

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION-PRIVACY ACTS SECTION

SUBJECT: VVAW

FILE NO: HQ 100-448092

SECTION: 66

PAGES REVIEWED: 310

PAGES RELEASED: 304

REFERRALS: _____

EXEMPTIONS: b1; b2; b7C; b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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NR010 CG CODE

SEP 18 1974

710PM NITEL 9-18-74 RWR

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CHICAGO (100-55554)(P)

ATTENTION: INTD

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 7-19-79 DMS

DEMONSTRATION AT REGIONAL VETERANS ADMINISTRATION OFFICE, DAMEN AND TAYLOR AVENUES, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 11:00 A.M., SEPTEMBER 30, 1974, SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO). IS-VVAW/WSO.

b7c
[REDACTED]

INSTANT DATE SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFO IN PAST, ADVISED THE CHICAGO CHAPTER VVAW/WSO HAS DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS IN PART READING: "DEMONSTRATE MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 11:00 A.M., REGIONAL VA OFFICE, DAMEN AND TAYLOR. JOIN WITH VVAW/WSO, VA PATIENTS AND EMPLOYEES IN PROTESTING SHODDY WAY THE VA TREATS VETS AND THEIR FAMILIES, AND EMPLOYEES AND THE WAY THE SYSTEM TREATS ALL OF US. ORGANIZE TO FIGHT... KICK 'EM WHILE THEY'RE DOWN'. CONTACT VVAW/WSO (CHICAGO)."

REC 98 100-448072-3969

THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR

3-100-AAG Criminal Division
Attn: ISS
14-9-18-74 GCS
JMK

1cc - VA
1cc - P.P.
ONLY/meg
9-18-74

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2842 PVD/DMS
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 9-18-94
DECLASSIFIED BY 985
ON 7-26-95

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE TWO CG 100-55554 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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.

SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED PREPARATIONS HAVE BEGUN BY HAVING ONE OR MORE VVAW/WSO MEMBERS AT ONE OR MORE OF THE SEVERAL VA LOCATIONS IN CHICAGO ON A DAILY BASIS TALKING TO INDIVIDUALS, ASKING INDIVIDUALS TO SIGN STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE INDIVIDUAL IS DISSATISFIED WITH VA POLICY AND PROCEDURES. THIS LIST IS TO BE KNOWN AS "VA SHIT LIST" AND WILL EVENTUALLY BE A LIST OF COMPLAINTS DIRECTED AT THE VA. (S)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTACTS AT VA LOCATIONS HAVE ALREADY BEGUN AND MAY CONTINUE AFTER THE MAIN DEMONSTRATION ON SEPTEMBER 30 IF DEEMED ADVANTAGEOUS.

ACTIVITIES ON SEPTEMBER 30 THUS FAR INCLUDE PICKET LINES AND FLACARDS. PLANS HAVE NOT BEEN MADE TO GO INSIDE OR TAKE OVER AN OFFICE. NOISE IS TO BE KEPT TO A MINIMUM IN RESPECT FOR INTERNED PATIENTS AND VVAW/WSO FEELS A PEACEFUL NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATION WOULD GAIN MORE FAVORABLE PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC SUPPORT.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) AND REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE (RSB) ARE EXPECTED TO SUPPORT VVAW/WSO IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

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,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FOUR CG 100-55554 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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.

THE 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 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FIVE CG 100-55554 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY 6607. XGDS 2. INDEFINITE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] *(M) u* **b2 b7D**

COVERT UNIT WITH CHICAGO PD INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

ADVISED.

SGT. [REDACTED] VA, ADVISED OF DETAILS AS CONTAINED
IN LEAFLET ONLY. **b7c**

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING. FBIHQ WILL BE KEPT APPRISED
ON A TIMELY BASIS.

END.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 10 1974

TELETYPE

b7C

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Ast. 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 007 CI CODE

6:21PM NITEL SEPTEMBER 10, 1974 WSN

TO DIRECTOR (ATTN: INTD)

FROM CINCINNATI

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY COMMITTEE TO DEFEND JAMES
HARDY BEFORE CITY COUNCIL, CINCINNATI, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 11, 1974
IS.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST, ADVISED ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1974, THAT A GROUP CALLING
THEMSELVES THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND JIMMY HARDY PLAN TO ATTEND THE
REGULAR MEETING OF THE CITY COUNCIL, CITY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO, WHICH
WILL BE HELD AT CITY HALL COMMENCING AT 12:30 PM. SOURCE ADVISED THAT
MEMBERS OF THE GROUP INTEND TO DEMAND TIME TO SPEAK BEFORE COUNCIL
IN DEFENSE OF JIMMY HARDY, A NEGRO MALE WHO IS UNDER LOCAL INDICT-
MENT CHARGED WITH WRITING INTIMIDATING LETTERS TO THE CHIEF OF
POLICE OF CINCINNATI, OHIO. SOURCE PREDICTS THAT SOME DISRUPTION
OF REGULAR COUNCIL BUSINESS WILL TAKE PLACE AS A RESULT OF ANY
ATTEMPTED SPEECHES, BUT NO OVERT VIOLENCE IS PLANNED. SOURCE ADVISED

THAT GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THE PLANNED DEMONSTRATION ARE:

REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU); "MOVIN ON UP" (MOU); AND VIETNAM VETERANS

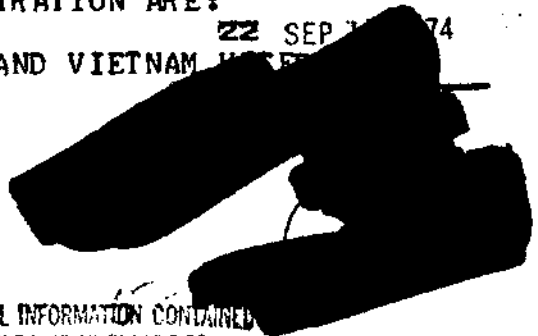
END PAGE ONE

22 SEP 1974

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-95 BY SP7CJA/A

0-735 4555 9/10/74

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PAGE TWO

AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO).

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 PUBLICATIONS, "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.

"MOVIN ON UP": "MOVIN ON UP" (MOU IS AN UNDERGROUND NEWS-PAPER EDITED, PUBLISHED, AND DISTRIBUTED IN THE CINCINNATI, OHIO, AREA BY MEMBERS OF THE RU AND NON-RU PEOPLE.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

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 WAS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SINCE
THAT TIME VVAW LEADERS HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THE VVAW IS A REVOLUTIONARY
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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:

SOURCE HEREIN IS  b2 b7D

CINCINNATI WILL ADVISE OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

~~CORRECTION: PAGE 3, LINE 9, THIRD WORD SHD READ: CONSIDER~~

~~AMW-FBIHQ ACK FOR ONE TEL C AND ONE CORRECTION~~

CLR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) DATE: 9/17/74

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (100-21623) (P)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
Buffalo, New York
8/8-12/74
IS - VVAW/WSO

Enclosed for the Bureau and Chicago is one copy each of a document entitled, "13th National Steering Committee Meeting, Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization."

The enclosed document which is described as the "minutes" of the Buffalo VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meeting was obtained on 9/11/74 from [REDACTED]

- ENCLOSURE**
- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
 - 2 - Chicago (100-50772) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 - 2 - Buffalo
- GGL:cnw
(6)

b2
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REC-56

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SEP 19 1974

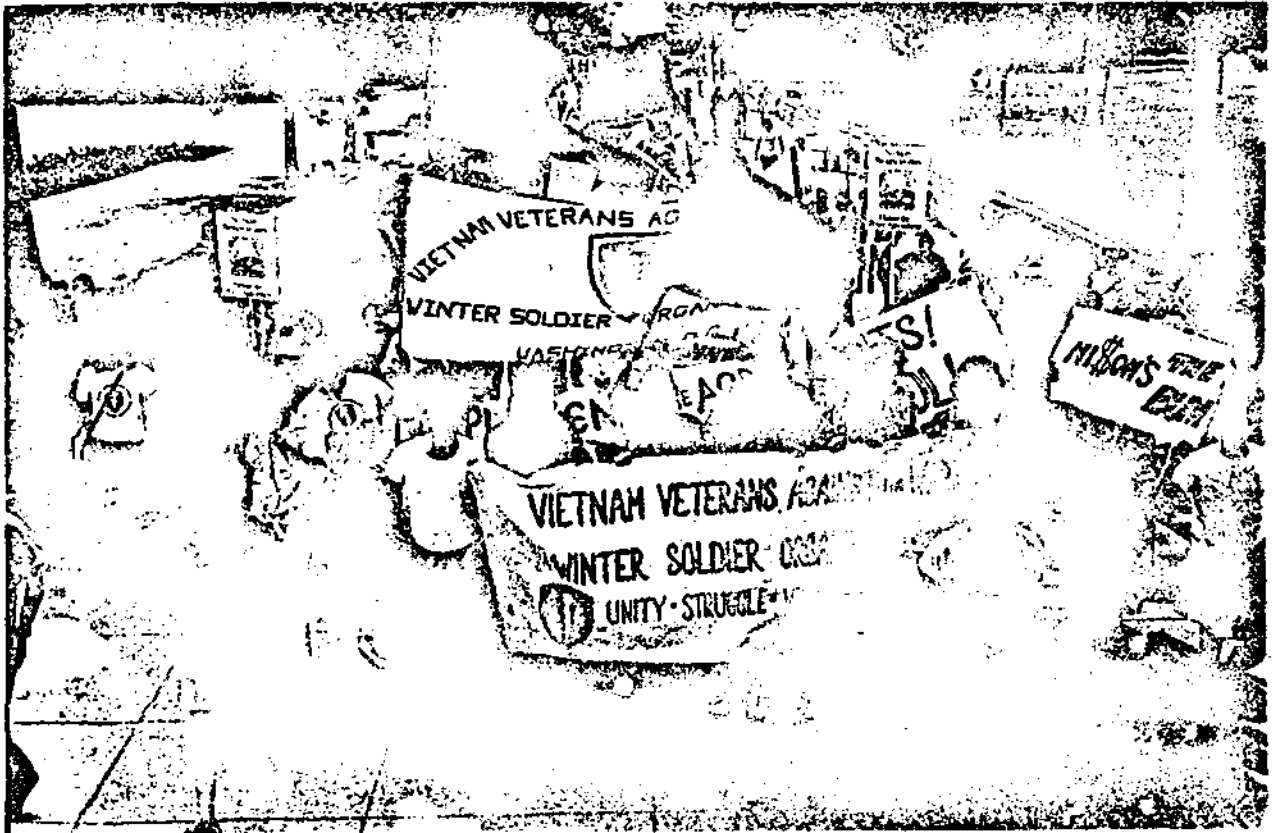
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13TH

NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING



**VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION**

7/24/95 863/11/12 10744 - 3970
ENCLOSURE

NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
 BUFFALO, NEW YORK
 AUGUST 8 - 12, 1974

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IMPLEMENT THE NATIONAL PROGRAM!

BUILD VVAW/WSO!

**NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8 - 12, 1974**

REGIONS PRESENT:

Washington/Alaska; California/Nevada; Colorado/Utah/Wyoming; Maryland/Virginia/Washington, D.C.; Florida/Georgia; E. Pennsylvania/Delaware/S. New Jersey; N. Illinois/Iowa; S. Illinois/E. Missouri/Oklahoma/Arkansas; Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky/Michigan/W. Pennsylvania/West Virginia; Great Plains; Wisconsin/Minnesota; New England; New York/N. New Jersey/Connecticut/Rhode Island. (Not all regions were present for the entire meeting, which accounts for differences in vote totals).

ROUND ROBINS, NATIONAL AND PROJECT REPORTS:

Round Robins from the regions, National Office reports and the majority of National Project reports were written prior to the meeting and handed out to those regions present. Because of the length of some of these reports and because a majority of regions already have copies of these reports, they will not be included in the minutes. If regions who were unable to attend the NSCM would like copies of the Round Robins or Project reports, they can be obtained either from the National Office or from the various regions. A report on Operation County Fair was not prepared, so we will try to get the current status report out in a future newsletter. Following is a summation of the Lawton/Gardner trial report which is being printed because a written report was not handed out at the meeting.

LAWTON/GARDNER TRIAL:

The trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner has again been postponed and is now tentatively scheduled to begin on September 24th. This continuing series of postponements is attributed to the prosecution and may be seen as blatant harassment of the defense. The Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee has asked that people around the country try to mobilize people around this trial date. It is important to let the "powers that be" in Riverside know that Gary and Zurebu are not being tried in isolation. It is our responsibility to let the government know that there is national support for these brothers. Suggestions for work around the trial include demonstrations or actions for September 24th, petitioning campaigns demanding that the charges be dropped, and the continuation of the telegram/letter-writing campaign (the addresses that people should write to are listed in National Newsletter #26). The RPPDC also stressed that when doing propaganda work around the Lawton/Gardner trial, we should center on the racism and political repression involved in this case, and avoid expressing our "moral outrage" and discussing the Constitutionality of this third trial. In other words, we should approach this trial with strong, anti-imperialist politics and discuss the real issues involved.

Aside from the mass work we need to do around the trial, the RPPDC is also in need of defense workers. The coordinator of the RPPDC, who has worked on the defense of Gary and Zurebu throughout the two previous trials, is leaving Riverside to

resume his schooling and his absence will be seriously felt. The RPPDC will be short-handed, so they are asking for good, solid people to move to Riverside and help fill this void. People willing to work on the RPPDC will have to support themselves, meaning that there are no "free rides" available. People interested in working on Gary and Zurebu's trial should contact the RPPDC, P.O. Box 244, Riverside, CA 92502.

* * * * *

OLD BUSINESS

ELECTION OF NATIONAL COORDINATORS:

The terms of national coordinators Rich Bangert and Brian Adams expired at this NSCM. Of the people nominated at the last NSCM, Brian Adams was the only nominee who accepted nomination to the National Office. A vote on Brian's re-election was taken and he was elected with a vote of: 52.75-yes; 1.25-no; 6-abs.

INTERNAL FUNDING PROPOSAL:

At the April NSCM, the following proposal was made and discussed in the regions and voted on at this NSCM.

PROPOSAL: That membership in this organization requires a \$1.00 per month fee. This money would be collected by the regional and chapter offices in their respective areas of responsibility and forwarded to the National Office for use in the support of the National Office and the printing of Winter Soldier. Prisoners are to be exempt from this requirement.

VOTE: This proposal passed with a vote of: 52.5-yes; 2.5-no; 5-abs. The mechanism for collecting this money is to be left to the individual regions.

OBJECTIVES:

As decided at the last NSCM, proposals for new objectives were voted on during Old Business. A vote of yes or no was taken on each objective proposal and those objectives which received a 2/3 majority are now in effect as our organizational objectives. Those which did not receive a 2/3 majority were taken back to the Objectives Workshop, and all new objective proposals are contained in that workshop report. Following are those objectives which received a 2/3 majority; those objectives which failed are not printed here (see Milwaukee NSCM minutes for the text of the proposals which failed). Also, objectives #4 and #9 had revisions made in the Objectives Workshop and because of the minor nature of the revisions, they were accepted at this meeting and go into effect along with those objectives which received a 2/3 majority vote under Old Business. Below are the finalized forms of all the new objectives, and a reflection of the votes of those objective proposals which failed.

PREAMBLE: None of the preamble proposals received a 2/3 majority vote. The vote was: Majority Preamble -- 11.9; Minority Preamble -- 9.34; Minority proposal for No Preamble -- 23.76; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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 servicepeople in the struggles against military repression. We oppose the use of the military as an oppressive and policy-making force domestically and overseas.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 34.5-yes; 15.5-no; 10-abs. when voted on under Old Business. When the revision in the word structure was made in the Objectives Workshop, the body unanimously accepted the revised objective. The other proposal for the amnesty/veterans objective (also objective #4 proposal) failed with a vote of: 13.5-yes; 36.5-no; 10-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 32.3-yes; 12.7-no; 15-abs. (Because this objective was accepted, the other proposal for the veterans objective was not voted on).

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 43.5-yes; 1-no; 15.5-abs.

OBJECTIVE #7: Neither of the proposed objectives on sexism received a 2/3 majority, so at this time, the old sexism objective is still in effect. A proposal for a new sexism objective is included in the Objectives Workshop Report. The votes on this objective were: Majority proposal: 19.5-yes; 30.5-no; 10-abs. Minority proposal: 11.6-yes; 38-no; 10.4-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 35.2-yes; 14.8-no; 10-abs. (Because this objective was accepted, the minority proposal for the workers objective was not voted on).

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs. when voted on under Old Business. When the words "grand juries" were added in the Objectives Workshop, the body unanimously accepted the above as the revised objective.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: Since we have no preamble to the objectives, the Objectives Workshop felt that the old Objective #10 should remain. This proposal to keep objective #10 received unanimous acceptance by the body (see Objectives Workshop Report).

SUPPORT FOR CAIRO AS A NATIONAL PROJECT:

At the last NSCM, it was decided that we should examine our involvement with and support of the struggle of the people of Cairo, Illinois as one of our National Projects. The St. Louis chapter was to investigate the situation in Cairo and they pre-

sented their analysis at this NSCM with the recommendation that Cairo be dropped as a National Project. (Copies of the St. Louis report can be obtained through the National Office). In light of the new information we received regarding Cairo, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That Cairo be dropped as a National Project.

VOTE: This proposal passed with a vote of: 55-yes; 5-abs. Cairo was also discussed in the National Projects Workshop and an analysis of our involvement in Cairo is included in the workshop report. The National Office will write a letter to the Cairo United Front informing them of this decision, and a copy of that letter will be printed in the National Newsletter.

ROUND ROBIN ON NATURE & FUTURE OF VVAW/WSO:

From the very beginning of the meeting, it became clear that the major question of this NSCM centered around the nature and future of VVAW/WSO. In order to get an idea of what all the regions felt on this question and their responses to the National Office's Position Paper, time was set aside at the completion of Old Business for discussion of this question. This was done so that we could get an understanding of the regions' positions prior to the workshop discussions and so that a direction for the meeting could be provided. Each region was given approximately 10 minutes to present their ideas on the nature of VVAW/WSO. This was done in the form of a "Round Robin" and regions were allowed to split up their time so that a variety of opinions from a region could be presented. Though a more detailed discussion of this question went on in the Mass Organizations Workshop, most people felt that this setting aside of time at the beginning of the meeting was a good thing because it provided the means by which the various positions could become known to the entire body. Thus, the lines on this particular question were sharpened at the out-set of the meeting, and provided us with a better understanding of how to proceed in struggling around this question.

* * * * *

WORKSHOP REPORTS

WINTER SOLDIER WORKSHOP

Criticism of the comment on the SLA by the National Office:

- 1) This comment incorrectly said "VVAW/WSO" when it should have said "National Office."
- 2) This comment should have criticized terrorism as a strategy as opposed to a tactic.

Statement on the Editorial which appeared in the August issue on the Vets' Movement:

The workshop as a whole, felt that the editorial correctly stated VVAW/WSO's position on AVM and the veterans movement. The workshop also felt that the slogan "Build the Anti-Imperialist Veterans Movement" correctly

states VVAW/WSO's position on what a veterans movement must be.

Some people in the workshop held the opinion that the National Collective used poor judgment in using that slogan at this time in the context of the internal struggle in VVAW/WSO.

The workshop also discussed whether it was correct to print letters in Winter Soldier like the letter received from Gary Lawton to Angela Davis. The workshop agreed that it was correct for this to be done.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

It was decided at the last NSCM that another weekend workshop would be held in St. Louis in early June to further compile our National Defense Committee packet. This meeting in St. Louis was a success and several people and regions were assigned the responsibility of having papers written to be discussed at the NDC Workshop at this NSCM. Since the large majority of these papers were not completed and could not be discussed at this NDC Workshop, the workshop decided that another weekend workshop will be held on November 2-3 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The workshop also recommended that people who attend this weekend workshop should have specific skills or expertise in the defense area, or should be those people who have been involved in this process of developing the NDC packet. This is not an open meeting, and if regions have no involvement in getting the packet put out, they need not worry about getting representatives to the NDC workshop in Milwaukee. It is imperative, however, that those individuals and regions responsible for getting papers completed, have them prepared prior to this November meeting. Further information on this weekend workshop will be printed in the National Newsletter.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS/NATURE OF VVAW/WSO WORKSHOP

The Mass Organizations/Nature of VVAW/WSO Workshop centered around the 2-line struggle within our organization and the focus of our work. Everyone in the workshop agreed that VVAW/WSO has a veterans and G.I. base, so the struggle came in when deciding what the focus of VVAW/WSO should be. The agreed upon definitions of the two lines were: 1) The majority position which sees VVAW/WSO as a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and G.I. base and focus; and 2) The minority position which sees VVAW/WSO as a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and G.I. base and an anti-imperialist focus. The workshop presented both a majority and a minority report on the question of our focus, and the following proposal was made.

PROPOSAL: To send both the majority and minority reports back to the regions and that a consensus vote of the delegates on each report accompany the reports and be reflected in the minutes.

VOTE: This proposal was accepted and following are the two workshop reports and the consensus vote which reflects how the delegates viewed the question of focus presented in these reports. It was also noted that both of these workshop reports reflect upon the Position Paper sent out by the National Office, so this Position Paper should also be studied by chapters and regions. The results of studying these reports will be discussed in the Mass Organizations Workshop at the next NSCM.

MAJORITY REPORT:

The majority report of the Mass Organizations sees the nature of and future of VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and G.I. base and focus.

All members of the workshop agreed with everything in the definition except the focus. Many of the reasons for a vets and G.I. focus are laid out in the National Office position paper and are not repeated here. In fact, this position is the present practice of most chapters in VVAW/WSO.

There are three major arguments against this line. First, it would limit our growth and thus decrease our effectiveness as an organization and as a part of the anti-imperialist movement. There are, however, 8.2 million Vietnam-era vets, plus a military full of G.I.s (and potential vets). And we are fully capable -- with our structure, our politics, and our programs -- to recruit many of these vets and G.I.s into VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist movement. Moreover, we are not saying "limit" -- we are saying "focus."

The second major argument says that focus on G.I. and vets issues is reformist. Any demand less than smash imperialism can be put forth in a reformist way. The D.C. demo with its 5 demands was not a reformist action because the demands were put forward in an anti-imperialist context. And out of this approach grew the militance and unity of that demonstration; militance and unity for VVAW/WSO can and should come from the same focus.

Third, this position does not limit our work to vets and G.I. issues -- we must actively support those struggles nationally and locally which push the anti-imperialist movement forward. If there is an over-whelming need to organize a defense committee in the community, for instance, and there is no one else to do it, VVAW/WSO can take on that job. But we have to remember that the best way to help Ruchell Magee, or the Vietnamese, or the Attica Brothers is through a strong, fighting organization which can support their struggles by attacking imperialism. One of the best things VVAW/WSO did yet in support of Gary Lawton was the D.C. demo.

An anti-imperialist focus as presented in the minority report leads to chapters working on whatever project in their community seems to be the best way to draw in people. It works from anti-imperialism in the sky to an anti-imperialist organization searching for a cause to take up. It leads to diffusion as a national organization and the resulting lack of effectiveness. We felt that a good analogy which illustrates this concept is like building a house from the attic down.

VOTE: The consensus vote on this report was: 43 in favor; 18.5 opposed; 3.5 - abs.

MINORITY REPORT:

We are a Mass Organization with a veterans and G.I. base and an anti-imperialist focus.

We feel that to identify VVAW/WSO as having an anti-imperialist focus is to put politics in command. To view veterans and G.I.s as a "constituency group" and then to put forward a line that we should make this group our focus and to organize around the specific points of oppression of this group is incorrect and will lead to reformism.

1. It does not put politics in command to say that VVAW/WSO's focus is veterans and G.I.s and to then add that we're also anti-imperialist. This is based on a view of the world, as well as of VVAW/WSO, which analyzes that "nothing is happening" or that "There's no crises for us to react to." (In the extreme case of AVM, a "national veterans crises" was created). It ignores what is going on in the world today. How can a view which closes off the U.S. at its borders ever be considered proletarian internationalism. This is the reason that, in the majority position, Indochina is seen as either a secondary level of work or an issue we give support to, but do not organize around. This will always happen when the constituency defines the politics -- the labor movement, and especially the CIO, is an example. The historical development of VVAW/WSO and the growth of anti-imperialist consciousness within it stems directly from the fact that we attacked the war in Indochina and the imperialist military machine rather than our specific problems as a constituency group.

2. To view veterans and G.I.s as a constituency group is a mistake. The specific point of oppression of Vietnam-era veterans and G.I.s is participation in the imperialist war machine. What the majority position labels as the specific points of oppression are the effects of this participation. To focus on the effects rather than the actual point of oppression leads nowhere. The National Office position paper uses the farmworkers as an example to support its case for constituency organizing (p 15). The point of oppression for farmworkers is around their work and it is correct for them to organize on this basis. If the growers grant every demand of the UFW, that point of oppression would disappear (though others would continue to exist). The point of oppression for vets and G.I.s is participation in the military. If the VA granted every demand of veterans, the struggles around PVS and the choices of active-duty G.I.s would remain the same.

3. Every vet is also something else -- a man or a woman, working or unemployed, a student, white or third world. How do we select a constituency group? It is a good thing to organize vets and G.I.s, but to do so as a particular constituency group negates 1) the dual nature arising from their experience and 2) by the fact of this dual nature, their involvement in other struggles. The creation of an artificial group leads to reformist demands.

4. The focus on vets and G.I.s while welcoming full and equal membership by non-vets is only a more sophisticated version of the veterans' auxiliary. It is indeed saying that it is correct to focus on somebody else's struggle. The struggle of non-vets in this organization focuses on anti-imperialist work, which is women's work, as Vietnam is women's work. For non-vets to focus on vets and G.I.s is to deny that the struggle is the same anti-imperialist struggle and focus. In the NO position paper (pg 11), it states that the WSO concept "envisioned transforming VVAW into THE mass organization of the U.S." This is not true. The majority of the membership adopted this position to resolve the contradiction between vets and non-vets, particularly women, within the organization. To say that non-vets should find their appropriate organization is a cop-out.

5. The basis of the majority position is a mechanistic application of the concept of the United Front. It lacks an analysis of the material conditions in this country. The models put forth are of a United Front against an external force -- either fascism in Europe in the 1930's or imperialism in China and Vietnam. Our relationship to imperialism is qualitatively different. Imperialism defines our economic base as well as our political institutions and our culture and we need to take this into account in building and becoming a part of a United Front against imperialism. The focus on veterans and G.I.s as a constituency group does not do this. Nor does it offer any way for us to best use our experience to advance the anti-imperialist struggle. It is easier to organize people or groups around their own needs or oppression when there is no explicit demand to consider these needs in the context of other people's struggles. To do this, to fail to make anti-imperialism our focus, is to stand in opposition to the rising tide of anti-imperialist struggles in this country and throughout the world.

VOTE: The consensus vote on this report was: 18.3 in favor; 43 opposed; 3.7-abs.

PRISON PROJECT WORKSHOP

There were three regions represented in the workshop who are doing prison support work: Ohio, Great Plains and California. Four regions who are interested in doing prison support work attended: New York, Northern Illinois/Iowa, East Pennsylvania/Delaware/S. New Jersey, and S. Illinois/E. Missouri.

It was made clear at the onset that we realize that we cannot organize a prison movement, but that we can support prisoners by sending/giving them guidance in their political education and by sharing our knowledge both inside and outside, of organizing and leadership skills. We learned from one of the people in the National Prison Project that the involvement of VVAW/WSO in prison work began/begins with initial contacts from veterans who are inside the prison and who are interested in forming chapters and want information on VA bennies, etc.

With political input and output, they are learning that the veterans' struggle inside the joint ties their struggle and organizing against their major oppressor, the system of imperialism. The consensus of this workshop is that what is needed is a national anti-imperialist prison organization.

This analysis -- that a national anti-imperialist prison organization is needed -- comes from our concrete practice. We have learned that we simply do not, on a national scale, have the time, energy, people power, or expertise to do more than support. We cannot provide legal help, publicity, funding, or any of the many other necessities that are needed in doing organizing. We see political support as our role and understand that, as the anti-imperialist politics of prisoners grows, they will be more oppressed and we will have to support their struggles. Nevertheless, they are the only ones who do the prison organizing inside. Our task is to educate the masses around prisons and the prison movement and is to organize support. Whenever we can lend political support we should. Outside support is vital to the prison movement and must expose the system.

We take our political analysis to the people inside and learn from them so we can take their analysis and use it to accurately educate the people outside.

At the last NSCM, a booklet was to have been prepared to be used as PE for

for both inside and outside prisons. "What Is VVAW/WSO" has been sent to all prison contacts. Our consensus was that chapters doing prisoner support work would send the project office any other ideas, helpful hints, etc. around this work. The objective conditions are so unique in prisons around the country that one pamphlet would not be applicable to them all, except in an extremely general way.

Other ideas for prison work include 1) the use of DUP as a strategem to get inside initially and to use it as PE about imperialism. We cannot mislead prisoners about the reality of the DU system (e. g. if a person got a BCD and is serving a 400 year rap for murder, that person's discharge is not going to get upgraded). The National Prison Project reported that they've gotten requests for information from prisoners about SPN's and that this has led into an increasing political awareness of the military and anti-imperialist movement. It was also suggested that letter-writing -- the establishment of communications -- is a key factor in solidifying political information about our common struggle both inside and out. 2) Use federal and state Bureau of Prisons literature and compare this with what we know our brothers and sisters are really going through and dealing with inside. This exposes the prison system as a tool of imperialism and we can use this to politically educate the people outside. The final suggestion was 3) if people inside put out a newsletter, or if the warden or other honchos put one out, try to get on the mailing list or get copies.

It was decided that VVAW/WSO's newsletter for prisoners, "Inside/Out," be sent to all chapters. This can be an incentive to do prison support work.

After our extensive political discussions on behavior modification, our consensus was that this is a topic in itself, and that more extensive investigation be done on behavior modification by those doing prison support work.

PROPOSAL: That we accept the workshop report and the minutes reflect the political struggle that went on during the plenary session concerning the nature of our prison work.

VOTE: This workshop report and the above proposal received unanimous acceptance and following is a summation of some of the questions which arose around our prison work. These questions are to be discussed in the regions and will be taken up at the Prison Workshop at the next NSCM. Also, the National Project Office will be discussing questions like these in future prison newsletters, which will be sent to all regions and chapters.

The workshop report states that "we cannot organize a prison movement but that we can support prisoners..." It further states that "we simply do not, on a national level, have the time, energy, people power, or expertise to do more than support." While this is true, if we apply it to ourselves now -- the prison support work that we are doing is in fact organizing prisoners so that they can organize themselves. If they then organize themselves in the context of our organization now, the question arises as to whether or not we will in fact be creating an identifiable organization for prisoners to relate to. If this is true, then we as an organization will mean both VVAW/WSO on the outside of the walls, and on the inside of the walls; we will then be on the inside. Prisoners will then be part of us and we, as an organization, might

very well be establishing a base of prisoners in which a focus can be applied. Understanding the prison movement should be separate from this organization, the question as to how one would stop the movement from relating to us in that context arises. If all of our correspondence fails to generate a separate movement (in the organizational sense), and the prisoners start relating to VVAW/WSO with a focus on their point of oppression (prisons) -- what then? As stated earlier, questions like this will have to be discussed in the regions and at the next NSCM Prison Workshop.

INDOCHINA WORKSHOP

The members of the Indochina workshop agreed that emphasis, by VVAW/WSO, on the continuing war in Indochina has increased since the Milwaukee NSCM. This is evidenced by the "Implement the Agreement -- End All Aid to Thieu and Lon Nol" demand that was put forth in Washington and also used for local build-up for the demonstration.

Therefore, the workshop endorses the National Office position for a national program as stated in the National Office report. We concur with tying this demand with the other three anti-imperialist demands on the dates mentioned, with the understanding that consistent day-to-day work linking together all four demands must be done. However, particular emphasis on the "Implement the Agreement" demand should be made on the January 27th action. We suggest that the national office, if financially prepared at the time, prepare a poster for local build-up of this action.

The workshop also suggests local support, wherever possible, with Indochina Peace Campaign and Indochina Solidarity Committee's International Week of Concern, September 29 - October 6. The demands as called for by the above mentioned organizations are amnesty for all war resisters and Implement the Peace Agreements. In support of this action, the workshop suggests local organizational literature/leaflets with an anti-imperialist basis be used. (More information concerning this will appear in the National Newsletter).

The need for continued internal and external education on the nature of the continued war was also discussed and supported. It was again suggested that people who would like to keep up on the current activities in Indochina subscribe to a publication of: Indochina Resource Center, 1322 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Also, literature is available from IPC and ISC.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance. It was also noted that what we are actually endorsing with regard to the Week of Concern are the dates of that week, and not necessarily IPC's planned actions. The dates of Sept 29 - Oct. 6 have been put forward by the Vietnamese people and international events will occur during this week.

OBJECTIVES WORKSHOP

The objectives workshop presented six proposals and one additional point which is not to be taken back to the regions. One of the proposals from this workshop includes a minority report. Following are these proposals, etc. and the votes on each of them.

#1: The workshop discussed the proposed objective on homosexual people which was introduced by the New York City chapter. The vote of the workshop on this proposed objective was: 4-yes; 18-no. The people who voted for the objective decided not to present a minority report on this objective, so this proposed objective is not under consideration.

#2: PROPOSAL: The Objectives Workshop proposed that VVAW/WSO not have any objective on the oppression of homosexual people.

VOTE: This proposal received a consensus vote of: 48.3-yes; 16.7-no. Since this is a policy decision, this proposal will have to be voted on under Old Business at the next NSCM and is to be discussed in the regions in the interim.

#2: MINORITY REPORT: VVAW/WSO as an anti-imperialist organization has to focus on the people oppressed by Imperialism to support the struggle against Imperialism. We feel that gay people are among those who are directly oppressed by the system. This materializes in that they are systematically denied their civil rights, are subject to criminal prosecution and are forced to lead hidden and fearful lives. This is a tool used by Imperialism to prevent and destroy unity among the people. Thusly, we feel this necessitates the drafting of a principle of unity or an objective around the struggle of gay people.

PROPOSAL: That this minority report go back to the regions for discussion,

VOTE: 49.25-yes; 15.75-no. This vote means that this minority report is to be discussed in the regions in light of having to vote on the Majority Proposal #2 of the objectives workshop under Old Business at the next NSCM. The minority report is not an objective to be voted on, but a point of discussion.

#3: PROPOSED OBJECTIVE ON THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN (Objective #7): Because the proposed objective on sexism did not receive a 2/3 majority when voted on under Old Business, the workshop proposed the following objective on the oppression of women:

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 which divides us and strive to build unity between all people.

VOTE: The body unanimously accepted this proposed objective. This proposal should be discussed in the regions and will be voted on under Old Business at the next NSCM. At that time, this proposed objective will require a 2/3 majority vote in order for it to become our objective on sexism.

#4: PROPOSAL: That old objective #10 be included as is in the objectives of VVAW/WSO.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and objective #10 is now one of our objectives.

#5: PROPOSAL: That there be no Preamble to the objectives of VVAW/WSO.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

#6: PROPOSAL: That we add "grand juries" to the listing of examples of the criminal justice system in Objective #9.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and is to go into effect immediately as a revision of Objective #9.

#7: PROPOSAL FOR MINOR WORD CHANGE FOR AMNESTY OBJECTIVE:

PROPOSAL: 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.

VOTE: This proposed structural change received unanimous acceptance and is to go into effect immediately.

The workshop proposed that Items 4, 5, 6, and 7 be implemented at this meeting and that Items 1, 2, and 3 be taken to the regions for further discussion. (This workshop suggestion was unanimously accepted by the body meaning that Items 4, 5, 6 and 7 are now in effect, whereas proposals #2 and #3 will be voted on under Old Business at the next NSCM.

Also during the Objectives Workshop, the N. Illinois/Iowa region introduced the idea that instead of having Objectives, we develop a Principle of Unity and Statement of Principles. Following is an example of what this idea would be like, and it should be used as a basis for discussion of the concept of the Principle of Unity. Also, the N. Illinois/Iowa region will send out a detailed report to all regions on why they see this as necessary prior to the next NSCM. This report will also include an example formulation of the principle of unity and an example of what the Statement of Principles would be like. When discussing this concept, people should not struggle around the wording but around the idea. Below is the initial model of the concept that N. Illinois/Iowa is putting forward for discussion. It should also be noted that the content of this example is used as an example and does not necessarily reflect the feelings of the National Steering Committee.

FORMAT FOR POLITICAL STATEMENTS OF VVAW/WSO

PRINCIPLE OF UNITY

We are opposed to the system of Imperialism and its oppression of peoples and national liberation struggles at home and abroad.

DEFINITION OF VVAWWSO

We are a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and active-duty people base and focus.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

This should be an elaboration of the principle of unity and definition of VVAW/WSO. It should contain a further explanation of Imperialism and sections on its manifestations, such as racism and sexism. This is also where we should explain the relationship of other struggles, for example strikes, UFW, U.S. aggression in South-east Asia, etc. to our own struggles. We suggest a form similar to the pamphlet, "What Is VVAW/WSO."

VOTE: The idea of taking this format back to the regions for discussion was accepted by a majority vote. As stated earlier, the N. Illinois/Iowa region will be sending out a more detailed discussion of what they are proposing, but the above is to be used as a basic guideline for discussion of this concept.

AMNESTY/DUP WORKSHOP

This workshop report was presented and discussed in three sections. Also, it was decided to discuss the National Program which was put forward in the National Office Report and include this Program with this Workshop report. Because of the many things that were discussed in this workshop presentation, the report will be presented here by the three sections and the votes on these sections. Also, the National Program will be discussed following Section 3 of this report.

Section I: A round-robin report on amnesty and discharge upgrading began the workshop with each region participating relating their practice with them during the past 7 months. In sum, we agreed that our amnesty campaign had been very successful and should be pushed forward. Most of the reports, however, dealt with experience and problems stemming from DUP work. In some cases, the DUP's being discussed by regions were not in fact VVAW/WSO programs at all -- they went under other names and were in fact other organizations. In other instances (Colorado), DUP work was found by the workshop to be compromised in a lot of ways by the coalitional nature of the DUP's in the area. The basic thread running consistently through the discussion of DUP work however was the minimum of success the DUP work had had in 1) building the amnesty and single-type discharge campaigns and 2) recruiting new members to VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist struggle. The workshop analyzed the failure of DUP to achieve these goals as due to the following reasons:

1. People have been, consistently, losing sight of the political nature of discharge upgrading work. The tactic of preparing and filing discharge upgrading briefs for bad paper vets in many cases became the goal of DUP's in and of themselves. Instead of concentrating on organizing badly discharged vets into the street to fight for, and in, the campaign for UUA and a single-type discharge, DUP's have been organizing paperwork into Washington. The primary aspect of DUP work is mass outreach and building the people's movement to fight for UUA and a single-type discharge. We know we cannot depend on the DUP boards; or on the imperialist system. We can and must depend on the people. We cannot view DUP's as "service

projects." They must be seen as a tactic in the overall campaign to fight for UUA and a single-type discharge.

2. Another major failure of DUP's was not providing immediate and concrete activities for bad paper vets at the very beginning of the counseling process. This failure was again, a direct result of relying not on our primary strength, the people, but on the system. As soon as a vet contacts the DUP, an explanation should be made that the rate of upgrading is about 80% against him -- it should be explained that the people reviewing an upgrading appeal will be the same class of people that gave out the bad discharge in the first place. That even with an upgraded discharge he's going to get lousy benefits and a lousy job.

However, we cannot merely lay out an analysis of the discharge classification system, the upgrading system and imperialism and expect bad paper vets to then directly involve themselves in the anti-imperialist struggle. This will not happen on a regular basis unless there is a ready link-up made between the day-to-day needs of the vet as a result of bad papers and a concrete program to fight for these needs. With most bad paper vets it is a fight for a decent job, for benefits and services. Chapters with DUP's must have programs in operation that will enable bad paper vets to immediately and personally get involved in actions directly relevant to their lives: demanding decent jobs, VA benefits and services, etc. The point is to immediately place them actively in this struggle, not to allow them to passively sit out the appeal process as a bystander.

3. It became evident that many DUP's are drowning in paperwork supposedly seen as necessary to prepare a brief for submission to the DUP's boards. This reveals: a) an attitude of relying on the system rather than the people (as explained in point #1). We should know that the system cannot and will not meet our demands. b) Terry Selzer of Washington, D. C. VVAW/WSO revealed that there was a great misunderstanding about the amount of paperwork really necessary for filing with the boards. The point is that we do not actually have to write the briefs at all. All that is necessary is a chronology, the vet's 201 file and a few government forms. Terry will be supplying all the regions doing DUP work with the specific technical information necessary for this filing in the immediate future.

4. We decided that the tactic of flooding the discharge upgrading boards was politically incorrect. It was like asking for a free trial or demanding the "guarantees" we supposedly have under the constitution. It is a repeat of the same error of primarily concerning ourselves with the system rather than the people. We are striving to fill the streets with people fighting for UUA and a single-type discharge and not filling the DUP boards with paperwork asking for it.

5. The ACLU's LMDC will not be providing VVAW/WSO DUP's with legal representation in the future. We hope to attain National Lawyers Guild assistance and rely on our own resources to meet this tactical need.

VOTE: This portion of the Amnesty/DUP report received unanimous acceptance.

Section II: RE. Amnesty work in particular --

1. It was felt necessary that the amnesty pamphlet's section on "background" needed to be rewritten before the next printing of it. It places too much emphasis on so-called constitutional rights rather than bringing up the correct reason for the need for UUA: based on an analysis of imperialism.

It was felt that a more concerted effort was needed to link up other amnesty constituencies, such as families of resisters, those in prison, etc.

VOTE: This portion of the Amnesty/DUP report received unanimous acceptance.

Section III: The Amnesty/DUP workshop reached the following conclusions:

1. That we endorse the National Office Report to the Buffalo NSCM on amnesty and DUP.
2. That the amnesty/DUP campaign remain a part of the overall program of VVAW/WSO for the coming months as outlined in the National Office Report to the Buffalo NSCM on our Program.
3. That we should continue discharge upgrading work. However, we reiterate that we will focus our work on the political aspects of DUP's as part of, or one tactic of, the general campaign for UUA and a single-type discharge. DUP's revolve around this struggle, not the other way around. We must understand the nature of DUP's -- what it can do as a tactical part of the UUA/single-type discharge campaigns, and what it cannot do as a strategy in and of itself.

VOTE: This portion of the Amnesty/DUP report was accepted by a majority vote.

During the discussion of Section III of the Amnesty/DUP workshop report, we discussed the National Program (a copy of this Program is included in the National Office Report). During the discussion of this Program, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That we accept the National Program (put forward in the National Office Report) as the program to guide our work for the next 9 months.

AMENDMENT: That we accept the strategy of focusing our demands around the V.A. as a concept to be applied on a national level by regions and chapters as dictated by their particular conditions.

VOTE: This proposed National Program and the above amendment were accepted with a vote of: 55.65-yes; 8.75-no; .6-abs. Thus, the ideas put forward in the National Program and the above amendment are to be guidelines for our daily work in the next 9 months.

The strategy of focusing our demands around the V.A. was introduced in a paper presented by the Wisconsin/Minnesota region. Since this paper is to be used as one strategy for focusing our National Program during the next several months (wherever applicable), the discussion paper concerning the V.A. is reprinted below.

DISCUSSION PAPER OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE V. A. :

From our experience in organizing for the July 1-4 demonstration and building our chapter, we think that VVAW/WSO should develop a campaign of "War on the VA" and that the "War on the VA" be adopted as a national campaign and be the main focus of the work of the organization as a whole for the next period.

This campaign is a concrete way for us to take up the mass demands of veterans at the same time as we attack an important imperialist institution, the VA. In launching an offensive against the VA, we will not only be defending the standard of living of an important segment of the working class, but also exposing and weakening the VA and the imperialist ideology which it and the right-wing "Veterans Organizations" it supports are pushing.

There are several reasons why "War on the VA" is the key campaign for VVAW/WSO to undertake at the present time. The economic and political crisis of U. S. Imperialism is growing daily, under pressure from the defeat in SE Asia, rising resistance of the world's peoples, and growing inter-imperialist competition. As a result, the ruling class has been forced more and more to increase economic attacks and political repression against the working people and oppressed nationalities at home. Veterans, once in the forefront of the struggle against the War they were forced to fight, now find themselves in the forefront in the fight against these attacks. Resistance to government harassment and cuts in the standard of living is now the main issue confronting veterans, and the main way this comes down in veterans as a group is the agency of the VA.

Declaring "War on the VA" does not mean separating vets off from the working class and other struggles, but rather opening up a new front in the fight against imperialism. Because vets, especially Third World vets, are hard hit by the crisis, and because of the special consciousness which comes from having been part of the imperialist military machine, vets' struggle against the VA and for their immediate interests can take on a militant and consciously anti-imperialist character that can be an inspiration to all the struggles which are presently on the rise. VVAW/WSO is the only organization which can lead veterans in this struggle; at the same time, it is only by becoming part of the real needs and struggles of the masses of vets that we as an organization can grow and advance.

The "War on the VA" is not a squabble over the distribution of a few crumbs. The VA has no interests in common with the masses of vets or the American people. It cannot "serve the people;" it is an imperialist institution. The harder we attack it, the broader we build our movement, the more we will help to expose the system as a whole. In participating in the "War on the VA" many vets will be able to understand on the basis of concrete experience how all our struggles are part of a single United Front Against Imperialism and why we must join with the working class and all oppressed people, including especially the liberation movements of the Third World, in our fight against the common enemy.

This is not to deny that with the "War on the VA" as with every other struggle of the people, a danger of reformism exists. AVM and similar organizations have provided a vivid illustration of how some forces within the veterans movement will try to confine the struggle to "bread and butter issues" and isolate vets from the rest of the working class and the world anti-imperialist movement. In carrying on "War against the VA," we will have to rely on the masses of veterans. We propose that as a guide in combatting reformism the campaign be built around the following "7 Point War Plan:"

Nationally, there is on-going work being done by different chapters around organizing the anti-imperialist veterans movement. What we need to develop is a national strategy to help and guide us in planning and moving our work in an anti-imperialist, not reformist, direction.

GUIDELINES:

1. Our struggle is revolutionary, not reformist.
2. The VA cannot be made to serve the needs of the people. We are organizing veterans, not the VA.
3. Use the campaign to bring in other anti-imperialist issues and to win people to these struggles.
4. Fight racial and national discrimination. Build a unified, multi-national campaign.
5. Keep demands winnable but don't confuse victory in one battle with winning the whole war.
6. Don't limit ourselves to what the VA says is within its powers to do.
7. We don't want any special privileges. We raise specific vets demands because they are in the interest of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement.

DEMANDS: Below is a list of suggested basic demands around the VA campaign:

1. No more red tape and harassment. End military type control over benefits. The red tape and hard time vets get at the VA is deliberately used to prevent vets from getting all we are due. We must demand immediate processing of all claims and appeals. -- Like the military, the VA makes its own laws and is answerable to no one. End all special adjudication and review boards. We demand the right to our own physician at all disability examinations and hearings, and the right to appeal all VA decisions through the courts.
2. Single-type discharge for all Vets. Full VA benefits for all Vets. -- Less-than-honorable discharges are used by the military to threaten and punish those who fight back against it, especially against Third World G.I.s. We demand one certificate of service, retroactively, for all vets, and an end to all SPN numbers and similar discriminatory characterizations. -- In the meantime, we demand that the VA grant full benefits to all veterans regardless of type of discharge.
3. Decent care and full staff at VA hospitals. Right to our choice of physician and medical services at government expense. -- VA hospitals are so bad that only vets who have no other choice (about 15% of them) will use the facilities. We demand full and decent medical care for all vets and dependents. Demilitarize the VA hospitals. No more using vets as guinea pigs for new drugs and procedures. Treat older vets under VA nursing care with respect and dignity. We support the struggles of hospital workers for better pay and working conditions. -- At the same time, we demand the right to treatment at a facility of our choice at government expense. This includes drug addiction and PVS. Right to treatment by our own physical at VA hospitals.
4. Education and job training for all vets. Raise and extend the GI Bill. -- The present GI Bill makes it nearly impossible for poor and working vets to go to school. We demand payment of tuition and all school-related expenses and a living allowance at federal minimum standards. No cut-off of the GI Bill for future vets. End all time limits on eligibility for educational benefits. Unlimited time for working vets to complete course of study.
5. No more racial and national discrimination. -- Like the military, every VA facility and program is permeated by racism. We will fight every particular instance of racial discrimination and denial of rights. We demand firing of all racist administrators and abolition of all discriminatory programs and practices.

Realistically speaking, our progress in developing anti-imperialist GI work has been slow and faltering. The GI workshop recognized our utter unpreparedness to lead forward the rising, spontaneous GI movement, and many people attributed this problem to the fact that we have neglected to focus in on anti-imperialist GI organizing. But we are determined to take on this struggle and ask that regions and chapters continue serious political evaluations of their strengths and weaknesses in GI work and submit any and all related ideas and needs to the National Collective in preparation for the GI Conference.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance. People who have ideas on developing a program for GI work should submit these ideas to the National Office as soon as possible.

INTERNAL ORGANIZING WORKSHOP

There was much discussion in this workshop around basic definitions; the following definitions were agreed on by the workshop to be taken back to the regions for guidelines for discussion.

1. A member is a person who works to the best of his or her capability for local, regional and national programs for the organization. The chapter must decide who is a member.
2. A chapter is a group of members who work collectively to the best of their capability for local, regional and national programs of the organization. The region must decide on who is a chapter.
3. A region is a group of chapters who work collectively to the best of their capabilities for the regional and national programs of the organization. The National Steering Committee must decide who is a region.

The workshop also feels that a definition of an organizing committee and organizing contact needs discussion. Further, the entire VVAW/WSO working paper, plus the added items which appear in minutes of meetings (such as the N.O. report definition of voting from the Milwaukee NSCM) should be discussed in chapters and regions. Regions should send results and input to the N.O. to be compiled by the 15th of October; N.O. should send the compilation of the results back to the regions by the end of October.

There was also agreement that emphasis on the need for political growth of members, chapters, and regions be made at all levels as part of our day to day work. Politics and practice are inseparable, and political growth, through study, struggle and day to day work around our organizational programs, therefore, involves an understanding of the politics of these programs. In short, the workshop agrees that political growth of each member must be emphasized in every aspect of our work as we struggle for political unity. In unity there is strength.

Discussion around challenging seating of regional delegations to the NSCM stressed that challenges be decided through struggle at the beginning of the meetings; though the mechanics for this now exist, they are not being used -- and they should be.

Chapters and regions should also discuss the question of representation. Specifically, the workshop raised the question of whether or not large and/or strong regions and small and/or weak regions should have equal votes at the NSCM. It was

6. No military recruiters at the VA. Kick out the American Legion, VFW, and other reactionary veterans organizations. -- The VA works to keep vets under the influence of the military and organizations pushing imperialist war. We demand an end to all special privileges of the AL, VFW, etc. such as certifying vets for welfare and other programs. Throw them out of VA premises.

7. We would like to have something on jobs but need to start from a specific tie-in with the VA. No info on this at present.

CONCLUSION

By unfolding the demands of universal unconditional amnesty and end all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol around the struggles for the day-to-day needs of veterans, it gives us a solid, concrete way to bring the spirit, militancy, and anti-imperialist consciousness of the July Demonstration in Washington back to the masses of vets in the community.

G. I. WORKSHOP

The workshop began with a round robin report about work being done around GIS within the regions present. Out of the 9 regions attending the workshop, 4 are presently engaged in active-duty organizing (Ohio, Washington state, Maryland, and California) and 5 have established contacts in various bases and intend to begin work (Wisconsin, St. Louis, E. Pennsylvania, Portsmouth, Chicago). Reports generally reflected a low level of actual GI organizing within VVAW/WSO, but everyone expressed earnest commitment to continuing and expanding active-duty work on a chapter and regional level.

There was general agreement that the low level of organizing could be traced to particular limitations of the National GI Project. As we see it, the NGIP has by its basically bureaucratic nature and concentration on localized communication, been unable to provide a clear political direction for anti-imperialist GI work for VVAW/WSO. This has hindered movement toward creating a unified national program for GI work. The workshop reached a unanimous consensus that the National Collective should provide this needed leadership and direction with the input of the National Steering Committee.

Our discussion of the nature of GI organizing in VVAW/WSO centered around the following points:

- 1) The military is the primary armed force used to maintain U. S. imperialism;
- 2) GI's are exploited inside the military to be used against their own people -- the working class;
- 3) We need to organize and educate people inside the military around both of these aspects. Not only should we be organizing and educating around the particular oppression of GIs (i. e. UCMJ harassment, living conditions, racism, etc), but we must also continually be developing a consciousness among GIs about their role within the U. S. military. As a primary tool of U. S. imperialism, the military should be ultimately turned back on its operators.

We felt that raising the single-type discharge demand was one good demand for GI's. A lack of time prohibited us from developing a broader program, and we will be looking for more direction from people with experience in GI organizing before and during the GI Conference.

pointed out that the only way to give full representation from all the chapters and contacts around the country is through a convention, an idea which should also be discussed in chapters and regions; the workshop agreed that such a move could not come in the immediate future.

The leadership crisis, indicated by the fact that only one person accepted nomination to the N.O. is lessening. It was emphasized that chapter activity, implementation of organizational programs, and political growth and unity is developing organizational strength at the mass level which, in turn, is developing leadership further. Several members of the workshop pointed out that the growth of communists in the organization was also contributing to the lessening of the crisis in leadership, at all levels of VVAW/WSO.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance. It is important to note that the above ideas are meant to serve only as guidelines for discussions in the regions. At the next NSCM, we should begin to formulate definitions, rules for representation, etc. Also, feed-back on the Working Paper is due to be sent to the N.O. no later than October 15th. (A copy of the Working Paper will be sent out to all chapters along with these minutes).

D. C. DEMONSTRATION ANALYSIS WORKSHOP

We first evaluated leadership of the demo. We saw the strengths being that the self-initiative by a number of people who took leadership roles at the demo shows the great potential for future leadership that VVAW/WSO has. We also believed that, in general, the leadership learned and progressed throughout the course of the demo. We saw the weaknesses of leadership as well. These were that the leadership tailed the masses and didn't lead, that the leadership was defeatist in attitude and held back the people because of lack of faith in the masses of people's ability to correctly assess situations. The same people tended to make all the decisions all the time. Leadership must be constantly developing and expanding, which was our fourth criticism. Finally, there was a lack of outreach and integration of community people and others who were drawn to the demo. We feel that leadership should have provided an overall plan for this kind of outreach, for without it we will not continue to grow.

We also criticized the overall failure to consistently link up the five demands at each action. We should have had banners/posters/signs about each one at every action and should have somehow linked them more strongly in each leaflet. We must educate the masses of people about the unity and interconnectedness of each demand. As there is a potential for reformist tendencies to emerge, rather than our anti-imperialist politics (i. e. the demo about single-type discharge at the Court of Military Appeals could have been in this vein), we must be continually aware of this and struggle to put forth our politics.

A major misconception at the demo was what we called the "Dewey Canyon III mentality." The age of John Kerry is over. We must realize that we are a fighting anti-imperialist organization and that the system is attempting to smash all parts of the anti-imperialist movement, including us. The assumptions many made -- that the police will never attack and that we are exempt from harassment because "we are

veterans" -- show that there was a misunderstanding of our current concrete level of struggle.

The buildup for the demo was seen as also helping to build the regions and was strongest when it was in the form of actions that took place on a consistent basis in the streets. We also felt that the buildup for the demonstration was unified for the first time.

We concluded that we need to go on from here and continue to build VVAW/WSO as a fighting anti-imperialist organization and that we need to bring that understanding back to our local communities.

VOTE: This workshop report was unanimously accepted. During the discussion of this report, two additions were made by the workshop: 1) The workshop accepts the report on the demo logistics which was contained in the N.O. Report, and 2) the workshop agreed that our action in D. C. was definitely a people's victory with a high degree of political struggle and unity.

NATIONAL PROJECTS/CP, USA WORKSHOP

(The workshop discussed three separate questions and they will be presented in these sections here).

An agenda was adopted and the following proposal was presented first.

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO drop Operation County Fair as a National Project.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and OCF is no longer one of our National Projects.

Discussion and struggle: A history of OCF was summarized for the workshop. It was agreed that discussion of the causes of OCF's failure was necessary. It was immediately clear that there was essential unity around the view that the original decision to undertake OCF was dictated by paternalism and racism and that the project was essentially reformist in nature. There was struggle around the relationship of the failure of the project to the focus of the organization and what that focus was.

Summary: That the project failed due to the paternalism and racism involved in adopting what was essentially a reformist project outside our defacto focus, which was anti-war and the liberalism involved in subsequently failing to deal with the main contradictions of our initial failure.

CAIRO: The workshop felt that the decision to support the struggle in Cairo was a good one and that it represented a successful illustration of the link of the anti-war movement to the repression that was going on inside the U. S. The decision to get involved in Cairo was different from OCF because we were not trying to organize the Black community and that we were invited by a strong community organization. Our mistake came when we dragged out the support far beyond the initial struggle which we were invited to support. We think that the organization failed to deal with the changed conditions in Cairo for the same reasons, including a paternal attitude towards Black people, stated concerning OCF. We do wish to commend the organi-

NEW BUSINESSANNEXATION OF NEW MEXICO/ARIZONA:

At the last NSCM, the region of New Mexico/Arizona was made an Organizing Contact because of the inactivity within the region. In light of the defunct status of the New Mexico/Arizona area, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That the area of New Mexico/Arizona be broken up and that the state of New Mexico be annexed to the Colorado/Utah/Wyoming region. The state of Arizona is to be annexed to the California/Nevada region.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

EXPULSION OF CARL BROWN AND ED COOPER:

Because of the potentially volatile situation in Tampa, Florida (see National Office Report -- Internal report) the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That Carl Brown and Ed Cooper be expelled from VVAW/WSO. They are forbidden to use the name "VVAW/WSO," "VVAW," "WSO," or our organizational logo. At this time, there is no functioning VVAW/WSO chapter in the Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater area, nor has there been such a chapter in the recent past.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and the expulsion went into effect at the close of the Buffalo NSCM.

NUMBER OF NSCM'S PER YEAR:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO hold National Steering Committee Meetings twice a year instead of three times a year, and that the appropriate administrative procedures dealing with election of national coordinators, etc. be developed.

VOTE: This is a policy decision, thus it will have to be discussed in the regions and voted on at the next NSCM. The vote for sending this proposal back to the regions for discussion received unanimous acceptance.

