

Today—Rain, high in the 80s. Monday—Windy and cooler, change of showers. Probability of rain is 50 per cent; winds southeasterly 10-20 mph. Temperature range today, 55-68. Yesterday, 55-66. Details, C13.

Amusements B 1 Gardens H 7
Classified D 1 Interiors C12
Outdoors M12
Sports M 1
Style K 11
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Violence Unit Asks Major Reforms in Legal Aid to Poor

Vast improvement in obtaining criminal and civil justice for the nation's poor were urged yesterday by a presidential commission.

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence also gave solid backing to using government funds to bring lawsuits against government agencies on behalf of the poor.

Party Split Threatens India Unity

By Neville Maxwell
New Delhi, Nov. 1—The Congress party, finally, fully and formally.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on one side, the organization of the party on the other, have run up the separate flags, each claiming to be the true heir of the party which brought India independence and then gave it 22 years of stable government.

The split appeared along an inherent faultline between the legislative and organizational wings of the party. Last night Mrs. Gandhi's opponents in the organization, a group of old-guard leaders nicknamed "the Syndicate" who control the party machine, dropped the party support from the working committee, the Congress directing body.

Outside the shabby old mansion, which has been party headquarters since the Congress was leading the campaign against the British rulers of India, Mrs. Gandhi's opponents the mood was able to rough up a Congress resolution. Sidharth Nijalingappa announced the presence of police. Later the Congress resolution they would call a session of the All India Congress committee, the body that governs the party since last December. But Mrs. Gandhi's camp, which she considers unconstitutional, has called its own meeting.

With this announcement the split was formalized. The split, long a subject of political developments here, has occurred in a way most dangerous to the political stability of the country—right down the middle.

Guide Examines Men, Issues

A special supplement today, the Virginia Voters Guide, Section F, examines the candidates, their histories, campaign promises and issues. Included are Northern Virginia, polling places, sample ballots and summaries of local contests in Alexandria, Arlington, Falls Church and Fairfax.

Virginia Savors Taste Of Two-Party Politics

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer
Virginia's marathon gubernatorial race is winding up with more suspense than has been seen in partisan politics in the state in nearly a century.



TWA Capt. Billy Williams, left, stewardess Tracy Coleman and Capt. Donald Cook tell of the 6,700-mile hijacking.

Hijacker Captured By Flying Tackle

By Louis Fleming
Los Angeles Times
ROME, Nov. 1—The U.S. Marine who hijacked a plane 6,700 miles to Rome was captured by Italian police today.

24 hours after he took over the Trans World Airlines jetliner at gunpoint 15 minutes out of Los Angeles. Raffaele Minichiello was captured in his undershorts by a policeman who brought him down with a flying tackle in the countryside south of here.

"I was the Italian-born, Vietnam war veteran's 30th birthday, and he spent it at police headquarters. After a 2½-hour interrogation by Italian detectives, Minichiello was charged with kidnapping, hijacking, personal violence and threatening with firearms.

American diplomats pressed for the earliest possible custody of the Marine corporal, who is being held in the Queen of Heaven Prison here, just 220 miles from the town of his birth, but no formal extradition proceedings were initiated.

Under Italian law, conviction could bring up to 20 years, according to officials. There were doubts as to whether the penalties in the United States would be even stronger.

During his questioning, Minichiello denied at one point that he had come to Italy in an airplane, but later admitted to the world's longest hijacking, police told newsmen.

He refused one of his own pen pals when they were produced by the chief of detectives, yet confessed to police, "I take these all the time."

See HIJACK, A8, Col. 1

Organizers Bid for Broader Support The Swelling War Moratorium

By Bernard D. Nossiter
Washington Post Staff Writer
It began on April 20 in the comfortable Brookline home in suburban Boston of Harold Toyah, a school teacher. Several dozen businessmen, professors, clergymen and housewives, who run something called the Massachusetts Political Action 7 or Peace were grumbling about the course of the war.

Jerome Grossman, a well-to-do envelope manufacturer and chairman of the group recalled the other day.

"We were all bothered, we weren't seeing any action from Nixon on the Vietnam thing. We felt there was a great commitment from the election."

Inevitably, somebody proposed a March on Washington. But for Grossman, tall, balding, white haired and assertive at 52, "this was trust stuff."

As the talk went on, Grossman came up with a wildly romantic idea. He had drafted into peace politics from the less heavily armed ranks of the PTA and Little League via the Committee for a Sane Nuclear

His device, which opens a new market for IUDs, is being tested at a time when medicine's criticism of birth control pills is regressing and barriers to prenatal care are falling.

