

Washington Post



Park Service employee John Fisher cleans up . . .



Photos by Margaret Thomas—The Washington Post
. . . as John Hill hopes for a lift to California.

Times Herald

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By Margaret Thomas—The Washington Post

In contrast to Saturday, only a few sightseers strolled amid the flags yesterday at the Washington Monument.

War Protests Dismissed by 2 Nixon Aides

By Richard Homan
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Nixon administration moved swiftly yesterday to discredit the massive antiwar demonstration.

Two of the President's closest advisers publicly claimed that the gathering of a quarter of a million marchers provided opportunities for widespread violence, and they reasserted that it would have no effect on the President's Vietnam policy.

The two officials—Attorney General John N. Mitchell and communications director Herbert G. Klein—set the tone for the administration's reaction to the three-day antiwar moratorium that climaxed Saturday with the most immense public gathering in the history of the nation's capital.

Police Praised

Both said the demonstrations, generally considered overwhelmingly peaceful, had actually moved Washington to the brink of a planned eruption of violence. They credited police and troops with preventing damages on the scale of the April, 1968, riots.

Apart from the "small" demonstration on Saturday, Klein said, "all measurable devices" available to the administration "indicate that there is no question but what the American people do support the President."

There is no "value in trying to form police for the United States government, or for any government from crowds on the street," Klein said, adding that the message of the antiwar marchers was one "which they had (made) before, which was well known . . . one that we are aware of."

In a somewhat different response to the moratorium, Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), noting that as a member of Congress "we have a greater contact, per-

haps, than the more isolated executive branch," urged government leaders to listen to the dissenters.

"I think we ought to be listening," Scott said. "I am asking anyone who tends to dismiss the concern of the dissident, the concern of the protester, as unimportant, or unworthy, really ought to pay more attention to them."

Klein made his assessment of the moratorium on CBS's Face the Nation (WTOP). Scott appeared on ABC's Issues and Answers (WMAL) and Mitchell discussed the moratorium in a three-page press release.

Nixon Shuns Statement

President Nixon made no public statement about the demonstration and reporters were specifically forbidden to ask him about it when they met at a White House religious service yesterday.

Mitchell and Klein, repeatedly emphasizing what they called possibilities of severe violence, gave only passing credit to the peacekeeping efforts of parade marshals and said the federal government's mobilization of police, troops and National Guardsmen was fully justified.

"While they did a good job," Klein said of the march leaders, "they could not have contained themselves, as was evident by the outbreaks they had within their own ranks."

See REACT, A19, Col. 1

REACT, From A1

"Had it not been for the highly effective work of the Washington police, of the National Guard, had it not been for the reserve forces of the Defense Department and the complete cooperation of all elements of the government in this, and the work of the Justice Department," Klein said, "the damage to Washington last night and the night before would have been far greater than it was at the time of the previous riots after the death of Martin Luther King."

Klein said he based this assessment on evidence that "greater elements, better planned elements who were dedicated to destruction were present in this city during the weekend," including "militant, Communist and other types of elements."

Mitchell directed his criticism specifically at the New Mobilization Committee (MOBE), to End the War in Vietnam, which organized the demonstration.

Not Peaceful

"Unfortunately, the planned demonstrations were marred by such extensive physical injury, property damage and

street confrontations that I do not believe that—overall—the gathering here can be characterized as peaceful," Mitchell said.

He accused MOBE leaders of ignoring Justice Department advice and aiding "this violence through a combination of inaction and affirmative action."

He said that "the blame for the violence must lie primarily with the New Mobilization Committee—specifically with those influential members of the Steering Committee who knew the gathering in Washington would be a vehicle for violence."

He said flatly that MOBE "expected violence to occur and that was the result."

Mitchell cited the only instances of significant disorder in the three-day demonstration: attempts to storm the South Vietnam embassy and the Justice Department and violence directed at police in DuPont Circle. In all, 150 persons were arrested during the weekend and numerous windows were broken in the areas of the three incidents.

MOBE leaders, at a press conference yesterday, rejected Mitchell's charges.

