to be an out-right attack on the real function of the National Office. What the above quote is saying is that the NO should never have published a position paper with our views on the future of VVAW/WSO. This is our "disservice." We take strong issue with this idea. People are elected to the National Office, as well as to positions of regional coordinator, chapter coordinator, etc. to provide leadership. The Venice paper talks about members in the NO as being "elected to serve," but we see that "service" means a great deal more than carrying out the menial tasks of the organization. We see that we "serve" the organization in a variety of ways -- providing materials for the organization to use, providing information to chapters, answering requests from chapters, keeping chapters informed of the activities of the organization, etc. This is a vital function of the National Office. However, we are democratically elected to "serve" as leadership. Our primary service to the organization is to provide leadership -- both political, practical and programmatic. We do not see the function of the National Office as simply concerning ourselves "with coordinating the activities of the organization." This is only a part of our job. But to relegate national leadership to the periphery of the organization is to rob the organization of its very essence -- that of being a national organization with political and programmatic unity on all levels.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Leadership of an organization, no matter what level of leadership is being talked about, is composed of more than shuffling papers across an endless row of desks. It is more than licking envelopes, and the other areas of "shit-work" that must be done to keep an organization functioning. We strongly believe that the primary purpose for having leadership is to take on the responsibility of providing programs and direction for the organization, to initiate new ideas, to come up with plans of action, to put forward positions on the future and current practice of the organization. In essence, the Venice paper is negating this role of leadership, and it is this that we feel is an attack on VVAW/WSO.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The authors of the Venice paper make this point again on page 3 when it says that we are wrecking the organization as we try to fit VVAW/WSO into a make-believe United Front. We flatly reject this idea. We do not see that putting forward a position which we feel is crucial to the continued existence of VVAW/WSO is "wrecking" the organization. It is our responsibility to put positions forward and if we see that the organization must go through some necessary changes if it is to survive, it is our job to make this known to the membership. To not do so would be equal to leading the membership, and the masses of people in general, down a blind alley and would show a gross lack of concern for the organization and its purpose.

Later on page 3, the Venice paper says, "Ultra-leftism and its twin, right opportunism both reflect a lack of confidence in the ability of the masses or working people to find the solution to imperialism." We agree with this statement, but believe it is the members of the Venice chapter who wrote this paper that have a lack of faith in the masses and their ability to determine their own destinies. What the Venice paper is saying is that the NO can single-handedly "wreck" the organization, and the masses will be too stupid to do anything but let it happen. We reject this idea and feel that if our position is incorrect, the masses will prove this out. The membership of this organization is far smarter than the Venice paper is giving them credit for being; if the masses see that a position is wrong, destructive and leading the organization to disaster, they will combat this. To say that the NO can wreck the organization is to have no faith in the masses; our membership and our organization is far stronger than that. Contrary to what the authors of the Venice paper are saying, the members of the National Collective do have faith in the masses of VVAW/WSO members and in potential members to determine what the correct path is for the organization.

Another point we would like to address is the fact that throughout the Venice critique, the authors refer to the position saying that VVAW/WSO should have a veteran and GI focus as though the only people putting this position forward are the members of the NO. We see this consistent reference as an attempt by members of the Venice chapter to split the National Office off from the rest of the organization by continually referring to the NO as the people who are out to "wreck" the organization with their *scummy line*. *Two members of the Venice chapter were present at the Buffalo National Steering Committee Meeting.* In light of this, we assume they are aware that when a consensus vote was taken on the focus of the organization, a very large majority of the delegates felt that the position of focusing on veterans and GIs was a correct one. By implying that the NO is the only group-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ing putting forward a position that we should have a venice and GI focus negates the fact that a large majority of people at the Buffalo NSCM also hold that same position. In fact, you are holding a majority of the membership in contempt and implying that they might also be wreckers of the organization. However, since the NO is being singled-out as being the wreckers, we see this as a move to separate the leadership of VVAW/WSO from the membership and we believe this to be a divisive and dangerous tactic which negates the role of leadership within the organization and which can lead to the destruction of cohesiveness and purpose of the organization. Again, what this all boils down to is whether the leadership of the organization has the responsibility to lead the organization, or is it to sit idly by and tail behind whatever ideas arise, and simply concern itself with the day-to-day affairs of keeping the organization functioning.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Another idea contained in the Venice critique which we feel the need to respond to is the idea that the NO doesn't know what's going on in the organization. This "criticism" has been raised elsewhere in VVAW/WSO also, and in some instances, it is true that we can't know everything that is going on, that all chapters do not communicate with us regularly and that we can't know every idea and every action that is going on in the organization. However, we strongly disagree with the idea that we "betray an unfamiliarity with the organization." Again, we see this as an attempt to split the NO from the rest of the organization. As national leadership, it is our responsibility to know what is going on in the organization, and we believe we have a good understanding of what VVAW/WSO is doing nationally. That is the nature of our job. The Venice paper says, "Our experience has been just the opposite of what the NO alleges the political situation to be." We would ask the Venice chapter what understanding they have as to what is going on in New England, in Ohio, in Washington, in Maryland, etc. Without having the consistent in-put and contact with these regions, we find it amazing that they can know what is going on there. We feel that this idea in the Venice paper points out a problem which is common in the organization -- "tunnel vision." It is not a serious problem, but it does exist and must be overcome. Chapters cannot make decisions for the national organization based on their understanding of what is going on with their specific community and then apply that to all other chapters in the organization. Nor do we think we have all the answers as to how to develop programs for the organization as a whole. Coming up with programs and direction for the organization requires the in-put and discussions of as many chapters as possible on the national level -- with the National Office between steering committee meetings, and at steering committee meetings themselves. By summing up this in-put we determine what is the correct path for the organization to follow. Through this process, the organization can determine what works in the majority of chapters, what the majority of chapters are involved with and thinking about. This is what being a national organization is all about -- it is not looking at one or two communities and then proclaiming that the solution to the organization's future has been found. It requires the in-put and participation of the chapters across the country to determine what the organization should be doing.

The National Office is in regular communication with the vast majority of chapters and all regions in the organization. There is the need for improvement in those communications and we feel that chapters should be doing regular work reports which sum up their work and get those reports to the NO (we might remark that we have never received such reports from the Venice chapter). This will ob-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

viouly facilitate our understanding of the organization as well as providing us with information to get back out to the rest of the chapters so that everyone's understanding of the organization will increase. But until chapters begin summing up their work on a regular basis and get those summations to us, we will have to rely on the many letters, phone calls, personal discussions, etc. that we are involved with regularly.

CONFIDENTIAL

We would like to ask the authors of the Venice paper and the organization where they think leadership comes from. We did not "fall from the sky;" all of us have been members of VVAW/WSO for many years. We have worked in chapters just like everyone else, we have known the problems that arise in chapters and regions, and through our consistent contact with chapters through the NO, we feel we are still aware of those problems, as well as the successes. Likewise, our original position paper did not drop from out of nowhere. It was written to help guide the organization as we looked around, saw chapters dying off, regions disappearing, and people losing interest because they lacked direction and purpose. Our position paper was our contribution to finding a solution to some of the problems we saw within VVAW/WSO. We were not trying to cram some idea down people's throats when we published our paper. Instead, we were trying to live up to our responsibility to provide leadership to the organization by putting our position forward on what we felt the future of the organization should be.

We do not see that putting forward a position is some sort of crime. We have put our thoughts out and will continue to do so. In return, we hope that others will do the same. This is how struggle is conducted -- by discussing ideas and practice. In fact, we criticize the two members of the Venice chapter who attended the Buffalo NSCM for not always putting forward their ideas consistently. We are aware that the two delegates from Venice are members of the Communist Party, USA, and we hope that the CPUSA has positions on some of the questions that were discussed at the NSCM. However, on some of these questions, the Venice delegates did not put forward the ideas of the CPUSA as we wished they had done so that the membership could become aware of those ideas and struggle with them. We obviously believe that our position on the future of VVAW/WSO is a correct one and we will continue to struggle for it. Others will do the same. But we realize that in the final analysis it will be the masses of VVAW/WSO members who determine what the future of the organization will be. The decision rests with them; not with us.

The final point we would like to address with regard to the Venice Critique is the question of unity. The Venice paper says that, "In pursuing the struggle, the national office appears to neglect the importance of unity." We do not think we have neglected the importance of unity, but we do think that the unity we want the organization to reach is a higher level of unity than is desired by the authors of the Venice paper. As a national organization, we feel it is essential that the organization have a high degree of both political and programmatic unity. We do not mean that everyone should accept a given "line" on the world situation, but we do mean that the organization should have political unity on the nature and purpose of our organization. We also think that programmatic unity is vital if we are to truly be a national organization, rather than a conglomeration of individual chapters all possessing the same name. Unity is more than keeping still and letting chapters "do their own thing" and

CONFIDENTIAL

not try to build a higher degree of cohesiveness in the organization. The idea we get from the Venice paper is that the authors would prefer that leadership not lead the organization towards achieving this political and programmatic unity. Rather, the authors of the Venice paper seem to ignore the democratic processes of VVAW/WSO for determining the work and direction of the organization, and instead, would prefer more "autonomy" for the chapters. We find this idea to be based on petit-bourgeois ideology calling for "individualism" above all else.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Since we do not believe we are neglecting the importance of unity, we would like to explain just how we think unity is reached. There is a big difference between principled unity and paper or phoney unity. The latter is a type of unity which is simply declared in order to down-play struggle. In the majority of cases, phoney unity is easily reached, but usually at the expense of the interests of the masses of people who are struggling against imperialism. We are not out to reach this type of unity. Instead, principled unity is reached through struggle - principled struggle. We begin our struggle with a basis of unity, and our final aim is to achieve a higher level of unity. This higher level of unity is reached through the introduction of ideas and discussing, implementing, and summing up those ideas. We believe this process is occurring within VVAW/WSO and we believe it is a healthy process that will push the membership, the organization, and the anti-imperialist movement forward.

The Venice paper says that because the NO is striving for this higher level of unity through struggle, by introducing our position paper, we are "falling into the error of using Trotskyist tactics." We ask if trying to move the organization ahead, if living up to our responsibility to provide political and programmatic leadership for the national organization is employing Trotskyite tactics? We don't think so. On page 2 of the Venice paper, the authors talk about "factionalism." To us, there is a big difference between struggle and factionalism. Factionalism consists of working and maneuvering with the specific purpose of splitting an organization in order to form something else. We do not think that our position paper has been factionalizing, nor do we think that papers like the one written by the Buffalo chapter is factionalizing. The purpose of both of these papers has been to contribute to the struggle for the purpose of building VVAW/WSO as both the NO and the Buffalo chapter see this building taking place -- not to split the organization.

It may be that our position paper did "rock the boat" a bit, but we do not think that is a bad, or a Trotskyite thing. We do not see that the position paper has "wrecked" or "split" the organization. In fact, we do not see the organization being "wrecked" at all. We see the organization undergoing more growth during the past few months than has existed in the organization for years. We agree with one idea contained in the Venice paper in that struggle can be non-progressive and hold an organization back. In fact, we see the Venice Critique as an example of non-progressive struggle in that it uses the honest attempts at clarification of political positions to attack the leadership of the organization, and in turn, the organization as a whole. We see the Venice Critique as an example of non-progressive struggle with the purpose of "wrecking" the organization to cover the real essence of their paper. We consider that to be non-progressive and divisive.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The struggle that is currently going on is not holding VVAW/WSO back; the struggle is building toward a higher level of unity. Moving from a low level of unity

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In order to achieve a higher level of unity, what all of us should be involved with. We should not attempt to stifle the attempts made to reach a higher level of unity, we should not try to shove the struggle under the rug and declare some sort of phony unity. Instead, we should be pushing attempts to reach unity forward.

What we see the Venice paper saying is that VVAW/WSO should have "Unity-Unity-Unity." We feel this is a destructive idea and one which will lead the organization to stagnation and ineffectiveness. This is because without struggle, whatever unity does exist will fade away and growth will cease. Instead, we see that what is going on in VVAW/WSO is "Unity-Struggle-Greater Unity." It is this formulation which will push VVAW/WSO, and the entire anti-imperialist movement forward. And it is because of this that struggle within VVAW/WSO will continue in the future around a variety of questions which must be addressed by our organization, as well as by the entire movement which is fighting to wipe imperialism from the face of the earth.

As stated at the beginning of this paper, we feel that the Venice paper has very little to do with the current two-line struggle going on within VVAW/WSO. Instead, the Venice paper is making an attempt to split the leadership of the organization from the membership, and we see this not only as an attack on the NO, but on the entire organization as well. We feel that the Venice paper exhibits a lack of faith in the masses of this organization to determine what the future of VVAW/WSO should be by implying that the NO can single-handedly "wreck" the organization with the publication of a position paper concerning what we see, as the necessary future of VVAW/WSO. We feel that the Venice paper is negating the role of leadership within the organization -- an idea which can lead to the destruction of the cohesiveness, unity and purpose of the organization. And we see that the Venice paper is trying to negate the importance of unity and struggle within the organization by saying that unity is primary, while struggle to reach a higher level of unity is divisive and "trotskyite." We reject the ideas put forward in this paper and feel that the authors of it are being dishonest by cloaking their attacks on the NO in a paper which pretends to deal with the two-line struggle. Under a "Left" cover, they have attempted to use the current struggle in the organization in order to divide political leadership from the membership. They have used the struggle as a springboard for their attempts to trash the real functions of leadership. We feel that this is the real essence of the Venice Critique and we condemn this tactic because it not only fails to push the real struggle forward, but in fact, holds the struggle back.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FINANCES

As is normal because of security, the breakdown of the past year's expenses and collections will be given orally. Since the National Office runs itself as a corporation it is liable for all appropriate taxes, reports and other nonsense that city, state and federal governments require. There are several reasons for incorporation, and not being incorporated does not mean that these forms and taxes no longer apply. Being incorporated makes the organization a legal entity as if it were a person. If any suits or actions come down on the business, the officers of the business cannot be held responsible unless criminal negligence is proved. All this mumbo-jumbo can get mountainous as new forms are discovered that must be filed, minutes taken from meetings of the Board of Directors, etc. So, if any region wishes to incorporate, check it out thoroughly.

CONFIDENTIAL

As to the financial status of the NO, it is terrible. With the rising economic crisis, the amount of money we spend each month doing the same amount of work has skyrocketed. Internally, we have started economizing wherever we can, from food money to pencils. The major leaps were in postage and paper-related products, which is just about everything we spend money on. However, even though we are cutting back, it is not enough. This office will definitely suffer or be incapacitated within a very short period if certain basics do not change.

Primary in these changes is the fact that the things we produce for the organization's use at this time do not pay for themselves. The newspaper, the buttons, the pamphlets, everything we have put out has come nowhere near its cost. This is one of the fundamental targets of what has to be changed. If we can receive back what the materials cost us to produce, then there would be no financial problem. Our direct mail fundraising would pay for everything else plus leave a surplus for putting out new things and adequately meeting the needs of the organization. If the situation does not change, that is, if chapters cannot pay for even half the cost, then we soon will have to stop putting out materials.

The second target is dues. To date, we have not received anywhere near what dues are owed. Whole regions have not paid any dues, while in the other regions, whole chapters have not paid any. We think that part of the developing criteria for membership in VVAW/WSO is paying one's dues. Most other organizations of our nature require dues of not only their members, but even of their chapters. We think a serious campaign must be waged by the leadership of the organization around dues, and that this question is not just a "money" one, but is a very sharp political one. If our own members will not support their organization, we cannot expect others outside the organization to do so. Paying dues goes to the heart of the question of what is an organization and what are the responsibilities of its members. If VVAW/WSO is to grow and be a real mass organization, then the members must be made to see the importance of supporting that organization with part of their money. Many people are giving 24 hours a day of their lives to VVAW/WSO, but that is only one part of what it takes. It takes financing, and that must come from the membership.

We do not see the crisis of imperialism abating in the future. With that crisis comes the absolute necessity of showing how members are the backbone of the organization and that they have a direct responsibility in running it. It is time to buckle down and meet that responsibility.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PORT

This report will be divided up into four parts. These sections will briefly deal with the recent events of the amnesty movement since August, the Steve Crossman Exile Tour, the NCUUA Amnesty Conference, and coalition work. We will not go into each of these sections in great detail, as several of these areas have already been written about in the internal newsletter. What we hope to be able to do is generally outline the work that we have been doing and the relations that we have with other amnesty organizations. We hope that this guideline can be followed in the amnesty workshop as a way to deal with the many issues that have transpired in the last four months. We believe that by summing up our recent work, we will be able to look to the future and see how best to build the anti-imperialist amnesty movement.

Recent Events in the Amnesty Movement

In September, President Ford (hot on the heels of his pardon for Richard Nixon) offered his plan for clemency for war resisters. The plan was largely directed towards draft resisters and military resisters. Largely ignored were the 580,000 vets with less-than-honorable discharges and the countless civilian resisters who are serving or have served time in jail, or who are facing prosecutions. The clemency offer, fell far short of being the universal and unconditional amnesty that is the call of the amnesty movement. This bogus amnesty plan was totally rejected by the amnesty movement, and correctly so. The real thrust of the amnesty movement is that people who resisted the war in Indochina, or the racism and repression of the military were correct and the real criminals are those who began and continue the war -- the Rockefellers and others of the ruling class. It is the duty of people to resist wars of imperialism.

Immediately after the clemency program was announced, organizations working around amnesty across the country, including VVAW/WSO, denounced the sham amnesty. This turn of events in the amnesty movement escalated the work of the movement and for the first time, amnesty was truly a household word. What followed were many demonstrations across the country directed at demanding universal and unconditional amnesty. One of the most important events during this period was the 2nd Exiles Conference that was held in Toronto at the end of September.

Almost as soon as the amnesty was announced, eyes turned towards Canada to see what the reaction of the exile community would be. This was due, in large part, to the bourgeois media and the general thrust of the Ford statement; that being that amnesty was solely for exiles and not for people in the United States.

The exiles gathered from across Canada, France, Sweden, and England (one delegate from each of these latter three countries). There was unanimous agreement at the exile conference to call for a boycott of the Ford plan. Of importance at the conference were the resolutions of the exiles calling for an end to imperialist aggression, support for liberation struggles around the world, and an understanding that the largest segment of those in need of amnesty were the vets with less-than-honorable discharges.

5 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The conference was a clear victory for the exile groups and for the amnesty movement in general. It successfully analyzed the Ford clemency and as a result, drew wide support from the amnesty organizations in the United States. The call for the boycott was announced throughout the country and it has been successful. The government's hopes for a great influx at Christmastime never materialized. The analysis of the exiles proved correct -- that exiles both organization and unorganized, rejected the terms of the clemency. While thousands of people did accept it, the overwhelming majority didn't.

There is now talk of extending the clemency plan in order to elevate the numbers of people who accept it. This is also a victory for the amnesty movement and should be utilized in our propaganda.

One way in which representatives of the exile groups dealt with the boycott was to have one exile come to the U.S. to discuss the clemency and give the American people a chance to hear what an exile thought. As a result, Steve Grossman and his traveling companion, Evangeline, came back to the U.S. for two weeks to speak of the clemency and the correctness of resistance to the war in Indochina.

Steve Grossman Tour DC, Ohio, Mo., W.S.
CANADA, ILL. FOREIGN

To briefly summarize Steve and Evangeline's tour, they came to the U.S. and Steve spoke at the Louisville Conference of NCUUA and announced his intentions of traveling throughout the Northeast and Midwest. Steve was resoundingly welcomed at the conference and made an excellent speech about why the clemency did not speak to the real issues. From there, he proceeded to New York City, Washington, DC, Buffalo, Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland, Akron, Kent, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Chicago. He spoke at each city, did radio programs, gave interviews, appeared on a TV show with Charles Goodell, Chairman of the Clemency Board, and was able to talk to many people and see the work that the amnesty movement was doing. With the exception of Louisville and New York City, all of the tour was arranged by VVAW/WSO chapters.

It should be noted that all of the chapters did excellent work in arranging the tour. On short notice, it was remarkable that so much was set up. While the success of the tour varied from place to place, all should be praised for doing what was done. Steve and Evangeline were greatly impressed with this work and so were we in the National Office.

The idea of the tour was to give the opportunity to explain the clemency from the perspective of those in exile who are looked at as the recipients of the clemency program. Steve did much to explain that the real amnesty fight was here in the U.S. We would like to quote Steve who gave us the following statement for Winter Soldier. "The tour reminded me of the need to keep our demand for a single-type discharge up front in all our amnesty work. Getting rid of the present punitive discharge system will remove one of the most repressive weapons the government has for controlling resistance to genocidal, imperialist wars. The single-type discharge will move us far forward in our fight for the right to resist unjust wars -- that right is the very meaning of universal and unconditional amnesty."

52 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

We agree with this analysis. The real fight for amnesty is mainly in the U. S. and speaks to the class nature of America. While it is extremely important to fight for all resisters, we should never fail to put forward the 580,000 vets with less-than-honorable discharges as the recipients of a universal and unconditional amnesty.

We believe that the exiles idea of having a representative to come to the U. S. to speak was a correct idea. There are many lessons to learn from this tour and we will briefly summarize them in the section dealing with coalition work.

NCJUA Conference

At the end of November, the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA) held its second annual conference in Louisville, Kentucky. The major importance of this conference was that it gave VVAW/WSO the opportunity to work with many representatives from around the country and to talk about ways to best implement a program to win universal and unconditional amnesty. It afforded us the chance to put forward our organizational, anti-imperialist perspective. As most participants at the conference were not from anti-imperialist organizations, we learned a great deal about how we put forward our views in the workshops before such audiences. At our sum up meetings, we realized that often we came on too hard and didn't always explain our views in the best way. But by and large, we summed up our work at the conference as progressive and good.

We learned also that there is a real amnesty movement made up, for the most part, of people in liberal and church organizations. It was clear that VVAW/WSO is the leading anti-imperialist organization working around amnesty on a nationwide basis. As such, the conference gave us the opportunity to see how our work has pushed the issue of amnesty forward and how best we work with these other organizations. (There is a more in-depth analysis of the conference written in Newsletter #31. Hopefully everyone has read it and we can use that as the basis for the discussion around the workshop).

Coalition Work

We feel that the best way we can build the amnesty movement is to build the anti-imperialist veterans movement. By doing this, we will be able to take up the demand of a single-type discharge and decent benefits for all veterans, and from them unfold the demand for universal and unconditional amnesty. As vets with bad discharges are the largest category of war and military resisters, what better way can we mobilize people in the fight for amnesty? By doing this, we will make the amnesty movement stronger because it will involve many people in the struggle that have not been involved before.

In building the anti-imperialist vets movement, it will necessitate that we, as an organization, will spend more time working around the struggles of veterans and organizing veterans into the anti-imperialist movement. The question arises, "Well how do we do work around amnesty if we are going to be working around veterans?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In addition to unfolding amnesty around the vets issues, we feel that this can best be done by beginning to work more in coalitions that are concerned with amnesty. We have seen the emergence of some ideas around coalition work that we think are

worthy of attention by the chapters. Of course, VVAW/WSO is part of NCUUA.

This coalition is broad-based and has many different types of politics represented. The one common point of unity is that all groups put forward a line on universal and unconditional amnesty for all war resisters. Another point of unity is that we call for the ending of the war in Indochina. These points are a good basis on which to form coalitions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

While some of the ways to work toward implementation of these points of unity are not exactly what VVAW/WSO puts forward (i. e. working through Congress) we should understand that many organizations do see that this is the way. As part of coalitions, we could put forward our views and in many cases, could begin the process of building a higher level of unity around work on amnesty; one that relies on organizing the masses of people in the U. S., rather than depending on the system.

The success of NCUUA shows that this can be done locally. For instance, in Ohio, VVAW/WSO is beginning to formulate a plan in which various cities in the state would initiate amnesty coalitions and eventually affiliate with NCUUA. The Cincinnati chapter, while putting forward a view that VVAW/WSO should have a vets and GI focus, see the need to build the amnesty movement. They are in the process of formulating a plan to build an amnesty coalition. They will approach various organizations, from church groups to the Revolutionary Student Brigade. (It should be noted here that in past newsletters, we have referred to the coalition work that was successful in building the Steve Grossman tour in Cincinnati. We were given this impression by Steve Grossman, but we now understand that this coalition does not exist. The success of the exile tour in Cincinnati was due to the efforts of VVAW/WSO and the RSB who worked together to build the meetings).