Many young women, married and single, take the pill with great trepidation because they feel it is the most effective means of birth control available to them.

Dr. Davis said the Hopkins IUD, named the Daklin Suleid, is much more comfortable than other IUDs now being used.

It was designed to fit its specifications by a Connecticut engineer to bend and give with the contractions of the uterus instead of resisting them and causing cramps or bleeding.

Some women who use the Hopkins IUD have cramps for a few hours after it is inserted, "a breaking-in period, like getting used to contact lenses," said Dr. Davis.

See IUD, A12, Col. 5

U.S. Judges Drop Ban on Outside Pay

By John P. MacKenzie
Washington Post Staff Writer
Reversing a major reform engineered by retired Chief Justice Warren, the U.S. Judicial Conference yesterday scrapped its five-month-old rule against unauthorized outside income by federal judges.

The conference, administrative arm of the federal judiciary, substituted a rule that judges report their off-the-bench earnings confidentially to a panel of judges whose advice is not binding on the extra-judicial work would not be required.

This action was taken at the conference's first meeting under Chief Justice Warren's successor, Chief Justice Burger, who had been widely quoted as having deep reservations about the ban on outside income that was adopted under Warren's prodding.

Unity Plea Is Seen in Viet Talk

By Murray Rarder
Washington Post Staff Writer
President Nixon is expected to claim Monday night that he is succeeding in winding down the war and that his strategy will show increasing results in 1970 if the nation stands firmly behind it.

The president's close aide intentions for his heralded Vietnam report are borne out, he will straddle the "dove" and "hawk" spectrums of American public opinion.

The President is reportedly determined to convince North Vietnamese and the "peace" Roger J. Traynor, for a delay. He heads a group undertaking a major review of the common law Bar Association's Canons of Judicial Ethics.

Another major Warren reform that federal judges file confidential reports of their income with the conference each year beginning on May 15, 1970, was not immediately affected by conference action.

The judges agreed to circulate reports of their income by a committee of judges to comments by the more than 1,000 judges in the federal system. The conference is free, however, to scrap the reportage requirement at its next regular meeting in March.

Reports conflict as to how well experts call whether the secret meeting was marked by an extensive in or heated debate on the to be withdrawn by Dec. 15 courtesy session. Some members of Congress have warned Nam.

See PRESIDENT, A5, Col. 1

Nixon Rating Up Despite Protest

Fifty-eight per cent of the public supports President Nixon's present policies, the highest percentage to date, the Gallup Poll reports.

The poll found that the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium apparently did not cause Nixon to lose support among the large number of Americans who wish to end the war but oppose immediate, total withdrawal.

Details on page A16

Ford Foundation: Its Works Stir a Backlash

By Laurence Stern and Richard Harwood
Washington Post Staff Writers
Al'uck early last week a conservative pundit pushed through the heroic glass portals of the Ford Foundation on Manhattan's East Side.

"They just signed our death warrant," he reported dejectedly to a waiting line of Ford men waiting to see the Senate Finance Committee's decision to impose mortality in the form of a maximum 40-year life span on them.

To an outsider, this threat from the provincial national capital 200 miles beyond the Hudson hardly seems plausible. With its \$3.1 billion treasury, its soaring glass and granite walls built for a generation of good works, the Ford Foundation would seem immune to the conativances of new men and public relations daddies.

Its network of out-flowing cash

claimed as a "powerful engine for social change."

A more subtle suspicion, raised by John Brynes (R-Wis.) and neo-Marxist social scientists, is that under McGroove Bundy the Ford Foundation has become a "little government unto itself" populated with elites from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

In 1960, Westbrook Pegler proclaimed it a "front for dangerous Communists." Pravda assailed it as a dispatcher of spies, murderers, saboteurs and wreckers to Eastern Europe.

In the 1960s it has been damned as a paunchy sugar daddy of the rich and affluent professors and ac-

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Another event that was to strengthen Ford's reputation in the image was Bundy's decision last year to award traveling fellowships en masse to former members of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's staff.

See FORD, A16, Col. 1

LIBRARY
NOV 6 1969
CENTRAL COLLEGE

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He refused one of his own pep pills when they were produced by the chief of detectives, yet confided to police, "I take these all the time."

Associated Press

view Minichiello in Rome.