Ron Young, project director

for MOBE, blamed the Justice Department's "delay in granting permits and making preparations" for causing logistical and travel difficulties that brought about disorders after the Saturday rally.

To Mitchell's charge that MOBE "was advised that militant factions planned to break through police lines (at DuPont Circle) and to march on the South Vietnam Embassy," Young said, "That's a lie."

MOBE leaders denied categorically that they had not prepared adequately for possible violence and said their marshals contained "five or six" attempts at disruption along the parade route.

Criticizes Police

Douglas Dowd, co-chairman of New MOBE, said that, based on his own reports, the premature massing of police at the Justice Department was at least partly responsible for the eventual confrontation between militant marchers and officials.

Klein said he would "command the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators" and felt that the moratorium leaders "carried out their word" in working with police to prevent violence.

Despite the size of the demonstration, Klein said, President Nixon still feels that a majority of the American people—the frequently cited "silent majority"—support his Vietnam policies.

"We would like unity," Klein said, "and I think basically we have it, except for a small and very strong and very deep-feeling unit, which took place in the demonstrations yesterday."

Using public opinion polls, correspondence to the President and congressional support as measuring devices, Klein said, the administration concludes that "there is no question but what the American people do support the President, and I think it is also a great thing that we can allow dissent even while that is going on in this time of war."

Klein said, "I am confident that if we have a greater and greater show of unity . . . there is no question but what it would speed the opportunity for peace . . ."

"This is why it has been so important that thousands of silent Americans are beginning to speak out, so that a government which misjudges American public opinion—and it is obvious that Hanoi doesn't delude in its own feeling that the only real Americans who speak out are those who speak against the President's policies."

Scott, praising the "almost overwhelming decency of these young people" who took part in the moratorium, said, "This is part of the great American democratic method of trying to move the mind of the man who makes the decisions and it is proper that people should seek to have an effect on the mind of President Nixon . . ."

"This is perhaps my role, to say, 'For heaven's sake, listen to the dissenter,' but I say to the dissenter, 'Please use a little reason as well as emotion to understand that the President is doing the best he can.'"

Leaders Of March 'Ecstatic'

By Leonard Downie Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The leaders of the New Mobilization Committee, coordinators of the weekend's mass antiwar demonstrations here, said yesterday they were "ecstatic and overwhelmed by the beauty and meaning" of the three days' activities.

By their estimates, according to Ron Young, a cochairman of the group, 800,000 persons participated at one time or another in the demonstrations.

"At least 99 and 9/10 percent of them abided by their pledge to nonviolence," said another cochairman, Dr. Sidney Peck.

The group's leaders took strong exception to Attorney General John N. Mitchell's charges that the New Mobilization had advance knowledge of and could have stopped disorders that developed Friday and Saturday evenings.

Young called the 40-hour March Against Death from Arlington National Cemetery to the Capitol and Saturday's massive march up Pennsylvania Avenue to a rally at the Washington Monument "fantastic political successes."

He and another New Mobilization cochairman, Mrs. Cora Weiss, told reporters that, whether the Nixon administration acknowledges it or not, "we have proven something to the government and to the nation."

"We don't have to prove it again," Mrs. Weiss said, when asked if more mass marches lay in the antiwar movement's future.

She and Young indicated that the New Mobilization is considering "new forms of protest" for the future, probably of a "decentralized" local nature. They said its leaders will meet next weekend in New York and announce specific plans for December after that.

See MOBE, A19, Col. 1

MOBE, From A1

Meanwhile, on the morning after Saturday's climatic events, bedraggled but apparently tireless volunteers returned to Mobilization offices at 1029 Vermont Ave. NW. to begin the job of dismantling the Washington headquarters.

They also were making arrangements for uncountable scores of participants who remained in Washington overnight to find ways back to their home towns. They made arrangements for chartered buses for a few large groups and help put together car pools for stranded individuals.

Two groups, the GIs for Peace and the Jews for Urban Justice, held small demonstrations at federal buildings downtown. Both were peaceful and ended in midafternoon.

