

Extreme emotions color Washington march

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Washington — The tens of thousands of well-meaning war protestors set to converge on Washington Saturday will be joining a demonstration planned since summer by advocates of violent revolution in the U.S. who openly support Communist forces in Vietnam.

Accordingly, whatever happens here Saturday, the Nov. 15 march on Washington will mark a postwar high-water mark for the American far left. Responsible liberals have been enlisted as foot soldiers in an operation mapped out mainly by extremists — testimony to the present ineffectiveness of non-violent, liberal elements in the peace movement.

Moreover, heavy-handed Nixon administration reaction by Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard G. Kleindienst assures that any violence on Saturday will be blamed by liberals on the government and the avoidance of violence will be credited by these same liberals to the self-restraint of the far left.

Although liberals belatedly spent this week in frantic eleventh-hour efforts to coopt Saturday's march, they had plenty of advance warning. The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe), sponsors of the march, was formed last July in Cleveland with an executive committee dominated by supporters of the Viet Cong.

The executive committee is moderate when compared with the 60-member steering committee, studied with past and present Communist Party members (including veteran party functionary Arnold Johnson). Far more important than representation by the largely moribund American Communist Party, however, is inclusion on the steering committee of leaders in its newly invigorated Trotskyite movement.

The steering committee began eclipsing the executive committee in recent weeks under the leadership of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and its fast-growing youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance. Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party took over planning for a march calculated to end in violent confrontation.

Participating in planning sessions were elements even more violence-prone than the Trotskyites: extreme SDS factions calling themselves the Revolutionary Brigade. Wild scenarios for storming the White House, the Justice Department, and the South Vietnamese Embassy were prepared.

Furthermore, the New Mobe was in closer contact with Communist Vietnamese official circles than is generally realized. Ron Young, a member of the New Mobe steering committee, journeyed to Stockholm Oct. 11-12 for a meeting attended by representatives of the North Vietnam government and the Viet Cong. Reporting on plans for Nov. 15, Young urged a worldwide propaganda campaign to boost the demonstration.

The link between Hanoi and elements of the New Mobe was again demonstrated Oct. 14 when Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam sent greetings to American anti-war demonstrators. Halstead, the Trotskyite leader, drafted a friendly reply to Hanoi approved by a majority of the New Mobe's steering committee. Its transmission was blocked only by the intervention of Stewart Meachem of the American Friends Service Committee, one of the New Mobe's moderates.

Thus far-left orientation of the New Mobe for weeks has worried liberal doves, including the youthful leaders of the peaceful Oct. 15 Moratorium. Sen. Charles Goodell of New York, emerging as a leading Congressional foe of the war, attempted — without success — to reduce extremist influence inside the New Mobe and argued against including far leftists on the steering committee.

But the liberals, having forgotten the fate of popular front movements a generation ago and unwilling to repudiate any anti-war forces, would not actually break with the New Mobe. Any chance of that was eliminated by President Nixon's relatively hard-line speech Nov. 3 and government strategy laid down at the Justice Department by Kleindienst.

Ignoring recommendations of some advisors, Kleindienst harshly refused a parade permit for Nov. 15 and thereby gave the impression, wholly unjustified, that the Nixon administration desired a violent confrontation. In fact, Kleindienst has assured worried liberal Republicans that he has no intention of becoming the Richard J. Daley of Washington. But Kleindienst's hard-nosed public posture has recruited marchers from college campuses and suburbs.

Goodell and Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota, after much deliberation, accepted invitations to address the demonstration in hopes of moderating it. Similarly, Moratorium leaders this week have tried to insinuate themselves into control of the march. But the march remains essentially a project of the far left, constituting a tragic failure of leadership by liberal foes of the war.

Nebraskan editorials

Editor's note: Yesterday the Daily Nebraskan published an editorial discussing the difficulty of assessing news events through the news media. The reader or hearer can work only with third-hand information, relayed from original sources to him through a second-hand observer.

This problem is compounded by the fact that perceptions — of the persons involved, of the reporter, and of the receiver — differ, and can affect interpretations drastically. For these reasons we are printing three articles on the Saturday march in Washington protesting the Vietnam war. Two were written by two sets of columnists generally classed as liberals and one by a rightist group.

Reading and comparing these articles has helped us see more clearly some problems we had been thinking about; we hope they can be equally valuable to Nebraskan readers.

Holly Rosenberger

by the U.S. Anti-Communist Congress, Inc.
Major demonstrations will take place Nov. 13-15.

(a) Another nation-wide Moratorium sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, November 13 and 14;

(b) A national Student Strike against the war sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam ("Student Mobe"), November 14;

(c) A March Against Death in Washington, D.C., November 14-15, and mass rallies in Washington and San Francisco, November 15, all sponsored by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam ("New Mobe").

It is important to understand that these are not true peace demonstrations. Each one is a part of the Fall Offensive Against the War in Vietnam agreed upon by the three above-named groups and SDS last summer. These four groups cooperated to build the Oct. 15 Moratorium Day observances which were also a part of the Offensive, and have been working together on the upcoming demonstrations.

The so-called "March Against Death" is actually a March for Death because it is sponsored by a basically Communist organization to serve a Communist purpose in Vietnam that would bring death to untold thousands. Each marcher is to carry a sign with the name of an American who died for freedom in Vietnam and call out the name of the deceased as he marches. These marchers should tell the full story of each man killed by adding to their signs and to their chant these words: "Killed by Communists."