WORKSHOP ON MASS & CADRE ORGANIZATIONS PROPOSAL:

PROPOSAL: To hold a workshop at the next NSCM to explore the relations between mass and cadre organizations. This question is to be discussed in regions and chapters prior to the next meeting.

VOTE: This proposal failed when it did not receive a majority vote. The vote on this proposal was: 27.5-yes; 27.5-no; 5-abs. Though no workshop on this question is now scheduled, regions and chapters should discuss this question on a principled level and bring their ideas to the next NSCM.

zation for finally conducting a thorough investigation, through the St. Louis chapter, which was presented at this meeting. It was first felt that we ought to have supported Cairo as an action or series of actions rather than as a National Project.

In light of the above two discussion of OCF and our involvement in Cairo, the body felt that the analysis of why these projects failed was very important and it is necessary that we learn from the mistakes and successes of our work around these two National Projects. Since the analysis of these projects is incomplete in this workshop report, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That people involved with these National Projects should write an analysis of why the Projects failed and these analyses are to be put in the National Newsletter so that we may all better learn the lessons of our involvement with OCF and Cairo.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

CP, USA: There was considerable struggle over establishing the facts of CP, USA practice and the practice of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (here in referred to as "the Alliance") in regard to the cases of political repression we support, specifically the Leavenworth Brothers, Lawton-Gardner, and Ruchell Magee. Much struggle went on in the workshop. A point of unity which received workshop support by a 12 in favor, 1 opposed, 1 abstention, follows:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO use the various tools at its means (Winter Soldier, Newsletters, meetings, etc.) to expose the practice of various individuals and the organizations with regard to cases of political repression that we are working on. In the Winter Soldier this would be limited to letters from political prisoners and other interested parties (such as the Alliance, Angela Davis, etc).

VOTE: This proposal was passed with a vote of: 54.15-yes; 5.85-no.

VA/VETERANS WORKSHOP

The VA/Veterans workshop began with a Round Robin of the represented regions and discussion of what actions the various regions have been conducting around the VA. A brief discussion of the National Program and the suggested strategy for focusing this Program around the VA was also held (see Amnesty Workshop report for more details). The idea of holding a Winter Soldier Investigation on the VA and the problems of veterans was put forward and the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That local chapters do actions on the weekend of Oct. 28. Winter Soldier Investigations on the problems of veterans are suggested as one tactic to be used on this weekend as the beginning of a much larger campaign.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance. It should be noted that this proposal was put forward as a suggestion for a way to implement our National Program and focusing our demands.

who are able to attend are encouraged to do so. Because this rally will be a major political event and because VVAW/WSO was asked for national endorsement, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO endorse and support Puerto Rican Independence Day. Regions and chapters are encouraged to support this action.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

ATTICA MEMORIAL WEEK:

September 13th is the three-year anniversary of the Attica rebellion and subsequent massacre. Because of this, there will be a national demonstration in Buffalo, New York on September 14th. Regions and chapters are encouraged to attend this action, and logistics for VVAW/WSO members will be handled by the Buffalo chapter. Those planning to attend this demonstration should contact the Buffalo people as soon as possible. Because of the importance of this demonstration, the following proposal was introduced:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO, as a national organization, support the national demonstration planned for September 14th in Buffalo. This action is being called in memory of the Attica massacre.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

PROPOSAL ON PVS CLEARINGHOUSE:

PROPOSAL: This proposal concerns the future of the PVS Clearinghouse. We believe that our work around PVS should be integrated into the campaign against the VA. We believe that PVS is important to bring forward in the campaign against the VA because it does bring up certain important lessons in terms of the imperialist nature of the war in Indochina, plus it is an important issue facing many veterans.

As for the future of the Clearinghouse, we believe it should be dropped as such because there aren't the resources and political input from VVAW/WSO as a whole to make the Clearinghouse really work. This is because people believe that the only way to bring out the question of PVS is through work around the VA. In isolation from this focus, the work hasn't received much support from people in Milwaukee and thus, the project is done primarily by one person. Integrating the PVS issues into the campaign will once again give energy to a very important demand.

The tremendous amount of articles collected by the Clearinghouse should be summed up by those people in the Clearinghouse and sent around the country in order that the small brochure we now have on PVS can be expanded and developed further. This would be of great aid to the campaign against the VA.

STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT & SOLIDARITY:

Because of the recent struggles of G.I. s in Japan, the following two proposals were made:

PROPOSAL: That the National Steering Committee of VVAW/WSO send a letter of solidarity and support to the Iwakuni "5". These five brothers are facing courts-martial as a result of circulating leaflets protesting the Pak regime of South Korea.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and the letter is to be written by the National GI Project.

PROPOSAL: That the National Steering Committee of VVAW/WSO send a letter of solidarity and support to the Midway Defense Committee offering our support to the brothers who walked off the Midway.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and the letter is to be written by the National GI Project.

STATEMENT ON NIXON & OUR FOUR REMAINING DEMANDS:

(The following statement on Nixon was made and people felt that it should be included in the minutes).

We are now left with four of our original five demands. We should, in our day-to-day work note that the "Kick Nixon Out" demand was satisfied through the unified power of the people of this country, and this is a cause for celebration. Nixon is still a war criminal, which should be mentioned when talking about Indochina, and should be punished for his crimes against the people of the world. The resignation of Nixon is a victory for the people, and we should make every effort to bring this fact home to our communities.

NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL COORDINATOR:

Three positions for National Coordinator will be open at the next NSCM. The one-year terms of Ed Damato and Marla Watson will expire in December. Also, the coordinator position which was vacated at this NSCM by Rich Bangert (no one was elected to fill this vacant position) will have to be filled. Nominations for these three positions were taken and the following were nominated:

Walter Klim (Milwaukee, Wis), Barry Romo (Riverside, Calif), Jeanie Dolly (Oakland, Calif), Bill Davis (Columbus, Ohio), Marla Watson (National Office), and Ed Damato (National Office).

PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY:

VVAW/WSO has been asked to endorse and support the Puerto Rican Independence Day demonstration which will be held on October 27th in Madison Square Garden in New York City. The demand for this demonstration is for the independence of Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule. Tickets for the rally will cost \$3.00 and people

This PVS proposal was introduced by the Wisconsin/Minnesota region and is to be taken back to the regions for discussion on the future of the PVS Clearinghouse. No vote was taken on this proposal, but regions should be prepared to discuss this proposal at the next NSCM.

INTER-REGION COMMUNICATIONS:

A request and suggestion was made which applies to all regions. Regional coordinators/collectives have commented on the fact that receiving minutes from other regional meetings has been a very helpful thing. Because of this, the suggestion was made that all regions adopt as a policy the consistent sending out of regional meeting minutes to all regional offices, as well as sending them to the National Office. Hopefully, this suggestion can be taken to heart and implemented in the immediate future.

DATE & SITE OF NEXT NSCM:

Two regions volunteered to host the next NSCM: California/Nevada and S. Illinois/E. Missouri. A vote was taken on whether the NSCM should be held in California or St. Louis, and the results were as follows:

California -- 8.6 in favor

St. Louis -- 51.4 in favor

Thus, the next NSCM will be held in St. Louis. The dates selected for this meeting are December 27 - 31 (these dates were selected by a majority consensus). People should note that these dates mean that the registration will begin on a Friday and the meeting will conclude on a Tuesday.

* * * * *

CRITICISM / SELF - CRITICISM

As at the last several NSCMs, the last item of business was criticism/self-criticism. The following is a compilation of the criticism/self-criticism given by the regional delegations.

1. There was unanimous agreement that the logistics were handled beautifully. A large vote of thanks goes to the Buffalo chapter by the NSC. Another vote of thanks goes to Steve Hassett who chaired most of the meeting; his efficient, firm and fair handling of the chair contributed much to the success of the meeting.

2. The level of political struggle was much higher than it has been in the past. With a few exceptions, the struggle was on a clearly political level, and political lines were clarified. In keeping with this, it was good that a few regions and the National Office had prepared positions ahead of time (though there was criticism of the N.O. for not having completed its position paper sooner) since that gave the discussions a clear focus, whether or not people agreed with the positions being put forth. Clearly, the organization has grown politically.

3. There was criticism of people who let a speaker's organization stand in the way of hearing the position the speaker was putting forth. At the same time, there was positive criticism for the principled and progressive role played by VVAW/WSO members who are also in the Revolutionary Union. Rumor-mongering about the RU was severely criticized; this was particularly noted since RU members were present and ready to deal openly with criticisms of the organization.

4. People felt that the meeting produced excellent results, above and beyond the good political struggle which went on during the meeting. We have a new set of objectives (minus one), and a Program for the next period of time. We also have clarity around the lines about the future of the organization which will serve as a focus of struggle in chapters and regions before the next NSCM.

5. There was criticism of delegates who fell into subjectivity, especially around debate on the gay objective. Also, although the general level of political struggle was high, there was criticism of opportunist tactics, red-baiting, and unprincipled attacks.

6. Regional delegations were criticized for their representation at workshops. In order to "stack" some workshops, delegations ignored other workshops. Too many delegates were completely locked into positions without the flexibility to deal with new information.

7. Workshops were generally seen as productive, but there should have been a workshop which would have discussed the National Program of the organization.

IMPLEMENT THE NATIONAL PROGRAM!

UNITY - STRUGGLE - VICTORY !

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 9/17/74

SAC, BUFFALO (100-21623) (P)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
Buffalo, New York
8/8-12/74
IS - VVAW/WSO

Enclosed for the Bureau and Chicago is one copy
document entitled, "13th National Steering
Meeting, Vietnam Veterans Against the War/
Soldier Organization."

The enclosed document which is described as the
of the Buffalo VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee
as obtained on 9/11/74 from BU 696-S.

ENCLOSURE

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13TH

NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING



**VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION**

9/24/95 8639106 10144 3111
ENCLOSURE

NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
 BUFFALO, NEW YORK
 AUGUST 8 - 12, 1974

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IMPLEMENT THE NATIONAL PROGRAM!

BUILD VVAW/WSO!

NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8 - 12, 1974

REGIONS PRESENT:

Washington/Alaska; California/Nevada; Colorado/Utah/Wyoming; Maryland/Virginia/Washington, D. C.; Florida/Georgia; E. Pennsylvania/Delaware/S. New Jersey; N. Illinois/Iowa; S. Illinois/E. Missouri/Oklahoma/Arkansas; Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky/Michigan/W. Pennsylvania/West Virginia; Great Plains; Wisconsin/Minnesota; New England; New York/N. New Jersey/Connecticut/Rhode Island. (Not all regions were present for the entire meeting, which accounts for differences in vote totals).

ROUND ROBINS, NATIONAL AND PROJECT REPORTS:

Round Robins from the regions, National Office reports and the majority of National Project reports were written prior to the meeting and handed out to those regions present. Because of the length of some of these reports and because a majority of regions already have copies of these reports, they will not be included in the minutes. If regions who were unable to attend the NSCM would like copies of the Round Robins or Project reports, they can be obtained either from the National Office or from the various regions. A report on Operation County Fair was not prepared, so we will try to get the current status report out in a future newsletter. Following is a summation of the Lawton/Gardner trial report which is being printed because a written report was not handed out at the meeting.

LAWTON/GARDNER TRIAL:

The trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner has again been postponed and is now tentatively scheduled to begin on September 24th. This continuing series of postponements is attributed to the prosecution and may be seen as blatant harassment of the defense. The Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee has asked that people around the country try to mobilize people around this trial date. It is important to let the "powers that be" in Riverside know that Gary and Zurebu are not being tried in isolation. It is our responsibility to let the government know that there is national support for these brothers. Suggestions for work around the trial include demonstrations or actions for September 24th, petitioning campaigns demanding that the charges be dropped, and the continuation of the telegram/letter-writing campaign (the addresses that people should write to are listed in National Newsletter #26). The RPPDC also stressed that when doing propaganda work around the Lawton/Gardner trial, we should center on the racism and political repression involved in this case, and avoid expressing our "moral outrage" and discussing the Constitutionality of this third trial. In other words, we should approach this trial with strong, anti-imperialist politics and discuss the real issues involved.

Aside from the mass work we need to do around the trial, the RPPDC is also in need of defense workers. The coordinator of the RPPDC, who has worked on the defense of Gary and Zurebu throughout the two previous trials, is leaving Riverside to

resume his schooling and his absence will be seriously felt. The RPPDC will be short-handed, so they are asking for good, solid people to move to Riverside and help fill this void. People willing to work on the RPPDC will have to support themselves, meaning that there are no "free rides" available. People interested in working on Gary and Zurebu's trial should contact the RPPDC, P.O. Box 244, Riverside, CA 92502.

* * * * *

OLD BUSINESS

ELECTION OF NATIONAL COORDINATORS:

The terms of national coordinators Rich Bangert and Brian Adams expired at this NSCM. Of the people nominated at the last NSCM, Brian Adams was the only nominee who accepted nomination to the National Office. A vote on Brian's re-election was taken and he was elected with a vote of: 52.75-yes; 1.25-no; 6-abs.

INTERNAL FUNDING PROPOSAL:

At the April NSCM, the following proposal was made and discussed in the regions and voted on at this NSCM.

PROPOSAL: That membership in this organization requires a \$1.00 per month fee. This money would be collected by the regional and chapter offices in their respective areas of responsibility and forwarded to the National Office for use in the support of the National Office and the printing of Winter Soldier. Prisoners are to be exempt from this requirement.

VOTE: This proposal passed with a vote of: 52.5-yes; 2.5-no; 5-abs. The mechanism for collecting this money is to be left to the individual regions.

OBJECTIVES:

As decided at the last NSCM, proposals for new objectives were voted on during Old Business. A vote of yes or no was taken on each objective proposal and those objectives which received a 2/3 majority are now in effect as our organizational objectives. Those which did not receive a 2/3 majority were taken back to the Objectives Workshop, and all new objective proposals are contained in that workshop report. Following are those objectives which received a 2/3 majority; those objectives which failed are not printed here (see Milwaukee NSCM minutes for the text of the proposals which failed). Also, objectives #4 and #9 had revisions made in the Objectives Workshop and because of the minor nature of the revisions, they were accepted at this meeting and go into effect along with those objectives which received a 2/3 majority vote under Old Business. Below are the finalized forms of all the new objectives, and a reflection of the votes of those objective proposals which failed.

PREAMBLE: None of the preamble proposals received a 2/3 majority vote. The vote was: Majority Preamble -- 11.9; Minority Preamble -- 9.34; Minority proposal for No Preamble -- 23.76; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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 servicepeople in the struggles against military repression. We oppose the use of the military as an oppressive and policy-making force domestically and overseas.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 34.5-yes; 15.5-no; 10-abs. when voted on under Old Business. When the revision in the word structure was made in the Objectives Workshop, the body unanimously accepted the revised objective. The other proposal for the amnesty/veterans objective (also objective #4 proposal) failed with a vote of: 13.5-yes; 36.5-no; 10-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 32.3-yes; 12.7-no; 15-abs. (Because this objective was accepted, the other proposal for the veterans objective was not voted on).

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 43.5-yes; 1-no; 15.5-abs.

OBJECTIVE #7: Neither of the proposed objectives on sexism received a 2/3 majority, so at this time, the old sexism objective is still in effect. A proposal for a new sexism objective is included in the Objectives Workshop Report. The votes on this objective were: Majority proposal: 19.5-yes; 30.5-no; 10-abs. Minority proposal: 11.6-yes; 38-no; 10.4-abs.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 35.2-yes; 14.8-no; 10-abs. (Because this objective was accepted, the minority proposal for the workers objective was not voted on).

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: This objective was accepted with a vote of: 45-yes; 15-abs. when voted on under Old Business. When the words "grand juries" were added in the Objectives Workshop, the body unanimously accepted the above as the revised objective.

OBJECTIVE #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.

VOTE: Since we have no preamble to the objectives, the Objectives Workshop felt that the old Objective #10 should remain. This proposal to keep objective #10 received unanimous acceptance by the body (see Objectives Workshop Report).

SUPPORT FOR CAIRO AS A NATIONAL PROJECT:

At the last NSCM, it was decided that we should examine our involvement with and support of the struggle of the people of Cairo, Illinois as one of our National Projects. The St. Louis chapter was to investigate the situation in Cairo and they pre-

sented their analysis at this NSCM with the recommendation that Cairo be dropped as a National Project. (Copies of the St. Louis report can be obtained through the National Office). In light of the new information we received regarding Cairo, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That Cairo be dropped as a National Project.

VOTE: This proposal passed with a vote of: 55-yes; 5-abs. Cairo was also discussed in the National Projects Workshop and an analysis of our involvement in Cairo is included in the workshop report. The National Office will write a letter to the Cairo United Front informing them of this decision, and a copy of that letter will be printed in the National Newsletter.

ROUND ROBIN ON NATURE & FUTURE OF VVAW/WSO:

From the very beginning of the meeting, it became clear that the major question of this NSCM centered around the nature and future of VVAW/WSO. In order to get an idea of what all the regions felt on this question and their responses to the National Office's Position Paper, time was set aside at the completion of Old Business for discussion of this question. This was done so that we could get an understanding of the regions' positions prior to the workshop discussions and so that a direction for the meeting could be provided. Each region was given approximately 10 minutes to present their ideas on the nature of VVAW/WSO. This was done in the form of a "Round Robin" and regions were allowed to split up their time so that a variety of opinions from a region could be presented. Though a more detailed discussion of this question went on in the Mass Organizations Workshop, most people felt that this setting aside of time at the beginning of the meeting was a good thing because it provided the means by which the various positions could become known to the entire body. Thus, the lines on this particular question were sharpened at the out-set of the meeting, and provided us with a better understanding of how to proceed in struggling around this question.

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WORKSHOP REPORTS

WINTER SOLDIER WORKSHOP

Criticism of the comment on the SLA by the National Office:

- 1) This comment incorrectly said "VVAW/WSO" when it should have said "National Office."
- 2) This comment should have criticized terrorism as a strategy as opposed to a tactic.

Statement on the Editorial which appeared in the August issue on the Vets' Movement:

The workshop as a whole, felt that the editorial correctly stated VVAW/WSO's position on AVM and the veterans movement. The workshop also felt that the slogan "Build the Anti-Imperialist Veterans Movement" correctly

states VVAW/WSO's position on what a veterans movement must be.

Some people in the workshop held the opinion that the National Collective used poor judgment in using that slogan at this time in the context of the internal struggle in VVAW/WSO.

The workshop also discussed whether it was correct to print letters in Winter Soldier like the letter received from Gary Lawton to Angela Davis. The workshop agreed that it was correct for this to be done.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

It was decided at the last NSCM that another weekend workshop would be held in St. Louis in early June to further compile our National Defense Committee packet. This meeting in St. Louis was a success and several people and regions were assigned the responsibility of having papers written to be discussed at the NDC Workshop at this NSCM. Since the large majority of these papers were not completed and could not be discussed at this NDC Workshop, the workshop decided that another weekend workshop will be held on November 2-3 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The workshop also recommended that people who attend this weekend workshop should have specific skills or expertise in the defense area, or should be those people who have been involved in this process of developing the NDC packet. This is not an open meeting, and if regions have no involvement in getting the packet put out, they need not worry about getting representatives to the NDC workshop in Milwaukee. It is imperative, however, that those individuals and regions responsible for getting papers completed, have them prepared prior to this November meeting. Further information on this weekend workshop will be printed in the National Newsletter.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS/NATURE OF VVAW/WSO WORKSHOP

The Mass Organizations/Nature of VVAW/WSO Workshop centered around the 2-line struggle within our organization and the focus of our work. Everyone in the workshop agreed that VVAW/WSO has a veterans and G.I. base, so the struggle came in when deciding what the focus of VVAW/WSO should be. The agreed upon definitions of the two lines were: 1) The majority position which sees VVAW/WSO as a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and G.I. base and focus; and 2) The minority position which sees VVAW/WSO as a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and G.I. base and an anti-imperialist focus. The workshop presented both a majority and a minority report on the question of our focus, and the following proposal was made.

PROPOSAL: To send both the majority and minority reports back to the regions and that a consensus vote of the delegates on each report accompany the reports and be reflected in the minutes.

VOTE: This proposal was accepted and following are the two workshop reports and the consensus vote which reflects how the delegates viewed the question of focus presented in these reports. It was also noted that both of these workshop reports reflect upon the Position Paper sent out by the National Office, so this Position Paper should also be studied by chapters and regions. The results of studying these reports will be discussed in the Mass Organizations Workshop at the next NSCM.

MAJORITY REPORT:

The majority report of the Mass Organizations sees the nature of and future of VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and G.I. base and focus.

All members of the workshop agreed with everything in the definition except the focus. Many of the reasons for a vets and G.I. focus are laid out in the National Office position paper and are not repeated here. In fact, this position is the present practice of most chapters in VVAW/WSO.

There are three major arguments against this line. First, it would limit our growth and thus decrease our effectiveness as an organization and as a part of the anti-imperialist movement. There are, however, 8.2 million Vietnam-era vets, plus a military full of G.I.s (and potential vets). And we are fully capable -- with our structure, our politics, and our programs -- to recruit many of these vets and G.I.s into VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist movement. Moreover, we are not saying "limit" -- we are saying "focus."

The second major argument says that focus on G.I. and vets issues is reformist. Any demand less than smash imperialism can be put forth in a reformist way. The D.C. demo with its 5 demands was not a reformist action because the demands were put forward in an anti-imperialist context. And out of this approach grew the militance and unity of that demonstration; militance and unity for VVAW/WSO can and should come from the same focus.

Third, this position does not limit our work to vets and G.I. issues -- we must actively support those struggles nationally and locally which push the anti-imperialist movement forward. If there is an over-whelming need to organize a defense committee in the community, for instance, and there is no one else to do it, VVAW/WSO can take on that job. But we have to remember that the best way to help Ruchell Magee, or the Vietnamese, or the Attica Brothers is through a strong, fighting organization which can support their struggles by attacking imperialism. One of the best things VVAW/WSO did yet in support of Gary Lawton was the D.C. demo.

An anti-imperialist focus as presented in the minority report leads to chapters working on whatever project in their community seems to be the best way to draw in people. It works from anti-imperialism in the sky to an anti-imperialist organization searching for a cause to take up. It leads to diffusion as a national organization and the resulting lack of effectiveness. We felt that a good analogy which illustrates this concept is like building a house from the attic down.

VOTE: The consensus vote on this report was: 43 in favor; 18.5 opposed; 3.5 - abs.

MINORITY REPORT:

We are a Mass Organization with a veterans and G.I. base and an anti-imperialist focus.

We feel that to identify VVAW/WSO as having an anti-imperialist focus is to put politics in command. To view veterans and G.I.s as a "constituency group" and then to put forward a line that we should make this group our focus and to organize around the specific points of oppression of this group is incorrect and will lead to reformism.

1. It does not put politics in command to say that VVAW/WSO's focus is veterans and G.I.s and to then add that we're also anti-imperialist. This is based on a view of the world, as well as of VVAW/WSO, which analyzes that "nothing is happening" or that "There's no crises for us to react to." (In the extreme case of AVM, a "national veterans crises" was created). It ignores what is going on in the world today. How can a view which closes off the U.S. at its borders ever be considered proletarian internationalism. This is the reason that, in the majority position, Indochina is seen as either a secondary level of work or an issue we give support to, but do not organize around. This will always happen when the constituency defines the politics -- the labor movement, and especially the CIO, is an example. The historical development of VVAW/WSO and the growth of anti-imperialist consciousness within it stems directly from the fact that we attacked the war in Indochina and the imperialist military machine rather than our specific problems as a constituency group.

2. To view veterans and G.I.s as a constituency group is a mistake. The specific point of oppression of Vietnam-era veterans and G.I.s is participation in the imperialist war machine. What the majority position labels as the specific points of oppression are the effects of this participation. To focus on the effects rather than the actual point of oppression leads nowhere. The National Office position paper uses the farmworkers as an example to support its case for constituency organizing (p 15). The point of oppression for farmworkers is around their work and it is correct for them to organize on this basis. If the growers grant every demand of the UFW, that point of oppression would disappear (though others would continue to exist). The point of oppression for vets and G.I.s is participation in the military. If the VA granted every demand of veterans, the struggles around PVS and the choices of active-duty G.I.s would remain the same.

3. Every vet is also something else -- a man or a woman, working or unemployed, a student, white or third world. How do we select a constituency group? It is a good thing to organize vets and G.I.s, but to do so as a particular constituency group negates 1) the dual nature arising from their experience and 2) by the fact of this dual nature, their involvement in other struggles. The creation of an artificial group leads to reformist demands.

4. The focus on vets and G.I.s while welcoming full and equal membership by non-vets is only a more sophisticated version of the veterans' auxiliary. It is indeed saying that it is correct to focus on somebody else's struggle. The struggle of non-vets in this organization focuses on anti-imperialist work, which is women's work, as Vietnam is women's work. For non-vets to focus on vets and G.I.s is to deny that the struggle is the same anti-imperialist struggle and focus. In the NO position paper (pg 11), it states that the WSO concept "envisioned transforming VVAW into THE mass organization of the U.S." This is not true. The majority of the membership adopted this position to resolve the contradiction between vets and non-vets, particularly women, within the organization. To say that non-vets should find their appropriate organization is a cop-out.

5. The basis of the majority position is a mechanistic application of the concept of the United Front. It lacks an analysis of the material conditions in this country. The models put forth are of a United Front against an external force -- either fascism in Europe in the 1930's or imperialism in China and Vietnam. Our relationship to imperialism is qualitatively different. Imperialism defines our economic base as well as our political institutions and our culture and we need to take this into account in building and becoming a part of a United Front against imperialism. The focus on veterans and G.I.s as a constituency group does not do this. Nor does it offer any way for us to best use our experience to advance the anti-imperialist struggle. It is easier to organize people or groups around their own needs or oppression when there is no explicit demand to consider these needs in the context of other people's struggles. To do this, to fail to make anti-imperialism our focus, is to stand in opposition to the rising tide of anti-imperialist struggles in this country and throughout the world.

VOTE: The consensus vote on this report was: 18.3 in favor; 43 opposed; 3.7-abs.

PRISON PROJECT WORKSHOP

There were three regions represented in the workshop who are doing prison support work: Ohio, Great Plains and California. Four regions who are interested in doing prison support work attended: New York, Northern Illinois/Iowa, East Pennsylvania/Delaware/S. New Jersey, and S. Illinois/E. Missouri.

It was made clear at the onset that we realize that we cannot organize a prison movement, but that we can support prisoners by sending/giving them guidance in their political education and by sharing our knowledge both inside and outside, of organizing and leadership skills. We learned from one of the people in the National Prison Project that the involvement of VVAW/WSO in prison work began/begins with initial contacts from veterans who are inside the prison and who are interested in forming chapters and want information on VA bennies, etc.

With political input and output, they are learning that the veterans' struggle inside the joint ties their struggle and organizing against their major oppressor, the system of imperialism. The consensus of this workshop is that what is needed is a national anti-imperialist prison organization.

This analysis -- that a national anti-imperialist prison organization is needed -- comes from our concrete practice. We have learned that we simply do not, on a national scale, have the time, energy, people power, or expertise to do more than support. We cannot provide legal help, publicity, funding, or any of the many other necessities that are needed in doing organizing. We see political support as our role and understand that, as the anti-imperialist politics of prisoners grows, they will be more oppressed and we will have to support their struggles. Nevertheless, they are the only ones who do the prison organizing inside. Our task is to educate the masses around prisons and the prison movement and is to organize support. Whenever we can lend political support we should. Outside support is vital to the prison movement and must expose the system.

We take our political analysis to the people inside and learn from them so we can take their analysis and use it to accurately educate the people outside.

At the last NSCM, a booklet was to have been prepared to be used as PE for

for both inside and outside prisons. "What Is VVAW/WSO" has been sent to all prison contacts. Our consensus was that chapters doing prisoner support work would send the project office any other ideas, helpful hints, etc. around this work. The objective conditions are so unique in prisons around the country that one pamphlet would not be applicable to them all, except in an extremely general way.

Other ideas for prison work include 1) the use of DUP as a strategem to get inside initially and to use it as PE about imperialism. We cannot mislead prisoners about the reality of the DU system (e. g. if a person got a BCD and is serving a 400 year rap for murder, that person's discharge is not going to get upgraded). The National Prison Project reported that they've gotten requests for information from prisoners about SPN's and that this has led into an increasing political awareness of the military and anti-imperialist movement. It was also suggested that letter-writing -- the establishment of communications -- is a key factor in solidifying political information about our common struggle both inside and out. 2) Use federal and state Bureau of Prisons literature and compare this with what we know our brothers and sisters are really going through and dealing with inside. This exposes the prison system as a tool of imperialism and we can use this to politically educate the people outside. The final suggestion was 3) if people inside put out a newsletter, or if the warden or other honchos put one out, try to get on the mailing list or get copies.

It was decided that VVAW/WSO's newsletter for prisoners, "Inside/Out," be sent to all chapters. This can be an incentive to do prison support work.

After our extensive political discussions on behavior modification, our consensus was that this is a topic in itself, and that more extensive investigation be done on behavior modification by those doing prison support work.

PROPOSAL: That we accept the workshop report and the minutes reflect the political struggle that went on during the plenary session concerning the nature of our prison work.

VOTE: This workshop report and the above proposal received unanimous acceptance and following is a summation of some of the questions which arose around our prison work. These questions are to be discussed in the regions and will be taken up at the Prison Workshop at the next NSCM. Also, the National Project Office will be discussing questions like these in future prison newsletters, which will be sent to all regions and chapters.

The workshop report states that "we cannot organize a prison movement but that we can support prisoners..." It further states that "we simply do not, on a national level, have the time, energy, people power, or expertise to do more than support." While this is true, if we apply it to ourselves now -- the prison support work that we are doing is in fact organizing prisoners so that they can organize themselves. If they then organize themselves in the context of our organization now, the question arises as to whether or not we will in fact be creating an identifiable organization for prisoners to relate to. If this is true, then we as an organization will mean both VVAW/WSO on the outside of the walls, and on the inside of the walls; we will then be on the inside. Prisoners will then be part of us and we, as an organization, might

very well be establishing a base of prisoners in which a focus can be applied. Understanding the prison movement should be separate from this organization, the question as to how one would stop the movement from relating to us in that context arises. If all of our correspondence fails to generate a separate movement (in the organizational sense), and the prisoners start relating to VVAW/WSO with a focus on their point of oppression (prisons) -- what then? As stated earlier, questions like this will have to be discussed in the regions and at the next NSCM Prison Workshop.

INDOCHINA WORKSHOP

The members of the Indochina workshop agreed that emphasis, by VVAW/WSO, on the continuing war in Indochina has increased since the Milwaukee NSCM. This is evidenced by the "Implement the Agreement -- End All Aid to Thieu and Lon Nol" demand that was put forth in Washington and also used for local build-up for the demonstration.

Therefore, the workshop endorses the National Office position for a national program as stated in the National Office report. We concur with tying this demand with the other three anti-imperialist demands on the dates mentioned, with the understanding that consistent day-to-day work linking together all four demands must be done. However, particular emphasis on the "Implement the Agreement" demand should be made on the January 27th action. We suggest that the national office, if financially prepared at the time, prepare a poster for local build-up of this action.

The workshop also suggests local support, wherever possible, with Indochina Peace Campaign and Indochina Solidarity Committee's International Week of Concern, September 29 - October 6. The demands as called for by the above mentioned organizations are amnesty for all war resisters and Implement the Peace Agreements. In support of this action, the workshop suggests local organizational literature/leaflets with an anti-imperialist basis be used. (More information concerning this will appear in the National Newsletter).

The need for continued internal and external education on the nature of the continued war was also discussed and supported. It was again suggested that people who would like to keep up on the current activities in Indochina subscribe to a publication of: Indochina Resource Center, 1322 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Also, literature is available from IPC and ISC.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance. It was also noted that what we are actually endorsing with regard to the Week of Concern are the dates of that week, and not necessarily IPC's planned actions. The dates of Sept 29 - Oct. 6 have been put forward by the Vietnamese people and international events will occur during this week.

OBJECTIVES WORKSHOP

The objectives workshop presented six proposals and one additional point which is not to be taken back to the regions. One of the proposals from this workshop includes a minority report. Following are these proposals, etc. and the votes on each of them.

#1: The workshop discussed the proposed objective on homosexual people which was introduced by the New York City chapter. The vote of the workshop on this proposed objective was: 4-yes; 18-no. The people who voted for the objective decided not to present a minority report on this objective, so this proposed objective is not under consideration.

#2: PROPOSAL: The Objectives Workshop proposed that VVAW/WSO not have any objective on the oppression of homosexual people.

VOTE: This proposal received a consensus vote of: 48.3-yes; 16.7-no. Since this is a policy decision, this proposal will have to be voted on under Old Business at the next NSCM and is to be discussed in the regions in the interim.

#2: MINORITY REPORT: VVAW/WSO as an anti-imperialist organization has to focus on the people oppressed by Imperialism to support the struggle against Imperialism. We feel that gay people are among those who are directly oppressed by the system. This materializes in that they are systematically denied their civil rights, are subject to criminal prosecution and are forced to lead hidden and fearful lives. This is a tool used by Imperialism to prevent and destroy unity among the people. Thusly, we feel this necessitates the drafting of a principle of unity or an objective around the struggle of gay people.

PROPOSAL: That this minority report go back to the regions for discussion,

VOTE: 49.25-yes; 15.75-no. This vote means that this minority report is to be discussed in the regions in light of having to vote on the Majority Proposal #2 of the objectives workshop under Old Business at the next NSCM. The minority report is not an objective to be voted on, but a point of discussion.

#3: PROPOSED OBJECTIVE ON THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN-(Objective #7): Because the proposed objective on sexism did not receive a 2/3 majority when voted on under Old Business, the workshop proposed the following objective on the oppression of women:

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 which divides us and strive to build unity between all people.

VOTE: The body unanimously accepted this proposed objective. This proposal should be discussed in the regions and will be voted on under Old Business at the next NSCM. At that time, this proposed objective will require a 2/3 majority vote in order for it to become our objective on sexism.

#4: PROPOSAL: That old objective #10 be included as is in the objectives of VVAW/WSO.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and objective #10 is now one of our objectives.

#5: PROPOSAL: That there be no Preamble to the objectives of VVAW/WSO.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

#6: PROPOSAL: That we add "grand juries" to the listing of examples of the criminal justice system in Objective #9.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and is to go into effect immediately as a revision of Objective #9.

#7: PROPOSAL FOR MINOR WORD CHANGE FOR AMNESTY OBJECTIVE:

PROPOSAL: 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.

VOTE: This proposed structural change received unanimous acceptance and is to go into effect immediately.

The workshop proposed that Items 4, 5, 6, and 7 be implemented at this meeting and that Items 1, 2, and 3 be taken to the regions for further discussion. (This workshop suggestion was unanimously accepted by the body meaning that Items 4, 5, 6 and 7 are now in effect, whereas proposals #2 and #3 will be voted on under Old Business at the next NSCM.

Also during the Objectives Workshop, the N. Illinois/Iowa region introduced the idea that instead of having Objectives, we develop a Principle of Unity and Statement of Principles. Following is an example of what this idea would be like, and it should be used as a basis for discussion of the concept of the Principle of Unity. Also, the N. Illinois/Iowa region will send out a detailed report to all regions on why they see this as necessary prior to the next NSCM. This report will also include an example formulation of the principle of unity and an example of what the Statement of Principles would be like. When discussing this concept, people should not struggle around the wording but around the idea. Below is the initial model of the concept that N. Illinois/Iowa is putting forward for discussion. It should also be noted that the content of this example is used as an example and does not necessarily reflect the feelings of the National Steering Committee.

FORMAT FOR POLITICAL STATEMENTS OF VVAW/WSO

PRINCIPLE OF UNITY

We are opposed to the system of Imperialism and its oppression of peoples and national liberation struggles at home and abroad.

DEFINITION OF VVAWWSO

We are a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and active-duty people base and focus.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

This should be an elaboration of the principle of unity and definition of VVAW/WSO. It should contain a further explanation of Imperialism and sections on its manifestations, such as racism and sexism. This is also where we should explain the relationship of other struggles, for example strikes, UFW, U. S. aggression in South-east Asia, etc. to our own struggles. We suggest a form similar to the pamphlet, "What Is VVAW/WSO."

VOTE: The idea of taking this format back to the regions for discussion was accepted by a majority vote. As stated earlier, the N. Illinois/Iowa region will be sending out a more detailed discussion of what they are proposing, but the above is to be used as a basic guideline for discussion of this concept.

AMNESTY/DUP WORKSHOP

This workshop report was presented and discussed in three sections. Also, it was decided to discuss the National Program which was put forward in the National Office Report and include this Program with this Workshop report. Because of the many things that were discussed in this workshop presentation, the report will be presented here by the three sections and the votes on these sections. Also, the National Program will be discussed following Section 3 of this report.

Section I: A round-robin report on amnesty and discharge upgrading began the workshop with each region participating relating their practice with them during the past 7 months. In sum, we agreed that our amnesty campaign had been very successful and should be pushed forward. Most of the reports, however, dealt with experience and problems stemming from DUP work. In some cases, the DUP's being discussed by regions were not in fact VVAW/WSO programs at all -- they went under other names and were in fact other organizations. In other instances (Colorado), DUP work was found by the workshop to be compromised in a lot of ways by the coalitional nature of the DUP's in the area. The basic thread running consistently through the discussion of DUP work however was the minimum of success the DUP work had had in 1) building the amnesty and single-type discharge campaigns and 2) recruiting new members to VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist struggle. The workshop analyzed the failure of DUP to achieve these goals as due to the following reasons:

1. People have been, consistently, losing sight of the political nature of discharge upgrading work. The tactic of preparing and filing discharge upgrading briefs for bad paper vets in many cases became the goal of DUP's in and of themselves. Instead of concentrating on organizing badly discharged vets into the street to fight for, and in, the campaign for UUA and a single-type discharge, DUP's have been organizing paperwork into Washington. The primary aspect of DUP work is mass outreach and building the people's movement to fight for UUA and a single-type discharge. We know we cannot depend on the DUP boards, or on the imperialist system. We can and must depend on the people. We cannot view DUP's as "service

projects." They must be seen as a tactic in the overall campaign to fight for UUA and a single-type discharge.

2. Another major failure of DUP's was not providing immediate and concrete activities for bad paper vets at the very beginning of the counseling process. This failure was again, a direct result of relying not on our primary strength, the people, but on the system. As soon as a vet contacts the DUP, an explanation should be made that the rate of upgrading is about 80% against him -- it should be explained that the people reviewing an upgrading appeal will be the same class of people that gave out the bad discharge in the first place. That even with an upgraded discharge he's going to get lousy benefits and a lousy job.

However, we cannot merely lay out an analysis of the discharge classification system, the upgrading system and imperialism and expect bad paper vets to then directly involve themselves in the anti-imperialist struggle. This will not happen on a regular basis unless there is a ready link-up made between the day-to-day needs of the vet as a result of bad papers and a concrete program to fight for these needs. With most bad paper vets it is a fight for a decent job, for benefits and services. Chapters with DUP's must have programs in operation that will enable bad paper vets to immediately and personally get involved in actions directly relevant to their lives: demanding decent jobs, VA benefits and services, etc. The point is to immediately place them actively in this struggle, not to allow them to passively sit out the appeal process as a bystander.

3. It became evident that many DUP's are drowning in paperwork supposedly seen as necessary to prepare a brief for submission to the DUP's boards. This reveals: a) an attitude of relying on the system rather than the people (as explained in point #1). We should know that the system cannot and will not meet our demands. b) Terry Selzer of Washington, D. C. VVAW/WSO revealed that there was a great misunderstanding about the amount of paperwork really necessary for filing with the boards. The point is that we do not actually have to write the briefs at all. All that is necessary is a chronology, the vets 201 file and a few government forms. Terry will be supplying all the regions doing DUP work with the specific technical information necessary for this filing in the immediate future.

4. We decided that the tactic of flooding the discharge upgrading boards was politically incorrect. It was like asking for a free trial or demanding the "guarantees" we supposedly have under the constitution. It is a repeat of the same error of primarily concerning ourselves with the system rather than the people. We are striving to fill the streets with people fighting for UUA and a single-type discharge and not filling the DUP boards with paperwork asking for it.

5. The ACLU's LMDC will not be providing VVAW/WSO DUP's with legal representation in the future. We hope to attain National Lawyers Guild assistance and rely on our own resources to meet this tactical need.

VOTE: This portion of the Amnesty/DUP report received unanimous acceptance.

Section II: RE. Amnesty work in particular --

1. It was felt necessary that the amnesty pamphlet's section on "background" needed to be rewritten before the next printing of it. It places too much emphasis on so-called constitutional rights rather than bringing up the correct reason for the need for UUA: based on an analysis of imperialism.

It was felt that a more concerted effort was needed to link up other amnesty constituencies, such as families of resisters, those in prison, etc.

VOTE: This portion of the Amnesty/DUP report received unanimous acceptance.

Section III: The Amnesty/DUP workshop reached the following conclusions:

1. That we endorse the National Office Report to the Buffalo NSCM on amnesty and DUP.
2. That the amnesty/DUP campaign remain a part of the overall program of VVAW/WSO for the coming months as outlined in the National Office Report to the Buffalo NSCM on our Program.
3. That we should continue discharge upgrading work. However, we reiterate that we will focus our work on the political aspects of DUP's as part of, or one tactic of, the general campaign for UUA and a single-type discharge. DUP's revolve around this struggle, not the other way around. We must understand the nature of DUP's -- what it can do as a tactical part of the UUA/single-type discharge campaigns, and what it cannot do as a strategy in and of itself.

VOTE: This portion of the Amnesty/DUP report was accepted by a majority vote.

During the discussion of Section III of the Amnesty/DUP workshop report, we discussed the National Program (a copy of this Program is included in the National Office Report). During the discussion of this Program, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That we accept the National Program (put forward in the National Office Report) as the program to guide our work for the next 9 months.

AMENDMENT: That we accept the strategy of focusing our demands around the V.A. as a concept to be applied on a national level by regions and chapters as dictated by their particular conditions.

VOTE: This proposed National Program and the above amendment were accepted with a vote of: 55.65-yes; 8.75-no; .6-abs. Thus, the ideas put forward in the National Program and the above amendment are to be guidelines for our daily work in the next 9 months.

The strategy of focusing our demands around the V.A. was introduced in a paper presented by the Wisconsin/Minnesota region. Since this paper is to be used as one strategy for focusing our National Program during the next several months (wherever applicable), the discussion paper concerning the V.A. is reprinted below.

DISCUSSION PAPER OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE V.A. :

From our experience in organizing for the July 1-4 demonstration and building our chapter, we think that VVAW/WSO should develop a campaign of "War on the VA" and that the "War on the VA" be adopted as a national campaign and be the main focus of the work of the organization as a whole for the next period.

This campaign is a concrete way for us to take up the mass demands of veterans at the same time as we attack an important imperialist institution, the VA. In launching an offensive against the VA, we will not only be defending the standard of living of an important segment of the working class, but also exposing and weakening the VA and the imperialist ideology which it and the right-wing "Veterans Organizations" it supports are pushing.

There are several reasons why "War on the VA" is the key campaign for VVAW/WSO to undertake at the present time. The economic and political crisis of U. S. Imperialism is growing daily, under pressure from the defeat in SE Asia, rising resistance of the world's peoples, and growing inter-imperialist competition. As a result, the ruling class has been forced more and more to increase economic attacks and political repression against the working people and oppressed nationalities at home. Veterans, once in the forefront of the struggle against the War they were forced to fight, now find themselves in the forefront in the fight against these attacks. Resistance to government harassment and cuts in the standard of living is now the main issue confronting veterans, and the main way this comes down in veterans as a group is the agency of the VA.

Declaring "War on the VA" does not mean separating vets off from the working class and other struggles, but rather opening up a new front in the fight against imperialism. Because vets, especially Third World vets, are hard hit by the crisis, and because of the special consciousness which comes from having been part of the imperialist military machine, vets' struggle against the VA and for their immediate interests can take on a militant and consciously anti-imperialist character that can be an inspiration to all the struggles which are presently on the rise. VVAW/WSO is the only organization which can lead veterans in this struggle; at the same time, it is only by becoming part of the real needs and struggles of the masses of vets that we as an organization can grow and advance.

The "War on the VA" is not a squabble over the distribution of a few crumbs. The VA has no interests in common with the masses of vets or the American people. It cannot "serve the people;" it is an imperialist institution. The harder we attack it, the broader we build our movement, the more we will help to expose the system as a whole. In participating in the "War on the VA" many vets will be able to understand on the basis of concrete experience how all our struggles are part of a single United Front Against Imperialism and why we must join with the working class and all oppressed people, including especially the liberation movements of the Third World, in our fight against the common enemy.

This is not to deny that with the "War on the VA" as with every other struggle of the people, a danger of reformism exists. AVM and similar organizations have provided a vivid illustration of how some forces within the veterans movement will try to confine the struggle to "bread and butter issues" and isolate vets from the rest of the working class and the world anti-imperialist movement. In carrying on "War against the VA," we will have to rely on the masses of veterans. We propose that as a guide in combatting reformism the campaign be built around the following "7 Point War Plan:"

Nationally, there is on-going work being done by different chapters around organizing the anti-imperialist veterans movement. What we need to develop is a national strategy to help and guide us in planning and moving our work in an anti-imperialist, not reformist, direction.

GUIDELINES:

1. Our struggle is revolutionary, not reformist.
2. The VA cannot be made to serve the needs of the people. We are organizing veterans, not the VA.
3. Use the campaign to bring in other anti-imperialist issues and to win people to these struggles.
4. Fight racial and national discrimination. Build a unified, multi-national campaign.
5. Keep demands winnable but don't confuse victory in one battle with winning the whole war.
6. Don't limit ourselves to what the VA says is within its powers to do.
7. We don't want any special privileges. We raise specific vets demands because they are in the interest of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement.

DEMANDS: Below is a list of suggested basic demands around the VA campaign:

1. No more red tape and harassment. End military type control over benefits. The red tape and hard time vets get at the VA is deliberately used to prevent vets from getting all we are due. We must demand immediate processing of all claims and appeals. -- Like the military, the VA makes its own laws and is answerable to no one. End all special adjudication and review boards. We demand the right to our own physician at all disability examinations and hearings, and the right to appeal all VA decisions through the courts.
2. Single-type discharge for all Vets. Full VA benefits for all Vets. -- Less-than-honorable discharges are used by the military to threaten and punish those who fight back against it, especially against Third World G.I.s. We demand one certificate of service, retroactively, for all vets, and an end to all SPN numbers and similar discriminatory characterizations. -- In the meantime, we demand that the VA grant full benefits to all veterans regardless of type of discharge.
3. Decent care and full staff at VA hospitals. Right to our choice of physician and medical services at government expense. -- VA hospitals are so bad that only vets who have no other choice (about 15% of them) will use the facilities. We demand full and decent medical care for all vets and dependents. Demilitarize the VA hospitals. No more using vets as guinea pigs for new drugs and procedures. Treat older vets under VA nursing care with respect and dignity. We support the struggles of hospital workers for better pay and working conditions. -- At the same time, we demand the right to treatment at a facility of our choice at government expense. This includes drug addiction and PVS. Right to treatment by our own physician at VA hospitals.
4. Education and job training for all vets. Raise and extend the GI Bill. -- The present GI Bill makes it nearly impossible for poor and working vets to go to school. We demand payment of tuition and all school-related expenses and a living allowance at federal minimum standards. No cut-off of the GI Bill for future vets. End all time limits on eligibility for educational benefits. Unlimited time for working vets to complete course of study.
5. No more racial and national discrimination. -- Like the military, every VA facility and program is permeated by racism. We will fight every particular instance of racial discrimination and denial of rights. We demand firing of all racist administrators and abolition of all discriminatory programs and practices.

6. No military recruiters at the VA. Kick out the American Legion, VFW, and other reactionary veterans organizations. -- The VA works to keep vets under the influence of the military and organizations pushing imperialist war. We demand an end to all special privileges of the AL, VFW, etc. such as certifying vets for welfare and other programs. Throw them out of VA premises.

7. We would like to have something on jobs but need to start from a specific tie-in with the VA. No info on this at present.

CONCLUSION

By unfolding the demands of universal unconditional amnesty and end all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol around the struggles for the day-to-day needs of veterans, it gives us a solid, concrete way to bring the spirit, militancy, and anti-imperialist consciousness of the July Demonstration in Washington back to the masses of vets in the community.

G. I. WORKSHOP

The workshop began with a round robin report about work being done around GI within the regions present. Out of the 9 regions attending the workshop, 4 are presently engaged in active-duty organizing (Ohio, Washington state, Maryland, and California) and 5 have established contacts in various bases and intend to begin work (Wisconsin, St. Louis, E. Pennsylvania, Portsmouth, Chicago). Reports generally reflected a low level of actual GI organizing within VVAW/WSO, but everyone expressed earnest commitment to continuing and expanding active-duty work on a chapter and regional level.

There was general agreement that the low level of organizing could be traced to particular limitations of the National-GI Project. As we see it, the NGIP has by its basically bureaucratic nature and concentration on localized communication, been unable to provide a clear political direction for anti-imperialist GI work for VVAW/WSO. This has hindered movement toward creating a unified national program for GI work. The workshop reached a unanimous consensus that the National Collective should provide this needed leadership and direction with the input of the National Steering Committee.

Our discussion of the nature of GI organizing in VVAW/WSO centered around the following points:

- 1) The military is the primary armed force used to maintain U. S. imperialism;
- 2) GI's are exploited inside the military to be used against their own people -- the working class;
- 3) We need to organize and educate people inside the military around both of these aspects. Not only should we be organizing and educating around the particular oppression of GIs (i. e. UCMJ harassment, living conditions, racism, etc), but we must also continually be developing a consciousness among GIs about their role within the U. S. military. As a primary tool of U. S. imperialism, the military should be ultimately turned back on its operators.

We felt that raising the single-type discharge demand was one good demand for GI's. A lack of time prohibited us from developing a broader program, and we will be looking for more direction from people with experience in GI organizing before and during the GI Conference.

Realistically speaking, our progress in developing anti-imperialist GI work has been slow and faltering. The GI workshop recognized our utter unpreparedness to lead forward the rising, spontaneous GI movement, and many people attributed this problem to the fact that we have neglected to focus in on anti-imperialist GI organizing. But we are determined to take on this struggle and ask that regions and chapters continue serious political evaluations of their strengths and weaknesses in GI work and submit any and all related ideas and needs to the National Collective in preparation for the GI Conference.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance. People who have ideas on developing a program for GI work should submit these ideas to the National Office as soon as possible.

INTERNAL ORGANIZING WORKSHOP

There was much discussion in this workshop around basic definitions; the following definitions were agreed on by the workshop to be taken back to the regions for guidelines for discussion.

1. A member is a person who works to the best of his or her capability for local, regional and national programs for the organization. The chapter must decide who is a member.
2. A chapter is a group of members who work collectively to the best of their capability for local, regional and national programs of the organization. The region must decide on who is a chapter.
3. A region is a group of chapters who work collectively to the best of their capabilities for the regional and national programs of the organization. The National Steering Committee must decide who is a region.

The workshop also feels that a definition of an organizing committee and organizing contact needs discussion. Further, the entire VVAW/WSO working paper, plus the added items which appear in minutes of meetings (such as the N.O. report definition of voting from the Milwaukee NSCM) should be discussed in chapters and regions. Regions should send results and input to the N.O. to be compiled by the 15th of October; N.O. should send the compilation of the results back to the regions by the end of October.

There was also agreement that emphasis on the need for political growth of members, chapters, and regions be made at all levels as part of our day to day work. Politics and practice are inseparable, and political growth, through study, struggle and day to day work around our organizational programs, therefore, involves an understanding of the politics of these programs. In short, the workshop agrees that political growth of each member must be emphasized in every aspect of our work as we struggle for political unity. In unity there is strength.

Discussion around challenging seating of regional delegations to the NSCM stressed that challenges be decided through struggle at the beginning of the meetings; though the mechanics for this now exist, they are not being used -- and they should be.

Chapters and regions should also discuss the question of representation. Specifically, the workshop raised the question of whether or not large and/or strong regions and small and/or weak regions should have equal votes at the NSCM. It was

pointed out that the only way to give full representation from all the chapters and contacts around the country is through a convention, an idea which should also be discussed in chapters and regions; the workshop agreed that such a move could not come in the immediate future.

The leadership crisis, indicated by the fact that only one person accepted nomination to the N. O. is lessening. It was emphasized that chapter activity, implementation of organizational programs, and political growth and unity is developing organizational strength at the mass level which, in turn, is developing leadership further. Several members of the workshop pointed out that the growth of communists in the organization was also contributing to the lessening of the crisis in leadership, at all levels of VVAW/WSO.

VOTE: This workshop report received unanimous acceptance. It is important to note that the above ideas are meant to serve only as guidelines for discussions in the regions. At the next NSCM, we should begin to formulate definitions, rules for representation, etc. Also, feed-back on the Working Paper is due to be sent to the N. O. no later than October 15th. (A copy of the Working Paper will be sent out to all chapters along with these minutes).

D. C. DEMONSTRATION ANALYSIS WORKSHOP

We first evaluated leadership of the demo. We saw the strengths being that the self-initiative by a number of people who took leadership roles at the demo shows the great potential for future leadership that VVAW/WSO has. We also believed that, in general, the leadership learned and progressed throughout the course of the demo. We saw the weaknesses of leadership as well. These were that the leadership tailed the masses and didn't lead, that the leadership was defeatist in attitude and held back the people because of lack of faith in the masses of people's ability to correctly assess situations. The same people tended to make all the decisions all the time. Leadership must be constantly developing and expanding, which was our fourth criticism. Finally, there was a lack of outreach and integration of community people and others who were drawn to the demo. We feel that leadership should have provided an overall plan for this kind of outreach, for without it we will not continue to grow.

We also criticized the overall failure to consistently link up the five demands at each action. We should have had banners/posters/signs about each one at every action and should have somehow linked them more strongly in each leaflet. We must educate the masses of people about the unity and interconnectedness of each demand. As there is a potential for reformist tendencies to emerge, rather than our anti-imperialist politics (i. e. the demo about single-type discharge at the Court of Military Appeals could have been in this vein), we must be continually aware of this and struggle to put forth our politics.

A major misconception at the demo was what we called the "Dewey Canyon III mentality." The age of John Kerry is over. We must realize that we are a fighting anti-imperialist organization and that the system is attempting to smash all parts of the anti-imperialist movement, including us. The assumptions many made -- that the police will never attack and that we are exempt from harassment because "we are

veterans" -- show that there was a misunderstanding of our current concrete level of struggle.

The buildup for the demo was seen as also helping to build the regions and was strongest when it was in the form of actions that took place on a consistent basis in the streets. We also felt that the buildup for the demonstration was unified for the first time.

We concluded that we need to go on from here and continue to build VVAW/WSO as a fighting anti-imperialist organization and that we need to bring that understanding back to our local communities.

VOTE: This workshop report was unanimously accepted. During the discussion of this report, two additions were made by the workshop: 1) The workshop accepts the report on the demo logistics which was contained in the N.O. Report, and 2) the workshop agreed that our action in D. C. was definitely a people's victory with a high degree of political struggle and unity.

NATIONAL PROJECTS/CP, USA WORKSHOP

(The workshop discussed three separate questions and they will be presented in these sections here).

An agenda was adopted and the following proposal was presented first.

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO drop Operation County Fair as a National Project.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and OCF is no longer one of our National Projects.

Discussion and struggle: A history of OCF was summarized for the workshop. It was agreed that discussion of the causes of OCF's failure was necessary. It was immediately clear that there was essential unity around the view that the original decision to undertake OCF was dictated by paternalism and racism and that the project was essentially reformist in nature. There was struggle around the relationship of the failure of the project to the focus of the organization and what that focus was.

Summary: That the project failed due to the paternalism and racism involved in adopting what was essentially a reformist project outside our defacto focus, which was anti-war and the liberalism involved in subsequently failing to deal with the main contradictions of our initial failure.

CAIRO: The workshop felt that the decision to support the struggle in Cairo was a good one and that it represented a successful illustration of the link of the anti-war movement to the repression that was going on inside the U. S. The decision to get involved in Cairo was different from OCF because we were not trying to organize the Black community and that we were invited by a strong community organization. Our mistake came when we dragged out the support far beyond the initial struggle which we were invited to support. We think that the organization failed to deal with the changed conditions in Cairo for the same reasons, including a paternal attitude towards Black people, stated concerning OCF. We do wish to commend the organi-

zation for finally conducting a thorough investigation, through the St. Louis chapter, which was presented at this meeting. It was first felt that we ought to have supported Cairo as an action or series of actions rather than as a National Project.

In light of the above two discussion of OCF and our involvement in Cairo, the body felt that the analysis of why these projects failed was very important and it is necessary that we learn from the mistakes and successes of our work around these two National Projects. Since the analysis of these projects is incomplete in this workshop report, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That people involved with these National Projects should write an analysis of why the Projects failed and these analyses are to be put in the National Newsletter so that we may all better learn the lessons of our involvement with OCF and Cairo.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

CP, USA: There was considerable struggle over establishing the facts of CP, USA practice and the practice of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (here in referred to as "the Alliance") in regard to the cases of political repression we support, specifically the Leavenworth Brothers, Lawton-Gardner, and Ruchell Magee. Much struggle went on in the workshop. A point of unity which received workshop support by a 12 in favor, 1 opposed, 1 abstention, follows:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO use the various tools at its means (Winter Soldier, Newsletters, meetings, etc.) to expose the practice of various individuals and the organizations with regard to cases of political repression that we are working on. In the Winter Soldier this would be limited to letters from political prisoners and other interested parties (such as the Alliance, Angela Davis, etc).

VOTE: This proposal was passed with a vote of: 54.15-yes; 5.85-no.

VA/VETERANS WORKSHOP

The VA/Veterans workshop began with a Round Robin of the represented regions and discussion of what actions the various regions have been conducting around the VA. A brief discussion of the National Program and the suggested strategy for focusing this Program around the VA was also held (see Amnesty Workshop report for more details). The idea of holding a Winter Soldier Investigation on the VA and the problems of veterans was put forward and the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That local chapters do actions on the weekend of Oct. 28. Winter Soldier Investigations on the problems of veterans are suggested as one tactic to be used on this weekend as the beginning of a much larger campaign.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance. It should be noted that this proposal was put forward as a suggestion for a way to implement our National Program and focusing our demands.