We think that this model is correct. First, it would give us the opportunity to work with many liberal and church organizations and put forward our anti-imperialist view of the amnesty questions. We learned that this could be done at the Louisville conference. Second, it would allow the organization to build the vets movement in a more serious, programmatic way and still allow for us to build the amnesty movement, without taxing our resources. Third, by involving a broader-based coalition of groups it would make amnesty work more cohesive and programmatic. Important in all this is that we involve anti-imperialist organizations in the coalition effort, rather than go it alone to develop the political line of the coalition.

There are, of course, problems in working in these coalitions. We can see by some chapter experiences that the struggle over political line is prime. In Santa Barbara, California, the chapter was having difficulty in continuing to work in the coalition they were in because they felt that the coalition was too liberal and not putting forward anti-imperialist politics. In Rochester, on the other hand, many of the church organizations dropped out of the coalition because the politics were anti-imperialist. We also can see from our experience in Louisville that there is a question of how these coalitions and groups are approached. As we stated in Newsletter #31, in many cases we came on too forcefully in putting forward our politics. While we agree that it was a strong sense of understanding the issue that caused us to do this, we must learn how to put forward and struggle around giving the amnesty movement a more left stance. We can also see that if we had a closer working relationship with many organizations doing amnesty work, we could have built the Grossman tour more successfully since it was organized on such short notice. We hope that we can discuss in the amnesty workshop this question in more detail and come up with a good formulation for developing our coalition work around amnesty.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1A. The past year has seen a significant strengthening of VVAW/WSO's GI work at many levels of the organization. Externally, we hosted the National GI Conference in Chicago, October 11-14--the first national meeting of this type in over 2 years. The conference was attended by most of the groups doing active GI organizing in the continental US. While we do not feel that much overall unity was achieved as a result of this conference, we do feel that it was an important step forward in that it clarified some of the important questions now facing the GI movement. Unfortunately the notes of the conference will not be available to the entire organization. They are printed in the "VVAW/WSO News & Discussion Bulletin," Issue #24 and were only sent to active VVAW/WSO organizing projects. A basic summary of the National GI Conference is contained in newsletter #30 and in the notes to the Thanksgiving GI organizers workshop. (The workshop notes reflect much of the same political debate that went on at the National GI Conference).

1B. Internally, VVAW/WSO's GI work made some very real gains. Many existing chapters and regions strengthened and expanded their work or began developing programs and new GI's. The VVAW/WSO chapters in Yokosuka, Japan, Iwakuni, Japan, and Okinawa are continuing to do very important work. They have been involved in organizing around the struggles of the Iwakuni 5, the homecoming of the USS Midway and the recent strike at Camp Hague in Okinawa. In Ohio, the Central Ohio Military and Veterans Counselling Center, a project of the Columbus chapter, is expanding its work at Rickenbacker AFB and has recently moved into work with Navy and Marine Reserve units in the area. The Dayton chapter, home office of VVAW/WSO NOSCAM/NGIP from July, 1972 to November 1974, has now begun an active duty organizing project at Wright Patterson AFB in addition to the GI counselling project it has been operating there for some time now. Dayton VVAW/WSO has also been operating a weekly two-hour radio program, "The Winter Soldier Show," which GI's at Wright Patterson can receive.

Highway 13, one of VVAW/WSO's oldest GI projects, is continuing its work at Ft. Meade, holding a number of GI study groups, doing support work for a strike by base workers there and distributing their paper, Highway 13. Due to a recent court victory, Highway 13 is now being distributed on base. Oakland VVAW/WSO has begun doing GI work in the Bay area, most recently being involved with a struggle by seamen and their wives around unsafe working conditions on the USS Coral Sea. The Long Beach chapter has begun doing outreach to GI's in the area and has gotten some GI's stationed there to come to VVAW/WSO chapter meetings. Onconta VVAW/WSO is working with National Guardsmen in a unit in Onconta. The GI Assistance Project has become a project of the VVAW/WSO chapter in St. Louis and is exploring prospects for GI work in the area. In Homestead, Florida has a chapter composed of a number of GI's from Homestead AFB. We have not received a project report from there.

On the other side of the coin, work at the Red Door VVAW/WSO in Colorado Springs (near Ft. Carson) and the work Denver VVAW/WSO was doing at Lowery AFB has suffered greatly in the past year. Work at the Red Door is now at a minimal level while work had come to a complete stop at Lowery until very recently. The region is, however, planning to restart their work in the near future. Because of the many bases in the area, the Colorado region is now in the process of re-evaluating its GI work to determine which bases are the most important for them to be working & organizing at.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1C. Perhaps one of the most encouraging aspects of our GI work has been the affiliation of a number of solid GI's.

tion of a number of solid GI projects with the organization () past year. The GI Alliance in Tacoma, WA, one of the oldest existing GI projects, became a member of VVAW/WSO in August 1977. The Liberated Trucks, in Hailua, Hawaii, another well established GI project, has also formally affiliated with VVAW/WSO. Members of the Covered Wagon GI project in Mountain Home, Idaho, formed a regional organizing committee of VVAW/WSO shortly after the National GI Conference. In San Diego, a chapter organizing committee has been set up by VVAW/WSO members who have had experience both internally in VVAW/WSO and externally in the GI movement. They are doing GI organizing at the numerous navy installations located around San Diego. These new VVAW/WSO GI projects have made a significant contribution to our GI work. With their varied and broad experience in GI work, VVAW/WSO is going to have a greatly increased ability to sum up and analyze its practice in GI organizing in a much more thorough and consistent way.

2A. It is the position of the NO that VVAW/WSO needs to begin seriously expanding the scope of its GI work. We feel that GI work should become a primary focus within VVAW/WSO and we base that opinion on two factors. One is that agitation and education of enlisted people in the US military is an essential part of the overall anti-imperialist struggle, both in terms of raising the political consciousness of GIs and ultimately in developing the political strength to neutralize or at least disrupt the effectiveness of the military as a tool of US imperialism. The other factor is the base of our organization. As an organization with a base of veterans and GIs, we are ideally suited to play an important part in the GI movement. We see a focus on vets and GIs as being crucial to the future of VVAW/WSO and its role in building the anti-imperialist movement. While we are not saying that every region and every chapter has to immediately begin doing some sort of GI organizing, we do believe that there is the potential for greatly increasing the amount of GI work now being done. If and when a region or chapter is capable of initiating such work, they should by all means begin to do so. When, as in the N. work report, it is impossible or not in the best long run interests of the VVAW/WSO chapter to immediately begin doing GI work, we naturally agree it is best to wait. People shouldn't jump off half-cocked into a GI organizing program. As with all our work, it is essential that what tasks we do take up, we take up well. This is certainly true for our GI organizing. It is not in the overall interests of the organization or the anti-imperialist movement to begin a GI effort, or any other project for that matter, that we are really not prepared to see through.

2B. One of the basic problems with regions or chapters that do have the capability of initiating some form of GI work is their geographic isolation from military installations. One very real alternative solution to chapters in such a position is to work with Reserve or National Guard units in their areas. There are very few cities without some sort of reserve or guard units, and the importance of working with reserve and guard units cannot be overemphasized. Their role in attacking the struggles of the working class, as we saw in the strike of the truckers and as was raised as a very real possibility during the recent coal miners strike, is definitely going to increase as the economic crisis deepens. Reserves and guardsmen have been used as scabs, strike breakers, riot cops and are a potential force for initiating martial law in our communities. Any and all work we can do with them in building a struggle against the domestic use of the military against the working class must be taken up.

Before initiating a reserve or national guard project, chapters should investigate the reserve and guard units in their area to determine which are most strategically important. Some units are actively involved in riot control training or similar activity

CONFIDENTIAL

and are most likely to be used to suppress people in the community or on the job. Other units have supply or administrative roles and would not be as important to organize. Work with reserves and guardsmen in the past has shown that there are often some units with a larger proportion of working class or Third World people and this should also be investigated.

THE NCIP: A BASIC HISTORY

GARY STAIGER

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

3A. VVAW/WSO's GI work began in Dayton, Ohio, in July of 1972, under the guidance of Gary Staiger. Later to be called NOSCAM; the project's goals were to bring GIs into the organization and also to encourage the organization as a whole to take up GI work more seriously. There were only a couple of VVAW/WSO GI projects at the time, but in the course of the mass work and political development in the organization, VVAW/WSO's GI work began to grow.

After the breakup of the Chicago Area Military Project (CAMP) in September of 1973, two members of that group came to the National Office of VVAW/WSO to offer their energy and experience in helping us develop our GI work. It was soon decided that it would be desirable to set up another GI office in Chicago to continue and broaden the work that was being done out of Dayton. It was also felt that the time had come for GI work to become an integral part of the organization's work nationally. Later in 1973, GI NEWS was born, correspondence and contact in the GI movement expanded, and the case of Melvin X. Smith became a priority.

USA

In 1974, our GI work continued to grow, both in Dayton and Chicago, and by November, the Dayton and Chicago offices were consolidated into one office in Chicago. The decision to consolidate was based on two considerations. The first was the opinion of the last NSCM that GI work should be an integral part of the work of the organization and that the National Collective should be directly responsible for political leadership between NSCMs. The second was the simple logistical problem of having two GI offices. Both political and bureaucratic problems arose as a result.

As part of the organization's growing commitment to GI work, the NSC, at a meeting in December, 1973, decided to sponsor a national conference of GIs and GI organizers. In the following year, the NCIP played a major role in preparing to host the conference.

INTERNAL OPERATION: Most of our internal operations consist of letter writing. We try to write projects (VVAW/WSO and non-VVAW/WSO) as often as possible, although our practice in this area can stand to improve. We have failed to correspond regularly with the projects, and we have also failed in the really important task of initiating and carrying on political dialogue and debate around GI work, particularly in the organization. We are going to be concentrating on remedying this in the future.

We write to GIs and we've been a lot more consistent about this work than any of our other letter writing. We have been averaging 10-20 GI letters a week, and now that GI NEWS is being more widely distributed, this number is increasing.

The third type of communications we have is with other movement groups and with

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Individuals who are interested in the GI movement. These letters usually involve information requests, resource or research requests, and follow-up information on stories from GI NEWS. In addition to answering questions and requests, we try to turn people on to local chapters of the organization where appropriate.

We are also now handling GI memberships, but we have not yet worked out what our system will be for GI memberships. We feel that is a good idea to send out information packets as the Dayton office had been doing, and we are currently trying to decide what literature should go in these packets. In the meantime, we are sending out Winter Soldier GI NEWS, and other literature that we have in stock.

Literature: Our main use of literature will be in the GI packets when we get them together. One thing we need right now is suggestions from people about stuff that would be good for GIs. We will be ordering the latest edition of TURNING THE REGS AROUND, when we get the money together, and other old standbys like SOLDIERS AND STRIKERS. There is some stuff that we will have to consider producing ourselves, particularly a pamphlet on racism in the military (we will probably use the pamphlet produced by the Yokosuka chapter in preparing this). People should also give us ideas for what kind of literature they would like to see us produce.

Finances: Since the National GI Project operates from the National Office we are dependent on the same income as the rest of the NO uses for its operations. The financial demand is increasing steadily and the resources are drying up. So it is becoming essential that we have financial support.

National Coordination: NGIP is the national coordinating center for VVAW/WSO work, and we are attempting to deal seriously with our responsibilities in this area. An important task is the VVAW/WSO GI organizing workshop weekends which we hope to hold twice a year in the future. We hope these workshops will struggle around developing the strategy and tactics necessary to move our GI work forward. As well as developing a program for our GI work, we hope that these workshops will serve their function of doing the necessary preliminary discussion and proposal writing for the NSCMs. There are other tasks that we could take on in terms of our coordinating work and we hope that various ideas can be discussed at the workshop. We have been considering an internal bulletin containing project reports and other discussions that people feel are important to the work of the organization.

3C. - GI NEWS--When GI NEWS was first published in November of 1973, it was in an offset, stapled format which made it impractical for mass distribution. Its content was also similar to the old CAMP NEWS which was not designed to be a mass paper. As the interest and dedication to GI work increased during the winter of 1973-74, we began planning for GI NEWS to become a mass paper, similar to WINTER SOLDIER, but aimed more particularly at GIs: we definitely see it as an organizers tool, not as an alternative anti-imperialist newspaper.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In GI NEWS we try to cover as much of the GI struggles and other important news as possible each month. We like to carry a broad range of material including articles on racism, oppression or women, working and living conditions, and what the military is up to around the world and in the US. Every month we plan to have each of the following included: general article about the work of VVAW/WSO (vets day demos, amnesty,

CONFIDENTIAL

(c), a section on fighting the [redacted] (if there is a space conflict between the poster and written content, the story will usually take precedence). Our overall aim in choosing content is 1) try to cover a wide range of struggles in the military, 2) to present the articles in an analytic manner rather than as straight news stories, 3) to make the paper attractive so that it can be used easily for mass outreach, and 4) include original graphics.

We want the paper to be suitable for both mass outreach and internal education, with the emphasis on outreach. The paper attempts to focus on how GIs are fighting back against the oppression of the military, rather than only on how GIs are being oppressed. We link up the local and specific struggles of GIs with the overall struggle against imperialism in concrete ways. People come to an anti-imperialist consciousness, not out of the sky, but as a result of their day-to-day experience. It is our task to push forward the struggle and provide an analysis (education and agitation), which the paper attempts to do.

We are still developing an approach to how GI NEWS can best serve our work. People can help us to improve the paper by giving us: 1) comments and criticisms of news stories, and 3) graphics (take your camera everywhere). It is essential that we have continuing feedback about the paper, not only from organizers, but also from GIs who receive it, and from people who are new to the work of the organization. Without such regular input we are not going to be able to develop GI NEWS into the type of paper we really want it to be: one that will meet the needs of our GI projects and that will help to move our work forward.

Toward the end of expanding our GI work and making it a central focus of organizational activity, we feel that the existence of the National GI Project as a "project" is no longer correct. We propose that it be ended as an official VVAW/WSO project. We do not see our GI work as a "project" of the organization but rather as part of our central organizational task. Dropping the NGIP would mean a formal recognition or acceptance of our responsibilities in the area of GI organizing; something that as much of the organization as possible would be taking up and not just as one of a number of various "projects" we may or may not be working on.

4A. If VVAW/WSO is to seriously take up and expand its work in GI organizing, we need a basic program to guide this work. At the Thanksgiving GI organizer's workshop 3 days were spent summarizing our collective experience in GI organizing, struggling around our politics and in developing a draft program to guide VVAW/WSO's GI work. The National Collective fully supports the draft program the majority of the GI workshop drew up and endorsed. We feel it is important for the organization to adopt this program as the broad outline for our GI work in the coming period. It is important that we not view the draft program being proposed as just so many demands we raise and then hold demonstrations on such and such a date. Rather the program develops WHY we are or should be doing GI organizing, HOW we should be organizing GIs, and then what our basic areas of work should be. If we view it as only a set of demands and a date for a demonstration we will have totally liquidated the real purpose of the program.

CONFIDENTIAL

****BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST GI MOVEMENT
UNITE TO FIGHT ALL OPPRESSION****

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. Prison support work--National Prison Project: A full description and analysis of the prison work now going on, its history, and where we see it going is contained in the section on Prison Work in the NO Clarification Paper.

2. Political Defense Work: The "Political Defense Manual," which was to have been done for this meeting, is not completed; there are two reasons for this: first, we bit off more than we could chew in terms of the work of typing and reproducing the 20-150 pages of that manual which are already done (needing, for the most part, only minor corrections or additions). Second, some of the important sections of the manual are not yet done and in to the NO. The meeting of the Political Defense Workshop at the beginning of November was profitable in that we completed work on most of the sections which had already been written, and in coming up with guidelines for writing the work reports on particular trials or defense efforts which make up a vital part of the manual.

At the same time, around the country, we are seeing the growing need for an understanding of the politics and the practice of defense work. VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist movement is clearly under attack by the police--from Bob Hood, to Shea Stadium, to Cincinnati, to Denver, to multiple attacks in Milwaukee the pattern is the same. The police attempt to intimidate members of the organization through attacking them, and, at the same time, try to divert the work of VVAW/WSO through the time and energy wasted in trials, courtroom appearances, legal hassles, etc. This has been done consistently through filing "assault and battery on a police officer" charges after people have been attacked by the police.

There have been some important tactical lessons learned from these attacks: demonstrations or rallies must stay together rather than allow themselves to be split up into groups which the police can easily attack. In Shea Stadium, it was a small group separated from the larger group of chapter members who were brutally attacked by the police. In Cincinnati, it was a small picket line several days after a large militant demonstration. Another point is the need for tactical leadership, even for a small demonstration; tactical leadership must be strong, experienced, and capable--people have to know who to follow in a confrontation situation. Prior planning, with anticipation and planning for police attacks is essential; both attacks in Milwaukee came after the action was almost over and people let their guard down. The people can hold off police attacks and fight back effectively: the police and the system which uses them are attacking the organization and the movement in general because they are afraid--and they have every reason to be scared. A militant, unified, large demonstration is not something that the police want to deal with.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Once the attack has taken place, however, and once charges are filed, a political defense is the only defense. The hassles and the trials can be turned from a bad thing into a good thing by organizing around them: the power of the masses of people can free political prisoners, and it is on the people, not the courts, that we have to rely. The fact that people in cars were trying to get out of these cars and help the Milwaukee people during the police attack on the courthouse steps, and were yelling about police brutality (note: the most recent police attack in Milwaukee took place at the end of a rally against police brutality; 25-30 demonstrators were attacked from two sides by police on the steps of the courthouse, in full view of a main Milwaukee street.) shows

CONFIDENTIAL

graphically what can be done through raising public awareness of whose interests police serve. Police brutality and repression are everyday occurrences in many sections of the country, particularly in minority communities; we have natural allies in building the fight against such repression and must continue to build and work with these allies.

In a number of places around the country, VVAW/WSO chapters are working in defense committees -- from the Riverside Political Prisoners Committee, to Attica, to Ray Mendoza (Milwaukee), to Antwyne Cauley (Chicago), John Yancey (Portsmouth), Tyron Guyton (Oakland), and James Hardy (Cincinnati). Most chapters have found that they are working in coalitions on these committees and that, though VVAW/WSO chapters have not organized the committees in most places, we have played important roles in them. We feel that this work is essential and must be continued. Not only does it involve us immediately in the struggle against racism and repression, but it also carries forward our work to fight all phases of imperialism -- it does make the fighter for one into the fighter for all. Work in these defense committees often gives us a strong involvement in our communities and an improved working relationship with other groups and organizations. If work on defense committees does not specifically build VVAW/WSO, it does build the overall movement against imperialism by showing that the people do have the power to unite against racism and repression, and win.

* * * * *
Section G

WINTER SOLDIER

The newspaper, at this time, does not pay for itself. Almost the entire cost of the paper is paid from direct mail fundraising done for the national office. Income from chapters and regions does not meet the cost of the ink charge every month. As said in the Financial section, we will find it difficult to continue the paper if it does not begin to meet its own costs. We have been asking for 5¢ per copy ordered from us which is the basic cost of each copy. So far, no chapter or region pays this. Some method of money support must be developed by the organization or there may no longer be a national newspaper that can be sent out bulk to anybody who wants some. The NO is going to have to economize its costs of the paper. The first step would be the elimination of color in the paper, currently costing about \$110 per month. Second would be a reduction in the number of copies printed each month. Right now, we print 25,000 copies. This takes care of all the bulk shipments and the subscriptions and exchanges that are sent out from the NO. We have already drastically cut the number we send out from Chicago, almost halving the number of organizations that receive it from here.

One of the options that we have is to not send papers out until at least a partial payment is received from the previous month's shipment. This would mean that unless a region or chapter sent in some money, it would not get the next month's shipment. We think that this is a bad situation. The newspaper is for the national organization to use as a tool in its political work. It is the major link between all the chapters that provides cohesion in the organizational propaganda. The paper has played a leading role in pushing the work of the organization forward over the past year and a half. We do not think it should be lost because liberal support money is slowly drying

CONFIDENTIAL
61

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Politics of the paper: The NO has always put forward that WINTER SOLDIER is not an alternative, anti-imperialist paper, but an organizational paper used for agitation and propaganda from an organizational perspective. We have also felt that it must play a leading role in pushing forward the work and politics of the organization and not passively try to reflect anti-imperialism. Therefore, it was inevitable that the paper would become part of the current struggle in the organization over the political future of VVAW/WSO. At times the paper has tried to straddle the fence and those issues have not been as well received as those issues that take up the struggle and implement a program.

The best example of this is the way the struggles of GIs is put forward in the paper. Here, struggles or incidents are covered that are not always national in scope. Many different aspects of GI struggles are on one or two pages, while most other articles have been one full page on one general subject. We think the rest of the paper should follow the form and content of the GI page, not dogmatically, but in a way that covers the scope of the struggles going on.

In this same vein, we think the paper must cover more VVAW/WSO activities. There has been a real problem in this area. One side of this is the NO's failure to actively seek input from chapters on their ongoing work for the paper instead of just demonstration reports and pictures of actions. On the other side, we need more thorough reports from chapters on campaigns being waged, especially those around the national program. We also need photos, as using pictures from past events with articles on current happenings is not good. These articles would be along the lines of the one that was on the DUP in Oakland and the ones on the Milwaukee actions.

Finally, we think that the methods and the content of criticism of the paper must be improved. Primarily, we think the paper should be analyzed on a political basis, whether it is pushing the work of the organization forward or if it is holding that work back, if it is helping mass work or not. We have received criticisms of the paper in the past, but most of these have lacked substance in terms of how the paper was received when selling it and comments by people who have received it on its content. Most criticisms have been just a statement that the paper is good or bad, but not the reasons why. We know there are disagreements on layout--borders, cartoons, color, etc.--but we feel these are not the crucial criticisms we must have to put out a solid organizational paper. If we do not have this kind of criticism, then the paper will not be as effective as it can be, and the same mistakes will be made again and again.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The world is in great turmoil. Country after country, people are throwing off the yoke of imperialist domination and seizing control of their own destinies. The United States is being hurled into a deep crisis, the ruling class fights a losing battle to maintain control of the system as the system itself collapses under the weight of its own contradictions. As the crisis deepens, the imperialists are trying every method at their disposal to force it onto the backs of the working class, attacking living and working conditions, forcing speedups, throwing workers into unemployment, cutting back on social welfare programs, stirring up racial divisions and using open repression against the rising people's movement. Because of this crisis, the working class is on the rise, leading the fight against the attacks on them by the imperialists, and leading the way toward the overthrow of this bankrupt system.

CONFIDENTIAL

Strategic Need to Build the Anti-Imperialist Veterans Movement

Veterans are also facing attacks from the ruling class. Because the majority of veterans are working-class people, they are facing the common contradictions that face the entire multi-national working class. At the same time, veterans are facing peculiar contradictions within the system of imperialism. The unemployment rate of veterans is higher than for the class as a whole. The services at the VA hospitals are deteriorating and cutbacks are being made in already understaffed situations. Bad discharges, job discrimination, lack of job training and layoffs have placed veterans squarely in the fight to smash imperialism.

It is the task of VVAW/WSO to build the mass anti-imperialist veterans movement, to lead up and lead the rising struggle of veterans around their immediate contradictions and show the way forward to smashing the system of imperialism in unity with the entire anti-imperialist movement. It is our task to not only raise the consciousness of veterans but to lead them in their fight, to point out the real enemy, to organize them in a revolutionary way and unite their struggle with the overall struggle against the system.

We think the struggles of veterans is potentially revolutionary. The ruling class has always, and many times successfully, tried to co-opt veterans, using various tricks and appeals to backward ideas to do this. It is the task of VVAW/WSO to convert the 'potential' to the real and not leave veterans to the wiles of the reactionaries. The imperialists have always been afraid of the men and women they have used to fight their wars, and rightfully so. We want to turn their fear into real terror by building a strong anti-imperialist veterans movement. Just appealing to veterans to 'repudiate their veterans' privileges' will not do this, nor do we want to see decent health care, decent education, decent jobs, and a decent life just as a special gift for veterans, but as a right of all working and oppressed people.

VVAW/WSO needs a fighting national program to meet this task. The program must identify the central or key demands of veterans, the central areas of attack, and provide the basis for consistent work so that the organization will lead the fight. Our program must direct the greatest blow possible and therefore must concentrate on how to mobilize veterans, not in a way that acts as a gimmick to sucker them into attacking the system, but in a way that clearly shows that only by smashing imperialism will their, and all working and oppressed peoples', needs be met. This means that our program has as its basis the taking up of the immediate oppression of veterans in concrete ways. The program is what we are offering the masses as a tool for defeating the system; meeting their demands; a plan of action for people to unite with and take up. The program cannot be just a series of demands by **CONFIDENTIAL** any demand can be reformist or revolutionary; and the program cannot be a series of dates isolated from day-to-day work.

