

VOLUME 3 ISSUE 2

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APRIL 1973

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WHAT PEACE?

The two South Vietnamese parties...insure the democratic liberties of the people: personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of political activities, freedom of belief, freedom of movement...from Article 11, January 27 Peace Agreement.

On January 28, 1973, Thieu ordered his forces to shoot "on the spot", those considered Communists. On February 8, 1973, Thieu declared that he would continue the pacification program which means the continued confining of civilians in strategic hamlets, imprisonment of dissenters, and attacks on liberated areas. To emphasize these points, the Saigon army initiated 328 infantry and armor assaults, 213 air attacks and 281 shellings of PRG controlled areas, during the first ten days after signing the agreement. The excuse given by Saigon for these actions was that the NLF provoked them by "flying the Viet Cong flag."

This was confirmed by Neil Davis, a cameraman for VIS-News, who was in the liberated areas.

"A rickety sampan carried us into the area. Along the river bank, the Viet Cong flag fluttered from the houses and huts." A South Vietnamese helicopter flew over and "sprayed the area, spewing bullets at a rate of 6,000 a minute for thirty minutes, as we sweated underground. Bullets got through the thick earth and bamboo ceiling"-of the shelter. "Before it began to grow dark, one of them (the guides) looked at his watch and said, 'There'll be Saigon artillery at 6:00!'

He was wrong. Davis said, "The shells came at 6:05."

On top of these overt attacks on the PRG controlled areas, repression in the areas controlled by Saigon has reached the level of Nazi Germany. Fearing the loss of his power, Thieu has arrested and jailed thousands opposed to his policies, be they Catholic or Communist, child or old person. Once jailed, prisoners are tortured in an effort to break their spirit.

Tiger cages are still in use. An American company, Brown and Root, is building new ones at Camps 7&8 on Con Son at a total cost of \$400,000. The "improved" models are too low for the prisoners to stand. With three to five prisoners to a cage, they have to take turns lying down while the others crouch.



They are kept completely in the dark without ventilation. Most of those who manage to live through this experience are blind afterwards.

Jean Pierre Debris, a French citizen and former Saigon prisoner, described how these prisoners looked. "They had to crawl down because they couldn't walk any more...they dragged themselves along the ground with little benches of their own making. Their faces were haggard and lined; their bodies gaunt and emaciated. Beside each tiger cage is a container of lime which the guards throw on to the prisoners and which burns their skin. They also use grenades of nausea and tear gas. Then when they've used all this, they beat and handcuff the prisoners with their wrists behind their backs. We know people who've been handcuffed like this for years because they refused to salute the Saigon flag.

Andre Menras, who was jailed with Debris, continued about the children held in prison. "The youngest among them, whose name is Dong, is six years old. His mother was killed by Americans bombing in the Delta region. His father, suspected of being a Communist sympathizer, was incarcerated in Chi Hoa and brought the child with him. The child had no relatives to take care of him. The last news we have of Dong dates from December 20th, when we heard him cry out in the disciplinary section, where he was imprisoned with his father; with his friends. He was shouting slogans with the adults to protest the living condi-

tions that were forced on the political prisoners...

"We saw how these kids are already adults at an age when little French children are playing marbles. We saw how prison authorities repress them. No difference between them and adults; they were put in the same category: hard-headed rebels."

It is not enough to sign a piece of paper and then declare peace. The war continues until the political prisoners are released. The war continues until the attacks on the liberated areas stop. The war continues until American involvement ends. The war continues until the treaty is implemented.



REPORT FROM HANOI VIETNAM REVISITED

In December an American peace delegation was invited to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the Vietnam Committee of Solidarity With the American People. The group consisted of Joan Baez, Telford Taylor, Reverend Michael Allen, and myself, Barry Romo.

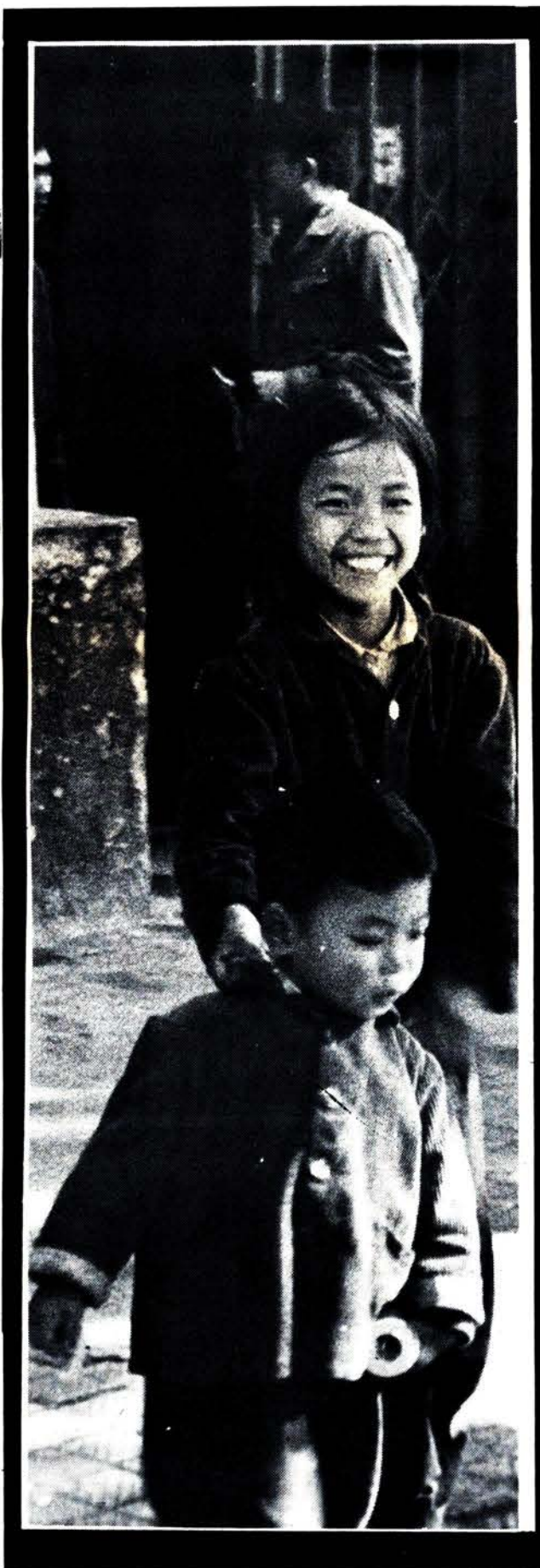
I felt strange about the upcoming trip, wondering how the Vietnamese would receive me, considering that I was a former infantry lieutenant in the Americal Division. As we got off the plane in Hanoi, the people met us with bouquets of flowers and handed me a beer. I knew there would be no problem.

When we walked through the streets of Hanoi I couldn't help but compare life in the north to the section of the south controlled by Saigon. In the south I had seen a cheap carbon copy of America. The influence was more pervasive than the American oil companies we guarded, advisors we provided, for the Thieu regime. The radios blared American music, the people spoke broken English. Vietnamese women, forced out of economic need, had operations on their eyes to make them round, and silicon injected in their breasts in order to become more attractive to American soldiers. The people lived in hovels made of C-ration cartons and scraped food out of American garbage cans.

By contrast, in the north I saw Vietnamese running their own lives without advisors from other countries. I saw no advisors during the two weeks I was there. The people had good homes and plenty of food. There was no one starving or begging. The Vietnamese watch Vietnamese movies, listen to Vietnamese music, even smoke Vietnamese cigarettes and drink Vietnamese beer! It was then that I realized that this was the true nature of Imperialism. The people in the south had lost, not only control of their resources and political freedom, but their culture as well. Their oppression, Imperialism, is total: political, economical and cultural.