NEW BUSINESSANNEXATION OF NEW MEXICO/ARIZONA:

At the last NSCM, the region of New Mexico/Arizona was made an Organizing Contact because of the inactivity within the region. In light of the defunct status of the New Mexico/Arizona area, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That the area of New Mexico/Arizona be broken up and that the state of New Mexico be annexed to the Colorado/Utah/Wyoming region. The state of Arizona is to be annexed to the California/Nevada region.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

EXPULSION OF CARL BROWN AND ED COOPER:

Because of the potentially volatile situation in Tampa, Florida (see National Office Report -- Internal report) the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That Carl Brown and Ed Cooper be expelled from VVAW/WSO. They are forbidden to use the name "VVAW/WSO," "VVAW," "WSO," or our organizational logo. At this time, there is no functioning VVAW/WSO chapter in the Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater area, nor has there been such a chapter in the recent past.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and the expulsion went into effect at the close of the Buffalo NSCM.

NUMBER OF NSCM'S PER YEAR:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO hold National Steering Committee Meetings twice a year instead of three times a year, and that the appropriate administrative procedures dealing with election of national coordinators, etc. be developed.

VOTE: This is a policy decision, thus it will have to be discussed in the regions and voted on at the next NSCM. The vote for sending this proposal back to the regions for discussion received unanimous acceptance.

WORKSHOP ON MASS & CADRE ORGANIZATIONS PROPOSAL:

PROPOSAL: To hold a workshop at the next NSCM to explore the relations between mass and cadre organizations. This question is to be discussed in regions and chapters prior to the next meeting.

VOTE: This proposal failed when it did not receive a majority vote. The vote on this proposal was: 27.5-yes; 27.5-no; 5-abs. Though no workshop on this question is now scheduled, regions and chapters should discuss this question on a principled level and bring their ideas to the next NSCM.

STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT & SOLIDARITY:

Because of the recent struggles of G.I.s in Japan, the following two proposals were made:

PROPOSAL: That the National Steering Committee of VVAW/WSO send a letter of solidarity and support to the Iwakuni "5". These five brothers are facing courts-martial as a result of circulating leaflets protesting the Pak regime of South Korea.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and the letter is to be written by the National GI Project.

PROPOSAL: That the National Steering Committee of VVAW/WSO send a letter of solidarity and support to the Midway Defense Committee offering our support to the brothers who walked off the Midway.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance and the letter is to be written by the National GI Project.

STATEMENT ON NIXON & OUR FOUR REMAINING DEMANDS:

(The following statement on Nixon was made and people felt that it should be included in the minutes).

We are now left with four of our original five demands. We should, in our day-to-day work note that the "Kick Nixon Out" demand was satisfied through the unified power of the people of this country, and this is a cause for celebration. Nixon is still a war criminal, which should be mentioned when talking about Indochina, and should be punished for his crimes against the people of the world. The resignation of Nixon is a victory for the people, and we should make every effort to bring this fact home to our communities.

NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL COORDINATOR:

Three positions for National Coordinator will be open at the next NSCM. The one-year terms of Ed Damato and Marla Watson will expire in December. Also, the coordinator position which was vacated at this NSCM by Rich Bangert (no one was elected to fill this vacant position) will have to be filled. Nominations for these three positions were taken and the following were nominated:

Walter Klim (Milwaukee, Wis), Barry Romo (Riverside, Calif), Jeanie Dolly (Oakland, Calif), Bill Davis (Columbus, Ohio), Marla Watson (National Office), and Ed Damato (National Office).

PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY:

VVAW/WSO has been asked to endorse and support the Puerto Rican Independence Day demonstration which will be held on October 27th in Madison Square Garden in New York City. The demand for this demonstration is for the independence of Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule. Tickets for the rally will cost \$3.00 and people

who are able to attend are encouraged to do so. Because this rally will be a major political event and because VVAW/WSO was asked for national endorsement, the following proposal was made:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO endorse and support Puerto Rican Independence Day. Regions and chapters are encouraged to support this action.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

ATTICA MEMORIAL WEEK:

September 13th is the three-year anniversary of the Attica rebellion and subsequent massacre. Because of this, there will be a national demonstration in Buffalo, New York on September 14th. Regions and chapters are encouraged to attend this action, and logistics for VVAW/WSO members will be handled by the Buffalo chapter. Those planning to attend this demonstration should contact the Buffalo people as soon as possible. Because of the importance of this demonstration, the following proposal was introduced:

PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO, as a national organization, support the national demonstration planned for September 14th in Buffalo. This action is being called in memory of the Attica massacre.

VOTE: This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

PROPOSAL ON PVS CLEARINGHOUSE:

PROPOSAL: This proposal concerns the future of the PVS Clearinghouse. We believe that our work around PVS should be integrated into the campaign against the VA. We believe that PVS is important to bring forward in the campaign against the VA because it does bring up certain important lessons in terms of the imperialist nature of the war in Indochina, plus it is an important issue facing many veterans.

As for the future of the Clearinghouse, we believe it should be dropped as such because there aren't the resources and political input from VVAW/WSO as a whole to make the Clearinghouse really work. This is because people believe that the only way to bring out the question of PVS is through work around the VA. In isolation from this focus, the work hasn't received much support from people in Milwaukee and thus, the project is done primarily by one person. Integrating the PVS issues into the campaign will once again give energy to a very important demand.

The tremendous amount of articles collected by the Clearinghouse should be summed up by those people in the Clearinghouse and sent around the country in order that the small brochure we now have on PVS can be expanded and developed further. This would be of great aid to the campaign against the VA.

This PVS proposal was introduced by the Wisconsin/Minnesota region and is to be taken back to the regions for discussion on the future of the PVS Clearinghouse. No vote was taken on this proposal, but regions should be prepared to discuss this proposal at the next NSCM.

INTER-REGION COMMUNICATIONS:

A request and suggestion was made which applies to all regions. Regional coordinators/collectives have commented on the fact that receiving minutes from other regional meetings has been a very helpful thing. Because of this, the suggestion was made that all regions adopt as a policy the consistent sending out of regional meeting minutes to all regional offices, as well as sending them to the National Office. Hopefully, this suggestion can be taken to heart and implemented in the immediate future.

DATE & SITE OF NEXT NSCM:

Two regions volunteered to host the next NSCM: California/Nevada and S. Illinois/E. Missouri. A vote was taken on whether the NSCM should be held in California or St. Louis, and the results were as follows:

California -- 8.6 in favor

St. Louis -- 51.4 in favor

Thus, the next NSCM will be held in St. Louis. The dates selected for this meeting are December 27 - 31 (these dates were selected by a majority consensus). People should note that these dates mean that the registration will begin on a Friday and the meeting will conclude on a Tuesday.

* * * * *

CRITICISM / SELF - CRITICISM

As at the last several NSCMs, the last item of business was criticism/self-criticism. The following is a compilation of the criticism/self-criticism given by the regional delegations.

1. There was unanimous agreement that the logistics were handled beautifully. A large vote of thanks goes to the Buffalo chapter by the NSC. Another vote of thanks goes to Steve Hassett who chaired most of the meeting; his efficient, firm and fair handling of the chair contributed much to the success of the meeting.

2. The level of political struggle was much higher than it has been in the past. With a few exceptions, the struggle was on a clearly political level, and political lines were clarified. In keeping with this, it was good that a few regions and the National Office had prepared positions ahead of time (though there was criticism of the N.O. for not having completed its position paper sooner) since that gave the discussions a clear focus, whether or not people agreed with the positions being put forth. Clearly, the organization has grown politically.

3. There was criticism of people who let a speaker's organization stand in the way of hearing the position the speaker was putting forth. At the same time, there was positive criticism for the principled and progressive role played by VVAW/WSO members who are also in the Revolutionary Union. Rumor-mongering about the RU was severely criticized; this was particularly noted since RU members were present and ready to deal openly with criticisms of the organization.

4. People felt that the meeting produced excellent results, above and beyond the good political struggle which went on during the meeting. We have a new set of objectives (minus one), and a Program for the next period of time. We also have clarity around the lines about the future of the organization which will serve as a focus of struggle in chapters and regions before the next NSCM.

5. There was criticism of delegates who fell into subjectivity, especially around debate on the gay objective. Also, although the general level of political struggle was high, there was criticism of opportunist tactics, red-baiting, and unprincipled attacks.

6. Regional delegations were criticized for their representation at workshops. In order to "stack" some workshops, delegations ignored other workshops. Too many delegates were completely locked into positions without the flexibility to deal with new information.

7. Workshops were generally seen as productive, but there should have been a workshop which would have discussed the National Program of the organization.

IMPLEMENT THE NATIONAL PROGRAM!

UNITY - STRUGGLE - VICTORY !

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 9/20/74

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

FROM: Director, FBI

SACS:

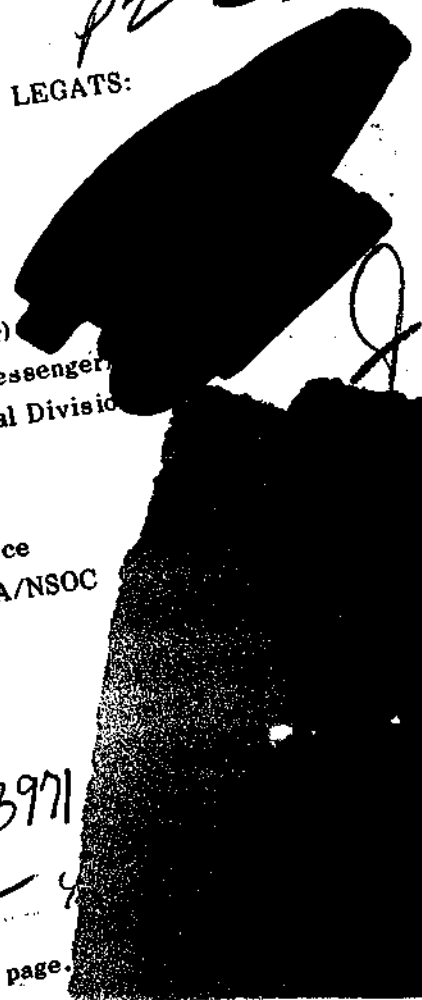
TO:

- RUEADWW/ The President
- RUEADWW/ The Vice President
- RUEADWW/ Att.: _____
- RUEADWW/ White House Situation Room
- RUEADWW/ Att.: _____
- RUEHOC/ Secretary of State
- RUEAIA/ Director, CIA
- RUEKJCS/ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
- RUEKJCS/ 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
- RUEBWJA/ and Internal Security Section
- RUEBWJA/ and General Crimes Section
- RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
- RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC)
- RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration
-
-

LEGATS:

DECLASSIFIED BY SP6 BJA/UA ON 7/26/1988

pr b7C



Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)
CONFIDENTIAL

Assoc. Dir. _____
 Dep. AD Adm. _____
 Dep. AD Inv. _____
 Asst. Dir. _____
 Admin. _____

SUBJECT:

SEE NEXT PAGE REC 44
EX-112

- 3971

100-4

begins on next page.

~~9 & D COPY
DO NOT FILE~~

NR 009 AL CODE

8:53 PM URGENT SEPTEMBER 20, 1974 LUV

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (P)

ATT: INTD

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

VISIT OF PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD TO BURLINGTON, VERMONT,
OCTOBER 7, 1974, AL FILE 62-NEW.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO), IS, BUFILE 100-448092, AL FILE 100-22519.

ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1974, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS
FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT
SEVERAL PERSONS ARE PLANNING A DEMONSTRATION TO TAKE PLACE AT
THE BURLINGTON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, SOUTH BURLINGTON,
VERMONT, ON THE ARRIVAL OF PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD ON
OCTOBER 7, 1974. SOURCE ADVISED THAT THE DEMONSTRATION IS
ALSO PLANNED TO MOVE TO THE RAMADA INN, SOUTH BURLINGTON,
VERMONT, WHERE THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE A SHORT MEETING WITH
PROMINENT REPUBLICANS OF THE AREA AND ALSO TO THE PATRICK
GYMNASIUM ON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT (UVM),

PAGE TWO, AL ~~62-NEW AND 100-22519~~ ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
BURLINGTON, VERMONT, WHERE THE PRESIDENT IS TO DINE WITH
APPROXIMATELY 1,500 PERSONS.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT THE THEMES OF THE DEMONSTRATORS
ARE PRESIDENT FORD'S PARDON OF FORMER PRESIDENT RICHARD M.
NIXON, DISCONTENT OVER THE TERMS OF THE AMNESTY GRANTED TO
DRAFT EVADERS AND DESERTERS FROM THE MILITARY, AND THE
STARVING PEOPLE IN THE STATE OF VERMONT.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT SO FAR MOST OF THE PLANNERS OF THE
DEMONSTRATION DESIRE NO VIOLENCE OR CONFRONTATIONS WITH LAW
ENFORCEMENT. SOURCE ADVISED THEY DESIRE A DEMONSTRATION MADE
UP OF PICKETS, THEATRICAL SKITS AND MARCHERS TO BRING ATTEN-
TION TO THEIR DEMANDS OF UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL DRAFT
EVADERS AND DESERTERS AND TO COMPARE THE LAVISH FOOD AND
EATING HABITS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY TO THE ALLEGED
STARVING PEOPLE IN VERMONT.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT ADDITIONAL GROUPS ARE TO BE CONTACTED
BY THE PLANNERS OF THE DEMONSTRATION IN AN EFFORT TO ENLIST
THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PLANNED DEMONSTRATION.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT SOME OF THE GROUPS MENTIONED WERE THE

PAGE THREE, AL 62-NEW AND 100-22519 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE WHOM SOURCE DESCRIBED AS A QUAKER PEACE GROUP AND THE MASS TRANSIT THEATRE, NEW YORK CITY, OF WHOM SOURCE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE ABOUT.

SOURCE STATED THAT THE PLANNERS WERE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH A [REDACTED]

ACCORDING TO SOURCE, [REDACTED] MAY BE IDENTICAL TO

[REDACTED] WHO WAS THE RECENT LIBERTY UNION CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR IN VERMONT.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT THE APPARENT LEADER OF THE DEMONSTRATION WILL BE [REDACTED] OF [REDACTED] STREET, BURLINGTON, VERMONT. SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED] RECENTLY BEEN TRYING TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) ON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT BUT HAS GAINED LITTLE SUPPORT.

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

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PAGE FOUR, AL 62-NEW AND 100-22519 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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.

RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, ALBANY,
NEW YORK, INDICATE [REDACTED] IS A MEMBER OF THE
VVAW/WSO AND HE WAS RECENTLY ELECTED NEW ENGLAND REPRESENTA-
TIVE OF THE VVAW/WSO IN BOSTON. [REDACTED] RECENTLY ATTENDED
AS VVAW/WSO REPRESENTATIVE TO THE CONFERENCE OF ASSOCIATION
OF VIETNAMESE PATRIOTS IN CANADA (AVPC), MONTREAL, CANADA,
FROM JUNE 7-9, 1974. b7c b7D

AVPC WAS SELF-DESCRIBED IN 1971 AS AN ORGANIZATION THAT
SUPPORTS THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM
AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT.
AVPC CONSISTED OF SIXTY ACTIVE MEMBERS AND SOME SUPPORTERS,
MOSTLY IN MONTREAL, CANADA, ALL BEING STUDENTS OR

PAGE FIVE, ~~AL 62-NEW AND 100-22579~~ ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
EX-STUDENTS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM.

SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED] ATTEMPTED TO DOMINATE THE MEETINGS OF THE DEMONSTRATION PLANNERS AND HAS SPOKEN OF THE NECESSITY OF DEMONSTRATING AT THE BURLINGTON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AND THE RAMADA INN BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE TELEVISION COVERAGE. SOURCE [REDACTED] MENTIONED A RADICAL THEATRICAL GROUP IN NEW YORK CITY WHICH HE WOULD ATTEMPT TO HAVE COME TO VERMONT FOR THE DEMONSTRATION. [REDACTED] SAYING, "THIS GROUP IS VERY GOOD AT PUTTING ON RADICAL SKITS AND FORMING PICKET LINES."

SOURCE FURTHER [REDACTED] ATTEMPTING TO GET THE LOCAL POST OF THE AMERICAN LEGION IN BURLINGTON, VERMONT, TO ATTEND THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT ON OCTOBER 7, 1974, AND THEREBY BE ABLE TO POSSIBLY CREATE A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN LEGION MEMBERS AND THE DEMONSTRATORS. THIS IN TURN MIGHT LEAD TO ARRESTS AND SOURCE STATED [REDACTED] HOPES TO HAVE SOME AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION ATTORNEYS IN THE CROWD SO THAT THEY MAY BRING LATER CHARGES OF POLICE BRUTALITY, SHOULD ARRESTS TAKE PLACE.

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SOURCE ADVISED THAT MOST OF THE KNOWN PLANNERS DO NOT APPEAR TO WANT ANY TYPE OF VIOLENCE. SOURCE [REDACTED] THE MOST MILITANT OF THE GROUP AND ATTEMPTS TO GUIDE AND DOMINATE ITS ACTIONS.

b7c/D

SOURCE FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING NAMES AND INFORMATION AVAILABLE CONCERNING KNOWN PARTICIPANTS IN PLANNING THE DEMONSTRATION :

[REDACTED] IS DESCRIBED AS A WHITE MALE, BORN [REDACTED] AT [REDACTED] POUNDS, [REDACTED] HAIR, [REDACTED] EYES, [REDACTED] BUILD, DRIVES A [REDACTED] AND IS [REDACTED] AN EMPLOYEE AT [REDACTED] IS DESCRIBED AS A WHITE MALE, [REDACTED] BUILD, [REDACTED] IS DESCRIBED AS A WHITE MALE, [REDACTED] POUNDS, [REDACTED] HAIR, DRIVES [REDACTED] AND RESIDES [REDACTED]

PAGE SEVEN, AL 62-NEW, AND 100-22519. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] IS DESCRIBED AS A WHITE FEMALE, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] POUNDS, [REDACTED] HAIR, [REDACTED] EYES,
MEMBER OF [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
ALLIANCE FOR WOMEN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ¹⁷²⁰
CLASSIFIED BY 1168, XGDS 2, INDEFINITE.

b7c / D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], PD (PROTECT PER REQUEST). HE
[REDACTED] AND
[REDACTED], AT [REDACTED] AND WILL BE

ALBANY INDICES NEGATIVE RE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
DEMONSTRATION, EXCEPT FOR [REDACTED] SUBJECT OF ALBANY
FILE 100-22722, BUFILE 100-471106.

PAGE EIGHT, AL 62-NEW AND 100-22519 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BUREAU REQUESTED TO CHECK INDICES REGARDING NAMED PARTICIPANTS, EXCEPT [REDACTED]

NEW YORK AT NEW YORK: WILL CONDUCT INDICES SEARCH ON MASS TRANSIT THEATRE.

WILL CONTACT ANY SOURCES WHO MAY HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF

[REDACTED] TO VERMONT.
WILL CONDUCT INDICES SEARCH ON [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

ALBANY AT BURLINGTON, VERMONT: WILL CONTINUE CONTACT WITH SOURCE AND ATTEMPT TO FURTHER IDENTIFY LEADERS AND PARTICIPANTS OF PLANNED DEMONSTRATION.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

U.S. SECRET SERVICE LOCALLY ADVISED AND NO LHM TO FOLLOW.

END.

DYQWI

b7c/D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE TAMPA	OFFICE OF ORIGIN TAMPA	DATE SEP 23 1974	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 9-10-74 - 9-12-74
TITLE OF CASE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/ WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA (VVAW/WSO-USF)		REPORT MADE BY S [REDACTED]	TYPED BY mab
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - VVAW/WSO b7c	

REFERENCE: Tampa report of SA [REDACTED] 3-29-74.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Two copies of an FD-376 are stapled to this report.

Local dissemination is being made to U.S. Secret Service, Tampa, Fla.

One copy of this report is being furnished to Jacksonville and Miami due to their interest in Florida Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) activities.

One copy being furnished to Chicago, the Office of Origin on National VVAW.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	AUTO.	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 <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW REC-77
COPIES MADE: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 - Bureau 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Tampa (RM) 1 - Chicago (info) 1 - Jacksonville (info) 1 - Miami (info) 4 - Tampa (2-100-3210) (1-100-1282 Sub 1) (1-100-2514) 		<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; margin-bottom: 10px;">449095-3972</div> <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold; margin-bottom: 10px;">EX-103</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em;">9 SEP 23 1974</div>

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations <div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center;">FIVE</div> <i>[Signature]</i>
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	
<i>100-9048</i>	<i>100-52 (FD-376)</i>	<i>200 Y.C.A. - 2/23</i>	<i>gwa/mag 9/27/74</i>	

TP 100-3210

This report is being classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to protect a highly placed source of continuing value.

The following individuals referred to herein are subjects of the Tampa files reflected below:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TAMPA FILE</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>BUREAU FILE</u>
[REDACTED]	100-2494	C	100-473177
[REDACTED]	100-2506	C	-----
[REDACTED]	100-3223	C	-----

The following informants are member informants in the Tampa VVAW Chapter and are furnishing information on the Tampa Chapter:

<u>INFORMANT</u>	<u>TAMPA FILE</u>	<u>BUREAU FILE</u>
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is Former [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

LEADS:

TAMPA DIV.
AT TAMPA, FLA.

Will continue to follow activities of Tampa VVAW and submit next semi-annual report by 3-30-75.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SEP 16 1974

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

RE: **VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION,
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
(VVAW/WSO-USF)**

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

7/24/95 SBC/zw

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

Enclosure(s)

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/24/95 *SP 1/24/95*

Copy to: 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Tampa (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: TAMPA

Date: SEP 18 1974

Field Office File #: 100-3210

b7c

Bureau File #:

Title: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION,
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA (VVAW/WSO-USF)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

Synopsis: The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) is an approved student campus organization at the University of South Florida (USF), Tampa, Florida. The Tampa Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) closed their headquarters at 305 W. Waters Ave., Tampa, as of 8-31-74, and will be located at the University Center (UC) at USF upon reopening of school in September, 1974. The Tampa VVAW Chapter follows the policies, aims, and purposes set down by the National VVAW. The Tampa VVAW Chapter currently has approximately eight active members with no finances. Activities set forth.

- P -

DETAILS:

On September 17, 1973, the Tampa Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) Chapter, a characterization of which is contained in the Appendix hereto, was approved as a campus organization at the University of South Florida, (USF), Tampa, Florida, for the 1973-74 school year.

b2/0

September 18, 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

Classified by 6959
Exempt from GDS Category 2
Date of Declassification: Indefinite

TP 100-3210

The Tampa VVAW is still an approved campus organization at USF based on the 1973-74 approval. Approval for the 1974-75 school year will be requested immediately upon the opening of school in late September, 1974.

[REDACTED]
September 10, 1974

b2/b7D

I. HEADQUARTERS

The Tampa VVAW headquarters is located at 305 West Waters Avenue, Tampa, Florida.

[REDACTED]
March 18, 1974

The Tampa VVAW Chapter will be obtaining an office at USF for the upcoming school year and will not need the office at 305 West Waters Avenue, Tampa. As of August 31, 1974, the present office will be closed.

[REDACTED]
August 26, 1974

The Tampa VVAW office at 305 West Waters Avenue, Tampa, closed as of August 31, 1974, and the Tampa VVAW Chapter office will be relocated in the University Center (UC), at USF, upon reopening of USF for the 1974-75 school year in September, 1974. Meetings will be held on Tuesday evenings at the UC.

[REDACTED]
September 10, 1974

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

The Tampa VVAW Chapter generally observes the policies of the National VVAW office even though it is an independent chapter not aligned with the Florida region.

[REDACTED]
May 30, 1974

The Tampa VVAW Chapter continues to adhere to the aims and purposes of the National VVAW.

[REDACTED]
September 10, 1974

TP 100-3210

III. OFFICERS

[redacted] year as Vice-Coordinator of the Tampa VVAW has expired and he has advised that he does not want to serve for the next year. [redacted] was elected as Vice-Coordinator on June 12, 1974.

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[redacted]
June 13, 1974

[redacted]
June 28, 1974

|
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b7c

The present Tampa VVAW Chapter officers are as follows:

Coordinator - [redacted]
Vice-Coordinator - [redacted]
Secretary - open
Treasurer - open, but [redacted] is acting as Treasurer

b7c/D

[redacted]
September 10, 1974

IV. MEMBERSHIP

The Tampa VVAW Chapter presently has 15 active members and approximately 15 inactive members.

[redacted]
May 30, 1974

The Tampa VVAW Chapter presently has approximately eight active and ten inactive members.

[redacted]
September 10, 1974

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b7D

V. PUBLICATIONS

The Tampa VVAW Chapter has no official publication.

[redacted]
September 10, 1974

VI. FINANCES

The Tampa VVAW Chapter method of obtaining funds are from dues, contributions, and promotions. Presently the chapter has no finances.

[redacted]
September 10, 1974

VII. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

The Tampa VVAW Chapter was requested by the Atlanta Chapter of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a characterization of which is contained in the Appendix hereto, to take part in the PLP sponsored May Day Demonstration in Washington, D. C. (WDC) on May 4, 1974. The Tampa VVAW Chapter tentatively agreed to participate.

[REDACTED]
April 12, 1974

At present five members of the Tampa VVAW Chapter plan to participate in the PLP sponsored May Day Demonstration at WDC on May 4, 1974. They plan to leave Tampa on May 2, 1974.

[REDACTED]
May 1, 1974

The American Veterans Movement (AVM) has requested the Tampa VVAW to organize a convoy to go to WDC on July 1, 1974, to participate in a demonstration sponsored by the AVM for veterans rights.

[REDACTED]
May 10, 1974

The AVM was formed in 1974 as an organization of former VVAW members. AVM is presently headquartered at 24 1/2 Hurricane, Marina Del Rey, California, and reportedly has 35 chapters in the U.S. 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.

The Red Star Cadre (RSC), a characterization of which is contained in the Appendix hereto, will be moving their operations into the VVAW headquarters at 305 West Waters Avenue, Tampa, effective May 10, 1974, and the headquarters will be called, "Unity House." It is expected that there will be someone present at the house from both VVAW and the RSC on a daily basis.

[REDACTED]
May 15, 1974

62
b7D

VIII. ACTIVITIES

A. Meetings

Between March 16, 1974, and August 30, 1974, the Tampa VVAW Chapter held 20 meetings at which attendance varied from three to 11 members. These meetings were held either at the VVAW Headquarters, 305 West Waters Avenue, or at the UC, USF, Tampa, Florida.

The topics of discussion during the meetings were demonstrations to be held by the VVAW in Tallahassee, Florida, on March 29-30, 1974, attendance at the National Steering Committee meeting in Milwaukee from April 11-15, 1974, banning of all drugs and alcohol from being used at VVAW Headquarters, office rules to govern the use of the headquarters, sponsoring of an AVM Chapter at USF, participation in the VVAW and AVM Demonstrations at WDC from July 1-7, 1974, and recruitment of new members for VVAW and AVM.

[REDACTED]
March 18, 1974 to
August 29, 1974

[REDACTED]
April 3, 1974 to
September 3, 1974

[REDACTED]
May 21, 1974

b2/
b7D

During a VVAW meeting on April 23, 1974, the Tampa Chapter of the VVAW voted ~~not to be a part of the Florida region of the VVAW and to continue as an independent local affiliated with the National.~~

[REDACTED]
April 24, 1974

During a VVAW meeting on August 27, 1974, it was decided the Tampa VVAW would advise the National VVAW that they were declaring themselves as Regional Headquarters due to inactivity of other Florida Chapters.

[REDACTED]
August 29, 1974

[REDACTED]
September 3, 1974

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b7D
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The Tampa VVAW Chapter is inactive at the present time since USF is closed for summer vacation. It is expected that the chapter

TP 100-3210

will rebuild upon the reopening of school.

[REDACTED]
August 26, 1974

B. Other Activities

The Gainesville VVAW Chapter requested support of the Tampa Chapter for a demonstration in Tallahassee, Florida, on March 29-30, 1974, to help obtain passage of legislature for GI benefits and prison reform. The type of action to be taken on March 29-30, 1974, was not yet known.

[REDACTED]
March 15, 1974

The Tampa VVAW advised that they would participate in the VVAW demonstration and lobbying at Tallahassee, Florida, on March 29-30, 1974.

[REDACTED]
March 27, 1974

b2
b7D
Nine Tampa VVAW members participated in the Florida Conference on Veterans Affairs, Tallahassee, Florida. On March 29-30, 1974, conferences were held at Florida State University on veterans rights and bills in the State Legislature for vets.

[REDACTED]
April 1, 1974

The National Office of VVAW, Chicago, Illinois, advised the Tampa Chapter could not attend the National Steering Committee meeting in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on April 11-15, 1974, because of criticism of national by individual Tampa members in letters written to the national office.

[REDACTED]
April 9, 1974

Five members and four sympathizers of the Tampa VVAW participated in the VVAW demonstration at WDC from July 1-4, 1974, and the AVM demonstration from July 4-7, 1974, also in WDC. The purpose of the demonstrations was for veterans rights and impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon.

[REDACTED]
July 8, 1974

[REDACTED]
July 16, 1974

APPENDIXPROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP), which was founded in 1965, adopted a constitution which "resolved to build a revolutionary movement" and "build a socialist USA with all power in the hands of the working people." PLP followed the Chinese communist line for several years but became critical of Chinese leaders for establishing a dialogue with the U.S. following President Nixon's visit to China in 1972. Thereafter, PLP declared itself to be an independent Marxist-Leninist organization aimed at setting up a dictatorship of the working class. According to Milton Rosen, National Chairman, the PLP advocates violent overthrow of the Government, but has set no timetable for its overthrow. The PLP, which is headquartered in New York City, has chapters in more than 25 cities in the U.S., and has, in the past year, initiated efforts to make PLP "an international party with the aim of rebuilding a new revolutionary communist movement."

In 1972, the PLP organized the Workers Action Movement (WAM) as a front group in order to build a base in the trade union movement and to attract workers into PLP.

APPENDIX

RED STAR CADRE (MARXIST/LENINIST)(RSC) (M/L)

The Red Star Cadre (Marxist/Leninist) (RSC)(M/L) was formed in Tampa, Florida, during October, 1972, as a Marxist Leninist study group. As of May, 1974, the RSC M/L was in contact with the southern leadership elements of the Revolutionary Union (RU).

APPENDIXREVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)

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~~APPENDIXVIETNAM 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 9/19/74

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-58538) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] aka

SM-VVAW
(OO:WFO)

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/30/12 BY SP2 TP/c/yp

813/184

286534
248402

Re WFO letter dated 6/12/74, captioned "VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO); INTERNAL SECURITY," enclosing a copy of the Washington, D.C. (WLC), VVAW/WSO Chapter membership list and WFO letter and LHM dated 5/31/74, captioned [REDACTED]

b7c

[REDACTED] PFO - UNLAWFUL ENTRY - SUBVERSIVE...

On 5/29/74, Officer [REDACTED], Metropolitan Police Department, WLC, furnished a copy of the WLC Chapter VVAW/WSO membership list to a representative of WFO. The membership list was furnished to Officer [REDACTED] by a member of that Chapter as a result of an alleged burglary of that Chapter's Office on 5/25/74.

b7c

The name of [REDACTED] was included in the membership list.

A preliminary inquiry was initiated concerning [REDACTED] for the purpose of determining if he was a leader or activist of the VVAW/WSO, 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).

Classified by SP6 BJA/LLK
Declassify on: OADR

Unrecorded Copy Filed In

REC-46

EX-112

5 SEP 23 1974

2 Bureau

2-WFO

(1 [REDACTED])

AM: smv

(4)

b2/
b7D



5010-110

SEP 30 1974

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

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 12/71 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 traveled to North Vietnam and have reportedly established liaison with revolutionary or terrorist groups internationally. In 1/73 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 United States 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 any revolutionary program proposed. In 8/73 at a National Steering Committee meeting, some members of the national leadership promoted education of the

entire VVAW/USO membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine directing the organization into political growth along Marxist-Leninist lines. The VVAW/USO currently has a factional dispute between Maoist and Stalinist groups. The Stalinist group is supported by the National Office of VVAW/USO. 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/USO is currently headquartered in Chicago, Illinois.

On 7/19/74, SC [redacted] determined that records of the U.S. Park Police, WDC, failed to disclose any identifiable information concerning [redacted] b7c

On 7/22/74, SC [redacted] determined that records of the Metropolitan Police Department, WDC, failed to disclose any additional identifiable information concerning [redacted]

During July, 1974, the following WFO sources were unable to provide any information concerning [redacted]

Sources

By

WF 2142-S
WF 2034-S
WF 2205-S
WF 4805-S
WF 2188-S
WF 2075-S

SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]
SA [redacted]

b7c

Sources

By

[Redacted]

(c) b2
b1
b7D

SA [Redacted]
SA [Redacted]
SA [Redacted]

b7c

b2
b7D

b7c

During early August, 1974, [Redacted] advised that [Redacted] also known as [Redacted] regularly attends meetings of the WDC Chapter of the VVAW/MSO. [Redacted] was among those individuals arrested during early 1974 for unlawful entry of the Vietnam Embassy Building in WDC. Source was unable to furnish any additional background information regarding subject.

WFO indices do not contain any additional pertinent information concerning subject to that set forth herein and in referenced communications.

In view of information indicating subject's current involvement with the WDC Chapter of VVAW/MSO as attending meetings of and possible membership in that Chapter, no further investigation is being conducted concerning subject at this time. Referenced LHM sets forth identifying data regarding subject and his announced support of the VVAW/MSO. A copy of this LHM and a photograph of subject were disseminated to U.S. Secret Service locally via FD-376 dated 5/31/74.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 9/24/74

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-47162) (P)

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

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
EX-106

Re WFOlet dated 6/12/74 captioned "VVAW/WSO, IS" enclosing a copy of the Washington, D.C. (WDC) VVAW/WSO chapter membership list.

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 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 12/71 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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/30/80 BY [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/30/80 BY [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau
- 7 - WFO (1 [redacted] Sub A)
- b2 (1-100-56984)
- b7D (1-100-53567)
- (1-100-54757)
- (1-100-57351)
- (1-100-57741)

REC-84

CONFIDENTIAL SEP 25 1974

FIVE



SEP 30 1974

(9)

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

is a revolutionary organization and not "just another group of war veterans." VVAW/VSO leaders have traveled to North Vietnam and have reportedly established liaison with revolutionary or terrorist group internationally. In 1/73 at a National Steering Committee meeting, VVAW/VSO 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/VSO activists possessed the technical knowledge and training to carry out any revolutionary program proposed. In 8/73 at a National Steering Committee meeting, some members of the national leadership promoted education of the entire VVAW/VSO membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine directing the organization into political growth along Marxist-Leninist lines. The VVAW/VSO currently has a factional dispute between Maoist and Stalinist groups. The Stalinist group is supported by the National Office of VVAW/VSO. 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/VSO is currently headquartered in Chicago, Illinois.

On 9/16/74, [REDACTED] who has provided reliable information on the VVAW/VSO in the past, advised after a careful analyzation of the VVAW/VSO membership list, the following individuals are the leaders of the VSO chapter of VVAW/VSO located at 1404 N. Street, N.W., second floor, WDC:

b2
b7D

WFO 100-47162.



b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Member of Subject Organization

Source added all the rest of the individuals on this membership list are just on the mailing list, and are not active in the WDC Chapter.

WFO will further investigate the five above mentioned individuals, and determine their suitability for recommendation on the ADDEX.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-443092)

DATE: 9/23/74

FROM : SAC, Indianapolis (100-16051) (C)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
INTERNAL SECURITY
OO: CHICAGO

7/26/95 - 526/2/1/18

Re Bureau airtel to all offices, dated 7/15/74, and Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, dated 6/17/74.

Referenced Bureau airtel instructed recipient offices to review investigations of VVAW/WSO Chapters and individual members to assure that they meet the qualifications for continued investigation.

A review of captioned file indicates that at the present time, there is no VVAW/WSO activity taking place within the Indianapolis Division. Attempts were made to establish an active chapter in the Indianapolis area, however, these attempts were unsuccessful. Referenced Indianapolis letter indicated that there has been no indication that those individuals formerly associated with VVAW/WSO in the Indianapolis area subscribed to a violent-prone philosophy.

LR

In view of the above and in accordance with referenced Bureau airtel, the Indianapolis Division is placing captioned file in a closed status.

Coverage of VVAW/WSO activities within the State of Indiana, if such occurs, is being maintained by sources cognizant of such activities and any pertinent information developed relative to any VVAW/WSO activity will be forwarded to the Bureau and Office of Origin.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772)
- 1 - Indianapolis
- CC/naw
- (5)

REC-52

3975

2 SEP 25 1974



5010-108-02

OCT 01 1974

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 9/23/74

FROM : *S/ret* SAC, TAMPA (100-2514)(RUC)

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

9/24/95 *SP/WZ/IVK*

Re Bureau airtel to all offices, 7/15/74. Tampa letter to Bureau, 8/1/74. Tampa report of SA [redacted] dated 9/18/74, entitled, "VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO), UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA (VVAW/WSO-USF)." *b7c*

Enclosed for the Bureau are 5 copies and for Chicago one copy of LHM dated and captioned as above.

Local dissemination is being made to U. S. Secret Service, Tampa, Florida. *b7c*

Source furnishing information in the LHM is [redacted]

b2/b7D

The LHM is being classified "Confidential" to protect the source. *X*

In view of the fact that the National VVAW has expelled [redacted] and [redacted] and the Tampa VVAW Chapter from the National VVAW and the group remaining in Tampa is not actually Marxist-Leninist oriented based on its leadership, the case on the Tampa VVAW is being placed in a closed status. *b7c*

ENCLOSURE

REC-56

- 2 - Bureau (100-448092)(Encs. - 5)
- 2 - Chicago (Enc. - 1)(100-50772)
- 2 - Tampa (1 - 100-3210)

TVH:cs
(6)

SEP 26 1974

3976



5 OCT 4 1974

1cc - 9040
1cc - P.S.
2cc - Dep. S.P.A.
2cc - me 10/2/74

RECEIVED

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

TP 100-2514

In the event the Tampa Chapter again becomes active and within the investigative guidelines of Bureau airtel 7/15/74, this case will be reopened.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Tampa, Florida
September 23, 1974

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

On September 13, 1974, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised a letter was received by the Tampa VVAW Chapter from the VVAW National Office, Chicago, Illinois, a characterization of which is contained in the appendix hereto, dated August 28, 1974, and addressed to [redacted] and [redacted].

The letter advised that a report concerning the Tampa VVAW Chapter was presented at the National Steering Committee Meeting (NSCM) held in Buffalo, New York, on August 8-12, 1974. The letter stated in part as follows:

"As a result of this report, and of discussion during new business, the following proposal was unanimously accepted and went into effect at the close of the Buffalo NSCM:

"Proposal: That [redacted] and [redacted] be expelled from VVAW/WSO. They are forbidden to use the name 'VVAW/WSO,' 'VVAW,' 'WSO,' or our organizational logo. At this time there is no functioning VVAW/WSO Chapter in the Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater area, nor has there been such a chapter in the recent past."

Source also advised attempts have been made by former VVAW members in Tampa to start a new chapter affiliated with the National VVAW; however, because of the popularity of [redacted] and [redacted] in Tampa, this attempt has failed and it is not expected that an affiliated chapter will be started.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 6959
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

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.

9/26/95 [handwritten initials]

[handwritten signature] 3976

CONFIDENTIAL

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.

2*

APPENDIX

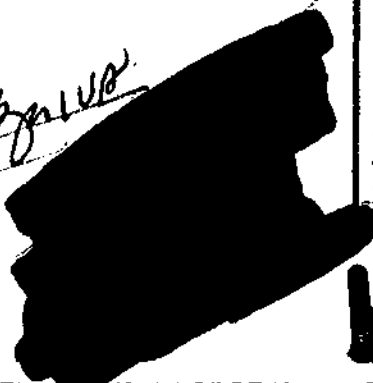
CONFIDENTIAL

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	.....

TELETYPE

NR 005 CI CODE
 549PM NITEL 9/25/74 CFR
 TO DIRECTOR
 FROM CINCINNATI
 ATTN INTD

DECLASSIFIED BY 5062/MLC
 ON 7/26/95



b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AT VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, CINCINNATI, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 28, 1974, SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO); IS.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1974, THAT THE CINCINNATI CHAPTER OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) WERE CONDUCTING A DEMONSTRATION AT THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, CINCINNATI, OHIO, ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1974. THIS DEMONSTRATION WILL BE TO DEMAND THE UPGRADING OF ALL VETERANS DISCHARGES, UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL VIETNAM "EXILES", AND AN INCREASE IN VETERANS BENEFITS. THE DEMONSTRATION WILL BE PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, AND SOURCE ANTICIPATES A SMALL TURNOUT OF PERHAPS NO MORE THAN 20 PERSONS.

JH

100 - 448092 - 397

[REC-100]

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION: THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLEMENT IN THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SINCE THAT TIME VVAW LEADERS HAVE TOLD MEMBERS THE VVAW IS A REVOLUTIONARY

Attn: ISS

9 25 74
 JHies
 GCS
 code

17 SEP 26 1974



b7c

0-7-8-85-3-100-7774, JH R 3/15

PAGE TWO CI C ~~ON F I D E N T I A L~~

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 US. 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 STIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 6466, XGDS 2, INDEFINITE.~~

ADMINISTRATIVE

NITEL CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL TO PROTECT SOURCE.

SOURCE HEREIN IS [REDACTED] b2 b7D

CINCINNATI POLICE DEPARTMENT AND UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE AND VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL AT CINCINNATI ALL ADVISED.

CINCINNATI WILL ADVISE OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

REC 3 DBS FBIHQ CLR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 9/24/74

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-42739)

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

As a pilot office in the Management by Objectives Program, Boston will follow the procedure set out below in its handling of cases on individuals connected with the captioned organization.

In the absence of information indicating that the individual has violent tendencies or is a national leader in the VVAW, Boston will not open an individual subversive matter case but will follow the activities of the individuals receiving mail from VVAW headquarters through the main file on VVAW.

Handwritten mark resembling a stylized 'y' or '3'.

REC-61

3978

- 3-Bureau (RM)
- (1-OPE)
- 3-Boston
- (1-100-42739)
- (1-100-00)
- (1-66-4091)

BTM/em
(6)

5 OCT 1974

7/26/95 [Handwritten signature]

[Redacted stamp]

b7c



5010-110

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

1 - [redacted]
 1 - Mr. [redacted] *wanna*
 1 - Mr. [redacted]
 1 - Mr. [redacted]
 1 - Mr. [redacted] **57C**

SAC, Boston (100-42739)

11/22/74

REC-101
 Director, FBI (100-448092) - 3978 *77*

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

ReBuairtel to all offices 7/15/74, urlet 9/24/74,
 and Bulet 11/4/74, captioned "Security Investigations of
 Individuals, Subversive Matter."

Your referenced letter of 9/24/74 advised that, as
 a pilot office in the Management by Objectives Program, you,
 in the absence of information indicating that an individual
 has violent tendencies or is a VVAW/WSO national leader, will
 not open an individual subversive matter case, but will follow
 activities of individuals receiving mail from VVAW/WSO
 Headquarters through your VVAW/WSO main file.

Observations and instructions set forth in referenced
 Bureau letter 11/4/74, in which mention of VVAW/WSO was
 inadvertently omitted, are applicable to investigations of
 VVAW/WSO individuals. Accordingly, you should continue to open
 and assign cases on rank-and-file members of VVAW/WSO and
 continue to conduct these investigations in accordance with
 existing instructions contained in Manual of Instructions.
 Criteria for continued investigation of VVAW/WSO individuals
 remains the same as was outlined in referenced Bureau airtel
 to all offices 7/15/74. That is, investigation should be
 discontinued on those individuals acting in a legitimate
 protest capacity and rejecting Marxism-Leninism.

With regard to mention in your referenced letter
 9/24/74 of individuals receiving mail from VVAW/WSO, your
 attention is called to the fact that receipt of VVAW/WSO
 mail by an individual does not alone constitute adequate
 basis for opening an individual case for investigation.

- 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 _____

CNL:meg
 (8)

MAILED 12
 NOV 21 1974
 FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

7/26/95 *58633108* *TS*

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Boston
RE: Vietnam Veterans Against the War/
Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO)
100-448092

NOTE:

Referenced Bureau letter to Boston 11/4/74 responded to Boston letters of 9/24/74 under separate subversive organizational captions advising that, under the Pilot Priorities Program, Boston would not open and assign cases on rank-and-file members of these organizations. Above mentioned responding Bureau communication inadvertently failed to mention VVAW/WSO. Boston was advised that criteria for investigations in the internal security field which are established on the basis of national priorities cannot be set aside in any one field division without adversely affecting correlative investigations in other divisions with consequent jeopardy to a vital responsibility of this Bureau. The letter then directed Boston to continue to open and assign cases on rank-and-file members of the organizations mentioned and to conduct such investigations in accordance with existing regulations in Manual of Instructions.

Above also applies to investigations of individuals affiliated with VVAW/WSO and Boston is being referred to Bureau letter of 11/4/74 and instructed in accordance with its contents.

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 9/25/74

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:



b7c

100-449092-3979
SEP 26 1974



- 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 _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT:

SEE NEXT PAGE

EX-110
REC-110
7/26/90
2/27/90

Foreign Liaison Unit

- Route through for review
- Cleared telephonically
- with _____

(Text of message begins on next page.)

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

WREW
JHK

945
2/27/90

RLS
JHK

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


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 US. 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 ²STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE.

¹⁷²⁰
~~CLASSIFIED BY 6466, XGL'S 2, INDEFINITE.~~

ADMINISTRATIVE

NITEL CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL TO PROTECT SOURCE.

SOURCE HEREIN IS

 b2/b7D

CINCINNATI POLICE DEPARTMENT AND UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE AND VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL AT CINCINNATI ALL ADVISED.

CINCINNATI WILL ADVISE OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

REC 3 DBS FBIHQ CLR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Asst.	
Dep.	
Dep.	
Asst.	
Admit.	
Comp.	
Ext. Aff.	
Files & Com.	
Gen. Inv.	
Ident.	
Inspection	
Intell.	
Laboratory	
Plan. & Eval.	
Spec. Inv.	
Training	
Legal Coun.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director Sec'y	

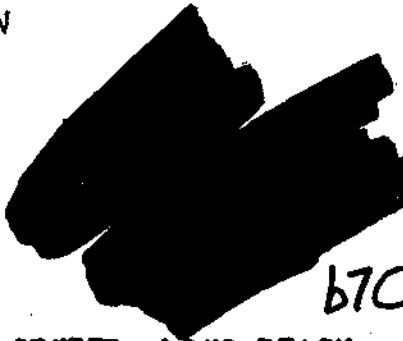
NR 029 LA CODE

720PM NITEL 9-26-74 LAD TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-77703)

DEMONSTRATION AT MEMORIAL HOSPITAL MEDICAL CENTER, LONG BEACH,
SPONSORED BY VIET NAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER
ORGANIZATION SEPTEMBER 26, 1974.



b7C

SOURCE FURNISHING RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED APPROXIMATELY 10 MEMBERS AND SPONSORS OF THE VVAW/WSO GATHERED AT MEMORIAL HOSPITAL MEDICAL CENTER OF LONG BEACH, 2856 ATLANTIC AVENUE, LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA FOR THE PURPOSE OF STAGING PROTESTS AGAINST FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO IS CURRENTLY A PATIENT IN THAT HOSPITAL. PROTESTORS CARRIED ANTI-NIXON SIGNS, SIGNS EXPRESSING SUPPORT AND UNIVERSAL AND UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY. DEMONSTRATION LASTED FROM 11:00 AM TO 1:00 PM AND WAS CONDUCTED WITHOUT INCIDENT. LOS ANGELES WILL CONDUCT NECESSARY INVESTIGATION IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY INDIVIDUALS PARTICIPATING AT AFOREMENTIONED DEMONSTRATION.

Ma

ADMINISTRATIVE: FOLLOWING NOTIFICATIONS WERE MADE:

SECRET SERVICE, DETECTIVE [REDACTED] LONG BEACH
PD, INTELLIGENCE UNIT; [REDACTED] NISO, [REDACTED] LASO,
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION; AND [REDACTED] LAPD INTELLIGENCE
DIVISION. SOURCE FURNISHING INFO CONTAINED HEREIN [REDACTED]
NO LHM FOLLOWS.

END

HOLD FOR ONE

DESSER 0 1074

9/27/74 JLB

b7C

3986

REC-105

SEP 27 1974

b2/b7D

7/26/95

sc66/ys

b7C

ISS
GCS
coll

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 16 September 1974

FROM : LEGAT, OTTAWA (105-4163) (P)

b7C

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

100-448092-3954

[REDACTED]

b1

- ④ - BUREAU (100-448092)
 - (1 - Foreign Liaison Unit)
 - (1 - Albany (100-22519))

1 - OTTAWA (105-4163)
JFB/gd
(5)

Sc. AL
6/29/74
[REDACTED]

REC-2 100-448092-3981

EX 104

SEP 20 1974

7/24/95 sp 6/29/10A

[Handwritten signature]



5010-106

OCT 01 1974

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

Assoc. Dir.	
Dep. Dir.	
Dep. Asst. Dir.:	
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	

9/26/74 5862/AM

NR 002 CI CODE

2:01 AM NITEL SEPTEMBER 18, 1974 GLB

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CINCINNATI (100-21874) (P)

ATTN: INTD

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF ATTICA DEFENDANTS, SPONSORED BY REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) AND VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (VVAW), CINCINNATI, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 17, 1974; IS.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED ON SEPTEMBER 17, 1974, THAT AT 12:15 PM, 16 INDIVIDUALS KNOWN TO SOURCE AS AFFILIATED WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) AND THE VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (VVAW), DEMONSTRATED IN FRONT OF THE FEDERAL BUILDING, MAIN STREET, DOWNTOWN, CINCINNATI, OHIO. THEY ATTEMPTED TO SOLICIT SUPPORT OF ATTICA PRISONERS IN THEIR CURRENT TRIAL AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK.

A CINCINNATI POLICE DEPARTMENT OFFICER (CPD) REQUESTED ONE OF THOSE DEMONSTRATING TO PRODUCE IDENTIFICATION AS THE OFFICER BELIEVED THAT A TRAFFIC WARRANT WAS OUTSTANDING FOR THE ARREST OF THIS PERSON. THIS INDIVIDUAL REFUSED AND A SCUFFLE ENSUED AND AS A RESULT, 7 OF THE DEMONSTRATORS ATTEMPTED TO KEEP THE OFFICER FROM MAKING THE ARREST. THIS INDIVIDUAL IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED] FOR WHOM

END PAGE

Sent by 0-73 to Secret Service
9/18/74 HEM

9-18-74
3cc - RAGJ
Crim. Div.
ISS - SCS - COM
HEM

NOT RECORDED

78 SEP 26 1974

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b7c

b7c

THE CPD HAD A TRAFFIC WARRANT. [REDACTED] IS NEGRO MALE, DOB [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] STREET, CHARGED WITH DISORDERLY CONDUCT AND
RESISTING ARREST.

bx

SOURCE ADVISED FOLLOWING ARRESTS WERE MADE:

[REDACTED] WHITE FEMALE, DOB [REDACTED] AVENUE,
INTERFERING WITH POLICE OFFICER.

[REDACTED] ^{VVAW} MALE
WHITE ~~MALE~~, DOB [REDACTED]
STREET, RESISTING ARREST AND TRAFFIC WARRANT.

[REDACTED] ^{VVAW} WHITE FEMALE, DOB [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] STREET, RESISTING ARREST, ASSAULT AND BATTERY, AND ASSAULT ON
POLICE OFFICER.

[REDACTED] ^{VVAW} MALE
WHITE ~~M~~, DOB [REDACTED]
ASSAULT AND BATTERY ON A POLICE OFFICER AND RESISTING ARREST.

[REDACTED] ^{RV} WHITE FEMALE, DOB [REDACTED]
STREET, INTERFERING WITH POLICE OFFICER AND RESISTING ARREST.

[REDACTED] ^{VVAW} WHITE FEMALE, DOB [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ASSAULT ON POLICE OFFICER AND RESISTING ARREST.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE CI 100-21874

ACCORDING TO ORIGINAL SOURCE, [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ARE KNOWN TO BE CURRENTLY AFFILIATED WITH THE CINCINNATI CHAPTER OF THE VVAW/WSO. [REDACTED] IS KNOWN TO BE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH RU IN CINCINNATI, AND [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ARE NOT KNOWN TO SOURCE TO HAVE INVOLVEMENT WITH ANY SUBVERSIVE CINCINNATI GROUPS. b7c/d

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION: THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF VIETNAM VEERANS 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 MARXISTST ORIENTED AND STRIVE TO EDUCATE THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN MARXIST-LEMINIST DOCTRINE.

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR CI 100-21874

ADMINISTRATIVE: ^{VE}

RE CINCINNATI TELETYPE, SEPTEMBER 16, 1974.

SOURCE [REDACTED] CINCINNATI POLICE DEPARTMENT.

b7c
57D

UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE, GSA, POSTAL INSPECTOR ADVISED,
AND CI PD AWARE.

CINCINNATI WILL FOLLOW DISPOSITIONS OF ARRESTS HEREIN AND
SUBMIT LHM.

END

MSI FBIHQ ACLK 3 CLR

MESSAGE RELAY

Date 9/18/74

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
 RUEAIA/ 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:

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[Handwritten: 101 44-100-]

NOT RECORDED
28 SEP 23 1974

- 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 _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: SEE NEXT PAGE

(Text of message begins on next page.)

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically

with _____

~~SEP 26 1974~~

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten: 410A]

[Handwritten: 7/20/93]

[Handwritten: RLY/HBY]

ORIGINAL FILED IN 174

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.

4 Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of not recorded 9/18/74

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-448092 - not recorded serial dated 9/18/74

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X for this page X
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XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

R
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 9/25/74

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-50772)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
IS

Enclosed for FBIHQ is one copy each of
the August, 1974, and September-October, 1974,
issues of the VVAW/WSO publication "Winter Soldier."

1/20/95 EDB/GR/UA

ENC. BEHIND FILE



1770

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

PRW/sjf
(3)

REC-26

EX 104

100-448092-3982

2 SEP 27 1974



5010-108-02

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



Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)
ATTN: INTD
FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (100-11445) (RUC)

DATE: 9/25/74

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
REGIONAL CONFERENCE MEETING
ONEONTA, N. Y.
7/27-28/74
IS

(OO: CG)

ReALairtel and LHM to the Bureau, 8/13/74; and
reRHlet to the Bureau, 8/14/74.

Current Virginia License #AWT-899 is registered to
[REDACTED] Drive, Bay Shore, N.Y.

Richmond indices negative re [REDACTED]

New York advise Albany of any pertinent information
known concerning [REDACTED]

b7c

REC-102

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Albany (100-22519)
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772)
- 2 - New York (100-160644)
- 1 - Richmond

3983

REB/pfm
(9)

5 SEP 27 1974

cc 900

7/1-0/95

Handwritten signature

Handwritten signature



40071 1974

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM : SAC, DALLAS (100-12222) (RUC)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETRANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
IS - VVAW/WSO

OO: CHICAGO

DATE: 9/26/74

Re Bureau airtel to Albany dated 7/15/74.

The following sources were contacted on indicated dates regarding any activity of captioned organization:

[redacted] on 9/12/74;
[redacted] on 9/12/74;
[redacted] on 9/25/74.

b2/b7D

All above sources advised they have no knowledge of renewed VVAW/WSO activity in the Dallas Division.

On 9/25/74, [redacted] former VVAW/WSO leader, Arlington, Texas, advised that there has been no VVAW/WSO activity within the Dallas Division.

b7c

To date, no information has been received from within the Division or from other Field Offices indicating VVAW/WSO organizational activity. Should any information be received that individuals within the Division are active VVAW members operating outside the Division, the Bureau will be immediately notified and appropriate investigation instituted. Since there has been no organized VVAW activities in the Dallas Division since approximately July, 1972, the Dallas Division is closing this investigation.

2-Bureau
2-Chicago (100-50772)
1-Dallas
KDS:ls
(5)

REC-60 100-448092-3982 39

7/26/75
Sglt/IVR



MESSAGE RELAY

Date 9/26/74

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

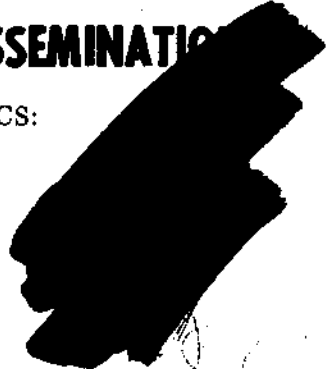
FROM: Director, FBI

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:



2/20/95
5066/US
1/10/74

67



- 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 _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

SUBJECT: **UNCLASSIFIED**

SEE NEXT PAGE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
(Text of message begins on next page.)

TELETYPE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically
with _____

18 SEP 27 1974

RLS
JUK
1/11

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.

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1 Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of 100-448092-3980

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-448092-3985, enclosure

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X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
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MESSAGE RELAY

Date 9/26/74

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
 RUEBWJA/ Immigration & Naturalization Service
 RUEOIAA/ National Security Agency (DIRNSA/NSOC (Att.: SOO))
 RUEOGBA/ Federal Aviation Administration

SACS:

LEGATS:



b7c
mm

REG-16
10-11-11-3986
16 SEP 27 1974
5

- 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 _____

Classification: (Classify if to other than Bureau Office)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT:

SEE NEXT PAGE

Foreign Liaison Unit
 Route through for review
 Cleared telephonically
 with _____

(Text of message begins on next page)

7/26/74
W. J. H.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 29 1974
953
TELETYPE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

125
J.H.K.
DKW

NR004 AL CCDE

445 PM URGENT SEPTEMBER 26, 1974 VSH

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (62-2322) (P)

ATT: INTD

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

VISIT OF PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD TO BURLINGTON, VERMONT,

OCTOBER 7, 1974, ~~AL FILE 62-2322.~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

(VVAW/WSO), IS, ~~BUFILE 100-448092, AL FILE 100-22519.~~

~~RE ALBANY TELETYPE TO BUREAU, SEPTEMBER 20, 1974.~~

ON SEPTEMBER 26, 1974, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT A MEETING TOOK PLACE AT [REDACTED] CONCERNING A DEMONSTRATION PLANNED FOR THE APPEARANCE OF PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD AT BURLINGTON, VERMONT, ON OCTOBER 7, 1974. SOURCE ADVISED THE MEETING TOOK PLACE AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE VERMONT ALLIANCE, 5 STATE STREET, MONTPELIER, VERMONT, AND

bx
[REDACTED]

57D

3
9-26-74
JH
CDU

B7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SOURCE HAD NO INFORMATION CONCERNING THE VERMONT ALLIANCE.