The only disturbance of the tranquility of the crisp, sunbathed autumn Sunday was the unplanned romp through the streets of Georgetown yesterday afternoon by demonstrators against the Three Sisters Bridge, some of whom also were among the militant elements in the antiwar protests.

At their closing Washington press conference, New Mobilization leaders complained about "too much focus" being placed on incidents of violence during the three days of demonstrations.

Young said everyone "should be amazed that so many diverse people could come here and, despite the government's delay in granting permits and rumors of violence, leave behind only 150 arrests and no serious injuries."

Young laughed at Attorney General Mitchell's assertion that, "I do not believe that—overall—the gathering here can be characterized as peaceful."

But, at the press conference, it was Cornell University Professor Douglas Dowd who first brought up the subject of violence. He contended that from his post in the city's "rumor center," near the command center in police headquarters, it appeared the use of tear gas by police Saturday was largely "unnecessary and not due to initial provocation from antiwar demonstrators."

In answer to questions from reporters who said they had seen considerable provocation by a few militant demonstrators at the Justice Department, Dowd acknowledged that his information was limited to reports received at the rumor center.

Mobilization leaders said they would ask the committee of lawyer-observers headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark for a report on the scattered disturbances.

Dowd made clear that he was not characterizing the melees as "police riots," as the post-convention disorders in Chicago last August have been termed. Mobilization leaders said they were pleased with police cooperation up to the time of the use of tear gas.

They said they were concerned about the way tear gas was used to force people, including the operator of the sound system who was dismantling his equipment, off the Washington Monument grounds Saturday evening at the rally's end. Young also said "people just trying to get to their buses kept running into police and tear gas."

The almost unnoticed demonstrations yesterday by the GIs for Peace and the Jews for Urban Justice were intended as climatic activities to a weekend of peace efforts by both groups.

The GIs for Peace, including the Servicemen's Liberation League from Ft. Dix, N.J., had turned out 150 furloughed servicemen for Saturday's march on Pennsylvania Avenue. Chanting, "the left, the left, the military left," and wearing white veteran's caps with "GIs for Peace" lettering, they had formed one of the march's more vocal contingents.

Yesterday afternoon, about 50 servicemen, joined by as many Students for Democratic Society members and other passersby, demonstrated on the Constitution Avenue steps of the National Archives building and at the U. S. Court of Military Appeals, 5th and E Streets NW.

They carried signs calling for the freeing of the "Presidio 27" and the "Ft. Dix 38"—groups of activist antiwar soldiers that have been jailed after courts-martial at the Presidio in San Francisco and Ft. Dix in New Jersey.

The majority of yesterday's GI protesters came from Ft. Dix, which is home for one of the largest antiwar GI undergrounds in the service. Three servicemen also came from Portland, Or., for this weekend's demonstrations.

The GIs were reluctant to identify themselves by name to newsmen yesterday. They complained about the lack of freedom to carry on antiwar activities in the army, about suppression of some of their

GI-run newspapers and about what one black GI called "institutional racism" in the army.

One marcher carried a replica of the U.S. Constitution on imitation parchment paper. Over it, in red letters, were the words: "Void for Servicemen."

Seventy-five members of the Jews for Urban Justice marched back and forth in front of the White House for about an hour at noon to call for an end to the war. Several of the marchers wore skull caps.

Arthur Waskow of the Institute of Policy Studies and Robert Greenblatt, a Yippie leader from New York City, walked with the group.

The marchers sang religious songs, shouted slogans of protest and recited lines of scripture to the few passersby, newsmen and White House policemen. They also handed out literature describing their efforts this weekend to organize a "national Jewish project" to involve members of the Jewish community in solving national and urban problems. Included among their stated aims was persuasion of Jewish businessmen to devote more of their wealth to community betterment.

These demonstrators were the first to get near the White House this weekend. Saturday, the Executive Mansion was isolated by a perimeter of buses, ropes and policemen five blocks in diameter.

Yesterday, East Executive Avenue and the sidewalk immediately in front of the White House were still cordoned off by barricades. Disappointed strollers and tourists were told they would have to pass by on the other side of Pennsylvania Avenue or along the Ellipse in back.