On the first night of our visit, the committee sponsored a dinner for our delegation and for some government and union officials. We were served by waiters and wait-

resses, but in contrast to their counterparts in the United States, they were very relaxed. The workers were not overly impressed with us or the officials, but at the same time, were very friendly and



concerned. For instance, if there was a toast, they would put down their trays and drink with us. If they wanted a cigarette, they took it off the table. They would also make sure our glasses were full,

ashtrays close and our area cleaned. This was an attitude of respect, not servitude.

On the third day, the Nixon administration, in an act of desperation, initiated the most massive bombing in history. Centering his attacks on civilian areas, he destroyed homes, schools, nurserys, and hospitals in an attempt to terrorize the people into submission. We lived under American bombs until we left ten days later. During this time we observed the massive destruction, the human pain and sorrow, watched the people cry; and cried with them. It is not the suffering that I remember now, but the examples of heroism, kindness and strength of the Vietnamese. I remember people standing in the streets shooting at Phantom jets with old K-44 carbines. I remember our friends from the committee apologizing to us because the electricity was out due to the bombing. I remember a toast to the friendship of the Vietnamese and the American people while B-52s were destroying hospitals. I remember the statement made by one of the Vietnamese to us, "It is good that you are here to share in our suffering, because after the war you will also really share in our joy."

This was not an isolated incident either. Our delegation walked the streets alone without guides almost every day. We watched the people and their attitudes were the same throughout.

We had always been taught that North Vietnam was a totalitarian society. Yet the people were armed and the police were not. Their officials walk the streets unarmed and without body guards. The Vietnamese constantly echo the statement by Ho, "Nothing is more precious than freedom and independence." This is more than an empty phrase. The Vietnamese were fighting jets with rifles for "Freedom and Independence." There can be no doubt that the strength and determination that has persevered through the bombing would be turned against their officials if they were stifling freedom. What I had seen was a system of socialism that had allowed for work that was not oppressive nor degrading and provided for real "Freedom and Independence."

A WEEK OF SOLIDARITY

PARIS AND ROME



Thiounn Mumm, chief delegate of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia to Paris, expressed his thanks to the members of the American delegation and said, "When we were attacked in our country, Americans died for our cause; the students at Kent and Jackson States. This is the highest form of solidarity, when people give their lives for the struggles of others. We thank you."

This spirit of solidarity was not just confined to the Cambodian delegation. During the week of Feb. 18, we traveled from Paris to Rome, attending two conferences; one on amnesty, held in Paris, and an International Emergency Conference on Vietnam held in Rome, and this feeling of solidarity, of mutual respect and love was typical throughout. During this week-long series of meetings we had the privilege and honor of meeting with the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao, the Laotian Students Union of Paris, the United FNL Groups of Sweden, the Danish Vietnam Committee, members of the Italian Dock Workers Union, the Italian Vietnam Committee, representatives of Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Japanese delegation, as well as representatives of AMEX-Canada, Union of American Exiles in Britain, RITA-ACT of Germany, exiles from Vancouver, Montreal, Sweden, France, and of course, the Cambodia delegation in Paris. We talked to countless others and everywhere people recognized that we all have a common goal and a common struggle.

As representatives from the United States we tended to feel as part of the beast, but this feeling was quickly dissipated as is indicated in the remarks of Mr. Mumm. This feeling of solidarity marked all the meetings we had with representatives of the Indochinese peoples. Mr. Minh Vy, member of the delegation of the DRV, said in his remarks to us, "We greatly appreciate your courage, for you are in a difficult situation."

These meetings were also highly informative. Of particular interest to us were the reports of the Indo-Chinese. We questioned each of these delegations as to what the current situation was. The DRV assured us that in spite of the massive bombing of the North in December, that the Vietnamese people were determined to reconstruct their country after the damage inflicted by American bombers. Within six weeks after the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, new housing was built. Mr. Si Phan told of a letter he received from his daughter who lives in Hanoi. She spoke of how the family had lived through the terrorist attacks of the B-52s and how they were all together and well. In her letter she wrote of the determination of the Vietnamese. She also wrote, "It seems to me that the B-52s are not so terrible as they (the U.S.) want us to believe." - clear indication that the Vietnamese would not submit to American terrorism.

The Vietnamese responded to questions regarding the signing of the agreements with great confidence. They were concerned, however, that the United States might not live up to its part of the accords. It was pointed out that the harbors are still mined and that the United States has been delaying in the removal of these devices, saying that it is very difficult to de-mine the port. The Vietnamese were highly concerned with the fate of the political prisoners in the South of Vietnam. It is evident that the Thieu regime is not complying with the agreements and has been mistreating and torturing political prisoners.

Mr. Nguyen Van Tien, member of the central committee of the PRG, explained how important it is to recognize the PRG as a legitimate government in the south. To date, the PRG is recognized by 30 countries. Sixty-four nations recognize a neutral Vietnam. President Nixon has maintained that the only legitimate government in the south is the Thieu regime, a clear violation of the agreements. Both the DRV and the PRG recognize the agreements as a victory for the Vietnamese people, and that this victory marks another level of struggle for them.



On the question of aid for the reconstruction of Vietnam, we were told that aid is needed not just for hospitals, but also for the building of secondary schools and colleges, and for housing and there is a need for technical assistance in this rebuilding.

The meetings with the Cambodians and the Laotians stressed that the situation in those countries is very serious. Cambodia has not experienced a cessation of bombing. In fact, after the agreements were signed in Vietnam, several cities in the liberated zones experienced intense bombing. The Lon Nol regime in Pnomh Penh is aided by several hundred military advisors and the United Front of Cambodia states that the Americans will now concentrate their aggression on the people of Cambodia.



In Laos, bombing continued even after the agreement was signed there. American air power continues to give air support to ground forces of the right wing and the 30 Thai battalions that are conducting offensives in Laos.

But through all this calculated intervention of America in Southeast Asia, it is clear that the people of Indochina will never submit to the aggression of the U.S. to resolve the internal struggles of their people. During this week of meetings, this message came through loud and clear. The Indochinese will be victorious in their struggles against U.S. imperialism. They have the support of the international community and they will win.

Probably the best example of this solidarity came during the visit to the PRG in Paris. John Musgrave, VVAW Regional Coordinator of Kansas-W. Missouri, sat talking to Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the PRG. As they both got up to leave, Mme. Binh saw that John had been wounded in the leg. With much concern, and realizing that he was wounded while fighting the people of her country, she reached for his arm to help him up the stairs.