SOURCE ADVISED GROUP DISCUSSED PASSING OUT LEAFLETS ON CHURCH STREET, BURLINGTON, VERMONT, CONCERNING THE DEMONSTRATION, AND POSSIBLY MAKING A PRESS RELEASE ON SEPTEMBER 27, 1974.

SOURCE ADVISED GROUP IS HOPING UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT WILL FURNISH THEM A SPEAKING PLATFORM, LIGHTING AND MICROPHONE FOR PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM FOR POSSIBLE USE AT PATRICK GYMNASIUM, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, ON THE EVE OF OCTOBER 7, 1974.

SOURCE ADVISED THE AVAILABILITY OF A THEATRICAL GROUP AND/OR MUSICAL GROUP FOR THE DEMONSTRATION IS STILL IN THE PLANNING STAGE. SOURCE ADVISED A SINGER NAMED UTAH PHILLIPS WAS MENTIONED AS A POSSIBLE CHOICE. SOURCE KNOWS NOTHING CONCERNING PHILLIPS. SOURCE ADVISED FURTHER THE PLANNERS ARE HOPING TO OBTAIN TIME ON "OPEN MIKE", A DAILY PROGRAM ON RADIO STATION WJOY, BURLINGTON, VERMONT, ON WHICH PERSONS ARE ABLE TO COMMENT ON CURRENT AFFAIRS.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SOURCE STATED ALSO PRESENT WAS ONE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOURCE COULD FURNISH NO FURTHER INFORMATION ON ANY OF THESE PERSONS OTHER THAN THE FACT THAT THEY ARE ALL WHITE MALES AND FEMALES AND IN THEIR MID TO LATE TWENTIES IN AGE.

b7c / D

SOURCE ADVISED THAT THE PLANNERS ARE UNABLE TO GET ENOUGH PEOPLE INTERESTED IN THE DEMONSTRATION AT THIS POINT AND SO FAR ARE UNABLE TO GET ANY ENTHUSIASM FROM STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT OR ANY KNOWN OUTSIDE GROUPS.

CLASSIFIED BY ¹⁷²⁰ 1168, XGDS 2, INDEFINITE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE ALBANY TELETYPE TO BUREAU, SEPTEMBER 20, 1974.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED] DETECTIVE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BURLINGTON, VERMONT, PD (PROTECT PER REQUEST).

b7c

[REDACTED]

HE ADVISED THE

b7D

PAGE FOUR, AL 62-2322 AND 100-22519 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b7D
b7F

ALBANY INDICES NEGATIVE RE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ALL PERTINENT
DEVELOPMENTS.

U.S. SECRET SERVICE ADVISED LOCALLY. NO LHM FOLLOWS.

END.

FBIHQ FLC CLR TKS

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

TELETYPE

NR013 NY CODE

10:17 P.M. NITEL 9-24-74 DXM

TO: FBI DIRECT

AND SAC ALBANY

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-160644)

REC-16

b7c



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTN: INTD

VISIT OF PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD TO BURLINGTON, VERMONT, OCTOBER 7, 1974.

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

REALTEL TO BUREAU AND NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 20, 1974.

INDICES NY OFFICE CONTAIN NO REFERENCES TO MASS TRANSIT THEATRE, OR [REDACTED] AND NO REFERENCES IDENTIFIABLE WITH *ma*

[REDACTED] BASED ON AVAILABLE INFORMATION. *b7c*

THE "GUARDIAN", A SELF-DESCRIBED "INDEPENDENT RADICAL NEWSWEEKLY" PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK CITY (NYC), ISSUE OF JULY 4, 1973, IN A NEWS STORY ON THE "GUARDIAN" PICNIC HELD AT ARROW PARK, NEW YORK, ON JUNE 24, 1973, REPORTED THAT MASS TRANSIT STREET THEATRE (MST) DESCRIBED AS A BRONX, NEW YORK GROUP, PERFORMED AT THE PICNIC.

Unrecorded Copy Filed In 116/174

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP 6 BJA/WP*
ON *7/24/95*
EX-105

REC-16 100-141099-398

XEROX
b7c
SEP 27 1974



b7c

PAGE TWO

ON MAY 2, 1974, [REDACTED] WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, FURNISHED A CURRENT LISTING OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONTACTS OF THE VVAW/WSO NATIONAL OFFICE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, WHICH LISTED UNDER MEDIA THE MTST, 1179 BROADWAY, NYC. b2/b7D

ON JUNE 22, 1974, [REDACTED] WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST ADVISED THE MTST ALONG WITH NYC CHAPTER, VVAW/WSO AND WHITE LIGHTNING, A SELF-DESCRIBED DRUG REHABILITATION PROGRAM AND "COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO SERVING THE PEOPLE", LOCATED IN THE BRONX, NEW YORK SPONSORED AND PARTICIPATED IN A MARCH AND DEMONSTRATION IN THE BRONX, NEW YORK, ON JUNE 22, 1974, CULMINATING AT VETERANS ADMINISTRATION (VA) HOSPITAL, KINGSBRIDGE ROAD AND SEDGEWICK AVENUE, BRONX, NEW YORK, WHERE DEMONSTRATION CONSISTING OF SPEECHES AND GUERRILLA THEATRE TOOK PLACE. PURPOSE OF ACTIVITY WAS TO PROTEST VA HANDLING OF DRUG ADDICTION CASES OF VETERANS. NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS WERE NOTED.

K

NY 100-160644

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE THREE

b2/b7D

ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1974, [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT MTST IS A THEATRICAL GROUP THAT IN THE PAST HAS PERFORMED GUERRILLA THEATRE AT DEMONSTRATIONS. SOURCE HAS NO INFORMATION THAT MTST PLANS TO PARTICIPATE IN DEMONSTRATIONS IN BURLINGTON, VERMONT, OCTOBER 7, 1974.

PERTINENT SOURCES OF NY OFFICE HAVE BEEN ALERTED. ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED WILL BE PROMPTLY FURNISHED THE BUREAU AND ALBANY.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CLASSIFIED BY 7102 XGDS 2 INDEFINITE~~

END

HOLD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, BUTTE (100-9356) (C)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS
AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
(VVAW/WSO)
Boise-Mountain Home,
Idaho, Chapter
IS - RA

DATE: 9/24/74

Re Bureau letter to Albany, 7/15/74.

b2/b7D

On 9/17/74, [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that the Boise-Mountain Home chapter of the VVAW/WSO presently has no active membership and is not engaged in any activity.

Due to the inactivity, it is recommended that the case on the Boise-Mountain Home chapter of the VVAW/WSO be closed, and activities of the VVAW/WSO in other portions of the Butte Division will be followed under the main VVAW/WSO case file.

ml

- ② - Bureau
- 1 - Butte
- GTS/ddp
- (3)

REC-73

3988

16 SEP 30 1974

~~FIVE~~



7/26/75 SP. [Signature]

F B I

Date: 9/27/74

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	_____

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

Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-16340) (P)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
8/8-12/74
IS-VVAW/WSO

b7c



Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies, and for Buffalo and Chicago, two (2) copies each, of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Source mentioned in enclosed LHM is _____
(UD).

b2/b7D

ST-101

REC-21 / 100-448092-3989

21 OCT 2 1974

2cc - 904
1cc - 905
2cc - Deb & J
SWB/meg 10/1/74

- ② - Bureau (Encl. 5) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo (Encl. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (Encl. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Miami
- (1 - 100-16340)
- (1 - _____)

FEG:mrz
(8)

b2/b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/26/95 BY [signature]

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-16340

Miami, Florida
September 27, 1974

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION
NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974
INTERNAL SECURITY-VIETNAM VETERANS
AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER
ORGANIZATION

On September 20, 1974, a source with whom contact has been insufficient to judge the reliability of his information, but who is in a position to furnish reliable information concerning captioned meeting, advised as follows:

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) National Steering Committee meeting at Buffalo, New York, (August 8-12, 1974) represented an obvious effort by the VVAW/WSO faction ideologically aligned with the Revolutionary Union (RU) to officially change the organizational direction of the VVAW/WSO. Of the approximately 60 delegates at the meeting, about 20 were RU members or sympathizers. Their strength was concentrated in the Chicago, Milwaukee, Washington-Alaska, and New York delegations, with some influence in the California and Ohio delegations, among others. The Washington-Alaska delegation was comprised completely of RU members or sympathizers. This "reactivated" region was pulled together, apparently, just prior to the meeting, reportedly with direct support from the VVAW/WSO National Office. Delegations opposed to RU influence and/or direction within the VVAW/WSO were Florida-Georgia, one-half New England, one-half Ohio and three-quarters California. The National Office showed itself to be solidly supportive of the RU.

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.

100-16340-3989
7/26/75 [Signature]
ENCLOSURE

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

The VVAW/WSO is characterized in the appendix of this memorandum.

It was noted that the VVAW/WSO position paper distributed by the National Office was virtually identical to a position paper previously drawn up by the RU setting out what the RU believed should be the VVAW/WSO position and direction. This RU position paper had been partially distributed at the VVAW/WSO mobilization in Washington, D. C., July 1-4, 1974. At that time, the VVAW/WSO National Office reportedly requested RU to halt distribution of its position paper for the VVAW/WSO, presumably so that VVAW/WSO members would not later realize that the National Office position paper reflected exactly the positions already recommended for the VVAW/WSO by the RU.

DON/PENNINGTON, representing the Florida-Georgia region, asked from the floor at the Buffalo meeting exactly what the connection was between the VVAW/WSO National Office and the Revolutionary Union. This question was ruled "out of order". Later, at lunch, National Officer BRIAN ADAMS accused PENNINGTON of "red-baiting". He said that question should not have been brought up on the floor. He also threatened to have the Florida-Georgia region reduced to a "contact" for the next National Steering Committee meeting. This would reduce the vote of the Florida-Georgia delegation from five votes to one vote. ADAMS said he would make inquiries into the number of chapters, number of members, etc. within the Florida-Georgia region.

The National Office position paper, adopted by a majority, perhaps 49 delegates, at the Buffalo meeting recommended that the VVAW/WSO be a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus. This is also what the RU recommends for the VVAW/WSO. The minority position paper advocated that VVAW/WSO be a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and an anti-imperialist focus. The difference in focus between the two positions is crucial as the National Office-recommended

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

focus would restrict the organization to active recruitment and activities among veterans and GIS, whereas the minority position paper recommends a much broader focus for the organization. The various chapters are to discuss the majority and minority position papers over the next few months, following which final adoption of one or the other will be made at the St. Louis, Missouri National Steering Committee meeting set for December 27, 1974.

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 of 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.

4*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 9/30/74

FROM : SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-12620 Sub 1) (RUC)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)
INTERNAL SECURITY

ReBuairtel to All Offices, 7/15/74.

San Antonio has carefully reviewed their file and contacted appropriate sources for any information concerning captioned organization.

On 8/20/74, [redacted] advised that the organization is no longer active in the Austin, Texas, vicinity.

[redacted] advised that he was unable to locate any activity by captioned organization.

A review of The Rag, a community-oriented underground newspaper in Austin, Texas, which carries telephone numbers of interest to many readers, no longer carries the telephone number for the VVAW/WSO.

It is noted that the state of Texas was not represented at the last National Steering Committee of the VVAW/WSO which was held in New York.

San Antonio is closing this case because of lack of activity in the San Antonio Division.

2-Bureau
1-San Antonio

HWR:csw
(3)

EX-103

REC-35

OCT 3 1974

3990

7/26/95

8/6/74

F102

F102



b2
b7D

File
Gen
Ident
Int
Lab

NR012 BS CODE

9:50PM NITEL SEPTEMBER 30, 1974 RFF

TO: DIRECTOR ATTN: INTD.
ALBANY

FROM: BOSTON 100-42739 P

VVAW/WSO, IS - VVAW/WSO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/26/95 BY [redacted]



b7c

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE OF THE BOSTON DIVISION ADVISED 9/30/74, THAT CORRESPONDENCE COMING [redacted] REGIONAL COORDINATOR, VVAW/WSO, BURLINGTON, VERMONT, REVEALS THAT A REGIONAL VVAW/WSO DEMONSTRATION IS BEING PLANNED AT BURLINGTON FOR MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1974, WHEN PRESIDENT GERALD FORD WILL BE IN THAT CITY. DEMONSTRATION WILL INVOLVE THE AMNESTY QUESTION BUT SPECIFIC TIME AND PLACE IS NOT KNOWN AT THIS TIME. VVAW/WSO PEOPLE FROM OTHER AREAS ALSO INVITED TO PARTICIPATE.

b7c/p

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 VVAW HAS BEEN ASKED TO COOPERATE ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL MANY ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNIST AND MAOIST GROUPS. ADDITIONALLY IT WAS INDICATED THAT "ANTI-IMPERIALIST GROUPS" CONSIDER THE

3991

100-9040
100-42739
200-300-3-18-EDK
5/13/74



b7c

BS 100-42739 PAGE TWO

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.

SA [REDACTED], UNITED STATES
SECRET SERVICE, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

THE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED] FAMILIAR WITH VVAW/WSO ACTIVITIES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. BUREAU AND ALBANY WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

END

AMW FBIHQ FOR ONE CLR

b7c

b2
b7D

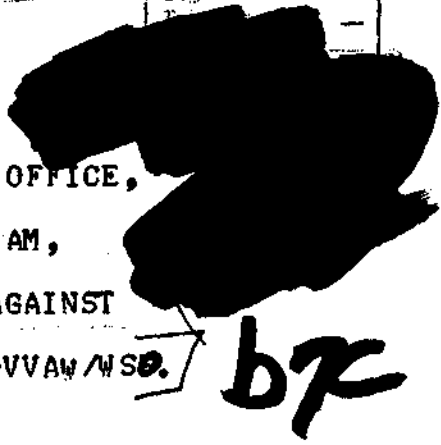
Dep. AD Adm.	_____
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Files & Com.	_____
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Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____

NR025 CG CODE
 10:10PM NITEL 9-30-74 JAK
 TO DIRECTOR
 FROM CHICAGO (100-55554) (P)
 ATTN: INTD

DECLASSIFIED BY *Sples/LLW*
 7/26/98

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATION AT REGIONAL VETERAN'S ADMINISTRATION OFFICE,
 DAMEN AND TAYLOR AVENUES, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 11:00 AM,
 SEPTEMBER 30, 1974, SPONSORED BY VIETNAM VETERAN'S AGAINST
 THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO). IS-VVAW/WSO.



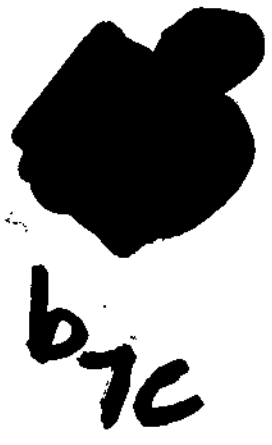
STARTING 11:10 AM TODAY BUREAU AGENTS OBSERVED APPROXIMATELY 30
 INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING VVAW/WSO PARTICIPATED IN MARCH IN FRONT OF
 VA FACILITIES, DAMEN AND TAYLOR AVENUES, CHICAGO. THEY CARRIED
 PLACARDS STATING "UNIVERSAL AND UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY"; "SINGLE TYPE
 DISCHARGE FOR ALL"; "DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETS." ALSO THEY CHANTED
 "BLACK, BROWN, YELLOW, WHITE, ALL THE PEOPLE MUST UNITE," AND "HANDS
 OFF THE PHILIPPINES, NO MORE VIETNAMS."

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

3-
 100-9040
 100-55554
 100-1-74

SEARCHED: ISS
 GCS
 COU
 HEM: swe
 10-1-74

100-9040
 100-55554
 100-1-74
 SWP/may
 10/1/74



PAGE TWO [CG 100-55554 C O ~~X~~ F I D E N T I A L]

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.

THERE WAS NO ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT OR ENTER VA FACILITIES AND MARCHERS DISPERSED 12:30 PM. CHICAGO PD PRESENT, NO ARREST OR VIOLENCE.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 6607. XGDS 2. INDEFINITE.~~

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHICAGO TEL, SEPTEMBER 18, 1974.

[REDACTED] PRESENT. AGENTS OBSERVING WERE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

b2
b7C
b7D

END

CORRECTION: LAT WORD IN TITLE SHOULD REAS VVAW/WSO GA

AMW FBIHQ

TKS

AMW FBIHQ FOR ONE

CLR

CODE

TELETYPE

NITEL

10/2/74

TO SACS CINCINNATI
CLEVELAND

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

b7E

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 5062/11/11
ON 7/26/95

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER
ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO); INTERNAL SECURITY.

b2 b7D

RECITEL OCTOBER 1, 1974, CAPTIONED [redacted] SM - RU."

AUTHORITY GRANTED FOR SOURCE TO ATTEND MONTHLY REGIONAL
MEETING OF CAPTIONED ORGANIZATIONS IN AKRON, OHIO, OCTOBER 5-6,
1974. UPON RETURN, DEBRIEF SOURCE AND FURNISH PERTINENT
INFORMATION TO FBIHQ AND INTERESTED OFFICES IN FORM SUITABLE
FOR DISSEMINATION.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 7225, XGDS 2, INDEFINITE.~~

1 - [redacted] **b2 b7D**
JWG:mcm (5)
NOTE: [redacted] **b7D** CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] a member of captioned organization, is targeted
against the Revolutionary Union (RU) and is considered by both
organizations as their liaison man. Currently, discussions are
being held leading toward a possible merger of the two organi-
zations and source's attendance at this meeting is considered
essential. Services and expenses will be paid from regularly
authorized funds. This is the only source known to be planning
to attend this meeting.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

af

100-44-3993

REC-43

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Handwritten signature]

- 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 _____

6-13/11/11

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

way/can

100-44-3993

~~CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: September 26, 1974

FROM : LEGAT, TOKYO (100-1384) RUC

SUBJECT: 
SM - VVAW/WSO

b7c





b1

ENCLOSURE

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 4)
- 2 - San Francisco
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
- 1 - Tokyo

12/19/95
DECLASSIFY ON: *88*

RNB:lmg
(6)

EX 104

REC 68

-3994

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED

6 OCT 1 1974

FILE

rec-9040
acc - A.F. by 0-7 (Info)
gwb/meg
10/9/74

4 OCT 11 1974

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:

100-448092-3994, enclosure

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) DATE: 10/2/74

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (100-3808) P

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
8/8-12/74
IS - VVAW/WSO

[Redacted]
b7c

Re Buffalo airtel to Bureau, 9/3/74.

Records DMV, Santa Fe, New Mexico, disclose New Mexico License ARC 233 is registered to *[Redacted]* NE, Albuquerque, NM, for a 1967 BMW, four-door, VIN 1410458.

Albuquerque indices are negative on *[Redacted]*

Albuquerque indices are also negative on *[Redacted]* Regional Coordinator for the VVAW/WSO, Denver, Colorado, who, as set forth on Page 19 of the enclosure to re airtel, claims to have been in contact with persons in New Mexico and Arizona regarding VVAW/WSO activity.

No information has been developed to date indicating any effort has been made to reactivate the VVAW/WSO group at the University of New Mexico.

Handwritten notes and signatures

REC-75

100-448092-3995

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo (100-2162) (RM)
- 1 - Denver (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Albuquerque

EX 104

2 OCT 4 1974



JFC:mcc
(8)

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 9/30/74

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (100-18366) (C)


SUBJECT: 
SM - ~~VVAV/RSO~~


b7c

Enclosed for FBI Headquarters are four copies of an investigative summary, two copies of an FD-376 attached.

One copy of investigative summary disseminated to Secret Service and to 109th MI Group, Miami, Florida.

Miami, in view of Delimitations Agreement, conducting no further investigation.

Photo Copy
RECORDED 3/18/76
MAR 17 1976
BY: ABB/ulm
RE: 

ENCLOSURE


- ② - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)
- 1 - Miami
- GFC: nad
- (3)

REC-26 100 - 448092 - 3996

7/26/95
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-30-79 BY SP2TAP/bce
rec-994
rec-118 (FD-376)
see Sec 2.1.1.
gwb/mey

EX 104

3 OCT 2 1974

Com puter # 801301



5010-108-02

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

September 30, 1974

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

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-18366

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/95 BY [signature]

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service Miami, Florida
(REGISTERED MAIL)
Enclosure(s)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-18366

Miami, Florida
September 30, 1974

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

RE:

[REDACTED] - b7c
SUBVERSIVE MATTER -
VIET NAM VETERANS
AGAINST THE WAR,
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

On August 21, 1974, Sergeant [REDACTED] Organized Crime Bureau, Dade County Public Safety Department, Miami, Florida, advised that during a recent narcotics arrest, officers of his unit had obtained an address book upon which had been printed "VVAW - 1974". The cover of the book contained the names of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] all known Viet Nam Veterans Against The War (VVAW) (see appendix) members printed thereupon and among the individuals listed inside was [REDACTED] D-2-52 Homestead, AFB, 221-6570". b7c

On August 22, 1974, it was determined through the United States Army Base Locator, Homestead Air Force Base that a [REDACTED] Army Serial Number [REDACTED] was currently assigned to Delta Battery at a United States Army missile site on Florida State Road 27 near Krome Avenue, South Dade County, Florida.

7/26/95-5465-AMW
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-30-79 BY SP2TAP/bce

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 - 148092 - 3996

APPENDIX

VIE T NAM VETERANS AGAINST THE W. 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 of 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.

FBI

Date: 9/3/74

u. l. p. k. h.

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (100-21623) (P)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
8/8-12/74
IS - VVAW/WSO

b7c

296092-0
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/26/95 BY SP8 BJS/MLB
①

~~ENCLOSURE ATTACHED~~

- ENCLOSURE**
- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Albany (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Albuquerque (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Anchorage (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Boston (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Butte (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Chicago (100-50772) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Cincinnati (100-19743) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Cleveland (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Columbia (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Denver (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Houston (100-12219) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Indianapolis (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Kansas City (100-15886) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (100-77703) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Louisville (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Miami (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
 - 2 - Milwaukee (100-15674) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)

9/11/74
1-cc to USSS by 0-14i
2-cc to Dept. of O-6
1-cc to Bu. Pirolo-60-6
1-cc to VA by 0-14j
1-cc Returned 932

TED Hgn

REC-89

Copy count continued page 2

100-148092-399

ENC. BEHIND FILE

ST-101

SEP 7 1974

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

REPORT

FILE

BU 100-21623

Copy count continued:

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- 2 - Philadelphia (100-15647) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - St. Louis (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Salt Lake City (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - San Diego (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-71012) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Seattle (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Tampa (100-2415) (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (Enc. 3) (AM) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo

GGL:sjp
(68)

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) copies of a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM), dated and captioned as above, and one (1) copy each of the National Office Report and a document entitled, Position Paper: The Political Statement of the National Collective on the Future of VVAW/WSO which is dated August, 1974.

Three (3) copies of LHM enclosed for each receiving Office.

LHM classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect [redacted] and [redacted]

b2/b7D

Sources utilized in LHM are as follows:

Identity of Source

Location

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

b2/
b7D

b7c

The following out-of-state license plates were observed by SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] in the vicinity of the WVA/MSO storefront in Buffalo and the Universalist-Unitarian Church in Buffalo where the National Steering Committee Meeting was held. It should be noted that vehicles bearing these plates were observed in the vicinity of the National Steering Committee Meeting, but there is no indication that the owners of these vehicles were all in attendance at the National Steering Committee Meeting:

California	811 JTT
	350 FMI
Florida	ID 121891
Georgia	BNN 711
Illinois	VF 1993
Kentucky	A28 438
	A34 904
Maryland	LS 8149
Michigan	RCK 430
Missouri	BE8 149
New Hampshire	PK 399
New Mexico	ABC 233
Ohio	D 6429

BU 100-21623

Ohio

F 9113K

ZW 852

Pennsylvania

79C 605

South Carolina

VGH 215

/ Vermont

7618 D

Washington

KKA 689

Wisconsin

W78 879

X41 336

(Copies to Offices Checked)

To: Director, Att.: _____
 SAC,

- Albany
- Albuquerque
- Alexandria
- Anchorage
- Atlanta
- Baltimore
- Birmingham
- Boston
- Buffalo
- Butte
- Charlotte
- Chicago
- Cincinnati
- Cleveland
- Columbia
- Dallas
- Denver
- Detroit
- El Paso
- Honolulu

- Houston
- Indianapolis
- Jackson
- Jacksonville
- Kansas City
- Knoxville
- Las Vegas
- Little Rock
- Los Angeles
- Louisville
- Memphis
- Miami
- Milwaukee
- Minneapolis
- Mobile
- Newark
- New Haven
- New Orleans
- New York City
- Norfolk

- Oklahoma City
- Omaha
- Philadelphia
- Phoenix
- Pittsburgh
- Portland
- Richmond
- Sacramento
- St. Louis
- Salt Lake City
- San Antonio
- San Diego
- San Francisco
- San Juan
- Savannah
- Seattle
- Springfield
- Tampa
- Washington Field

Date 4/24/78

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
8/8-12/74
IS - VVAW/WSO

REMARKS: Re enclosure to Buffalo airtel dated
9/3/74 at Buffalo. (x)

The following changes in classification
have been made in the above communication:

*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/24/95 BY [signature]*

[Signature] (over)

WALTER A. WEINER

OFFICE BUFFALO

FILE #: Bu 100-448092
Bu 100-21623

<u>Page</u>	<u>Paragraph</u>	<u>Classification</u>
1	Last paragraph cont'd pg. 2 to #12	Confidential
2	1	"
4	After word adjournment	"
7	After moustache	"
11	2 & 3	"
12	Three paragraphs under heading Business Conducted at the NSCM	"
13-78	All	"
79	Top of page	"

Classified "Confidential," exemption
category 2, by 6166, date 4/24/78,
date of automatic declassification
indefinite.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Buffalo, New York
September 3, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

DECLASSIFIED BY *SJ6 EJK/MSK*
ON *1/26/95*

CLASSIFIED BY *6166*
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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 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, 1973, the group changed their name to VVAW/Winter Soldier Organization (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.

Location and Attendance

On August 8, 1974, delegates to the National Steering Committee Meeting (NSCM) of the VVAW/WSO met at the Buffalo VVAW/WSO Office, a storefront located at 363 Connecticut, Buffalo,

CLASSIFIED BY *3763*
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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ENCLOSURE~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York. At this office, delegates registered for the NSCM and each paid a registration fee of \$10.00. A total of 65 delegates registered for the NSCM. Delegates were from the following VVAW/WSO regions:

1. District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia Region
2. Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, West Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania Region
3. New York and Northern New Jersey Region
4. Chicago, Northern Illinois, and Iowa Region
5. Washington and Alaska Region
6. Eastern Pennsylvania, Southern New Jersey and Delaware Region
7. New England Region
8. Southern Florida Region
9. Colorado Region
10. California Region
11. Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Upper Michigan Region
12. National Office of VVAW/WSO (S) u

There were only two or three regions which did not send delegates to the NSCM. (S) u

A proposed agenda for the NSCM as well as a map showing the location of the NSCM at the Universalist-Unitarian Church,

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Elmwood and Ferry, Buffalo, New York, was passed out at the time of registration. The proposed agenda was as follows:

TENTATIVE AGENDA, BUFFALO NSCM:

Thursday, August 8th:

Registration at the Buffalo Chapter Storefront
Assignment of housing

Friday, August 9th:

Seating and introduction of delegates
Approval of Agenda
Regional Round Robin Reports
National Office Report
National Project Reports
Election of National Coordinators

Old Business:

Objectives of VVAW/WSO
Internal Funding
Cairo United Front

Film and forum with the Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 9:30

Saturday, August 10th:

Continuation of Old Business

Workshops:

Objectives of VVAW/WSO
Mass Organization (mature/future of VVAW/WSO)
DC Demo analysis
Amnesty/DUP
National Defense Committee
CP/USA (Revisionist)
GI's/GI Conference
Prisons/Prison Project
Winter Soldier
Indochina
National Projects/OCF
VA/Veterans

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

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Sunday, August 11th:

Continuation of Workshops
Workshop Reports

Monday, August 12th:

Continuation of Workshop Reports
New Business
Nominations to National Office
Puerto Rican Independence Day - request for support
Attica Memorial Week - request for support
Date and site of next NSCM

Criticism/Self-criticism

Adjournment

Party (dependent on time of adjournment)

Source: (S) U [redacted] b2
b7D

August 13, 1974

On August 8-12, 1974, the NSCM of the VVAW/WSO was held at the Universalist-Unitarian Church, Elmwood Avenue and West Ferry Street, Buffalo, New York. Approximately 75 people were in attendance at the conference.

Source: [redacted] b2
b7D

August 21, 1974

The following individuals were identified by [redacted] on August 13, 1974 as being in attendance at the conference:

Chicago

[redacted] b7c
BILL (Last Name Unknown), white male, blond hair

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
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STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Denver

[REDACTED]

New England

[REDACTED]

b7c /
b7D

Milwaukee

WALTER (Last Name Unknown)

St. Louis

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

DARYL (Last Name Unknown)

Wisconsin

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

(Last Name Unknown), Regional Coordinator from Ohio

Philadelphia

[REDACTED] Revolutionary Union (RU) and VVAW/WSO member

[REDACTED] wife of [REDACTED] RU member and claims to be ex-underground Weatherman person

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] lives with [REDACTED] on Green Street, in Germantown. [REDACTED] is leaving the country in the near future to teach English to servicemen in Asia

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
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BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

[REDACTED] member of VVAW/WSO in Southern New Jersey,
resides in Englishtown, New Jersey

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] wife of [REDACTED]

b7C/
b7E

National Office

- SAM SCHORR
- BRIAN ADAMS
- MARLA WATSON
- RICH BANGERT
- PETER ZASTROW

New York

TED (Last Name Unknown), white male, age approximately
55, bald with gray fringe

California

[REDACTED]

Florida

[REDACTED]

BARBARA (Last Name Unknown), who [REDACTED]

Washington, D.C.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Buffalo

[REDACTED] also known as [REDACTED] Buffalo,
New York

CONFIDENTIAL

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
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AUGUST 8-12, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TOM (Last Name Unknown), Buffalo, New York, white male, age approximately 30, bushy blond hair, slender build, six feet tall, no beard or moustache (D)u

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.

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

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
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STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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; the ITT Building in New York City in September, 1973; the Office of the California State Attorney General, Los Angeles, in May, 1974; and the Gulf Oil Corporation Building, Pittsburgh, in June, 1974. 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.

b2/b7D [REDACTED] identified the following individuals on August 21, 1974, as being delegates to the NSCM:

Milwaukee

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7c; b7D

DIANE (Last Name Unknown)

JACK (Last Name Unknown)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Chicago

[REDACTED]

ANNIE (Last Name Unknown)

National Collective

PETER ZASTROW

BRIAN ADAMS

MARLA WATSON

SAM SHORR

RICH BANGERT

b7C; b7D

California

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (Phonetic)

[REDACTED]

EDDIE (Last Name Unknown)

[REDACTED]

New York

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ALB
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AC

Ohio

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Florida

[REDACTED]

BARBARA (Last Name Unknown)

b7c; b7D

Great Plains

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Washington-Alaska

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

New England

[REDACTED] DEL
[REDACTED] NC
[REDACTED] RO
[REDACTED] CT

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
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BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

CONFIDENTIAL

Washington, D.C.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7c; b7D

A number of RU members were included among the 65 delegates. The following is an estimate of the number of RU people in the various delegations:

Washington and Alaska - two RU delegates

New York and Northern New Jersey - two RU delegates

Philadelphia - [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

b7c

Milwaukee - one or two RU delegates

It was strongly rumored that there were additional RU delegates but their names were never given. The consensus among the 65 delegates was that there were from 10 to 15 RU delegates present. (X) 4

Source: [REDACTED] August 13, 1974

b2; b7D

Several of the individuals at the conference could be considered RU "cadre" inasmuch as they were self-admitted RU members or suspected RU members. These individuals are as follows:

[REDACTED] from Milwaukee

[REDACTED] from California

[REDACTED] from New Jersey, who is involved with "Outlaw," an RU influenced postal union in New York City

[REDACTED] from New England Region

b7c
b7D

CONFIDENTIAL

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
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BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] from New England Region who is involved
with a Sea Coast Workers Committee

[REDACTED] from Washington-Alaska Region

[REDACTED] from Washington-Alaska Region

Source: [REDACTED] (X) u
August 21, 1974

Business Conducted at the NSCM

At the Friday session, August 9, 1974, the NSCM was
chaired by an unidentified member from Buffalo. (X) u

The first order of business was national finances.
No written financial report was handed out to the delegates.
BRIAN ADAMS of the National Collective gave an oral financial
report and stated that the National Office is currently \$20,000
in debt. He noted that it cost \$9,000 for the July demonstra-
tion in Washington, D.C. 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. He
noted that formerly the VVAW/WSO depended on rich liberals for
donations, however, they are now losing this liberal support.
ADAMS stated that the VVAW/WSO currently has \$900 in its bank
account and \$100 in petty cash. There are office assets of
\$2,300. He noted that in the first quarter of 1974, the or-
ganization lost over \$1,000 and that the same was true for the
second quarter of this year. (X) u

Next order of business was the election of national
coordinators. The following coordinators were re-elected:

BRIAN ADAMS

PETE ZASTROW

RICHARD BANGERT

MARLA WATSON

ED DOMATO

SAM SCHORR

(X) u
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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
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STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

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With regard to RICHARD BANGERT, it was noted that he would be leaving the National Collective in October, 1974 in order to go to St. Louis to work with the VVAW/WSO. BRIAN ADAMS, although re-elected, will stay in office only until January, 1975.

The next order of business was the discussion of the Cairo, Illinois United Front Project. It was decided to drop this project as one of the VVAW/WSO national projects. In addition, it was also decided to drop the Bogue Chitta Project.

At this point in the proceedings, all of the Round Robin Reports were passed out in printed form. Discussion of these reports was delayed until the Saturday session at which time questions could be raised, if so desired.

Source: [REDACTED]

August 13, 1974

The following Round Robin Reports were provided by [REDACTED] on August 13, 1974 and [REDACTED] on August 21, 1974: → b2; b7D

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ALASKA-WASHINGTON REGION
ROUND ROBIN REPORT

(This is a regional report, but we will be concentrating on the development of the new chapter in Tacoma since the demonstration in DC.) The Alaska-Region can generally be characterized by two factors -- weakness and growth. The region is indeed weak, having only one chapter up until one month ago. We now have two chapters, though, with the possibility of a third chapter forming soon.

In Tacoma, the GI Alliance, including members of the RU, has been working with GIs for quite awhile, putting forward an anti-imperialist understanding and linking the day-to-day struggles against national and racial oppression, struggles against non-judicial punishment, etc., up with other struggles facing the entire working class and the anti-imperialist movement.

Several months ago we began to work with veterans, seeing the struggles of vets as an important part of the anti-imperialist movement that we had neglected. These efforts were faltering, partially because we didn't understand the question well enough and more importantly because we were isolated, doing our own little thing in Tacoma.

Off of the action in DC it was clear to us that the best way to help move the veterans movement forward, both in Tacoma and overall, was to start a chapter of VVAW WSO and help develop the organization in the region. Since the formation of our chapter we have brought together a number of veterans, including a Black, white and Chicano, as a core of the chapter.

On Tuesday, August, 6th, we held our first demonstration at the Regional VA office in Seattle, concentrating on the demand for decent benefits for all vets, and also pointing out in the leaflet that we passed out and the speech that was given that this particular struggle is part of the overall struggle against imperialism going on here and around the world. Response from passersby and vets coming in and out of the VA was very good, with several people saying that they want to get involved in the work of the organization.

In the region right now there are only two chapters, the other one being in Ballingham. Ballingham filed a report in newsletter #25 in which they reported their work on amnesty and DUP. Lately, they have solidified their contact with the Vancouver American Exiles Association. They held a joint demo at the border peace arch on July 4, putting forward the five demands of the DC action.

As of yet, we do not have a coordinating body for the region. And hopefully, this, along with a Seattle chapter will be developments close at hand.

Southern CalCALIFORNIA/NEVADA REGION, REPORT
AUGUST 1974 BUFFALO, NEW YORK

LAWTON/GARDNER-- The trial has been reset to Sept. 24, 1974. There is the beginnings of a real defense committee in LA with different organizations. Both the defense committee and members from southern California participate. This defense committee has a demo set for Sept. 8th in LA to support Gary and Z. Locally outreach has continued on a consistent basis with 2 new leaflets being formulated. 1 is the statement by the 1st and 2nd trials jurors on why the trial is a frame-up. the 2nd is trial bulletin #4 (similar to #3). On the average 2,000 leaflets are distributed into the community besides Winter Soldiers and the Southern California Workers Voice. At the present time the defense committee is still in need of \$\$\$\$\$. Good disciplined people who are willing to get a job and work on the defense committee are needed. There are also 5,000 reprints of the 16 pg. Lawton/Gardner pamphlet. 1,000 pins for 25¢ are also available. Petitions are still being circulated and everyone should pick them up while they are here. The RPPDC has received many letters from international people such as, the Peoples Progressive Party of Guyana, Lotta Continua, El Manifiesto and Japan Committee Against the AH bombs.

JULY 4th PARADE--- Southern California participated in the Venice 4th of July parade in support of the D.C. demo. 35 people came carrying VVAW/WSO banners and signs with the five demands on them. The demands were enthusiastically received by the crowds and the Venice town council ask us back for next year.

FORD DEMO-- In June Gerald Ford came to the Disneyland Hotel in Orange County and an impromptu demo of 250 people showed up to greet him.

NIXON DEMO-- In July Nixon came to the Century Plaza Hotel to give his speech on Economics to the National Association of Manufacturers. 1,000 to 1,500 people showed up and VVAW/WSO people came to this afternoon demo.

DISCHARGE UPGRADING PROJECTS-- Southern California has two projects one in Venice and the other in Long Beach. These projects are finally getting records back but they are sending the complete files to us. There is more outreach in the L.A. area by these projects on radio and other media. There are a total of 60 cases in the south while only about 8 people have joined.

UNITED FARM WORKERS-- Weekly billboarding is done by several chapters in the South, mostly on Fridays and Sundays. Joint film showings and other benefits have been done and more are planned.

On Hiroshima Day the Riverside chapter (Inland Empire) leafletted March Air Force base. They also sold W.S. and had speakers.

July 1st the Long Beach MDM and VVAW/WSO had a picket line at the Long Beach naval base to add to the festivities of the change in command. W.S. were also distributed.

Northern Cal

VET'S CO-OP-- The Vet's Co-op was founded two years ago by VVAW/WSO members. After six months of effort, it was recognized and given office space in the Vet's Memorial Building and access to Vet's facilities last month. It has investigated the V.A. and worked out a drug abuse program upon getting the office. It's work also includes DUP, PVS, V.A. hospital busts, a veterans resource and information center and is setting up a vets switchboard for job referrals, housing etc.

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VVAW/WSO co-sponsored a benefit for the Santa Cruz Women's Prison Project featuring Holly Near. Over 1200 people attended.

BOB HOOD-- There are two major motions on appeal- electronic surveillance and discovery of the arresting cops previous disciplinary record. The trial setting date is Aug. 16th with the aim being for a fall trial. Because of appeals procedure it is likely there will be further delays. Support from several other VVAW/WSO chapters has been greatly appreciated. Regional packets will have more information.

RUCHELL MAGEE-- VVAW/WSO members have been attending hearings and demo for Ruchell. He has been in touch with us regularly. Ruchell's motion to withdraw the guilty plea was denied. The brother was scheduled to be sentenced a week ago but Justice Douglas stayed sentencing so that the Supreme Court could review the legality of his guilty plea. He is now in the Adjustment Center at San Quentin preparing a civil suit of his own, suing the conspiracy of judges, D.A.s, and lawyers to deny him real justice and to railroad him.

FBI HARRASSMENT-- The FBI has increased their harrassment of VVAW/WSO members throughout the region.. They are trying to find out our internal problems, differences with AVM, and where our members are located. They are also trying to connect us with the SLA. Ongoing education on the FBI and their tactics are being stressed and legal aid is readily available.

JULY 4TH-- The region raised over \$350. in cash and goods to send people to the D.C. Demo. A VVAW/WSO contingent participated in the Santa Cruz 4th of July parade and held a rally in support of the D.C. action. We had good media coverage on several radio stations around the D.C. action.

DUP-- San Francisco has closed its storefront due to staffing shortage but will continue DUP work out of community offices. East Bay has over all administrative responsibilities for San Francisco and San Jose as well as itself. Each chapter will relate to DUP people via chapter newsletters, which will discuss DUP as one section of all the chapters work. The East Bay newsletter is called "Rising".

The manual is completed and is available at the NSCM.

Six law students from the National Lawyers Guild have been working on DUP all summer-writing briefs for all the No. Calif. projects. This relationship has been felt to be very good for everyone. We are also working with the Lawyers Guild Law School, setting up a DUP program in their building and having the law students work on the cases.

COLUMBIA EAGLE DEFENSE COMMITTEE-- Santa Barbara chapter works closely with Lompoc prisoners. Al Glatkowski's up for parole next month.

STUDY GROUPS-- As a region we have struggled to begin, on a chapter level, the process of 'arming ourselves with the weapon of theory'. We believe that reading and discussions on theoretical questions is the best way for us to further develop our practice, to understand the forces shaping world history, and to understand our own role in that historical process. We are eager to engage in theoretical struggle with other individuals and groups, because we believe that this is the only way to move forward. We also believe that theory is a weapon for all the people and that it is ours to understand and use.

(Handwritten initials)



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REGIONAL REPORT TO THE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE
AUGUST 1974

The D.C. - Md. - Va. -Region wishes to express their thanks to the rest of the organization for making the national demo held in our region such a success. The spirit and unity you displayed in Washington will greatly assist us in building VVAW/WSO in our region.

Our region felt that the demonstration was a major victory in building a anti-imperialist movement in this country. We felt that overall people were spirited, united and militant in overcoming the many obstacles placed in our paths. The demonstration clearly showed that we can raise veterans and GI issues in an anti-imperialist context and still draw masses to a demonstration.

Major criticism of the demo centered on reformist tendencies displayed by the leadership and many of the people at several times during the demo. Too often the leadership underestimated the strength of the masses. Too much weight was given to the power that the police have. This lack of faith was a major cause of disunity during the first night on the mall. A better tactic taking advantage of the strength of the masses should have been developed for dealing with the situation on the mall. The spirit of the demo picked up when we took action in our hands and marched in the streets. This should have been done earlier. There should have been a demonstration on the night we left the mall. Tactical leadership totally fell apart that night and failed to seize the opportunity we had for a spirited militant action that night. The region felt there was a great communication problem which would not have been created with a mass informational meeting earlier on the first day. Plans for individual actions were not made soon enough to carry them out, such as the action at the Court of Military Appeals, where we planned to burn discharge papers but did not have the papers ready to burn.

It was also felt in the region that not enough contact had been made with Third World vets in building the demo, thus we had few there. There is a need, especially in our own region to do more outreach in black and other third world communities.

Finally, one major problem about the demo, which is to be expected since this was a demo to start our national campaign around the demands, was the lack of political education and public awareness about our demands. This region feels it is necessary for VVAW/WSO to explain our demands and why we are making these demands to the public. Therefore, the D.C. Md. Va. Region proposes that VVAW/WSO conduct around the country on Veterans Day weekend Winter Soldier Investigations on the five demands (or four if Nixon is gone by then). These investigations would be held in each region October 26, 27 and followed by militant actions on Veterans Day Oct 28.

On Saturday October 26 each region would hold a Winter Soldier Investigation on Veterans, GIs, and Amnesty: A look at the problems over six million veterans face during Post-Vietnam Struggle and why we are demanding Universal Unconditional Amnesty, Implementation of the Agreements/ending of all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol, Single-type Discharge for all Vets, Decent benefits for all Vets, and if we have not kicked him out Kick Nixon out. The investigation would be a series of panel discussion talking about how GIs and veterans are and were screwed by the military, especially by bad discharge how the discharge review system screws vets with bad paper, how the VA represses vets by denying benefits, cutting back payments, using methadone and behavior modification drugs, by not recognizing FVS, and by delaying checks, How vets and war resisters are discriminated in the job market, especially those with bad discharges or SPN codes how vets end up in prisons and the conditions they face, and how vets and other resisters were forced in exile for opposing the imperialist war in Indochina and how the war continues thereby costing people higher prices, fuel shortages, etc.

On Saturday night each region could hold a benefit dance, beer blast or movie to raise funds to carry on VVAW activities. On Sunday region could continue with the investigation, hold regional meetings, or do additional community outreach.

On Monday each region would hold a spirited, militant actions around the demands. The local VA could be a possible targets were each region could unveil "shit lists" The list could be collected during the building time as well as at the WSIs. The demo should all end with a burning of copies of vets discharge papers, and copies of war resisters arrest or prison records. The ashes from these worthless papers could then be deposited at an appropriate location.

The D.C. Md. Va. region felt that this action would be effective on Veterans Day weekend because the media will cover it, it gives us two months to build for it since the WSIs will require a lot of outreach to get members for the panels and to get statements from prisoners and exiles, We believe that building for this national action will prove that we took the demands we made in Washington back to our communities.

This region is in a period of reorganization following the demo. The DC chapter has lost two coordinators, one to a school in California and one to a ten hour workday. The College Park and Central Md. chapters will be merging to form a new consolidated Central Md. chapter. The situation in western Md. is we have contacts but no organized chapter. We still have yet to form a chapter in Virginia, but a letter we recently received gives us encouragement that we may soon be forming one in central Va. The Baltimore chapter is in a stage of rebuilding.

Members of the region continue to support the CI project at Fort Meade - "Highway 13" The Washington chapter has started a Discharge Upgrading project and has already held two clinics, a third is planned for this month. On August 3, Highway 13 and VVAW/WCO members started a farmworkers support picket line in Laurel, Md. while DC chapter members did leafleting at the DC postoffice around the demand of ending all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol in protest of the anniversary of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. The DC chapter is starting a leafleting campaign around demanding No Third Trial for Gary Lawton.

The greatest needs of the region at the present time is a consolidation of leadership and greater political education of the leaders as well as the members. In addition we need to do more active outreach and recruiting, especially in the black communities.

OBJECTIVES - The DC, Md., Va. region is opposed to both of the preambles suggested. We feel there is no real need for either one. We do, however, feel there is a great need to include the quote from Tom Paine in "Winter Soldier" and a couple of brief sentence explaining how we get the name winter soldier from the quote and how it means that the real struggle for all men and women is against our common enemy U.S. imperialism. We are proposing to the Winter Soldier workshop that this be done.

We support Colorado's structural change to objective four and believe that this is not a rewriting that has to be taken back to the chapters before approval by the NSC.

We support the following proposed objective changes: 1, 2, 3, the structurally changed 4, the objective 5 that starts "To struggle against the discrimination...", 6, the first objective 7, the second objective 8 which ends "we support workers' control ...", and 9.

We support the internal funding proposal but believe there is a need for more discussion around the implementation of this proposal, such as when we require new prospective members to pay the membership fee.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War / Winter Soldier Organization

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SUMMARY OF REGIONAL STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES
AS OF THE MIDDLE OF 1968

DURING THE SPRING AND SUMMER MONTHS, ACTIVITY IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION WILL BE AT A LOW KEY BECAUSE OF VACATIONS AND ESCAPE TO THE MOUNTAINS. ORGANIZING WILL BE AT ITS LOWEST ALL YEAR, SINCE MOST OF THE COMMITTED MEMBERSHIP HAS PLANS FOR THE SUMMER WHICH DON'T INCLUDE STAYING IN THEIR PARTICULAR TOWN, ETC. BESIDES GETTING A DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON D.C., MOST OF OUR SUMMER WORK WILL BE AROUND THE VETERANS NATIONAL G.I. CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN DENVER, COLORADO ON LABOR DAY WEEKEND. FINANCES HAVE FOR ONE YEAR BEEN TIGHT IN DENVER AND BOULDER IN A POSITION OF LOOKING FOR EMPLOYMENT AND LOSING A LOT OF POWER STAFF TIME.

AFTER A YEAR OF VERY HARD WORK, COLORADO CAN SAY IT HAS MADE VERY STABLE AND ACTIVE CHAPTERS IN COLORADO SPRING, DENVER AND BOULDER. THERE IS GOOD LEADERSHIP AND FORWARD THINKING BEHIND THEIR WORK AND STRUGGLE. ALL OF THE PEOPLE IN OUR REGION SHOULD BE CONGRATULATED FOR THEIR DAY TO DAY STRUGGLES IN CEMENTING OUR REGION BACK TOGETHER AGAIN. DENVER CHAPTERS INVOLVEMENT IN DISCHARGE UPGRADING HAS BEEN FINEST IN SOME WAYS AND IN OTHERS THERE WILL BE AN ANALYSIS DRAWN FROM EXPERIENCES GAINED ABOUT

ORGANIZING THRU SUCH A PROJECT, ETC. A REPORT FROM THE LOCAL STAFF WILL BE COMING OUT SOON AND SENT TO THE ORGANIZATION ON A NATIONAL LEVEL.

ALTHOUGH UTAH AND WYOMING ARE STILL PRETTY DEFUNCT, WE HAVE STATE CONTACTS IN EACH AND PEOPLE GOING THROUGH EITHER STATE SHOULD STOP AND ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH OF THESE INDIVIDUALS AND THE ORGANIZATION. WE HAVE ALSO MADE CONTACTS WITH PEOPLE IN NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA WHO ARE DEPENDING ON US FOR SOME KIND OF SUPPORT. WE WILL BE PUTTING FORTH A COUPLE OF PROPOSALS REGARDING THE RE ORGANIZING OF THESE STATES.

OUR PRACTICE CONTINUES TO BRING US CLOSER TO THE MANY OTHER GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS AROUND THE SOUTHWEST WHO AGREE WITH OUR OBJECTIVES. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH GROUPS SUCH AS THE UNITED FARM WORKERS, RU, WORKER'S VOICE, CHICANO LIBERATION GROUPS, THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT, MAY CHILME BE FREE, COLO. WORKER'S UNITY, THE GI MOVEMENT, ETC. HAS AGAIN BEEN GOOD. WE HAVE GOOD MEMBERS IN SEVERAL PARTS OF COLORADO WHO ARE FIGHTING VERY HARD TO GET OTHER CHAPTERS GOING AND BY THE TIME SEPTEMBER ROLLS AROUND OUR REGION WILL SEE EVEN MORE GROWTH!

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED TO THE AUGUST NSCM,

 Regional Coordinator

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WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

NEW YORK - NORTHERN NEW JERSEY REGION
Buffalo NSCh, Aug. 8 - 12, 1974 - Round Robin Report

- I Implementation of National Project
- II External communications and political education
- III Internal political education
- IV Internal organization and communication

I Implementation of National Project

The New York - Northern New Jersey Region successfully built for the Washington D.C. Demo, strengthening the anti-imperialist movement in this country, as well as experiencing our growth and solidarity as a Region. The region set up a successful speaking tour for Gary Lawton, a tour which raised funds for his defense and took his case to the people, while making significant ties with defense struggles around Africa. There has been a growth in the number of chapters who are expanding or in various stages of setting up Discharge Upgrading Projects. Chapters have done fund-raising around the slide show that the Lotus Chitta collective provided, but the region does not have a consistent program of education and support. We've done no support around Cairo.

II External Communications and political education

In the area of external communications we have grown in strength in the areas of winter Soldier sales, mass leafletting, film programs, speaking gigs, participation in workshops, coalitional work with other groups and coverage by the mass media. Although our effective outreach still tends to mobilize "special groups" (liberal, progressive, counter-culture people) more easily new chapters have been established and existing chapters have growth in members and community support; chapters in rural areas have grown significantly, which speaks to an all-around regional growth in understanding of community and constituency organizing.

III Internal Political Education

With regards to internal political education our major struggles come out of an increase in co-ordinated regional activity in support of national and regional projects. Study groups exist in the larger chapters, but the region still lacks a structured program of internal political education for use in all chapters.

IV Internal Organization and Communication

Because of major regional growth, the region has established a new voting policy based on collective practice. Distinctions are drawn between organizing contacts, chapters which have community presence but depend basically on the activities of a couple of co-ordinators and chapters whose community presence is a collective responsibility not dependent on any one or two people in particular. Since the establishment of this policy, most chapters have more efficient and stable internal structures designed to establish collective direction and effort. Regional newsletters are regular and the establishment of chapter newsletters and the office of sub-regional co-ordinator has increased internal communication.

Growth of Region:

the region has gained four new chapters, one regional contact and formally established the office of sub-regional co-ordinator. Chapters with 3 votes: NYC, Buffalo, Oneonta, Suffolk, Old Westbury, Westchester-Putnam; Chapters with two votes: Ithaca, Rochester, Mid-Hudson and Northern New Jersey; one vote: Canton

DUP:

NYC's established project is attempting to mobilize more chapter people -- they are reassessing it's potential; Buffalo's workshop with CCCO marks the beginning of a major project which is seeking foundation support; Westchester-Putnam expects to have a project operational by September; Old Westbury and Rochester are investigating existing structures and funding which will possibly provide a base for a project.

Political Education:

Chapters are using films more frequently, NYC and Buffalo have consistent scheduling of films; all chapters are involved in using the media as a public forum; smaller chapters are attempting to establish study groups; NYC has a study group; Buffalo's Sunday night group has been meeting almost a year and a Wednesday night basic's study group has been established;

Winter Soldier Sales:

Chapters have been attempting to schedule sales for a consistent presence in their communities. Buffalo has been able to sell WS at the unemployment office on a daily basis, covering both morning and afternoon sessions.

Actions and Demos:

Successful VA take-overs by NYC and N. New Jersey.

Day case deni -- cartucuoatuib bt NYC chapter.

Attica Support -- films, sponsorship of speakers in Buffalo and NYC, Ford demo in Buffalo: "Attica means Fight Back"; Buffalo coalitional demo in April to bring the demands of the Brothers to the people.

Chile demo: Coalition of eight groups in Buffalo to demonstrate against U.S. involvement in Chile.

Winter Soldier Investigation into Abusses by the Military, Bad Discharges, and Abusses by the VA.

This region has endorsed the investigation of the possibilities of a WSI into the VA, Military, and Bad Discharges. This idea will be raised at the NSCM in a workshop.

Regional Projects:

A march and rally was held May 18 at West Point -- support was good; other projects which will receive regional support: Nat. Attica Demo -- Buffalo, N.Y. on Sept. 14; Puerto Rican Independence Rally -- Madison Square Garden in NYC on Oct. 27; Westchester-Putnam benefit which Pete Seeger and David Bromberg will probably attend, Sept. 22.

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

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

ROUND ROBIN REPORT - BUFFALO NSOM, AUGUST 1974

regional activities

AMNESTY - All chapters in the region have worked around amnesty to some degree. The Columbus chapter, at a recent regional meeting, put forth a list of priorities that can be utilized when working with amnesty. They are: 1) Media outreach; 2) amnesty speakers bureau; 3) On-going amnesty work (petitions, literature, leaflet passouts, ect.). This system of priorities is designed to work within the context of all chapters, large or small. While the larger active chapters can concentrate on all three points equally, smaller chapters and organizing contacts can build by utilizing media outreach first. The amnesty issue seems to be an area, at least within this region, where VVAW/WSO can (and is) establishing a great deal of credibility. It is also one that can, and does, involve mass membership and has potential for chapter/regional growth. Amnesty is an issue which can concretely connect the continued war in Indochina with the anti-imperialist movement. It hits the heart of U.S. imperialism when discussing it, and is therefore one of the highest priorities.

DISPATCH PROGRAM - At the present time, the Columbus, Dayton, and to a lesser extent Cincinnati, have a DDP program. DDP will soon be starting in Akron, Athens, and Indianapolis. DDP, however, is failing to some extent in all chapters. This can be attributed to the veterans seeking the status change. Most fail to show up at the scheduled clinic time, or tend to drop out once their immediate need is fulfilled (eg. getting a job, ect). The failure on the chapters part lies with political education at the beginning of the process. Columbus is moving away from group clinics (after two or three intro sessions) and is going to concentrate on individual reviews by appointment. Dayton is experimenting with DDP "teams", consisting of two to three counselors traveling to the vets home. What has been apparent is the fact that DDP is very time consuming and requires a large commitment on the part of the veteran, counselor, and the organization. To contribute to the anti-imperialist movement, DDP must be looked at as a recruiting tool. There are plenty of organizations offering the "social-service" of DDP; our job is to inject politics and build the movement. It is also apparent that communications (via DDP newsletters, reports, status changes, ect) between chapters and regions doing DDP, should be consistent. In this, we can learn from our mistakes, and programs that work can be applied in other areas.

BOGUE CHITTA - Very little activity within the region. The proposal from the Milwaukee NSOM was hard to follow through because of three reasons; 1) demo build-up; 2) other on-going programs; and 3) poor health-care is not confined to Bogue Chitta alone, and it is very difficult, if not impossible to request funds, clothes equipment, ect., for OCF when local communities have the same needs and problems. From our regional steering committee meeting: PROPOSED that VVAW/WSO drop Operation County Fair as a National Project. That a number of the National Collective travel to Bogue Chitta and offer organizational self-criticism for our failure of the project and our liberal attitudes concerning same. Also, any commitments that are still pending should be followed through.

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GARY LAWTON - Other than local and regional publicity around the case, we have not done much since Gary toured the region in February. Contacts from the tour, especially in Black communities, have helped greatly in local work. Chapters have pushed, both internally and externally, the letter/telegram drive in support of Gary and Zarebu.

PRISON SUPPORT - Cincinnati, Columbus, and to a lesser degree Mansfield, have been working with prison support. There is a possibility that we will be doing DUE in one area prison soon. That is, going into the prison as VVAW/WSO helping the veteran inmates try and seek a status change. Cincinnati is actively working on the Jimmy Hardy Defense Committee. Jimmy, similar to Gary Lawton, is a Black community organizer being framed for the second time because of his "dangerous" work in the community. The Athens chapter is also entering into prison support work.

MILITARY COUNSELING AND ACTIVE DUTY GI's - Dayton and Columbus, because of individuals with expertise on the subject, are handling the bulk of this work. Cincinnati also has one military counselor working part-time. Winter Soldier passouts continue at Air Force bases at Dayton and Columbus. We lack, within the region, a base of active duty GI's to work with. This is especially true of the Columbus chapter. There is a definite need for organizing GI's but we haven't made any great gains as yet.