See HIJACK, A8, Col. 1

## Organizers Bid for Broader Support

# The Swelling War Moratorium

By Bernard D. Nossiter  
Washington Post Staff Writer

It began on April 20 at the comfortable Brookline home in suburban Boston of Harold Tovish, a sculptor. Several dozen businessmen, professors, clergymen and housewives, who run something called the Massachusetts Political Action for Peace were grumbling about the course of the war.

Jerome Grossman, a well-to-do envelope manufacturer and chairman of the group recalled the other day:

"We were all bothered. We weren't seeing any action from Nixon on the Vietnam thing. We felt there was a clear commitment from the election."

Inevitably, somebody proposed a March on Washington. But for Grossman, tall, balding, white haired and assertive at 52, "this was tired stuff."

As the talk went on, Grossman came up with a wildly romantic idea. He had drifted into peace politics from the less heady atmosphere of the PTA and Little League via the Committee for a Sane Nuclear

Policy and the McCarthy campaign. His notion was a call for nothing less than a general strike, one that would increase by a day for each month that the war went on.

In time, this ripened into the Vietnam Moratorium, a persistent pressure tactic, restrained and middleclass in tone and style, built around the single issue of taking the country out of the war.

Six months later, tens of thousands turned out across

the nation to march in candlelight processions, toll bells, read lists of war dead and listen to speeches denouncing the war. Was this an historic turning point that made war protest respectable and created an overwhelming force for the end of the adventure? Or will it prove to be only a curious sideshow of liberal and radical reformers on college campuses and in the suburbs.

In Massachusetts, where 100,000 showed up at the Boston Commons for the biggest rally in the state's history, Thomas Winship, editor of the Boston Globe, says flatly that the war is no longer an issue in the Bay State, that a preponderant majority is on the Moratorium side.

In Muncie, Ind., the industrial city in the cornfields that the Lynds chose as "Middletown," representative America, William Du Bois, managing editor of the Star, reads it differently.

"People are concerned about the losses we have sustained," he says, "but they are inclined to let Nixon work things out, give him more time."

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Details on Page A16

See PROTEST, A16, Col. 1

# Ford Foundation: Its Works



# Nixon Speech May Undercut Second Vietnam Moratorium

## PROTEST, FROM A1

In Muncie, where the streets are named for Presidents and every other car seems to carry an American flag decal, the Moratorium demonstrators at Ball State University were afraid to broadcast their message to cars on Oct. 15. However, the students were so exhilarated by their school's first-ever political protest that in mid-November, they are cautiously planting the house-to-house canvassing that is ritual stuff on the East Coast.

This timid move from the campus — no girls in miniskirts and only older boys will be sent to factory gates and banks on payday — may contain a message.

The drive to end the war has touched a nerve among some of the most solid of citizens and least radical of students. Impatience over the war has taken on a new and broader dimension. Organized protest beyond the hardened and familiar "pro" groups now looks to be a feature of the political landscape that will endure.

The generals of this new movement are mostly bright youngsters, not long out of college, driven to business by the upset congressional victory of Congressman Michael Harrington, a Democrat who captured a Republican seat on Sept. 30, campaign speech given exclusively on a peace-now plank.

If the Moratorium's activists embrace an ideology, it is not readily discernible. Several of the leaders come from professional and business families as affluent as Jerome Grossman's, in Newton, Mass. They want to remake the American scene within the existing order and have built their movement around the lone issue of the war. Unlike their increasingly shrill critics to the left, the Moratorium spokesmen favor the means of production. There is an inevitable product of the social structure.

David Hawk, slight, serious and 26, another of the four national coordinators, puts it this way: "I don't think you can demonstrate that the war in Vietnam is tied to a particular ownership of the means of production. There is no essential relationship between property relations and the war in Laos or racism. Communist countries, she adds for emphasis, "are as aggressive and imperialist."

"We are all interested in a redistribution of wealth," he says. But this "can be done with a private property system, as long as you have the power to tax."

### Roots in John Brown

He sees the Moratorium movement flowing out of the long line of American radical reform. "The abolitionists — John Brown — that's where we have our roots."

Indeed, any other rhetoric would undermine the Moratorium's chief tactical goal, to build a broad-based movement from the most radical reform. "The abolitionists found that men and women who command respect. It is, moreover, a language of young men who intend to become a serious force in American political life. When the war is over, the Moratorium leaders talk of turning to other issues, particularly building pressure

### Unlikely Followers

In their train, the Moratorium army drew such unlikely figures as William Foley, a hard-bitten City Councilor from South Boston. He was the only candidate in the 51-vote election of the Council in favor of "all extraordinary measures to end the war."