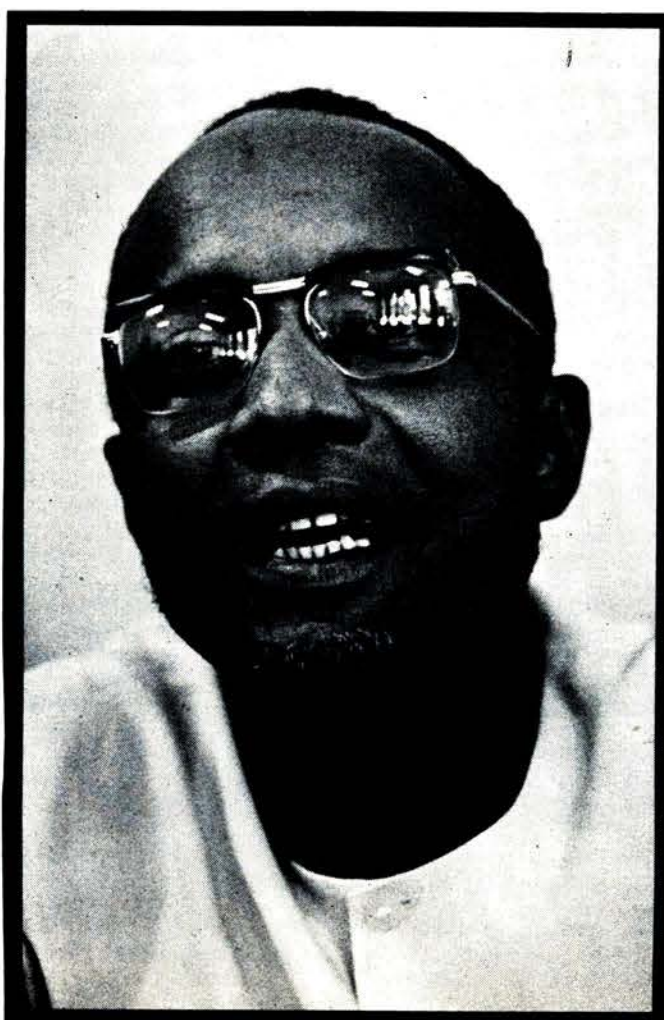
- Ed Damato

AMILCAR CABRAL ASSASSINATED

(On Jan. 20th, Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for Guinea and Cape Verde, was fatally shot by Portuguese agents near his home in Conakry, Guinea. The party, more commonly known as the PAIGC, is the organization leading the struggle for independence in Guinea-Bissau, much the same as the NLF has in Vietnam.)

As veterans of the war in Indochina, we often lose sight of the fact that Vietnam is not the only country fighting for its independence. Guinea-Bissau is another such nation. It is a small country on the west coast of Africa with a population of about one million people, mostly small farmers. Along with Portugal's other colonies in Africa--Mozambique and Angola--Guinea-Bissau has been fighting for over 500 years to free itself from Portuguese rule. Just as the American people fought 200 years ago for their independence from the British, and just as the Vietnamese people are fighting to free themselves from foreign domination, so the people of Guinea-Bissau are trying to win independence from Portugal. The struggle for liberation and self-determination that the peoples of Vietnam, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola are undergoing is truly universal in nature. Amilcar Cabral was the leader of those forces in Guinea-Bissau that were, are, fighting for liberation. In many respects he stands in the same relationship with his people as Ho Chi Minh does with the Vietnamese.

Amilcar Cabral helped found the PAIGC in 1956. It initially tried to gain independence through peaceful means but was met with violence and brutal suppression. During the years of Portuguese rule, no national health care programs had been set up, and



nothing had been done in terms of public education; Portuguese economic policies ensured that starvation, disease and illiteracy would be the constant companions of the people of Guinea-Bissau. When, in 1959, a peaceful workers' strike was put down by the Portuguese, killing some 50 workers and wounding 100 more, PAIGC began armed struggle shortly thereafter. Today PAIGC controls over two thirds of the land of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. In April 1972 an official UN observer team visited the liberation zones of the country and testified not only to the military and economic control of the PAIGC, but also to the outstanding development of social institutions such as health care and education. Under the Portuguese, 99% of the people were illiterate and three out of five infants

would die of disease. For the entire population there were only 11 physicians available. Today, illiteracy is rapidly disappearing altogether in the liberated zones. Diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis are rapidly being eradicated by the medical programs of PAIGC, while infant mortality has been drastically reduced. The people of Guinea-Bissau, under PAIGC, elected their first National Assembly in April 1972, and plan on declaring full independence in 1973.

Amilcar Cabral was recognized throughout the world as one of the outstanding leaders of Africa today. In an unprecedented move, he was invited to speak before the United Nations as a spokesman for all African nationalist movements. His death is a great loss to Africa and freedom-loving people around the world. His murder is, however, a testimony to the desperation and impending defeat of the Portuguese. As great a loss as Cabral's death is, the will and determination of his people to be free will only be strengthened by it. In 1969, Eduardo Mondlane, the leader of the liberation front for Mozambique, FRELIMO was assassinated by a bomb the Portuguese had placed in a book sent to him. Given the ever increasing success that FRELIMO has had since then, the Portuguese should have learned their lesson: Killing Cabral would not bring them victory just as the killing of Mondlane did not bring them victory! The love for freedom lives in all people and cannot be killed by one person's death. The people of Guinea-Bissau, like the people of Vietnam, will inevitably win! They will be free!

A LUTA CONTINUA!
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!!!



PAT CHENOWETH FRAMED



need not prove that Chenoweth intended to interfere with national defense in order to convict him of the charge. The ramifications of this ruling are clearly ominous. To top things off, Pat's trial is being moved from Treasure Island-San Francisco to Subic Bay in the Philippines. Now that might just strike you as being a little out of line with our right to be tried in the community in which a 'crime' was supposed to have been committed. Pat's attorney, Eric Seitz, of the National Lawyers Guild, remarked on this, that "there is no subtlety any longer. They're clearly out to convict Pat at any cost, only they'd prefer to do it thousands of miles away where neither the public or the press can see or do anything about it."

Pat Chenoweth is facing 30 years in military prison for destruction of government property and wartime sabotage. He is accused of dropping a paint scraper and two large bolts into the main reduction gear of the USS Ranger last summer, causing it some \$800,000 damage and delaying its departure to Vietnam for 4 months. Alarmed at the increasing acts of resistance, the Navy has singled out Pat as a scapegoat, hoping to thereby repress dissent. The truth is that there is not enough evidence to warrant a court-martial. Throughout the armed forces acts of resistance and sabotage have become so commonplace as to really freakout the Brass. GI's discontent and frustration with the Navy's repression and racism has sparked incidents all over the world. The Ranger alone has had some 30 acts of sabotage from May to September 1972 - many of which occurred when Pat was not assigned to the ship. Jeffrey Allison was convicted of setting fire to the USS Forestal last July, Jack Vaughn is now charged with arson and sabotage of the USS Coral Sea, while Cpl. Mike Tippet is accused of totally destroying two F-4 Phantoms by placing foreign objects in their engines. The list of such incidents is endless. The Navy obviously hopes that its witch hunts for saboteurs will solve its problems, and it isn't going to be too squeamish about the methods used to get convictions.

Perhaps most importantly, Pat's attorney will not be able to defend him if the trial is moved to the Philippines. It was just four months ago that the dictator Marcos arrested a member of the National Lawyers Guild that was working with the GI movement in the Philippines. He was threatened with a 'military trial' under Philippine martial law, and eventually deported. Eric won't be permitted to defend Pat at Subic Bay and the Navy knows it... that's why the case is being tried there. "They have moved the trial to the one place in the world where they know I cannot safely go," Seitz said. The moving of the trial sets a precedent that might allow the government to move any military, (or civilian!), trial wherever they wished. Picture the next political trial, a la Angela Davis or the Berrigan Brothers, being held on a Boeing 747 orbiting Guam or something! Think about it, brothers and sisters; it's not at all funny. If we allow Pat to be framed, we are all in danger. Who is to say who their next victim will be? In order to insure our own freedom, we must see that Pat Chenoweth is FREE!

In an unprecedented move, the military courts ruled that the war in Indochina is legal, regardless of the lack of a Congressional declaration, thus making it possible to charge Pat with "sabotage in time of war." If this ruling is upheld, the government

FREE PAT! FREE ALL GI'S!

FOR INFO - - CONTACT
PAT CHENOWETH
DEFENSE COMMITTEE
3325 KEMPTON AVE. OAKLAND CA.
763-6347

Without the cold and
Bleakness of winter,
The warmth and splendour
of spring
There could never be.

Misfortunes have steeled
and tempered
Me,
And strengthened
My resolve
Even further.

Ho Chi Minh



The wheel of law turns
without pause.

After the rain, good weather.
In the wink of an eye

The universe throws off
its muddy clothes.

For ten thousand miles
the landscape

spreads out like a beautiful brocade
Light breezes, smiling flowers.