WORKERS STRUGGLES - Columbus, and the region, are still celebrating the defeat of Loudens - and the victory of the Columbus Coated Fabric Workers in the recent strike. Cincinnati is working in support of the Fabel County miners strike. The chapter recently took part in a thirty car caravan to Berlin, Kentucky. Support for other local struggles continue.

WINTER SOLDIER - The region distributes, on the average of 4,100 copies of Winter Soldier per month. Store sales in Columbus, Akron, Dayton, Athens, and Cincinnati continue. We criticize ourselves for the lack of on-going street sales although a few people in the region do take it upon themselves to sell in the streets. Summer months usually mean a membership drop - thus a lack of street sellers.

GROWTH & OUTREACH - At the present time, we have five strong chapters in the region: Columbus, Dayton, Cincinnati, Akron, and Athens. We also have three inactive chapters (for the summer): Kent, Mansfield, and Indianapolis. In the next month, chapters will be forming Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Lima. Also the possibility for chapters in Morgantown W.Va. and Clarksburg, W.Va. Outreach improved substantially as a result of the Washington demo. Taking advantage of this improved outreach is the #1 priority of the regional office. More travel to contacts is needed but prohibited at this time, due to our financial situation. We did have a 1,200 name mailing list for people to receive the regional newsletter and a copy of Winter Soldier. This has been discontinued, also because of finances. A new list of supporters and members is being drawn up - this is to cut the fat off the mailing list.

FINANCES - Funding has been a consistent problem for the regional office. Chapters are now working on internal funding more and it seems to be working. The regional office sent out a funding mailing prior to the demo (1,400) and the returns were disappointing. Most of the mailing went to people on the mailing list. Another letter was sent out a month later, more to the point about our lack of funds. The returns on these, so far, are substantially better than the "professional" mailing. (Both funding letters are attached)

FUNDING, cont.

Lesson learned? - don't give people, especially on your mailing list, a bunch of liberal bullshit - tell it like it is. Don't be afraid to put forward your politics. In return you'll gain respect and solid supporters. There is a definite need for internal funding and although it's just beginning in this region, other regions should consider this a working alternative. This does not negate utilizing other external funding possibilities - they should be sacked out whenever possible - but in the end, we must rely on ourselves.

REGIONAL STRENGTHS - As mentioned in the Milwaukee round robin, our main strength continues to be the hard core of dedicated political brothers and sisters. Also, we have a very unified region. While there are many points of struggle, we manage, through principled discussion, to reach a unified agreement. This was especially true in Washington D.C. Inter-chapter correspondence and communications, though far from ideal, is on a high level. Amnesty, DWP, military counseling and veteran related issues are strong areas within the region. Also, local struggles, which chapters either organize or lend strong support to, have worked successfully in establishing good community relations and chapter growth.

WITNESSES - Again, finances within the region - but we're working on that. Regional travel is restricted to weekends and that in itself is also limited during the month. Local chapter travel to areas close to them has also been lacking. Winter Soldier street sales are poor - without which we'll never have the direct contact with people to build or educate. Ongoing actions, such as local demos, regional demos (other than the pre-demo action) have been lacking and there is a greater need for. We've found this could involve many chapter members and also draw new members, but have been slow in acting for which we criticize ourselves for.

DIRECTION OF THE ORGANIZATION - The region discussed this at the last regional meeting. Although we did not, at that time, have the national office position paper, we did discuss the united front and the direction of the organization. The MSINRWANFA region puts forward, and agrees with the proposal passed at the Milwaukee NSCM that VVAW/MSO is a mass anti-imperialist organization. That veterans work is an aspect of our work, and because of our history, remains a large part of our work, at this time in this region. Because of the Winter Soldier concept, we should neither limit our focus or narrow our existing base. What makes this organization unique is the fact that you can join and work, in any way that personally fits your style, to smash imperialism. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are mass and that means a whole bunch of people coming from a whole lot of places - political as well.

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PERSONAL ASSESMENT -

I took over as regional coordinator following the Milwaukee NSCM, when Pete Zastrow was elected to National Office. In the four months that have passed, I've seen a fair amount of growth in the region; both political and in numbers. The Washington demo was definitely the high point in the past month. Not only did it commit people to work and build for the demo, it also committed people that attended the demo. I also found the spirit and solidarity of the people in Washington a gratifying experience. The demo was an uplift that many people needed to show that they are not alone in the struggle. Out of all this grows a stronger region, a stronger organization, and a great advance for the anti-imperialist movement in this country.

There is a need however, for more political education within chapters, especially new ones. There is always the problem of old VVAW members surfacing and expecting to find old VVAW. For these people, it requires much patience on the part of the people in the region. So far, this has worked well within this region and will hopefully continue as our numbers grow. "Think less" is a slogan that Ed Barware told me once and individuals must always apply it when working with new people in the organization. They must expect large amounts of series or reader at first - but these are problems that all of us continue to struggle against.

No doubt, the direction of the organization will be one of the "hot" topics at the Buffalo NSCM. Hopefully, this will be done in a principled manner and by the end of the meeting, we will have reached a unified national position. It must be remembered that our main enemy, as an organization, is U.S. imperialism. Many members, especially new ones, lack the political understanding of imperialism. This is the job of older members. We should not have to wage battles amongst ourselves or other movement organizations. I always stress in this region, that when working with other organizations, you reach points of unity and work with those and continue to struggle with points of disagreement. Our practice shows who we are and what we do. For us to define that practice to other people, especially people within the movement, is not something that should take up a great deal of our time. What should take up our time and energy is moving on the enemy. I think, as an organization, we could be moving faster in this regards, and that should be our task at this NSCM; to understand how we can best utilize our energy and our strength to smash U.S. imperialism.

In the two years I've been in the organization, I've seen much growth; I have grown with the organization. I see a great future for VVAW/NSO, and the anti-imperialist movement in this country. We should unite with all who have the same objective we do - for smashing imperialism is our task.

Unity - struggle - victory!

[Redacted signature area]

bx

Regional Coordinator, MGINNFVANPA



UNITED SOLDIER ORGANIZATION, INC.
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CONFIDENTIAL

May-June 1974

Dear Friend:

In 1973, we were told of a "peace with honor". Today, \$1.3 billion dollars of U.S. aid (our tax money) continues to support the corrupt Saigon government. The U.S. Government still violates the very same "peace" treaty.

In 1971, WVAW/WSO publicly, in testimony before congress, told the American people of the illegal invasion of Laos, and the secret bombing of Cambodia. Today, we continue to expose U.S. involvement in Indochina.

In 1963-73 we fought in Vietnam for freedoms we found under attack here at home. Thousands of our brothers returned in boxes. The rest of us came home not to victory parades, but to a ravaged Constitution and a government of secret police.

Thirty percent of all state prisoners in state and federal penitentiaries are Vietnam-era veterans. Hundreds of thousands of us have no jobs. Five hundred sixty thousand Vietnam-era veterans are marked for life by a military discharge system of codes, which defame one's character and are unsubstantiated by fact or trial; a mark which prevents employment and denies VA benefits. Education for veterans is denied by a GI bill that even Congress admits is totally inadequate. And our government is so rife with corruption that the freedoms we were dying for have been raped at the highest levels. The military-industrial establishment in this country is unwilling to yield its power back to civilian control, and those who challenge its policies and privileges must expect to come under attack. We are willing to face that attack.

Today, we have self-help groups that deal with drug, alcohol and psychiatric problems of returning veterans because the present administration would rather cut their budget than help us.

We work with active-duty CIs who are fighting the denial of their constitutional rights and the oppression of the military.

We actively support and work for total, unconditional amnesty for all war resisters. We are attacking the military discharge system, and various chapters in the region have set up discharge up-grading projects.

We are demanding an end to the political, economic and military destruction of our country; and have joined with the demand to see Nixon removed from office for his crimes against humanity and our nation.

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We are all Vietnam veterans. We all had to endure the body counts, the lies and the horror of Indochina. We all suffer from the scandals of our government; the crisis of our economy, and from the deterioration of our social fabric. It is we who must put up the staunchest fight to reorient and rebuild our country. You have a personal stake in the struggle because when we are successful, you are successful, when we suffer losses, you suffer also. We urgently need your support; moral and financial.

The regional office spends between \$350 - \$500 per month; this includes transportation, phone bills, postage and materials such as paper, supplies, ink, literature, ect. We are in contact with numerous people throughout this region (Michigan-Ohio-Indiana-Kentucky-West Virginia-Western Pennsylvania), many of whom receive our national newspaper, Winter Soldier. Without your support, this cannot continue. Please help us and share with us the sense of accomplishment in the struggle as VVAW/WSO gains in numbers and effectiveness in this region and across the country.

In truth and freedom,

520

Regional Coordinator (8/4)

Quote: These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of men and women.----- Thomas Paine, 1776.

The last four months have been a period of struggle, building and moving VVAW/WSO forward in our Region. April started out with fine construction of the offices, and hosting a successful NSCM. We then initiated a letter and petition campaign around the racist frame-up of Lawton/Gardener. With the help of the N. Ill./Iowa Region, we made arrangements to have Gary Lawton speak to 70 people at a Milwaukee general membership meeting. We then set up a system of committees and Regional Projects which were dumped on the Milwaukee Chapter. Meanwhile, the Regional Collective was pushing paperwork around, filing, and going to a multitude of meetings. Through criticism from the Milwaukee chapter, we were made aware of our bureaucratic tendencies, and began to correct them.

In May, we moved forward. We understood then, that we had a responsibility to keep an overview of the entire Region, which had one chapter in Milwaukee and contacts in thirteen other cities. We decided our focus would be to see where potential was greatest, for building chapters and the National Action through a Regional Organizing Tour. Two members of the Collective made contact with active duty people at Calumet Air Force Station in Upper Michigan, where one brother who was getting out, joined VVAW/WSO, and we developed comms with several other people, interested in doing work. Contact with a Hankato, Minnesota chapter was made, and we found out that they have been doing identical work to the Milwaukee Chapter, but without any comms with the National Organization in well over two years! Stops were also made in Gudaby, Waukesha, Madison, Menominee, and Green Bay. On completion of our tour, we realized where were our strongest potential areas, i.e. Hankato, Madison, which both have large vet population going to school, and both of which need much better two-way comms with our Collective. We also talked with many people who had never heard of the organization, about the National Action in DC.

June's focus was "On to DC!!", lots of activity in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Our Regional work sparked thirty people to come from many parts of the Region. The Milwaukee Chapter's intensive and continual fight for Decent Benefits for All Vets, Single-Type Discharge, and the demand for a WSI on the VA, brought 56 people to the action. This gave us an 85 person contingency from our region. This was the largest group of people we have brought to a National Action up to date!

The Action in DC proved to be an over-all victory. On July 4 in Minneapolis, 100 people held a rally and picnic in support of our five demands. We are presently setting up arrangements for a meeting sometime in early September. Madison now has a four person organizing committee, and they held their first action on August 6 at their local VA hospital, taking up the fight for the needs of our base, and building a chapter. Stevens Point has just published the first part of the PVS library in book form, and is organizing now to take up the campaign against the VA. Milwaukee gained new and active members from the DC demo also. Their last action was August 5&6 with another takeover and rally and picket line.

VVAW/WSO MILWAUKEE CHAPTER REPORT

The primary focus from April 15 to July 1st was building for D.C. After Yellow Springs began organizing demands (later ratified at Milw. SGM) in an already existing work around the VA quite easily.

Our attack on the VA has proved to be the right approach not only in gaining new members but also in building a viable Milwaukee. Our tactics:

APRIL: Car cavans - even if small, they are effective and we consistently get favorable responses from community people. Our major mistake was not building for this with other organizations and we've not made that same error since.

MAY: We realized that by publicly raising the many complaints we've received at the hospital, we're ever getting and by staying in the hospital administrators we would be exposing the VA as a whole (etc). On May 17th we attempted to get a room at the hospital to hold a D.C. through a door check and proved to a lot of people how the

... power structure had to have a decision... an... of... (Milwaukee... were heard...)

On June 1st... charges... dropped... the government must... thing could be worked out through the system, and was... to learn otherwise... negotiations.

JUNE: "Negotiations" between honcho's D.C. and VVAW/WSO (Yes, the very same one's we didn't want to spend hours negotiating with at the D.C. demo). Their generous offer consisted of a room in a dark corner away from the complex and patients would be accompanied by federal marshals while giving testimony one at a time while others waited in the hall. We explained we were not to help them hide the issues, but rather expose them for they are. Representatives from Wisc. Vets. Union, Ind. Vets. Council, Milw. Worker, and VVAW/WSO spoke well. We left them sitting at their Oak tables after a half an hour of exposing their lies.

On June 22nd in coalition with Wisc. Alliance, D.C. Milw. Worker, R.U., R.S.B., and VVAW/WSO we had a parade (marchers and cars) as a buildup for D.C. and to the demand for a room for the WSO an issue. Again, esp. from the community was good and we felt it was worth it even though it was so close to the first.

JULY: Successful demo in D.C. Family mobilized 200 people, the largest number ever due to our work around veterans and G.I. base and focus.

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AUGUST: The 5th we had a VA takeover at the Regional office followed up on the 6th with 35-40 people picketing and signing the shit-list. At both actions we were approached by vets who want to fight back against the VA. In talking to them they easily understood that it doesn't end at the VA but is a struggle against the system as a whole.

Our outreach includes leafleting extensively at factories for the first time in the history of VVAW/VSO in Milwaukee. Being a highly industrialized area with many vets in the shops we see this work continuing with good results.

FAMILY NITE: A successful night talking with family and friends. After seeing the slide show (also shown at VA) there were hours of discussion - we plan to follow up this winter with another get together - and good vibes all around.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT: C.A.K. Strikes - many of our people have been participating in early morning picket lines at various plants. There have been more strikes in Milwaukee the last few months than ever before, and also the militancy of the picketing - chalking and calling on them. Favorite tool: the police. As a result two of our people were arrested in court (one is ITA) given a "cuckoo" sentence, the strike was successful in getting the plant closed. The community has been very active in supporting the strikes. The police have been very friendly and cooperative. We have received a lot of support and solidarity from the community.

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FINANCIAL COMMITTEE - has disbanded and two people on the Chapter Collective take care of the books, with everyone participating and planning the fund raisers. In the last few months we've had one Amnesty speaking gig (cake sale at local technical college with the highest percentage of vets attending in the city), a successful rummage sale - lots of raps with community people, a car tune up benefit which because we got soft and only charged parts to tune cars got D.C. At least the cars didn't break down until the trip home.

The monthly pledge system has not been working so much due to economic problems, but we've never been short of money. We do work because people spontaneously give as the need arises. VA/AMNESTY COMMITTEE - In Feb. 73, we combined the VA and Amnesty committees because a group of people were becoming narrow - in this sense the VA struggles against militarism weren't linked together. For the second time in 73 we are having sharp struggle around whether to split them.

Regardless of what the chapter decides, we have the error of not doing enough consistently with our Amnesty campaign and DUF work. Seeing this, we immediately react to work harder, resulting in more people willing to be there on DUF and we had 700 signatures on Amnesty petition in a few hours at the local summer fest activities.

NATIONAL FRONTIERS - Lawton/Gardner - Updates given and letters written as requested.

BOB - Updates given and letters written as requested. VS - see report - some of our people are working on the newly formed committee.

OCF - No money could be raised when the hat was passed because the chair felt it is politically wrong for VWWA to organize a hat sale. There are other ways to raise money.

SARIC - Nothing

REPORTING ON CHAPTER COLLECTIVE. Initially we were inexperienced and individualistic in our work. An example of making that error was in L.C. when we disbanded collectively and took leave individually. After much struggle we began to work as a collective and were unified. Positions we took with the chapter were consistently that we must not take back steps towards reform but continue to work for the best interests of the chapter. Our concerns were not only day to day issues related to the chapter.

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VVAW/USO National Clearing House on Post-War Veteran Struggle
Report to the 13th NSCM, Aug 2-12 1972

The VVAW/USO National Clearing House on Post-War Veteran Struggle is the only national organization that we have that is a national organization of GI groups and base. The only national organization that does not recognize us as a national organization and this is reflected in the lack of input by the national organization. We have the VVAW, the USO, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and in some the GI groups. We need a national input as needed, so that we can have a national input as needed. We have not had a national input as needed. We have not had a national input as needed. We have not had a national input as needed.

The membership of the VVAW/USO is the largest of any organization that we have. We have a membership of over 100,000 members. We have a membership of over 100,000 members. We have a membership of over 100,000 members.

We are the only organization that we have that is a national organization. We are the only organization that we have that is a national organization. We are the only organization that we have that is a national organization.

We also have a national organization that we have. We also have a national organization that we have. We also have a national organization that we have.

We have not been without many faults ourselves. We get lazy, because we can't stand having our gold coin medals any more. We are completely understaffed, and, until recently, all decisions have been made by one person, instead of collectivizing, as we have done in other areas within VVAW/USO. We should also criticize ourselves for not putting more pressure on the national organization to make an honest effort to build the Clearing House as a national project of VVAW/USO. We would again like to point out that the problems are very real, and, unless they are dealt with by using an anti-bureaucratic analysis, we cannot emphasize how much damage it could do in building a strong veterans movement.

UNITY STRUGGLE VICTORY!

PS We now have two videotapes, which are available for rental on a sliding scale.

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Fund-Raising

- The St. Louis chapter has sponsored several fund-raisers since the last NSCM:
1. Bluegrass and boogie: concert on Easter Sunday on a local college campus; net proceeds: \$350.
 2. Poem/Theater Gathering: members and actresses did readings from WRAM and from poetry written by chapter member Stan Platke. We feel that the readings had a great impact on the audience. Net proceeds: \$50.
 3. Soulard Festival: we operated a booth at the neighborhood farmers' market and opened the coffee house to the public touring the area. We sold refreshments, baked goods, and VVAW/WSO materials at the booth; we sold refreshments and screened silent movie classics at the coffee house throughout the day and evening. Net proceeds: \$150.
 4. Bus-chartering: We raised \$1,750 for the bus to D.C., which cost us \$1,300 to charter; net proceeds: \$450.
 5. Bake sales: net proceeds: \$50.

Future Use of the Coffee House

We see great potential in the coffee house as a gathering place for vets and GI's. We hope that we can open the coffee house soon so that we can generate monies toward a DUP and, possibly, a food coop. We intend to see that the entertainment at the coffee house be political in nature and geared especially for vets and GI's.

Work with Other Organizations in St. Louis

1. The St. Louis chapter was working with the Friends of the United Front. (Please see our national report on Cairo.)
2. We worked with PAMDA (People's Anti-Nazi Defense Alliance), formed to challenge the Nazi presence in St. Louis. Members also attended an anti-Nazi demo held to protest a Nazi rally.
3. Chapter members attended a Vets Fair at Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville.
4. We supported two impeachment demos here in St. Louis. A VVAW/WSO representative spoke at one of these demos.
5. We supported the D.C. Demo. (Please see the demo report for the details.)
6. We have sent \$10 a month to OCF. Six members of our chapter have actually worked on the project in Alabama, three of them staying there for an extended period.
7. We support the national office with a contribution of \$10 a month.

Strengths

We view the coffee house as a good local base of operations. Over time VVAW/WSO has gained respect in the St. Louis area, both in the Soulard neighborhood and around the metropolitan area. Our media relations and contacts are very good. Our reorganization has had strong initial success, reflected in a renewed solidarity and unity. We believe that communications with the national office have improved: This communication has been very frank, open, and beneficial.

Weaknesses

Our region at present is a single-chapter region. There remains a lack of Third World membership in our chapter. Presently we have no ongoing program of political education. Our Speakers Bureau has declined and is, in fact, virtually inactive. Distribution of Winter Soldier has been very poor. We interpret these weaknesses as a lack of concrete work around the objectives, which we must accomplish daily.

Future Plans

We plan to activate the Veterans and GI's Committee and launch a DUP. We also plan to work around amnesty, using the Speakers Bureau as a vehicle. The Political Action and Education Committee hopes to initiate a political education for members and non-members. We also plan to establish a system of distribution of the Winter Soldier newspaper in St. Louis. Our reorganization has enabled us to update our mailing and membership lists. We would like to follow up on this by fostering more meaningful contacts in the region. The Fund-Raising Committee is planning to hold a large fund-raiser this fall, which will probably consist of some type of musical performance. We hope that this effort will allow us to complete the plumbing work in the coffee house.

In solidarity and struggle,
The St. Louis Chapter

Report on Cairo Ill. to NSCM
From St. Louis Collective VVAW/WSO

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At the 12th N.S.C.M. the following proposal received unanimous acceptance:

"Cairo as a national project be investigated by the St. Louis region with input from the National Office and other regions; this information should be printed in the National Newsletter. Further action will be postponed until the next NSCM."

Regretably this report was not complete in time to be mailed to the regions before this NSCM. We had great difficulty in obtaining the information. Two written reports which were mailed to the Coffeehouse from the Friends of the United Front were ripped off in the mail.

The present situation surrounding Cairo is a complex one indeed. There now seem to be two political factions, 1) The Friends of the United Front and 2) The United Front. At one time these groups worked in close harmony. The split is a political one. The main issue has been the direction of the movement in Cairo. The split seems to be over the question as to whether the struggle should be economically aided by the State of Illinois in the form of monies. One group feels the money can be used for economic self help programs while the other group is paranoid of possible sell-outs to the state. They also feel the peoples interests may be compromised.

We have compiled the information for the following report from personal interviews and written reports and letters. We also made a trip to Cairo. Both the United Front and the Friends of the United Front have been contacted in this matter. [redacted] also had input in the report as well as [redacted]. A meeting was set up with [redacted] but he left Cairo and went to Chicago, so was not available for comment.

Further information and details can be obtained by speaking with [redacted]

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- 1) What ongoing work/activities are conducted in Cairo concerning the Black community?

By actual on-site observation the St. Louis Chapter representative who visited Cairo, 26 July 74 can confirm that there are several activities which would best be termed economic self-help projects in the Black community. Pre-fabricated housing is being assembled in a factory in Cairo (reportedly owned by the Front) and then constructed on sites throughout the community with local Black labor and sold at reasonable prices to Black home owners. (There is dispute over the facts surrounding how Rev. Koen of the United Front managed to obtain a 1/2 million dollar grant for a not-for-profit organization called "Help Your Brother" Inc." from HUD for this housing. The Friends of U.F. claim this was symptomatic of Rev. Koen's "sell-out" to Governor Dan Walker - Illinois and claim that the work in Pyramid Court housing project was let to a single White contractor. (Bob Williams is reportedly involved in a lawyer's committee effort to give the work to Black Contractors).

There is also visible evidence that the United Front is operating a cab company in the Black community based at a converted house near Pyramid Court. (The U.F. claim credit for a migrant farmer's transient housing station which has been constructed just outside Cairo). The picketing and Boycott of the predominantly White downtown business district which was formerly the primary political activity of the U.F. have been halted; (the Friends of the U.F. claim this as another instance of sell-out. The U.F. claim that there was a change in strategy to a self-help concept) The Friends of the U.F. continue to collect clothing and food for distribution in Cairo. Currently a large collection is being stored in the St. Louis VVAW/WSO Coffeehouse.

- 2) What role does the United Front of Cairo play in that work, if such work is going on? (See above)
- 3) Is the United Front a recognizable political force in Cairo?

The St. Louis VVAW/WSO representative was shown numerous newspaper clippings which attest to some recognition of the U.F. in the community. (The U.F. Claims that they still hold weekly rallies, that the annual solidarity day on 6 April 74 was well attended. The Friends of the U.F. dispute this and state there is little or no ongoing activity.)

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3) cont. Any definitive answer to this question would require some sort of polling of the community.

4) Are there alternatives to working with the United Front? In Your opinion are they desirable?

The Friends of the United Front (or the Committee for Equal Justice as it is now termed) has independent contacts in Cairo via Bobby Williams (The Friends claim that Bobby Williams is currently tenant council leader in the Pyramid Courts Housing project. The U.F. claims that when Bobby was ousted as their National Coordinator he lost any positions he held as a result, and that his constituency in Cairo is limited.) It is the opinion of the St. Louis Chapter that communication should be maintained with both the U.F. and the Committee for Equal Justice, through the St. Louis Chapter which has established good contacts with both.

5) At this time, are the people of Cairo asking for specific support? If so what type?

The Friends of the U.F. report a continued need for clothing, food and medical supplies. They urge legal and financial support for Bobby Williams' legal defense. The U.F. itself emphasizes an increased need for food supplies made necessary by the switch of Illinois public aid to an inadequate flat grant system.

6) What is the relationship of the Friends of the United Front in St. Louis to the Struggle in Cairo? For example do they operate autonomously?

The Friends of the U.F. operate autonomously from the Cairo United Front which has ousted [redacted] as National Coordinator. The Friends now refer to themselves as the Committee for Equal Justice which operates principally as a legal defense committee for Bobby Williams. They claim (a claim disputed by the United Front) to have a constituency independent of the U.F. in Cairo based on contacts maintained by [redacted] for distribution of food and clothing they continue to collect in St. Louis.

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7) What are the opinions of the Friends of the United Front about the situation in Cairo? How do they see VVAW/NSO fitting in, if at all.

Friends of U.F. feel that most of the leadership of

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7) cont. the United Front have left Cairo. Their general feelings are that Rev. Koen "sold out to Gov. Walker." They feel there has been a split in the civil rights movement in Cairo.

Friends of United Front would like us to be doing work around Bob Williams defense fund and food and clothing drives to support the people in Cairo.

8) What is the primary work of the Friends of the United Front?

(See 6 above)

9) What role is the St. Louis Chapter of VVAW/WSO able to play in supporting any activities of either the people in Cairo, or of the Friends of the United Front?

Currently the St. Louis Chapter is allowing the Friends of the U.F. to store a sizable volume of clothing and food in our coffeehouse building. Just prior to the writing of this report the membership was asked what role we plan to play in the foreseeable future in relation to Cairo, given the current situation in Cairo, and the consensus seemed to be that we could not devote any resources to Cairo activities at this time.

10) In your opinion, is it practical to be involved in Cairo at this time?

On a de facto basis Cairo has not been a national project of VVAW/WSO for approximately two years. The sort of regional support which would justify national endorsement status has also dwindled. Given the current split between the Friends of the U.F. and Bobby Williams and the United Front, and the serious doubts that the politics of any faction involved warrants VVAW/WSO support, the St. Louis Chapter does not feel it is practical to be involved in Cairo presently.

11) What channel would you recommend that the organization (on a national level) use to communicate with and support the struggle in Cairo?

We feel that communication should be maintained both with the Friends of the United Front (Committee For Equal Justice) and with the United Front in Cairo, through the St. Louis Chapter of VVAW/WSO which has cordial, solid contacts with each end and is in a position to continue to evaluate the shifting political situation in Cairo.

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12) Any other observation that the organization should be made aware of?

None

13) Do you recommend supporting the people of Cairo in the form of a "National project," or a "National Endorsement"? or not at all? or "none of the above":

VVAW/WSO St. Louis Chapter feels no support is warranted at this time.

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14) What is the status of [redacted] What comments or recommendations do you have about this case:

The 8th district circuit court of appeals refused to hear [redacted] case. This means that the prior conviction stands. [redacted] has received a 5 year sentence for illegally purchasing a fire arm and transporting said fire arm across state lines. The Friends of the United Front plan to file a brief of Certiorari in the Supreme Court this summer. They will appeal to the Judge to set the sentence aside. The Friends of the United Front feel this effort will fail and expect [redacted] to be in prison by Christmas.

The United Front in Cairo states that they cannot support [redacted] because he was explicitly told not to purchase a weapon. It should be remembered that [redacted] purchased the weapon at a time when Pyramid Court was under seige. [redacted] feels he was framed and broke no laws as he had the weapon openly displayed on his dash board in the front seat.

St. Louis VVAW/WSO feels that we have our own members to think of first [redacted] and have no time or energy to devote to [redacted] case.



Report prepared by [redacted] for National Office

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Region: At the Milwaukee NSCM it was not that New England has been functioning as a region for quite some time and that there was almost no chapter activity within the region at all. Since Milwaukee, activity within the region has increased substantially. However, we have not yet developed into what could be considered a truly active and viable region, though we are working on it.

A number of steps have been taken to regenerate activity within the region and a major, region-wide, recruiting and organizing campaign is being developed for the Fall. We fully realize the immensity of the struggle ahead of us, but we are optimistic that by the next NSCM we will be more than just a paper region.

Considering the relatively short time since we began reorganizing our region, we feel that activity is at a good level. Communications within the region have improved dramatically, especially since organizing for the demo began. (We feel that the national focus provided by the demo provided us with a really good organizing tool) A newsletter is being put out to better facilitate communications between the R.O., chapters and contact people. By mid-Fall, we hope to substantially expand the format and begin sending the newsletter to all members within the region.

Work this summer has centered primarily on organizing around the D.C. demo, struggling around politics, consolidating what already exists and developing membership. Efforts around the demo provided a good return in terms of publicity and new membership. Efforts we now have some activity in all NE states. The solidarity we are building with other organizations was evident in the real support received from groups like the Revolutionary Union, Seacoast Area Workers Committee, and others, who helped build the demo in a principled manner in close coordination with us.

Our strategy for the fall is to set up chapters on as many campuses as possible; these chapters will be strongly urged to begin building bases in their communities. This strategy combines the resources traditionally available on campus with the stability that comes from being community based.

Initial emphasis for a unified regional program centers on Indochina, Third world struggles in general, and imperialism, amnesty, VA, DUF, rap groups and counter-recruiting. Once coherent programs are developed on a regional basis to deal with these issues, we can add others. Relating to specific community issues will also be focus.

Tactics will include regional speaking tours and film programs, VA and DUF clinics, media work, literature tables, etc., along with actions and activities as our strength permits. We will also move strongly, but sensitively, to assimilate parachutes vet groups and especially AVA, Con-armed Veterans, etc. We will continue to develop principled relations with other organizations through mutual assistance and support work.

If some anticipated finances come through, the Regional Coordinator plans on making an extended tour of the region at the end of August. Plans are also being laid to conduct a number of seminars on organizing skills.

Our region has reached unanimous agreement on all levels that VVAW/WSO should be a mass anti-imperialist organization with a base and focus on GI's and veterans, and with open membership so as not to exclude those who wish to further the anti-imperialist struggle through working in such a context. We feel that the position paper of the National Office Collective on this question has achieved the correct analysis and we sincerely urge our sisters and brothers to give it the consideration it so strongly merits in their struggle to resolve this crucial question concerning the future of our organization.

VERMONT: We have developed good working relationships with IPC, AFSC, ACIU, St. Johnsbury Peace Team, Farmworkers, FACT (low income advocacy) and to cover the demo and they are beginning a five or six part series on VVAW/WSO. The Advocate (put out by state-wide coalition of poor-folk groups) will be running an article on the demo combined with an outline of what imperialism is. We are also writing a feature article for the VT Freeman on the vets movement. The U of VT yearbook will have a feature on VVAW/WSO when it comes out this Fall as will the school paper. We are also working on some other media things. This barrage of pr is being timed to launch our "Fall Offensive".

Several regular newspapers gave really good coverage of the demo, but some others really need to be worked on--they think we're "leftist", whatever that's about! We have done a number of talk shows and are developing some good radio contacts.

We participated in a demo with welfare people and an earlier one on impeachment. We had speakers at both and really brought the house down. Folks seemed to relate to what we were saying. Regrettably, we do not feel that we have strength to pull a demo of our own at this time but we hope our efforts will pay off by Fall.

We have done a lot of public speaking (including an amazing debate with the state commander of the VFW) and some film shows. Some military counseling has been done through the Legal In-Service Project in Boston and we have started DUF and have a rap group.

Trying to get a booth at the state fair which would be a really solid project for us right now. We and AFSC sponsored a "Fair for New BEGINNINGS" six weeks ago. We (VVAW/WSO) are sponsoring an alternatives fair in Burlington in early Sept. which will bring together all progressive groups in the state. Response has been very good and we think it will be a real success. The Fair for New BEGINNINGS was a success.

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A speaking tour of all state campuses and some towns is being set up as part of the Fall Offensive. We are also starting a film forum which will be shown around the state as part of a larger regional project. We plan on combining one purely political film with an entertainment film that relates to people's struggles or in some other way raises consciousness. Programs will initially be on a monthly basis to start and there will be a literature table and brief rap to accompany the flicks.

VVAW/WSO in VT now has a small core of members who are into building the organization. Some of our people are spread around the state and these folks, combined with our base in Burlington, are looking forward to building the fall offensive which is envisioned as being a sustained, concentrated effort to get ourselves established on a statewide basis. By combining programs that meet the real needs of people with good propaganda we are confident that we can overcome the problems of organizing in a small, rural state. Aside from building the demo, most of this summer has been spent working out politics, developing projects and laying out plans for the fall in addition to the things outlined above. With some members leaving the state to find work (VT's biggest export is people), school ending, folks bumming around and all the other summer organizing hassles, we have still managed to maintain a fair amount of activity. The Fall Offensive is not intended to be a "make it or break it" effort, but rather a real test of whether or not we can put our politics into practice based on our experience and struggle up to this point. Also sent delegation to AVPC (Vietnam) Conference in Canada.

MAINE" Very little activity. A couple of folks were trying to get things together but seem to have given up. We have one active member who does occasional speaking, letters to the editor, and has shown a couple of films. Regional Coordinator is going to Maine to see if he can help out.

IN SOLIDARITY

[REDACTED] b7c
NEW ENGLAND REGION

New England Sub-Regional Report--MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

After a long period of inactivity, due mainly to a lack of money, lack of members, lack of energy among organizers, and organizing mistakes, the Mass. area was brought to life at the beginning of June. A visit by Sam Scherr, and organizing help from members of the R.V. and the WCITTEO enabled us to organize a picket line at the Boston VA. Outpatient Clinic, and to send 20 and 30 people to the airport and rally.

We've had two meetings since the action, both of which were small consisting mostly of those who are or will be active in organizing in Mass and NH. There seemed to be a real sense of solidarity at these meetings both for the Declaration of War on the VA., and for remaining as a vets and GI-based anti-imperialist organization. In Massachusetts, we are working closely with the Veterans Discharge Review Project and the Legal In-Service on Discharge Upgrading and GI counseling. We are also planning to give workshops to those in New Hampshire, VT, and Maine on the subject of Discharge Upgrading.

The Mass and Hampshire area is dedicated to the War on the VA, actions in Boston and Portsmouth, NH, starting a few weeks after this meeting and climaxing with a mass rally on Veterans Day, will be centered on, and in, the VA. We'll be getting up a shit-list and breaking out our Zippos in Solidarity against our Common Enemy, the veterans administration and the US Government.

In Solidarity

[REDACTED] b7c
MASS & New Hampshire

Explanation: Our attempt at organizing a project around rural health care in Bogue Chitto, Ala., has been a failure. There is one reason for this. This project is outside the primary focus of VVAW/WSO.

We can learn from our mistakes if we look at the reasons why we made them and apply that analysis to our present situation. In this sense, OCF has provided a rich source of material that we can study and grow from. There are two areas we would like to highlight in this paper. First, that OCF is a good example of what can result from diffusing the focus of the organization. Second, that OCF is a good example of what can happen when the NSC is liberal about dealing with problems.

This region has published a paper on the focus of VVAW/WSO, and the National Office has also printed a very detailed document on the subject. Suffice it to say that the biggest reason why VVAW/WSO didn't support OCF is that most of the membership was concerned with the struggles of veterans and GIs. OCF was objectively outside the focus of VVAW/WSO, even though it wasn't so declared.

OCF is a perfect example of a liberal approach to a sticky problem in VVAW/WSO. At the last NSCM, most delegates were not clear yet on the need for a focus for VVAW/WSO. But almost everyone was aware of the great problems that OCF was having. Instead of open struggle on the floor of the NSCM, the majority of the delegates opted for speaking out on the subject in "caucuses" with others of the same belief and staying mute by using a parliamentary approach during the meeting. The result of this nonstruggle attitude was that many people acted on rumors and vague notions, rather than facts. What should have been a struggle over the politics of supporting OCF was avoided and twisted into a mere question of whether or not VVAW/WSO could logistically support OCF. Therefore, a totally idealistic proposal was passed to fund OCF by contributions from chapters (when our National Office has to fend for itself), which has since been ignored. When two people volunteered to go and work on the project, a great cheer went up. The cheer was not so much for the two going but for thanking those individuals for getting the NSCM out of a situation it didn't want to deal with. The delegates effectively washed their hands of the struggle when those two people volunteered, setting aside the contradictions within the Bogue Chitto collective, the lack of support by VVAW/WSO, and the criticisms of OCF raised by various regions at the meeting.

We also think that the Milwaukee NSCM's failure to politically struggle over Bogue Chitto came out of many delegates not understanding what an NSCM is for. An NSCM decides the policy of the organization. It is the highest body of VVAW/WSO. It is not a social event or a tea party where we can afford to let unpleasant issues slide so we can have a good time. Whether a topic is "fun" or "drudgery" is not something a delegate should consider. If a topic under discussion is important to VVAW/WSO, delegates are responsible for seeing that the NSCM gets to the bottom and gets a clarified

picture of what is happening.

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PROPOSAL: That VVAW/WSO drop Operation County Fair as a national project.

We think this liberalism came from many delegates failing to put the welfare of VVAW/WSO above whatever personal embarrassment they would have suffered by really trying to discover the reality of the situation. Often, people with this attitude feel that major struggle should be solved in a back room somewhere so that individuals won't be "hurt" by having an incorrect position or practice pointed out. We literally can't afford the luxury of being afraid of receiving or giving criticism. If we wish to grow and build a fighting veterans movement, we must be able to point out and learn from each other's mistakes. When we sit back and refuse to struggle to over an issue because we are afraid of offending someone, we are really holding back the people's movement.

We think that this NSCM should devote some time to summing up the practice of VVAW/WSO around OCF. We think that the NSCM must criticize itself for liberalism around OCF and decide to deal with issues in a more open and less mechanical way in the future.

In this paper, we have used the term "liberalism" many times. We feel we should define this term, as we see it.

"I let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism." (Mao Tse Tung, Five Articles, p 52)

"Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy, creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through, and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency."

"Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness: it places personal interests first, and the interests of the revolution second, and this gives rise to ideological, political, and organizational liberalism." (Mao Tse Tung, Five Articles, p 56)

We, of course, don't view ourselves as a party, but these points can be applied to VVAW/WSO without too much interpretation.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

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In addition,  provided the following on
August 21, 1974:

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VVAW/WSO MILWAUKEE CHAPTER REPORT

The primary focus from April 15 to July 1st was building for D.C. After Yellow Springs we began integrating 5 demands (later ratified at Milw. NSCM) in already existing work around the VA quite easily.

Our attack on the VA has proved to be the right approach in not only gaining new members but remaining visible and viable in Milwaukee. Our tactics:

APRIL: Car caravan - even if small, they're effective and we consistently get favorable responses from community people. Our major mistake was not building for this with other organizations and we've not made that same error since.

MAY: We realized that by publicly raising the many complaints we've received that the hospital denies ever getting, and by exposing the hospital administrators we would be exposing the VA as a hole (sic). On May 17th we attempted to get a room at the Woods VA Hospital to hold a WSI, through "proper channels" and proved to a lot of people how that works!! So we proceeded to have a demonstration and were promptly arrested for "unauthorized demonstration on VA property". It angered people to see the way vets were treated and raised curiosities of why the VA tried to shut us up (for those of you who didn't know already). Echoes of "M-16", (Milwaukee 13) "A vet's best friend" were heard throughout Milwaukee.

On May 23rd in front of a packed courtroom, the judge declared we didn't "look like criminals" and charges were dropped. The U.S. Attorney said the government must tread lightly where freedom of speech is concerned. He felt something could be worked out through the system, and was quick to learn otherwise as he set up negotiations.

JUNE: June 10th - "Negotiations" between honcho's from D.C. and VVAW/WSO (Yes, the very same one's we didn't want to spend hours negotiating with at the D.C. demo). Their generous offer consisted of a room in a dark corner away from the complex and patients would be accompanied by federal marshals while giving testimony one at a time, while others waited in the hall. We explained we weren't trying to help them hide the issues, but rather expose them for what they are. Representatives from Wisc. Vets. Union, Inner C. Vets Council, Milw. Worker, and VVAW/WSO spoke well and we left them sitting at their Oak tables after a half an hour of exposing their lies.

On June 22nd, in coalition with Wisc. Alliance, I.C.V., Milw. Worker, R.U., R.S.B., and VVAW/WSO we had a good parade (marchers and cars) as a builder for D.C. and to keep the demand for a room for the WSI an issue. A good response from the community was good and we felt it was worth the effort even though it was so close to the first.

JULY: Successful demo in D.C. - Milw. mobilized 56 people, the largest number ever due to our work around the veterans and G.I. base and focus.

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AUGUST: The 5th we had a VA takeover at the Regional office followed up on the 6th with 35-40 people picketing and signing the shit-list. At both actions we were approached by vets who want to fight back against the VA. In talking to them they easily understood that it doesn't end at the VA but is a struggle against the system as a whole.

Our outreach includes leafletting extensively at factories for the first time in the history of VVAW/WSO in Milwaukee. Being a highly industrialized area with many vets in the shops, we see this work continuing with good results.

FAMILY NITE: A successful night talking with family and friends. After seeing the slide show (also shown at Milw. NSC there were hours of discussion -- we plan to follow up this winter with another get together -- and good vibes allaround.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT WORK - Strikes - Many of our peop have been participating in early morning picket lines at adver plants. There have been more strikes in Milw, the past few months than ever before, and also the militancy has the boss shaking and calling on their favorite tool, the police. As a result, two of our people were arrested and court date is Sep. 17th. Even as "outside agitators", the striking workers will b in court to support us.

Ray Mendosa - The Latin community has been under heavy police attack and one brother is accused of killing two cops -- an obvious frame-up. We have been doing picketing and support work with their defense community.

COMMITTEES - Student committee - After much struggle, this committee has disbanded and will most likely re-form as a counter-military recruitment committee, to exist for nine months only, and then evaluate to decide on the direction for the next school year. A criticism - it seems to function as a separate youth organization, away from VVAW/WSO, and the new focus will help us keep this committee as an integral part of the organization.

FINANCIAL COMMITTEE - has disbanded and two people on the Chapter Collective take care of the books, with everyone participating and planning the fund raisers. In the past four months we've had one Amnesty speaking gig/bake sale at the local technical college with the highest percentage of vets attending in the city; a successful rummage sale - lots of good raps with community people; a car tune-up benefit, which flop because we got soft and only charged parts to tune cars going D.C. At least the cars didn't break down until the trip home.

The monthly pledge system has not been working smoothly, due to economic problems. but we are never short of money to do work because people spontaneously give as the need arises VA/AMNESTY COMMITTEE - In Feb. 74, we combined the VA and Amnesty committees because each group of people were becoming narrow - in th sense that all struggles against Imperialism weren't linked together. For the second time in 7 mont we are having sharp struggle around whether to split them ag.

Regardless of what the chapter decides, we have realized the error of not doing enough consistantly with our Amnesty campaign and DUF work. Seeing this, we immediately resolve to work harder resulting in more people willing to be trained on DUF and we had 700 signitures on Amnesty petitions within a few hours at the local Summerfest activities.

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NATIONAL PROJECTS - Lawton/Gardner - Updates given and letters written as requested.

LBODC - Updates given and letters written as requested.

FVS - See report - some of our people are working on the newly formed committee.

OCF - No money could be raised when the hat was passed because the chapter feels it is politically wrong for VVAW/WS organizationally to be down there.

CARIO - Nothing

FORMING OF CHAPTER COLLECTIVE. Initially we were inexperienced and individualistic in our work -- an example of making that error again was in D.C. when we disbanded collectively and took leadership individually. After much struggle we began to work as a collective and were unified w/ positions we took with the chapter. We consistently took the st: that we must not fall backwards towards reformism but continue move forward by tying in the struggles against Imperialism in our continuous work around day to day issues relating to vote and G.I.'s.

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The next order of business was the National Office Report. This report was furnished to the delegates in printed form.

The next order of business was the discussion of the ten objectives of the VVAW. These were the same ten objectives which have been set forth in newsletters, the "Winter Soldier," and the minutes of the last NSCM held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. These ten objectives were voted and passed as set forth in these publications.

The Saturday, August 10, 1974, session was devoted to workshops. Each workshop furnished a written report which will be set forth in a report covering the Buffalo NSCM which will be sent to all chapters.

Concerning the workshops, the RU delegates seemed most interested in the workshop on the Direction of the VVAW as well as the VA and Veterans Workshop. The Direction of the VVAW Workshop had 37 delegates present. This workshop really involved the anti-imperialist stance of the VVAW/WSO. The workshop divided into a majority, consisting of 27, and a minority, consisting of ten delegates. A vote was taken and the majority supported the same position which is set forth in "The National Position Paper: Political Statement of the National Collective on the Future of the VVAW/WSO." This position paper is as follows:

Source: [REDACTED] *b2, b7D*
August 13, 1974

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A POSITION PAPER:

THE POLITICAL STATEMENT
OF THE NATIONAL COLLECTIVE
ON THE FUTURE OF VVAW/WSO

(X)

AUGUST, 1974

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FOREWARD

(We had hoped to get this paper out to people sooner so that it could be discussed by chapters prior to the Buffalo National Steering Committee Meeting. Because of other responsibilities and the length of this paper, we regret that this could not have been done. We hope that people will not only read this paper, but that it will be studied. We expect to have good principled discussion around this paper and the nature of VVAW/WSO in Buffalo. We look forward to seeing many of you there).

VVAW/WSO is now undergoing an internal struggle around some very basic questions, questions which deal with the very nature of the organization and what will be its future. The National Collective thinks this struggle is a good thing, because as long as there is struggle, there is growth. This particular struggle is very sharp and this is also good since sharpness clarifies where people stand.

We believe that the struggle can be characterized into three distinct lines. One position would define VVAW/WSO as a veterans and GI organization working only on vets and GIs issues, exclusive of non-veterans. Another position holds that VVAW/WSO should be a mass, anti-imperialist organization period (having no base or focus). The last position holds that VVAW/WSO should be a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus, not exclusive of non-veterans.

The National Collective supports the last position: VVAW/WSO must be a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus. The rest of this paper is devoted to developing that position -- a POLITICAL analysis of the conditions we are working under, where we have been, errors in our work, and what the collective's position will mean for VVAW/WSO's future work.

As we begin to define the nature of VVAW/WSO and our work for the future, it is important that we take into consideration the anti-imperialist movement as a whole and not regard ourselves in isolation from this movement. When, in 1972, we first began to consciously develop our anti-imperialist stance as an organization, it was clear that many of the national, anti-war organizations of the 1960's were folding up and we were left as one of the few organizations that took a conscious step forward to carry on the struggle. Now, however, the objective conditions of the struggle in this country have changed. We can now see that the struggle against imperialism has taken a sharp turn upward and is intensifying on many fronts. Student groups, community groups, black groups, Chicano groups, workers groups, womens groups, welfare-rights groups, groups composed of the unemployed, etc. have developed all around us and we can see these organizations being formed in consciously anti-imperialist directions. VVAW/WSO is not the only organization or group of people to see the life and death struggle that must be waged against imperialism. Therefore, it would be incorrect for us to look at our work in narrow terms; that is, isolated from the understanding that other anti-imperialist forces are arising and gaining strength.

Should we oppose the formation of these new groups? Obviously not. In fact, we should be supporting each other in a conscious way so that the fight against imperialism is broader and more united. These organizations did not arise because of an ideal -- they arose because the masses of people are bearing the brunt of the crisis that U. S. imperialism is undergoing. These groups arose from the needs of particular sections of the people to fight back against their oppression, not just to "bear witness" to anti-imperialism. We think that the formation of new, anti-imperialist organizations is a good thing, and something to be encouraged.

Because these organizations exist and new ones are and will be forming, we believe that objectively, outside of any plan or formal declaration, a united front against imperialism is developing. To understand what a united front is, we should look to history and the front which developed against fascism in the 1930's. Georgi Dimitrov, one of the greatest fighters of fascism, defined a united front by calling it: "A broad mobilization and unification of the masses from below, at the enterprises, around the united organ for struggle created by the masses themselves." Dimitrov stressed that a united front is a "unity of action" directed against the common enemy -- in our case, imperialism. In other words, there is unity between those people honestly fighting their oppressor. The focus of the work may vary (i. e. with student groups vs. organizations of working people) but the purpose of work will remain the same -- to struggle against imperialism.

In the above quotation/definition, the term "at the enterprises" is very important for us today. This refers to the idea that people should be organized around that particular contradiction in society which oppresses them. Anti-imperialists need not go searching for "contradictions" to organize people around; there are plenty of them already in existence. What we must do as an organization is find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise from the vital needs of veterans and CIs in the United States. We must meet the concrete needs of these people and express the urgency of fighting imperialism. If we fail to do this, then we are

essentially talking about a concept of "anti-imperialism in the sky." Fighting imperialism will not mean much to the every day lives of people because it will not deal with the urgent questions and problems which face them on a day-to-day basis. Thus, these "united organs for struggle" grow out of the needs of people's every day struggles. For example, unemployed workers will begin to organize around the contradiction of being unemployed; welfare mothers will organize around the rotten conditions they face; workers will organize around oppression and exploitation in the work-place; women will organize around the exploitation handed down in a male-oriented society; GIs will organize around the repression and racism of the military and the contradictions within the imperialist war machine; and veterans will organize around the contradictions between themselves having fought an imperialist war and returning home to an imperialist society.

To further define a united front, it is important to realize that it is not a coalition of organizations. Rather, a united front is the uniting together of as many people as possible to fight against the common enemy. One individual may be part of the united front, as well as the various organizations which struggle for the same purpose -- to defeat imperialism. To refer again to Dimitrov, the united front is a "broad mobilization" of the masses around those contradictions they SPECIFICALLY have with the imperialist system. Without mobilizing people around these specific contradictions, a sense of urgency will be lost; but if an understanding of urgency can be brought forward and organized around, a fighting spirit and a militancy will develop which will make the struggle that much more effective. On top of this, if we fail to organize around the specific needs of the people, we will be letting them down, we will be dishonest with them, and more concerned with "paying witness" to anti-imperialism than struggling for the real needs of oppressed people.

A classic example of a working united front would be the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. It is important to see that the NLF did not develop in thin air, but grew out of the struggle that the Vietnamese had been waging since World War II. The basis of the united front developed out of the desire of the Indochinese people to be rid of foreign domination, that is, rid of imperialism. Their United Front was developed to unite every person who was (and is) opposed to foreign intervention in their affairs. That is their sole basis of unity within the context of the programme of the NLF. The NLF is not one, monolithic organization. It is composed of many independent organizations -- veterans associations, womens leagues, teachers associations, labor unions, youth groups, Buddhists, political parties, etc. These groups have all united around the programme of the Front. Besides these separate groups, thousands of individuals take leadership from the Front without ever belonging to an organization. The major difference in their front is the centralized leadership that makes up the general staff of the NLF. However, before the NLF was founded in 1960, the united front was based on the Vietnamese's common desire to be free, while not formally organized into the NLF. It was only after years of struggle that the Vietnamese saw the need for centralized leadership in the form of the NLF, and only then this leadership was recognized based on the practice of the Viet Minh.

In short, a united front is like a fist. If the various fingers (or organizations) are clenched together in unity, the fist will be better able to strike an effective blow

against imperialism. If any of the fingers are missing or loose, then the blow will be weakened. Along with this, just as with a hand, the fingers are not one but are separate. They work together and they can unite to form a fist capable of dealing blows, but they can also work independently when that is necessary for the hand to be most effective. The same is true of the united front. Though a united front has a common purpose of opposing imperialism, all organizations within this front will not be involved in specifically the same work (i. e. women's groups will work with a specific focus on women's issues, students will work with a specific focus on issues affecting students, veterans will work with a specific focus on the problems of vets, etc). But they will all be working with a "unity of action," and even the specific areas and focus of work will be pointed in the one ultimate direction of defeating the enemy. Specific work will be conducted with independence (i. e. the focus and method of work of an organization will be the decision of that particular organization) but at the same time, the ability to unite to form the fist will always remain.

For a concrete example of how this "fist concept" operates, we should look at the recent demonstration we had in Washington. There, we put forward slogans that were anti-imperialist in nature, and which applied to the entire struggle against U.S. imperialism. We also put forward demands that spoke to the specific needs of veterans and GIs. In addition, we sought and received the support of many other anti-imperialist and anti-war organizations. These other groups joined with us and supported all of our demands because they felt that the raising of such demands was an attack against imperialism. We consider this a simplistic example of how the united front works and how important it was to the success of our action. It would be incorrect for us to try to organize the students that were there around THEIR needs, but it was correct for us to actively seek their involvement and unite together, with a "unity of action," to struggle against imperialism here and abroad.

Again, we should be aware that the united front is not an organization unto itself. It is not an easily define or specific grouping of people, but rather is a "broad mobilization" of the masses around their specific contradictions with the imperialist system. A united front is beginning to develop within the U. S., and it is important that we fit into this development. Alone, we cannot, nor should we, be the organization which wages struggle against imperialism on all fronts. Our responsibility is to fit into the broader front, uniting with other organizations and individuals, and attack imperialism where we can be most effective, where we can best raise and serve the interests of the people, and where we can express the urgency and fighting spirit of a specific sector of our society with maximum effectiveness.

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WHY ORGANIZE VETERANS IN THE UNITED FRONT?

As we see it, there are two reasons for organizing veterans: 1) They are an identifiable constituency; and 2) they have a special oppression which can be tied to imperialism. Fifteen percent of the population has been in the military and over 6 million of those have been discharged in the last ten years, which clearly makes them identifiable. Everyone is aware that there are veterans of military service.

The oppression faced by these millions of veterans is directly related to their experience within the U. S. military and the fact that they have returned to an imperialist country. The whole military experience has led to utter outrage at the whole system. For many vets, the time they spent in the military meant they lost several years of seniority at their job -- for many it meant they lost their job completely. If you went into the military straight out of high school, there wasn't even a job to build up seniority in; and on top of that, you lost several years time that could have been devoted to job training or college.

And then there were all those great promises about the benefits. All the promises about good medical care, a free education and a decent job turned out to be lies. They were promises that the system is totally unable to fulfill. Understaffed VA hospitals, inadequate education allowances and the public relations "Hire the Vet" programs are all real form of oppression for a veteran. What makes this situation even worse is a bad discharge or a bad SPN number. This organization is well aware of how bad discharges and SPN numbers effect vets. These are real problems that must be spoken to. They are real problems that result in our life under imperialism. And they are real problems that will take a fighting organization to effectively deal with, because the government has no intention of dealing with them, nor do the veteran pimps and careerists or the reactionary veterans organizations. All of this leads to the question of leadership.

The fact that veterans have real needs has led to a rising and largely spontaneous veterans movement. For example, the veterans that went to Washington, D. C. on March 29th were not part of ANY national, political organization. The fact that there is a spontaneous movement is an indication not only that there are veterans who can be organized, but that they must be organized. The question is, who is going to organize them? Who is going to play the leading role? It is certainly clear that someone is going to organize vets. History is clear on that. Everyone from the American Legion to AVM to college vets clubs are trying to organize vets. The problem is that they are all continuing the same reactionary trends started by groups like the American Legion when it was founded after World War I, which is leading veterans down a blind alley picking up a crumb or two here and there. The current situation of veterans and the lack of any national political organizations that are fighting for veterans (besides us) should bear this out. All of these organizations, whether consciously or unconsciously, are in fact serving the same interests -- the people who run this country who don't want vets talking about imperialism. If we, as an anti-imperialist organization, fail to provide leadership for this developing movement, we will not only be betraying what we stand for, but we will be leaving the spontaneous movement to the reactionaries and careerists.

Furthermore, VVAW/WSO has historically been, and still is, in the best position to lead and develop this veterans movement in an anti-imperialist direction. The organization was born on a base of veterans, and to this day, veterans are playing a primary role in the organization. Just as important as the history is the correct practice of the organization. The growing nationwide focus in VVAW/WSO on veterans' issues like bad discharges, SPN numbers and poor treatment by the VA is a clear indication that we are ready, willing, and capable of organizing vets.

By providing leadership for the veterans movement, we mean just that. We are not speaking about organizing every vet into VVAW/WSO, although that would be great. We are talking about building VVAW/WSO into a fighting organization with an anti-imperialist outlook which veterans and veterans groups will look to for leadership. We are talking about fighting for our demands, not from a narrow, reformist perspective, but within the larger context of the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Veterans are in a very unique position in America. From their experience in the U. S. military, they have seen both sides of U. S. imperialism. They have seen the one side that is the U. S. military involved in all parts of the world, and they have come home to see the other side of U. S. imperialism exploiting the working people here. It is a position from which veterans can attack not only the foreign involvement of U. S. imperialism, but also the effects that it has on working people -- both veterans and non-veterans -- here at home.

The current poor treatment of veterans is only one of the cracks in U. S. imperialism. But the cracks are no accident; they are the inevitable result of the widening crisis of U. S. imperialism. By building an anti-imperialist veterans movement, we have an opportunity to unite yet another segment of society in the growing front against U. S. imperialism.

What is primary in understanding the necessity of developing an anti-imperialist GI movement is both the role that the military plays under imperialism and the special oppression that GIs face. The military is a primary tool of imperialism, both at home and abroad. Here in the U. S., the military is fully prepared to act as a strike-breaking force or to back up local police forces in the event of a "civil disorder." It remains equally ready to support foreign, U. S. -backed dictatorships.

Imperialism dictates the role that the military will play, and as long as the system of U. S. imperialism remains intact, the military will continue to be used against people all over the world; and it will continue to oppress the GIs who make up the U. S. military. The role of the military, then, and the oppression that it breeds calls for a fighting movement of GIs who can combat their own oppression and the roles they are forced to play.

The oppression that GIs face is very real. The problem, however, with organizing solely from within the military is that it is comparable to trying to organize within a prison, since GIs are forever at the whim of their commanders. Unlike most other jobs in civilian society, they are prohibited from either striking or quitting; instead they face the constant harassment of both judicial and non-judicial punishment whenever they fight back. Such a situation calls for outside support.

The class background of GIs make them a natural ally for all the other groups struggling against imperialism; and with the advent of the all-volunteer army and the growing economic crisis, the percentage of working class people in the military, especially third world people, is steadily increasing.