National Demands

At the Buffalo NSCM, VVAW/WSO adopted the current program. At the time, all that it encompassed was four demands and several dates for nationwide actions. We think this program has to be tightened up and fleshed out so that it will be more effective. Actions must still be held on the remaining dates, the next one being the second anniversary of the signing of the Paris Agreements, January 27th. Every level of the organization should be mobilizing on those days. This program proposal is meant to deepen the work started by the Buffalo program, a means by which more programmatic unity can be developed and VVAW/WSO's blows against the system strengthened.

It is important to analyze the demands that form the core of the current national program. We think the four demands are sound in and of themselves, but that the way in which the demands are raised has become critical to seeing their realization. First, we do not think that every demand must be raised at every action, or that they are raised isolated from other demands. In differing conditions and in differing contexts, it may be necessary that one or more of the demands are not put forward. If unity with other groups can be made around just one demand, that is just as important to put forward as the other demands. Also, the target of an action may mean that one of the demands plays a more important role than the others at that time. Mainly, it is important to not be mechanistic in raising these demands.

We think that the demands are unfolded in a dialectical way, in a way that goes from the particular to the general. Understanding the nature of imperialism does not fall from the sky. It comes from engaging in struggle against the system. This leads to the question of how to build the movements around UNIVERSAL, UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY and IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS/END ALL AID TO THE U.S. AND LON NOL. We think the most successful way to win these demands, to build a real movement behind them, is to build the anti-imperialist veterans movement. This means that the key demand must be found to build that movement, the demand that unites with the immediate concerns of veterans that can be used to unfold the other demands.

We say that the key demand, at this time, is DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETS. We say 'at this time' because the situation is rapidly changing and that this demand may no longer be key if the conditions change drastically, i. e., if the U.S. government should renew bombing in Vietnam. However, this demand is key at this time because it provides the way to develop the vets movement in a dialectical way. Veterans are pissed off at the VA and have a basic understanding that the VA is part of a wider system. By seriously taking up this demand, not as a gimmick but leading the fight to win it, we will show the masses that we mean serious business, that we are not just poverty pimps. It is clear from past practice that most vets do not immediately unite with the other three demands. Practice has shown that the amnesty demand can be brought forward very well from the demand for a single type of discharge. The demand around Indochina can be unfolded from the understanding of the amnesty question.

The main danger in the fight for DECENT BENEFITS is the right error of making it a demand separate from the rest of the working class and oppressed people, to make it purely an economist struggle. This means that it is being put forward in a reformist way not exposing imperialism, not directing the peoples' wrath at the system, and raising it in isolation from the overall struggle against the system. It is the task of the lackeys of the ruling class (VFW, American Legion, etc.) to channel the anger and just demands of

64

vets into isolated pockets, isolating vets from their organizers and leaders and never exposing the system, never fighting it. On the contrary, we must lead the fight to do just the opposite. We must lead the fight to taking up UNIVERSAL, UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY, SINGLE TYPE DISCHARGE, and IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS/END ALL AID to joining the fight to smash imperialism.

Also, the demand around Indochina has certain weaknesses. The primary weakness is the failure to link the war in Indochina with the worldwide crisis of imperialism and the rising danger of inter-imperialist war. Particularly, we see the rising area of contention is the Middle East and that the situation there clearly has the potential for developing into world war for the control of Europe. The failure to point out that the crisis of imperialism can lead to a war for redivision of the imperialist areas of domination and tying that to the continued conflict in Indochina isolates what is happening in Indochina from the nature of the crisis. VVAW/WSO must take up this aspect more concretely. By doing so we will be more effective in bringing the demand around Indochina to the people.

It is also imperative that VVAW/WSO take up a new demand around the economic crisis in the United States. We believe a demand around jobs must be added to the national program. As much as the ruling class likes, it cannot undo the contradictions of the system. Overproduction and inflation have forced the imperialists to take measures to safeguard their rates of profit. Fundamental to their attack on the working class is massive unemployment. Among the unemployed, veterans are some of the first laid off, particularly because they have no job seniority. Already the ruling class is scurrying around trying to defuse the question of jobs with "public" employment programs. The organization must join with other forces that are organizing for jobs and bring unemployed vets into the struggle. Changing conditions and determining which is the key demand could very well make this demand the key one in the near future.

While the national organization will be putting forward five demands (under this program conditions at the local level will necessitate the raising of other demands. Particular conditions in each area dictate how national demands are organized around and at the same time, particular conditions means raising demands that the rest of the organization may not raise. For example, some chapters have raised a demand around bi-lingual forms at the VA because in their areas there are large numbers of Latino vets in need of these kinds of forms. Also, supporting the demands of other organizations or struggles is a key element in not isolating the anti-imperialist vets movement from the overall struggle. An example of this is working on the Tyrone Guyton Committee in the Bay Area, where VVAW/WSO plays an important role in developing the campaign against police murders and brutality. Another is the support organized for the Puerto Rican Independence Day celebration in New York.

The question of national oppression and VVAW/WSO's approach to it is a key link in building an anti-imperialist veterans movement. There is a sound material basis for uniting Third World and white vets in VVAW/WSO. The road to this unity is for the organization to take up the fight against national oppression and show the masses that we mean it when we demand an end to racism and oppression. At the same time, by winning over Third World vets to the common struggle, that is, fighting for the same demands that all people are fighting around, is the solid foundation of multi-national unity. Some chapters have had the beginning of multi-national unity around attacking the VA, a step which we feel is the best possible way for VVAW/WSO to become truly multi-national.

The practice VVAW/WSO has had around the oppression of women has been somewhat more consistent than that around national oppression, but we have still not programmatically taken up this aspect of combatting imperialism. Within the struggle of building the

anti-imperialist veterans movement we must investigate the conditions that women vets face as well as the problems that face families of veterans. This question is more clear in terms of GI work, but there are women vets and families of vets that can be organized around the national program. Not seeing the veterans movement as separate from the rest of the anti-imperialist movement, the organization should link up with progressive women's struggles going on and actively support them, as in the case of the Farah strike

Campaign Around the Conditions of Veterans

The most important part of our program must be to actively see where vets are and to go out to them, not wait for them to come to us. We think the key to this is an active campaign attacking the entire VA system-- the hospitals, administrative offices, drug programs, job training programs, GI Bill, vet reps on campuses, community vet programs, federally funded rip-offs, and poverty pimps. To make it more clear, the following is a listing of what we see as targets in this campaign:

1. VA Hospitals.
2. VA Administrative offices.
3. Unemployment Centers.
4. Vocational Training Centers.
5. Colleges.
6. Discharges.
7. Community programs (drugs, home loans, job fairs).
8. National Guard and Reserves.

A campaign around the entire VA system is many-sided and can attack from all or any of those sides. The list of targets covers every condition or local situation so that all chapters can be engaged in this campaign. Where there are several such targets, and where conditions in the chapter permit, the campaign can be developed around as many of the targets as possible.

One of the prime targets is the VA hospital system. This system, the largest of all hospital systems, concentrates all the aspects of the contradictions that vets now face. It is also the place where vets can be most easily found and approached on a consistent basis. The majority of vets already realize that the VA stinks. The hassles, poor treatment, discrimination, red tape and so forth are well known by the masses of veterans. VVAW/WSO must go into the VA and actively organize in the hospital, working with the patients, uniting with the VA workers, and doing work with the outpatients around the conditions of the VA and bring these people into the anti-imperialist struggle. We cannot lay out here the details of how this can be done, but there are many chapters completing a campaign against the VA, and their summations provide an excellent basis for waging this campaign. Along with the VA hospitals are the VA Administrative Offices (Regional VAs) that sometimes exist in a hospital and sometimes not. These offices are filled with career bureaucrats and an even larger number of honest people who think they are helping vets. It is vital to reach these honest workers and get them to support our campaign. Also, there is a large daily influx of vets to these offices trying to clear up their benefits from red tape or some other conditions (like a bad discharge). Although these vets are not there every day, they can be mobilized.

The rising problem of unemployment is also part of the campaign. If size of membership permits, work should begin around unemployment centers. There are many vets there with bad discharges also, and can be moved around the SINGLE TYPE DISCHARGE. There are lots of vets who have been laid off due to lack of seniority. Along with unemployment centers go the vocational training centers where vets are given six months (or less) job training, only to have no job waiting. There is an increasing number of vets at these places, some of them having special days just for vets to come on. If work is done around these centers, it must be consistent or nothing will come of it. There are

So other groups doing movement work and they should be investigated to see what kind of unity could be achieved with ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ joint work.


Some chapters exist around campus situations. Although investigation must be done as to what is foremost on these campuses, much work can be done around the GI Bill. Also, many campuses have a VA representative on campus, and these reps can be attacked or used as a focus for the campaign against the VA, particularly if there is no other VA facility in town. This also raises the question of where vets go for help when there is no VA facility in a town. We have had no input in this area and think it should be looked into to see if vets are having difficulty because of this situation.

Work on bad discharges has been going on for some time, but there has been little growth in a movement for single type discharge. We think this is because there has been no program to plug vets with LTDs into after getting hold of them. Linking them with the campaign around the fact that they can't get jobs and that the VA will not help them will move this demand forward. Raising the demand for a SINGLE TYPE DISCHARGE at the VA and demanding that treatment be given regardless of discharge status is important, bringing out the real nature of discharges and winning those people who are eligible for treatment to supporting this demand.

The VA has many fingers out in the community that affect what is happening to vets. Many drug programs get funds from the VA to keep people hooked on methadone. Many vets are angry about their inability to get loan for purchasing homes, as pointed out by the incident that happened in Chicago (in the January WS) at a meeting called by the city for vets. These fingers can be traced out and work done around them. If this work is plugged into a larger campaign, then it is more effective, as the meetings that the city or VA call never provide real answers to the questions the vets raise to them. Providing these angry people with a way to fight back is crucial.

Finally, there is the work around the National Guard and Reserves. This is covered more thoroughly in the program on GIs. Briefly, VVAW/WSO must take up the task of stemming the ability of the ruling class to use the National Guard and Reserves for domestic repression. The Guard will most assuredly be used in the near future to attack the people's movement, and work must be done to neutralize or turn this around. We think this work should be done on the basis of either having already established an attack on the VA or if there are no other aspects of the program that can be implemented in an area. This is because there must be a base from which to approach Guardsmen and Reservists and an anti-imperialist vets movement is such a base.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Methods of Work

It is important to draw the lessons of the past in taking up this program. The major weakness of implementing any program, and the weakness that has characterized the work in the last four months, is the lack of consistency. Just choosing the VA system as the point of attack does not automatically lead to success in organizing. Also, holding any number of demonstrations at one place is not the essential part. It is constantly being out there among the people, learning from them and what they see as the primary contradictions, going to them and bringing our organizational strength to their struggles that is essential. An example of this is in the Wisconsin report. They picked one ward of one VA hospital and started going there on a consistent basis. They talked with patients, organized support among the VA workers, started a study group and organized. This has led to growing support from the patients and the VA workers, with these forces coming to demonstrations the chapter has called, and patients joining the chapter. This wouldn't have happened if the chapter had not gone into the ward consistently.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By picking out the key conditions that people face and conducting thorough investigations of these conditions, we will be better able to lead the fight of vets against the system. One of the problems of the past period has been the hit-or-miss method of trying to educate and mobilize people in the struggle. We call this the "butterfly syndrome," moving from one building or target to the next, thinking that one or two demos has moved the people at these places forward. We do not think that any such thing happens using this method of work. A few people who are already anti-imperialist may come forward, but without consistent work, the masses are ignored.

Besides consistency, it was pointed out earlier that mobilizing vets around the key demand of "Decent Benefits" will lead to a related movement around the other demands on amnesty and Indochina. It has been said by many chapters that people, especially vets, do not relate to the amnesty demand or the Indochina demand when first approached. This is understandable, since anti-imperialist consciousness does not come out of the sky. People must be won to it. By uniting with and leading the struggle around demands that veterans immediately grasp are in their interests provides the material basis for explaining the other demands and winning their support of them, not the other way around. This will not happen if the fight around the immediate needs is conducted in an economist or reformist way, never attacking the system or bringing out the system's true nature.

Equally important is trying to link up the independent vets groups that exist by the hundreds across the country. The basis for uniting with them should be around programmatic unity, not ideological unity at first. What we are trying to do is win them to the fight against the system, not leave them to it. This may mean that only one demand can be fought around. If this is the case, that demand must be used as a springboard to the other demands and the struggle against the system as a whole. The key here is to maintain an independent stance politically while uniting programmatically.

Finally, the campaign around the conditions that vets face is not isolated from the overall anti-imperialist movement. As pointed out earlier, it is imperative that our program be linked with the work of other progressive forces so that veterans are brought into the anti-imperialist struggle and not isolated from it. This program is aimed at mobilizing veterans, but it is also the framework around which the system can be unfolded.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

[REDACTED] January 21, 1975

E. REPORT ON GARY LAWTON TRIAL

b2
b7D

The third trial of GARY LAWTON is set to begin on January 6, 1975 in Riverside. The representative of the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee stated that the support of GARY LAWTON has been a National Project of VVAW/WSO for 3 years, and that the Inland Empire Chapter of VVAW/WSO first began working around this case in August, 1971. Prior to this meeting, the RPPDC discussed what should be presented at this NSCM, and people should be aware that all members of the RPPDC steering committee are members of VVAW/WSO, though the defense committee itself is a separate organization.

Positive criticisms of the organization for the work VVAW/WSO has been doing around the LAWTON trial include the fact that VVAW/WSO is the only organization (outside of RPPDC) that has consistently been putting the case of GARY LAWTON forward to the people of this country. There have been monthly articles in "Winter Soldier", and the national organization has produced and disseminated a good deal of propaganda around this case and been important in keeping the happenings in Riverside visible and helping to push other organizations and people into taking up this struggle. VVAW/WSO should be proud of the work that has been done, particularly the speaking tours that regions put together for GARY, and the hundreds of letters and telegrams that have been sent to Riverside as a result of the RPPDC's calling for telegram/letter-writing campaigns.

On the negative side, the RPPDC feels that the recent practice of the organization has been an attitude of "tolling the bell," and that real work around this National Project has fallen slack. VVAW/WSO members haven't really been getting out among the masses and building a real movement to free LAWTON -- which is the only way that GARY's freedom will be won. It is the people of this country that will free GARY, and it is the responsibility of this organization to be out among the people, building support for LAWTON and a movement which will insure GARY's freedom.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~


SL 100-21603

At every NSCM, there is a lot of talk about rectifying our bad practice around this case, but to date, that practice has not been corrected and little or no day-to-day consistent work has been done by chapters around this National Project. Because of this, the RPPDC proposed a minimum program of work to the Steering Committee for adoption at this meeting which mandates specific kinds of work that all chapters are to be doing within the coming months. (This program was discussed in the Political Defense Committee/National Alliance Workshop and is laid out in that workshop report). *Q u*

With regard to work that has been done, it was noted that the regions which have done the most consistent work around GARY LAWTON are in the mid-west, particularly the Ohio region. However, it is crucial that all regions begin doing more mass work around this case on a consistent basis and this means that we must all get out among the people regularly and bring the situation in Riverside, California before the eyes of the people of this country. *Q u*

Though the practice of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression was discussed in the National Alliance Workshop, it was stated by the representative of the RPPDC that the Alliance has consistently under-cut the work of the RPPDC and the efforts to free LAWTON. The RPPDC felt that their response (Let's Set the Record Straight) to the Alliance's "Open Letter to VVAW/WSO," did not sufficiently point out the differences between the leadership of the Alliance and the Communist Party, USA from the local, rank-and-file members and committees which belong to the Alliance. A further discussion of this is contained in the workshop report. *Q u*

Summing up the report from the RPPDC we see that VVAW/WSO has done good work in the past around this National Project, but much more work is necessary if GARY is to be really freed. This means that we have to get out among the masses and build a real movement around LAWTON. It is our responsibility to insure that there is no fourth trial, and to insure that this third trial ends with a victory! *Q u*

 January 7, 1975
January 27, 1975

Q u
b2
b7D

~~X~~ 71


F. OLD BUSINESS

The following proposals were voted on by the delegates: *ch*

- 1) Number of NSCMs per year *ch*

Proposal: that VVAW/WSO hold NSCMs twice a year instead of three times a year and that appropriate administrative procedure dealing with election of national coordinators be developed. This proposal received a 2/3 vote of 62.5 - yes; 4.5 - no. This policy of having meetings twice a year is now in effect. *ch*

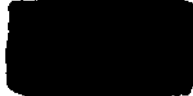
Also during Old Business a question was raised as to finances and SAM SHORE of the NO advised that for security reasons discussion could not be held on fund raising and some of the other aspects of finances. *ch*

 January 7, 1975
January 27, 1975 *ch*
January 29, 1975

b2
b7D

- 2) Proposed Objective on the Oppression of Women *ch*

Proposal: to struggle against sexism which is historically used as a tool of U. S. imperialism to prevent and destroy unity among the people and justify the oppression and exploitation of women. We must fight this dehumanizing tactic and strive to build unity between all people.
Vote: the vote on this proposed objective was 26.375 - yes; 14 - no; 26.625 - abstentions. Because this proposed objective did not obtain a 2/3 vote, the old objective of sexism remains in effect. *ch*

 January 7, 1975
January 27, 1975 *ch*

- 3) Objective concerning Homosexual People *ch*

Proposal: That VVAW/WSO must have an objective on the oppression of homosexual people. Vote on this proposal passed with a 2/3 majority vote of 37.347 - yes; 16.785 - no; 12.958 - abstentions. *ch*

SL 100-21603

Many of the people became very angry about this proposal. *qh*

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975
[REDACTED] January 27, 1975 *qh*

4) Election of National Coordinators *qh*

qh Proposal: BARRY ROMO of Southern California declined his nomination for NO at the meeting as did [REDACTED] of the East Bay chapter in California. This left three vacant national coordinator positions. ED DAMOTO (NO), BILL DAVIS (Columbus, Ohio), and MARLA WATSON (NO). The nominees were questioned by the delegates and each of the nominees was voted on separately. All three of them were elected to one year terms as National Coordinators. Two of the people re-elected, ED DAMOTO and MARLA WATSON, will be doing their alternative service (working in the chapter level for two weeks during a month) in the near future. NO hopes that DAMOTO will go to Detroit, Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. WATSON will probably go to Houston, Texas. Due to the passage of the proposal making NSCMs twice a year, three people will be elected to the NO at each meeting. *qh*

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975
[REDACTED] January 27, 1975
[REDACTED] January 29, 1975 *qh*

G. DISCUSSION AND VOTE ON THE BASE AND FOCUS OF VVAW/WSO *qh*

Following the completion of Old Business, time was set aside to discuss the practices of the regions concerning either a veterans and GI focus or an anti-imperialist focus. This was done in a round robin manner with each region laying out their practices around their focus followed by questions and answers from the body. When this discussion was completed, representatives from both the majority and minority positions were given 30 minutes to lay out their reasons as to why one or the other focus was correct for VVAW/WSO. *qh*

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

Proposal: that VVAW/WSO is a mass anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus. The vote was 45.455 - yes; 19.645 - no. Though this decision required a simple majority vote for passage, it received a 2/3 vote. (u)

The NO also presented a proposal to eliminate the stated objectives of VVAW/WSO and to substitute "principals of unity" with a "definition of imperialism and guidelines to follow for building and future revolution". All regions were requested to discuss this proposal during future regional meetings. (u)

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975
[REDACTED] January 27, 1975
[REDACTED] January 29, 1975 (u)

1
b2
b7D
b7C
1

H. VVAW/WSO AFFILIATION WITH THE RU (u)

The NO proposed that VVAW/WSO become affiliated with the RU. Discussions were heard on this proposal and a heated argument took place pro and con. RU backers were well prepared and any persons arguing against RU were called "red baiters". Several persons made speeches advocating affiliation with RU including [REDACTED] of Milwaukee, who stated that there would be a revolution in the U. S. regardless of how many years it takes. (u)

A vote was taken on the RU affiliation and the RU members and sympathizers in the VVAW/WSO were able to carry the vote. It is now believed that the VVAW/WSO will be nothing more than a front group for the RU and will be completely dominated by them. The following is a breakdown of the voting on the RU question. The "yes" vote is for affiliation with RU. (u)

<u>REGION</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>ABSTENTIONS</u>
Alaska/Washington	4		1
California/Nevada/Arizona	1.565	3.035	.4
Colorado/Utah/New Mexico/Wyoming	2.64	2.63	

(u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 74

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

<u>REGION</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>ABSTENTIONS</u>
Maryland/Washington, D.C./ Virginia	5		
Florida/Georgia	5		
Northern Illinois/Iowa	5		
Southern Illinois/ Eastern Missouri/ Oklahoma/ Arkansas	.25	4.75	
"New England"	5		
New York/ New Jersey/ Rhode Island/ Connecticut	2.5	1.5	1
Ohio/Indiana/ Kentucky/ Michigan/ West Pennsylvania/ West Virginia	3.125	.625	1.25
Oregon	5		
East Pennsylvania/ Delaware/ Southern New Jersey	5		
Texas	5		
Wisconsin/ Minnesota	5		
Idaho/ Montana	5		
"Great Plains"		2	
	<u>45.455</u>	<u>19.645</u>	<u>3.9</u>

Among those present, the following were believed to be members of the RU: ~~(u)~~

~~_____~~ - New York City
~~_____~~ - Washington
~~_____~~ - California

~~(u)~~

b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

- [REDACTED] - Chicago
- [REDACTED] Chicago
- [REDACTED] Chicago
- [REDACTED] NO
- [REDACTED] NO
- [REDACTED] - NO
- [REDACTED] NO
- [REDACTED] - NO
- [REDACTED] (LNU) - NO
- [REDACTED] NO

Ill.
suspected Members of the
REVOLUTIONARY UNION

b7c
b7D

(u)

In addition, all of the Ohio region appeared to be members or sympathizers of the RU. RU cadres are being sent out to military bases, particularly in the south eastern states of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina for the purpose of education and recruitment. The RU is already at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. One of the stated objectives of the RU and VVAW/WSO coalition is revolutionary education and recruitment of GIs so that in the event of a future war, the military will have no men willing to fight. (u)

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975 (u)

V. ACTIVITIES ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1974 (u)

On Sunday, December 29, 1974, the following workshops were held and the number of people in each workshop noted as follows: (u)


<u>WORKSHOP</u>	<u>NUMBER OF PERSONS</u>
1) Amnesty	16
2) GIs	20
3) Indochina/Imperialist Aggression	

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

<u>WORKSHOP</u>	<u>NUMBER OF PERSONS</u>
4) Internal Organization/ Democracy	17
5) Mass Organizations	16
6) Multi-national Organization	28
7) Political Defense Committees/ National Alliance	12
8) National Program	22
9) Strategies For Revolution	18
10) Veterans/V.A.	33
11) Winter Soldier	10

 January 7, 1975
January 29, 1975

cl u
Q u

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VI. ACTIVITIES ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1974

A. Workshop Reports

1) Amnesty

qu

[STATE OF THE AMNESTY MOVEMENT] qu

The clemency program is successful failure. The boycott is strictly enforced. Majority of people who have turned out for the who have turned out for the program have been prisoners. Prisoners are in isolation from the rest of the movement also coercion forces them into the program. No new gimmicks have been used to pressure people into coming home over holidays. Vets with bad discharges have been offered the clemency board (Chicago) instead of the review board. Clemency discharge wipes the slate clean, no benefits etc. Clemency discharge has been branded as a desert discharge. Amnesty is not as popular an issue as it was two months ago. Interest and response have dropped off. There are 200 small towns in Minnesota supporting UUA. In Miami 2 exiles returned and refused clemency in lieu of UUA. More research is needed on this. qu

[REDACTED] qu

The content of [REDACTED] speeches was anti-imperialist and brought a clear analysis into the amnesty question. He represented the exile community and the unity which came at the Toronto conference to boycott clemency. Exiles felt the drop of the amnesty issue and wanted to challenge this some way. What came out of a meeting of exiles was that some one should come back and take advantage of the grace period and leave. The tour was successful, even tho there was a short advance time. Questions arose and the use of media. Emphasis should be on mass meetings and leaflets and not so much on the media which personalized too much instead of getting to the politics of what [REDACTED] was saying. (i.e. Well [REDACTED] what do you think your next move is?) We should use the media yet not rely on it. Radio tapes and pictures should be freed up for internal propaganda use (also video tapes) Some chapters did not send reports to VVAW/WSO N.O. and are encouraged to do this for future actions. They did send some up to NACOR. qu

b7c
b7D

U.S.A.
FOREIGN

He is an exile and military resister formerly in special forces (Green Beret) He was indicted and convicted of 2 counts of refusing orders to go home. He is presently [REDACTED]. He is willing to go on tour in states. He is presently seeking political advice as to the facts this would have on an amnesty movement. Due to the good possibility that Jerry would be arrested while on tour the question was asked if we an organization had resources, and energies available to develop good political defense work, to make his arrest worthwhile. Of regions present most thought they could not develop major political defense efforts, however most thought they could. The sense of the body is that if he comes back that he go to the end of the clemency program.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

[COALITION WORK] *ju*

Most work around amnesty at this time is being done by liberal organizations. We can and should organize other anti-imperialist organizations into coalitions ie. RSB RU. We have to be able to put forward anti imperialists politics in these coalitions. Built with the members in the Churches rather than the heads of those churches. How do we bring anti imperialist into these coalitions? By building on the strengths and unity withing the coalition as well as bringing out the weaknesses. A major role in coalitions work for VVAW/WSO is focusing on less than honorable discharges. Discussion centered around the contradiction of VVAW/WSO politics VS liberal politics within coalitions wanting to do congressional work around amnesty.. Trashing people around tactic (this) would be incorrect. We must pit our anti-imperialist politics out front and struggle with the legislative work as it happening, pointing out the contradictions. There is an amnesty movement but some difficulty for VVAW/WSO to relate to church groups and see the amnesty movement outside the context of VVAW/WSO. We want to put forward a good anti-imperialist line and educate people to the nature of the system. We want to relate the struggle to the masses of people in this country. Our role is to move people forward.