High in the trees, amongst
the sparkling leaves

all the birds sing at once.
People and animals rise-up reborn

What could be more natural?
After sorrow, comes happiness.

Ho Chi Minh

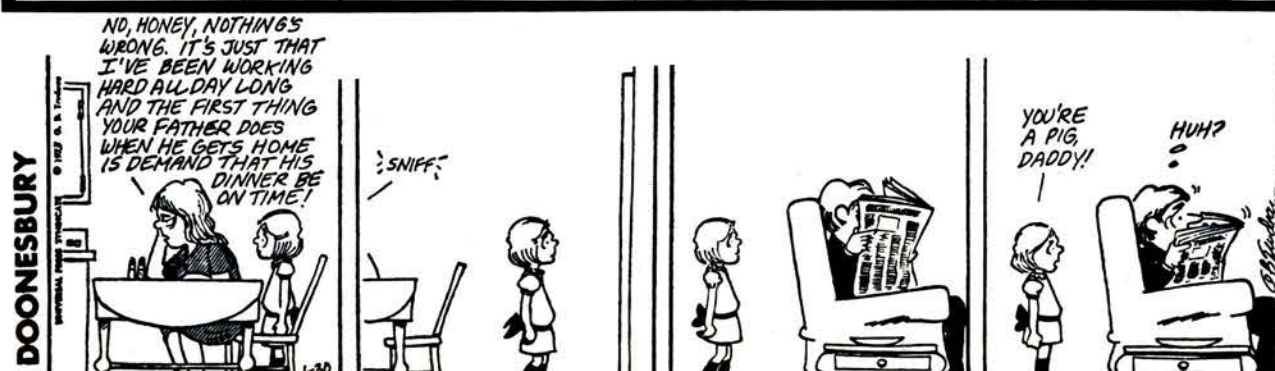
THE MONEY PITCH !!

Contrary to popular opinion, it takes much money to print a good paper. This paper costs us \$500.00 per issue to print, including the neat colors.

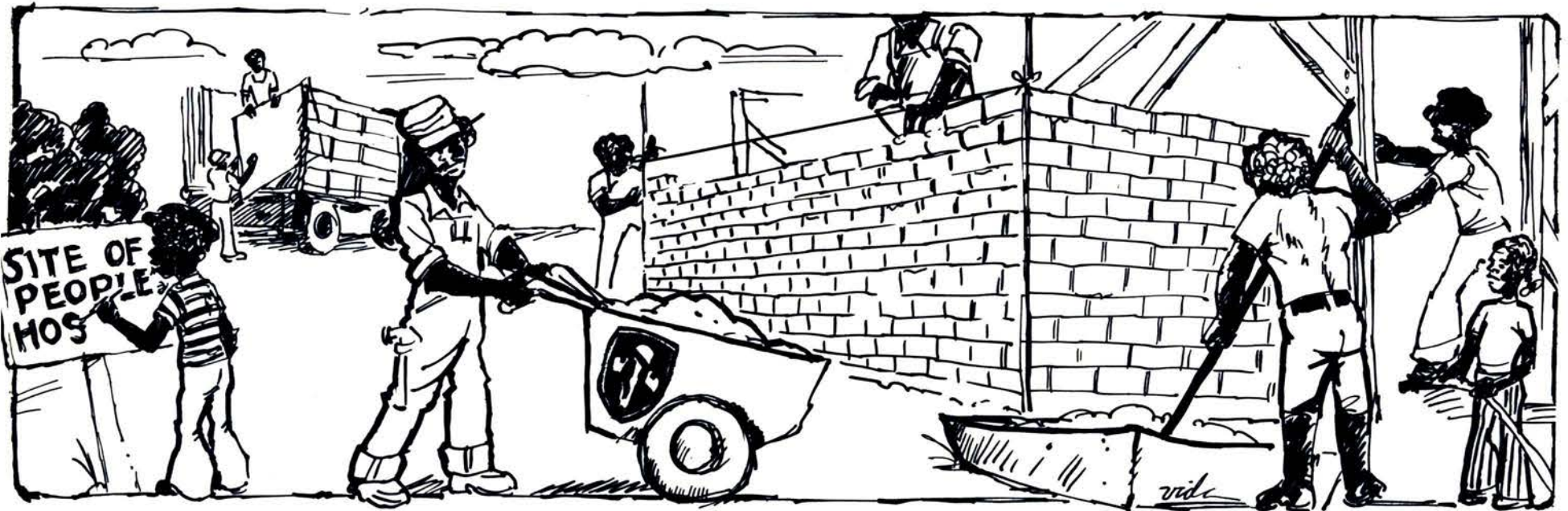
So, if each one of you readers of this excellent rag sends us one measly dollar, we will never have money troubles in putting out the paper. Just think, two packets of cigarettes not smoked, two cans of beer never sipped, or not eating 4 hot dogs, fries; this terrible sacrifice can keep the paper rolling every month.

Now that you have decided to make this sacrifice:

Here is my one dollar (\$1.00)
for: WINTER SOLDIER
827 W. Newport,
Chicago, Ill. 60657



OPERATION COUNTY FAIR



SERVE THE PEOPLE

Operation County Fair has been voted in by the National Steering Committee as an ongoing program to provide medical care for the people of Bogue Chitto, Alabama; to strengthen our bonds with 3rd world peoples; and to create new unity, energy and direction within VVAW. This program is directly related to our 8th and 10th objectives. The medical program was initiated last summer by community people, who had previously worked on the Poor Peoples' Campaign of 1968, on a donated 10 acre farm. Most of the people who will be served are poor, rural blacks who survive on similar subsistence farms.

VVAW was asked to participate shortly after the Miami Republican Convention. VVAW's role will be to provide assistance aimed at allowing the people of this area to control and provide their own medical services. The California region is responsible for immediate administrative affairs and the Alabama region is to assist in incorporation, setting up local staffing and control and create a means of continued fundings. All other regions should muster all the staff, funding and supplies they can.

AIMS

Operation County Fair has four major aims. The emphasis is being placed upon the proposed clinic which will have 3 examination rooms, 2 consultation rooms, 4 bathrooms, a lab, a pharmacy, a records and reception room and a waiting and child care room. All services will

be free. A screening team will be trained to uncover diseases which normally go untreated locally, among these are anemia, T.B., ricketts, parasites and dental problems. A van-type vehicle will serve as rural medical transportation to bring help to patient who can't travel, for emergencies and as the Screening teams' transportation. Also, under the Health Advocates Program, the advocate would accompany the patient to make sure treatment was prompt and proper and that all the patient's rights were respected.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Training sessions for Community Health Workers have been in progress since November 22, 1972. Topics include: How to take a Health Survey; Environmental Health; Venereal Disease; How to Take Tests; Farm Fire Hazards; The Pregnant Woman and the Newborn Infant; On Nutrition; Outhouse Construction and Sanitation; Health Advocacy; and First Aid. Two registered Nurses from the Selma area and a VVAW paramedic have been helping conduct the classes. 35 community members are presently enrolled. Classes are at the People's Farm in Bogue Chitto. Dr. E. A. Maddox of Selma has been named Director of the MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. MEMORIAL CLINIC, heading up a Board of Directors drawn from the Bogue Chitto community. The Clinic and OPERATION COUNTY FAIR have been incorporated as non-profit, volunteer organizations. An Organizational Proposal

has been written, modeled after the one donated by the Los Angeles Free Clinic. A floor plan for the Clinic has been roughed out and will be blueprinted as soon as it is finally approved. OPERATION COUNTY FAIR has been involved in fund raising, procurement of medical supplies, and searching out of volunteer staffing.