VVAW/WSO should be building the GI movement within the united front, both by building the GI membership within our organization and through the leadership that we can exert through our practice. We should be doing this work among GIs, not only because of the oppression of the military and the class background of the GIs, but also because there is already an existing, spontaneous movement among GIs in the military. The actions of sailors aboard the USS MIDWAY and the USS LITTLE ROCK are but the most well-known, recent examples of GIs fighting back. But these actions, as with the MIDWAY, were either spontaneous and not part of any coordinated effort against conditions in the Navy, or they were, as with the LITTLE ROCK, reactions to situations that the GIs had no control over, i. e. a racial attack. For the GI movement to become a strong, fighting movement, it will be necessary to do more than "react" or spontaneously walk off a ship; it will be necessary to develop a unified approach with a common direction and firm leadership that puts GIs on the offensive. Spontaneity will lead nowhere.

Just as with the veterans movement, the fact that GIs are fighting back is a clear sign that GIs not only can be organized, but must be organized. The current state of the GI movement shows even more reasons to begin a serious organizing effort. With the exception of a few projects, the energy level is very sporadic and

to solve these problems are ones that view the struggles of veterans for a better way of life in utter isolation from the rest of the American people. VVAW/WSO feels that this is a very serious mistake. Veterans, and the problems facing them, are not separate from the rest of society. While vets clearly have particular needs and demands, we cannot allow the fight to obtain them to be carried out in isolation from the fight to solve the many problems facing the whole country.

"Indeed, the problems facing the American people today, veterans and non-veterans alike, are directly a result of the system of imperialism we are all forced to live under. If it were not for our involvement in Indochina, there would be no Vietnam veterans in need of vets' benefits in the first place. Thus, demanding veterans' benefits without tying these demands into the struggle against imperialism and the root cause of veterans' problems, is like putting a band-aid on a cancerous sore. Veteran reforms can be won and should be fought for; but the struggle must be carried out in a united effort with the rest of the American people against the common enemy-- US imperialism.

"Advocating strictly veteran reformist demands that do not tie the issues into the larger struggle of the American people against imperialism will lead the veteran's movement up the same blind alley that traditional veterans' organizations have followed for over fifty years. We cannot put the so-called 'interests' of veterans ahead of the interests of the rest of the people in this country: Veterans are an inseparable part of US society and their interests and welfare are the same as the rest of the American people. Reformist veterans demands are not going to stop another war in Indochina! While we must continue to struggle for a solution to the very real problems facing vets...for the right of decent medical care, disability compensation, education, jobs, housing, and so forth--the struggle must be carried out with the understanding all people in the US have these same rights."

Proof of the position that veterans' issues cannot be raised in a strictly reformist manner separated from everything else comes from our own experience in discharge upgrading projects. Here is a clear example of how a strictly service-oriented mentality will achieve next to nothing in the way of results. If all we are doing is preparing appeals for badly discharged vets we may as well forget it. We know beforehand that the boards only hear a handful of cases each year and that only a fraction of these are ever upgraded. Unless the approach to discharge upgrading is thoroughly political, raising the demand for amnesty and a single-type discharge, the project makes no sense whatsoever. It will neither help the half million badly discharged veterans or advance the anti-imperialist struggle.

In sum, to advocate strictly reformist veterans' demands, separated from the overall anti-imperialist struggle makes several mistakes:

A. It is objectively lying to the masses of veterans about what is really going on. While opportunists such as AVM may rant and rave about a so called, 'national veterans' crisis' there is in reality no such thing. There is, however, a very real crisis facing US imperialism. It has lost in Indochina just as it is losing in much of the Third World. As imperialism continually loses ground, it correspondingly increases the repression of all working people here inside the US. The very real problems that veterans do face in this country are but one facet of this growing crisis of imperialism. The real struggle must be waged against the problem--imperialism--

and not its symptoms.

B. It is a position that separates vets from their real allies: working people, the unemployed and all people struggling against US imperialism. As a 'special interest' group only dealing with vets' issues, veterans cannot link up their struggle with these allies. But as part of the united efforts of all people struggling against imperialism veterans can incredibly strengthen their movement.

C. A strictly reformist position inevitably ends up failing to rely and concentrate on the primary strengths of the veterans' movement: the united, militant mass action of the people. Instead this position will see the Congress, the VA, etc. as the primary focus of activity and it will see mass action as only serving as a pressure factor on these institutions. Not only does this fail to build the people's movement, it can never achieve any real victories either. Real victories in the veterans' movement can only be won by fighting for them. We must force the implementation of veteran's demands, not ask or try to pressure the VA or Congress to grant them to us.

This section of the paper deals with the questions of what becoming a mass anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus would mean.

1. Should we stop recruiting non-veterans or throw non-vets out of the organization? No. We are saying that we should focus our organizing work on vets and GIs; people who see the need for this work should be welcomed with open arms. Being a veteran is not a prerequisite. In the GI movement, for one example, many of the most effective organizers historically have been people who were neither GIs nor veterans.

We are not saying that the organization should regress to its pre-Winter Soldier days; we should have learned from the mistakes of that period AND from the mistakes we have made since the change to VVAW/WSO. And we should consolidate what we have learned. The majority of new members, under this concept, would probably be veterans and GIs since we are speaking to their concrete needs and interests. But we want--and should recruit--non-vets who want to join in the anti-imperialist struggle through work around vet and GI issues.

2. Would this change cause us to lose members? Yes, it probably would. It would cause us to lose some honest members whose primary interests are not with the struggles of vets and GIs; although these people would be "lost" to VVAW/WSO, they would not be lost to the anti-imperialist movement, because they would either find or develop those organizations which could best fight imperialism around their particular needs. Because they would be part of the united front against imperialism, they would not, in a larger sense, be "lost" to VVAW/WSO at all.

We would also lose those people for whom the struggle against imperialism is the vague "imperialism in the sky" without direct relation to the everyday real struggles of the masses of people. For these present members of VVAW/WSO, urgent, vigorous, militant struggle around immediate issues has no appeal and they would leave the organization.

3. Isn't this change just what the Revolutionary Union wants us to do? Yes, to a great extent. But the RU is not the only organization which sees us as an organization with a veterans and GI base and focus--so does Nixon, the Democratic Party (remember the attempts to get us to organize "vets for McGovern?"), the National Council of Churches, the CPUSA, NCUUA, the PRG, the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, and on and on. What is primary, however, is not who supports the veterans and GI focus of the organization; what is primary is whether that direction will move VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist struggle forward in the most effective possible way. In short, it's not who puts a line forward, but what the line is.

The position advocated in this paper is the position of the VVAW/WSO national collective; we advocate these changes because we believe they point the direction the organization should move, for the reasons given throughout this paper. We feel the important questions about this paper are political--is the analysis of our organizational history correct? Have we drawn the right lessons from our past practice? Have we accurately identified bad tendencies in the organization and would these

tendencies, if continued, lessen or destroy our effectiveness. We believe that it is around questions such as these that the future of the organization should be discussed.

4. What does this mean in terms of national projects of the organization? First, it means that we make a clear distinction between projects and those issues which we support (along the lines of what we called an endorsement at the Milwaukee NSCM). A national program or project which focuses on veteran or GI issues, in the context of anti-imperialism, should be organized by VVAW/WSO. As with the demonstration in Washington, we should ask other anti-imperialist organizations to support and build these projects and programs, but not ask other groups to take such projects on as their primary organizing responsibility. At the same time, we should support (endorse) those anti-imperialist struggles organized by other groups--for example, the struggle of the Farmworkers. We should also support, on a national basis, struggles which, though they are organized on a local basis, need national support--for instance, the Lawton/Gardner trial or the Leavenworth Brothers.

As exemplified by Operation County Fair, we should not undertake projects which diffuse the focus of the organization; OCF showed that we do not have the capability of organizing a project around poor healthcare in the rural south--nor should we take on that kind of project. If a community group in Bogue Chitto were organizing the project, strong chapters in that area of the country could and should support such a project which grew out of the needs of the people. The national organization could be asked to support the project through sending equipment or doing publicity. But it is not the task of VVAW/WSO to organize such a project.

With a clear organizational focus on veterans and GIs comes a limited scope for national projects and programs. Active support of other projects or programs should continue as part of the united front against imperialism.

5. Does this mean we work only on veteran and GI issues? No. It means that our organizing work would be done around these issues. To do this work in the context of anti-imperialism means that we would also work on and support other anti-imperialist struggles. Specifically, it means we would continue to actively support the truckers, or the Borden strikers, or the Harlin County coal miners, or the Attica Brothers; we would not organize these struggles. In terms of our prison project, we would continue to do veterans' work in prisons (DUP's, for instance) or GI work in the case of Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks, and we would continue to help in the struggles of prisoners around the country to organize and unify inside their prisons.

It certainly does not mean that we would give up our active support of the peoples of Indochina nor does it mean that our support would in any way lessen. As one of the few organizations which continues to stress the fact the war is still going on, we would not stop in our struggle for final implementation of the agreements, and for the freedom and independence of the Indochinese. Again in the context of anti-imperialism, we would continue to support the struggles of people around the world for liberation from U. S. imperialism.

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the identity with the anti-imperialist movement as a whole is limited. The reasons for this are that there has been a serious lack of both political and programmatic unity among the GI movement; and among other people and groups on the left, a real lack of understanding for the need for a fighting movement for GIs. For those who do understand the importance, it has been difficult to find a way to plug into the GI movement. Those people who have remained in the GI movement have done so either because of a deep theoretical commitment and a long attachment to the struggles of GIs, or they are veterans. But as with any movement, the people that provide the momentum must be those who are most directly affected by a particular issue. Not that people with a theoretical understanding of the importance of GI organizing should be discouraged; quite the contrary. They should be welcomed with open arms! But in developing a movement, regardless of the issue, we have to look to the people most directly effected by the issues.

As an organization with a high percentage of veterans and GIs, we are very much effected by the issues. We also have the greatest experience of any national, anti-imperialist organization in organizing GIs. Not only do we have veterans in the organization, but we are the only national anti-imperialist organization with members in the U. S. military all over the world. For the GIs in the organization, the oppression of the military is a fact of life; for veterans, it is an unforgettable experience. And for us to ignore this historical relationship within the organization to military service would be to ignore not only our duty as an anti-imperialist organization, but it would be ignoring our historical roots.

As we said earlier, there is a need for leadership. And just as with the veterans movement, we are not talking about getting every GI to join VVAW/WSO, although that would be ideal. What we are talking about is becoming a consistent force in the GI movement that GIs and GI organizers will respect; we are talking about raising GI demands in a non-opportunist, anti-imperialist manner that is obvious in our practice.

BRIEF HISTORY OF VVAW/WSO

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964 marked the beginning of the major escalation of the war in Vietnam. Under the phoney pretext of defending an American naval ship, the imperialists poured military hardware, advisors, money, and American troops into Vietnam. At the same time in the U. S. thousands of Americans were actively working in the civil rights movement, exposing the racist conditions in the American system. Soon there was a clear connection between this racism in the U. S. and the imperialist war of genocide in Indochina. Millions of Americans became active in struggling against the war in Vietnam.

By 1967, the movement for civil rights and against the war in Vietnam was involving all sectors of the American people. Just as the Vietnamese were fighting imperialism, so too were millions of Americans. Fighting against the system was also the task of GIs stationed in Indochina and the task of veterans who returned from Vietnam having seen first hand how the system of imperialism operates abroad. It was only natural that these veterans would organize into a group that actively made the connections between the war aimed at maintaining the interests of US corporations with the imperialist system at home. On June 1, 1967 six Vietnam veterans formally began the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The organization soon expanded throughout the Northeast, uniting behind the common experience of having served in Vietnam.

During its first years, VVAW members spoke at many meetings and rallies and participated in the large anti-war demonstrations under the organizational banner. As it grew, VVAW began organizing its own demonstrations, recognizing that Vietnam veterans had the potential to fight against the war in Indochina by showing the American people just how the war was being conducted. In September of 1970, over 100 veterans marched from Morristown, New Jersey, to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania conducting a mock search and destroy mission, Operation Rapid American Withdrawal.

To make this point clearer, VVAW held the Winter Soldier Investigation early in 1971 in Detroit, Michigan. This investigation presented over 150 Vietnam veterans who testified about their roles in Vietnam, systematically exposing the role of the military. It clearly emerged that the military was conducting a genocidal war against the Indochinese peoples, not defending democracy as we had been told.

As a result of this investigation the anti-war movement looked at veterans in a different light. At first, all veterans and GIs were looked at as "war criminals" for participating in the war. But with the important step taken by VVAW in exposing the role the military played, this view was changed.

Shortly after the WSI, in the latter part of February, the first national steering committee of VVAW held a meeting. At this meeting, the present structure of the organization was formed, recognizing that we had become a national organization. Also formulated at this meeting was the idea of holding a national action in Washington DC. This action was called Dewey Canyon III.

Dewey Canyon named after the illegal military operations into Laos, drew national attention as a result of the actions that occurred in Washington--the throwing away of medals, defying the Supreme Court by staying on the Mall and marching to Arlington National Cemetery. The major aims of the demonstration were to influence both the American people and the US Congress; the former was successful, and the latter proved to be a dismal failure. As a result of this action and subsequent actions during this same period, the organization came to understand that its actions should be directed towards the American people and not the U. S. government.

While the organization maintained its identity as a Vietnam veterans organization it soon became apparent that other veterans wanted to join and participate in the activities of the group. This was readily accepted and we became a veterans organization, recognizing that because of our base, we were the perfect vehicle for all veterans to protest the war.

While we were predominantly concerned with the war in Indochina, we recognized the links between racism in the US and racism with which the war in Vietnam was being conducted. The national organization took a big step forward in June of 1971 by voting at a National Steering Committee Meeting to support the struggle being waged in Cairo, Illinois by black people who were boycotting white-owned stores while withstanding armed attacks from white racists. In August of that same year we organized, at the request of the Cairo United Front, a convoy of food and supplies to aid the black people of Cairo. Thus, on a national level, the organization made its first step in recognizing the links between imperialism abroad and at home.

At about the same time we began to see an opening up of the membership to include non-veterans, both men and women, who saw the organization as an important one through which to struggle against the war in Indochina. The tactics of the organization also changed. In December of 1971, when the US bombed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with B-52s, members of the organization took over the Statue of Liberty, the Lincoln Memorial, the Saigon Consulate in San Francisco and other places around the country. These actions clearly pointed out the increasingly militant mood of VVAW.

The organization was now officially only one year old. At the Denver NSCM in February of 1972, a group of self-proclaimed anarchists saw fit to dismember the national structure in favor of "regional autonomy," which in fact was a repudiation of a national cohesion. This error was the result of a lack of an organizational understanding of the nature of imperialism and of the necessity for working together in a strong organization with a cohesive national focus. But the overriding concern of the mass membership for a strong national organization paved the way for the realization that the Denver meeting was a grave error. What was needed was a growing program of work on a national level.

During the remainder of 1972 this occurred. At the Houston meeting in April of 1972, when the organization was saved from the Denver errors, the organization voted to participate as a national unit at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in Miami Beach, Florida.

While plans for this demonstration were in progress, the government slapped

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eight members of the organization with a series of false charges basically saying that we were planning to violently disrupt the conventions. These eight members stood trial, but in reality the entire organization was being attacked. The government had come to see our potential and felt that it was time to crack us. For over a year, the organization exposed this tactic and finally in August of 1973 these ridiculous charges were thrown out by the jury hearing the case.

The Republican and Democratic conventions drew members from around the country. The strong militant actions of VVAW once again proved that we were a major force in the anti-war movement. This was also the first time that all members of the organization marched together, rather than having the "supporters" march in the rear behind the veterans.

At the next NSCM, in Palo Alto, California, one of the major discussions was about the future of the organization. It was at this time that the Winter Soldier Concept was introduced. This concept envisioned transforming VVAW into THE mass organization in the US; one that would unite all who were opposed to the war in Indochina and who were opposed to the imperialist system. It would, in other words, become the united front.

There were many concrete reasons given for moving the organization towards this concept. We were looked at by other movement groups as the prime force in the anti-war movement; we had the ability to draw in a real mass membership of veteran and non-veterans alike; we were one of the few national organizations that was still actively organizing; we were held in esteem by a wide number of international organizations and political parties; we had a number of non-veterans particularly women in leadership positions; and we were looking to the day when the war in Indochina would be over and were searching for a program to take up at that time. A concrete proposal outlining how this transformation would take place was presented at the Chicago NSCM held in early January of 1973.

This meeting occurred shortly after the saturation bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong in December of 1972. A result of this bombing was that the organization voted at the Chicago meeting to have another national demonstration in Washington on Inaugural Day, January 20. This was the largest turnout the organization had ever amassed to that time. Just several days after this demonstration, the Peace Agreements on Ending the War in Vietnam were signed; the result of 11 years of the Vietnamese people fighting against the U. S. , and winning; and the result of as many years of struggle by the American people who opposed the war there.

In February and March it became clear the U. S. was not going to abide by the agreements. The organization began searching for ways to continue to struggle against the Indochina war while recognizing that imperialism was the enemy. The result was that the Winter Soldier concept took root. In April of 1973 at the Placitas, New Mexico meeting the organization voted to become VVAW/WSO.

While we had now created a structure which reflected the actual membership of the organization, we did not yet understand how to use that structure to build the organization or the struggle against imperialism. Our national action in Gainesville, in the summer of 1973 reflected an unfocused organization. In fact, the trial in Gainesville provided the only national activity which the organization had at that

time, and there was a partial unity around that issue. This was reflected in the turnout in Gainesville; the fact that other organizations did not participate in that demonstration further reflected our lack of understanding of our obligation to help build the united front.

The steering committee meeting in St. Louis in August 1973 looked for something --anything--which could serve as a national focus for the work of the organization, understanding (though not always on a formulated, conscious level) that a national organization needed a national program. We turned to the program we knew best, the Indochina War, and formulated plans for Indochina Solidarity Week; to keep the continuing war in the eyes and minds of the American people. Organizational discipline was not adequate to create actions by every chapter; mass support for actions around Indochina was not mobilized; the necessary preparation for this kind of national action had not been done. Some chapters carried out a week of activities; many chapters carried out some kind of action, but there was not a clear national action around that week; many chapters did nothing at all. Still, the Indochina Solidarity Week did provide a minimal focus for the organization.

What the period from Placitas until the NSCM in Yellow Springs showed was that we needed a national program which would focus on the concrete needs of people, and which would be something more than a week's worth of activity. As early as the Placitas meeting we had passed a position paper on amnesty; local chapters had done some educational work around the issue, and through that practice we had begun to see amnesty as a national issue. The result, at the NSCM at Yellow Springs, was the adoption of an amnesty program which gave an overall focus to the work of the organization for a 7-month period, building toward a national demonstration to be held sometime in late spring or early summer of 1974. This demonstration would be the beginning of another campaign at a higher level of struggle.

Through this national focus, most chapters began work around amnesty--some began DUP, some began with petitions or talks or leafletting. Whatever the tactic used, there was a national program. There was also an amnesty movement made up, for the most part, of groups or individuals from the anti-war movement. Within this grouping, we pushed for a strong political position on amnesty, a position which would concentrate on the issue of the continuing war and present a class analysis as part of the amnesty issue. Most important, however, was our push within that movement for recognition of people with less-than-honorable discharges as the leading sector of the resisters deserving amnesty. In short, we had found a group of veterans, some of whom were already members of our organization, whose immediate needs for relief from the oppression of a bad discharge could be met by our national program.

Because we had a national program did not mean that local chapters or regions stopped work on a number of other projects. In fact, the beginnings of organizational unity which came from a national focus began to show through national work around the Lawton/Gardner trial, a 2-year-old national project which had never before received any serious national attention from the organization outside of the publicity in the paper. Throughout the country we were able to support the primary work being carried on by the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee through sponsoring speaking tours, getting the Lawton/Gardner story out to the people and, in the process, educating ourselves around the racism and repression of the American justice system.

We put that education to use by tying it into the other projects we worked on locally, regionally, and nationally.

One of the results of the national focus around a clear program was the success of the demonstration in Washington, DC on the 1st through the 4th of July 1974. The demonstration was prepared for carefully with the original plans made 7 months in advance. More important, however, it represented a target for day-to-day consistent national work. As the demonstration grew closer it was broadened from an amnesty demo to one which included five demands, all of them set in the context of anti-imperialist politics. Concrete demands spoke to the problems facing veterans, and the war in Indochina and amnesty were the focus of other demands--with the final demand, Kick Nixon Out, focusing on the most visible representative of the imperialist US system.

Understanding that we were not the only organization working against imperialism, we went to other organizations asking them not only to support the demonstration by coming to it, but actively build for the demo--not because they had the same prime interest that we did in the issues around veterans, but because we felt the direction of the demonstration was anti-imperialist and thus deserved their active support. The result was the militant, spirited success which took place in DC and which was, as mentioned in the section on the united front, an example of how that united front concept can work in actuality.

Through the period since we became VVAW/WSO one fact has shone through our practice: those chapters which continued to grow and strengthen (numerically and politically) have worked around a specific organizing focus, and, in most places, no matter what the composition of the chapter in terms of veterans or non-veterans, this focus has been around amnesty with particular emphasis on vets issues.

The practice of individual chapters underlines an important lesson: chapters with a clear focus of activities around the real needs of the people have grown. With growth these chapters have been able to add effective support work for other struggles in their communities. Chapters which have not grown or have shrunk fall into two categories. First, there are the chapters whose focus has been primarily internal; whether that focus has been around dissension among the members, or providing a base for social activities, or working primarily around the individual needs or wishes of the specific membership of the chapter, those chapters have not grown. Second, chapters which have diffused their activities, working on prisons one week in-plant organizing the next, and Indochina the third, etc etc have not created a solid base of membership and have not grown. Chapters whose work takes place mostly in coalitions--which do not attack the problems of a specific segment of the population--have also remained stagnant in terms of membership.

What is true on a local level was also demonstrated on a national level through the actions in DC; when VVAW/WSO had a national program and a national focus designed to meet specific needs, and when we worked as part of a united front against imperialism, we could pull off a militant national action. Through that focus, through programmatic unity as well as the unity of being anti-imperialist, we could attract new members and grow.

The following section deals with some of the major problems seen in the future development of VVAW/WSO. These problems manifest themselves today in general concepts, attitudes and tendencies that will increasingly impede the development of the organization and hold back the anti-imperialist struggle if they are not combatted. Undoubtedly, VVAW/WSO has made many errors in the past and will make others in the future. The point is not that we make mistakes, (to think that we won't is utterly unrealistic!), but that we must analyze these mistakes and learn how to correct our practice in the future. We cannot allow errors to go unchecked until they have grown into major problems. In terms of the larger question of arriving at a clear understanding of the nature of VVAW/WSO and its future, it is important for all of us to achieve an understanding of these problems.

Fighting imperialism is certainly not just confined to the US. The struggle against US imperialism has been going on since the early 1900s. In terms of constantly analyzing our own practice, continually correcting our mistakes and improving our future practice, there is much we can learn from the history of these struggles. The lessons of such struggles against imperialism as Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Korea, Cuba, etc., can be of invaluable assistance to us in continually strengthening our own movement and avoiding needless mistakes. From our own practice and from the lessons of our brothers and sisters around the world, we must constantly be recharting our own course of action in the struggle against US imperialism if we are to defeat it.

One of the primary problems inherent in some members' conception of VVAW/WSO today is the notion that VVAW/WSO is the movement, in its entirety, or that it should develop into such. Particularly at a time when the people's movement is gaining strength by leaps and bounds, (as witnessed by the rising number of strikes, increasing strength of the struggles of Third World people against national oppression, the resurgence of the student movement, etc.), this attitude presents an increasing threat to the development of VVAW/WSO and also a hindrance to the development of the general anti-imperialist movement.

In the section on the united front it was pointed out that there is a developing united front against imperialism in the US. We cannot overemphasize the fact that VVAW/WSO is not the only organization in the anti-imperialist movement: it cannot be all things to all people. VVAW/WSO cannot try to be that united front in and of itself!

There are a number of very good reasons for this statement. First of all, a united front goes far beyond an organizational form. It is a much broader grouping than the sum of all these organizations in it. Many people who aren't in any organization whatsoever will take leadership from the general program of the front. Secondly, VVAW/WSO, like any effective organization, must have a basic organizational focus. It must have primary tasks that define the nature of the organization --- the goal people are being organized towards in the context of bringing masses of people into the anti-imperialist movement. Otherwise what will inevitably develop is an escalating confusion and lack of clarity among the people whom we are trying to organize about what the role and tasks of the organization really are. The less clear

the organization's goals and tasks are, the greater will be the ineffectiveness of whatever tasks are undertaken. While VVAW/WSO must link up with all progressive forces in the developing anti-imperialist united front, if it tries to be that united front itself it will confuse its own tasks beyond recognition.

Finally, as was stated above, there are many other organizations already in existence. These other groups have special constituencies with special demands to fight for: welfare recipients, the unemployed, students, farmworkers, etc. In addition to these special demands, there is also an overall responsibility to push forward the anti-imperialist struggle. Such groups are far better prepared to represent these constituencies than VVAW/WSO is. Imagine how ridiculous it would be for vets who want to fight oppressive conditions in the VA to join the United Farm Workers to do so. Imagine how ridiculous it would be for farmworkers to join VVAW/WSO to fight oppression and exploitation in the lettuce fields or grape vineyards! These other organizations have no intention of structurally joining with VVAW/WSO nor should they. Aside from the fact that we, organizationally, lack the practical experience necessary to organize these various groups, the truth of the matter is that we simply couldn't handle such an enormous task anyway.

The question that logically follows is, where do these incorrect ideas come from? The answer is found in a number of sources. First of all is the confusion of the nature and the role of a mass organization as opposed to that of a cadre organization or political party. As was pointed out in the National Office Report to the 12th NSCM in the section on mass organizations, VVAW/WSO is not a cadre organization, it is a mass anti-imperialist organization. (It should also be pointed out that this National Office Report on VVAW/WSO and Mass Organizations neglected the question of the nature and focus of VVAW/WSO as a particular, mass anti-imperialist organization. That question is being addressed in this paper.) Certain members in VVAW/WSO, however, feel that VVAW/WSO is or should be a cadre organization, that it should assume the vanguard of leadership in the anti-imperialist movement. They feel VVAW/WSO should be the vanguard organizational form to lead workers, students, the unemployed, etc., as well as vets and GIs. In short that VVAW/WSO should assume the responsibilities of a political party! This incorrect analysis of the nature of VVAW/WSO can be called 'vanguardism'.

It is a progressive thing for people to desire an even greater level of discipline and commitment to the anti-imperialist struggle; that is certainly needed. In the context of VVAW/WSO, however, 'vanguardism' takes our basis of unity, anti-imperialism, and incorrectly replaces it with a complete world view. The truth of the matter is that there is no such level of political unity within VVAW/WSO. It is in the very nature of a mass organization that there be widely divergent political outlooks. It does not have the political unity to achieve a complete world view, nor should it. Secondly, it is in the very nature of a cadre organization, of a political party, to demand a very strict discipline. Membership is not open in a cadre organization. It is only open for those that have proven they can adhere to that strict discipline. Again, that is certainly not the case with VVAW/WSO. We would be fooling ourselves to believe we had such a degree of discipline.

Finally, there is the question of a programme. A cadre organization must have a programme to lead the entire people in their struggle if it is to be such a vanguard form. VVAW/WSO does not have such a programme. VVAW/WSO, as an organization, isn't equipped politically, structurally or any other way to be a van-

guard, cadre organization and would botch the job incredibly if we tried. VVAW/WSO is, however, admirably suited to be a mass anti-imperialist organization with a vets and GI base and focus.

A second major reason for this concept in VVAW/WSO of 'we are the whole movement' or of VVAW/WSO developing into some new type of 'vanguard form' stems from a general attitude we can term 'imperialism-in-the-sky.' As was pointed out in the discussion of the united front, organizations in the anti-imperialist movement do not develop as real peoples' movements because of some abstract desire on the part of the organization's membership to 'bear witness' against imperialism. Rather they develop out of the concrete conditions affecting the day-to-day lives of their constituencies. People don't organize against something merely to complain about how bad it is; they don't want to shine a light in the face of US imperialism to prove how ugly it is. Rather, they want to smash it and end the particular oppression it is causing them. As the crisis facing US imperialism inevitably intensifies, the oppressive conditions facing working people in this country will correspondingly increase. It is around those particular conditions facing a given group in society that they should be organized around; that point that the system oppresses the most. The GI movement developed out of resistance to the war and the racism and repression of the military. The rising workers' movement develops from exploitation at the work-site, and on and on it goes.

If using Dimitrov's words, these "united organs" for struggle do not grow out of people's daily lives, "at the enterprises" or around that primary contradiction of the imperialist system which oppresses them, they simply will not have the endurance and militance necessary to see the struggle through to completion. Rather it will become diffuse, halfhearted and inevitably falter. The enemy will forever be hazy, nebulous and illdefined. To those organized around their own point of oppression by the imperialist system, this is much less likely to happen. It's hard to forget who the enemy is when you are forced to face it every day of your life.

The logic of why VVAW/WSO shouldn't try to recruit everybody naturally flows from this understanding. If we do, we will end up drawing people, (or attempting to) away from where they should be; from the struggle closest to their lives, from the one they would be most effective in. If we encourage all people to join the same mass organization, by definition, they cannot be organized around their particular source of oppression under the system. Instead of creating a tight organization with a readily identifiable constituency that really fights for what its members really need, this will blunt the struggle, make it flabby, less militant and fragmented. This is not to say that workers or students, etc., should not join a veteran's organization. But it is to say that it is not always best for the general anti-imperialist movement that they do so. Depending on the particular conditions, it may, in fact, be best for the movement and for the individual that they organize not as veterans but as worker students, etc. around worker or student issues--as the case may be.

The final source of the problem stems from the status of the movement today. It is comparatively young and underdeveloped, without numerous organizational examples of how a united front develops and works. VVAW/WSO, in many areas develops in a virtual political vacuum where we were the only progressive political organization in a given area. In other cases, VVAW/WSO was forced into an attitude of 'going it

alone' due to the opportunistic maneuverings of such groups as PL, SWP, etc. Also there is a source for this idea of 'we are the movement' or for 'vanguardism' in organizational chauvinist attitudes that many VVAW/WSO members formerly had. As sort of a superstar in the anti-war movement in our early days, we were told by everybody that we were the greatest, and could do no wrong. In a few cases at least, members ended up believing such nonsense. Hopefully, we have grown far beyond such chauvinistic attitudes by 1974.

Another tendency within VVAW/WSO that must be struggled against is the idea that doing any work around bread and butter veterans' issues is incorrect. Partially this position may come from certain guilt feelings many members have about having served in Vietnam. (While it's one thing for Vietnam vets to feel ashamed of having been manipulated and used in the government's genocidal war in Indochina they should not feel guilt-ridden; the war was not their responsibility. While much less than the Indochinese people, the Vietnam vet was also very much a victim of that war.) More frequently, however, the position put forth against any work on bread and butter veterans' issues is that it would 'separate veterans from workers and other people.'

In either case, this is an incorrect position. If followed, we would be failing to take up the very real fight veterans have around their special needs and link it with the general anti-imperialist movement. Whether or not we work in it, the veteran's movement does exist; it is an objective fact. It is spontaneously developing, around the VA, around discrimination at the job site due to bad discharges, etc. on an almost daily basis. Not to go to this struggle and fight for the bread and butter demands that veterans rightfully deserve would be a grave error. Not only does it isolate anti-imperialists from the vets' movement and fail to bring that struggle into the overall attack on US imperialism, but it leaves the field wide open for the opportunists and professional careerists to take the vets' movement up one blind alley after another; the American Legion, VFW, AVM, etc. It is no less correct for us to lead the struggle of vets fighting discrimination caused by a less-than-honorable discharge or for better medical treatment from the VA than it is for workers to demand higher wages or social security benefits. It is simply a matter of making the anti-imperialist struggle relevant to people's lives; not some nebulous concept off in the clouds.

The flip side of this ultra-left position of not dealing at all with bread and butter veterans' issues, is that of wanting to deal exclusively with them. This position holds that the veterans' movement must be strictly limited to the particular needs of veterans as a 'special interest group.' It holds that the veteran's movement should be 'apolitical', not linked up to the anti-imperialist struggle; not linked to anything but purely veterans' issues. It holds that any demands other than purely 'veterans demands' will weaken the chances of winning any reforms around vets' real needs. Obviously, this position has attracted swarms of cold-blooded opportunists, like so many maggots clinging to overly ripe meat. (See the August WS editorial on this.) But there are also many honest people that have not seen where such a position ultimately leads; how strictly reformist demands can only deal with the symptom and not the real problem. Speaking to these honest elements, the June-July editorial in Winter Soldier stated:

"The issue of the many problems facing veterans in the United States has been given a great deal of publicity. Unfortunately, all too often the solutions put forth

to solve these problems. The ones that view the struggles of veterans for a better way of life in utter isolation from the rest of the American people. VVAW/WSO feels that this is a very serious mistake. Veterans, and the problems facing them, are not separate from the rest of society. While vets clearly have particular needs and demands, we cannot allow the fight to obtain them to be carried out in isolation from the fight to solve the many problems facing the whole country.

"Indeed, the problems facing the American people today, veterans and non-veterans alike, are directly a result of the system of imperialism we are all forced to live under. If it were not for our involvement in Indochina, there would be no Vietnam veterans in need of vets' benefits in the first place. Thus, demanding veterans' benefits without tying these demands into the struggle against imperialism and the root cause of veterans' problems, is like putting a band-aid on a cancerous sore. Veteran reforms can be won and should be fought for; but the struggle must be carried out in a united effort with the rest of the American people against the common enemy-- US imperialism.

"Advocating strictly veteran reformist demands that do not tie the issues into the larger struggle of the American people against imperialism will lead the veteran's movement up the same blind alley that traditional veterans' organizations have followed for over fifty years. We cannot put the so-called 'interests' of veterans ahead of the interests of the rest of the people in this country: Veterans are an inseparable part of US society and their interests and welfare are the same as the rest of the American people. Reformist veterans demands are not going to stop another war in Indochina! While we must continue to struggle for a solution to the very real problems facing vets ... for the right of decent medical care, disability compensation, education, jobs, housing, and so forth--the struggle must be carried out with the understanding all people in the US have these same rights."

Proof of the position that veterans' issues cannot be raised in a strictly reformist manner separated from everything else comes from our own experience in discharge upgrading projects. Here is a clear example of how a strictly service-oriented mentality will achieve next to nothing in the way of results. If all we are doing is preparing appeals for badly discharged vets we may as well forget it. We know beforehand that the boards only hear a handful of cases each year and that only a fraction of these are ever upgraded. Unless the approach to discharge upgrading is thoroughly political, raising the demand for amnesty and a single-type discharge, the project makes no sense whatsoever. It will neither help the half million badly discharged veterans or advance the anti-imperialist struggle.

In sum, to advocate strictly reformist veterans' demands, separated from the overall anti-imperialist struggle makes several mistakes:

A. It is objectively lying to the masses of veterans about what is really going on. While opportunists such as AVM may rant and rave about a so called, 'national veterans' crisis' there is in reality no such thing. There is, however, a very real crisis facing US imperialism. It has lost in Indochina just as it is losing in much of the Third World. As imperialism continually loses ground, it correspondingly increases the repression of all working people here inside the US. The very real problems that veterans do face in this country are but one facet of this growing crisis of imperialism. The real struggle must be waged against the problem--imperialism--

and not its symptoms.

B. It is a position that separates vets from their real allies: working people, the unemployed and all people struggling against US imperialism. As a 'special interest' group only dealing with vets' issues, veterans cannot link up their struggle with these allies. But as part of the united efforts of all people struggling against imperialism veterans can incredibly strengthen their movement.

C. A strictly reformist position inevitably ends up failing to rely and concentrate on the primary strengths of the veterans' movement: the united, militant mass action of the people. Instead this position will see the Congress, the VA, etc. as the primary focus of activity and it will see mass action as only serving as a pressure factor on these institutions. Not only does this fail to build the people's movement, it can never achieve any real victories either. Real victories in the veterans' movement can only be won by fighting for them. We must force the implementation of veteran's demands, not ask or try to pressure the VA or Congress to grant them to us.

This section of the paper deals with the questions of what becoming a mass anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus would mean.

1. Should we stop recruiting non-veterans or throw non-vets out of the organization? No. We are saying that we should focus our organizing work on vets and GIs; people who see the need for this work should be welcomed with open arms. Being a veteran is not a prerequisite. In the GI movement, for one example, many of the most effective organizers historically have been people who were neither GIs nor veterans.

We are not saying that the organization should regress to its pre-Winter Soldier days; we should have learned from the mistakes of that period AND from the mistakes we have made since the change to VVAW/WSO. And we should consolidate what we have learned. The majority of new members, under this concept, would probably be veterans and GIs since we are speaking to their concrete needs and interests. But we want--and should recruit--non-vets who want to join in the anti-imperialist struggle through work around vet and GI issues.

2. Would this change cause us to lose members? Yes, it probably would. It would cause us to lose some honest members whose primary interests are not with the struggles of vets and GIs; although these people would be "lost" to VVAW/WSO, they would not be lost to the anti-imperialist movement, because they would either find or develop those organizations which could best fight imperialism around their particular needs. Because they would be part of the united front against imperialism, they would not, in a larger sense, be "lost" to VVAW/WSO at all.

We would also lose those people for whom the struggle against imperialism is the vague "imperialism in the sky" without direct relation to the everyday real struggles of the masses of people. For these present members of VVAW/WSO, urgent, vigorous, militant struggle around immediate issues has no appeal and they would leave the organization.

3. Isn't this change just what the Revolutionary Union wants us to do? Yes, to a great extent. But the RU is not the only organization which sees us as an organization with a veterans and GI base and focus--so does Nixon, the Democratic Party (remember the attempts to get us to organize "vets for McGovern?"), the National Council of Churches, the CPUSA, NCUUA, the PRG, the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, and on and on. What is primary, however, is not who supports the veterans and GI focus of the organization; what is primary is whether that direction will move VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist struggle forward in the most effective possible way. In short, it's not who puts a line forward, but what the line is.

The position advocated in this paper is the position of the VVAW/WSO national collective; we advocate these changes because we believe they point the direction the organization should move, for the reasons given throughout this paper. We feel the important questions about this paper are political--is the analysis of our organizational history correct? Have we drawn the right lessons from our past practice? Have we accurately identified bad tendencies in the organization and would these

tendencies, if continued, lessen or destroy our effectiveness? We believe that it is around questions such as these that the future of the organization should be discussed.

4. What does this mean in terms of national projects of the organization? First, it means that we make a clear distinction between projects and those issues which we support (along the lines of what we called an endorsement at the Milwaukee NSCM). A national program or project which focuses on veteran or GI issues, in the context of anti-imperialism, should be organized by VVAW/WSO. As with the demonstration in Washington, we should ask other anti-imperialist organizations to support and build these projects and programs, but not ask other groups to take such projects on as their primary organizing responsibility. At the same time, we should support (endorse) those anti-imperialist struggles organized by other groups--for example, the struggle of the Farmworkers. We should also support, on a national basis, struggles which, though they are organized on a local basis, need national support--for instance, the Lawton/Gardner trial or the Leavenworth Brothers.

As exemplified by Operation County Fair, we should not undertake projects which diffuse the focus of the organization; OCF showed that we do not have the capability of organizing a project around poor healthcare in the rural south--nor should we take on that kind of project. If a community group in Bogue Chitto were organizing the project, strong chapters in that area of the country could and should support such a project which grew out of the needs of the people. The national organization could be asked to support the project through sending equipment or doing publicity. But it is not the task of VVAW/WSO to organize such a project.

With a clear organizational focus on veterans and GIs comes a limited scope for national projects and programs. Active support of other projects or programs should continue as part of the united front against imperialism.

5. Does this mean we work only on veteran and GI issues? No. It means that our organizing work would be done around these issues. To do this work in the context of anti-imperialism means that we would also work on and support other anti-imperialist struggles. Specifically, it means we would continue to actively support the truckers, or the Borden strikers, or the Harlin County coal miners, or the Attica Brothers; we would not organize these struggles. In terms of our prison project, we would continue to do veterans' work in prisons (DUP's, for instance) or GI work in the case of Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks, and we would continue to help in the struggles of prisoners around the country to organize and unify inside their prisons.

It certainly does not mean that we would give up our active support of the peoples of Indochina nor does it mean that our support would in any way lessen. As one of the few organizations which continues to stress the fact the war is still going on, we would not stop in our struggle for final implementation of the agreements, and for the freedom and independence of the Indochinese. Again in the context of anti-imperialism, we would continue to support the struggles of people around the world for liberation from U. S. imperialism.

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At the workshop, the Northern Illinois-Iowa Region submitted a position paper which was adopted by the minority of ten. This minority position paper is entitled, "Northern Illinois-Iowa Position Paper: VVAW/WSO is a 'Ship Without a Rudder'." The workshop report sets forth both the majority and minority reports and at the next NSCM there will be a vote by the delegates on which position paper will prevail.

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VVAW/WSO is a "Ship Without a Rudder"

VVAW/WSO is about to launch into a three-line struggle over the definition of the organization. Our purpose in this paper is to put forward what we think is a correct position and to draw up a few ideas for programatically implementing that position through an advance on the concept of "objectives". We see two incorrect tendencies, right and left, which must be struggled against.

The "right" tendency in the organization is to go backwards and attempt to restrict the membership of VVAW/WSO to veterans and GI's only. This is unrealistic in the light of our past practice, which has shown that without the support of non-vets., particularly non-vet. women, the organization would have ceased to exist long ago. We believe that we can integrate non-vets. into the struggles around vets. and GI's issues without creating a "ladies auxiliary" similar to the reactionary VFW. This tendency is based on veterans chauvinism and an idealistic, unrealistic approach to a very real problem. Because it is so obviously backward, we feel that it represents little real danger of being implemented at this time.

The real danger to VVAW/WSO is the "left" tendency which we label as the Winter Soldier Concept. Advocates of this position are opposed to implementing a real vets. and GI's focus to the organization. They wish us to become the amorphous "Winter Soldier Organization". This position effectively denies the need for a specific organizational focus. More to the point, it denies the need for an organizational focus on vets and GI's.

The tendency to think of VVAW/WSO as "the left" or an organization capable of absorbing anyone interested in almost any facet of the anti-imperialist struggle is not new. This WSO concept started out as a progressive step to allow non-vets. to join the organization and have an equal say in how it is run. Also, a good part of the anti-war movement had collapsed and left VVAW/WSO as one of the few surviving mass organizations still in existence with objectively anti-imperialist politics. The organizations reaction to this condition was to expand the type and scope of it's projects and activities to encompass many different aspects of the overall anti-imperialist struggle in an attempt to fill the gaps. Three examples of this are Bouge Chitto, Cairo, and Gary Lawton. Objectively, this started a trend away from veterans and GI's struggles and into a situation where we referred to our vets and GI members for credibility whenever we needed it, but really failed to deal with the problems of that constituency on a national level.

Our position is not to condemn the past because we believe this WSO trend started as a good thing. However, we are no longer back in those

happy-go-lucky days of yore. New conditions exist now that we hadn't imagined then. The WSO concept fails to meet real needs in three important ways.

1. It fails to provide anti-imperialist leadership for the rapidly growing spontaneous veterans struggles which are not taking place and abandons them to opportunists like the leadership of AVM.
2. It fails to take into account that the "left" is in a qualitatively new period which requires organizations to realize that some sections of oppressed people have different specific demands than others. This means that forces must be concentrated on dealing with the real day-to-day struggles of a specific section of the working class and linking that struggle to the anti-imperialist movement as a whole. Unless this is done, we will become mere idealists without practice to back up our words.
3. Most importantly, it distorts the concept of the "United Front Against Imperialism", by having VVAW/WSO continue wandering about like a ship without a rudder, with no real focus on a specific section of the anti-imperialist struggle.

We view the United Front Against Imperialism as an inter-organizational body composed of all those organizations which can be united around a program against imperialism. These individual organizations concentrate specifically on the problems and struggles of a particular section of oppressed people, such as women's struggles, in-plant struggles, veteran-GI struggles, student struggles, etc., and generally on the overall anti-imperialist struggle by raising consciousness among their members and working through the United Front Against Imperialism to support the overall fight of all oppressed peoples.

The WSO concept of having no organizational focus attempts to make VVAW/WSO into a United Front Against Imperialism all by itself. Instead of having many organizations in the UFAL, it results in only one organization with many separate focuses. Our study of many successful revolutions in other countries, such as Vietnam, Korea, Albania, China and the USSR (Bolsheviks) shows the bankruptcy of this position.

The work of a broad UFAL can only be handled inter-organizationally. Practice has shown even in our own organization that it is impossible to take a firm stand in the struggle for veterans economic benefits, better medical care, etc. and also work on other issues (Bogue Chitto and Gary Lawton as examples) which are outside the focus. One of those struggles, in this case Bogue Chitto, Gary Lawton, or vets, and GI's is going to lose out and be shorted of support. In fact, what has happened is that all three have not received the support they deserve. This can lead to opportunism, as in the case of Bogue Chitto, where we propagandize about our support for adequate medical care in Alabama to look good when in fact we do next to nothing for it.

The WSO line will lead to organizational diffusion, lack of focus, and a lack of unity which will never really advance any struggle. Only implementation of a real focus on one group's struggles, vets. and GIs in our case, will build the unity of a fighting organization capable of winning real victories for that section of the people, and advancing the anti-imperialist movement as a whole through working with other organizations in a real United Front Against Imperialism.

We feel that VVAW/WSO has to take a good look at itself, struggle out these points, and decide to unify around a veterans and GI focus. We must formulate and implement a program aimed at fighting for decent medical care, adequate benefits, repeal of the UCMJ and other bread and butter issues of vets and GI's. Our goals are to win these battles and educate those involved as to the nature of the Imperialist system.

To help implement and provide for a base for this new unity, we feel the organization should put down its focus, goals, program etc, in a clear way. To this end, we are proposing that the objectives be taken one step farther and systematized so that our priorities are obvious. The following format of a Principal of Unity, Definition of Focus for VVAW/WSO, a Program and a Statement of Principals, meets our needs.

FORMAT FOR POLITICAL STATEMENTS OF VVAW/WSO

PRINCIPAL OF UNITY

We are opposed to the system of Imperialism and its oppression of peoples and national liberation struggles at home and abroad.

DEFINITION OF VVAW/WSO

We are a mass anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and active-duty people base and focus.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPALS

This should be an elaboration of the principal of unity and definition of VVAW/WSO. It should contain a further explanation of imperialism and sections on its manifestations, such as racism and sexism. This is also where we should explain the relationship of other struggles, for example strikes, UFW, U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia, etc. to our own struggles. We suggest a form similar to the pamphlet "What is VVAW/WSO".

Primary Work

- I. Amnesty
 - A. Veterans Administration
 - 1. A GI bill equal to WWII and KOREA
 - 2. End discrimination against all vets with less than honorable discharges.
 - 3. Restore all cut backs.
 - 4. Full Benefits for alternative service people.
 - 5. Good quality medical care.
 - a. Recognition of PVS as a service connected disability.
 - b. End all methadone maintenance programs, better drug programs.
 - c. Better staff to patient ratio.
 - d. End retaliation against patients who speak out against the VA.
 - e. End all experimentation on patients.
 - B. Discharge Upgrading Program (Single type discharge).
 - C. End SPN's or descriptions.
 - D. Prison Project
- II. Active Duty People Work.
 - A. Initiate active-duty projects where not exist.
 - B. Support active-duty projects.
 - C. Set up military counseling programs.

Secondary Level

- I. United Front Work
 - A. Kick Nixon Out!
 - B. Indochina
 - C. Other national liberation struggles.
 - D. Domestic Struggles.
 - 1. Political Prisoners.
 - a. Lawton-Gardiner (National Project).
 - b. Leavenworth Brothers
 - c. Attica Brothers
 - d. Ruchelle Magee.
 - e. Wounded Knee.
 - f. Others.
 - 2. Workers struggles
 - a. United Farm Workers
 - b. Steelworkers (against ENA)
 - c. Borden strikers
 - d. Others

- II. National Defence Committee (when necessary)
 - A. Bob Hood

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B. Leavinworth Brothers.

END OF PROGRAM FORMAT

As you can see this is simply a much clearer and systematic way of setting down the old "objectives". We placed the idea of old objective #1 #2, #10 first as our principal of unity because we are primarily an anti-imperialist organization. We combined #3, #4, #5 into the definition of VVAW/WSO so our focus would be clear. We placed #7, #8, #9 in the statement of principals so their relationship to the overall anti-imperialist struggle and our focus could be clear.

Our primary goal in this paper is to help define the struggle for the clarification of our organizational definition and focus. We would like our proposed format to be taken back to the regions and discussed. However, that is not the primary goal of this paper. So, we are not interested in a point-for-point hassle over the proposed program, etc. until the major areas of focus, etc. are cleared up. A bureaucratic way of dealing with this could be very divisive at this time!

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Some other workshops held were:

National Defense Committee

"Winter Soldier" Newspaper

Prisons/Prison Project

On Saturday, August 10, 1974, from approximately
5:30 P.M. to 9:00 P.M., the following workshops were held:

Objectives of VVAM/USO Workshop

Amnesty/DUP Workshop

GI/GI Conference Workshop

Indo-china Workshop

On Sunday, August 11, 1974, the following workshops
were held:

VA/Veterans Workshop

D. C. Demonstration Analysis Workshop

National Projects/OCF Workshop

Internal Struggle and Leadership Crisis Workshop

In the VA/Veterans Workshop, there were 13 people,
five or six of whom were RU members. In the workshop,
it was decided to set aside the dates of October 28, 1974 as
Veterans Day; November 11, 1974 as Veterans and VA Day;
January 27, 1975 as Peace Day; March 29, 1975 as Vietnam
Veterans Day; and May 16, 1975 as Armed Forces Day. These
dates will involve demonstrations at VA Hospitals, take-
overs of VA Regional Offices, and possible take-overs of VA
Hospitals. These proposed dates were heavily backed by RU
delegates who used the slogan, "War on the VA."

Apparently the RU members had gotten together at

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a private meeting on Saturday, and then at this Sunday workshop put forth a four page proposal. Many of these in attendance at the VA/Veterans Workshop became so angry with the high-handed methods of the RU people that they walked out of the meeting. Despite the anger over the methods employed by the RU; their four page proposal was passed.

ba
b7D/ Source: [REDACTED]

August 13, 1974

On August 21, 1974, [REDACTED] advised the following:

The following comments can be made about the NSCM:

The main area of conflict at the NSCM concerned attempts by the Revolutionary Union toward making the VVAW/WSO an anti-imperialist organization with a veterans base struggling around veterans issues.

The contact between RU and VVAW/WSO came about at an undetermined time in the past when the National Collective of the VVAW/WSO sent letters to RU, Communist League, and October League, and other "pre party structures" asking these groups to respond to general questions facing the "movement." Only RU responded seriously and at length. In New England, the National Collective arranged contacts between the local organizers of the VVAW/WSO and the RU.

The National Collective's current political position regarding RU is still unclear. While they are leaning very heavily toward RU, they have some differences of opinion with them. For example, [REDACTED] has presented a strategy for "War on VA," a strategy which the National Office does not support. b7c

Inasmuch as the National Office is to reflect the will of the organization as a whole, as reflected by decisions

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made at the NSCM, the National Collective is bound by what is decided at the NSCM.

Regarding the Buffalo NSCM specifically, it was noted that RU was able to make headway at the conference because those members of the VVAW/WSO who were interested in obtaining greater benefits for veterans like the RU position.

It is necessary that the RU find sympathizers among the non-RU members of the organization, because the RU members are still a very small minority. They do have effectiveness on voting, however, due to the voting structure of the organization. For instance, the Washington-Alaska Region which was founded by RU members, had five votes at the NSCM. The California Region which is opposed to the RU position also had five votes. The inequity, however, is that the California Region is said to have 500 to 1,000 VVAW/WSO members or supporters within its Region whereas the Washington-Alaska Region has six members.

Prior to the next NSCM, which is in St. Louis in four months, the Ohio Region, the California Region, and the New York Region hope to have a meeting to discuss the RU conflict. This meeting would occur in two months, and these three regions are recording their experiences with RU and organizing in general during this period of time. It is anticipated that these experiences can be used to argue against the RU position at the next NSCM. There are several reasons why RU is not liked by some VVAW members, such as the fact that RU has a very low opinion of the intellectual ability of workers; that they expect a "revolutionary change" to come about in American politics in a very short period of time, and so forth. It is felt that the entire conflict between the VVAW/WSO members who support RU and those who oppose RU and the whole RU question itself, may not be resolved for two or three years.

On August 21, 1974, [REDACTED] *ba; b7D* provided the following which reflect the results of several of the workshops which were held at the NSCM:

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AMNESTY/DISCHARGE UPGRADING WORKSHOP REPORT

A round-robin report on amnesty and discharge upgrading began the workshop with each region participating relating their practice with them during the past 7 months. In sum we agreed that our amnesty campaign had been very successful and should be pushed forward. Most of the reports, however, dealt with experience and problems stemming from DUP work. In some cases, the DUP's being discussed by regions were not in fact VVAW/WSO programs at all- they went under other names and were in fact other organizations. In other instances, (Colorado), DUP work was found by the workshop to be compromised in a lot of ways by the coalitional nature of the DUP's in the area. The basic thread running consistent through the discussion of DUP work however was the minimum of success the DUP work had had in 1) building the amnesty and single-type discharge campaigns and 2) recruiting new members to VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist struggle. The workshop analyzed the failure of DUP to achieve these goals as due to the following reasons:

1. People have been, consistently, losing sight of the political nature of discharge upgrading work. The tactic of preparing and filing discharge upgrading briefs for bad paper vets in many cases ^{became} the goal of DUP's in and of themselves. Instead of concentrating on organizing badly discharged vets into the street to fight for, and in, the campaign for UVA and a single-type discharge, DUP's have been organizing paperwork into Washington. The primary aspect of DUP work is mass outreach and building the people's movement to fight for UVA and a single-type discharge. We know we cannot depend on the DUP or on the imperialist system. We can and must depend on the people. We cannot view DUP's as "service projects".

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They must be seen as but a tactic in the overall campaign to fight for UUA and a single-type discharge.

2. Another major failure of DUPs was not providing immediate and concrete activities for bad paper vets at the very beginning of the counseling process. This failure was again, a direct result of relying not on our primary strength, the people, but on the system. As soon as a vet contacts the Dup, an explanation should be made that the rate of upgrading is about 80% against him-it should be explained that the people reviewing an upgrading appeal will be the same class of people that gave out the bad discharge in the first place. That even with an upgraded discharge he's going to get lousy benefits and a lousy job.

however, we cannot merely lay out an analysis of the discharge classification system, the upgrading system and imperialism and expect bad paper vets to then directly involve themselves in the anti-imperialist struggle. This will not happen on a regular basis unless there is a ready link-up made between the day-to-day needs of the vet as a result of bad papers and a concrete program to fight for these needs. With most bad paper vets it is a fight for a decent job, for benefits and services. Chapters with DUP's must have programs in operation that will enable bad paper vets to immediately and personally get involved in actions directly relevant to their lives: demanding decent jobs, V. benefits and services, etc. The point is to immediately place them actively in this struggle, not to allow them to passively sit out the appeal process as a bystander.

3. It became evident that many DUP's are drowning in paperwork supposedly seen as necessary to prepare a brief for submission to the DUP's boards. This reveals a) an attitude of relying on the system rather than the people (as explained in point #1). We should know that the system cannot and will not meet our demands. b) Terry Selzer

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of D.C. VVAW/WSO revealed that there was a great misunderstanding about the amount of paperwork really necessary for filing with the boards. The point is that we do not actually have to write the briefs at all. All that is necessary is a chronology, the vets 201 file and a few govt. forms. Terry will be supplying all the regions doing DUP work with the specific technical information necessary for this filing in the immediate future.

4. We decided that the tactic of flooding the discharge upgrading boards was politically incorrect. It was like asking for a free trial or demanding the "guarantees" we supposedly have under the constitution. It is a repeat of the same error of primarily concerning ourselves with the system rather than the people. We are striving to fill the streets with people fighting for UUA and a single-type discharge and not filling the DUP boards with paperwork asking for it.

5. The ACLU's LADC will not be providing VVAW/WSO DUP's with legal representation in the future. We hope to attain Nat'L. Lawyer's Guild assistance and rely on our own resources to meet this tactical need.

II. RE: Amnesty work in particular--

1. It was felt necessary that the amnesty's pamphlet's section on "background" needed to be rewritten before the next printing of it.

It places too much emphasis on so-called constitutional rights rather than bringing up the correct reason for UUA: imperialism.

2. It was felt that a more concerted effort was needed to link up other amnesty constituencies such as families of resisters, those in prison, etc.

III. The amnesty/DUP workshop reached the following conclusions:

1. That we endorse the NO report to the Buffalo NSCM on amnesty and DUP

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2. That the amnesty/Dup campaign remain a part of the overall program of VVAW/WSO for the coming months as outlined in the NO Report to the Buffalo NSCM on our program.

3. That we should continue discharge upgrading work,.

HOWEVER, we reiterate that we will focus our work on the political aspect's of DUP's as part of, or one tactic of, the general campaign for UUA and a single-type discharge. DUP's revolve around this struggle, not the other way around. We must understand the nature of DUP's- what it can do as a tactical part of the UUA/ single-type discharge campaigns, and what it cannot do as a strategy in and of itself.

From our experiences in organizing for the July 1-4 demonstration and building a chapter in N. Jersey, we think that VVAW/WSO should develop a campaign of "War on the VA," and that the "War on the VA" be adopted as a national campaign and be the main focus of the work of the organization as a whole for the next period.

This campaign is a concrete way for us to take up the mass demands of veterans at the same time as we attack an important imperialist institution, the VA. In launching an offensive against the VA, we will not only be defending the standard of living of an important segment of the working class, but also exposing and weakening the VA and the imperialist ideology which it and the right-wing "Veterans organizations" it supports are pushing.

There are several reasons why "War on the VA" is the key campaign for VVAW/WSO to undertake at the present time. The economic and political crisis of U.S. Imperialism is growing daily, under pressure from the defeat in SE Asia, rising resistance of the world's peoples, and growing inter-imperialist competition. As a result, the ruling class has been forced more and more to increase economic attacks and political repression against the working people and oppressed nationalities at home. Veterans, once in the forefront of the struggle against the War they were forced to fight, now find themselves in the forefront in the fight against these attacks. Resistance to government harassment and cut in the standard of living is now the main issue confronting veterans, and the main way this comes down in veterans as a group is the agency of the VA.

Declaring "War on the VA" does not mean separating vets off from the working class and other struggles, but rather opening up a new front in the fight against imperialism. Because vets, especially Third World vets, are hard hit by the crisis, and because of the special consciousness which comes from having been part of the imperialist military machine, vets struggle against the VA and for their immediate interests can take on a militant and consciously anti-imperialist character that can be an inspiration to all the struggles which are presently on the rise. VVAW/WSO is the only organization which can lead veterans in this struggle; at the same time it is only by becoming part of the real needs and struggles of the masses of vets that we as an organization can grow and advance.