[NACUUA REPRESENTATIVE] *ju*

Question arose over the election of [redacted] as GI representative on the steering committee of NACUUA. [redacted] nominated and supported by a caucus of VVAW/WSO at the Nacua conference in Louisville Ky. Criticisms were brought up concerning [redacted] past practice with GI's and his ability to adequately represent them. This was forwarded to the GI workshop for consideration.

b2
b7D
b7C

[redacted] January 7, 1975)
[redacted] January 27, 1975) *ju*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

79

2) [GI Workshop] ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The basis for the discussion of the GI Workshop was the Draft Program Proposal - VVAW/WSO GI Organizing. The Workshop report does not repeat what is contained in the draft proposal, rather it will summarize what took place in the workshop and attempt to correct mistakes in the report. *qu*

Discussion started by stating that although VVAW/WSO is not new in the GI movement and we have much experience and practice organizationally in GI organizing upon which to draw, at this point it would be incorrect to lay out a strictly focused or specific program of action. Until there has been much more extensive and more widespread practice, there is simply not enough work to base such a refined or focused program on. *qu*

Discussion then moved on to the world situation, the situation in the U. S. and the role of the military under imperialism. This last point (role of the military) took up to an hour of discussion. One position sees GIs as being members of "special bodies of armed men" that are used to defend imperialism by force (majority position). Support for this position stated that as GIs, they are not workers, but have the social role as defenders of the state. The minority position, while in agreement with the social role of GIs under imperialism added that GIs are part of the working class; that GIs are workers in their role as GIs in that they do the work of the military and don't make decisions, therefore, there exists the basis for identification with the rest of the working class in society. The workshop agreed that it is important to understand which of these concepts is indeed correct, as it will help us familiarize our strategy and tactics. Another minority position questioned this concept (Lenin concept or majority position) in relation to a mass organization and what does this mean in terms of our GI organizing. The next topic was the need for building an anti-imperialist GI movement. In the draft proposal it states (Part II, page 7, third paragraph), "It is necessary because of the decisive role which GIs can play in determining the outcome of the struggle." It was agreed that yes, GIs play one of the important roles in this struggle, but not the decisive factor. Better wording would be that GIs are a key factor in the determination of the struggle, but not the decisive factor. The next topic was the current status of the GI movement. People felt that the program proposal gave too much of a one-sided view of the failures of the movement. Yes, there were failures but the program proposal does not lay out the overall importance of the present GI movement. The last point in this section was tying the GI and veterans movements together. *qu*

The next part discussed was the primary political questions facing the GI movement. In relation to this, there was a majority and minority presentation given. Of the four political questions involved, as presented in the program report, only the first one (separate organizations and/or caucuses) was discussed. To summarize each: *qu*

MAJORITY REPORT

Racism and sexism are forms of bourgeois ideology which divide the working class. We see that the material basis for unity for the working class comes from our common oppression under the system of imperialism. This material basis of unity is greater than the ideology which divides us, and it is that unity which can lead us to overcoming those divisions. *qu*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
1080

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

The guiding principle of our work is to achieve the greatest possible unity of the working class. That in situations where it is necessary in the interest of long range unity to establish separate or autonomous caucuses and/or organizations of *RU*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

women and Third World people as a transitional stage. That long range unity, we see that as a progressive step. In the long run, this means organizational and political unity. *Qu*

MINORITY REPORT *Qu*

We also recognize the material basis for unity among GIs. Given the material as well as ideological basis for division along national and sexual lines, however, we stress the central importance of a frontal challenge to white and male supremacy. *G*

We agree with the majority that the fight against white and male supremacy should take place within the overall struggle. However, where members of the more oppressed groups (national minority people, women, or gays) find autonomous organizations helpful to their continued effective functioning in the larger GI movement. We support that autonomy -- not just in principle, but by sharing resources and facilities, publicizing the existence and activities of such groups, actively seeking funding for them, and promoting joint campaigns or events. *Qu*

Also, we endorse special projects relating to national minority people and women in the military. Specifically, we advocate support for Third World GI projects and participation in the GI movement task force on working with women in the military. These organizations would advance the national minorities and women in the military until the GI movement had more of a base and more experience with these people. *Qu*

(It was noted during the plenary that this minority report is not representative of all those in the workshop who disagreed with the majority report. All of those in the workshop who didn't agree with the majority were not united around any one position). *Qu*

With regard to the Draft Program Proposal discussed by the GI organizers weekend workshop and presented at this workshop, the following proposals were made: *Qu*

PROPOSAL: That sections I, II, III, IV and V of the Draft Program Proposal be taken back to the chapter and regional levels for ongoing discussion. This is not to be voted on. *Qu*

VOTE: A move for acceptance of this proposal by unanimous consensus was accepted with no objections. *Qu*

The next area of discussion was section VI, Draft Program for VVAW/WSO's GI organizing and specifically section VII, the campaign proposal. *Qu*

PROPOSAL: That sections VI thru VII be adopted as a working program to be evaluated over the next six months in terms of our GI organizing. *Qu*

VOTE: A move for acceptance of this proposal by unanimous consensus was accepted with **CONFIDENTIAL** *Qu*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The last item discussed was the NCUUA representative, [REDACTED]. This agenda item came from the amnesty workshop, but the GI workshop felt that the amnesty workshop did not give us enough (or any) basis for discussion of this issue, and because of this, the workshop voted that it could not be discussed (also a criticism to the amnesty workshop for referring this to us without the basis for discussion). *GH*

Criticisms -- Positive - it was a very good workshop in terms of discussion, participation, and a higher level of interest than previous GI workshops. We feel this is a direct reflection of this organization understanding and taking GI organizing much more seriously -- and also very positive criticism of the working weekend that was held in Chicago to prepare for this workshop. On the negative side -- we did not discuss some very important points -- such as a letter from Center for Servicemen's Rights out of San Diego, the call for more work weekends, GI News discussion, internal operation of the NGIP, leadership function of the NO for GI organizing, and the political questions around Third World, women and gay GIs. *GH*

VOTE: The entire workshop report was then unanimously accepted. *GH*

b2
b7D
b7C

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975)
[REDACTED] January 27, 1975)
[REDACTED] January 29, 1975)

GH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3) Indochina/Wars of Imperialist Agression~~CONFIDENTIAL~~INDOCHINA: January 27th

There was a round robin of plans around the Jan. 27th anniversary. Some chapters will add a local demand (Lawton, Attica, etc) and have rallies in public community places like parks. Some will do community leafletting with official leaflets, particularly at VAs. Some will have speakers and support other demos and forums. There will be educational forums, films, and a Vietnamese cultural solidarity night. Other actions will include picket lines at Federal Buildings. *eu*

(Two suggested new films are: IPC's "Meet the Enemy," which costs money, and "Year of the Tiger" by Dierdre English, available from Old Westbury, NY). *eu*

There are also plans for door-to-door leafletting, community programs, radio shows, and poster/spray painting. *eu*

Most of the planned actions include the demands for amnesty and a single-type discharge, as well as the Indochina demand. Some will include demands around the Middle East, Korea, or the Philippines. One chapter hopes to use the action to build a chapter in another city. *eu*

In general, we think that all the chapters have to consider whether they will hold actions on weekdays or the weekend. It depends on whether the goal is, for example, to focus around a specific target at a visible time (lunch hour downtown) or to hold a demo at a time when working people are able to come (for instance, in a park on a weekend afternoon). VAs and other specific areas were recommended as targets. *eu*

We felt a need for more information on the situation in Indochina. Recommendations for things to read included: Focal Point, Union of Vietnamese Students Newsletter, Indochina Solidarity Committee Bulletin, NACLA publications, International Bulletin -- all of which are available to regional offices. In addition, Winter Soldier and the National Newsletter are important. *eu*

Every region represented at the workshop is planning something for the January 27th demos. Leaflets should include chapter contact information. *eu*

Indochina Information: *eu*

There is a great deal of military activity around Saigon, including battles in which the ARVN has lost 1000-5000 troops. This is a critical time because of the rice harvest in the delta, and the FRG forces have been generally successful in preventing the regime from taking the peasants' rice. Politically, the situation in Saigon is critical. There is a broad range of opposition to the Thieu regime. Although the CIA is attempting to manipulate right-wing opposition elements, the primary struggle is by progressive forces seeking to oust Thieu and lay the basis for the coalition called for in the Paris accord. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ FRG areas have made major advances in terms of agriculture, education and health care. Life is so good there that Thieu has issued a "shoot on sight" order to prevent people from entering the liberated zones. *eu*

MIDDLE EAST

We should begin to analyze the situation in the Middle East, and how it is tied to Indochina. We feel that a major contradiction is between the Palestinian people and imperialism, but we are not defining primary or secondary contradictions.

We thought that the National Office should continue to talk about the Middle East and Palestine in Winter Soldier; that oil was a crucial aspect of the situation, especially in terms of controlling the economy of Europe; and that out of this comes a need to analyze the contention of the superpowers.

After some discussion, the workshop agreed on the need to formulate a basic approach to the Middle East that can be applied to our mass work. We felt we could unite around the following as a starting point for future investigation.

The American people are in great danger of being dragged into a war in the Middle East. This could result from either of two different contradictions.

- (1) Contention between the two superpowers (the U. S. and the USSR) for political hegemony and economic control of the Middle East.
- (2) The U. S. intervening in the Middle East to suppress national liberation struggles, of which the most important is the struggle of the Palestinian people.

The war in the Middle East could take one of three forms:

- (1) A war in comprador form (i. e. the Nixon doctrine). In this case, Israel and/or Iran would be most likely to be the agents of U. S. imperialism.
- (2) Direct U. S. intervention in a limited war in the Middle East. This could involve only air and naval power, or ground troops as well.
- (3) A world-wide nuclear war between the superpowers.

We concluded some major points that we can begin putting forward as organizational positions:

- (1) Support for the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and their chosen government, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).
- (2) No U. S. troops in the Middle East.
- (3) Expose the role of contention between the two superpowers in fomenting Middle East War.

The workshop also felt it important to make a clear distinction between Zionism and Judaism, and between the Israeli State and the people.

We also felt that oil is the basis of U. S. imperialism in the Middle East, and that it affects the American people adversely (i. e. the oil hoax) just as it does the peoples of the Middle East and Europe.

We recommend that people do more study and get more information from groups like Iranian Students Association, Organization of Arab Students, MERIP, etc., and that the NO should include this information in the Winter Soldier and the newsletter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
85

When discussing this workshop report in the plenary session, a proposal to add the third organizational position, "Expose the role of contention between the two superpowers in fomenting Middle East War" was raised. The workshop neglected to deal with this question when formulating the organizational positions. When this was discussed in the plenary, it was felt that this position was necessary for VVAW/WSO because the contention between the U. S. and USSR is one of the major causes behind the current situation in the Middle East, and that we could not neglect taking a stand on the role of the two superpowers. When this proposal was made in the plenary, a roll call vote was taken on whether or not we should add this position. The vote in favor of adding this third position was: 52,928-yes; 7,197-no; 10,875-abs.

VOTE: This workshop report was unanimously accepted. *ah*

b2
b7D



January 7, 1975)
January 27, 1975)
January 29, 1975)

ah

[4) Internal Organization/Democracy Workshop] *ah*

This workshop began with unanimous acceptance of the sense of the Northern Illinois/Iowa proposal on the objectives; first, that the objectives of the organization should be replaced by principals of unity and the definitions of Imperialism. The precise definition of Imperialism and the wording of the principals are to be worked out by an interim committee, as proposed. The workshop also accepted the New York proposal around democratization and definitions and the draft working paper from the EO as basis for discussion. The workshop unanimously agreed with the principal of democratization and the draft working paper where voting at the NSCM's would be based on the number of dues-paying members. Details of this democratization will be left to the interim committee. *ah*

The workshop agreed with several points discussed around the draft working paper: *ah*

- a. It was a responsibility of all members of VVAW/WSO to actively distribute "Winter Soldier". *ah*



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

b. Regional officers are the political leadership of the Regions. *qu*

The following is taken from the draft working paper: *qu*

1. Definitions *qu*

a. What is a member? *qu*

A member of VVAW/WSO is a person who works to the best of his or her ability for the local, regional and national progress of the organization. A voting member is a member who, in addition to the above, pays those dues decided upon by the chapter region and national organization, chapters must decide on who is a member of their respective chapters. *qu*

b. What is a chapter? *qu*

A chapter is a group of members who works collectively to the best of their capability for local, regional and national progress of VVAW/WSO. The region (regional matter, regional steering committee, regional coordinator depending on the region) must decide on who is a chapter. *qu*

c. What is a region? *qu*

A region is an administrative unit composed of at least one active chapter and contacts which are capable of building other chapters within the regional area. Regional offices, chapters and contacts must be working collectively to the best of their capabilities for the regional and national progress of the organization and to build other chapters. Regions are recognized by the national steering committee. *qu*

d. What is a contact? *qu*

A contact is a person or group of people working chapter, but have not been recognized by the region. *qu*

e. What is an international chapter? *qu*

An international chapter is a chapter outside the ital United States; the VVAW/WSO National Office will in who is an international chapter with the decision to led by the national steering committee. *qu*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

f. Representation at regional meetings - Delegation criteria for regional meetings should be decided upon by individual regions. Delegates at regional meetings shall vote according to the number of voting members in their individual chapters *sl*

g. Representation at national meetings - At every national meeting there should be one delegate for every 20 voting members of the organization. Regions will still operate collectively at national meetings but each region's vote will be the same as the number of voting members in that region *sl*

2. [Structure -
a. Chapters] *sl*

1. Are responsible for carrying out the national and regional programs in their local community.
2. Are responsible for formulating and carrying out local programs or support work.
3. Are responsible for the distribution of Winter Soldier in the local community.
4. Are responsible for the political education of the members around those issues of immediate importance to the organization (history and structure of WVAI/130, national program, objectives) and, wherever possible, general political education around the system of imperialism. *(X)*
5. Are responsible for financing their own activities, for contributing to the support of the region, and for collecting dues for the National Office.
6. Are responsible for putting forth the political positions of the organization in the local community.
7. Are responsible for recruiting and organizing new members in the organization.
8. Are responsible for summing up their work and submitting work reports to the region and the National Office.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Regional Coordinators, Steering Committees, Collective, or Offices

1. Regional Officers will be elected by the voting membership of the region for one year terms, and may be re-elected. Regional officers may be removed at any time by the membership of the region.
2. Regional officers are the official representative of VVAI/MSO in their regions.
3. Regional Officers will coordinate the work of the chapters in the region, will work to help contacts develop into chapters, and will work to develop new contacts throughout the region.
4. Regional officers have the obligation and responsibility of travelling as regularly as possible throughout their regions to organize and coordinate VVAI/MSO activities.
5. Regional officers are responsible for convening regional meetings no less than once between each NSCM for the purposes of formulating regional policies and obtaining regional input to the NSC.
6. Regional officers are responsible for communications between the NO and the chapters in those instances where the chapters cannot be contacted directly (ie immediate information, press releases, conferences, etc).
7. Regional officers are responsible for communicating regional information to the national office--regional work reports, regional meeting minutes, regional decisions, chapter and/or contact lists. In the case of straw votes, they are responsible for voting for their regions.
8. Regional officers are responsible for the collection of national dues from the chapters, and for sending them to the N.O.
9. Regional officers are responsible for coordinating the selection of delegates from the region to the NSC's.

6. National Office

1. The NO will be composed of six national coordinators elected for one-year terms by the NSC, and staff (appointed by the coordinators) as feasible.
2. Qualification for national office is work on a regional/and/or local level for at least one year prior to nomination.
3. Nominations and Acceptance of nominations.
 - a. Nominations for expiring terms will be taken at one NSCM for vacancies at the next NSCM.
 - b. Nominations will come from the home region of the nominee, except in the case of in-office national coordinators.
 - c. Nominations are open until 60 days before the date of election. Nominations not made at the NSCM will be announced in the national newsletter.
4. Nominations as to whether or not to accept nomination must be made to the NO at least 30 days before the election; nominees who accept the nomination will include a biography for publication in the national newsletter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

e. National coordinators may be nominated for re-election. If re-elected, he or she must take two weeks to a month between terms (as far as is practical) to do work in a chapter, organizing committee or project outside of his or her home region. While working in *EU*

CONFIDENTIAL

chapter, the coordinator shall not function as a representative of the NO nor shall the coordinator assume a formal leadership position in the local chapter. The intent of this is to give the coordinator a concrete idea of the organizational problems at the lowest level of VVA/NSO and to use the coordinator's experience to help establish a local chapter or move forward the work of the project. The burden will be upon the coordinator to find a local chapter willing to take him or her, and to report this at the NSC that will vote on their renewed term of office.

f. In the case of the resignation of a national coordinator, the NO shall advise chapters, through the national newsletter, that a vacancy has occurred and that nominations are open. Resignations of national coordinators must be accompanied with the effective date of resignation.

4. Elections

a. Elections will be by majority vote of the NSC.

b. Elections will fill vacancies proportional to the number of NSCs per year--ie, three positions if the meetings are held every 6 months, 2 positions if the meetings are held every 4 months.

c. Coordinators may be recalled by a 2/3s vote of the NSC, or, if necessary, by a straw vote of 2/3s of the regions.

5. Functions and Responsibilities of national coordinators.

a. Internal liaison: responsible for providing political leadership to the organization; also for keeping open lines of communication between the NO and the regions and chapters.

b. External liaison: responsible for contact and coordination with other domestic groups or organizations, and with foreign groups, organizations, parties, or governments. Also responsible for gathering literature and information about and from these groups, etc, for analysis and dissemination of the information to the organization. Also responsible for presenting organizational positions to these groups, etc.

c. Finances: responsible for raising money for operating expenses, for keeping track of money for organizational dues, materials, newspapers, etc. Also responsible for keeping financial records.

d. Political prisoners: Responsible for collecting and disseminating information on as many political prisoners and defense committees as possible to regions and chapters.

e. Political analysis: Responsible for gathering information on issues and events both domestic and foreign, to study and analyze, to disseminate these analyses to the organization and, where relevant, to other organizations and allied groups for further distribution.

f. Winter Soldier, other publications: Responsible for publication of the national newspaper and whatever other publications the national organization decides are needed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- g. Coordination of actions, projects, and programs: the NO is a central gathering point for information from regions, chapters and other organizations, on actions, projects and programs for dissemination to the regions, chapters, and other interested organizations.
- h. Responsible for carrying out decisions of the NSC, for promoting the national program of the organization both internally and externally, for preparing analyses and work reports from the NO for the NSC.

National Steering Committee

1. The NSC is the governing body of VVAI/ISO, and is comprised of the regional delegates and the national coordinators of VVAI/ISO.
2. The function of the NSC is to define the politics, establish the policies, formulate the program and determine the activities of VVAI/ISO on a national level.
3. The NSC has the responsibility for determining whether a region is functional.
4. The NSC has the responsibility to restructure regions where necessary.
5. The NSC may, at its discretion, appoint a committee to audit the books of the national office.
6. The NSC has the responsibility to maintain organizational internal discipline; in cases where questions are raised, the NSC has the right and the responsibility to expel from the organization individuals, chapters, or regional officers who consistently violate the by-laws of the organization.
7. NSC Meetings
 - a. Voting: Each region recognized by the NSC will have 2 votes in the NSC. In addition, each region will have one vote per 15 voting members in the region (determined by the average number of members during the period from the prior NSC) based on dues from chapters and regions as received by the NO.
 - b. Delegations will be composed of no more than 8 delegates per region as selected by the region.
 - c. The NSC will meet 2 (3) times per year at a point in the central part of the country (insofar as possible). The regional office in whose region the meeting is held is responsible for logistics, for preparing a draft agenda based on input from around the country, and for soliciting and disseminating agenda items which it receives from and to all regional offices.
 - d. A quorum for the NSC will consist of two-thirds of the regions in attendance at the meeting.
 - e. Proxy votes will be in writing on specific issues only.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

6. Communications

a. From Chapters

1. Regular correspondence, phone calls, immediate contact around urgent information with regional offices, NO.

2. Work reports, based on sum-ups of major actions or events sent regularly to the regional office and the NO.

b. From Regions:

1. Regular correspondence, phone calls, immediate contact

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- around urgent information with NO and chapters.
2. Regional officers should try to attend chapter meetings in their regions whenever possible.
 3. Newsletter, sent to all chapters and, if possible to all members in the region, with copies to NO and other regional offices.
 4. Copies of pamphlets, leaflets, propaganda material used in regional area to the NO.
 5. Regular work reports and work summaries to the NO and to chapters.
 6. Copies of address lists, regional minutes, regional newsletters, etc to the National Office.

c. [National Office] *Ju*

1. Regular correspondence with chapter and regional offices
2. Bi-weekly national newsletter to all regional offices and chapters and contacts (as determined by the regional office).
3. Press releases, immediate information to all regional offices when necessary.
4. Attendance at regional meetings when possible.

[Finances] *Ju*


- A. Membership in the organization requires a \$1.00 per month fee. This money will be collected by the regional and chapter offices in their respective areas of responsibility and forwarded to the NO for use in the support of the NO and the printing of Winter Soldier. The mechanism for collecting this money is left to the individual regions.
- B. Region and chapters may require such dues as necessary for membership in that region or chapter.
- C. For the continued support of Winter Soldier, each chapter and/or region will send to the NO 5¢ for each copy of Winter Soldier sold.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

This should be sent as a draft as there has been little organization input into this working paper as yet. Much of this draft is taken from the old working paper with some additions and deletions. Because regions are structured in very different ways, depending on local conditions, the regional organization is not covered in this paper. We believe that regions should formulate their own policies for internal regional structure and operations. *fu*

 January 7, 1975)
January 27, 1975)
January 29, 1975) *u*

b2
b7D

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL5. Mass Organization WorkshopDefinitions of Mass Organizations and Cadre Organizations

These are working definitions for the purpose of our discussion in this workshop. They are not formal organizational definitions.

Mass organization reaches out to the masses of people with a program to meet their needs and to accomplish its goals (in working with the masses of people) of uniting the people organizationally around its program and goals. By its very nature, a mass organization has a wide divergence of political perspectives within the organization and must be democratic in its internal process with principled struggle, not intimidation, as the means of raising consciousness. A mass organization does all that is possible to bring the people into its ranks in a progressive way and in so doing must be a place where people can develop to a revolutionary or anti-imperialist consciousness and yet not be required to have a revolutionary consciousness to be able to join.

Mass organizations have a significant role in revolutionary struggle. It is a vehicle to draw people in on a basis of their concerns and needs to put those concerns and needs into a revolutionary context, together as a group and not individual.