Otherwise, the downtown area bore little evidence of the multitudes that came there Saturday, or of the brief melee between police and about 1,000 militant demonstrators there at dusk.

By noon, city and federal workers had already picked up most of the debris. The streets had been watered down. The stiff breezes had carried away all traces of the acrid tear gas that filled the air Saturday night.

A dozen windows of the Justice Department, broken by militant demonstrators Saturday, were boarded up. Three blotches of red paint dotted the Constitution Avenue facade of the building.

Generally Speaking, 'They Were Nice Kids'

By Anne Hebard

Washington Post Staff Writer

The smell of pizza filled Eddie Leonard's Sandwich Shop at 13th and G Streets NW yesterday and the supervisor, Vicky Wright, was "just exhausted."

"They just worked us to death," she said of those here for the antiwar protest.

"They cleaned us out. By Sunday morning we couldn't serve a full breakfast. In the afternoon, we didn't have a slice of bread left for a sandwich," Lewis Fisher, who works at the Drug Fair, at 15th and L Streets NW, said.

"We're lucky we have anything left, at all, the way they've been coming in here," a reporter was told at Roland's of Capitol Hill grocery store Saturday night when he tried to buy a jug of apple cider.

While several hundred of their still energetic fellow antiwar marchers rallied and marched again yesterday, protesting construction of the Three Sisters Bridge—still hundreds more settled into downtown restaurants to relish the weekend's events.

They looked tired and they said they were tired.

The weekend had the same effect on most of the men and women of Washington who serve the public.

Lucy Grey, a counter girl at Holloway House Cafeteria, 14th Street and New York Avenue NW, worked the 6 a.m.-2 p.m. shift yesterday without letup.

She described the marchers: "They were really nice kids. They got up and left when the manager asked them to, they even cleared their own tables—some of them. I came here seven years ago from Greenville, N.C., and this was the nicest group of protesters I've seen yet."

Mrs. Grey stared across

the large cafeteria with a seating capacity of 199 where tables were crowded with button-wearing, arm-banded, hungry peace demonstrators.

Many of them were easily distinguishable from other noontime diners downtown. The District's students at George Washington, Howard, American, Georgetown and Catholic universities—rarely leave their own

neighborhoods for a Sunday brunch.

Yesterday's Sunday brunchers came a good deal farther than from across town.

Howard Gutow, 19, Jonathan Goldman, 19, and Marty Begun, 18, had driven by car from Ann Arbor, Mich., where they are students at the University of Michigan.

Bearded (Goldman), long-haired (Begun) and bespectacled (Gutow), they laughed over some of their sleeping quarters—two had shared the floor of a walk-in closet Friday night—but repeatedly, they returned to the subject of the largest rally in Washington's history.

With the exception of the most radical splinter of the many factions represented, the demonstrators had won the kind of praise they received from Lucy Grey, their counter girl, that they were, "the nicest group of protesters . . . yet."

Why?

"The country is moving to the right . . . if we hadn't been so 'good' . . . we'd just get white backlash," Howard Gutow, who said his college major is for eastern studies, responded with quick ease.

"This type of demonstration, of course, is simply a reinforcement," added Marty Begun.

The group had discussed the theory of peaceful demonstrations, of the politics of confrontation and the effectiveness of protest. Their conversation was largely a spoken version of shorthand, staccato bursts of what they called "our culture."

Goldman explained, expanding on the thoughts of his friends, "The time has passed when people can believe that a peaceful demonstration, even of this size, can do anything. If people haven't drawn that conclusion after five years of Vietnam war protests, they haven't observed what has been happening . . ."

"Awfully glad I was here," said Marjory Pratt, whose husband, Carroll Cornelius Pratt, is professor emeritus in psychology at Princeton University. Now in her 60s Mrs. Pratt, a woman the younger demonstrators around her described as "a dignified lady," stood outside the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in the chilly (it was 42 degrees at 12:53 p.m., as she stood there) afternoon sunlight.

"Some of the young people said to me yesterday, 'Thank you so much for walking with us the whole time, Mrs. Pratt.' Well, I very much felt that I wanted to thank them for marching with me."