NEEDS

Funds are desperately needed for operating expenses, construction of the Clinic proper, purchase of a vehicle, and medical supplies. Donations of medical supplies are welcome and needed. We also need staff who will be willing to work for subsistence pay and satisfaction (doctors, nurses, paramedics, dentists, medical and dental students, friends, etc.). We would also welcome any helpful advice or information.

ROLE OF VVAW MEMBERS

VVAW often uses military type code names to signify actions with opposite goals. Operation County Fair was derived from military terminology for limited medical aid programs created in Vietnam and combined with political indoctrination. We all know the horrors of forced relocation which was the next tactic after this "pacification" plans failure. This action gives Vietnam Veterans, especially those with paramedical training a chance to use their military training to help and serve instead of maim and kill. A convoy to help with actual construction of the clinic is planned for this Easter.

If you wish to donate supplies, money or if you need further information contact:

Operation County Fair
1317 14th Ave.
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
35401

California Regional VVAW Office
3503 W. Pico
Los Angeles, California 90019

VVAW National Office
827 W. Newport
Chicago, Illinois
60657

VIETNAM VETERANS

(The following article was written by the Gainesville 8 Collective. The article does not contain all the details of the case as that would jepordize the defense strategy to be used to defeat the bogus charges in court. At this time, no trial date has been set and apparently may not be set until the final hearings on pretrial motions, presently set for April 23-26. In any case, the trial is still many months and a lot of defense expenditures away. The origional judge in the case has disqualified himself and has been replaced by Judge Arnow. Judge Arnow has recently ordered a hearing into the use of illegal wire taps by the government in the Gainesville Conspiracy, and has ordered the government to reveal the transcripts of any such 'taps'. As the case develops this paper will cover the progress of the trial.) Ed.

On the 7th of July, 1972, agents of the FBI began to serve subpoenas commanding the appearance of 22 men and 1 woman before a Federal grand jury in Tallahassee, Florida. There were two reasons why these subpoenas were unique. First, all 23 subpoenas were returnable the same day, at the same hour - 9 AM, July 10, 1972. Second, all were for one organization: Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

For the first time, the U.S. government had launched a frontal attack on VVAW. Prior to this date, the government seemed to be at a loss in coping with an organization of anti-war veterans. There had been attempts to deny that the "hirsute vagabonds" were actually veterans, but we could prove our claim. There had been harassment arrests, but not only were we unimpressed with the power of the police, our numbers were steadily increasing.

The national steering committee of VVAW had been making plans to attend the Republican National Convention. In addition our southern regions were planning a scenario for the Democratic National Convention. Exactly what the government hoped to gain by holding the grand jury in July wasn't clear, but as pieces were added to the puzzle, the government's intentions became more apparent.

Richard M. Nixon, in an attempt to make good his campaign promises of 1968, had to change the character of the war in Southeast Asia. He hoped that an escalated air war, coupled with a naval blockade and mining

of North Vietnamese ports, would bring the Vietnamese to their knees and force them to accept U.S. terms at the Paris peace talks. His future as president seemed to hang on the war in Vietnam.

Nixon was receiving a message from the American people he could not ignore - the war had lost its appeal! With the leaking of the Pentagon papers, more and more Americans were ceasing to be silent and starting to ask embarrassing questions about our involvement in Vietnam.

Richard Nixon is no stranger to mud-slinging and dirty politics, as witnessed by his early Congressional campaigns. The situation in the Spring of 1972 clearly indicated a need for desperate measures if Nixon was to retain the presidency. Two of his backers, Gordon Liddy and George McCord, began to organize an espionage ring. One target was the suite of offices in the Watergate apartment building leased to the Democratic Party. The other targets of this strange organization of ex-CIA and FBI agents are still speculative at this point, but apparently VVAW was not beneath the notice of their elaborate spy ring. In May, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward of the Washington Post quoted Alfred Baldwin as saying that he had been hired by McCord to act as a wire tap monitor at the Watergate and to infiltrate VVAW for the purpose of embarrassing the Democrats if the vets demonstrated at the Republican Convention.

It is possible that the plans of McCord and Co. included the Demo-



cratic Convention. Without a doubt, the riots at the 1968 Chicago Convention affected that election. If a similar riot could be rigged at the 1972 Democratic National Convention, might it not affect the 1972 election?

The 23 people subpoenaed represented most of the visible leadership of VVAW planning for the actions at the Democratic Convention. Included were a national coordinator, the regional coordinators of Florida, Texas, Arkansas, and most of the chapter coordinators of Florida. The government might have reasoned that some type of riot might occur if these people were detained during the convention.

The grand jury in Tallahassee coincided exactly with the Democratic Convention. It began July 10th, at 9 AM and released those subpoenaed W

National Committee to Defend
VVAW
827 West Newport,
Chicago, Illinois 60657
(312) 935-2129



FREE THE GAI AND ALL POLITIC

S AGAINST THE WAR



Judge David L. Middlebrooks for a contempt hearing, and, after refusing to hear arguments for the defense, sent to jail. The other witnesses were informed by federal marshals that they were no longer under subpoena and were free to leave.

That evening, Stan Michelsen, one of the subpoenaed and the assistant regional coordinator for Florida, received a strange phone call threatening the life of Scott Camil. The caller identified himself as an agent. Michelsen received a second call a little later from one of the women at the house in Tallahassee that was being used as the defense headquarters. She told him that about 30 agents and police had been to the house looking for Camil. This was the first notice VVAW had of the indictments. We learned the next morning that six people had been indicted. The six were: Scott Camil, Don Perdue, and Alton Foss of Florida; Bill Patterson and John Kniffen of Texas; and Pete Mahoney of the national office of VVAW.

In late October, the grand jury issued a superceding indictment against John Briggs and Stan Michelsen, of the Florida regional. The indictments charged that the eight, "conspired to promote, incite and participate in a riot" at the Republican National Convention in Miami.

The VVAW Gainesville 8 appeared before Judge Middlebrooks on November 6th to plead to the charges against us. The plea in this case established the nature of the defense. We plead 'not guilty' to conspiracy, but guilty of war crimes in Southeast Asia; the government was told in no uncertain terms that we considered the charges against us to be politically motivated.

During the last few years we have seen an increase in the number of politically motivated grand juries and conspiracy trials. In Chicago, Seattle Harrisburg and now Gainesville, the government has used this tactic against anti-war activists.

The grand jury system was conceived as a device to protect the individual from over-zealous or misguided public officials, but recently its purpose has been subverted for use as an intelligence apparatus for a national political police force. Guy Goodwin, the head of the Special Litigation Section of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, has personally supervised 17 of these politically motivated grand juries, including the one involving the Gainesville 8. These grand juries have delivered a total of 105 indictments; but of these indictments only two have resulted in convictions, and in many cases, the government has declined to prosecute.

The questions asked of witnesses before these grand juries are very broad in scope. The government does not seem interested in any particular subjects, rather its chief interrogator, Guy Goodwin, attempts to pump witnesses for any form of information. Goodwin is interested in lifestyles, friendships, finances, and travels of his witnesses. Under him, the grand jury is purely a fishing expedition for any and all information. The information received from the grand jury testimony is integrated in a computer with local, state and federal reports. Through this network of information, or socio-graph as it is called, Goodwin and the federal agents hope to learn everything possible about organized dissent in this country.

The conspiracy indictments are ideal tools to use against those individuals who turn up too often in Goodwin's computer bank. Conspiracy is a thought crime. No actual crime or overt act need be committed. The government need only prove that a crime was contemplated. Today, the government has not won a conspiracy case; but perhaps a conviction is not all that important to the government in the first place.

THE GAINESVILLE COLLECTIVE!

AINESVILLE 8 CAL PRISONERS



THE GAINESVILLE DEFENSE
FUND
Box 13179
Gainesville, Florida 32601
(904) 378-0774

EDITORIAL:

OUR WORK CONTINUES!