Last hurrah or new politics, all office-holders in the movement are in a state of confusion over the upset congressional victory of Congressman Michael Harrington, a Democrat who captured a Republican seat on Sept. 30, campaign speech given exclusively on a peace-now plank.

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against military budgets and redrawing national spending priorities."

Like so many of his coworkers, Hawley's 19-year-old organization policy lists a strong, moralistic flavor. The son of a wholesale electrical supplies salesman in Allentown, Pa., he studied industrial relations at Cornell.

"But I was really bothered by the way economics, sociology and political science are taught," he says. "People weren't really raising ethical and social issues. It was econometrics, abstract theory, accounting games. I felt the moral and ethical questions weren't being addressed."

### Indicted Under Draft

To avoid the draft and confront these questions, he went on to the Union Theological Seminary. He has refused to be inducted, has been indicted and is awaiting trial. "I think I'll probably finish seminary if and when I'm in prison," he says dryly.

As a year until last spring, he was directing the National Student Association's antidraft program. Then, a friend from the anti-draft campaign, Sam Brown, brought him to Boston and Grossman's movement was born.

Brown, also 26, is slim, mustached and the possessor of a Puckish charm that conceals a considerable aptitude for tough-minded calculation. If the Moratorium has a central figure, it is Brown, who is the son of a General Electric executive and a part-time lawyer. He is a member of the Debs club at Ball State have denounced Miss Munchel as the leader of a "Gur Scout troop."

The New Left line holds that the Moratorium is become the captive of a liberal establishment, that it threatens a worker-student alliance only New Leftists can perceive, that it fails to address the real lesson of the war, namely that it is the certain product of a capitalist ruling class, dependent on profits from imperialism.

Plan Own Show

If this has a touch of the absurd, some of its consequences may be more serious. A collection of Cambridge student radicals, calling themselves the November Action Committee, plan to drive home the point that they hope to mount "millions of strikes."

In plainer terms, Brown feared that the language of "strike" would turn away large numbers who have no quarrel with the institution. They are looking for work. Moreover, few of the movement's founders had much hope of enlisting those for whom strike is a traditional weapon, blue collar workers.

### Two Others Recruited

Brown and Hawk soon recruited the other two coordinators, Miss Sklenear and

David Mixner, a cherubic 24-year-old and still another McCarthy veteran. (Since Miss Sklenear's father was a research chemist, Mixner alone of the four comes from a working class home.) By mid-June, they had opened their Washington offices and were phoning student leaders across the country for help.

At Ball State in Muncie, the Moratorium activists have roots much closer to the factories they plan to canvass in mid-November. Miss Munchel's father is a nonprofessional maintenance engineer for some Indianapolis office buildings. Her Moratorium codirector, Howard Bunch, is the son of a lathe worker at the Bendix plant in South Bend. A third leader is Kathleen Thomas, whose father drives a truck in Goshen.

All are 19, though the social snubs that have followed their political action, and insisting that they are only doing what is right and proper.

Miss Thomas, a pretty, blonde, asserts defiantly, "I've always been upset with the war. It's a stupid, senseless thing. My parents think I'm a radical. But I'm not planning to get off this kick and get good again."

For segments of the New Left, the Moratorium is not only naive but positively dangerous. Students for Democratic Society has turned their backs on it and even the handful of self-proclaimed radicals in the E. V. Debs club at Ball State have denounced Miss Munchel as the leader of a "Gur Scout troop."

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tant" picket lines around the Instrumentation Laboratories and the Center for International Studies, both at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and both engaged in some form of military-connected research. The picket lines will try to keep researchers from entering the buildings and physical clashes could result. If this happens, Moratorium leaders fear that peace protesters will lose some of its respectability.

There is still another consequential group in the field, the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Moratorium crowd has worked out an uneasy coexistence with it. The New Mobilization, formed at Cleveland last summer, covers a remarkable spectrum that ranges from SANE and Women Strike for Peace to the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party.

Among its moving spirits have been David Dellinger, one of the eight now on trial at Chicago for alleged conspiracy at the 1968 Democratic convention; Stewart Meacham, the American Friends Service Committee, the Quaker antiwar group, and Sidney Lens, a leftwing Chicago author of books on labor and politics.

It is the New Mobilization that is sponsoring the March on Washington from Nov. 13 through 15, the tactic that the Moratorium people initially rejected.

The Mobilization employs a far more militant and broad-ranging rhetoric than the Moratorium. Its "Call to the Front Offensive" talks of Pentagon bases and troops abroad to protect American business that "has waxed rich off militarism and imperialism." It wants to "free the poor and hungry, the black and brown communities, the sick, the cancer victims of air pollution, the accident victims of automobiles" and much more in a similar vein.