Antiwar Movement Gropes For New Course to Follow

By Haynes Johnson
Washington Post Staff Writer

As always, the aftermath is an anticlimax.

The protesters have gone, for now, leaving behind litter and memories of their march, but the problems they demonstrated against remain unresolved.

The marchers are finding out something not so surprising: It is easier to express opposition than to create the conditions that bring genuine change.

"We just can't let all those people who came here go down," said a woman yesterday. "We just have to capitalize on the importance of what happened Saturday."

She was speaking at a conference called to plan a new political party—and the questions she raised were being asked all over Washington.

At American University, some 650 members of the Students for a Democratic Society met for hours on the future strategy. At St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, groups conferred about the draft and resistance plans. In hotels, other organizations wrestled with the same questions.

Simply put, they all

PROTEST, From A1

Someone else said it was time for "a new image."

Another remarked on "the new spirit."

Others spoke in the rhetoric of the organizer and the jargon of the day.

"It's very relevant to us."

"... get programmatic ideas that have currency."

"We've got to be very demonstration-oriented."

"Now we get down to the nitty-gritty."

All the Problems

There was talk of old politics and new politics, of the black problem, the oriental

News Analysis

wanted to know the same thing: Where is the peace movement going now?

There were a hundred different suggestions, much discussion and more rhetoric—but no answers.

After all the emotion of Saturday's massive march, the peace movement stands where it was before. It is

loosely structured, divided ideologically into a number of factions and lacking any central direction.

Take, for example, the meeting to discuss plans for creating a new national party at the Continental Hotel yesterday. It was time, one man suggested, to bring about "a radical change in the country."

See PROTEST, A18, Col. 1

problem, the Appalachian problem, the urban problem, the rural problem, the migrant problem, the pollution problem. Of problems and steering committees, of new structures and "making a big deal in the press," of John Lindsay and Eugene McCarthy.

There was discussion about a name. Should it be the New Party, the New Radical Party, the New World Party? Should it have a genuine philosophy?

The same diversity—or prolixity, if you will—was present at the SDS meeting. Among the literature the members passed out was a paper that expressed an opinion about the peace movement's direction.

It read:

"The antiwar movement must now push the liberals as far as they will go toward ending the war. But the liberals have no intention of dismantling the war machine, only stopping its growth and using present taxes and future larger taxes to provide still more pork-barrels in the cities, still more fat contracts and business subsidies.

"These policies can only scratch the surface of the problems of life facing the working and poor people of this country, while not really coping with mounting job insecurity, urban riot and falling real wages.

"At least one out of nine American workers is em-

ployed directly or indirectly by the military machine. If the antiwar movement merely proposes to stop some of the military spending associated with Vietnam, the workers will correctly see the antiwar movement as a threat to their jobs. This is why the masses of American workers are not in the movement."

'National Line'

The students discussed whether SDS should now adopt "a national line." Some suggested an attempt to expand student strikes against the war into the general labor movement and the creation of an independent workers' party.

Again, no conclusions were reached.

What emerged from yesterday's aftermath sessions was not so much a sense of the force the peace movement represents in America, but its present formlessness. The divisions along political and ideological lines are deep.

On Saturday radicals, revolutionaries, reformers, liberals and moderates came together in common cause. Today, they are divided again.

As the events of 1968 demonstrated so clearly, peace as a political issue can be a decisive force. But it requires a national leader and a true national platform and purpose—such a purpose as electing, or toppling, a President. The peace movement

lacks that purpose now.

Sidney Lens, one of the organizers of Saturday's demonstration, the greatest political gathering in American history, put that event in perhaps its best perspective. Standing in the lobby of the New Mobilization headquarters yesterday, Lens merely remarked: "Symbolically, it was important."

Security During March Went Well, Police Say

By Peter Braestrup
Washington Post Staff Writer

"I think it went pretty well," said Capt. Charles C. Monroe, one of the key officials of the metropolitan police department's anti-riot units. "I think the extremists were surprised when we didn't break line and chase them."