The "War on the VA" is not a squabble over the distribution of a few crumbs. The VA has no interests in common with the masses of vets or the American people. It cannot "serve the people"; it is an imperialist institution. The harder we attack it, the broader we build our movement, the more we will help to expose the system as a whole. In participating in the "War on the VA" many vets will be able to understand on the basis of concrete experience how all our struggles are part of a single United Front Against Imperialism and why we must join with the working class and all oppressed people, including especially the liberation movements of the Third World, in our fight against the common enemy.

This is not to deny that with the "War on the VA," as with every other struggle of the people, a danger of reformism exists. AVM and similar organizations have provided a vivid illustration of how some forces within the veterans movement will try to confine the struggle to "bread and butter issues" and isolate vets from the rest of the working class and the world anti-imperialist movement. In carrying on "War Against the VA," we will have to rely on the masses of veterans. We propose that as a guide in combatting reformism the campaign be built around the following "7-point war Plan":

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Nationally there is on-going work being done by different chapters around organizing the anti-imperialist veterans movement. What we need to develop is a national strategy to help and guide us in planning and moving our work in an anti-imperialist not reformist direction.

GUIDELINES:

1. Our struggle is revolutionary, not reformist.
2. The VA cannot be made to serve the needs of the people. We are organizing veterans, not the VA.
3. Use the campaign to bring in other anti-imperialist issues and to win people to these struggles.
4. Fight racial and national discrimination. Build a unified, multi-national campaign.
5. Keep demands winnable but don't confuse victory in one battle with winning the whole war.
6. Don't limit ourselves to what the VA says is within its powers to do.
7. We don't want any special privileges. We raise specific vets demands because they are in the interest of the working class and the anti-imperialist movement.

DEMANDS: Below is a list of suggested basic demands around the VA campaign:

1. No more red tape and harassment. End military type control over benefits. -- The red tape and hard time vets get at the VA is deliberately used to prevent vets from getting all we are due. We must demand immediate processing of all claims and appeals. -- Like the military, the VA makes its own laws and is answerable to no one. End all special adjudication and review boards. We demand the right to our own physician at all disability examinations and hearings, and the right to appeal all VA decisions through the courts.
2. Single-type discharge for all Vets. Full VA benefits for all vets. -- Less-than-honorable discharges are used by the military to threaten and punish those who fight back against it, especially against Third World Vets. We demand one certificate of service, retroactively, for all vets, and an end to all SP# numbers and similar discriminatory characterizations. -- In the meantime we demand that the VA grant full benefits to all veterans regardless of type of discharge.
3. Decent care and full staff at VA hospitals. Right to our choice of physician and medical services at government expense. -- VA hospitals are so bad that only vets who have no other choice (about 15%) go to them. We demand full and decent medical care for all vets and dependents. Demilitarize the VA hospitals. No more using vets as guinea pigs for new drugs and procedures. Treat older vets under VA nursing care with respect and dignity. We support the struggles of hospital workers for better pay and work conditions.

--at the same time we demand the right to treatment at a facility of our choice at government expense. This includes drug addiction and PVS. Right to treatment by our own physician at VA hospitals.

4. Education and job training for all vets. Raise and extend the GI bill.

--The present GI bill makes it nearly impossible for poor and working vets to go to school. We demand payment of tuition and all school-related expenses and a living allowance at federal minimum standard. No cut-off of the GI Bill for future vets. End all time limits on eligibility for educational benefits. Unlimited time for working vets to complete course of study.

5. No more racial and national discrimination.

--Like the military, every VA facility and program is permeated by racism. We will fight every particular instance of racial discrimination and denial of rights. We demand firing of all racist administrators and abolition of all discriminatory programs and practices.

6. No military recruiters at the VA. Kick out the American Legion, IRL, and other reactionary Veterans organizations.

--The VA works to keep vets under the influence of the military and organizations pushing imperialist war. We demand an end to all special privileges of the AL, IRL, etc., such as certifying vets for welfare and other programs. Throw them out of VA premises.

(7. We would like to have something on jobs but need to start from a specific tie-in with the VA. No info on this at present.)

CONCLUSION

By unfolding the demands of universal unconditional amnesty and end all aid to Chieu and Lon Nol around the struggles for the day to day needs of veterans, it gives us a solid, concrete way to bring the spirit, militancy, and anti-imperialist consciousness of the July's Demonstration in Washington back to the masses of vets in the community.

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OBJECTIVES WORKSHOP
MINORITY REPORT

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1. MINORITY REPORT ON HOMOSEXUAL OBJECTIVE SUBMITTED BY NEW YORK CITY.

YES-4 NO--18

2. OBJECTIVES WORKSHOP PROPOSES THAT VVAW/WSO NOT HAVE ANY OBJECTIVE ON THE OPPRESSION OF HOMOSEXUAL PEOPLE.

YES--19 NO--3

3. PROPOSED OBJECTIVE ON THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN---

TO STRUGGLE AGAINST SEXISM WHICH IS HISTORICALLY USED AS A TOOL OF US IMPERIALISM TO PREVENT AND DESTROY UNITY AMONG THE PEOPLE AND JUSTIFY THE OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF WOMEN. WE MUST FIGHT THIS DEHUMANIZING TACTIC WHICH DIVIDES US AND STRIVE TO BUILD UNITY BETWEEN ALL PEOPLE.

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED

4. PROPOSED THAT OLD OBJECTIVE #10 BE INCLUDED AS IS IN THE OBJECTIVES OF VVAW/WSO.

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED

5. PROPOSED THAT THERE BE NO PREAMBLE TO THE OBJECTIVES OF VVAW/WSO.

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED

6. PROPOSED THAT WE ADD "GRAND JURIES" TO THE LISTING OF EXAMPLES OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN OBJECTIVE #9.

YES--19 NO--1

7. PROPOSED MINOR WORD CHANGE FOR AMNESTY OBJECTIVE

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.

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED

THE WORKSHOP PROPOSES THAT ITEMS 4, 5, 6, and 7 be implemented AT THIS MEETING AND THAT ITEMS 1, 2, AND 3 BE TAKEN TO THE REGIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION.

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The workshop began with a round robin report about work being done around GIs within the regions present. Out of the 9 regions attending the workshop, 4 areas are presently engaged in active duty organizing (Ohio, Washington State, Maryland, Calif) and 5 have established contacts in various bases and intend to begin work (Wisc, St. Louis, E. Pa., Portsmouth, Chicago). Reports generally reflected a low level of actual GI organizing within VVAW/WSO, but everyone expressed earnest commitment to continuing and expanding active-duty work on a chapter and regional level.

There was general agreement that the low level of organizing could be traced to particular limitations of the National GI Project. As we see it, the NGIP has been unable to provide a clear political direction for anti-imperialist GI work for VVAW/WSO. This has hindered movement toward creating a unified national program for GI work. The workshop reached a unanimous consensus that the National Collective should provide this needed leadership and direction with the input of the National Steering Committee.

Our discussion of the nature of GI organizing in VVAW/WSO centered around the following points:

- 1) the military is the primary armed force used to maintain US imperialism;
- 2) GIs are exploited inside the military to be used against their own people - the working class;
- 3) we need to organize and educate people inside the military around both of these aspects. Not only should we be organizing and educating around the particular oppression of GIs (i.e. UCMJ harassment, living conditions, racism, etc), but we must also continually be developing a consciousness among GIs about their role within the US military. As a primary tool of US imperialism, the military should be ultimately turned back on its operators.

We saw the movement for a single-type discharge as a major, concrete activity that can bring the anti-imperialist GI struggle to the fore as a united program for our organization and hopefully other organizations doing GI work. We felt that it should not be the sole campaign in the GI movement, but rather as a starting point in developing unified activity. We saw its importance in attacking the military discharge system as part of US imperialism, bringing out amnesty in a concrete way and tying together veteran and GI issues. The STD campaign has been implemented on a chapter level to a minor extent thus far and can be continued thru more concrete plan for putting this campaign into practice which could be drawn up at the National GI Conference.

Realistically speaking, our progress in developing anti-imperialist GI work has been slow and faltering. The GI workshop recognized our utter unpreparedness to lead forward the rising, spontaneous GI movement, and many people attributed this problem to the fact that we have neglected to focus in on anti-imperialist GI organizing. But we are determined to take on this struggle and ask that regions and chapters continue serious political evaluations of their strengths and weaknesses in GI work and submit any and all related ideas and reports to the National Collective in preparation for the GI Conference.

*insert "by its basically bureaucratic nature and concentration on localized communication"

19 people attended the workshop, including one active duty GI.

There was much discussion in this workshop and basic definitions; the following definitions were agreed on by the workshop to be taken back to the regions for guidelines for discussion.

1. A member is a person who works to the best of his or her capability for local, regional and national programs of the organization. The chapter must decide who is a member.
2. A chapter is a group of people who work collectively to the best of their capability for local, regional and national programs of the organization. The region must decide on who is a chapter.
3. A region is a group of chapters who work collectively to the best of their capabilities for the regional and national programs of the organization. The NSC must decide who is a region.

The workshop also feels that a definition of an organizing committee and organizing contact needs discussion. Further the entire WAA/NSO working paper, plus the added items which appear in minutes of meetings (such as the N.O. report definition of voting from the Milwaukee NSCM) should be discussed in chapters and regions. Regions should send results and input to the N.O. to be compiled by the 5th of October; NO should send the compilation of the results back to the regions by the end of October.

There was also agreement that emphasis on the need for political growth of members, chapters, and regions be made at all levels as part of our day to day work. Politics and practice are inseparable, and political growth, through study, struggle and practice, advances WAA/NSO and the anti-imperialist movement. Day to day work around our organizational programs, therefore, involves an understanding of the politics of these programs. In short, the workshop agrees that political growth of each member must be emphasized in every aspect of our work as we struggle for political unity. In unity there is strength.

Discussion around challenging seating of regional delegations to the NSCM stressed that challenges be decided through struggle at the beginning of the meetings; though the mechanics for this now exist, they are not being used--and they should be.

Chapters and regions should also discuss the question of representation. Specifically, the workshop raised the question of whether or not large and/or strong regions and small and/or weak regions should have equal votes at the NSCM. It was pointed out that the only way to give full representation from all the chapters and contacts around the country is through a convention, an idea which should also be discussed in chapters and regions; the workshop agreed that such a move could not come in the immediate future.

The leadership crisis, indicated by the fact that only one person accepted nomination to the NO is lessening. It was emphasized that chapter activity, implementation of organizational programs, and political growth and unity is developing organizational strength at the mass level which, in turn, is developing leadership further. Several members of the workshop pointed out that the growth of communists in the organization was also contributing to the lessening of the crisis in leadership, at all levels of WAA/NSO.

An agenda was adopted and the following proposal was presented first
 Proposed: That VVAW/WSO drop OCF as a Nat'l project.

Discussion and struggle: A history of Ocf was summarized for the workshop. It was agreed that discussion of the causes of OCF's failure was necessary. It was immediately clear that there was essential unity around the view that the original decision to undertake OCF was dictated by paternalist, racist motives and that the project was essentially reformist in nature. There was struggle around the relationship of the failure of the project to the focus of the organization and what that focus was.

Summary: That the project failed due to the paternalism and racism involved in adopting what was essentially a reformist project outside our De Facto focus, which was anti-war and the liberalism involved in subsequently failing to deal with the main contradictions of our initial failure.

CAIRO: The workshop felt that the decision to support the struggle in Cairo was a good one and that it represented a successful illustration of the link of the Anti-war movement to the repression that was going on inside the U.S. The decision to get involved in Cairo was different from OCF because we were not trying to organize the Black community and that we were invited by a strong community organization. Our mistake came when we dragged out the support far beyond the initial struggle which we were invited to support. We think that the organization failed to deal with the changed conditions in Cairo for the same reasons including a paternal attitude towards Black people stated concerning OCF. We do wish to commend the organization for finally conducting a thorough investigation, through the St. Louis chapter, which was presented at this meeting. It was first felt that we ought to have supported Cairo as an action or series of actions rather than as a national project.

CP/USA: There was considerable struggle over establishing the facts of CP/USA practice and the practice of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (here in referred to as "the alliance") in regard to the cases of political repression we support, specifically the Leavenworth Brothers, Lawton-Gardner, and Russell Magee. Much of this struggle involving naming individuals, and certain allegations which the workshop felt, by consensus, should not be included in this report. A point of unity which momentarily received workshop support by a 12 in favor, one opposed, 1 abstention follows:

Proposed that VVAW/WSO use the various tools at its means (Winter Soldier, Newsletters, meetings, etc.) to expose the practice of various individuals and the organizations with regard to cases of political repression that we are working on. In the Winter Soldier this would be limited to letters from political prisoners and other interested parties (such as the Alliance, Angela Davis, etc.)..

We first evaluated leadership of the demo. We saw the strengths being that the self-initiative by a number of people who took leadership roles at the demo shows the great potential for future leadership that VVAW/USO has. We also believed that, in general, the leadership learned and progressed throughout the course of the demo. We saw the weaknesses of leadership as well. These were that the leadership tailed the masses and didn't lead, that the leadership was defeatist in attitude and held back the people because of lack of faith in the masses of people's ability to correctly assess situations. The same people tended to make all the decisions all the time. Leadership must be constantly developing and expanding, which was our fourth criticism. Finally, there was a lack of outreach and integration of community people and others who were drawn to the demo. We feel that leadership should have provided an overall plan for this kind of outreach, for without it we will not continue to grow.

We also criticized the overall failure to consistently link up the five demands at each action. We should have had banners/posters/signs about each one at every action and should have somehow linked them more strongly in each leaflet. We must educate the masses of people about the unity and interconnectedness of each demand. As there is a potential for reformist tendencies to emerge, rather than our anti-imperialist politics (ie, the demo about single-type discharge at the Court of Military Appeals could have been in this vein), we must be continually aware of this and struggle to put forth our politics.

A major misconception at the demo was what we called the "Dewey Canyon III mentality." The age of John Kerry is over. We must realize that we are a fighting antiimperialist organization and that the system is attempting to smash all parts of the antiimperialist movement, including us. The assumptions many made--that the police will never attack and that we are exempt from harassment because "we are veterans"--show that there was a misunderstanding of our current concrete level of struggle.

The buildup for the demo was seen as also helping to build the regions and was strong when it was in the form of actions that took place on a consistent basis in the streets. We also felt that the buildup for the demonstration was unified for the first time.

We concluded that we need to go on from here and continue to build VVAW/USO as a fighting antiimperialist organization and that we need to bring that understanding back to our local communities.

UNITY*****STRUGGLE*****VICTORY

Buffalo NSCM

Mass Organizations Workshop - Minority Report

We are a Mass Organization with a veterans and GI base and an anti-imperialist focus.

We feel that to identify VVAW/WSO as having an anti-imperialist focus is to put politics in command. To view veterans and GI's as a 'constituency group', and then to put forward a line that we should make this group our focus and to organize around the specific points of oppression of this group is incorrect and will lead to reformism.

1. It does not put politics in command to say that VVAW/WSO's focus is veterans and GI's and to then add that we're also anti-imperialist. This is based on a view of the world, as well as of VVAW/WSO, which analyzes that "nothing is happening" or that "there's no crises for us to react to". (In the extreme case of AVW, a "national veterans crisis" was created.) It ignores what is going on in the world today. How can a view which closes off the US at its borders ever be considered proletarian internationalism. This is the reason that, in the majority position, Indochina is seen as either a secondary level of work or an issue we give support to, but do not organize around. This will always happen when the constituency defines the politics - the labor movement, and especially the CIO, is an example. The historical development of VVAW/WSO and the growth of anti-imperialist consciousness within it stems directly from the fact that we attacked the war in Indochina and the imperialist military machine rather than our specific problems as a constituency group.

2. To view veterans and GI's as a constituency group is a mistake. The specific point of oppression of Vietnam-era veterans and GI's is participation in the imperialist war machine. What the majority position labels as the specific points of oppression are the effects of this participation. To focus on the effects rather than the actual point of oppression leads nowhere. The National Office position paper uses the farmworkers as an example to support its case for constituency organizing (pg.15). The point of oppression for farmworkers is around their work and it is correct for them to organize on this basis. If the growers grant every demand of the UPW, that point of oppression would disappear (though others would continue to exist). The point of oppression for vets and GI's is participation in the military. If the VA granted every demand of veterans, the struggles around PVS and the choices of active duty GI's would remain the same.

3. Every vet is also something else - a man or a woman, working or unemployed, a student, white or third world. How do we select a constituency group? It is a good thing to organize vets and GI's, but to do so as a particular constituency group negates 1) the dual nature arising from their experience and 2) by the fact of this dual nature, their involvement in other struggles. The creation of an artificial group leads to reformist demands.

4. The focus on vets and GI's while welcoming full and equal membership by non-vets is only a more sophisticated version of the veterans

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auxiliary. It is indeed saying that it is correct to focus on somebody else's struggle. The struggle of non-vets in this organization focuses on anti-imperialist work, which is women's work, as Vietnam is women's work. For non-vets to focus on vets and GI's is to deny that the struggle is the same anti-imperialist struggle and focus. In the NO position paper (pg.11), it states that the WSO concept "envisioned transforming VVAW into THE mass organization of the US." This is not true. The majority of the membership adopted this position to resolve the contradiction between vets and non-vets, particularly women, within the organization. To say that non-vets should find their appropriate organization is a cop-out.

5. The basis of the majority position is a mechanistic application of the concept of the United Front. It lacks an analysis of the material conditions in this country. The models put forth are of a United Front against an external force - either facism in Europe in the 1930's or imperialism in China and Vietnam. Our relationship to imperialism is qualitatively different. Imperialism defines our economic base as well as our political institutions and our culture and we need to take this into account in building and becoming a part of a United Front against imperialism. The focus on veterans and GI's as a constituency group does not do this. Nor does it offer any way for us to best use our experience to advance the anti-imperialist struggle. It is easier to organize people or groups around their own needs or oppression when there is no explicit demand to consider these needs in the context of other peoples' struggles. To do this, to fail to make anti-imperialism our focus, is to stand in opposition to the rising tide of anti-imperialist struggles in this country and throughout the world.

UNITY - STRUGGLE - UNITY

UNITY - STRUGGLE - VICTORY

MASS ORGANIZATION WORKSHOP-MAJORITY REPORT

The majority report of the Mass Organization workshop sees the nature of the future of VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and G.I. base and focus.

All members of the workshop agreed with everything in the definition except the focus. Many of the reasons for a vets and G.I. focus are laid out in the N.O. position paper and are repeated here. In fact, this position is the present practice of most chapters in the VVAW/WSO

There are 3 major arguments against this line. First, it would limit our growth and thus decrease our effectiveness as an organization and as a part of the anti-imperialist movement. There are, however, 8.2 million Vietnam-era vets, plus a military full of G.I.'s (and potential vets). And we are fully capable- with our structure, our politics, and our programs- to recruit many of these vets and G.I.'s into VVAW/WSO and the anti-imperialist movement. Moreover, we are not saying "limit"- we are saying "focus".

The second major argument says that focus on G.I. and vets issues is reformist. Any demand less than smash imperialism can be put forth in a reformist way. The D.C. demo with its 5 demands was not a reformist action because the demands were put forward in an anti-imperialist context. And out of this approach grew the militance and unity of that demonstration; militance and unity for VVAW/WSO can and should come from the same focus.

Third, this position does not limit our work to vets and G.I. issues- we must actively support those struggles nationally and locally which push the anti-imperialist movement forward. If there is an overwhelming need to organize a defense committee in the community, for instance, and there is no one else to do it, VVAW/WSO can take on that job. But we have to remember that the best way to help Russell Magee, or the Vietnamese, or the Attica Brothers is through a strong, fighting organization which can support their struggles by attacking imperialism. One of the best things VVAW/WSO did yet in support of Gary Lawton was the D.C. demo.

An anti-imperialist focus as presented in the minority report leads to chapters working on whatever project in their community seems to be the best way to draw in people. It works from anti-imperialism in the sky to an anti-imperialist organization searching for a cause to take up. It leads to diffusion as a national organization and the resulting lack of effectiveness. We felt that a good analogy which illustrates this concept is like building a house from the attic down.

There were three regions represented who are doing prison support work: Ohio, Great Plains and California. Four regions who are interested in doing prison support work: N.Y., N.I.I. and E. Pa.- N.J. and St. Louis.

It was made clear at the onset that we realize that we cannot organize a prison movement, - but that we can support prisoners by sending/giving them guidance in their political education and by sharing our knowledge both inside and outside, of organizing and leadership skills. We learned from one of the people in the National Prison Project that the involvement of VVAW/WSO in prison work began/begins with initial contacts from veterans who are inside the prison and who are interested in forming chapters and want information on VA bannies, etc.

With political input and output, they are learning that the veterans' struggle inside the joint ties their struggle and organizing against their major oppressor, the system of imperialism. The consensus of this workshop is that what is needed is a national anti-imperialist prison organization.

This analysis - that a national anti-imperialist prison organization is needed - comes from our concrete practice. We have learned that we simply do not, on a national scale, have the time, energy, people power, or expertise to do more than support. We cannot provide legal help, publicity, funding, or any of the many other necessities that are needed in doing organizing. We see political support as our role and understand that, as the anti-imperialist politics of prisoners grows, they will be more oppressed and we will have to support their struggles. Nevertheless, they are the only ones who do the prison organizing inside. Our task is to educate the masses around prisons and the prison movement and is to organize support. Whenever we can lend political support we should. Outside support is vital to the prison movement and must expose the system.

We take our political analysis to the people inside and learn from them so we can take their analysis and use it to accurately educate the people outside.

At the last NSCM, a booklet was to have been prepared to be used as PE for both inside and outside prisons. "What is VVAW/WSO?" has been sent to all prison contacts. Our consensus was that chapters doing prisoner support work would send the project office any other ideas, helpful hints, etc. around this work. The objective conditions are so unique in prisons around the country that one pamphlet would not be applicable to them all, except in an extremely general way.

Other ideas for prison work include (1) the use of DUP as a strategem to get inside initially and to use it as PE about imperialism. We cannot mislead prisoners about the reality of the DU system (e.g. if a person's got a BCD and is serving a 400 year rap for murder, that person's discharge is not going to get upgraded). The NPP reported that they've gotten requests for information from prisoners about SPN's and that this has led into an increasing political awareness of the military and anti-imperialist movement. It was also suggested that letter writing -- the establishment of communications - is a key factor in solidifying political information about our common struggle both inside and out.

PRISON PROJECT WORKSHOP REPORT - p. 2.

(2) use federal and state bureau of prisons literature and compare this with what we know our brothers and sisters are really going through and dealing with inside. This exposes the prison system as a tool of imperialism and we can use this to politically educate the people outside. The final suggestion was (3) if people inside put out a newsletter, or if the warden or other honchos put one out, try to get on the mailing list or get copies.

It was decided that the VVAW/WSO Newsletter for prisoners, "Inside-0" be sent to all chapters. This can be an incentive to do prison support work.

After our extensive political discussions on behaviour modification, our concensus was that this is a topic in itself, and that more extensive investigation be done on behavior modification by those doing prisoner support work.

UNITY - STRUGGLE - VICTORY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Buffalo NSCW
Objectives Workshop
Minority Report

MINORITY REPORT

VVAW/WSO as an anti-imperialist organization has to focus on the people oppressed by Imperialism to support the struggle against Imperialism. We feel that gay people are among those who are directly oppressed by the system. This materializes in that they are systematically denied their civil rights, are subject to criminal prosecution and are forced to lead hidden and fearful lives. This is a tool used by Imperialism to prevent and destroy unity among the people.

We feel that labeling gay people as "abnormal" or "bourgeois decadent" shows a clear lack of understanding of who our allies really are in building a strong mass anti-imperialist organization. Thusly, we feel this necessitates the drafting of a principle of unity or an objective around the struggle of gay people.

Unity-Struggle-Victory

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INDOCHINA WORKSHOP REPORT

The members of the Indochina workshop agreed that emphasis, by VVAW/WSO, on the continuing war in Indochina has increased since the Milwaukee National Steering Committee Meeting. This is evidenced by the "Implement the Agreements -- End all Aid to Thieu and Lon Nol" demand that was put forth in Washington and also used for local build-up for the demonstration.

Therefore, the workshop endorses the National Office position for a national program as stated in the National Office report. We concur with tying this demand with the other three anti-imperialist demands on the dates mentioned, with the understanding that consistent day-to-day work linking together all four demands must be done. However, particular emphasis on the "Implement the agreements" demand should be made on the January 27th action. We suggest that the national office, if financially prepared at the time, prepare a poster for local build-up of this action.

The workshop also suggests local support, wherever possible, with Indochina Peace Campaign and Indochina Solidarity Committee's International Week of Concern September 29 - October 6.. The demands as called for by the above mentioned organizations, are amnesty of all War resisters and Implement the Peace Agreements. In support of this action, the workshop suggests local organizational literature/leaflets with an anti-imperialist basis be used.. (More information concerning this will appear in the National Newsletter)

The need for continued internal and external education on the nature of the continued war was also discussed and supported. It was again suggested that people who would like to keep up on the current activities in Indochina subscribe to a publication of: Indochina Resource Center, 1322 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Also, literature available from IPC & ISC.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION NATIONAL
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
AUGUST 8-12, 1974

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DATE 7/27/95 B. 765 p. 11/12

NATIONAL OFFICE REPORT

13th

VVAW-WSO

NATIONAL STEERING

COMMITTEE MEETING

August 8-12



BUFFALO, NY

EXTERNAL REPORT

The past four months have seen a steady deepening and broadening of our ties with other progressive forces, both here in the U. S. and elsewhere around the world. As VVAW/WSO matures, it becomes increasingly necessary for us to maintain these ties and to understand their great significance to us. We must constantly guard against neglecting external relationships, dismissing them as unimportant or unrelated to our work. The July demonstration in Washington clearly proved just how important they actually can be. Without the substantial support we received from many other organizations in building for the July demo, we could not have made it nearly so great a success as it was.

As we pointed out in the external National Office report to the Milwaukee NSCM, such united actions have neither caused us to lose our independence as an organization or forced us to water down our anti-imperialist politics to meaningless reformism. Rather, VVAW/WSO has come out of the experience as a much stronger and more capable organization. Principled, united action will both build VVAW/WSO and the general anti-imperialist movement.

Overseas, VVAW/WSO has reaffirmed existing relations with a number of groups and has established new relations with others. We continue to maintain regular communications with our Indochinese comrades in North and South Vietnam and in Cambodia. Elsewhere, VVAW/WSO GI chapters in Japan have continued their very close working relationship with Japanese peace groups such as Beherein. We have been in recent communication with representatives of numerous Italian progressive groups, have established relations with the Dutch GI movement in Holland and have strengthened our ties with representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

VVAW/WSO members participated in the highly successful Montreal Conference on Vietnam in early June. This conference was organized and sponsored by the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada and was attended by a wide variety of Canadian and U. S. organizations. More recently, our Yokosuka chapter represented VVAW/WSO at the 20th World Conference Against A & H Bombs in Tokyo. Organized by the Japanese peace group, Gensuikyo, this conference marks the sixth time that VVAW/WSO members have participated in anti-nuclear war activities organized by Gensuikyo.

Domestically, VVAW/WSO continues to work closely with a wide spectrum of progressive forces in the U. S. movement. There are few regions that do not work with at least a few groups in their area on a regular basis. In addition to these ties, the National Office mails out copies of Winter Soldier and other VVAW/WSO organizational materials on a monthly basis to the majority of movement groups in the U. S. Whether they like us or not, most groups have definitely heard from us. Finally, we are happy to report that our ties have strengthened with many GI projects. Communications have increased and visits to many projects on both the east and west coast took place in recent months.

There are exceptions to this general picture, of course. Overall, our rela-

tionship with the Communist Party, USA has not been what it should. Given the complexity of the subject, it will be gone into in some detail further on in this report. Clearly, the most serious problems we've had with other organizations in recent months have been with the so-called American Veterans Movement. The National Office external report to the Milwaukee NSCM first raised the issue of AVM's reactionary role in the veterans' movement. At that time, AVM was successfully masquerading as a "progressive" veterans organization, gaining an incredible hype from the straight media and even a helping hand from a lot of movement organizations that were not aware of AVM's real role. Just about every word written in that report about AVM's reactionary leadership was borne out in practice during our July demonstration in Washington. There, AVM unsuccessfully tried to pimp off of the rising veterans' movement and, more directly, off of the demonstration VVAW/WSO was organizing. While they naturally continued to get the full support of the establishment press, AVM was totally revealed to the people for just what they are: cold-blooded opportunists. Most of our position on AVM and groups like them can be found in the editorial we wrote on the veterans' movement in the August Winter Soldier. While AVM was utterly exposed in D. C. as out and out opportunists with no base and no program, that is not to say that other groups will not quickly rise to fill their shoes. This has been the history of the veterans' movement since its inception. VVAW/WSO must constantly guard against this reactionary tendency in the veterans' movement wherever it is being pushed from -- either by the AVM, the American Legion, the VFW or whomever.

UNITY - STRUGGLE - VICTORY!

INTERNAL REPORT

Most of the activity around the country during the past 4 months centered around the DC demonstration. The strength and effectiveness of many regions was reflected by the numbers of participants in the demo. Some regions such as Colorado and California had problems which come from geography and lack of transportation; at the same time, the fact that only a handful of people came from places such as Alabama or the Carolinas accurately reflected the amount of organizational work which was done in those places.

Because of the demo, communications to and from the NO have been less frequent than usual, and the majority of them dealt with aspects of the demonstration. (Pre-demo work in the regions will be covered in the demo section of this report.) We cannot, therefore, give more than an overview of the growth of particular regions. Two regions, New England and Eastern Pa, both of which were functioning on a low level of activity at the time of the last NSCM have revived through work on the demo and after. The Washington-Alaska region has also begun to revive, and a few interested people are at work in Oregon and in Idaho-Montana. Otherwise, strong regions continue to grow; some of the weaker regions have gotten weaker or gone under completely.

We have good communications, in general, concerning what individual chapters and regions are doing; what we do not get is a political analysis of what is going on. We feel there is a need for the organization to pass around the knowledge which comes out of our practice. The internal newsletter is one good way to do this. We need something more than the fact that a chapter has appeared on a couple of TV shows, or picketed the VA (though we need this information also). What was the effect of the action? How was it effective (or ineffective), and how could it have been improved? How did it build the chapter or the anti-imperialist movement? An unusual activity--like the New York City shit list--should be advertised to other chapters, but we can only do so if we know about it.

We are asking chapters and regions to analyze their own actions or activities, to make decisions about particular campaigns or programs--and then to feed that information to the NO so that we can print it for the benefit of other chapters. This is one of the functions which we believe the internal newsletter should fulfill.

We also feel that the organization has grown--both physically and politically--to the extent that we now can and must make a realistic assessment of our strengths and weaknesses as an organization--where we have active chapters or contacts, and where we do not. Our chapter listings are full of chapters which are nothing more than a mailbox number, and do as much work as a number can be expected to do. Partly, we believe, this comes from the tendency to hype our own region, to see the regions as competitive, and to base this competition on the number of chapters we list on paper. This tendency clearly omits the fact that we are a national, not regional organization. What we feel is needed is a full-scale housecleaning so that we, as an organization, know where we are: that will give us a clear point from which to continue to build. We therefore ask regional offices to contact the chapters in the region and get the information as to whom is real and who is phantom to the NO.

The problems caused by phantom chapters lead to a larger question, one which we believe should be considered at a workshop during this meeting. We propose that

there be a workshop on internal organizing which should begin to discuss questions like what is a chapter, what is a member, and what degree of organizational discipline should we exercise.

Because the situation in Florida is the most glaring example of the problems which can appear under our present loose organizational guidelines, we use that as an example. According to our chapter list, we have eight chapters in Florida. Of these, six do not exist at all--we have written to them from the NO, and the regional office has tried to contact them. There has been no reply. Then there is a group of people in Tampa, and finally, the South Florida chapter (Miami and Ft Lauderdale).

First, the story of Tampa (abridged); Tampa has, for the past eight months, refused to work within the Florida region. Its coordinator, Carl Brown, has not been honest with the NO and, worse, with the people in the chapter. Information from other people in Tampa makes it obvious that information from the NO does not get to the membership, and what does get through is badly distorted. In preparation for the DC demonstration, Carl Brown became a coordinator for AVM, organizing for their demonstration; while in Washington he stayed at the AVM office. When he did appear at the Mall, he was confronted by people from the Florida region and specifically people from Tampa and was thrown out of the campsite.

Several people from Tampa have talked to the NO about trying to build a chapter in Tampa, one which would be a VVAW/WSO chapter (not VVAW as Carl Brown puts forth), and would follow the programs laid out by the NSC. As yet, nothing has come of these attempts. We believe that there may be a Tampa chapter of AVM; there is no VVAW/WSO chapter.

Finally, the situation in Miami. While this report was being written there was a phone call from Miami which contradicted what was already a confusing situation report--in other words, the primary aspect of the Miami/South Florida chapter at this time is confusion, with different factions giving entirely different versions of what is going on. To give one example: The Miami Herald quotes Scott Browne, who is identified as the Miami coordinator, as saying "We are constitutionalists. Frankly, I don't know if we're a right-wing organization or a left-wing organization these days." Scott Browne says that he was misquoted; another faction from Miami says that the quote is substantially correct.

Summing up, there is no VVAW/WSO organization in Florida. We are only kidding ourselves to say that one exists. There are honest people in Florida who are interested in building VVAW/WSO; we cannot and should not forget them. This is true in Tampa and around the region, though with the present reputation of VVAW/WSO in the state, recruiting honest leadership who will work to build the organization in Florida.

Florida is just a blatant example of the results of our present structure. The NSC must have and use the power to create and dissolve regions. We believe that the NSC should begin to look toward the day when NSC representatives go into a region to help that region build, or at least spend sufficient time in a region to watch the practice and make recommendations to the NSC before that region is accepted as part of the national organization. The time has passed when we, as an organization, can be so liberal as to let any person, no matter what his or her politics, background,

NATIONAL PRISON PROJECT REPORT

It was one year ago, at the St. Louis NSCM, that we began to discuss the possibility of doing some sort of prison work. In this past year, we feel that we have made a great deal of progress, obtained a clear political grasp of the work we are doing, and the Prison Project has grown very rapidly (though not out of hand). We are in regular communication with nearly 100 prisons around the country, and we have several major contacts in the majority of those prisons -- contacts who communicate with us regularly and provide in-put as to how they envision our Prison Project operating. These are very solid contacts and the running of our project has begun to depend on the ideas of these brothers and sisters to a large extent.

At the last NSCM, we set down a statement of purpose for our prison work. We feel that this statement has been realized and should continue to be the guideline for our work. Our major focus of work has been on tying together the struggles going on in various prisons, while at the same time tying these struggles in with the over-all anti-imperialist movement. Prisoners have picked up on this idea in a very positive way, and have encouraged this focus of our prison work. We cannot, nor should we, be organizing the prison movement. Thus, we feel the focus of work we have arrived at is correct and has been proved out in our practice. It is true that in certain cases we have been able to provide help to people in prison (i. e. getting legal assistance, putting people in touch with people who are better able to help them, etc), but the majority of our work has been, and should continue to be, offering support for struggles, corresponding with people and providing political discussion on a variety of issues. We have learned the importance of being honest with these brothers and sisters, and have continued to express that prison organizing is not the major focus of our work. They have welcomed this honesty, with an understanding that our major work lies outside prison walls, though they also understand that our concern with lending support to their struggles is sincere.

An example of the way in which prisoners have related to our day-to-day work may be seen in the way they responded to our national demonstration in Washington. Prior to the demo, we sent out petitions (Declaration of Solidarity and Support) which put forward the five demands. These petitions were designed to be circulated so that knowledge of our demands could be spread, and so that our brothers and sisters in prisons could in some manner plug into the demonstration and express their support of our demands. The response to these petitions was very impressive -- we received over 750 signatures from prisons in all parts of the country. When the petitions were returned, letters of support for our demands and much interest around the demo was expressed from the "inside." We feel that this shows that these brothers and sisters do relate to the daily work of our organization and that they have an understanding of what our work is all about, as well as how our work relates to their particular oppression.

We hope to be able to tie in this understanding of VVAW/WSO in more concrete ways in the future. For example, we will be discussing the future of VVAW/WSO, and since the majority of our prison membership relates very strongly to being members, we are expecting many responses from people on questions such as these. We hope to be able to tie the prison membership more closely together by showing that we are concerned with people's opinions on the type of work that VVAW/WSO is in-

or qualifications, start a chapter and represent the organization. We should consider guidelines for membership, and guidelines for chapters. We are a political organization, and the exercise of internal organizational discipline is essential.

The NO does not have the solutions to these problems; we have no concrete proposals to bring to a workshop. We do think we have to start discussing these problems and finding solutions. This is why we propose a workshop on internal organization be added to the agenda, and that ideas from this workshop be taken back for discussion in chapters and regions.

involved in. In line with this, some of the people that have been in contact with us over the past year are beginning to be released and paroled. They are interested in learning more about the organization and are investigating VVAW/WSO as a group they may wish to work with on a daily basis.

We believe that part of the reason for the increase of "organizational identity" within our prison membership is the prison newsletter, "Inside/Out." Only three newsletters have been sent out, but the response to this publication has been extremely positive. The newsletter has now established itself and enough response and "routine" have developed so that we expect this to be an on-going monthly publication of the Project Office. There has been some confusion as to who this newsletter should be sent to, and we criticize ourselves for not getting the newsletter out to all of those chapters which are doing prison work. Hopefully, problems such as this can be resolved in the prison workshop.

Problems with the National Prison Project stem around a lack of communication between the Project Office and the regional offices. Once again, we must raise the point that we simply do not have a good understanding of the types of prison work that chapters and regions are doing. We know that there is activity, but unless we are informed of it, it is difficult to analyze the success of the project on a regional/chapter level. For example, we know that chapters are interested in getting DUPs inside prisons so that the necessary personal contact can be made. However, we have very little idea as to how these plans are progressing, what problems have arisen, and where in fact, prison DUPs are operating. Because of this, we must again stress the importance of communications from the regional level to the project office, and at the same time, we realize that communications between the Project Office and the regions must also be increased and made more effective.

On the whole, our prison work is progressing very well. We should now begin to sum up where we have been with this project, and the direction that we should be moving toward for the future.

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POLITICAL PRISONERS REPORT

Work around political repression and political trials has been on the rise during the past six months, and this work is being done on local, regional and national levels of the organization. Also, the trials being worked on include those which are of both national and local importance and scope. The form for our defense work includes both VVAW/WSO committees, as well as coalitional efforts to defend political prisoners. We see the increasing support we have been able to provide for political trials as a positive thing, and work which VVAW/WSO should continue to be involved in. As repression heightens in the U. S., more political trials will be arising and many of these will demand our response and/or involvement in some form or another.

Many of the trials that we are currently working on will be discussed separately at this meeting, thus the details as to what is happening with these trials will not

be discussed here. It is important, however, to give an over-view of the types of trials that we are working on around the country. On a national level, work around the trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner is continuing, and the interest which was generated last December around this trial has remained and the organization as a whole is relating in a much more concrete manner to this national project. Gary has continued to do speaking gigs around the country whenever he was able to get away from trial preparations in Riverside, and Gary's speaking gigs have done much to inspire regions to raise the racism and repression of this trial in more day-to-day ways than was ever done before. Hopefully, this kind of work and a continual raising of the issues involved in this frame-up will continue through the approaching third trial.

Other trials which the organization is heavily involved in include the Leavenworth Brothers -- a series of trials being worked on by chapters in Kansas and Missouri. These trials involve VVAW/WSO members, both as defendants and as defense personnel; and for this reason, plus the fact that these trials are very important for the prison movement, have made chapters around the country take an interest in and closely follow the events of these trials. Also, work around Bob Hood continues at a high level, particularly in the Bay Area of California, and though Bob's trial is basically a local issue it is important to realize that the national organization is involved because the arrest and charging of Hood is just one more in a series of attacks on VVAW/WSO.

In other parts of California, the San Jose chapter has taken the lead in working for the freeing of Ruchell Magee and a growing, coalition effort for defense has been initiated in that area. Ruchell's trial is definitely of national importance and other chapters may wish to examine the way in which they can best plug into this effort to obtain Ruchell's freedom. Another local defense committee has been formed by the Santa Barbara chapter which is defending a federal prison, Al Glatkowski, imprisoned because of the hijacking of the Columbia Eagle in Cambodia. Al is organizing the VVAW/WSO chapter in Lompoc Prison and his case may turn out to be very important -- both for the prison movement and the amnesty movement. We hope to get more information on this case out in the near future.

Other trials that the organization is working on in a support capacity include the Attica Brothers and the Houston 12, while work around Karl Armstrong is still being done in Wisconsin. The National Office has continued to keep informed of many other major trials going on around the country -- Wounded Knee, Martin Sostre, the San Quentin 6, etc. and many of the above-mentioned trials have been reported on in Winter Soldier. The information we have is available to any chapter or region upon request; also, we hope that regions will keep us informed of the trials and political repression cases that are being worked on, as well as any new political cases that may arise in the future. With the completion of the National Defense Committee packet, the effectiveness of our defense work should be increased and an understanding of the importance of working on certain trials will be maximized.

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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA & THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE

VVAW/WSO has always tried to work with other organizations regardless of political ideology that we did not totally agree with, but always demanding a principled relationship. However, it is becoming apparent that the Communist Party, USA and its brainchild, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, have increasingly used opportunistic practices and down right lies in relation to our work and the movement as a whole. In National Newsletter #26, this office reprinted a letter from Gary Lawton to Angela Davis, blasting her for opportunistically manipulating the life and death struggles that many political prisoners are waging; but this letter is only the tip of a giant iceberg of opportunism.

It is important for people to understand the history behind Gary's letter. When Angela was still in prison, and thousands of people were coming to her defense, the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, even though it was broke and trying to defend three brothers, decided to split whatever monies it raised three ways. One third went to the defense of Lawton, Gardner and Jackson; one third to the defense of Billy Dean Smith; and one third to the defense of Angela Davis. The RPPDC (in which VVAW/WSO was playing a very large role) thought it important that this be done to show solidarity and link up the struggles of all political prisoners. When Angela learned of this move, she wrote to Gary and promised that when she was free, she would immediately begin to help the three Riverside brothers gain their freedom. The CP also made many promises of money, support work and other activities.

Since her release, Angela has not done one concrete thing for the freeing of Lawton and Gardner; and long before she was freed, the CP had reneged on numerous promises to the RPPDC and VVAW/WSO. Yet, Angela, the CP and the Alliance all claim in their publications and in public speeches that they are doing all sorts of work for Gary and Zurebu. That is what finally prompted Gary to write his letter. Even now, after personally receiving the letter, Angela still claims (in the name of the Alliance) that they are working feverishly on Gary's defense.

The case of Ruchell Magee is even more reprehensible in that it was his revolt against slavery that led to Angela's incarceration. VVAW/WSO has been working on Ruchell's defense for the past few months, and we have received painful letters from him laying out his feelings of being used and deserted by the National Alliance and the CP. Yet, the CP claims in a manner similar to that in Gary's case that they are totally supporting Ruchell and feverishly working on his defense. Again, this is pure opportunism, as we know directly from Ruchell that they are not doing anything. In fact, Angela has not even found the time to visit this valiant brother in her many visits to San Jose.

The clearest example of the opportunist practice of the Alliance and the CP, and their unprincipled relations with VVAW/WSO can be seen by looking at the case of the Leavenworth Brothers. We became involved with the defense of these brothers nearly a year ago and initiated the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee. Shortly after the committee was operating and beginning to build a movement around the brothers, a few CP members began relating to the LBODC.

As time passed, more new people joined the committee and it became clear that the majority of these new people were either CP members or sympathizers. These people did nothing in the way of real day-to-day work to defend the brothers, but they did begin raising the question of having the committee affiliate with the Alliance. VVAW/WSO members on the committee opposed this idea (because they were familiar with the Alliance's practice around Gary and Ruchell) but at a meeting when some of the VVAW/WSO members were out of town, a vote was taken and the committee affiliated with the Alliance. In essence, what had happened was that the CP had packed the committee so that the votes were under control. On top of this, the pro-Alliance faction of the committee began to race-bait VVAW/WSO members by saying that the LBODC and VVAW/WSO should no longer share the same office because VVAW/WSO cannot relate to black people. (They said this knowing that all of the Leavenworth Brothers are members of VVAW/WSO!) As a result of tactics like these, the committee became split into two factions (VVAW/WSO and pro-CP) and left the less political, independent members of the committee with a great deal of confusion.

Since the affiliation, the brothers themselves have found it necessary to enter the struggle against their defense committee's involvement with the Alliance. They are very much aware that the only people doing on-going work around their defense are VVAW/WSO members and "independent" people. The pro-Alliance faction, for the most part, has not even found the time to move to Wichita where the trials are going on and where the defense committee is now centered. The brothers are preparing a statement condemning the practice of the Alliance around their particular case. They are painfully aware that since the affiliation took place, neither the Alliance, nor the CP, have done one concrete thing to defend them; their "advocates" on the committee have done nothing to build a movement around the brothers in an on-going way; and the brothers are fed up with hearing that the Alliance is traveling around claiming to be deeply involved with seeing that these brothers are freed. Once again, as with the case of Lawton and Gardner and Ruchell Magee, the Leavenworth Brothers have heard many promises but nothing in the way of concrete work has appeared. They view their affiliation with the Alliance as nothing but a hype for the Alliance and the Party, and they feel that as honest elements, they are rapidly being sold down the river.

What does this all mean for VVAW/WSO? And more importantly, what does it mean for the struggle against imperialism and the mass movement in this country? VVAW/WSO cannot ignore opportunism, especially when it directly affects our work. The CP is clearly using the struggles of prisoners and political repression cases to build themselves up, but at the expense of those brothers and sisters whose lives are on the line. We have done an excellent job of working around political repression in a very principled way, and this is witnessed by the respect we have won from Gary Lawton and the Leavenworth Brothers. In contrast, Gary, Ruchell and the Leavenworth Brothers have nothing but obscenities to offer when discussing their experiences with the CP and the Alliance.

The CP and Alliance have done little in the way of direct support and work for those people that they claim they are defending. What this does is confuse people and divides them against each other. The race-baiting used against VVAW/WSO in the LBODC is a clear example of how far the CP will go in dividing people and confusing the struggle.

Our organization must begin to expose actions like those of the Alliance and the Party. But we must be principled. We must always have the facts or search them out. We must investigate and challenge the validity of the Alliance. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression is a mass organization led by the CP. This is not bad in itself and we are not opposed to communist leadership of mass organizations -- a principled leadership won by good practice. But it is increasingly apparent that the CP is using the Alliance to hype itself and is not doing the work it says it is. This kind of practice presents a clear danger to the movement as a whole because it draws honest people into dishonest organizations. If the CP actually supported the struggles of those they profess to be defending and the various defense committees involved with the Alliance, that would be a good thing. However, since this is clearly not what is happening, VVAW/WSO has a responsibility -- both to the membership of our organization, as well as to all people in the U. S. -- to expose the reactionary role the CP is now playing.

At this time, it would be wrong to condemn the Alliance because there are some honest organizations and people in and involved with the Alliance (i. e. Wounded Knee, Puerto Rican Socialist Party) and we cannot condemn them simply because of the practice of the CP. We would therefore suggest that VVAW/WSO begin to use the tools at our disposal (newsletters, Winter Soldier, internal education, meetings, etc) to expose these practices and the manipulative leadership role the CP is playing within the Alliance, and drag them into the light of day. Let the CP answer if they can. We are not out to trash for trashing's sake. We are out to correct bad practice and identify just who are our friends and who are our enemies.

AMNESTY

Last December, we began our national strategy around universal and unconditional amnesty. At the Antioch, Ohio NSCM, we laid out a program that would carry us through June with a national demonstration in Washington, D. C. in early July. We decided at that time that organizing GIs and badly discharged veterans would be the primary focus. This would be done by beginning discharge upgrading projects, using them as an educational tool in which to discuss amnesty and the need for it. At the Milwaukee NSCM, we decided on the dates, the demands, and the general scenario for the national action and regional actions to be held in May.

What occurred during the first seven months of the year was generally an overall success. Many chapters began the discharge upgrading projects, there were many regional and chapter actions for amnesty, and there was a general recognition that focusing on the less-than-honorably discharged veterans was a good thing. The five demands adopted at the Milwaukee meeting gave an overall anti-imperialist focus to the work and the originally planned demonstration in Washington became a focus for the work that chapters did during the first seven months of this year.

One of the most controversial demands of the amnesty campaign was the universal, unconditional amnesty demand. Many people reported that this demand was the one that drew the most interest and the most questions. We think that this was also good. In linking universal, unconditional amnesty with the other demands, we were able to talk about amnesty and show its connections to the other demands. This was evidenced by the outstanding success of the Washington, D. C. demonstration.

We feel that the work done during the past seven months should continue. Included in this National Office report is a section on the summing up of the practice of the DUPs, which we feel should also continue. In putting forward and linking up the universal and unconditional amnesty demand with the other four used at the demonstration in July, we feel that we can best put forward our anti-imperialist work in a tight, politically correct way. We also see that the practice of the chapters by focusing on the less-than-honorably discharged veterans is the best way to fight for all of these demands.

We should not look at the demonstration in Washington as being the culmination of our amnesty work. It was the culmination of the first phase of the national strategy. In fact, our work continues and we believe that the best way to continue this is to put forward the demands in a series of demonstrations that are outlined in another section of this National Office Report.

Our demonstration in Washington proved that we can put forward anti-imperialist demands, focusing on amnesty, the war, veterans, and Nixon and his class, in a strong and militant way through continued unified action. This is the best way that we can continue to build the anti-imperialist amnesty movement.

NCUUA

NCUUA has been gaining broad-based support for the universal, unconditional amnesty campaigns. Many organizations are still joining and the Steering Committee still meets to discuss the various ways organizations are putting forward their campaigns. The council endorsed our July action and publicized it in their newsletter and in a general mailing. Not many of the groups turned out large numbers of people, but there was participation at the July demo by representatives of many of these groups. For the future, NCUUA has endorsed the Week of Concern, which will occur at the end of September and will focus on the Indochina War and universal, unconditional amnesty. We expect that many of our chapters will participate in some way in the activities of this week, which is being mainly organized by the United Campaign to End the War. We think that it would be a good thing for chapters to participate in the events, focusing as much as possible on our five demands. To do so would be to give an anti-imperialist focus to the week. Chapters in California are planning a demonstration during the week and have invited the United Campaign to End the War to march with them.

One of the continuing problems with NCUUA is that much of the talk is centered around Congressional bills. Since none of the bills are worth salt, and since these groups suffer from relying on Congress and not on the people of this country, certain political problems arise. But, by the very nature of the council, it is in our best interests to continue raising anti-imperialist views on amnesty and work with the NCUUA organizations.

Discharge Upgrading in the Amnesty Campaign

Since the last NSCM, more chapters have taken an interest in discharge upgrading work and many have been successful in integrating new members into chapter work around a single-type discharge. But at the same time, there has also been a lot of discouragement and stagnation within many chapters about their DUP work. Some have found it difficult to get vets with bad discharges to come in; some have found the processing of paperwork to be a time-consuming, mundane task that is hard to interest members in doing; others have had great success in finding vets with bad discharges and processing the paperwork, only to then be faced with a great backlog of cases that will take at least a year to be ruled on.

We think these problems stem from the outlook that chapters have toward DUP work. Discharge upgrading was voted by the Steering Committee to be one of the primary tactics in developing our amnesty campaign and the struggle for a single-type discharge. However, it now appears that many chapters look at DUP as an end in itself -- as the overall strategy, instead of a tactic. Now that we have good concrete programs, many chapters have lost sight of the overall campaign and settled "comfortably" into working on a program -- filling out forms and interviewing people. But as with any anti-imperialist work, if politics are not in command, rather than paperwork, then people will always reach a point of stagnation and eventual discouragement. We think this obstacle can be overcome by re-evaluating the political nature of DUP.

We feel that if chapters approached the question of bad discharges from the standpoint of a "campaign for a single-type discharge" that we could avoid stagnation. DUPs should be looked at as only one part of the campaign. The major focus should be on organizing -- organizing vets with bad discharges and other people into local activity, such as demonstrations, leafletting, speaking, petitioning, etc. We need to identify for the public the people we are trying to help. Without this public identification, our demand will become weak and meaningless for most Americans. It will be falling into what we have described before as "witnessing against imperialism" rather than fighting against imperialism -- it is "anti-imperialism-in-the-sky" rather than anti-imperialism-in-the-streets. If we think only in terms of processing paperwork, we will only be identifying these vets for ourselves and the government, and not the general public. Without taking these cases off the paper and putting them before the American people, we will only be spinning our wheels.

Many of you will say that we must "flood the boards" with discharge cases. We agree that it can only help to have the boards flooded; but that is only one of the many forms of public pressure. Furthermore, we don't think it is up to VVAW/WSO to do the flooding. Our role should be to provide leadership and an anti-imperialist focus. A quick look at the hundreds of schools and organizations around the country now offering discharge counseling is a good indication of how far the campaign has come, and is also an indication of where the flooding will come from. Discharge upgrading has become such an issue among vets groups, that by the end of the year, virtually every office relating to Vietnam-era vets will be offering some counseling about bad discharges; many already will process the paperwork. The momentum has been created (much to VVAW/WSO's credit). It is now time to evaluate what the conditions are today and develop our strategy from there.

Our evaluation of where we are today suggests that the following points should guide the work of VVAW/WSO's campaign for a single-type discharge in the coming months. Focus on ACTION projects -- petitions at plant gates, unemployment offices; picket lines, selling the paper and the amnesty booklet; and regular demonstrations. Concentrate on organizing people into the campaign, rather than organizing paperwork into Washington. The focus should be ACTION.

For some projects, this may mean cutting back on the number of cases that they are taking on. If you find that you do have to cut back, don't turn anyone away without first thoroughly explaining your local campaign, the political reasons for the campaign and the possibilities for getting involved. In the long run, a chapter will contribute more to eliminating the bad discharge system if it relies on 20 vets with bad discharges actively working in a local campaign, than if it exhausts the chapter preparing 100 cases that will only sit on someone's desk in Washington for a year.

Raise the imperialist political nature of the bad discharge system. In all of our work, we should be constantly pointing out how the bad discharge is used as a disciplinary measure to keep enlisted people in line. It should also be pointed out that the U. S. is one of the few countries in the world that has a multiple discharge system. Now that more and more groups are realizing the need for a universal upgrading of all bad discharges, it is even more important for us to expose the whole discharge system for what it is. The more people who understand the reasons for bad discharges and how the discharge system comes down hardest on work-

ing class and third world people, the better our chances of eliminating the multiple discharge system entirely. Remember that a single-type discharge is more than just amnesty for those who already have bad discharges; it means abolishing the system entirely.

The final point we would like to raise is the longrange nature of the discharge campaign. One serious political problem that we think could easily arise in the future is that amnesty will be granted with all Vietnam-era bad discharges upgraded, but without abolishing the whole discharge system. If we haven't built a strong campaign by then, we could have the wind taken right out of our sails. Universal amnesty would of course be a great victory, but if we don't prepare ourselves, the granting of amnesty would mean that we would never regain the momentum for abolishing the discharge system. A lot of the momentum right now is coming from people who are not consciously anti-imperialist; they support amnesty for one reason or another, but if amnesty is granted, they won't be sticking around to see the discharge system abolished; neither will the majority of the 500,000 Vietnam-era veterans who will have their discharges upgraded. It would be just like the signing of the Paris Agreement. If everyone in the anti-war movement would have been a conscious anti-imperialist, they would have continued their work in spite of the signing of the Agreement. That's why it's important to develop a conscious anti-imperialist outlook around the discharge system, as well as organizing people into the campaign who are directly affected. We need to do more than just witness against imperialism; we need to build a strong, anti-imperialist campaign to end the bad discharge system. That is the only way we will be able to carry the campaign through to the end, even in the face of amnesty being granted by the government.

BUILD A FIGHTING CAMPAIGN FOR A SINGLE-TYPE DISCHARGE !!!

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JULY 1-4 DEMONSTRATION ANALYSIS

(We are presenting here a political analysis of how the National Collective viewed the July 1-4 national action in Washington, D. C. While we will briefly comment on the logistical aspects of the organizing that went into the July action, we will concentrate on the larger political issues that emerged from the demonstration).

Overall, the July 1-4 action must be viewed as a resounding success for both VVAW/WSO and for the general anti-imperialist movement. It was the most militant, best organized and led action we've yet held on a national level. It was also the most intense period of struggle the national organization has yet been through in an action situation and the organization grew incredibly as a result of it. In Washington we were basically trying to establish a strong anti-imperialist position, on a national level, in two very important struggles: the movement for universal and unconditional amnesty and the rising veterans' movement. (While these two movements obviously dovetail very closely with each other, they should be viewed separately). Both of these struggles are faced with the difficult task of being led as part of the general anti-imperialist movement and not as narrow reformist movements that do not tie into the larger questions surrounding the very nature of our system.

We were successful in both these accounts in our actions in D. C. The issue of universal and unconditional amnesty and the demand for amnesty for veterans was raised in D. C. in a manner that those concerned with the national amnesty movement will have great difficulty ignoring. Similarly, the development of the anti-imperialist veterans' movement took a big step forward in Washington and dealt a severe blow to the opportunist-misleaders of the veterans' movement who have done their best to see that the vets' movement remains impotent and incapable of winning real victories for veterans. These are the so-called veterans' groups that consciously strive to see that vets don't deal with their primary source of oppression, U. S. imperialism, but just try to get a few handouts here and there from the VA.

More than anything else, the July demo showed the need for a militant, fighting anti-imperialist organization focusing on the needs of vets and GIs. It also showed that VVAW/WSO was well suited to become that organization. We saw that the militance of the demonstrators in Washington was qualitatively greater than in any of our previous actions. During the conduct of the demonstration, we consistently found that when we relied on our primary strength, the united, militant mass action of the people, that we could win really important victories. We also found that most of the major mistakes we made in Washington occurred precisely because we didn't rely on the people but became overly concerned with purely external forces, police, courts, etc, and failed to let our initiative be determined by mass action. It is upon this militance that we must build our movement and our organization in the future.