Communist cadre organization has a greater requirement to join than a mass organization. Anyone in a cadre organization must have unity with and understand organization political line and program. This unity is based both on theory and practice. The Basis of Unity is Marxist/Leninist that must be studied and applied. Communist cadre is run on the basis of Democratic Centralism where an individual makes his/her choice to subject his/her individual will to that of the organization; this is a unity of will. Unity of will is achieved, however, through internal democratic struggle, clear discussion and principled debate. Once a position is arrived at within the organization, it is implemented by all and carried out by all, even though debate may continue internally. Democratic Centralism is also the concept of centrally summing up all people's experience and theoretical struggle, the development of a position/line, and applying it through practice.

Role of Cadre in a Mass Organization

There is not an antagonistic contradiction between cadre and mass. That is, the balance between the masses' independence and cadre's pursuing their line. That is why political struggle must be open, above board and principled. It is important that cadre not be viewed as merely "educators," "observers" or "facilitators;" they must be as full a member as anyone can be and emerge themselves in the work of the organization. Cadre's allegiance is to the people and the people's struggle and to enter into the work of any organization to build the people's movement.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In this mass organization, there are people who have strong political lines -- both cadre and non-cadre, and those who do not have a developed line. It is the burden of all members of this organization to conduct principled struggle. Q u

The following question was raised: Is it the purpose of a communist cadre, by pushing a line to keep a movement or organization in a narrow formation so it can fit neatly into the communist cadre's broader plan? Q u

The workshop summed up as an answer: No, specifically, the struggle around focus had begun well before RU cadre involved themselves in VVAW/WSO and their involvement helped heighten that struggle. In fact, if cadre are honest, they too will learn from the experience. Q u

We all, cadre and non-cadre, must take into account as objective reality many peoples' fears around manipulation and how easily people in mass organizations can be intimidated. We must struggle to understand these conditions and to be sure people are truly educated and moved in their consciousness and not intimidated. This can come from open principled struggle that is consciously non-intimidated. Q u

An essential aspect of this dialectic is people who have criticism must go to the people who need criticizing and keep that process open and alive. To ignore this is to promote liberalism which will only fester tensions if any exist. Q u

People should not be paranoid because there might be some secret member of a cadre organization in a mass organization. Some secret is necessary to protect these organizations from total destruction by an attack from the state. The important point is that all members with a line should be open about their line and struggle openly around it. Q u

VOTE: A move for acceptance of this workshop report by unanimous consensus was accepted with no objections. Q u

b2 [redacted] January 7, 1975)

b7D [redacted] January 27, 1975)

[redacted] January 29, 1975)

6. [Multi-National Organization Workshop] Q u

The nature of the struggle inside the workshop leads us to have both a majority and minority report. There was unity around a suggestion for the National Steering Committee. Q u

CONFIDENTIAL
97

SI 100-21603

SUGGESTION: We recognize we have just begun to deal with the national question in relation to VVAW/WSO in the struggle against imperialism and that chapters should take up further investigation, practice, and struggle around this issue and should send to the National Office information about their work and readings, etc. that they feel would further our development. The practice of the chapters and investigation should be dealt with at the next NSCM in a workshop. *EU*

[MAJORITY REPORT]

We believe VVAW/WSO has to be a multi-national organization. The workshop achieved unity around the definition of a multi-national organization as one which fights for the needs of the whole working class and of all nationalities, and has members of all nationalities in the organization. The majority report believes it would be a "Left" error to dogmatically apply a quota as criteria in defining a multi-national organization. It would be a right error to believe that there is no necessity for a multi-national organization and that that denies the material basis of national oppression. *EU*

National oppression is not just a subjective experience but an objective reality that oppresses not only national minorities but the whole working class and therefore, must be fought in a concrete way. *EU*

We see the necessity under certain conditions for national minorities to organize around their specific oppression and for all people to organize in their class interest. *EU*

As an anti-imperialist organization with a veteran and GI focus and base, we have multi-national unity around our common oppression. We can build a multi-national organization based on day-to-day struggles against the VA, the military, and the imperialist system. *EU*

We destroy the material basis for national oppression in smashing imperialism, we destroy white chauvinism in the process of our common struggle and by winning white members of VVAW/WSO to fighting against the special oppression of third world people. *EU*

We believe that the only way to smash imperialism is thru multi-national unity. *EU*

Multi-national unity and national minority leadership is built from concrete struggles at a chapter level, tying that in to our common struggle against imperialism. Multi-national unity and leadership can only come in an organization that has full equality for all nationalities. *EU*

The minority saw the struggle against national oppression and the struggle for a multi-national, anti-imperialist veterans and GI movement as divorced from the anti-imperialist struggles of veterans and GI in VVAW/WSO. We see this stand as showing a lack of faith in the membership of VVAW/WSO and in the masses of third world people to achieve political unity in our struggle against a common enemy. *EU*

[MINORITY REPORT] *du*

We feel that the real question is how this organization can participate in the struggle against racism in the building of a multi-national movement, not the building of a particular multi-national organization at this time. We feel that we can work effectively in the struggle by: *du*

- 1) developing programs that speak to the needs of third world people (in our case vets and GIs)
- 2) becoming increasingly better at putting forward, in our lives and in our propaganda, the interests of third world people
- 3) working in closer ways with third world organizations

We think that the above program is a realistic way for a predominately white organization to participate in the struggle against racism, as part of the anti-imperialist movement. Third world people who wish to join our organization are welcomed -- we do not think that their membership is the only way of demonstrating that this organization is speaking to the needs of Third world people. Respect for a predominantly white organization that is playing an effective role among white vets and GIs (as well as third world people) is also a significant evaluation of our role in the larger movement. *du*

We feel this way for several reasons: *du*

- 1) We think that the integrity of third world forms of organization at this time is not to be challenged by white people who claim that their political analysis enables them to understand the workings of racism as well as third world vets and GIs whose understanding, experience, past history and present level of struggle is higher than that of white people. *du*
- 2) We think multi-national forms of organizations will develop out of the call by third world people for those forms, because racism as an institution and as an ideology is white. The class that rules and perpetrates institutionalized racism and ideology is white, and it is as the white working class identifies the class enemy of third world people as their enemy that the multi-national struggle will move forward. *du*

Following the plenary discussion of the majority and minority reports from this workshop, a consensus vote on the preference of delegates for these reports was taken for the purpose of guiding chapters in further discussions of how to build a multi-national organization. The consensus vote is as follows: *du*

Majority Report: 37 in favor	<i>du</i>
Minority Report: 16 in favor	
Abstentions: 6	

Following this vote, the workshop report was unanimously accepted. *du*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2

b7D

[REDACTED] 1975)
1975)
1975) & u

7. Political Defense Committee/National Alliance Workshop & u

Four main items were covered in the workshop. They were 1) the Political Defense Manual, 2) the National Defense Committee, 3) the National Alliance, and 4) the Inland Empire Chapter proposal around Gary Lawton work. & u

1. POLITICAL DEFENSE MANUAL & u

A discussion of how the Manual has been prepared so far was started to familiarize the workshop members with the content of the Manual. It was pointed out that people from some defense committees (like Bob Hood's, Gary Lawton's, and the Leavenworth Brothers) weren't at the Milwaukee meeting where the manual was worked on, but that members of other defense committees were present, such as Don Kemp's, the Gainesville 8, Kar Armstrong's, and Wounded Knee. This led into a discussion about future additions to the Political Defense Manual. It was stressed that the Manual will be a constantly growing document because work reports will be added to it as they come in, and that other changes will be made to conform to the lessons we learn in practice as time goes by. & u

The status of the Political Defense Manual at present is that some portions of it are incomplete. When these sections are completed, the Manual will be sent to the regions, and to chapters involved in defense committee work. Copies will be available to other chapters, but will probably cost about \$5.00. Approximately 6-8 weeks after they are received by people, a weekend workshop will be held to analyze or amend it as is necessary, and to add new work reports to it. & u

There was no proposal concerning this item on the agenda. & u

2. THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE & u

Two major points were made in this part of the workshop. They were: 1) As an organization, we have an obligation to take up political defense cases, and 2) the Political Defense Manual can be used to strengthen individual chapters' ability to defend against attacks, as well as be used offensively to educate the chapters and the masses about how the criminal "justice" system is used by imperialism against the people. & u

Training people in the use of the Manual was a key issue. It was stressed that the Manual is not going to be used to get VVAW/WSO people into being professional defense committee organizers. We should also share the Manual with other organizations that wish to use its summations of our practice to improve their own defense work. It was emphasized that this means supporting their work, and not leading it. *qu*

The Manual will also help to improve our practice around our defense efforts that are now in progress, such as Lawton work, Hood work, Attica work, etc. It may prove to be especially useful to chapters that don't have defense committee work of their own but are doing support work around political prisoners. *qu*

A proposal stating that imperialism uses the courts to oppress people, that chapters use the Manual for offense/defense work, and that the chapters study it was defeated as it was considered unnecessary. The vote was 7 to 5 against it. *qu*

PROPOSAL: That the name "National Defense Committee" be changed to "Political Defense Committee." *qu*

VOTE: This proposal was unanimously accepted. This proposal to change the name of the NDC project was made because we are not interested in setting up some sort of national defense committee structure. Defense work and the manual for defense work are to be used on the local and regional levels primarily, and the key to the entire process of developing effective defense efforts is politics in command. Thus, the workshop felt that Political Defense Committee was a term much more reflective of what we are talking about. *qu*

3. THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE AGAINST RACIST AND POLITICAL REPRESSION *qu*

The two major topics discussed were the history of our relationship with the Alliance, and a motion to censure the Alliance by Southern California. *qu*

The history of the Alliance began at their founding convention in May of 1973, in which the Communist Party, USA played a major role. It was formed in an attempt to bring the struggles of all political prisoners within its scope. VVAW/WSO attended both their founding convention and their second one. Some of our disagreements with the Alliance were first printed in "Inside/Out" #3. Some more problems were talked about in the 13th NSCM National Office Report. More recently, Gary Lawton's letter to Angela Davis was published in Winter Soldier. *qu*

The Alliance then responded with their "Open Letter to VVAW/WSO." It was noted that a copy wasn't even sent to Gary Lawton or the Riverside Political Prisoners. *qu*

soners Defense Committee by the Alliance. [redacted] was questioned about the letter and said he had three basic disagreements with it. They were: 1) that Angela could and should speak for herself, 2) that he thought originally that the letter was a call for unity between the Alliance and VVAW/WSO, and 3) that he had not been sent by the Alliance to Riverside or Leavenworth, but had gone on his own. It was next pointed out that all the quotes used in the Alliance letter had come from a VVAW/WSO internal document (not public) -- the NO Report, and not from "Inside/Out" #3. *h*

The Alliance letter also said that our criticisms of them were essentially the same as those made of the Alliance by the government and the FBI. We were also characterized as being racist on top of that. *h*

b7D
b7C

People pointed out that we had to differentiate between criticizing Angela Davis, the Alliance, and the CPUSA as opposed to criticizing the affiliate organizations in the Alliance. People pointed out that the CP's line is bankrupt because it is reformist, that it isn't anti-imperialist and in fact, doesn't even mention imperialism as a system, and that it divides issues like repression in North Carolina from other struggles throughout the world. *h*

The facts about the problems that the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee has had with the Alliance were the next topic of discussion. They are layed out in detail in "Let's Set the Record Straight" by the RPPDC. Opportunism and ripping off are characteristic of the totally unprincipled manner in which the Alliance has dealt with the RPPDC. Even more recently, [redacted] chose to meet with [redacted] and the Venice chapter after refusing to even talk to Gary [redacted] Lawton or RPPDC for years. The details of that meeting were layed out, and it was clear that it was an attempt to undercut Gary's support by VVAW/WSO. *h*

USA

The facts about the relationship of the Alliance to the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee was the next subject. A letter by Perry Sanders to Gary Lawton telling of the Alliance's unprincipled dealings with the LBODC was discussed. Also, the LBODC members who are in VVAW/WSO and their vote to include Gary Lawton's letter to Angela in Winter Soldier was mentioned, and then a second letter from LBODC which called for unity with the Alliance was discussed. VVAW/WSO members of the LBODC now state that the unprincipled, opportunist, and coercive, practice within LBODC came from one member of the Venceremos Brigade. They also severely criticize themselves for an earlier incorrect analysis. Charges of racism against white VVAW/WSO members of the LBODC were made by the Alliance. LBODC characterized this as unprincipled criticism and requested the Alliance objectively document those charges to which there has been no response. The Alliance has not distributed any propaganda around the Leavenworth Brothers since the LBODC affiliation with the Alliance in May, 1974. The LBODC decision to affiliate with the Alliance was done knowing that two VVAW/WSO members of the LBODC were out of town and unaware the vote was to be taken. Angela Davis did speak at an LBODC rally August 25, 1974. *h*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Florida/Georgia region then told of its dealings with the Alliance. Dealings in this case were principled and comradely, and pointed toward the fact that not all of the Alliance is unprincipled, and that there are some good people in it. *Qh*

Then, discussion around developing a specific proposal to censure and/or criticize Angela, the CPUSA, and the Alliance began. One main point of contention revolved around whether we should criticize or censure the Alliance as a whole or just its leadership. Again, it was pointed out that the Alliance had voted to approve its leadership's letter to us. After a lot of struggle, this point was resolved. *Qh*

Another point of contention that produced a lot of struggle was whether or not we should include a self-criticism of VVAW/WSO for calling the Alliance a front group of the CPUSA. It was finally decided that the self-criticism would weaken the proposal, but that we should make a clear distinction between the Alliance as a whole and its affiliate organizations. The example of NCUUA was given as an example to demonstrate this. NCUUA is structured in the same way as is the Alliance, it consists of a number of independent groups, different political lines, etc. These lines and groups would have disagreements with the line of the organization as a whole. The analogy used would be: What would happen in NCUUA if one organization within it tried to control it and did an incorrect thing, like making an unprincipled criticism of an outside organization. Let's further suppose that this unprincipled organization got the rest of NCUUA to support this unprincipled act, making the act a policy of the organization by coercing or deceiving the other organizations into backing the unprincipled one. In this situation, we have to put our faith in the masses of people in the organizations that were forced or tricked, and help them to see that they were tricked. When the other organizations get wise to the unprincipled organization's game, they will rectify their error and probably expel and denounce the unprincipled organization. This hypothetical case is a reality within the Alliance. *Qh*

In light of the above discussion, the following proposal was made. This proposal passed in the workshop by a vote of 12 to 1. The dissenting vote was because the person wanted all the affiliates listed, and not because of a disagreement with the essence of the proposal. *Qh*

PROPOSAL: We condemn Angela Davis, Charlene Mitchell, the Southern California Alliance, the National Alliance and the Communist Party, USA for opportunistically using the Alliance as a vehicle to attack Gary Lawton, the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee, and VVAW/WSO. We criticize the other leaders of the Alliance for not fully investigating the charges made against VVAW/WSO in the Alliance's "Open Letter to VVAW/WSO." We condemn the CPUSA for diverting the just struggles of political prisoners for their own self-seeking motives, weakening the anti-imperialist struggle. We wish to make a very clear distinction between the National Alliance, its leadership, and its political outlook from the affiliate organizations within the Alliance and their political outlook. *Qh*

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance from the body. The text of this proposal and a letter written by the National Office will be sent to the National Alliance by the National Office. Copies of the mailing to the Alliance containing these materials will also be sent to all regions by the NO.

4. GARY LAWTON


The last proposal discussed by the workshop was proposed by the Inland Empire Chapter and the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee and acceptance of the proposal was reached unanimously with little discussion. The proposal was designed to get VVAW/WSO to do Gary Lawton work.

PROPOSAL: To develop the awareness around Gary Lawton's case we propose the following minimum program:

1. That every member of VVAW/WSO take at least one petition and complete it.
2. That at rallies and demonstrations around repression, chapters will raise signs and banners demanding the freeing of Gary Lawton.
3. That leafletting take place at these demonstrations and in the community around Gary's case.
4. That picketing take place nationwide on Feb. 1st to support Gary's case. (Places suggested for such pickets include Federal Buildings, DA offices, etc).

VOTE: This proposal was unanimously accepted. During the discussion of this proposal in the plenary, it was strongly stated that chapters should see this minimum program of work as a guide to conducting on-going mass work around the case of Lawton. Chapters should not just be doing picket lines on Feb. 1st, but should begin to more consciously take up this struggle in a consistent way.

Following the discussion of working around Gary Lawton, the entire workshop report was unanimously accepted.


 January 7, 1975)
 January 27, 1975)
 January 29, 1975)

b2
b7D

8. Program Workshop

The Program workshop decided to take the National Office proposal in the NO Report as the basis to discuss a national program for VVAW/WSO. The first part is a summary of the general discussion of the proposal and then some specific areas of the proposal were covered.

The main danger in taking a program to the masses of vets is the "Right" danger. This comes from trying to see our work of building the anti-imperialist vets movement in "stages." That is, first uniting with vets around their immediate needs and then at some undetermined point in the future, raising the question of the system of imperialism. What has to be done from the very first is laying out who the real enemy is, that the system can never provide for the peoples' needs.

Also, a danger exists in isolating the demand for "Decent Benefits" from the overall struggle against the system, not making the links between the struggle of vets and the struggles of all working and oppressed people. This could lead to a situation where questions like the war in Indochina are hidden from the vets we are trying to mobilize.

There was a discussion of a very brief nature on the need to have a follow-up program that goes hand-in-hand with the mobilizing program. Many people pointed out how after making an initial contact with vets at an action or activity at the VA, these people would not come forward or did not show up at meetings. What is needed is a program to go after these people, not wait for them to come to us.

People should not equate militancy with the struggle against the system. It was pointed out that many reformists take militant actions, such as AVM where they occupied a Senator's office. The key here is that militant action is directed against the system, not just some bureaucrats or one aspect of the problem.

We are not fighting for a bigger slice of a small part of the pie, but the whole pie itself. In this context, our main blow is directed not at with wanting better benefits, but is directed at the ruling class, to take the whole shebang from them. "Benefits" is a ruling class term. They are not "benefits" but rights that have been fought for with the blood of our mothers and fathers (figuratively).

The "Left" error is in seeing that vets only come from the working class and that our demands can only reflect the interests of working class vets. Vets come from all strata of society, crossing class, national and sexual lines. Our task is to unite as many of these as can be united against the common enemy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~DEMANDS: *cl u*

There was good discussion of what is a "key" demand(s). Depending on time, condition and place, one or several demands can be key. The reason that "Decent Benefits" was felt to be key at this time is that vets are already spontaneously moving around that demand. That uniting with that demand and fighting to win it provides the basis from which to unfold the other demands and the whole question of the system. It was also pointed out that all the demands do not have to be listed on our leaflets, that one, if it is put forward in a good way, can explain what we are fighting for just as well as listing and explaining all the demands. *cl u*

The workshop also took up the question of a demand around the rising economic crisis of imperialism. There was struggle over the wording of the demand, basically centering on how to put forward this demand in such a way as to point to the working class as the leading class of the struggle. After taking a vote, the workshop united on the following wording for the new demand: *cl u*

JOBS OR INCOME FOR ALL! *cl u*

The workshop proposes this demand for the NSCM to vote on at this meeting. The reason to vote now is that the crisis is deepening at an ever increasing rate and that even though the organization does not have a lot of practice around unemployment work, this demand may become the key one in the very near future. *cl u*

VOTE: The proposal to add this demand, "Jobs or Income For All" to our National Program was unanimously accepted. This means that we now have a total of five national demands which are a part of our Program. *cl u*

CAMPAIGN AROUND THE CONDITIONS OF VETS: *cl u*

There was first a discussion of work around bad discharges and whether VVAW/WSO should continue DUP work as the way to build the movement for a "Single-Type Discharge." It was summed up that while DUPs can still be useful, they tended to rapidly become a "paper mountain." It was pointed out that attacking the VA, forcing VA officials to give benefits to vets with LTHDs, which is in their power to do, can better serve to build a fighting movement. The workshop discussed and passed the following proposal for this meeting to vote on: *cl u*

PROPOSAL: That the National Office develop a mass-oriented pamphlet as a key national tool to bring this program to the masses in the country against the VA. That the National Office proposal on a Working Program for VVAW/WSO in the National Office Report be adopted. *cl u*

CONFIDENTIAL
106

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

VOTE: This proposal was unanimously accepted. This means, therefore, that the National Program for the organization is the compilation of this workshop report, the Program section of the National Office report for this St. Louis meeting, and the Program section of the National Office report prepared for the Buffalo NSCM; all of these materials should be read carefully. Q u

There then followed a discussion of what this would mean for chapters which already have programs. Would this mean that chapters would have to change their emphasis? The answer was a qualified YES, on the basis that the struggle for amnesty and to end the war can be unfolded at the VA. Also, if a chapter was doing its primary mass work at a factory, that this would mean that the work should shift to the VA system. However, it is cautioned not to take these simple answers to so complex a question as a guide. It depends on what the chapter is doing. Q u

METHODS OF WORK: Q u

Because of the lack of time, this section was not covered very well. Primarily, there was felt a need to incorporate a section on "Follow-up" in the Program. The following proposal was made for adoption: Q u

PROPOSAL: That the regions and chapters submit to the National Office sum-ups of how to follow-up on contacts made in implementing the national program so that these contacts would become part of the struggle. This is to develop the Methods of Work section of the national program. Q u

VOTE: This proposal was accepted with a majority voice vote. After this, the entire workshop report was unanimously accepted. Q u



(January 7, 1975)
(January 27, 1975)
(January 29, 1975)

b2
Q u
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
107

VII. ACTIVITIES ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1974 Q uA. Workshop Reports (Continued)9. Strategies for Revolution Workshop Q u

Following is a report on the workshop on Strategies for Revolution. Initially, an agenda was set up with the three following areas to be discussed: 1) What is a strategy? 2) United Front Against Imperialism, and 3) Is anti-imperialism an ideology? Q u

The workshop defined strategy in the following way: Strategy from a revolutionary viewpoint is the basic plan for fundamental change in class forces; and tactics, or implementation, flow from the strategy. Q u

In addition, militancy was discussed. When working out a definition, the workshop decided that militancy does not simply mean that organizations merely leaflet and do propaganda work. Militancy means leading the people to fight back against oppression by taking our politics to them and implementing them. Q u

Discussion on the United Front and anti-imperialism as an ideology flowed from one into the other. Two positions emerged -- one having large sentiment, and the other representing the position of one individual. Q u

MAJORITY REPORT Q u

We stand for the United Front Against Imperialism as a strategy for revolution in this country at this time. What revolutionaries must do is unite the working class to lead the fight against all oppression. Listed below are a few brief points that we would like to make about the UFAI strategy. Q u

1. The united front strategy has been used successfully in other countries (such as the Peoples Republic of China, Vietnam, Cambodia, North Korea). While we obviously cannot apply this strategy dogmatically (chapter and verse) to the U.S. situation, the essence of the united front does apply. We must unite all that can be united against the enemy -- the ruling class -- under the leadership of the working class and its Party. Q u

2. Up to this point in recent history, there has objectively existed a UFAI in this country, although it was almost entirely spontaneous (without conscious working class leadership) in its nature and at no time has included all the forces that could be united. The anti-war movement is an example of this consistency of a great number of people from various classes and strata united loosely under the leadership of the (then post-bourgeois) peace movement. Q u

3. There exists an international United Front Against Imperialism consisting of the various liberation struggles and governments who are objectively opposed to imperialism, led by the Peoples Republic of China. *CL 4*

4. At this time in the U.S., the spontaneous struggles of the people have reached their highest level. Conscious leadership of the various struggles is required, particularly a communist party, in order to advance. The reasons for this were laid out somewhat in the N. Illinois/Iowa round robin where they speak of the cynicism of the masses of people and the increasing crisis of imperialism. *CL 4*

5. There are two fundamental errors that can be made in UFAI work. The first is to exclude people from the struggle (or VVAW/WSO) because they aren't "pure" or advanced enough ideologically, instead of trying to unite with the positive aspects of anyone who wishes to contribute. The second (and most dangerous error at this time) is to fail to struggle with the bad aspects people or groups have -- to be all "unity." The first mistake will isolate us from the masses and keep us small. The second mistake will lead to reformism (failure to educate and lead the struggles of the masses against the whole system). Both errors have a unity in the respect that they stifle the revolutionary potential of the people and, in effect, hold the struggle back. *CL 4*

6. The UFAI must be built around demands that the forces opposed to imperialism can be united around, and that victories can be won around. These demands will of necessity change as the conditions of the struggle change. They must be based on the summation of where the masses are at and what the greatest demands of the masses are at any one time. We must look at the various struggles of the people as battles in a class war. In such a war, one needs a strategy (UFAI) and tactics (such as the War on the VA). We must speak to and fight for the relief of the oppression people face, while at the same time raising the ideological level so the final goals are seen -- the complete destruction of imperialism. *CL 4*

7. Our work is to bring veterans and GIs into this struggle and to advance them (with the help of communist cadre) to the understanding of the need for revolution and to becoming leaders in the struggle. Our organization is like a tube where people can enter at a very low level or programatic unity and advance to a higher level of unity, i. e. ideological. We must place no walls in this tube by pretending that we have a separate anti-imperialist ideology (a level at which people can safely rest) or by trying to do the work of a party and solve the National Question at our meetings. *CL 4*

MINORITY REPORT

On Strategy for Revolution

There was a minority position in opposition to the strategy of the United Front Against Imperialism at this time in this country. The minority agreed with the majority that a United Front would be necessary to seize state power and that the primary contradiction exists between capital and labor; which establishes a unity of interest among laboring people.