A sergeant noted: "One of the things I liked was that they didn't have to use the Army. They had some National Guardsmen directing traffic."

Yesterday afternoon, before they moved out to dis-

perse a traffic-blocking demonstration against construction of the Three Sisters Bridge, the white-helmeted special operations division policemen stood in ranks along the canal and discussed the weekend's events.

"Those (New Mobilization Committee) marshals tried real hard," said one policeman. "I'm sorry some of them got caught in the gas."

As city officials yesterday toted up the results of Saturday's peaceful but massive antiwar march and the weekend's two mini-riot side-shows, it appeared that prior planning, coordination, and supervision "on the street" had paid off. The score:

About 150 demonstrators were arrested (prior to yesterday's Three Sisters flurry), mostly on charges of disorderly conduct.

See SECURITY, A18, Col. 1

SECURITY, From A1

During the radicals' Friday and Saturday night side-shows, hundreds (if not thousands) of demonstrators were tear gassed and several score police were hit by bricks and bottles. But no one was seriously injured.

The radicals' targets—the south Vietnamese Embassy on Sheridan Circle (Friday) and the Justice Department building (Saturday) — remained inviolate. Police vehicles were stoned. The Justice Department suffered 12 broken windows. A dozen stores around DuPont Circle and a one or two stores near the White House also lost windows.

City officials credited the orderly execution of the New Mobilization Committee's own program—the 40-hour-long single-file "March Against Death" and Saturday's climactic antiwar procession up Pennsylvania Avenue—to close coordination.

For example, during Saturday's procession, six New Mobilization chief marshals, with their own radio communications, were located two doors down from Mayor Washington's own busy command center on the sixth floor of police headquarters. Pre-arrangements

Volunteer New Mobiliza-

tion lawyers, also equipped with radios, kept an eye on the radicals' demonstration Saturday night at the Justice Department. And, by prearrangement, the police let the 2,500 New Mobilization marshals handle the daytime crowds.

On hand both for the peaceful processions and the hot spots was a car-borne team of trouble shooters—lawyer Philip J. Hirschkopf for the New Mobilization Committee; Mel Washington, an ex-policeman and aide to Mayor Walter E. Washington, and Kenneth Taplen, Interior Department lawyer. Their job was to help keep the mayor's command post informed and in daytime to help the police and marshals keep things calm.

The basic play-it-cool street security strategy was to keep 9,000 regular Army and 1,700 National Guardsmen in reserve, with the first line of defense as-

signed to the police department. The department's own specially trained white-helmeted Civil Disturbance Unit, some 400 strong, was visibly deployed only for the sideshows against the Justice Department and the South Vietnamese Embassy. During Saturday's massive procession up Pennsylvania Avenue, the CDU was tucked away in reserve.

"The idea," said a high-ranking police official, "is to avoid creating a tense situation by a big show of force. But you have the men—lots of men—ready and close by in case you need them."

Friday night, for example, the police, well aware that a scheduled SDS rally on Dupont Circle would turn into an illegal march on the South Vietnamese Embassy five blocks away, planned to allow the marchers and their Vietcong banners to get within a block of the embassy before stopping them with a police line and, if necessary, tear gas.

To keep up an air of normalcy, the few policemen posted on 22d Street, a block from Sheridan Circle (and the embassy), were told not to don their riot helmets until the last minute. (One man lost his blue soft cap as a result). Nor was ordinary auto traffic halted around Sheridan Circle until word came that the march had actually begun from Dupont Circle.

At the Justice Department on Saturday evening plainclothesmen among the demonstrators kept headquarters posted on progress—and on the mood of the crowd. Until just before the scheduled 5 p.m. demonstration, CDU platoons on guard cordoned off the sidewalks around the building. A 150-man Army company from Ft. Eustis, Va., stayed out of sight in reserve in the building during the entire mini-riot outside.

At both the South Vietnamese Embassy and at the Justice Department, the police displayed another technique: to break up crowds. They used massive quantities of tear gas instead of the traditional flying wedge of nightstick-wielding cops. The gas, in effect, was a buffer between police and the crowd.