So, you thought the war was over. With the stroke of a pen, you thought that the signing of the Peace Agreement ended over 20 years of American military involvement in Indochina; justified the slaughter of unimaginable numbers of Indochinese people; justified the death of 55,000 American GIs; and instantly solved the myriad problems of life here at home, didn't you??

Of course you didn't!! And neither did VVAW. We knew that the US government would someday have to end its direct military aggression in Indochina, but we also knew that the people who run our government, the Big Money, would never give up so easily their goals of conquest in Asia. We knew that racism would not end, that the subjugation of women would not end, that veterans' problems caused by the war would not end, that the men who refused to fight still would be jailed or exiled; all this and more we knew.

VVAW clearly sees a future for itself. As veterans of the military, as veterans of Vietnam, we will fight to see that the Peace Agreement is fully implemented, without US interference. As hard as the Vietnamese fought against us as we burned down their homes, we will fight for our goals. It is our obligation! We will fight for our own rights here in our backyards; the right to health, peace, and freedom. We will fight to help our brothers and sisters whose lives are made miserable by ignorance and greed.

All of us, vets and non-vets, whites and non-whites, workers and students, everybody, must continue to unite to solve the problems that the American system has failed to solve. No one will help us. The people must solve their problems and not rely on the benevolence of big-time politicians or large corporations. The power to solve these problems is ours. We have but to take it.

Unity, unity, unity!
Victory, victory, victory!

the National Collective

WINTER SOLDIER is the official national publication of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., published by the National VVAW Collective on a monthly basis from
827 W. Newport,
Chicago, Ill. 60657
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VVAW ATTACKED AGAIN

LOS ANGELES

In the past month police repression, intimidation, and harassment has been directed primarily against members of VVAW. The increase in police terror tactics coincided with the signing of the Paris Agreements to end the war in Vietnam.

It started slowly, with the people that work in the regional office being singled out. They were followed when they left the office and pulled over by plain-clothes cops. Bill Hager, the regional coordinator, was handcuffed and held prisoner while the cops searched for what they said was "a large haul of narcotics". Finding none, they released Hager. Kevin McNamara was pulled over, searched, and told "we're going to get you fuckers". I have been pulled over and searched and held for warrant checks at least 10 times in recent weeks.

The attacks reached a new level 2 weeks ago. A house where 3 VVAW members live in No. Hollywood was broken into by over 15 policemen without a warrant. The house was ransacked while the brothers and 2 female companions (who also have worked with VVAW) were held prisoner. Finding nothing again, the police concocted a story of finding "traces" of marijuana and all 4 were arrested, even though the women did not live there!

Almost immediately following this incident a leaflet that claimed to be written by an ex-member was passed around the areas of Los Angeles where VVAW is the strongest. The leaflet accused many members (especially the most active) of being narcotics distributors, stealing money from VVAW and Peace Action Council, and being flunkies of Progressive Labor Party. This leaflet has been

thoroughly analyzed and is also attributed to the pathetic idiots of the LAPD "red squad". The mentality of whoever wrote it is so low that it could only be a super macho flunkie such as employed by the LAPD.

This past Sunday the Los Angeles Sheriffs, attacked several members of VVAW outside of a church they were entering. A meeting had been called by Black community organizations to protest the murder of a 17 year old boy by the Sheriffs. The boy weighed 125 pounds and was shot "accidentally" by a burly cop who stopped him on the street for questioning. Upon arriving at the Church, the VVAW people were physically attacked by 7 carloads of Sheriffs. They were beaten, clubbed, and kicked by these savage beasts before they were asked a single question. They were then arrested and taken to jail where they were again beaten and gassed in their cells. They were forced to sit in the gas filled, and unventilated cell for one hour and a half before being moved to a new cell. Hours later they were informed that they were charged with "Failure to present identification to an officer on demand." One brother was also charged with possession of marijuana that was "found" in his car after they were hauled away.

It is becoming obvious that the government thinks that the time is ripe to destroy VVAW. They feel that our base of support and unity will disintegrate now that the war is supposedly over. But we have news for these thugs. Their attacks will only bring us closer together and increase our struggles to change the system that allows gangsters like them to occupy our communities.

Tom Zangrilli



VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR



OBJECTIVES

1. To demand an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops, planes, and military and economic aid from Southeast Asia. We cannot allow one more human being to be killed in Southeast Asia. We support as a basis for the cessation of these hostilities the various peace proposals of the People of Southeast Asia or such future plans as they develop based upon their right of self-determination and actual control of their own destinies.
2. To demand 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 Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This includes the maintenance of dictatorial governments, economic domination, and the theft of the natural resources of other countries. The United States should make reparations in a program acceptable to the Indochinese for all of the damage done by the United States.
3. To demand that all active-duty servicemen and women, Reservists and National Guardsmen be afforded the same rights that are guaranteed by the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights that are presently denied by the Uniform Code of Military Justice. We are appalled that our active-duty GIs are treated as less than first class citizens. We endorse the efforts of our active-duty sisters and brothers in their struggle to democratize the military.
4. To support all military personnel refusing to serve against their consciences in wars at home and abroad. We demand that Congress enact legislation for the immediate repatriation of those brothers and sisters who are in prison or in self-exile by reason of their refusal to serve in the military. It must also involve an end to all repression and a freeing of all political prisoners.
5. To demand there be no distinctions as to types of discharges and that a single type of discharge be issued, and that this be retroactive. We also demand all veterans receive all rights and benefits under the VA; and that compensation for disabilities be based solely upon the degree of disability for veterans and their families, without regard to sex, race, rank, or length of service.
6. To make clear that the United States has never undertaken an extensive, open investigation of American war crimes in Indochina. In its war in Indochina, the principles of Nuremberg have been violated. As active-duty and former GIs we recognize the responsibility and guilt of the individual soldier to refrain from committing war crimes. We also recognize that the responsibility and guilt of war crimes committed in the name of America lies with our policy makers at all levels.
7. Resolved to fight racism, to show Americans that our society is permeated by racism, which manipulates whites into viewing non-whites as inferior or less than human. This racism pushes Third World People through inferior schools to inferior jobs and into combat arms. Thus Third World People are sent off to die in disproportionately high numbers as we kill Asians indiscriminately. We also demand the US military recognize its complicity in America's domestic and international racism.
8. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans our society is permeated by sexism, which forces an inferior status upon women, reducing them to subservient sexual objects, and which robs both men and women of their natural growth. This institutionalized sexism channels women into unfulfilling lower paying jobs which are servile in nature and purpose; it exploits their bodies for sex and profit; and it degrades and dehumanizes them by a double standard of morality wholly dependent on the myth of male supremacy. This sexism is exploited by the military, officially defining servicewomen as subordinate and thoroughly subjugating them to servile work and the role of a sexual object. We resolve to fight sexism within our society, within our own organization and within our selves.
9. To support the democratic right of Americans to unionize and strike to protect their income and safeguard their employment. We consider all legislation designed to suppress these rights, including mandatory arbitration, to be illegal, and not in the interests of the American working people. We also demand full employment for all Americans, including free educational and vocational training for all who need or want it. We refuse to participate in the efforts being made to separate us from other working people, making veterans enemies by giving us the charade of employment priority. We condemn this as a method of encouraging enlistment by the false promise of employment after service. We also condemn the use of active-duty GIs, Reservists, and National Guardsmen as strikebreakers.
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 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.