If they were really protesting death in Vietnam, the marchers would also carry signs bearing the names of each of the 3,000 civilians killed in Hue last year, and the 50,000 killed in North Vietnam fifteen years ago.

The November 14 Student Strike is actually a strike for revolution and communism. J. Edgar Hoover testified on April 17 of this year that the sponsor of the strike, the Student Mobilization Committee, "is controlled by members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party." The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is the party of the Trotskyist Communists in this country and has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

What does the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) stand for? Read what one of its own members, Jose Rudder, says:

"I was a Marxist, a communist, and I believed in the revolution . . . the only organization that I could see that was concerned about . . . seeing the revolution take place in this country was the YSA. So I decided to join." (Young Socialist, official YSA magazine, April, 1969, pages 10 and 11).

Vietnam is Communism's War — not Nixon's war. The revolution that Jose Rudder wants in the U.S.A. is the revolution the Viet Cong have launched and are fighting in South Vietnam — with the help of North Vietnam, Peking and Moscow.

by Frank Mankiewicz and Tom Braden

Washington — Respect for law and order would begin, so Richard Nixon told his audience during the campaign, at approximately the time the nation elected him President. The test of that thesis will come this weekend during the November demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

The Nixon attitude toward law and order will be judged on two counts. The first is whether or not he will permit violence. The second is whether or not he will permit dissent.

So far, the Nixon Justice Department has stressed its fear of violence. The result is that the leaders of the demonstration from whom violence was feared have promised that they intend an orderly march.

But in emphasizing its fears the Justice Department may bring about a result altogether different from what Mr. Nixon would like to see. It may turn the event into a powerful instrument of American dissatisfaction.

The first indication of this outcome was the switch of moderate moratorium leaders from a position of hands-off the Mobe to full co-operation.

Rep. Allard Lowenstein (D-N.Y.) led the pack. Within moments after the President's speech on Vietnam, Lowenstein decided that, risk of violence or not, he had to protest against what he characterized as the President's "inching" posture.

Sens. George McGovern (D-S.D.) and Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.) moved next.

McGovern long ago decided that he could not speak before a crowd of war protesters, many of whom did not share his belief in this country and its capacity to right its own wrongs. But after the Justice Department, in the person of Deputy Richard Kleindienst, broke off negotiations with leaders of the Mobe, McGovern, too, took counsel of what he conceived as his duty rather than his fears.

Goodell's decision to speak at the final rally was based on similar reasoning. Other senators and congressmen will also be present who might not have been had the Administration challenge not been so direct.

There are rules for handling antiwar demonstrations. They are derived from hard experience during the Johnson Administration, but Kleindienst did not consult his predecessor, Warren M. Christopher, who handled — among other events — the march on the Pentagon in 1967 and the "counter-inaugural" in January. In each case, willful acts of violence were isolated and the full range of constitutional dissent was permitted.

"Rule One is not to talk about 'intelligence,'" one former high Justice official put it. "The first thing I learned about 'intelligence' on violence is that there's plenty of it."

"We could have called off the march on the Pentagon — put the blame on 'intelligence' and faced the consequences, which might have been worse."

"Rule Two is to keep talking, don't tell them what you won't permit — such as a mass march past the White House. The Secret Service won't permit that and for good reason. But you have to keep negotiating, keep feeling, until they suggest something you can agree to."

"Rule Three is to prevent negotiations from breaking down. If you permit this, you are faced with the Chicago consequence; you have forbidden something the other side feels is a constitutional right. The result may be another Chicago."

Kleindienst broke all three rules. He talked about "intelligence on violence," he insisted from the start that he would never yield on a march down Pennsylvania Avenue, and he broke off negotiations. He finally had to reverse himself completely.

The result, even though a mutually satisfactory route has been agreed to, is a lurking belief by many otherwise well-disposed toward the Administration that the Justice Department may look upon a confrontation as not entirely unwelcome.

That old Tory, John Adams, gave the best expression to what is now, one supposes, called the "soft line." "The mildness of our government," Adams wrote his beloved Abigail, "is a pleasing and delightful characteristic, and though probably it will give encouragement to some disorder — even to daring crime — it is too precious to be relinquished without absolute necessity."

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TUESDAY, NOV. 11
Washington, D.C.



AH, VETERAN'S DAY!
WHAT A GOOD FEELING
TO STAND HERE AND
WATCH THE BIG PARADE,
10 BLOCKS LONG, WITH
THE STREETS BLOCKED
OFF, AND EVERYONE IS
SMILING, BUT STILL
REMEMBERING THAT
THIS DAY IS COMMEM-
ORATING THE MEN
WHO DIED IN WORLD
WAR I AND II!

SATURDAY, NOV. 15
Washington, D.C.

VIETNAM
MORATORIUM!
LOOK AT THESE DISGUSTING
BUNCH OF HIPPIES, EXPECTING
EVERYONE TO MOVE OUT OF THEIR
WAY, AS THEY PARADE DOWN THE
MIDDLE OF THE STREET, PROTESTING
OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM! WHY
CAN'T THE KIDS LEAVE EVERY-
THING ALONE? DON'T THEY
KNOW THAT NIXON'S RUNNING
THE COUNTRY, NOT THEM?