In opposing the United Front strategy, the minority made these points:

1. Our primary task is developing class consciousness, the working class coming to see itself as a class -- rather than stressing alliances across class lines.
2. The main obstacles to class consciousness are the institutions of white and male supremacy.
3. Both white and male supremacy stem from concrete conditions as well as bourgeois ideology. Therefore, a) these divisions within the class have a material basis and b) fighting for greater equality could bring a greater material basis for unity within the working class, while at the same time building solidarity between whites and national minority peoples and between men and women.
4. Making unity between classes the priority over consciousness and unity within the working class itself leaves the way open to subordinating the issues of white and male supremacy to seeking broader unity between classes.

On Minimum Program

There was a minority position in opposition to a strategy based on a minimum program. The minority agree with the majority that all people develop in stages, and that reform struggles play an important part in such developments.

However, in placing highest priority on building class consciousness and unity within the working class itself, the minority objected to the minimum program on these grounds:


1. The minimum program downplays clear class issues in favor of a broader unity across class lines.
2. Stating socialism/communism as our goal -- rather than anti-imperialism makes clear what we want and gives working people something to fight for (socialism/communism) not just against (imperialism).
3. Talking socialism/communism rather than anti-imperialism avoids the pitfall of people feeling manipulated -- wondering what we are really driving at.

Along with these two reports, the workshop would like to point out that not everyone in the workshop agreed with either of these positions. Many people were

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

there to learn and ask questions and had not done enough investigation to accept either of these two positions or to put forward a different position. However, during the course of the workshop, two strong positions were put forward (contained in the majority and minority reports) and there was much struggle around these two lines. *Qu*

VOTE: A move for acceptance of this workshop report by unanimous consensus was accepted with no objections. *Qu*

 January 27, 1975] *Qu* **b2**
b7D

10. Veterans/VA Workshop *Qu*

We saw the purpose of this workshop as the groundwork for the workshop on the National Program. Out of this arose discussion around what the VA is and why it exists; what different conditions are throughout the country and what political guidelines we should have around organizing veterans. *Qu*

What is the VA? *Qu*

The VA is an entire system encompassing not only hospitals and administrative offices but also extends into our communities. It's specific purpose is to serve and perpetuate imperialism. It was created as a means to dissipate the growing anger of veterans wanting to fight against the oppression they faced on leaving the military. The VA and the benefits it dispenses, limited as they are, came out of long struggles waged by veterans and better benefits are and can be gained by continuing struggle. *Qu*

Veterans who use VA facilities are predominately working class. It is necessary to fight for the advance of the working class and that means fighting, in this case, for better benefits for veterans. To say that demanding better conditions from the VA is either reformist or pro-militarist is a slap in the face to the working class. Conditions today are that the system of monopoly capitalism is in crisis. *Qu*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

and as that crisis deepens, the ruling class will increasingly attempt to take away what people have fought for. We see it as necessary to fight back against these attacks wherever they appear and more than that, to fight for a better quality of life justly due the working class. We want to build a fighting veterans anti-imperialist movement. What we win from the VA is good but not good enough when it leaves the system untouched. Therefore, we call for an escalation of the war on the VA. *qu*

Differing Conditions *qu*

Conditions in the VA throughout the country are bad. The workshop laid out some specific examples of this; i. e. benefits, hospital care, lack of loans, understaffing, refusal to recognize PVS, methadone addiction, experimentation on patients, military type control of veterans and staff, lack of jobs, bad discharges, national discrimination, red tape and delayed checks. In many cases, the economic situation the people are in forces them to use the VA as a last resort. These examples are not meant to be a complete list, nor of equal importance, but as a guide for local chapters to work around. *qu*

At this point in time, the correct way to implement the program is to unfold demands around the key demand of decent benefits for veterans. The workshop had limited discussion on organizing around unemployment offices, but summed up the discussion as difficult due to limited practice. *qu*

The workshop discussed and formulated political guidelines for the implementation of the program. *qu*

Political Guidelines *qu*

1. Our struggle is revolutionary, not reformist. Our task is to organize veterans and GIs to smash imperialism. The demands we raise are not an end in themselves. We do not want to reform the system. We want to end it once and for all.
2. Use the organization program to unfold other anti-imperialist issues and win people to these struggles.
3. Build a unified multi-national anti-imperialist veterans and GI movement. Fight racial, national and sexual discrimination. *qu*
4. Keep demands winnable but don't confuse victory in one battle with the final victory of the anti-imperialist movement.
5. Don't limit ourselves to what the organs of state power say is possible.
6. Our goal is not to create a privileged position of vets but win what is rightfully ours. We raise specific demands to unite the struggle of veterans with the overall anti-imperialist movement.
7. Develop international consciousness by linking these campaigns to struggles here and around the world. Use the campaigns as a basis to expose U. S. imperialism abroad.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance. Thus, the above seven points are to be guidelines for implementation of our program for work. *qu*

b2
b7D



January 7, 1975)
January 27, 1975) & 4

11. Winter Soldier Workshop & 4

The workshop on Winter Soldier unanimously endorsed the National Office Report on the monthly newspaper. We agreed that Winter Soldier is one of our organization's best means for conducting agitation and propaganda. It is not a forum for internal struggle. Other channels for struggle do exist, such as newsletters and position papers. & 4

We feel that all aspects of our newspaper's content (articles, photos, headlines) and form (layout, graphics) should emerge from and reflect our anti-imperialist politics in a way which helps to build a fighting veterans and GI movement. It is important to remember that Winter Soldier is a political tool. All members of VVAW/WSO should work with the newspaper in terms of organizing and fund raising on a regular basis. & 4

We see the newspaper as a vital tool for outreach and keeping that outreach alive. Every chapter should educate its members around the political responsibility of financially supporting the newspaper. & 4

The Winter Soldier workshop puts forward the following proposals: & 4

PROPOSAL: That the organizational objectives printed in each issue of Winter Soldier be immediately replaced by a section on "who are we" ("What is VVAW/WSO") written by the National Office; to be reviewed at the next NSCM; and that criticism be forwarded to the National Office on the content of the section as soon as it is published. & 4

VOTE: This proposal was accepted with a vote of: 48.085-yes; 16.065-no; 6.85-abs. & 4

PROPOSAL: That the National Office have the option to withhold newspapers from chapters who consistently fail to fulfill their financial and political obligations in support of the Winter Soldier. & 4

VOTE: This proposal was unanimously accepted. This means that if a chapter/region consistently fails to support the newspaper, both financially and politically, the NO has the option to discontinue sending newspapers to that region/chapter. & 4

Political content suggestions of the Workshop. *EH*

1. That headlines emphasis be militant and not "wimpy," i. e. reflect a fighting spirit.
2. That the paper is for the masses and should reflect the mass, anti-imperialist veteran/GI base and focus of our organization in the most effective way. This can only be accomplished through principled criticism from the membership effected by regular communication. *EH*
3. That a greater emphasis be placed on including cultural items (e. g. art, songs, poetry, etc) which reflect our anti-imperialist politics.

Miscellaneous Suggestions: *EH*

1. Chapters should hold workshops on effective methods of selling W. S.
 - a. consistant place of sales
 - b. insertion of current leaflets in Winter Soldier
 - c. don't just sell and advertise, talk with individuals
 - d. open the paper to specific related articles

Mechanical Suggestions: *EH*

1. That the staff analyze Winter Soldier with the goal of improving the utilization of space.
2. The Winter Soldier should cover more topics, and that the length of articles should be more seriously analyzed. Major articles be started on the front page.
3. The use of color is an important aspect of the style of Winter Soldier and should be used while economically feasible.
4. Color can be maintained while economizing by implementing a two color format (i. e. black and a rotating color) when used.

VOTE: This workshop report was accepted by a majority voice vote. *EH*


 January 7, 1975)
 January 27, 1975)
 January 29, 1975)

*b2
b7D*

B. New Business and Proposals (u)

1. Censure of CPUSA (u)

... a discussion and proposal was made and passed to write letters of censure to the CPUSA, ANGELA DAVIS, CHARLENE MITCHELL, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression for their opportunist and sectarian panners. (u)

b2
b7D

[redacted] January 7, 1975) (u)

2. Armed Forces Day (u)

We propose that our National Actions on Armed Forces Day, May 17, 1975: (u)

- 1. Be coordinated by the National Office.
- 2. Be held at a few centralized locations to be determined by the NO in conjunction with VVAW/WSO Organizing Projects.
- 3. That they be linked up as closely as possible with military installations where we have on-going, day-to-day work.
- 4. That as many regions/ chapters as possible build for these actions at the centralized locations. This is a national action.
- 5. That we build for these actions fully taking into account the situation in the Middle East. Should war erupt there, these actions will assume even greater importance.

[NOTE: This proposal was unanimously accepted.] (u)

While being discussed, it was noted that all chapters and regions will not be able to participate in these centralized actions, but that because of the importance of holding Armed Forces Day demos at places where we have on-going work, as many regions and chapters as possible should plug into and build for these demonstrations at centralized locations. The National Office will be discussing the possibilities for actions with the VVAW/WSO GI Organizing Projects, and details as to where these centralized demonstrations will occur will be gotten out to the chapters as soon as a determination of the sites has been made. (u)

[redacted] January 7, 1975) (u)
January 27, 1975)

3. G. I. Organizers Workshop *RU*

We propose that a GI organizers workshop be held in late ~~of~~ *RU*
May, 1975. *RU*

- The attendance will be limited to:
- a. Representatives of active VVAW/WSO organizing efforts.
 - b. No more than two representatives from each region (in addition to a.)
2. If necessary, the date can be changed by a straw vote polled by the National Office. *RU*
3. The workshop will be held in Columbus, Ohio.

VOTE: This proposal was unanimously accepted. *RU*

There was some discussion as to whether this workshop should be held before or after the Armed Forces Day demonstrations. It was decided that late May should remain as the tentative date, but that chapters should send in-put on the question of the date to the National Office so that a final determination of when this workshop should be held can be made. *RU*



January 7, 1975) *RU*
January 27, 1975)

b2
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4. Merger of Connecticut and Rhode Island Into the "New England" Region *Qu*

It was proposed that Connecticut and Rhode Island be annexed to the "New England" region. The states of Connecticut and Rhode Island were recently administratively attached to the New York/New Jersey region. This proposal received unanimous acceptance. *Qu*

[Redacted] January 7, 1975) *Qu*
[Redacted] January 27, 1975)

5. Merger of Oregon Into the Alaska/Washington Region *Qu*

It was proposed that the Oregon region and Alaska/Washington region be merged. This proposal received unanimous acceptance. *Qu*

[Redacted] January 7, 1975) *Qu*
[Redacted] January 27, 1975)

6. North and South Carolina Recognized as a Regional Organizing Contact *Qu*

During the past few years there has been very little VVAW/WSO activity in the states of North and South Carolina. There is one contact in Raleigh who does communicate with the NO on a semi-regular basis but there is little on-going VVAW/WSO activity within these two states. It was proposed that North and South Carolina be made a regional organizing contact with the primary contact at this time being in Raleigh, North Carolina. This proposal received unanimous acceptance. *Qu*

[Redacted] January 7, 1975) *Qu*
[Redacted] January 27, 1975)

7. San Diego Organizing Committee *Qu*

The San Diego, California Organizing Committee (which is soon to be recognized as a chapter) has been in existence for about six weeks. There have been some problems with a GI organizing group called the Center for Servicemen's Rights (CSR) in San Diego. Although the initiator of the VVAW/WSO in San Diego is a former member of CSR, CSR decided that they did not want a chapter of VVAW/WSO in San Diego doing GI work. Due to the problem between the San Diego VVAW/WSO and the CSR it was proposed that the National Steering Committee give a vote of confidence to the San Diego organizing committee. This proposal received unanimous acceptance. *Qu*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2

b7D

~~X~~

[REDACTED] January 7, 1975) [REDACTED] January 27, 1975) [initials]

8. Statement From the Minority on Base and Focus [initials]

The delegates holding the minority position on the future of VVAW/WSO believe that VVAW/WSO should focus on anti-imperialism. They made the following statement and it was unanimously agreed that this statement should be entered into the minutes of the meeting: "The anti-imperialist minority focus intends to work in the future by putting forth anti-imperialist politics in the context of the Vets and G.I. focus. The majority position stated their goal was the same and we disagreed on what the major focus should be in order to achieve that goal. We think that practice will tell and struggle will continue and we intend to do both. We also intend to stay in communication with each other and hope to send in articles for the National Newsletter". [initials]

b2
b7D
b7C

[REDACTED] January 27, 1975) [initials]

9. Nominations for NO [initials]

There will be three positions for national coordinator open at the next NSCM. The terms of BRIAN ADAMS, SAM SHORE and PETE ZASTROW will expire. Nominations for national coordinator were taken and the following persons were nominated: [initials]

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| BRIAN ADAMS (NO); | MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION |
| [REDACTED] Denver); | |
| [REDACTED] (Milwaukee); | |
| BARRY ROMO (Riverside, California); | |
| SAM SHORE (NO); | |
| PETE ZASTROW (NO) | |

Due to the fact that these nominations were taken at a late hour on the last day of the NSCM it was decided that questioning of the nominees would not take place at this meeting. If chapters or regions have questions to ask the nominees they should write to them for their positions and ideas. Further questioning of the nominees will take place at the next NSCM. It was also suggested that since they often do not know who will be accepting nominations for the NO until just prior to the elections it would be advisable for regions to discuss the nominees but not bring mandated votes on the nominees to the NSCM. A system of ranking preferences would allow for the possibility that one of the [initials]



nominees may decline nomination at the meeting and would avoid the problem of regions being locked into votes for specific individuals. *fh*

[redacted] January 27, 1975) *fh*

10. Date and Sight of Next NSCM *fh*

It was decided that the sight of the next NSCM would be in the State of Ohio with the tentative date around the July 4 weekend. The possible sight suggested was Columbus, Ohio and in the event they cannot meet on July 4, 1975, they will choose the weekend just prior to that date or the weekend following that date. The exact location and specific dates of the next NSCM will be sent out by the national office as soon as they are known. *fh*

b2
b7D

[redacted] January 7, 1975)
[redacted] January 27, 1975) *fh*
[redacted] January 29, 1975)

11. Proposal on the Post Vietnam Syndrome (PVS)
(See description at end of report) Clearinghouse *fh*

It was proposed that the National Clearinghouse on PVS send a message to the National Steering Committee. Have a good meeting and lay out some good things for us to do in the coming period of struggle. The Clearinghouse has accepted all ideas that were brought back from the last NSCM and some of us are working on implementing them. Our delegation has a sample copy of the "trimlined" version of the library which will now be broken down into sections. Soon we will begin the process and editorialize each section pointing out it's weak and strong points. Our most important addition is a History of the Veterans Movement. This may be a key to presenting the library in a more politically constructive way. Last of all we feel that the National Clearinghouse on PVS status as a national project is unrealistic. People from all over the country use our resources, however, so we feel that some sort of national recognition should remain. We suggest a national endorsement with the project's address to be continued in the "Winter Soldier". *fh*

This statement from the PVS Clearinghouse and proposal concerning the status of the Clearinghouse becoming a national endorsement rather than a national project was unanimously accepted by the Steering Committee. *fh*

[redacted] January 27, 1975) *fh*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL 100-21603

C. [Criticism and Self-Criticism] *JCH*

The following is a list summarizing those criticisms/self-criticisms which were made by a number of the regions in attendance: *JCH*

1) The organization has made a leap forward through the adoption of the focus, and even regions which did not agree with the focus stated that the program provided a good basis for future work.

2) The discussions held were too abstract and required in many cases a level of unity appropriate to a party congress, not the meeting of a mass organization. While people felt that struggle over issues such as the United Front Against Imperialism or the women's question or the national question were good educational devices, clearly there would be resolution of such questions at the meeting. There was too much of a tendency to let the discussions become abstracted to a point where it lost much of its educational value and instead became a debating match between a few people. A corollary to this criticism was the feeling that there should have been more practical workshops and more discussion around actual practice of the chapters. *JCH*

3) People were only seeing political "lines" and not listening to what was being said.

4) The struggle at the meeting was intense and for the most part principled. Many people had the practice necessary to back up the positions they were putting forward but still there were unproved accusations, rumor-mongering and some dishonesty in not putting forward criticisms or objections.

5) People were united in their gratitude to the kitchen workers from the St. Louis chapter and there was self-criticism about griping at the workers for problems with food which were in no way their responsibility.

6) People looked forward to a period of six months of growth and struggle which would see VVAW/WSO and the entire anti-imperialist movement go forward.

[Redacted] January 7, 1975) *JCH*
[Redacted] January 29, 1975)

D. [NSCM Ended] *JCH*

The NSCM ended at approximately 2:00 AM on January 1, 1975. *JCH*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
120

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ANGELA DAVIS

Angela Davis is an admitted member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), indicted and eventually acquitted on murder and kidnaping charges in Marin County, California.

CAMP

The December 15, 1971 issue of "CAMP News", a publication of CAMP included the following in part on page 13 under the heading, "CAMP Political Statement": "Present practice: The Chicago Area Military Project (CAMP) is an independent, radical organization made up of men and women living and working in the Chicago area. We operate to: (1) counsel and give legal support to active duty GIs and to reservists seeking discharges or other assistance in their struggle against a military machine from within and (2) develop political consciousness (as well as practical understanding) both in our counseling and in written analyses and 'how to do it' memos."

GAINESVILLE 8

The "Gainesville 8" was a group of 8 individuals headed by Scott Camil of Florida who were members or friends of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). On July 13, 1972, they were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury and subsequently tried in United States District Court, Gainesville, Florida, for conspiracy to violate Federal Anti-riot Laws at the Republican National Convention in Miami, Florida in August, 1972. In September, 1973 the "Gainesville 8" were acquitted.

GARY LAWTON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Gary Lawton trial is a project of the California/Nevada Region VVAW/WSO of major proportion. The Los Angeles area VVAW/WSO acts as a coordinator of the National Organization project in this regard. The published literature to the case of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner is handled by the Lawton, Gardner Offense - Defense Committee, Post Office Box 244, Riverside, California, which is, in fact, the Riverside

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

organizing committee of the VVAW/WSO. The case relates to the murder of two Riverside, California policemen for which Gardner and Lawton are charged. Lawton is a member of the VVAW/WSO and has traveled extensively throughout the United States in the last several months on speaking engagements in his defense while out on parole.

G.I. PROJECT
(FORMERLY NOSCAM)

NOSCAM was created by the VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee in July, 1972 in Milwaukee. NOSCAM's job is to help VVAW/WSO build a strong, viable, and on-going G.I. movement. Recently the NOSCAM name was changed to "G.I. Project" to more closely describe the duties of this group.

IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION
(ISA)

ISA is a pro-Communist organization which supports the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and is believed to be sympathetic towards Arab extremist type groups. While the organization claims to be involved in acts of violence in countries outside the United States, the ISA within the United States has not been known to be involved in any acts of violence to date. The organization's propensity for violence or willingness to assist other Arab extremist groups in acts of violence has not been determined.

LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS OFFENSE/
DEFENSE COMMITTEE (LBODC)

The project known as "Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee" is considered as an active VVAW/WSO project centered in the Kansas City, Missouri area. The purpose of this project is to enlighten prisoners incarcerated at the Leavenworth Penitentiary regarding the progress of the VVAW/WSO.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR UNIVERSAL
AND UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY (NCUUA)

The minutes of the Steering Committee, NCUUA, dated June 28, 1973 reflected the purpose of the NCUUA to be to mobilize the American people to work for a universal and unconditional amnesty and to educate them concerning the structures and institutions that created the war in Southeast Asia. The Council is committed to working for universal and unconditional amnesty and all persons suffering disabilities because of opposition to United States involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, to the draft, and to the military. The Council is demanding an immediate amnesty without conditions and without case-by-case review for all military resisters including deserters and draft resisters whether in exile or underground in the United States, all persons who because of their opposition to the war and the military have been administratively punished, convicted by civil or military courts, or are subject to prosecution and all veterans with less than honorable discharges.

POST VIETNAM SYNDROME (PVS)

PVS is the name given by VVAW/WSO to the psychological condition of returning Vietnam veterans who seem to stray from our accepted social structure.

"WINTER SOLDIER"

"Winter Soldier" is the national newspaper of the VVAW/WSO.

WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR PEACE (WSP)

WSP is a peace-oriented women's organization opposed to the United States foreign policy in Vietnam. Founded in 1961 in Washington, D. C., local Southern California WSP headquarters are maintained at 5899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. WSP is active in draft counseling, and is made to exclude from its activities members of or persons sympathetic to the CPUSA and related groups. WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was formed in 1968 at Minneapolis, Minnesota, by Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks and George Mitchell, Chippewa Indians, as a civil rights organization. Its stated goals are to secure Indian self-determination and the right to be and think Indian; to eliminate the destructive tendencies of Christianity, white oriented education and the Federal Government from Indian life, along with the yoke of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

All AIM chapters, leaders and members are not considered to be violence-prone. Members of AIM, however, led by violence-prone leaders, participated in the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building, Washington, D. C., during November, 1972. These leaders subsequently led and participated in confrontations with local authorities, resulting in violence at Scottsbluff, Nebraska, and the Rapid City-Custer area of South Dakota. From February 27, 1973, through May 8, 1973, these leaders with AIM members and supporters occupied the community of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by force of arms, taking a number of the community's residents as hostage. Since that time they have been involved in numerous confrontations with local and Federal authorities, including the shooting and killing of a deputy sheriff in Arizona and the severe beating of two other police officers in South Dakota.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CASA DE LAS AMERICAS

On May 9, 1969, a source advised that the Casa de las Americas, an organization composed of pro-Fidel has its headquarters on the fourth floor, 876 Broadway, New York City. Source described this organization as a successor to the old Casa Cuba Club (CCC) with a changed name to avoid overt affiliation with Cuba. The CCC had been composed of persons belonging to the now defunct 26th of July Movement, a revolutionary organization founded and led by Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, until its dissolution in 1962.

A second source advised that the CCC, originally founded as a social club of New York area residents of Cuban extraction, was sympathetic to Castro during his struggle for power. Subsequent to January 1, 1959, as it became apparent that communism was the form of government in Cuba, the leaders of the 26th of July Movement assumed control of CCC and its membership declined.