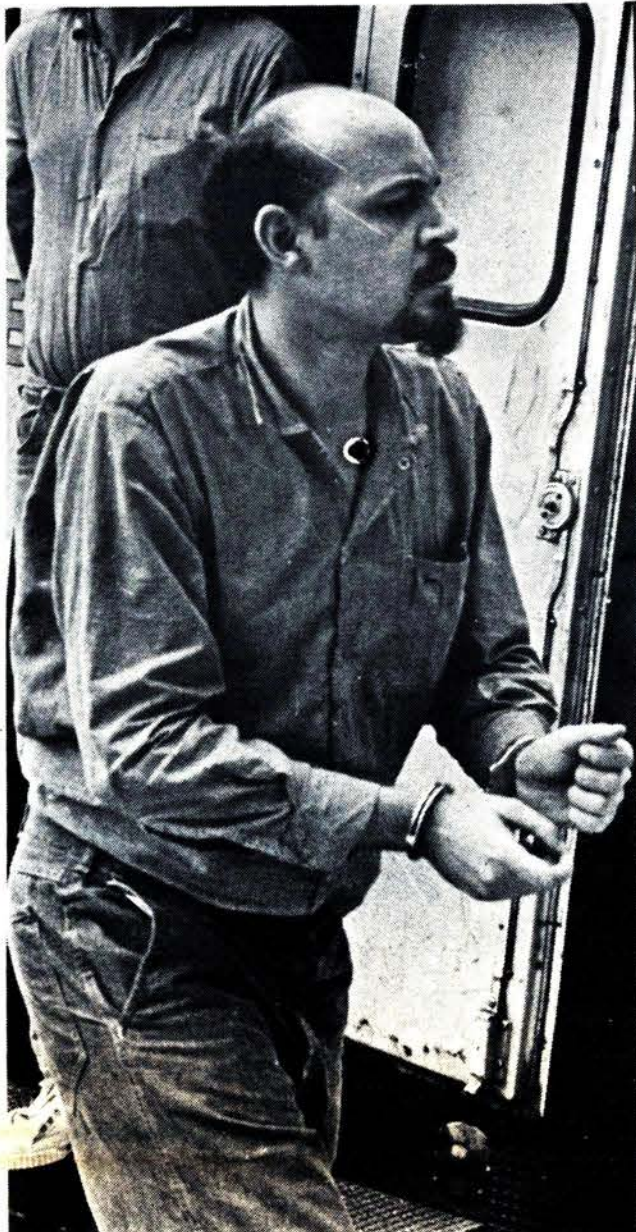


ACQUITTAL AND RETRIAL GARY LAWTON:

Political repression has become a part of the American way of life. Everyday, brothers and sisters are being railroaded into prison for political activity by a racist, repressive judicial system. White America has largely been oblivious to political repression, and it's institutionalized counterpart - racism, as they have both been mainly directed at the various 3rd World communities of the US- black, brown, red, and yellow. But as all people of this country are being subjected to a steady loss of political freedom and civil rights, it becomes increasingly important that mid-America awakes to the threat this poses, and at the same time understands how racism is an integral part of the process. VVAW sees how racism and repression, two heads of the same coin, are blatantly demonstrated in the case of VVAW brother Gary Lawton.

Gary Lawton, along with Nehemiah Jackson and Larrie Gardner, is charged with the April 2nd, 1971 slaying of two Riverside, California police officers. To anyone possessing the slightest objectivity, it is clear that the primary purpose of the case is the political repression of Riverside's black community. Arrested, denied bail, and finally brought to trial in September, 1972, the case of these three men ended in a mistrial on February 16, 1973. It was the longest criminal trial in the history of Riverside and San Bernardino counties. As the presiding judge, Warren E. Slaughter, refused the defendants bail, they have already spent an incredible length of time in jail: Gary has been in jail for 22 months- Nehemiah and Larrie for 16.

Now the trial must start all over again where it began six months ago. Pretrial motions are set for mid-March. There the defense will again have to seek motions for a change of venue, voire dire the jury, and most importantly, try to get bail set. There is a very good chance that the defendants can be forced to spend another two years in jail. Already, from his 22 months in jail, Gary is suffering from a seriously strepped throat and has been spitting up blood. While the prison doctor says he should be taken to the dispensary, the police refuse. Both Gary and Larrie are regularly being harrassed by the police while they are in jail. As these men have yet to be convicted of any crime, how is it that they can be jailed so long under such inhumane conditions?



VVAW feels that the answer can be understood only by first understanding the repressive, racist environment that the black community of Riverside lives in.

While the city fathers of Riverside would have us believe that its race relations were a model of harmony, Riverside, like all U.S. cities, treats its minority groups as anything but 1st class citizens. Tension in the black community dramatically increased in March 1971, when a black man, William Palmer was shot, according to police, while resisting arrest. According to community residents he was shot in the back while walking away from the police. With community feelings running very high, things came to a head on April 2nd, when two white police officers were killed in what police labeled an "ambush slaying." This incident took place in the Bordwell Park area, the scene of previous racial turmoil in Riverside.

With the press, the police tried to play down any connections between the killings and racial tension in Riverside. The RPD did not exhibit the same concern in Riverside's black community however. The entire 185 man force was put

on alert; all days off and leaves were cancelled. Then followed what community residents described as a reign of terror. Roadblocks were set up all around the community. Blacks were indiscriminately stopped, searched and questioned. At one point, police broke into a community church while services were going on. They rounded up the entire congregation, scared the children half to death, and searched everybody for weapons.

To maintain Riverside's reputation of being a 'trouble-free' city, the killers would have to be caught. As the search dragged on, however, no suspects could be found. Thus, the decision was made to manufacture one. At this point, the investigation suddenly pointed to Gary Lawton Gary, an ex-marine and self-employed maintenance man, had long been regarded as one of Riverside's "chief black militants" for his work in community organizations. He was thus a major thorn in the side of the city's local authorities. Unable to locate the real killers, Gary Lawton was picked as the next best thing: the man the city would most like to have out of the way. The police then rounded out their case by arresting Nehemiah Jackson and Larrie Gardner. None of these three men knew each other before they were arrested.

As Kafka-esque as this seems, it actually occurred. These men were arrested and charged with the crime without there being the slightest bit of valid evidence. The truth of this statement is fully borne out in the testimony of the trial. One witness, a niece of a Riverside policeman, testified that she saw the killers, and that Gary Lawton was not one of them. Another witness, a woman that lived across the street from Gary's home, testified that she heard some shots, went outside, and observed Gary working on his car at the exact time the murders were committed. She also testified that as an old woman, she was not friendly with the young Lawton couple. The prosecution on the other hand produced no evidence to link Gary with the murders. Thus the all white jury initially returned a verdict of 10-2 for acquittal. Not satisfied with that, Judge Slaughter ordered them to go back and return another verdict. After being held incommunicado for 14 straight days, the jury still voted 9-3 for acquittal. The trial had proven conclusively that the prosecution did not in fact have a case; but that it seems didn't



matter very much.

Although he had the option to drop the case, Riverside District Attorney, Byron Morton, said the verdict "didn't carry too much influence in the decision to re-prosecute. This is a pretty important case..." Morton's reasoning is difficult to understand when one realizes that the verdict of 9-3 had come from an all white jury in a very racially prejudiced community. This jury had not only been concerned that the police would go to such lengths to frame innocent men, but also that the police would harass and intimidate the black community at large. One juror said that "these were definitely the wrong men." Another juror said that "they should never have been brought to trial."



The blatant attempts by the court to convict the defendants, with or without a fair trial, have been nothing short of incredible. Wives and families of Riverside's police officers have stacked the courtroom everyday. They were allowed to enter the courtroom before anyone else, including reporters and defendants' supporters that attended the trial. One sister was ordered from the courtroom for not sitting up in her seat properly. The Rev. Al Dortch of SCLC was thrown out of court for yawning. VVAW member Ron Kovic's appearance in court moved Judge Slaughter to say, "I know who that vet is and I don't want him falling out of his wheelchair and claiming police brutality." And they say it can't happen here!