While it was obviously not reflective of all regions in D. C. , the primary failure of the July action was seen to lie with the inability of some regional leadership to truly reflect the militance of their regional contingent. Some regional lead-

ership repeatedly tailed behind their people, consistently making right errors in trying to represent them. Time and time again in Washington this occurred: the people were three steps ahead of their leaders!

In some instances, regional leadership saw its role as being sort of a walking ballot box -- passively taking the votes of its contingent to develop a collective position. This is correctly a task that a voting machine should perform -- it is definitely not the role leadership should see itself in. What is increasingly going to be needed in VVAW/WSO is dynamic, out with the people, primary leadership that can take the initiative and place itself in the vanguard of the struggle.

In other cases, regional leadership objectively tried to tone down the initiative and militance of their people. An example would be those regional leaders that repeatedly pushed a "the cops are gonna get us if we do thus and so" line, both in their contingents and during the nightly NSC meetings. Such a position, in addition to needlessly adding more tension to the situation served to cloud the objective conditions we were operating under during the demo. It came basically from a failure to base our actions on a determination of where our people were at, but rather trying to second guess where the "man" was at. The point should have been that we had the initiative during the entire situation, not the "man."

The most obvious example of another such failure to rely on the people and to concentrate solely on second-guessing the cops occurred on Tuesday night. There, the tactical leadership for the night, which did contain a member of the National Office as well as regional leadership, decided against holding the demo as we left the mall solely on the basis of what they thought the cops were going to do. If we fail to base our plans and actions on our primary strength, the people, we will continue to make such errors.

We need strong, militant regional leadership that will be the vanguard force in leading the fight for our demands. This must be seen as one of the most crucial problems facing VVAW/WSO today. Unless regional leadership is seen in this way, and unless it is up to the task, regions will develop defeatist outlooks or fall into reformism and thereby hold back the initiative of the people and the further growth of the organization.

A few words need to be said on the incredible support we received in building for Washington from a number of other organizations. Much of our success in Washington can be directly attributed to the work these other groups did to build for the action -- in terms of propaganda around it in communities across the nation, material support and actually organizing people to go to D.C. This was the first time VVAW/WSO seriously attempted to have other organizations fully participate in one of our national actions. We organized the demonstration, set up its structure and its political thrust and then asked other groups to fit into that structure. The results of it speak for themselves. When we can have principled unity with other forces we not only should, but must, try to unite with them. The broader the unity we can achieve, the stronger our overall impact will be.

Building Actions

Building for the national action in Washington was done in a programmatic, unified way. It marked the first time that the organization has done this in any real way -- tying the demands of the demonstration to our on-going work of our chapters. We began building for the action in January and the building was part of a strategy of action for the organization (i. e. at Yellow Springs, we talked about building DUPs as part of building for the demonstration). Materials used for building the action were drawn up so that they would fit easily into that strategy and this strategy was basically carried out in a unified way around the country. We think that overall this was a big step for the organization to take and that it was successful.

There are several points, however, that should be brought up. It is important for us to understand that building for a major demonstration should not be seen apart from the day-to-day work of the chapter. In order to use a building action successfully, it is imperative that the action be based in an area where there has been day-to-day work beforehand, and where the exposure of the organization and our demands can reach people who can be won over to them. It would be useless or futile to have a demonstration in a city 50 miles away from an active chapter.

We think that the type of demonstrations that were most successful were the ones held in Milwaukee and Cincinnati. Milwaukee's regional action was a take-over of the VA followed by a car caravan throughout the city focusing on the five demands and putting them forward as part of the overall strategy. In Cincinnati, the chapters marched through three miles of the city and ended with a rally. These actions were not apart from the chapters' daily work. In both cities, these had been done before and will be done again, but they did build for the demonstration.

We feel that there should have been more building actions and that in the future the NSCM must recognize the importance of these actions based on our practice and knowing how we added to our strategy towards the end of June. Many chapters felt that it was necessary to have another building demonstration. For instance, the New York City chapter felt that it was vital to have a demonstration in the city, in addition to participating in the regional demo at West Point. (This was done because the West Point demo was not an integral part of their daily work). They then took over the VA regional office one week prior to July 1. We think that this was very good. In the future, we should plan more demonstrations leading up to the major national one. While we didn't see the necessity for this in Milwaukee at the NSCM, we now see that it is imperative to do this.

We think that the use of the posters and stickers was excellent. The organization pasted up over 175,000 stickers in the two months prior to the demonstration. This too, was a good way to make it known that we were going to Washington. In the future this will be done again, and it could even be handy for chapters to do this regularly around local work.

While some regions did little work around building for the demonstration and some built the demonstration in isolation from the day-to-day work of their chapters, we feel that the organization did well -- we made our points in our communities and

we made our point in Washington. We learned most clearly that what happened over the past seven months was that we had a program of work, that it was carried out in a unified way and that this is the only way that we can continue to put forward our demands as part of our daily work.

Logistics

Planning for the July action began well in advance of the demonstration itself. Several months prior to it, the National Office drew up a list of jobs that were seen as being necessary to lay the logistical groundwork for the action. These six jobs were: 1) scenario/liaison; 2) press; 3) administration/speakers; 4) food/equipment; 5) commo/medical/campsite organization/security 6) legal/chapter liaison, childcare. Together they formed the general tasks performed by the Demonstration Logistics Committee (DLC). As mandated by the National Steering Committee, the National Office picked the members of the DLC in April and May.

The six people picked for the DLC office in Washington had been fully briefed as to what their actual role and tasks would be. In addition to having prior experience in the particular job they were picked to fulfill, they understood that their role was solely that of logistical support and not overall demonstration leadership. During our last national action (Gainesville), the people laying the groundwork for the demonstration saw themselves as being the leadership of the actions. In Washington, as opposed to this, it was clearly stated from the beginning that the Washington DLC was not leadership for the demonstration. That was correctly the responsibility of the NSC, and that was the body that did in fact serve as the leadership of the demonstration.

By and large, the National Office feels that this system of organizing a logistics committee to lay the groundwork for a national action was ideal. We felt that this committee with its very specific jobs was exactly what was needed; rather than having an overflowing crowd of people who wanted to work on the demo, as was the case in Gainesville. Despite extremely adverse conditions, things did run very smoothly and efficiently. The incredible work that the members of the DLC did cannot be overstated.

In addition to the six people that made up the DLC, we had planned to pull in other people one week prior to the demonstration to head up specific teams, i. e. medical, food, commo. Unfortunately, we were only able to get one person for the commo work. The others that we had contacted couldn't make it. What we need in the future is to have back-up people who can come in to fill vacant slots if necessary. There was one other problem with the committee. The person we had assigned for press work didn't show up and as a result we had press people for only two weeks before the demonstration began. While these two people did a magnificent job, it is clear that working on press should have begun two weeks earlier.

When the demonstration began there was a lot of confusion around setting up the medical teams, etc. This resulted partially from the lack of having someone working on this in advance, and also not having fully understood that it was necessary to have a list of people from the regions who would work on the various support teams. Despite this confusion, teams were set up and they worked hard to do their jobs. There

were also problems with getting relief for people when shifts changed, but this was a by-product of not having lists of people who would work on the teams; these lists are vital to have at the next major demonstration.

In summing up the role of the various support teams, we feel that it is essential to define these teams as to how they fit into the structure of the demonstration. All of the support teams -- medical, commo, security, cooking, camp administration -- should be looked at as service teams. That is to say that these services are for the benefit of the people at the demonstration and as such, should be seen in the light of being under the leadership of the NSC.

There was a tendency for some of the people on the support teams to view themselves as APART from the demonstration. For example, on one occasion, the radio operator for one of the tactical leaders of a march was walking 100 feet ahead of him talking to herself. The radio operator should have been at the side of the tactical leader. That is where they are needed. If an emergency communication was to have been made, there could have been incredible disorder. It should be pointed out that on the last day this situation was rectified and the commo team did an excellent job of providing service. This rule should apply to all the support teams.

Another question around the service teams is that they should be headed up by competent people whose sole job is to organize the people working on the team. For the most part this was done, but several times people working in these areas assumed other responsibilities and as a result had to divide their time between providing leadership for the overall demonstration and providing leadership for a particular support team. These "independent" leaders of the support teams have enough work cut out for them and they should not have to be burdened with other duties. Conversely, leadership of the demonstration should not have to be burdened with assuming support work duties.

One other point should be made about the general relationship of the demonstration and the support teams. In terms of making political, tactical decisions, it is important that input from support teams be listened to, but that in the final analysis, the leadership of the demonstration should make the ultimate tactical decision, based on the spirit of the demonstrators. On several occasions, support team leaders objected to the tactical decisions made. While this is admirable in that the concern for their particular team was foremost, it is not always the most correct political decision.

Overall, we feel that support people responded in an outstanding manner throughout the entire demonstration. The support teams were faced with overwhelming difficulties, i. e. the heat, lack of sleep, numerous medical emergencies, faulty equipment, etc. In spite of this, they did provide the service that was necessary to carry on the demonstration. For this we, as an organization, should be proud. Throughout the years, we have gotten better and better in holding major demonstrations. Based on the practice of logistical people at this demonstration, we see the next one flowing more smoothly and expertly.

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NATIONAL PROGRAM

With the successful completion of the national demonstration in Washington, the 7-month program that was accepted at Yellow Springs NSCM is at an end. We believe that this program was very successful. Without it, the demo would not have come off as well as it did because it would not have related to any day-to-day work that this organization was doing. We also believe that the success of the program clearly points out the necessity for continued long-range planning. With regard to the first program, the demo was to be only a part of the overall strategy and not the end unto itself. Therefore, a continued program is vital.

There is a solid foundation on which to build a program of work for the future--the five demands of the Washington action. We believe that these demands provide the necessary link between immediate needs and more general, anti-imperialist issues that are vital to the growth of the anti-imperialist movement. Also, the majority of our membership have a good grasp of these demands and have already done much groundwork in bringing them to their communities. We must not lose this initiative gained by the Washington demonstration.

Because we feel that it is important to have a national program on which to build VVAW/WSO in a systematic way, we would suggest the use of the following scenario of dates and their political significance. These dates would provide the focus for nationwide actions around our five demands, though they would of course only be the "high points" in the campaigns which we build on a day-to-day basis.

September---Anti-Nixon demos
October 28---Vets Day/VA
November 11--Vets Day/VA

January 27---Indochina
March 29---Vietnam Vets Day
May 16---Armed Farces Day

The anti-Nixon demos, of course, will depend upon concrete conditions at that time. In fact, Nixon may have already been canned by the time you read this. If that is the case, we suggest victory celebrations that will also point to the fact that Nixon is just a representative of a class of people--namely, imperialists. The reason for the two dates for Veterans Day is that the Federal Date is different from the day set aside in many states. Some states even have "celebrations" on both days. Actions can occur on both days (again depending on the concrete conditions) and they may range from marching in the "official" parades to actions at the VA. The January action should again focus on Indochina and the violations of the agreement by the U. S. and Thieu. Vietnam Veterans Day in March is self-explanatory and the variety of militant actions which took place this year should be repeated in the future. The May date was selected because we feel it necessary that Armed Farces Day be resurrected and the militant actions that used to take place near military bases all over the country should be revived.

When organizing for these demonstrations, it is important that we involve other groups and individuals, and work to help them understand the importance of our actions. This can either be done through coalition work, or in a manner similar to the DC demo where we got groups to support our demands and planned activities. The support we obtained from other organizations and people was one of the keys to the success of the Washington demonstration; thus, we should also actively attempt to retain the support of non-VVAW/WSO people as we approach these future actions. It may also be helpful for regions to try and coordinate their actions with each other so that demonstrations are being approached in a similar way. This will give a

higher degree of continuity to our organization's campaign.

It is important to realize that these demonstrations/actions can only be viewed as the "high points" of our work to put our demands before the American people. Because of this, these demonstrations will mean very little if they are not integrated into our day-to-day work on the chapter level. Many chapters have relied solely on DUPs as the means to carry out daily work, but DUP can only be a part of our work around these five demands. Selling Winter Soldier, setting up picket lines, leafletting on a consistent basis, door-to-door petitioning campaigns, setting up tables and doing outreach at areas where vets and GIs are likely to be found, media blitzes, things like the VA "shit list," educational fund-raisers and film showings, raising our demands in coalition work, getting out agitational propaganda in any way possible; all these tactics must be employed to give breadth to an anti-imperialist campaign around our demands. As an example, a table could be set up at an unemployment office that would be staffed several times a week. This would give us an opportunity to engage people--especially unemployed vets--in conversation and give out literature. Another idea would be to sell Winter Soldier at a VA on a regular--basis--same time every week. Again, this would provide the means by which to talk with people. All of these are merely suggestions. What is important is to see the need for consistent work in reaching out to people.

Building for actions like these we have suggested can enhance our day-to-day work to a point where the two types of activity are inseparable, and this is how it should be. It is true that our day-to-day, grass-roots work is the basis of VVAW/WSO and it is this sort of practice that reveals what we are as an organization. But at the same time, actions planned to compliment this daily work will prove that we are a fighting organization, determined to take our demands before the people of this country. The two aspects of a yearly program (visible actions and daily work around our demands) will have to go hand-in-hand. They must be closely integrated, and carrying out one aspect of this program in isolation from the other will not be nearly as effective as concentrating on both aspects at the same time.

With regard to carrying out a national program, it is important to point out the necessity of developing good styles of work. We must thoroughly grasp the lessons of the Washington demonstration because if we make the same mistakes in our future work, we will be holding back the struggle against imperialism. We again stress that there is a big difference between the attitude of "anti-imperialism in the sky" and the realization that the fight against imperialism is a life and death struggle. This latter attitude should be the one which guides all of our work. If we do not approach our work with the understanding that peoples' lives are at stake, then we will lose the support of the people we are trying to reach and come off as a bunch of elitists.

To better improve our methods of work, we must sharpen our ability to analyze our various activities, particularly the mistakes we make. Only through analyzing our work can we then learn to improve it and make it more effective. An example of how we should learn from our work is the disparity between the success Milwaukee has had in their actions at the VA in drawing in new members (primarily veterans), and the lack of response among vets that New York City has met with in their actions at the VA. We must analyze our actions such as this, learn where we are making mistakes and correct them. We must begin to develop ways in which

chapters can exchange their experiences and knowledge so that correct summaries of our work can be drawn up. We should share ideas on how to draw in new members (i. e. the importance or lack thereof of personal contact, avoiding "cliquishness, etc), and where these new potential members can be found (i/e/ the VA, unemployment lines, campuses, welfare offices, the work-place, bars--near military bases to find GIs--transportation centers where GIs will be travelling through, etc.). We need to more thoroughly and effectively share our organizing experiences with one another so that we can learn from one another's practice. One of the ways to do this is for chapters to send an analysis of their actions to the National Office. These should not focus on the chronology of the action, but on the manner in which it was done, how people were approached, how people were recruited, etc. If these reports can be kept concise and fairly short, they can be gotten out to all regions via the national newsletter. Another way in which we could more effectively analyze and rectify our work would be to hold special workshops on these specific problems of style of work. These would be similar to the National Defense Committee workshops which have been held between NSCMs, and which have proved to be highly successful for getting down to the brass tacks of a problem.

The necessity of developing good methods of work cannot be stressed enough. Doing a regular summing-up and analysis of work will help us to better implement the program that we select to build VVAW/WSO in a systematic way. A program is a vital thing for the continued existence of an organization, and to make that program more effective, we must learn from our successes and our errors. We should actively entrench ourselves in more programmatic work on all levels of the organization; and along with this, we should also more thoroughly criticize our styles of work so that the growing anti-imperialist movement can be made stronger, and better able to attack imperialism at its weakest points.

GIs

Overall, our work among GIs has increased dramatically since the last NSCM, both at the National GI Project Offices and among GI chapters. Prior to the July demo several projects on the east coast were visited by the people from both Project offices. Members from the Dayton office visited the Defense Committee in Norfolk, Virginia, and did outreach work to build for the demo. One of the people from the Chicago office made a two-week trip to bases further south, including Ft Bragg, Charleston, and Camp Lejeune. (Details of these trips will be reported in the GI workshop.) In Japan, the Yokosuka Chapter of VVAW/WSO has been devoting most of the energy recently to setting up a defense committee for the sailors from the USS MIDWAY who recently walked off the ship. On June 30th, they sponsored another outdoor concert which was attended by several hundred GIs. In Iwakuni, Japan, the chapter there has recently been petitioning and leafletting in support of the Korean people who are resisting the dictatorship of Pak Jung Hee. In Heidelberg, Germany, GIs are beginning to form a chapter and the people at the GI center and the people who publish FIGHT BACK sponsored a gathering on July 6th in solidarity with the demands being raised in Washington, DC. Work around the US Disciplinary Barracks at Leavenworth, Kansas, has been on the increase, with the Dayton Office coordinating most of the work in that area. Problems with communication in and out of the prison have come up in the last few months and the authorities there have refused to allow Winter Soldier to be sent in, even though we have written permission from the Commander. As was pointed out in the national newsletter, we see the USDB as a very important focal point in work among GIs. (Details of the work around the USDB will be elaborated in the GI workshop.)

The National GI Conference that was called by the NSC at the last meeting for Labor Day has been rescheduled. The Denver Chapter had originally volunteered to host the Conference and do the necessary pre-conference work. In the last few months, however, the Denver chapter has found itself unable to carry out its commitment due to a number of problems. Given the importance of this conference, we feel that the Denver chapter should be criticized for taking on a task that it was not able to complete. The lack of work that had been done forced us to re-schedule the conference, forcing a number of people in other organizations to miss the conference due to prior arrangements they had made for time off work. Immediately after the DC demo, the National Collective and representatives from the GI offices met to discuss the GI Conference. After members of the Chicago Chapter agreed to work on the conference, we decided to move the Conference to Chicago; we also moved the date to mid-October to give people in the GI Movement (including ourselves) more time to prepare. Another item discussed at this meeting was changing the format of GI NEWS from a newsletter to an 8-page newspaper. We felt that both the style and the lower cost of newsprint made the new format more desirable for building activity among GIs. The first issue will come out during the latter part of August. With the new format, we see a much wider distribution, and we hope that chapters will begin doing regular outreach near military bases in conjunction with selling Winter Soldier.

FUTURE GI WORK

We base our analysis on the fact that GIs are oppressed and the fact that the US military is a major tool of imperialism. We feel that GIs should not just be organized for the sake of organizing against their own immediate oppression, but against the entire role of the US military as a tool of imperialism. We're not just interested

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in sprinkling a little sand in the gears of the military; we would like to see the whole military machine turned back on its operators. If the US military were crippled by the working class which makes up the backbone of the military, it would be a giant stride forward in the overall struggle to end imperialism.

We feel, therefore, that the organization in its daily work and at the National GI Conference in October should push the following overall principles: 1) The GI movement should be anti-imperialist; 2) there should be a cohesive national program and organization; and 3) the focus should be on organizing, not service. To elaborate, we feel that GIs can't be organized into "anti-imperialism in the sky" anymore than vets can. But issues on a particular base or post can be put into an anti-imperialist context. Every local gripe with the military flows from the uses of the military under imperialism.

Secondly, we feel that a program which is relevant to servicepeople all over the world is essential. The demand for a single-type discharge for all vets offers the best possibility. From this demand, GIs can tie in virtually all other forms of oppression in the military since the ultimate form of discipline that the military holds over a GI for resisting is the bad discharge. Racism, living and working conditions, the UCMJ, sexual oppression and the lack of 1st Amendment rights can all be tied into the call for a single discharge, but by focusing on the discharge system we will be able to sharpen the fight against racism, since the disciplinary system is clearly racist; and we will be able to begin explaining the imperialist nature of the discharge system and the entire role of the military. It also means that anywhere a GI is transferred he or she will be able to tie into the campaign for a single-type discharge. Local work, of course, must go on; however, we feel that the single discharge campaign can provide the unifying thread for all work among GIs.

Finally, we feel that work around GIs must focus on helping GIs to organize themselves. Ideally, there would be support groups in and around every base; but this is not possible, nor can we afford to wait until it is. We should concentrate on agitating-- showing GIs that they can fight back--and turning out to support them when they need support. We should not be devoting our primary effort to providing services; there are other groups equipped to handle counseling. This doesn't mean that we won't help GIs find competent military lawyers if they run into trouble. What it does mean is that this will only be a small part of our work. The primary work should be on getting GIs to fight back--to show them that they have the same real strength that thousands of people displayed in Washington, DC in July.

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A POSITION PAPER:

THE POLITICAL STATEMENT
OF THE NATIONAL COLLECTIVE
ON THE FUTURE OF VVAW/WSO

AUGUST, 1974

FOREWARD

(We had hoped to get this paper out to people sooner so that it could be discussed by chapters prior to the Buffalo National Steering Committee Meeting. Because of other responsibilities and the length of this paper, we regret that this could not have been done. We hope that people will not only read this paper, but that it will be studied. We expect to have good principled discussion around this paper and the nature of VVAW/WSO in Buffalo. We look forward to seeing many of you there).

VVAW/WSO is now undergoing an internal struggle around some very basic questions, questions which deal with the very nature of the organization and what will be its future. The National Collective thinks this struggle is a good thing, because as long as there is struggle, there is growth. This particular struggle is very sharp and this is also good since sharpness clarifies where people stand.

We believe that the struggle can be characterized into three distinct lines. One position would define VVAW/WSO as a veterans and GI organization working only on vets and GIs issues, exclusive of non-veterans. Another position holds that VVAW/WSO should be a mass, anti-imperialist organization period (having no base or focus). The last position holds that VVAW/WSO should be a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus, not exclusive of non-veterans.

The National Collective supports the last position: VVAW/WSO must be a mass, anti-imperialist organization with a veterans and GI base and focus. The rest of this paper is devoted to developing that position -- a POLITICAL analysis of the conditions we are working under, where we have been, errors in our work, and what the collective's position will mean for VVAW/WSO's future work.

UNITED FRONT

As we begin to define the nature of VVAW/WSO and our work for the future, it is important that we take into consideration the anti-imperialist movement as a whole and not regard ourselves in isolation from this movement. When, in 1972, we first began to consciously develop our anti-imperialist stance as an organization, it was clear that many of the national, anti-war organizations of the 1960's were folding up and we were left as one of the few organizations that took a conscious step forward to carry on the struggle. Now, however, the objective conditions of the struggle in this country have changed. We can now see that the struggle against imperialism has taken a sharp turn upward and is intensifying on many fronts. Student groups, community groups, black groups, Chicano groups, workers groups, womens groups, welfare-rights groups, groups composed of the unemployed, etc. have developed all around us and we can see these organizations being formed in consciously anti-imperialist directions. VVAW/WSO is not the only organization or group of people to see the life and death struggle that must be waged against imperialism. Therefore, it would be incorrect for us to look at our work in narrow terms; that is, isolated from the understanding that other anti-imperialist forces are arising and gaining strength.

Should we oppose the formation of these new groups? Obviously not. In fact, we should be supporting each other in a conscious way so that the fight against imperialism is broader and more united. These organizations did not arise because of an ideal -- they arose because the masses of people are bearing the brunt of the crisis that U. S. imperialism is undergoing. These groups arose from the needs of particular sections of the people to fight back against their oppression, not just to "bear witness" to anti-imperialism. We think that the formation of new, anti-imperialist organizations is a good thing, and something to be encouraged.

Because these organizations exist and new ones are and will be forming, we believe that objectively, outside of any plan or formal declaration, a united front against imperialism is developing. To understand what a united front is, we should look to history and the front which developed against fascism in the 1930's. Georgi Dimitrov, one of the greatest fighters of fascism, defined a united front by calling it: "A broad mobilization and unification of the masses from below, at the enterprises, around the united organ for struggle created by the masses themselves." Dimitrov stressed that a united front is a "unity of action" directed against the common enemy -- in our case, imperialism. In other words, there is unity between those people honestly fighting their oppressor. The focus of the work may vary (i. e. with student groups vs. organizations of working people) but the purpose of work will remain the same -- to struggle against imperialism.

In the above quotation/definition, the term "at the enterprises" is very important for us today. This refers to the idea that people should be organized around that particular contradiction in society which oppresses them. Anti-imperialists need not go searching for "contradictions" to organize people around; there are plenty of them already in existence. What we must do as an organization is find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise from the vital needs of veterans and GIs in the United States. We must meet the concrete needs of these people and express the urgency of fighting imperialism. If we fail to do this, then we are

essentially talking about a concept of "anti-imperialism in the sky." Fighting imperialism will not mean much to the every day lives of people because it will not deal with the urgent questions and problems which face them on a day-to-day basis. Thus, these "united organs for struggle" grow out of the needs of people's every day struggles. For example, unemployed workers will begin to organize around the contradiction of being unemployed; welfare mothers will organize around the rotten conditions they face; workers will organize around oppression and exploitation in the work-place; women will organize around the exploitation handed down in a male-oriented society; GIs will organize around the repression and racism of the military and the contradictions within the imperialist war machine; and veterans will organize around the contradictions between themselves having fought an imperialist war and returning home to an imperialist society.

To further define a united front, it is important to realize that it is not a coalition of organizations. Rather, a united front is the uniting together of as many people as possible to fight against the common enemy. One individual may be part of the united front, as well as the various organizations which struggle for the same purpose -- to defeat imperialism. To refer again to Dimitrov, the united front is a "broad mobilization" of the masses around those contradictions they SPECIFICALLY have with the imperialist system. Without mobilizing people around these specific contradictions, a sense of urgency will be lost; but if an understanding of urgency can be brought forward and organized around, a fighting spirit and a militancy will develop which will make the struggle that much more effective. On top of this, if we fail to organize around the specific needs of the people, we will be letting them down, we will be dishonest with them, and more concerned with "paying witness" to anti-imperialism than struggling for the real needs of oppressed people.

A classic example of a working united front would be the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. It is important to see that the NLF did not develop in thin air, but grew out of the struggle that the Vietnamese had been waging since World War II. The basis of the united front developed out of the desire of the Indochinese people to be rid of foreign domination, that is, rid of imperialism. Their United Front was developed to unite every person who was (and is) opposed to foreign intervention in their affairs. That is their sole basis of unity within the context of the programme of the NLF. The NLF is not one, monolithic organization. It is composed of many independent organizations -- veterans associations, womens leagues, teachers associations, labor unions, youth groups, Buddhists, political parties, etc. These groups have all united around the programme of the Front. Besides these separate groups, thousands of individuals take leadership from the Front without ever belonging to an organization. The major difference in their front is the centralized leadership that makes up the general staff of the NLF. However, before the NLF was founded in 1960, the united front was based on the Vietnamese's common desire to be free, while not formally organized into the NLF. It was only after years of struggle that the Vietnamese saw the need for centralized leadership in the form of the NLF, and only then this leadership was recognized based on the practice of the Viet Minh.

In short, a united front is like a fist. If the various fingers (or organizations) are clenched together in unity, the fist will be better able to strike an effective blow

against imperialism. If any of the fingers are missing or loose, then the blow will be weakened. Along with this, just as with a hand, the fingers are not one but are separate. They work together and they can unite to form a fist capable of dealing blows, but they can also work independently when that is necessary for the hand to be most effective. The same is true of the united front. Though a united front has a common purpose of opposing imperialism, all organizations within this front will not be involved in specifically the same work (i. e. women's groups will work with a specific focus on women's issues, students will work with a specific focus on issues affecting students, veterans will work with a specific focus on the problems of vets, etc). But they will all be working with a "unity of action," and even the specific areas and focus of work will be pointed in the one ultimate direction of defeating the enemy. Specific work will be conducted with independence (i. e. the focus and method of work of an organization will be the decision of that particular organization) but at the same time, the ability to unite to form the fist will always remain.

For a concrete example of how this "fist concept" operates, we should look at the recent demonstration we had in Washington. There, we put forward slogans that were anti-imperialist in nature, and which applied to the entire struggle against U. S. imperialism. We also put forward demands that spoke to the specific needs of veterans and GIs. In addition, we sought and received the support of many other anti-imperialist and anti-war organizations. These other groups joined with us and supported all of our demands because they felt that the raising of such demands was an attack against imperialism. We consider this a simplistic example of how the united front works and how important it was to the success of our action. It would be incorrect for us to try to organize the students that were there around THEIR needs, but it was correct for us to actively seek their involvement and unite together, with a "unity of action," to struggle against imperialism here and abroad.

Again, we should be aware that the united front is not an organization unto itself. It is not an easily define or specific grouping of people, but rather is a "broad mobilization" of the masses around their specific contradictions with the imperialist system. A united front is beginning to develop within the U. S., and it is important that we fit into this development. Alone, we cannot, nor should we, be the organization which wages struggles against imperialism on all fronts. Our responsibility is to fit into the broader front, uniting with other organizations and individuals, and attack imperialism where we can be most effective, where we can best raise and serve the interests of the people, and where we can express the urgency and fighting spirit of a specific sector of our society with maximum effectiveness.

WHY ORGANIZE VETERANS IN THE UNITED FRONT?

As we see it, there are two reasons for organizing veterans: 1) They are an identifiable constituency; and 2) they have a special oppression which can be tied to imperialism. Fifteen percent of the population has been in the military and over 6 million of those have been discharged in the last ten years, which clearly makes them identifiable. Everyone is aware that there are veterans of military service.

The oppression faced by these millions of veterans is directly related to their experience within the U. S. military and the fact that they have returned to an imperialist country. The whole military experience has led to utter outrage at the whole system. For many vets, the time they spent in the military meant they lost several years of seniority at their job -- for many it meant they lost their job completely. If you went into the military straight out of high school, there wasn't even a job to build up seniority in; and on top of that, you lost several years time that could have been devoted to job training or college.

And then there were all those great promises about the benefits. All the promises about good medical care, a free education and a decent job turned out to be lies. They were promises that the system is totally unable to fulfill. Understaffed VA hospitals, inadequate education allowances and the public relations "Hire the Vet" programs are all real form of oppression for a veteran. What makes this situation even worse is a bad discharge or a bad SPN number. This organization is well aware of how bad discharges and SPN numbers effect vets. These are real problems that must be spoken to. They are real problems that result in our life under imperialism. And they are real problems that will take a fighting organization to effectively deal with, because the government has no intention of dealing with them, nor do the veteran pimps and careerists or the reactionary veterans organizations. All of this leads to the question of leadership.

The fact that veterans have real needs has led to a rising and largely spontaneous veterans movement. For example, the veterans that went to Washington, DC on March 29th were not part of ANY national, political organization. The fact that there is a spontaneous movement is an indication not only that there are veterans who can be organized, but that they must be organized. The question is, who is going to organize them? Who is going to play the leading role? It is certainly clear that someone is going to organize vets. History is clear on that. Everyone from the American Legion to AVM to college vets clubs are trying to organize vets. The problem is that they are all continuing the same reactionary trends started by groups like the American Legion when it was founded after World War I, which is leading veterans down a blind alley picking up a crumb or two here and there. The current situation of veterans and the lack of any national political organizations that are fighting for veterans (besides us) should bear this out. All of these organizations, whether consciously or unconsciously, are in fact serving the same interests -- the people who run this country who don't want vets talking about imperialism. If we, as an anti-imperialist organization, fail to provide leadership for this developing movement, we will not only be betraying what we stand for, but we will be leaving this spontaneous movement to the reactionaries and careerists.

Furthermore, VVAW/WSO has historically been, and still is, in the best position to lead and develop this veterans movement in an anti-imperialist direction. The organization was born on a base of veterans, and to this day, veterans are playing a primary role in the organization. Just as important as the history is the current practice of the organization. The growing nationwide focus in VVAW/WSO on veterans' issues like bad discharges, SPN numbers and poor treatment by the VA is a clear indication that we are ready, willing, and capable of organizing vets.

By providing leadership for the veterans movement, we mean just that. We are not speaking about organizing every vet into VVAW/WSO, although that would be great. We are talking about building VVAW/WSO into a fighting organization with an anti-imperialist outlook which veterans and veterans groups will look to for leadership. We are talking about fighting for our demands, not from a narrow, reformist perspective, but within the larger context of the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Veterans are in a very unique position in America. From their experience in the U. S. military, they have seen both sides of U. S. imperialism. They have seen the one side that is the U. S. military involved in all parts of the world, and they have come home to see the other side of U. S. imperialism exploiting the working people here. It is a position from which veterans can attack not only the foreign involvement of U. S. imperialism, but also the effects that it has on working people -- both veterans and non-veterans -- here at home.

The current poor treatment of veterans is only one of the cracks in U. S. imperialism. But the cracks are no accident; they are the inevitable result of the widening crisis of U. S. imperialism. By building an anti-imperialist veterans movement, we have an opportunity to unite yet another segment of society in the growing front against U. S. imperialism.

WHY ORGANIZE G. I. S IN THE UNITED FRONT?

What is primary in understanding the necessity of developing an anti-imperialist GI movement is both the role that the military plays under imperialism and the special oppression that GIs face. The military is a primary tool of imperialism, both at home and abroad. Here in the U. S., the military is fully prepared to act as a strike-breaking force or to back up local police forces in the event of a "civil disorder." It remains equally ready to support foreign, U. S. -backed dictatorships.

Imperialism dictates the role that the military will play, and as long as the system of U. S. imperialism remains intact, the military will continue to be used against people all over the world; and it will continue to oppress the GIs who make up the U. S. military. The role of the military, then, and the oppression that it breeds calls for a fighting movement of GIs who can combat their own oppression and the roles they are forced to play.

The oppression that GIs face is very real. The problem, however, with organizing solely from within the military is that it is comparable to trying to organize within a prison, since GIs are forever at the whim of their commanders. Unlike most other jobs in civilian society, they are prohibited from either striking or quitting; instead they face the constant harassment of both judicial and non-judicial punishment whenever they fight back. Such a situation calls for outside support.

The class background of GIs make them a natural ally for all the other groups struggling against imperialism; and with the advent of the all-volunteer army and the growing economic crisis, the percentage of working class people in the military, especially third world people, is steadily increasing.

VVAW/WSO should be building the GI movement within the united front, both by building the GI membership within our organization and through the leadership that we can exert through our practice. We should be doing this work among GIs, not only because of the oppression of the military and the class background of the GIs, but also because there is already an existing, spontaneous movement among GIs in the military. The actions of sailors aboard the USS MIDWAY and the USS LITTLE ROCK are but the most well-known, recent examples of GIs fighting back. But these actions, as with the MIDWAY, were either spontaneous and not part of any coordinated effort against conditions in the Navy, or they were, as with the LITTLE ROCK, reactions to situations that the GIs had no control over, i. e. a racial attack. For the GI movement to become a strong, fighting movement, it will be necessary to do more than "react" or spontaneously walk off a ship; it will be necessary to develop a unified approach with a common direction and firm leadership that puts GIs on the offensive. Spontaneity will lead nowhere.

Just as with the veterans movement, the fact that GIs are fighting back is a clear sign that GIs not only can be organized, but must be organized. The current state of the GI movement shows even more reasons to begin a serious organizing effort. With the exception of a few projects, the energy-level is very sporadic and

the identity with the anti-imperialist movement as a whole is limited. The reasons for this are that there has been a serious lack of both political and programmatic unity among the GI movement; and among other people and groups on the left, a real lack of understanding for the need for a fighting movement for GIs. For those who do understand the importance, it has been difficult to find a way to plug into the GI movement. Those people who have remained in the GI movement have done so either because of a deep theoretical commitment and a long attachment to the struggles of GIs, or they are veterans. But as with any movement, the people that provide the momentum must be those who are most directly affected by a particular issue. Not that people with a theoretical understanding of the importance of GI organizing should be discouraged; quite the contrary. They should be welcomed with open arms! But in developing a movement, regardless of the issue, we have to look to the people most directly effected by the issues.

As an organization with a high percentage of veterans and GIs, we are very much effected by the issues. We also have the greatest experience of any national, anti-imperialist organization in organizing GIs. Not only do we have veterans in the organization, but we are the only national anti-imperialist organization with members in the U. S. military all over the world. For the GIs in the organization, the oppression of the military is a fact of life; for veterans, it is an unforgettable experience. And for us to ignore this historical relationship within the organization to military service would be to ignore not only our duty as an anti-imperialist organization, but it would be ignoring our historical roots.

As we said earlier, there is a need for leadership. And just as with the veterans movement, we are not talking about getting every GI to join VVAW/WSO, although that would be ideal. What we are talking about is becoming a consistent force in the GI movement that GIs and GI organizers will respect; we are talking about raising GI demands in a non-opportunist, anti-imperialist manner that is obvious in our practice.

BRIEF HISTORY OF VVAW/WSO

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964 marked the beginning of the major escalation of the war in Vietnam. Under the phoney pretext of defending an American naval ship, the imperialists poured military hardware, advisors, money, and American troops into Vietnam. At the same time in the U. S. thousands of Americans were actively working in the civil rights movement, exposing the racist conditions in the American system. Soon there was a clear connection between this racism in the U. S. and the imperialist war of genocide in Indochina. Millions of Americans became active in struggling against the war in Vietnam.

By 1967, the movement for civil rights and against the war in Vietnam was involving all sectors of the American people. Just as the Vietnamese were fighting imperialism, so too were millions of Americans. Fighting against the system was also the task of GIs stationed in Indochina and the task of veterans who returned from Vietnam having seen first hand how the system of imperialism operates abroad. It was only natural that these veterans would organize into a group that actively made the connections between the war aimed at maintaining the interests of US corporations with the imperialist system at home. On June 1, 1967 six Vietnam veterans formally began the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The organization soon expanded throughout the Northeast, uniting behind the common experience of having served in Vietnam.

During its first years, VVAW members spoke at many meetings and rallies and participated in the large anti-war demonstrations under the organizational banner. As it grew, VVAW began organizing its own demonstrations, recognizing that Vietnam veterans had the potential to fight against the war in Indochina by showing the American people just how the war was being conducted. In September of 1970, over 100 veterans marched from Morristown, New Jersey, to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania conducting a mock search and destroy mission, Operation Rapid American Withdrawal.

To make this point clearer, VVAW held the Winter Soldier Investigation early in 1971 in Detroit, Michigan. This investigation presented over 150 Vietnam veterans who testified about their roles in Vietnam, systematically exposing the role of the military. It clearly emerged that the military was conducting a genocidal war against the Indochinese peoples, not defending democracy as we had been told.

As a result of this investigation the anti-war movement looked at veterans in a different light. At first, all veterans and GIs were looked at as "war criminals" for participating in the war. But with the important step taken by VVAW in exposing the role the military played, this view was changed.

Shortly after the WSI, in the latter part of February, the first national steering committee of VVAW held a meeting. At this meeting, the present structure of the organization was formed, recognizing that we had become a national organization. Also formulated at this meeting was the idea of holding a national action in Washington DC. This action was called **Dewey Canyon III**.

Dewey Canyon III, named after the illegal military operations into Laos, drew national attention as a result of the actions that occurred in Washington--the throwing away of medals, defying the Supreme Court by staying on the Mall and marching to Arlington National Cemetery. The major aims of the demonstration were to influence both the American people and the US Congress; the former was successful, and the latter proved to be a dismal failure. As a result of this action and subsequent actions during this same period, the organization came to understand that its actions should be directed towards the American people and not the U. S. government.

While the organization maintained its identity as a Vietnam veterans organization, it soon became apparent that other veterans wanted to join and participate in the activities of the group. This was readily accepted and we became a veterans organization, recognizing that because of our base, we were the perfect vehicle for all veterans to protest the war.

While we were predominantly concerned with the war in Indochina, we recognized the links between racism in the US and racism with which the war in Vietnam was being conducted. The national organization took a big step forward in June of 1971 by voting at a National Steering Committee Meeting to support the struggle being waged in Cairo, Illinois by black people who were boycotting white-owned stores while withstanding armed attacks from white racists. In August of that same year we organized, at the request of the Cairo United Front, a convoy of food and supplies to aid the black people of Cairo. Thus, on a national level, the organization made its first step in recognizing the links between imperialism abroad and at home.

At about the same time we began to see an opening up of the membership to include non-veterans, both men and women, who saw the organization as an important one through which to struggle against the war in Indochina. The tactics of the organization also changed. In December of 1971, when the US bombed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with B-52s, members of the organization took over the Statue of Liberty, the Lincoln Memorial, the Saigon Consulate in San Francisco and other places around the country. These actions clearly pointed out the increasingly militant mood of VVAW.

The organization was now officially only one year old. At the Denver NSCM in February of 1972, a group of self-proclaimed anarchists saw fit to dismember the national structure in favor of "regional autonomy," which in fact was a repudiation of a national cohesion. This error was the result of a lack of an organizational understanding of the nature of imperialism and of the necessity for working together in a strong organization with a cohesive national focus. But the overriding concern of the mass membership for a strong national organization paved the way for the realization that the Denver meeting was a grave error. What was needed was a growing program of work on a national level.

During the remainder of 1972 this occurred. At the Houston meeting in April of 1972, when the organization was saved from the Denver errors, the organization voted to participate as a national unit at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in Miami Beach, Florida.

While plans for this demonstration were in progress, the government slapped

eight members of the organization with a series of false charges basically saying that we were planning to violently disrupt the conventions. These eight members stood trial, but in reality the entire organization was being attacked. The government had come to see our potential and felt that it was time to crack us. For over a year, the organization exposed this tactic and finally in August of 1973 these ridiculous charges were thrown out by the jury hearing the case.

The Republican and Democratic conventions drew members from around the country. The strong militant actions of VVAW once again proved that we were a major force in the anti-war movement. This was also the first time that all members of the organization marched together, rather than having the "supporters" march in the rear behind the veterans.

At the next NSCM, in Palo Alto, California, one of the major discussions was about the future of the organization. It was at this time that the Winter Soldier Concept was introduced. This concept envisioned transforming VVAW into THE mass organization in the US; one that would unite all who were opposed to the war in Indochina and who were opposed to the imperialist system. It would, in other words, become the united front.

There were many concrete reasons given for moving the organization towards this concept. We were looked at by other movement groups as the prime force in the anti-war movement; we had the ability to draw in a real mass membership of veterans and non-veterans alike; we were one of the few national organizations that was still actively organizing; we were held in esteem by a wide number of international organizations and political parties; we had a number of non-veterans particularly women in leadership positions; and we were looking to the day when the war in Indochina would be over and were searching for a program to take up at that time. A concrete proposal outlining how this transformation would take place was presented at the Chicago NSCM held in early January of 1973.

This meeting occurred shortly after the saturation bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong in December of 1972. A result of this bombing was that the organization voted at the Chicago meeting to have another national demonstration in Washington on Inaugural Day, January 20. This was the largest turnout the organization had ever amassed to that time. Just sever days after this demonstration, the Peace Agreements on Ending the War in Vietnam were signed; the result of 11 years of the Vietnamese people fighting against the U. S. , and winning; and the result of as many years of struggle by the American people who opposed the war there.

In February and March it became clear the U. S. was not going to abide by the agreements. The organization began searching for ways to continue to struggle against the Indochina war while recognizing that imperialism was the enemy. The result was that the Winter Soldier concept took root. In April of 1973 at the Placitas, New Mexico meeting the organization voted to become VVAW/WSO.

While we had now created a structure which reflected the actual membership of the organization, we did not yet understand how to use that structure to build the organization or the struggle against imperialism. Our national action in Gainesville, in the summer of 1973 reflected an unfocused organization. In fact, the trial in Gainesville provided the only national activity which the organization had at that

time, and there was only a partial unity around that issue. This was reflected in the turnout in Gainesville; the fact that other organizations did not participate in that demonstration further reflected our lack of understanding of our obligation to help build the united front.

The steering committee meeting in St Louis in August 1973 looked for something --anything--which could serve as a national focus for the work of the organization, understanding (though not always on a formulated, conscious level) that a national organization needed a national program. We turned to the program we knew best, the Indochina War, and formulated plans for Indochina Solidarity Week; to keep the continuing war in the eyes and minds of the American people. Organizational discipline was not adequate to create actions by every chapter; mass support for actions around Indochina was not mobilized; the necessary preparation for this kind of national action had not been done. Some chapters carried out a week of activities; many chapters carried out some kind of action, but there was not a clear national action around that week; many chapters did nothing at all. Still, the Indochina Solidarity Week did provide a minimal focus for the organization.

What the period from Placitas until the NSCM in Yellow Springs showed was that we needed a national program which would focus on the concrete needs of people, and which would be something more than a week's worth of activity. As early as the Placitas meeting we had passed a position paper on amnesty; local chapters had done some educational work around the issue, and through that practice we had begun to see amnesty as a national issue. The result, at the NSCM at Yellow Springs, was the adoption of an amnesty program which give an overall focus to the work of the organization for a 7-month period, building toward a national demonstration to be held sometime in late spring or early summer of 1974. This demonstration would be the beginning of another campaign at a higher level of struggle.

Through this national focus, most chapters began work around amnesty--some began DUP, some began with petitions or talks or leafletting. Whatever the tactic used, there was a national program. There was also an amnesty movement made up, for the most part, of groups or individuals from the anti-war movement. Within this grouping, we pushed for a strong political position on amnesty, a position which would concentrate on the issue of the continuing war and present a class analysis as part of the amnesty issue. Most important, however, was our push within that movement for recognition of people with less-than-honorable discharges as the leading sector of the resisters deserving amnesty. In short, we had found a group of veterans, some of whom were already members of our organization, whose immediate needs for relief from the oppression of a bad discharge could be met by our national program.

Because we had a national program did not mean that local chapters or regions stopped work on a number of other projects. In fact, the beginnings of organizational unity which came from a national focus began to show through national work around the Lawton/Gardner trial, a 2-year-old national project which had never before received any serious national attention from the organization outside of the publicity in the paper. Throughout the country we were able to support the primary work being carried on by the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee through sponsoring speaking tours, getting the Lawton/Gardner story out to the people and, in the process, educating ourselves around the racism and repression of the American justice system.

We put that education to use by tying it into the other projects we worked on locally, regionally, and nationally.

One of the results of the national focus around a clear program was the success of the demonstration in Washington, DC on the 1st through the 4th of July 1974. The demonstration was prepared for carefully with the original plans made 7 months in advance. More important, however, it represented a target for day-to-day consistent national work. As the demonstration grew closer it was broadened from an amnesty demo to one which included five demands, all of them set in the context of anti-imperialist politics. Concrete demands spoke to the problems facing veterans, and the war in Indochina and amnesty were the focus of other demands--with the final demand, Kick Nixon Out, focusing on the most visible representative of the imperialist US system.

Understanding that we were not the only organization working against imperialism, we went to other organizations asking them not only to support the demonstration by coming to it, but actively build for the demo--not because they had the same prime interest that we did in the issues around veterans, but because we felt the direction of the demonstration was anti-imperialist and thus deserved their active support. The result was the militant, spirited success which took place in DC and which was, as mentioned in the section on the united front, an example of how that united front concept can work in actuality.

Through the period since we became VVAW/WSO one fact has shone through our practice: those chapters which continued to grow and strengthen (numerically and politically) have worked around a specific organizing focus, and, in most places, no matter what the composition of the chapter in terms of veterans or non-veterans, this focus has been around amnesty with particular emphasis on vets issues.

The practice of individual chapters underlines an important lesson: chapters with a clear focus of activities around the real needs of the people have grown. With growth these chapters have been able to add effective support work for other struggles in their communities. Chapters which have not grown or have shrunk fall into two categories. First, there are the chapters whose focus has been primarily internal; whether that focus has been around dissension among the members, or providing a base for social activities, or working primarily around the individual needs or wishes of the specific membership of the chapter, those chapters have not grown. Second, chapters which have diffused their activities, working on prisons one week, in-plant organizing the next, and Indochina the third, etc etc have not created a solid base of membership and have not grown. Chapters whose work takes place mostly in coalitions--which do not attack the problems of a specific segment of the population--have also remained stagnant in terms of membership.

What is true on a local level was also demonstrated on a national level through the actions in DC; when VVAW/WSO had a national program and a national focus designed to meet specific needs, and when we worked as part of a united front against imperialism, we could pull off a militant national action. Through that focus, through programmatic unity as well as the unity of an anti-imperialist, we could attract new members and grow.

INCORRECT TENDENCIES IN VVAW/WSO

The following section deals with some of the major problems seen in the future development of VVAW/WSO. These problems manifest themselves today in general concepts, attitudes and tendencies that will increasingly impede the development of the organization and hold back the anti-imperialist struggle if they are not combatted. Undoubtedly, VVAW/WSO has made many errors in the past and will make others in the future. The point is not that we make mistakes, (to think that we won't is utterly unrealistic!), but that we must analyze these mistakes and learn how to correct our practice in the future. We cannot allow errors to go unchecked until they have grown into major problems. In terms of the larger question of arriving at a clear understanding of the nature of VVAW/WSO and its future, it is important for all of us to achieve an understanding of these problems.

Fighting imperialism is certainly not just confined to the US. The struggle against US imperialism has been going on since the early 1900s. In terms of constantly analyzing our own practice, continually correcting our mistakes and improving our future practice, there is much we can learn from the history of these struggles. The lessons of such struggles against imperialism as Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Korea, Cuba, etc., can be of invaluable assistance to us in continually strengthening our own movement and avoiding needless mistakes. From our own practice and from the lessons of our brothers and sisters around the world, we must constantly be recharting our own course of action in the struggle against US imperialism if we are to defeat it.

One of the primary problems inherent in some members' conception of VVAW/WSO today is the notion that VVAW/WSO is the movement, in its entirety, or that it should develop into such. Particularly at a time when the people's movement is gaining strength by leaps and bounds, (as witnessed by the rising number of strikes, increasing strength of the struggles of Third World people against national oppression, the resurgence of the student movement, etc.), this attitude presents an increasing threat to the development of VVAW/WSO and also a hindrance to the development of the general anti-imperialist movement.

In the section on the united front it was pointed out that there is a developing united front against imperialism in the US. We cannot overemphasize the fact that VVAW/WSO is not the only organization in the anti-imperialist movement: it cannot be all things to all people. VVAW/WSO cannot try to be that united front in and of itself!

There are a number of very good reasons for this statement. First of all, a united front goes far beyond an organizational form. It is a much broader grouping than the sum of all those organizations in it. Many people who aren't in any organization whatsoever will take leadership from the general program of the front. Secondly, VVAW/WSO, like any effective organization, must have a basic organizational focus. It must have primary tasks that define the nature of the organization --- the goal people are being organized towards in the context of bringing masses of people into the anti-imperialist movement. Otherwise what will inevitably develop is an escalating confusion and lack of clarity among the people whom we are trying to organize about what the role and tasks of the organization really are. The less clear

the organization's role and tasks are, the greater will be the ineffectiveness of whatever tasks are undertaken. While VVAW/WSO must link up with all progressive forces in the developing anti-imperialist united front, if it tries to be that united front itself it will confuse its own tasks beyond recognition.

Finally, as was stated above, there are many other organizations already in existence. These other groups have special constituencies with special demands to fight for: welfare recipients, the unemployed, students, farmworkers, etc. In addition to these special demands, there is also an overall responsibility to push forward the anti-imperialist struggle. Such groups are far better prepared to represent these constituencies than VVAW/WSO is. Imagine how ridiculous it would be for vets who want to fight oppressive conditions in the VA to join the United Farm Workers to do so. Imagine how ridiculous it would be for farmworkers to join VVAW/WSO to fight oppression and exploitation in the lettuce fields or grape vineyards! These other organizations have no intention of structurally joining with VVAW/WSO nor should they. Aside from the fact that we, organizationally, lack the practical experience necessary to organize these various groups, the truth of the matter is that we simply couldn't handle such an enormous task anyway.

The question that logically follows is, where do these incorrect ideas come from? The answer is found in a number of sources. First of all is the confusion of the nature and the role of a mass organization as opposed to that of a cadre organization or political party. As was pointed out in the National Office Report to the 12th NSCM in the section on mass organizations, VVAW/WSO is not a cadre organization, it is a mass anti-imperialist organization. (It should also be pointed out that this National Office Report on VVAW/WSO and Mass Organizations neglected the question of the nature and focus of VVAW/WSO as a particular, mass anti-imperialist organization. That question is being addressed in this paper.) Certain members in VVAW/WSO, however, feel that VVAW/WSO is or should be a cadre organization, that it should assume the vanguard of leadership in the anti-imperialist movement. They feel VVAW/WSO should be the vanguard organizational form to lead workers, students, the unemployed, etc., as well as vets and GIs. In short that VVAW/WSO should assume the responsibilities of a political party! This incorrect analysis of the nature of VVAW/WSO can be called 'vanguardism'.

It is a progressive thing for people to desire an even greater level of discipline and commitment to the anti-imperialist struggle; that is certainly needed. In the context of VVAW/WSO, however, 'vanguardism' takes our basis of unity, anti-imperialism, and incorrectly replaces it with a complete world view. The truth of the matter is that there is no such level of political unity within VVAW/WSO. It is in the very nature of a mass organization that there be widely divergent political outlooks. It does not have the political unity to achieve a complete world view, nor should it. Secondly, it is in the very nature of a cadre organization, of a political party, to demand a very strict discipline. Membership is not open in a cadre organization. It is only open for those that have proven they can adhere to that strict discipline. Again, that is certainly not the case with VVAW/WSO. We would be fooling ourselves to believe we had such a degree of discipline.

Finally, there is the question of a programme. A cadre organization must have a programme to lead the entire people in their struggle if it is to be such a vanguard form. VVAW/WSO does not have such a programme. VVAW/WSO, as an organization, isn't equipped politically, structurally or any other way to be a van-

guard, cadre organization and would botch the job incredibly if we tried. VVAW/WSO is, however, admirably suited to be a mass anti-imperialist organization with a vets and GI base and focus.

A second major reason for this concept in VVAW/WSO of 'we are the whole movement' or of VVAW/WSO developing into some new type of 'vanguard form' stems from a general attitude we can term 'imperialism-in-the-sky.' As was pointed out in the discussion of the united front, organizations in the anti-imperialist movement do not develop as real peoples' movements because of some abstract desire on the part of the organization's membership to 'bear witness' against imperialism. Rather they develop out of the concrete conditions affecting the day-to-day lives of their constituencies. People don't organize against something merely to complain about how bad it is; they don't want to shine a light in the face of US imperialism to prove how ugly it is. Rather, they want to smash it and end the particular oppression it is causing them. As the crisis facing US imperialism inevitably intensifies, the oppressive conditions facing working people in this country will correspondingly increase. It is around those particular conditions facing a given group in society that they should be organized around; that point that the system oppresses the most. The GI movement developed out of resistance to the war and the racism and repression of the military. The rising workers' movement develops from exploitation at the work-site, and on and on it goes.

If using Dimitrov's words, these "united organs" for struggle do not grow out of people's daily lives, "at the enterprises" or around that primary contradiction of the imperialist system which oppresses them, they simply will not have the endurance and militance necessary to see the struggle through to completion. Rather it will become diffuse, halfhearted and inevitably falter. The enemy will forever be hazy, nebulous and illdefined. To those organized around their own point of oppression by the imperialist system, this is much less likely to happen. It's hard to forget who the enemy is when you are forced to face it every day of your life.

The logic of why VVAW/WSO shouldn't try to recruit everybody naturally flows from this understanding. If we do, we will end up drawing people, (or attempting to), away from where they should be; from the struggle closest to their lives, from the one they would be most effective in. If we encourage all people to join the same mass organization, by definition, they cannot be organized around their particular source of oppression under the system. Instead of creating a tight organization with a readily identifiable constituency that really fights for what its members really need, this will blunt the struggle, make it flabby, less militant and fragmented. This is not to say that workers or students, etc., should not join a veteran's organization. But it is to say that it is not always best for the general anti-imperialist movement that they do so. Depending on the particular conditions, it may, in fact, be best for the movement and for the individual that they organize not as veterans but as workers, students, etc. around worker or student issues--as the case may be.

The final source of this problem stems from the status of the movement today. It is comparatively young and underdeveloped without numerous organizational examples of how a united front develops and so on. VVAW/WSO, in many areas developed in a virtual political vacuum where we were the only progressive political organization in a given area. In other cases, VVAW/WSO was forced into an attitude of 'going it

alone' due to the opportunistic maneuverings of such groups as PL, SWP, etc. Also there is a source for this idea of 'we are the movement' or for 'vanguardism' in organizational chauvinist attitudes that many VVAW/WSO members formerly had. As sort of a superstar in the anti-war movement in our early days, we were told by everybody that we were the greatest, and could do no wrong. In a few cases at least, members ended up believing such nonsense. Hopefully, we have grown far beyond such chauvinistic attitudes by 1974.

Another tendency within VVAW/WSO that must be struggled against is the idea that doing any work around bread and butter veterans' issues is incorrect. Partially this position may come from certain guilt feelings many members have about having served in Vietnam. (While it's one thing for Vietnam vets to feel ashamed of having been manipulated and used in the government's genocidal war in Indochina they should not feel guilt-ridden; the war was not their responsibility. While much less than the Indochinese people, the Vietnam vet was also very much a victim of that war.) More frequently, however, the position put forth against any work on bread and butter veterans' issues is that it would 'separate veterans from workers and other people.'

In either case, this is an incorrect position. If followed, we would be failing to take up the very real fight veterans have around their special needs and link it with the general anti-imperialist movement. Whether or not we work in it, the veteran's movement does exist; it is an objective fact. It is spontaneously developing, around the VA, around discrimination at the job site due to bad discharges, etc. on an almost daily basis. Not to go to this struggle and fight for the bread and butter demands that veterans rightfully deserve would be a grave error. Not only does it isolate anti-imperialists from the vets' movement and fail to bring that struggle into the overall attack on US imperialism, but it leaves the field wide open for the opportunists and professional careerists to take the vets' movement up one blind alley after another; the American Legion, VFW, AVM, etc. It is no less correct for us to lead the struggle of vets fighting discrimination caused by a less-than-honorable discharge or for better medical treatment from the VA than it is for workers to demand higher wages or social security benefits. It is simply a matter of making the anti-imperialist struggle relevant to people's lives; not some nebulous concept off in the clouds.

The flip side of this ultra-left position of not dealing at all with bread and butter veterans' issues, is that of wanting to deal exclusively with them. This position holds that the veterans' movement must be strictly limited to the particular needs of veterans as a 'special interest group.' It holds that the veteran's movement should be 'apolitical', not linked up to the anti-imperialist struggle; not linked to anything but purely veterans' issues. It holds that any demands other than purely 'veterans demands' will weaken the chances of winning any reforms around vets' real needs. Obviously, this position has attracted swarms of cold-blooded opportunists, like so many maggots clinging to overly ripe meat. (See the August WS editorial on this.) But there are also many honest people that have not seen where such a position ultimately leads; how strictly reformist demands can only deal with the symptom and not the real problem. Speaking to these honest elements, the June-July editorial in Winter Soldier stated:

"The issue of the many problems facing veterans in the United States has been given a great deal of publicity. Unfortunately, all too often the solution has been