The first source above advised that Casa de las Americas is also ostensibly formed as a social club, but in effect it acts as a focal point for revolutionary peoples sympathetic to the Cuban Government. Although it is not directly controlled by the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN), many Cuban personnel attend its functions and at least an indirect link with CMUN is present. Casa de las Americas has fund-raising affairs and contributes money to the CMUN. Casa de las Americas also gives financial support to other revolutionary groups representing countries other than Cuba. Through CMUN, various propaganda materials of a communist nature are found at Casa de las Americas. This same source also stated that some executive committee members, as well as general members of Casa de las Americas, are members of the Spanish Section of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA). An indirect link does occur at Casa de las Americas in that it is used as a staging ground prior to entry into CPUSA. Further, source indicates that membership in Casa de las Americas serves as an excellent background for persons desiring to return to Cuba. *QW*

This same source stated that, although there exists in Cuba, a social club called Casa de las Americas supported by the Cuban Government, there appears to be no connection between the two and no reason to believe that the Casa de las Americas in New York was named after the one in Cuba.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

125

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)

Title 50, USC, Section 781 (Internal Security Act of 1950) stated that, as a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, Congress found the existence of a world communist revolutionary movement, whose purpose is to establish a communist totalitarian dictatorship in the world's countries through the medium of a world-wide communist organization. Communist action organizations in various countries endeavor to carry out the objectives of the world communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing governments by any means. The communist organization in the United States -- the CPUSA -- pursuing its stated objectives, presents "a clear and present danger to the security of the United States." The Subversive Activities Control Board, established by Section 791 of the above Act, found the CPUSA to be a communist action organization. This finding was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in June, 1961. The CPUSA has continued to be an arm of the international communist movement dominated by the Soviet Union. The CPUSA, in its dependence on the Soviet Union, has never knowingly adopted a position contrary to Soviet policy. Its leaders frequently confer with Soviet leaders to receive guidance and direction on the policies the CPUSA is to follow. There has been no evidence that the primary aims of the CPUSA, as they conform to Soviet objectives, have changed over the years (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~
A P P E N D I X

NATIONAL ALLIANCE AGAINST RACIST AND
POLITICAL REPRESSION

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) is a front group of the Communist Party, USA, a subversive organization that serves as an arm of the international communist movement dominated by the Soviet Union. A source advised that it was formed under communist initiative at a founding conference in Chicago, Illinois, in May, 1973. It is targeted against the American penal system and has among its objectives the freeing of all "political prisoners". The NAARPR is headquartered in New York, New York, and has branches throughout the United States.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

(b)(1)

(b)(7)(A)

(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

(b)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Civil Action 77 CIV 999 (U.S.D.C. S.D.N.Y.)
75 CIV 6010 (S.D.N.Y. 1975)

- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-448092-458 (page 128, 129)

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

A P P E N D I X

OCTOBER LEAGUE

The October League (OL) was founded in 1969 in Los Angeles, California, and in May, 1972, merged with the Georgia Communist League, a small Marxist-Leninist organization, having the same goals as the OL. The OL maintains its Headquarters in Los Angeles. The OL's published "Statement of Political Unity of the Georgia Communist League (M-L) and the October League (M-L)" dated May, 1972, states, "The alliance and merger of the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the general workers movement is the basic strategic alliance for revolution in the United States; a revolution that will accomplish, in one sweep, the liberation of the oppressed nationalities and the emancipation of the working class." Various OL leaders have visited the People's Republic of China.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
A P P E N D I X

ORGANIZATION OF ARAB STUDENTS (OAS)

The Organization of Arab Students (OAS) was organized in 1952. Its membership consists of Arab students attending various colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. It acts as the focal point for the Arab students' social activities as well as a forum for discussions of international affairs as they relate to the Middle East. Many of the members of the OAS have been identified as being members or sympathizers of Arab terrorist organizations. Sources have advised that many of the conventions of the OAS have been used as a cover for secret meetings among the members or sympathizers of Arab terrorist organizations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X

[PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO)] ~~U~~ U

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was established in 1964 and acts as a coordinating body for most of the Palestinian fedayeen groups. The Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) is its military arm and the Palestine Liberation Forces (PLF) is its commando arm.

~~U~~ U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~


~~X~~

A P P E N D I X

PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENO (SOCIALIST
PARTY OF PUERTO RICO) (PSP)

The PSP is a Marxist-Leninist organization which advocates total independence for Puerto Rico from the United States. PSP was founded in Puerto Rico in November, 1971, at the Eighth Annual Convention of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) when the membership of the latter organization voted to change its name to PSP.

The PSP openly supports the revolutionary government of Cuba and maintains permanent representation in Havana. The official PSP publication, "Claridad", has frequently claimed the right of PSP to use violence to accomplish its revolutionary objectives.



A P P E N D I X

REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), formerly known as the Attica Brigade, is a student-based organization founded in New York City in the fall of 1971. The RSB considers itself to be an anti-imperialist organization which views United States imperialism as the main enemy of the people of the world and one of its stated objectives is to help build a revolutionary student movement and be a part of the overall revolutionary movement that will ultimately defeat U. S. imperialism. The RSB favors violent actions to further its cause and is moving closer in ideology to the Revolutionary Union (RU), which has significantly infiltrated the RSB and plays a major role in the RSB policies, decisions, and activities. As of September, 1974, the RSB is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois. The RU is a basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary organization.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY UNION

The Revolutionary Union (RU), founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers", and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution", are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU National Headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
A P P E N D I X

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

A source advised in January, 1974, that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) was organized in New York City in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam Veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. In 1967-1971, the VVAW engaged in various protest demonstrations of a non-violent nature but during late 1971 evidenced increasing militancy, culminating in December, 1971, with the takeover of various American landmarks and public buildings. In 1972 certain VVAW leaders were quoted as telling members the VVAW was a revolutionary organization and not "just another group of war veterans."

VVAW leaders have traveled to North Vietnam in 1972-1973 and have reportedly established liaison with revolutionary or terrorist groups internationally. During the January, 1973, National Steering Committee (NSC) meeting, VVAW leaders discussed programs aimed at obtaining support from or influencing active duty military personnel to act contrary to orders. Also discussed was obtaining access to classified Government information to be used against U. S. interests, and one leader subsequently reportedly engaged in such activity.

During 1972, VVAW leaders and activists reportedly made several trips to Europe and Asia during which they participated in conferences with representatives and/or officials of the Soviet Bloc, North Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The membership was also told the VVAW had been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist or Maoist groups, describing them as "our friends." Commitments of support for the VVAW were reportedly received from throughout the world, and it was stated the VVAW had strong ties with nearly all revolutionary organizations. Further, international "anti-imperialist groups" considered the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the United States.

At one NSC meeting in 1972, the speakers presented their views in a manner demonstrating the VVAW utilized a Marxist-oriented analysis of world problems.

In April, 1973, an organizational name change to Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) was made to indicate inclusion as members individuals other than veterans of military service.

~~SECRET~~

During the April, 1973, NSC meeting, the attendees were told the group has communication with over 200 foreign organizations and was considered a credible organization by these groups. In October, 1973, representatives of the VVAW/WSO attended and participated in the World Peace Congress in Moscow, USSR.

In mid-1973 an ideological split within the organizational leadership became evident, with those espousing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine having to contend with the growing influence of the Maoists. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented, and have expressed determination to educate the VVAW/WSO membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The VVAW/WSO publication "Winter Soldier" is considered a very useful tool in this regard.

The VVAW/WSO is composed of approximately 130 chapters nationwide. Current estimated membership is 2,000. National Headquarters is located at 827 West Newport, Chicago, Illinois.

~~X~~
A P P E N D I X

WEATHERMAN

The Weatherman group, now commonly referred to as the Weather Underground, was formed in June, 1969, as a faction of the Students for a Democratic Society. A Weatherman ideological paper entitled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," prepared in June, 1969, stated the basic philosophy of this group is Marxist-Leninist in content but with strong advocacy that action, not theory, would bring about revolution in the United States. In mid-February, 1970, members of the Weatherman entered an underground status with an intended program of "strategic sabotage" with police and military installations as primary targets.

Current Federal warrants are outstanding for a number of Weatherman wanted for violations of Federal statutes and local criminal violations. Since 1970, the Weather Underground has claimed responsibility for a number of bombings, including the U. S. Capitol Building in March, 1971; the Pentagon Building in May, 1972; and the Department of State Building in Washington, D. C., in January, 1975. In October, 1973, a Weatherman fugitive, in a letter to the press, encouraged other revolutionaries to assume an underground status, noting that the underground provides a revolutionary haven for operations looking toward the violent overthrow of this Government.

In the late Summer, 1974, Weather Underground issued a 185-page booklet entitled "Prairie Fire." The introduction is dated May 9, 1974, and the book is broken down into various chapters including one identifying specific locations where 19 bombing incidents occurred wherein the Weather Underground is taking credit. This book calls for "the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the eradication of the social system based on profit."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 26 1975
TELETYPE

NR010 AL CODE

3:14 PM URGENT FEBRUARY 26, 1975 CHP

TO : DIRECTOR (100-448092)
BUFFALO (100-21623)
CHICAGO (100-50772)
NEWARK (100-53565)
NEW YORK (100-160664)

FROM: ALBANY (100-22519) (P)

ATT: INTD.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), IS. OO: CHICAGO.

ON FEBRUARY 26, 1975, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT THE NEXT REGIONAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK-NORTHERN NEW JERSEY REGION OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK, ON MARCH 1-2, 1975, AT THE UNIVERSALIST UNITARIAN CHURCH HAD BEEN RESCHEDULED AND WOULD BE HELD AT ONEONTA, NEW YORK, ON MARCH 15-16, 1975. THE SOURCE ADVISED THAT

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. AD-Adm.	_____
Dep. AD-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comm. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

b7c



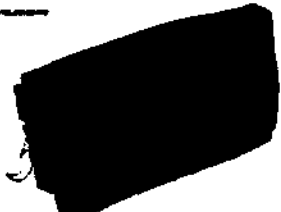
157

REC 67

4159

5 FEB 28 1975

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07/11/95 BY [signature]



b7c

70 MAR 6 1975

PAGE TWO, AL 100-22519

THE MEETING SCHEDULED FOR BUFFALO THE WEEKEND OF MARCH 1-2, 1975, HAD BEEN CANCELED AS THE BUFFALO LOCATION WAS NOT CONSIDERED SECURE.

THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SINCE THAT TIME VVAW LEADERS HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THE VVAW IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP, NOT "JUST ANOTHER GROUP OF WAR VETERANS." ALSO, THE MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN TOLD THE VVAW HAS BEEN ASKED TO COOPERATE ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL WITH MANY ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUPS. ADDITIONALLY, IT WAS INDICATED THAT "ANTI-IMPERIALIST GROUPS" CONSIDER THE VVAW A POTENT ORGANIZATION OF SIMILAR STATURE IN THE U.S. IN APRIL, 1973, THE GROUP CHANGED THEIR NAME TO VVAW/WSO SO THAT NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE.

PAGE THREE, AL 100-22519

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE BUFFALO TELCALL TO ALBANY, FEBRUARY 26, 1975, AND
ALBANY TELCALL TO BUFFALO, FEBRUARY 26, 1975.

SOURCE UTILIZED IS [REDACTED] IS
PRESENTLY IN A POSITION TO [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] NEW YORK.

b2
b7D

NO LHM FOLLOWS.

END.

JDR

FBIHQ CLR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 2/28/75

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (100-11445) -P-

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
REGIONAL CONFERENCE MEETING
ONEONTA, NEW YORK
JULY 27-28, 1974
IS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP4 BJA/PA

(OO: CHICAGO)

Re Richmond letter to Chicago, 2/7/75.

The following investigation was conducted by
SA [redacted] at Lynchburg and Forest, Va.:

On 12/11/74, a knowledgeable source at Lynchburg,
Va. advised that [redacted] aka [redacted]
[redacted] is a student as of 9/74 at Central
Virginia Community College, Lynchburg, Va. Source advised
that [redacted] formerly resided at [redacted]
Lynchburg, Va.

On 12/10/74, a source at Forest, Va., advised
that [redacted] is a white male, age approximately 30, who
attends the Central Virginia Community College at
Lynchburg, Va. Source advised that [redacted] drives a
[redacted] and resides [redacted] of Mr [redacted]
[redacted] Source advised that [redacted] is married and has
one child.

On 1/27/75, a review of the arrest records
at the Lynchburg, Va. PD failed to reflect any record
identifiable with [redacted] or [redacted]

For information of Bureau and Chicago, there has
been no activity from the VVAW/WSO Program.

- 1-4440 Jek
- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772)
- 2 - Richmond

JRA:mbj

(6)

51 MAR 07 1975

REC-59

6 MAR 4 1975



RH 100-11445

On 2/14/75, a source at the Central Virginia Community College, Lynchburg, Va., advised that to his knowledge there is no captioned organization at the Central Virginia Community College. Source advised that the name of [REDACTED] had never come to his attention.

Source advised that he would check this matter further and would report back.

On 2/18/75, source referred to above (3rd) indicated that a review of [REDACTED] record at the Central Virginia Community College indicated that [REDACTED] has SSAN [REDACTED] and was born [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] Va. The college records indicate a previous residence of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Lynchburg, Va. The record indicated that [REDACTED] father was [REDACTED]. The record indicated that [REDACTED] attended the W. T. Woodson High School at Fairfax, Va., during the period 1963-65 and did [REDACTED].

The record indicated that [REDACTED] entered the U. S. Air Force 4/15/65, and was [REDACTED] and had Air Force Serial Number [REDACTED]. The record indicated that he was honorably discharged and received an "early out" to attend college. The record indicated that he obtained the rank of Sergeant. [REDACTED]

Source advised that [REDACTED] has not been subject of any disciplinary action while a student and he appears to be a student in good standing.

Source advised that he would check further to determine if [REDACTED] is active in any movements or groups that might be of interest to the FBI.

LEADS:

RICHMOND AT LYNCHBURG, VA.

Will maintain contact with source at Central Virginia Community College.

RH 100-11445

FOR BUREAU AND ONE RH COPY ONLY:

Knowledgeable source at Lynchburg, Va., is
Mrs. [REDACTED] Retail Merchants
Association, Lynchburg, Va.

Source at Forest, Va., is Mrs. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] U. S. Post Office, Forest, Va.

Source at Central Virginia Community College
is Mr. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/26/75

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-77329) (C)

SUBJECT:  **b7c**
SM VVAW/WSO

OO: SF

Re San Francisco nitels 1/27/75 captioned
"Demonstration by VVAW/WSO at Consulate General of Vietnam,
1/27/75", and "Demonstration at Union Square, San Francisco,
1/27/75, Sponsored by the VVAW/WSO."

Enclosed for FBIHQ are four copies of an Investigative
Summary. Two copies of an FD 376 are attached.

One copy of the Investigative Summary is disseminated
to Secret Service, San Francisco.

Subject does not meet the ADEX criteria.

Attempted interview of Subject 8/13/74 met with
negative results.

*1 cc of let destroyed
1 cc of enc. 4 (FD 376) w/ photo
see by me JCB L.S.S.
C.V.L./m.g.
3/11/75*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6 BJA/WA

ENCLOSURE

REC-31

100-442012-4161

MAR 5 1975

EX-117

2 Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-San Francisco
JRO:kah S-2
(3)



b7c





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 26, 1975

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: [REDACTED]

b7c

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

- 1. Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
- 2. Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
- 3. Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
- 4. Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
- 5. Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
- 6. Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
- 7. Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph has been furnished enclosed is not available.

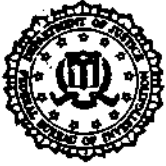
Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) 2 (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

Enclosure(s) 2 (RM)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/1/95 BY [signature]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

February 26, 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6BJV/B

[REDACTED]
SUBVERSIVE MATTER - VIETNAM
VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

b7c

This investigation is based on information which indicates that [REDACTED] in view of her affiliation with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) (see appendix), is engaged in activities which could involve a violation of Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), or Title 50, U. S. Code, Sections 781-798 (Internal Security Act of 1950).

[REDACTED] a white female, was born [REDACTED] at Newark, New Jersey. She is single and resides at [REDACTED] lists her occupation as a student.

[REDACTED] has been identified as a member within the leadership of the [REDACTED] Chapter of the VVAW and has attended over 20 meetings of the VVAW within the State of California since April, 1974. She attended two sub-regional VVAW meetings, one held in [REDACTED] California, [REDACTED] 1974, and the other held in [REDACTED] 1974.

[REDACTED] also attended two regional conferences of the VVAW, one at the University of California [REDACTED] 1974, and the other held at the University of California [REDACTED] 1974.

[REDACTED] was arrested by the San Francisco Police Department on January 27, 1975, for trespassing as a result of her participation in occupation of the Vietnam Consulate that date in San Francisco.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-47875-416
ENCLOSURE

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

A source advised in January, 1974, that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) was organized in New York City in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam Veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. In 1967-1971, the VVAW engaged in various protest demonstrations of a non-violent nature, but during late 1971 evidenced increasing militancy, culminating in December, 1971, with the takeover of various American landmarks and public buildings. In 1972 certain VVAW leaders were quoted as telling members the VVAW was a revolutionary organization and not "just another group of war veterans."

VVAW leaders have traveled to North Vietnam in 1972-1973 and have reportedly established liaison with revolutionary or terrorist groups internationally. During the January, 1973 National Steering Committee (NSC) meeting, VVAW leaders discussed programs aimed at obtaining support from or influencing active duty military personnel to act contrary to orders. Also discussed was obtaining access to classified Government information to be used against U. S. interests, and one leader subsequently reportedly engaged in such activity.

During 1972, VVAW leaders and activists reportedly made several trips to Europe and Asia during which they participated in conferences with representatives and/or officials of the Soviet Bloc, North Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The membership was also told the VVAW had been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist or Maoist groups, describing them as "our friends". Commitments of support for the VVAW were reportedly received from throughout the world, and it was stated the VVAW had strong ties with nearly all revolutionary organizations. Further, international "anti-imperialist groups" considered the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the United States.

At one NSC meeting in 1972, the speakers presented their views in a manner demonstrating the VVAW utilized a Marxist-oriented analysis of world problems.

APPENDIX

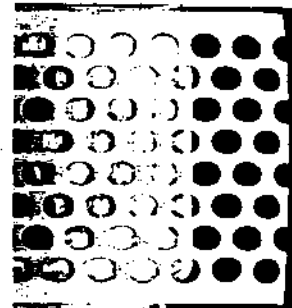
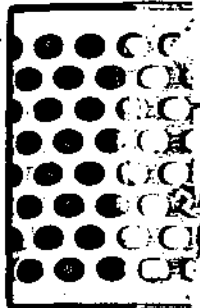
In April, 1973, an organizational name change to Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) was made to indicate inclusion as member individuals other than veterans of military service.

During the April, 1973 NSC meeting, the attendees were told the group has communication with over 200 foreign organizations and was considered a credible organization by these groups. In October, 1973, representatives of the VVAW/WSO attended and participated in the World Peace Congress in Moscow, USSR.

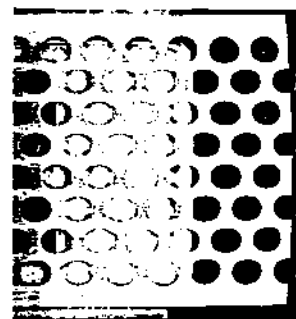
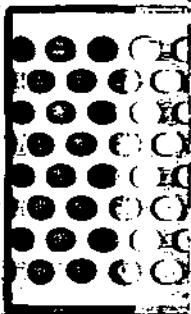
In mid-1973 an ideological split within the organizational leadership became evident, with those espousing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine having to contend with the growing influence of the Maoists. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented, and have expressed determination to educate the VVAW/WSO membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The VVAW/WSO publication, "Winter Soldier", is considered a very useful tool in this regard.

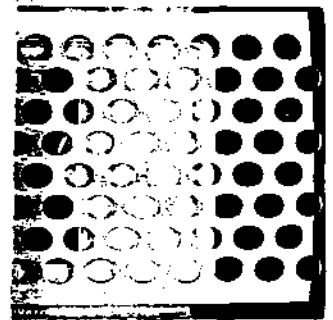
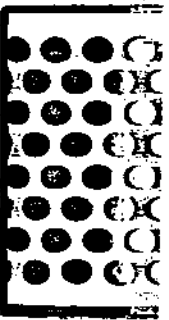
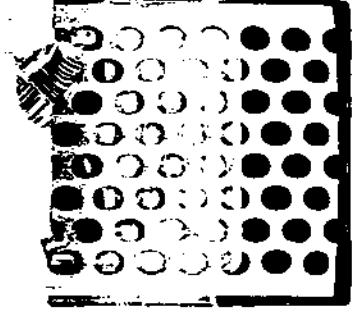
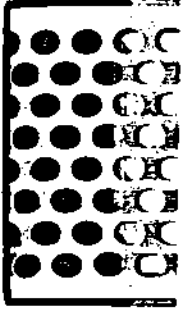
The VVAW/WSO is composed of approximately 130 chapters nationwide. Current estimated membership is 2,000. National Headquarters is located at 827 West Newport, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP/leB/aw





100-448092-4161

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

(b)(1)

(b)(7)(A)

(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

(b)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.

- Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

_____ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

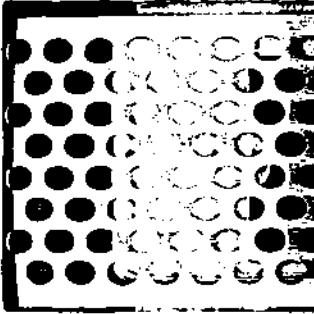
100-448092-4161

```

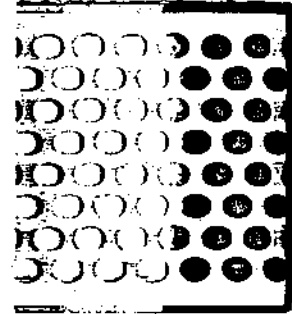
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

```

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX



W
 F
 5'9"
 122
 Hair - Brn.
 Eyes - Hazel

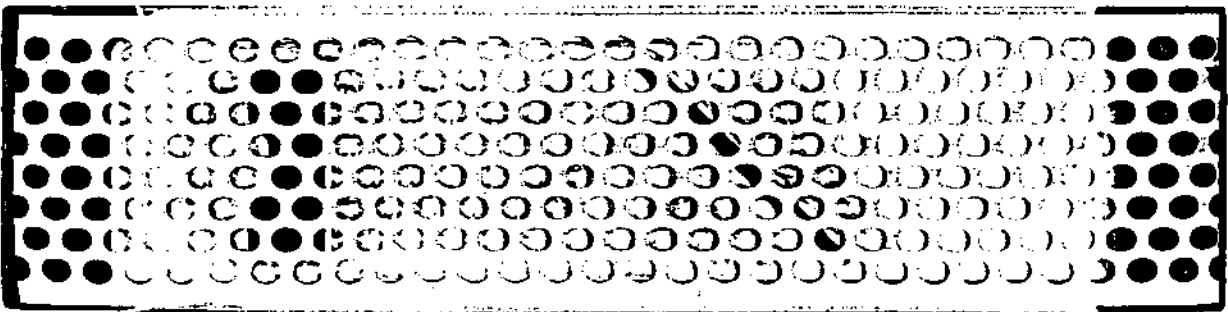


DOB / [REDACTED]
 POB / [REDACTED]
 SSAN / [REDACTED]

b7c

THIS IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 10/12/94 BY SP6 BJA/LUA

100-448590-4161



MESSAGE RELAY

Date 2/28/75

Transmit in CODE via teletype the attached PRIORITY message.
(plaintext or code) (precedence)

FROM: Director, FBI

FIELD DISSEMINATION

- TO: RUEADWW/ The President
- RUEADWW/ The Vice President
 Att.: _____
- RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
 Att.: _____
- RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
- RUEAIIA/ Director, CIA
- RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
 and National Indications Center
- RUEACSI/ Department of the Army
- RUEBGFA/ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)
- RUEOLKN/ Naval Investigative Service
- RUEADSS/ U. S. Secret Service (PID)
- RUEBWJA/ Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Deputy Attorney General (By messenger)
- RUEBWJA/ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
 and Internal Security Section
 and General Crimes Section
- RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
- RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
- RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration
-
-

SACS:

old on pg. 2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

LEGATS: FEB 28 1975

TELETYPE

ATTN: ANALYSIS & EVALUATION UNIT (AEU)

REC 67

100-448092-4162

16 MAR 4 1975

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically
with _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

SUBJECT: UNCLASSIFIED

SEE NEXT PAGE

(Text of message begins on next page)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/1/95 BY [signature]

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. _____
- Comp. Syst. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Files & Com. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT



[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[Handwritten initials]

58 MAR 10 1975

Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	
Ident. Div.	
Intell. Div.	
Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Plan. & Insp.	
Rec. Mgmt.	
Tech. Serv.	
Training	
Off. Liaison	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Sec'y	

~~NY 657 BY CODE~~
~~NY 657 BY CODE~~
 DIRECTOR, FBI (100-100000)
 NEW YORK (100-440000)
 INTELLIGENCE DIVISION



MIDEAST FORUM AT OLD WESTBURY COLLEGE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF
NEW YORK (SUNY), OLD WESTBURY, NEW YORK, MARCH 3, 1975
SPONSORED BY THE
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO)

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
 IN THE PAST, HAS ADVISED THAT THE VVAW/WSO WILL SPONSOR A FUNC-
 TION KNOWN AS THE "MIDEAST FORUM" ON THE EVENING OF MARCH 3, 1975,
 AT OLD WESTBURY COLLEGE, SUNY, OLD WESTBURY, NEW YORK. SCHEDULED
 TO PARTICIPATE AS SPEAKERS REPRESENTING THE PALESTINE LIBERATION
 ORGANIZATION; ACTION COMMITTEE ON ARAB-AMERICAN RELATIONS,
 ARABIAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU).



b7c

THE FUNCTION IS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC AND APPROXIMATELY 650
 ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND.