The trial of Gary Lawton stands as a symbol of much of what's wrong with the U.S. today. Rather than solve the pressing problems facing our society - poverty, poor medical care, poor educational institutions, unemployment, drug abuse - the decision has been made to suppress the political protest and dissent that these problems inevitably produce. Just as this is the case in Riverside, California, so is it the case throughout the U.S.A.. Gary Lawton stands as a symbol of that political dissent. Racial prejudice, whether in the court system, job market or wherever, is used as the grease on the wheels of political repression of 3rd World communities. Gary Lawton stands as a symbol of resistance to that racism.

In the city's attempt to convict them, the 'impartial' trial given Gary, Nehemiah and Larrie has so far cost the taxpayers of Riverside almost two million dollars. Fortunately it hasn't so far been able to buy a conviction. The defense, as opposed to the prosecution, has only spent a total of \$25,000. They are some \$3,000 in debt and will need a minimum of another \$10,000 to finish the second trial. **THE DEFENSE REALLY NEEDS OUR HELP!** At the moment Gary Lawton does not have a lawyer. Among other reasons, his lawyer quit because of the horrible financial situation. If you can help, send contributions to the **RIVERSIDE POLITICAL PRISONERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, PO BOX 5154, SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF. 92412.**

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO DEFEND VVAW
827 W. Newport,
Chicago, Illinois 60657**

**FREE GARY LAWTON! FREE US
ALL! SAY ON!!!!**



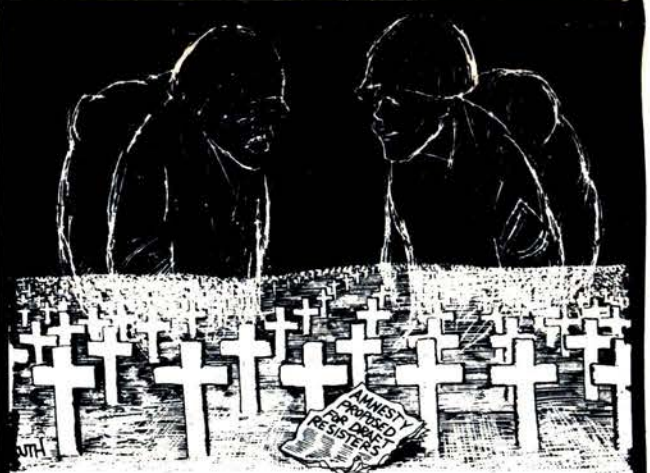
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ating a split between draft and military resisters that cannot be allowed to develop.

We as a veterans organization must be heard in order that the Nixon myth of dishonor to Vietnam veterans be cast aside. We, who were used by the military, who were victims of US policy in Vietnam, recognize that we went to Vietnam and blindly obeyed, never questioning the motives of our government. But when we returned home and realized what we had done, we were horrified and we came to recognize that the policies of the President were criminal.

Some recognized the criminality of the war in Indochina, and left the military understanding the consequences of their acts. These are the American war heroes, and yet they will not receive the Fords and vacations. They are not even allowed to come back to this country. They acted in conscience whereas Nixon has acted in a manner not unlike the leaders of Nazi Germany, who were prosecuted by the US. Johnson, Nixon and their lieutenants, are as guilty of war crimes as the Nazis in Germany or Gen. Yamashita in the Philippines.



'The government ought to be asking US for amnesty.'

Nixon said during his Feb. 1st press conference, "Amnesty means forgiveness. We cannot provide forgiveness... Those who deserted must pay the price... The price is a criminal penalty for disobeying the laws of the United States." In this we fully concur. But the criminals are not the war resisters. They broke no laws. The laws were broken by the policy makers who are now breaking the agreements on ending the War in Vietnam, and who continue to bomb in Laos and Cambodia.

We as an organization of veterans must join with the war resisters in condemning the policies of the United States in Indochina and call for universal, unconditional amnesty for all war resisters. VVAW and the war resisters must work together to expose the lies of the Nixon policy on Indochina and amnesty. The government used us once - it will never do so again!



POWs IN EXILE

The return of the POWs has captured the headlines of newspapers across the country. They focus on the healthy returnees and their statement, "God Bless America and the Commander-in-Chief." Pictures flash at us of families being reunited with the pilots detained in Vietnam for their part in the terror bombing of Vietnam. They are being given new Fords and Florida vacations as rewards for saving the 'honor' of the American government.

There is another group of POWs that has not yet returned home, nor are they likely to do so in the near future. These are the draft resisters and the self-retired veterans. It is Nixon's position that these exiles have deserted the country and that to give amnesty to them is to dishonor the POWs, the veterans of Vietnam, and most of all, to dishonor the memory of the American soldiers who died in Indochina. Once again, the administration is playing on our sympathies for American dead to defend its position on amnesty, and in the process, thereby justify the war.

To understand whether or not war resisters should be given amnesty is to look at the history of the US military in Indochina. The introduction of American servicemen and material into Vietnam has been by Presidential decree only. Presidents Johnson and Nixon have conducted the war in Southeast Asia without the consent of Congress; a violation of the US Constitution. Therefore, the US has been illegally conducting a war in Indochina.

In addition to illegal entry, the US has violated the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962, the International Rules of War, and the Nuremburg principles that were set by the US government after World War II when it tried Nazi policy makers. In truth, the US government is guilty of flagrant violations of both US and international law in Indochina.

The war resisters correctly came to the conclusion that they could not take part in the genocidal war in Indochina. This decision now finds them in exile. They do not number, as Nixon would have us believe, only a few hundred. There are some 60-100,000 exiles in Canada, an estimated 200,000 in jails or underground in the US, and several thousand in Europe. There are also over 500,000 Vietnam-

era veterans who have received less than honorable discharges as a result of their anti-war sentiment or because of the racist, oppressive conditions that are part of the military.

It became imperative to put the policy of the US government towards amnesty in its proper perspective. A conference was called for Feb. 18-21 in Paris. It would bring together exiles, veterans and GIs to discuss and recommend a program to inform Americans of the nature of the Vietnam war and its relation to war resisters. The results of this meeting would have marked the beginning of an international effort by Americans to work for unconditional amnesty for war resisters.

Obviously, the US government found that this conference would pose a threat to their policy on amnesty. Accordingly, the US formally 'advised' the French Interior Ministry "that their policy of neutrality should include forbidding manifestations of this sort." Three groups were particularly banned from conducting any political activity pertaining to this conference: AMEX, SCEF, and VVAW were threatened with up to one year in jail or deportation. In spite of this ban, VVAW did meet with the exiles. A series of informal gatherings were held in which we drew up a statement not unlike one that would have been written had the conference taken place.

The statement calls for universal, unconditional amnesty for all draft resisters in exile or underground in the US; for all people who are or have been in civilian and military prisons, or who are sought for prosecution because of their opposition to the war; and for the more than 500,000 veterans with less than honorable discharges.

There have been indications that the administration may at some point offer amnesty with alternative service for draft resisters. This is totally unacceptable. Offering this type of amnesty would place the draft resisters in the position of submitting themselves to the Nixon position that they are guilty of a crime, although no crime has been committed. We also have to recognize that in general, draft resisters tend to come from a more privileged background than do military resisters. Social conditions in America make the military seem a haven from government that is unresponsive to the needs of poor and Third World people. Whether to serve in the military or not is generally a privilege of men who have options open to them. This does not in any way downgrade the decisions of those who chose to resist the draft, but rather points out the alternatives open to them that are not readily available to people who chose to resist in the military. By offering partial amnesty, the government would succeed in cre-



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THE PEOPLE OF VIET NAM
HAVE BEEN VICTORIOUS ON THE BATTLEFIELD



Vietnam Veterans
Against the War