*No dissemination
 since no indication
 of dissemination
 4/26/75*



b7c

THE VVAW/WSO WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SUBSEQUENTLY, VVAW/WSO LEADERS HAVE INSTRUCTED THAT MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION ARE A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP, AND NOT JUST ANOTHER GROUP OF WAR VETERANS. NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST/LENINIST ORIENTATED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST/LENINIST DOCTRINE.

THE RU, FOUNDED IN 1968, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT ORGANIZATION, ADHERING TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST LINE.

ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE, UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS HAVE RECEIVED NUMEROUS TELEPHONE PROTESTS FROM THE LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY, AS WELL AS VOCAL PROTEST FROM JEWISH STUDENTS. IN VIEW OF THE PROTESTS AND THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFRONTATIONS AND DISRUPTIVE ACTION, THE NASSAU COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT (NCPD) HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO ASSIST THE UNIVERSITY SECURITY FORCE IN MONITORING THE FUNCTION.

DETECTIVE [REDACTED] SPECIAL OPERATIONS BUREAU, NCPD, HAS ADVISED THAT UNITS OF HIS DEPARTMENT WILL BE PRESENT TO AUGMENT THE UNIVERSITY SECURITY FORCE. HE HAS ADVISED THAT THE LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY HAS BEEN VOCAL IN PROTESTING THE FUNCTION,

b7c

~~NY 100-410552~~

~~NY 100-410552~~

BUT THAT NO DIRECT THREATS OF VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN RECEIVED. HE STATED HIS DEPARTMENT WILL BE PRESENT IN FORCE TO SCREEN THE AUDIENCE AND TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES SHOULD VIOLENCE OR SERIOUS CONFRONTATIONS OCCUR.

~~ADMINISTRATIVE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS~~ [REDACTED]

~~NEW YORK WILL FOLLOW.~~

ND.

b2

b7D

cc [Signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: February 28, 1975

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-15819) (RUC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
IS

REC-102

Re Minneapolis letter to Bureau dated 6/14/74,
Minneapolis teletype to Bureau dated 11/11/74, Chicago
report of SA [redacted] dated 2/7/75, Chicago
memo dated 1/20/75, Milwaukee airtel to Director dated
12/12/74.

b7c

This communication is classified confidential
to protect [redacted]

Referenced Minneapolis teletype to Bureau dated
11/11/74, advised that on that date, about 25 individuals
participated in a VVAW/WSO sponsored rally held at the
Fort Snelling National Cemetery and Fort Snelling Federal
Building, Fort Snelling, Minnesota.

Re

b2
b7D

[redacted] who was present at the rally, expressed
an interest in joining the organization and was told that
at that time there is no active VVAW/WSO organization in
Minnesota. The source was advised that in the event that
a chapter is organized, the source would be contacted.

Contacts with established sources and informants
relative to VVAW/WSO activities within the Minneapolis
Division have failed to reveal that there is any such
activity in this division.

REC-4

4163

It is noted that all informants in the security
field have been alerted to the FBI interest in the VVAW/WSO
should this organization begin to function within this
division. [redacted] and [redacted] in addition to [redacted]

b1
b2
b7D

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-50772) (RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100-15674) (RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis

Classified by 7080 MAR 6 1975
Exempt from GDS, Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

RGB:jmf
(5)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Att

MAR 17 1975



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/19/94 BY SP2/BJL/CR

are in excellent position to penetrate such a group in the Minneapolis area and [redacted] is able to provide coverage in the [redacted] area.

Referenced Chicago report of February 7, 1975, lists a VVAW/WSO chapter at Post Office Box 7083, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and VVAW/WSO news letter of October 2, 1974, provided by [redacted] lists a change of address for the VVAW/WSO as C/O [redacted] Minneapolis, Minnesota. Post Office Box [redacted] was determined to have been obtained by a [redacted]. Preliminary investigations were conducted on both [redacted] and [redacted] cases captioned, [redacted] SM-VVAW/WSO, MP 100-17533, and [redacted] SM-VVAW/WSO, MP 100-17534." These investigations were conducted as the individuals appear to be acting in a leadership capacity. Both investigations are closed as no information was obtained which indicated that an active VVAW/WSO organization does exist, or that either individual was connected with a Marxist organization or had been involved in violence.

b2
b7D
b7C

Referenced Chicago report also lists a VVAW/WSO chapter at [redacted] and gives [redacted] as the individual in charge. A preliminary investigation is being conducted on [redacted] the case captioned, [redacted] SM-VVAW/WSO, MP 100-17400," as he may be acting in a leadership capacity.

[redacted] has advised that there is no VVAW/WSO activity in the [redacted] area and on October 11, 1974, [redacted]

[redacted] Minnesota, advised that he is unaware of any VVAW/WSO activity on his campus, where [redacted] is a graduate student. [redacted] case in a pending status as efforts continue to determine his military background.

For information of Milwaukee Division regarding Milwaukee airtel to Director dated December 12, 1974, contact with logical sources has failed to develop information regarding unidentified individual from Minneapolis, Minnesota, who attended the National Steering Committee meeting (NSCM) on November 30, 1974, and/or December 7, 1974.

X

X

NR 010 CV CODED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

6:10 PM URGENT 2:27:75 GRB

TO: DIRECTOR (100-448092)

FEB 27 1975

FROM: CLEVELAND (100-34273)

TELETYPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ATTENTION: INTD

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), IS.

RE BUREAU TELEPHONE CALL TO CLEVELAND THIS DATE.

REFERENCED BU CALL REFERRED TO INQUIRY BY CONGRESSMAN
JOHN SIEBERLING CONCERNING A PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEILLANCE CON-
DUCTED BY FBI AT FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING, AKRON, OHIO, IN
JANUARY, 1975. A REVIEW OF CLEVELAND FILE IN CAPTIONED MATTER
REFLECTS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION CONCERNING DEMONSTRATION
AND FBI SURVEILLANCE THEREOF WHICH IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE SUBJECT
OF CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING'S INQUIRY. ON JANUARY 27, 1975
APPROXIMATELY FOURTEEN PERSONS CONDUCTED A PEACEFUL PICKETING
AT FEDERAL BUILDING, AKRON, OHIO PROTESTING U.S. POLICY RE
INDOCHINA. DEMONSTRATION WHICH LASTED FROM 12:05 PM TO
APPROXIMATELY 1:05 PM, TERMINATED WITHOUT INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS.
AMONG THE IDENTIFIED DEMONSTRATORS WERE FIVE ADEX SUBJECTS OF
CLEVELAND OFFICE AS WELL AS TWO OTHER INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. A.D. - Adm.	_____
Dep. A.D. - Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____



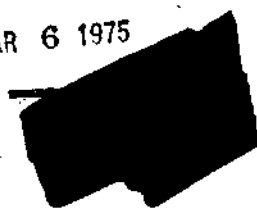
b7c

REC 6Z

4164
MAR 6 1975

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/17/94 BY SP6 BJA/LLD

56 MAR 13 1975



PAGE TWO (100-34273) C O N F I D ~~X~~ E N T I A L

SUBJECTS OF PENDING SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS. ABOVE INFORMATION WAS FURNISHED TO BUREAU BY NITEL DATED JANUARY 27, 1975.

WITH REFERENCE TO AGENTS' PRESENCE DURING ABOVE-MENTIONED DEMONSTRATION AND PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEILLANCE CONNECTED THEREWITH

THE FOLLOWING IS NOTED. ON DECEMBER 19, 1974 [REDACTED] FURNISHED A REPORT DATED DECEMBER 19, 1974 WHEREIN SOURCE STATED THAT VVAW IN AKRON AND REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE AT KENT STATE UNIVERSITY WERE "LOOKING AT THE NEW FEDERAL BUILDING IN AKRON...THEY PLAN TO GET TO THE BUILDING BEFORE IT OPENS AND DO SOMETHING 'EMBARRASSING' TO GET ON THE NEWS AND GET PUBLICITY. THIS IS THOUGHT TO BE THINGS LIKE HANGING FLAGS, ETC., NOT TOO LIKELY TO BE DESTRUCTIVE". ALTHOUGH LEAFLETS CONCERNING PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION ON JANUARY 27,

1975 WERE WIDELY DISSEMINATED IN AKRON - KENT, OHIO AREA AND KNOWLEDGE OF DEMONSTRATION WAS NOT THEREFORE RESTRICTED, CLEVELAND DURING NORMAL LIAISON CONTACTS ADVISED INTELLIGENCE UNIT OF AKRON PD AND MR. [REDACTED] OF AKRON FEDERAL BUILDING. MR. [REDACTED] WAS ALSO ADVISED OF INFORMATION CONFIDENTIALLY RECEIVED CONCERNING POSSIBILITY OF "EMBARRASSING" INCIDENTS WHICH MAY BE PERPETRATED AGAINST AKRON FEDERAL

b2
b7D

b7C

PAGE THREE (130-34273) C O N F I D E N T I A L

BUILDING. NO INFORMATION IS OR WAS AVAILABLE TO CLEVELAND OFFICE CONCERNING BOMB THREATS AGAINST THE BUILDING AND NO INFORMATION CONCERNING BOMB THREATS WAS CONVEYED TO MR. [REDACTED] IN RESPONSE TO INFORMATION WHICH WAS FURNISHED TO HIM, HOWEVER, HE REQUESTED PRESENCE OF FBI PERSONNEL AT TIME OF DEMONSTRATION IN VIEW OF POSSIBILITY OF DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY. MR. [REDACTED] WAS INFORMED PRIOR TO DEMONSTRATION THAT AGENTS WISHED TO SECURE PHOTOGRAPHS OF DEMONSTRATORS AND THROUGH HIS COOPERATION SPACE FOR TAKING SUCH PHOTOGRAPHS WAS OBTAINED IN U.S. CUSTOMS OFFICE IN AKRON FEDERAL BUILDING. AS NOTED IN CLEVELAND NITEL OF JANUARY 27, 1975, PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN. IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO TERMINATION OF PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPVEILLANCE AN UNKNOWN WHITE FEMALE CAME TO U.S. CUSTOMS OFFICE AND DEMANDED TO KNOW WHY PHOTOGRAPHS WERE BEING TAKEN AND BY WHOM. UNKNOWN FEMALE WAS MET BY MANAGER OF CUSTOMS OFFICE WHO ASKED HER IF SHE HAD BUSINESS WITH THAT OFFICE AND, WHEN SHE REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE, HE ASKED HER TO LEAVE. UNKNOWN FEMALE THEN DEPARTED. IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ASCERTAINED FROM A BUILDING GUARD THAT UNKNOWN FEMALE APPEARED AT BUILDING ENTRANCE DURING DEMONSTRATION. GUARD ASKED HER FOR IDENTIFICATION AND SHE

b7c

PAGE FOUR (100-34273) C O N F I D E N T I A L

IDENTIFIED HERSELF AS [REDACTED] (PH). WHEN GUARD INITIALLY DENIED HER ENTRANCE SHE STATED SHE WISHED TO SEE CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING AND SHE WAS THEREUPON ADMITTED TO BUILDING. ALTHOUGH BUREAU AGENTS AT NO TIME SPOKE TO [REDACTED] AND SAW HER ONLY DURING HER APPEARANCE AT DOOR OF U.S. CUSTOMS OFFICE, IT APPEARS THAT UPON GAINING ENTRANCE SHE IMMEDIATELY WENT TO CUSTOMS OFFICE AND THEREAFTER TO OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING.

ON FEBRUARY 27, 1975 MR [REDACTED] WAS QUESTIONED CONCERNING HIS RECOLLECTION OF ABOVE-CITED EVENTS [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT A FEW DAYS AFTER THE DEMONSTRATION HE WAS CONTACTED BY A FEMALE ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING WHO INQUIRED CONCERNING THE IDENTITY OF INDIVIDUALS PHOTOGRAPHING THE DEMONSTRATION AND WHAT PURPOSE WOULD BE MADE OF PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN [REDACTED] ADVISED CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING'S ASSISTANT THAT PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN BY FBI AGENTS AND HE WAS NOT AWARE OF WHAT USE WOULD BE MADE OF THEM BUT PRESUMED THEY WOULD BE APPROPRIATELY FILED. AT NO TIME EITHER PRIOR TO, DURING OR SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEMONSTRATION OF JANUARY 27, 1975 HAS THE FBI IN AKRON OR CLEVELAND, OHIO BEEN CONTACTED BY CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING, ANY EMPLOYEE OF HIS OFFICE OR ANY MEMBER OF HIS

b7c

PAGE FIVE (100-34273) C O N F I D ~~X~~ M T I A L

STAFF REGARDING ANY ASPECT OF JANUARY 27, 1975 DEMONSTRATION.

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT MR [REDACTED] ADVISED ON

FEBRUARY 27, 1975 THAT IN A CONVERSATION UNRELATED TO ABOVE

SUBJECT MATTER WHICH HE HAD WITH CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING'S
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT ON FEBRUARY 27, 1975 SHE REFERRED

b7c

TO THE FACT THAT HER OFFICE HAD RECEIVED "A COUPLE" OF

BOMB THREATS DURING PAST FEW DAYS [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT

NEITHER HE NOR ANY MEMBER OF HIS STAFF HAD BEEN INFORMED OF

SUCH THREATS AT THE TIME OF THEIR RECEIPT AND HIS FIRST

KNOWLEDGE OF THEM WAS OBTAINED FROM CONGRESSMAN SIEBERLING'S

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT DURING MORNING OF FEBRUARY 27, 1975.

BASED UPON FOREGOING CLEVELAND NOTES THAT PHOTOGRAPHIC
SURVEILLANCE OF DEMONSTRATION ON JANUARY 27, 1975 WAS CONDUCTED

WITH KNOWLEDGE AND CONSENT OF GSA BUILDING MANAGEMENT AND WAS

BASED UPON FACT THAT INFORMATION FROM A SOURCE WHO HAS


FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST THAT "EMBARRASSING"

INCIDENTS MIGHT TAKE PLACE AND FACT THAT ADEX SUBJECTS WERE

KNOWN TO BE PARTICIPANTS IN DEMONSTRATION.

~~CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL BY 5655, CATEGORY 2, INDEFINITE.~~

ADMINISTRATIVE: THIS TELETYPE IS BEING CLASSIFIED "CON-

PAGE SIX (100-34273) C O N F I ~~X~~ E N T I A L
F I D E N T I A L F O R P R O T E C T I O N O F 

b2
b7D

END

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR 037 NY CODE

5:57 AM 2/28/75 NITEL 2/27/75 ROP

FEB 28 1975

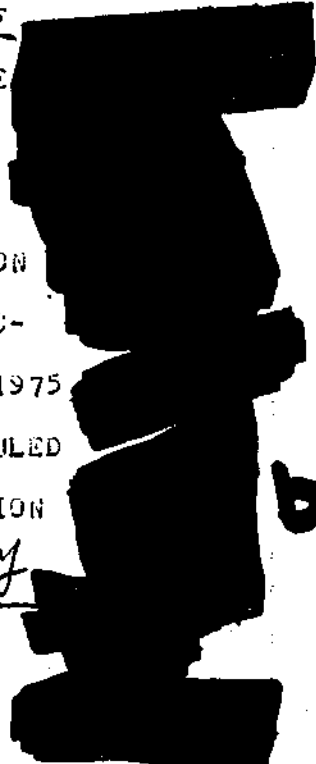
TELETYPE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-160644)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-448092)
 ATTN: INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11/2/94 BY SP6 BJK/ML

MIDEAST FORUM AT OLD WESTBURY COLLEGE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF
 NEW YORK (SUNY), OLD WESTBURY, NEW YORK 3375, SPONSORED BY THE
 VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
 (VVAW/WSO); IS-VVAW.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
 IN THE PAST, HAS ADVISED THAT THE VVAW/WSO WILL SPONSOR A FUNC-
 TION KNOWN AS THE "MIDEAST FORUM" ON THE EVENING OF MARCH 3, 1975
 AT OLD WESTBURY COLLEGE, SDNY, OLD WESTBURY, NEW YORK. SCHEDULED
 TO PARTICIPATE AS SPEAKERS REPRESENTING THE PALESTINE LIBERATION
 ORGANIZATION: ACTION COMMITTEE ON ARAB-AMERICAN RELATIONS, NY
 IRANIAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU).
 THE FUNCTION IS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC AND APPROXIMATELY 650
 ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND.



b7c

REC-16

100-448092-4165

No dissem made,
 since no indication
 of demonstration
 2/28/75 NEM

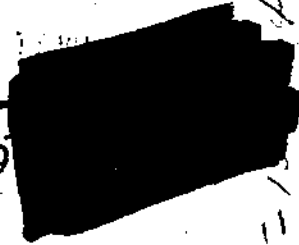
EX-101

15 MAR 4 1975

51 MAR 12 1975

Call
 2/28/75

MAR 11 1975



UNRECORDED COPY FILED

105-188147-
 105-188147-

THE VVAW/WSO WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SUBSEQUENTLY, VVAW/WSO LEADERS HAVE INSTRUCTED THAT MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION ARE A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP, AND NOT JUST ANOTHER GROUP OF WAR VETERANS. NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST/LENINIST ORIENTATED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST/LENINIST DOCTRINE.

THE RU, FOUNDED IN 1968, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT ORGANIZATION, ADHERING TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST LINE.

ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE, UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS HAVE RECEIVED NUMEROUS TELEPHONE PROTESTS FROM THE LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY, AS WELL AS VOCAL PROTEST FROM JEWISH STUDENTS. IN VIEW OF THE PROTESTS AND THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFRONTATIONS AND DISRUPTIVE ACTION, THE NASSAU COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT (NCPD) HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO ASSIST THE UNIVERSITY SECURITY FORCE IN MONITORING THE FUNCTION.

DETECTIVE [REDACTED] SPECIAL OPERATIONS BUREAU, NCPD, HAS ADVISED THAT UNITS OF HIS DEPARTMENT WILL BE PRESENT TO AUGMENT THE UNIVERSITY SECURITY FORCE. HE HAS ADVISED THAT THE LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY HAS BEEN VOCAL IN PROTESTING THE FUNCTION,

b7c

NY 100-448092

PAGE THREE

BUT THAT NO DIRECT THREATS OF VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN RECEIVED. HE
STATED HIS DEPARTMENT WILL BE PRESENT IN FORCE TO SCREEN THE
AUDIENCE AND TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES SHOULD VIOLENCE OR SERIOUS
CONFRONTATIONS OCCUR.

ADMINISTRATIVE

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

NEW YORK WILL FOLLOW.

END.

1

b7c
b2
b7D

1

cc [REDACTED]

3

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. Mintz
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. Wainwright
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

b7c

Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/27/75

Attached relates to inquiry of Director from Congressman John G. Sieberling (D-Ohio) at hearings 2/27/75 (by House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Constitutional Rights) concerning Bureau photographic surveillance conducted of demonstrators outside Federal Building, Akron, Ohio, as to what disposition would be made of such photographs. Cleveland Office (CV) advises photographic surveillance was conducted 1/27/75 of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW)-sponsored demonstration outside new Federal Building, Akron, Ohio, as information had previously been received indicating VVAW planned to gain publicity by initiating embarrassing-type action against new building. Purpose of surveillance was to gain evidence of possible DGP violation. Local officials, including Federal Building manager, were alerted. Surveillance was compromised when unknown woman entered space (Bureau of Customs) and demanded to know who was taking photographs. Customs personnel exited woman without her receiving answer. On 2/27/75 building manager advised Akron Agents that the Administrative Assistant of Congressman Sieberling, who has offices in the Federal Building, had inquired of him a few days after 1/27/75 as to who was taking photographs of the demonstration and "what purpose would be made of photographs." Manager advised the Administrative Assistant that FBI conducted photographic surveillance and he presumed photo-

10/17/75
 [Handwritten initials/signature]

DOJ/FBI

CONTINUED - OVER

graphs would be filed. No inquiry was ever made by Congressman's office of Akron Resident Agents or CV. Also on 2/27/75 building manager stated Administrative Assistant had informed him that morning that the office of Congressman Sieberling has received "a couple" of bomb threats but has not reported these threats to anyone. CV telephonically advised 2/27/75 negatives and prints of photographs obtained from surveillance are maintained as exhibits in office VVAW file with copies of prints designated for files of known subversives.

OBSERVATIONS:

Current instructions contained in Manual of Instructions, Section 87, state in connection with investigations of subversive organizations, photographic surveillances should be considered on a selective basis when circumstances indicate they may be productive. Intelligence Division believes Agents of CV Division acted properly and within their authority in this instance in view of possible DGP violation and opportunity to obtain up-to-date photographs of ADEX (Administrative Index) subjects (persons who are considered "dangerous now" to national security). Five participated in demonstration. Manner in which surveillance was compromised is unknown but CV speculates camera was viewed from street.

ACTION:

Above submitted for information of Director.

TJM:djr/jlb
(7)

K
RU
MEMO BEING PREPARED RE HEARING + CONG. INQUIRY.
JML

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 04 1975

TELETYPE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR018 WF CODED

8 PM NITEL MARCH 4, 1975 WWC

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND
SACS, BALTIMORE AND CHICAGO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-59168) (P)

26093-001
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/19/94 BY SP4/MLA

ATTENTION: INTD

DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), REVOLUTIONARY
ARMY (RU) AND REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE (RSB), AT
WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 28, 1975; IS-VVAW; IS-RU

EX-101

REC 99,000 - 449092

MARCH 4, 1975, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES
SERVICE, WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC), MADE AVAILABLE A
LEAFLET ENTITLED "WE WON'T FIGHT IN YOUR WARS. VICTORY TO THE
VIETNAMESE PEOPLE." THE LEAFLET REFLECTED THAT A DEMONSTRATION
WAS HELD MARCH 28, 1975, TO DEMAND THE FOLLOWING:
(1) JOBS OR INCOME FOR ALL. (2) DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL
(3) IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS (PARIS PEACE ACCORDS).
STOP ALL AID TO THEIU AND LON NOL. THE LEAFLET STATES
THAT PARTICIPANTS WILL ASSEMBLE ON MARCH 28, 1975, AT THE
DEPARTMENT OF SECURITY OFFICE, 6TH AND C STREETS, N.W., AT 11:30 AM 7 1975

THAT A MARCH TO THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION (VA)

UNCLASSIFIED
9629 REX/RMS5
7-30-79

3 to Dept.
MAR 1 1975
DAG (AGU)
AAG-CD (SAC/AS)
3-5-75
100-444092-4

Offend
OIM



b7c

PAGE TWO WFO 100-59160

ASSISTANCE CENTER, 25 K STREET, N.E., WDC, WILL COMMENCE AT 12:00 NOON. AT 2:00 P.M. A RALLY WILL BE HELD AT THE VA ASSISTANCE CENTER. THE SPONSORS OF THE DEMONSTRATION ARE LISTED AS THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE (RSB).

VVAW/WSO WAS FORMED IN 1967 TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IN APRIL, 1973, VVAW CHANGED ITS NAME TO VVAW/WSO SO THAT NON-VETERANS COULD BECOME MEMBERS. CURRENT VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICERS ARE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE.

THE RU, FOUNDED IN 1968, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION.

RSB, FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE ATTIEA BRIGADE, IS A STUDENT-BASED ORGANIZATION FOUNDED IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1971. THE RU HAS SIGNIFICANTLY INFILTRATED THE RSB AND PLAYS A MAJOR ROLE IN RSB POLICIES.

UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE, METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT, VETERANS ADMINISTRATION SECURITY, UNITED STATES PARK POLICE, AND FEDERAL PROTECTIVE SERVICE COGNIZANT.

PAGE THREE WFO 100-59160

ADMINISTRATIVE:

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE IS

SA

[REDACTED]

b7c

BALTIMORE IS REQUESTED TO CONTACT LOGICAL SOURCES REGARDING
DEMONSTRATION.

WFO FOLLOWING.

END.

HOLD PLS

WGM FBIHQ ACK FOR ONE TEL