This is not the kind of language that brought out Moratorium supporters in Amesbury on Wintthrop, Mass. Nor would it go very far in Muncie.

Nevertheless, the Moratorium leaders say they will not discuss an antiwar activity like the Washington march. They have formerly endorsed it, the four na-

tional coordinators will march (although they emphasize they are marching as individuals) and coordinator Hawk sits on the New Mobilization steering committee.

Apart from the inflammatory language, Moratorium figures are afraid that the march will attract the very confrontation-minded forces they have so ardently discouraged in their own ranks. Moratorium bumper stickers proclaim, "Work for Peace Nov. 13 & 14," not Nov. 15, the culminating day of the march.

To help insure that the rally here is peaceful and nonviolent, a promise made repeatedly by the New Mobilization, Moratorium leaders are quietly recruiting several hundred of their own security people. As one Moratorium figure said privately, "We will marshal the hell out of it."

For its part, the Moratorium group would like its November action centered in local communities with congressmen and senators coming home to listen to their peace-minded constituents. The difficulty is that the congressional response depends in part on the Mobilization and its march. For example, Rep. Lester Wolf (D-N.Y.), one of 47 congressmen and 14 senators who endorsed the October 15 affair is holding back this time. He says he first wants the New Mobilization to "purge from its ranks the elements that have the avowed goal of destroying our society."

### Wonder About Extent

Both at the Washington headquarters and at the Cambridge command post, Moratorium directors wonder, even in the absence of a march, whether they can repeat the turnout of last month. They acknowledge that it is hard to maintain the momentum they built up for Oct. 15. They say their organizers are tired.

Most of all, President Nixon has spoiled their rhythm. His address on the war planned for Monday has left many in a state of suspense, no longer sure that their target won't shift. "I'd like to be out of business on Nov. 4," says Sam Brown. "I have no vested interest in this."

But at bottom, the Moratorium leaders fear that their followers are now marking

time, that the President has shrewdly cut into the period for preparing even the low-keyed events they are promoting for the 13th and 14th.

In any event, the Moratorium is resigned to making a smaller splash this month (November). It is hoping that the local organizations, in addition to drawing congressmen, will stage meetings in homes over tea and coffee, address local business groups, hold church services and the like. There is little expectation that schools will be closed on anything like the scale of Oct. 15.

For all their visibility that day, the Moratorium supporters were obviously lacking in two sectors, black workers and Negroes. This troubles both the Moratorium's liberal spirit and its goal of a broad coalition.

### Hope for More Blacks

There is some hopeful talk about more black support. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was among the Negro leaders who endorsed the October events. His SCLC has promised to put its organization to work and is talking of marches on the state capital at Atlanta, Ga., and some other southern cities.

Few black student groups joined whites in October, although a handful staged separate rallies. The Moratorium people defensively explain this away by saying that blacks confront more immediate ghetto problems.

In Muncie, however, where the Ku Klux Klan staged a minuscule march last week, this pattern will be broken. Sam Darrow, the chairman of Ball State's Black Student Union came by last week to tell Miss Munchel that his group was going "gung ho" with her this month. Darrow said his 250 members will canvass the small black community in the town, about one in 12 of its 67,000 citizens.

Some Labor Backing

The Moratorium leaders do point to endorsement from a scattering of labor leaders, mostly outside the AFL-CIO. But nobody is expecting large numbers of workers to sport black arm bands or wear peace dove buttons.

Councilor Foley of South Boston, a traditional Irish-American heartland, with enclaves of Italian, Polish and Lithuanian workers, scoffs at the whole idea. It is not, he insists, that his political base is hawkish. He snorts with rage at the idea. "These people have the kids that get drafted. But they don't need any fat-headed, concurred Harvard boys to tell them we have no business in Vietnam. They don't need a Moratorium to be against a foolish war. It's their kids."

Hawk or dove, it is clear that factory workers are no part of this movement. In the end, however, its success or failure will probably lie elsewhere.

If it can reach doctors, lawyers and clergyman in Muncie—widely improbable today as it has in surprising numbers in Boston, if it can attract in the suburbs more than the predictable liberals, if it can impress politicians in Indiana as it has in Massachusetts, the Moratorium will have won a niche alongside some of the other great issue movements in American history.

## Counteroffensive Planned by Veterans

SAN DIEGO, Calif. Nov. 1 AP—A counteroffensive to Moratorium Day is being planned by war veterans who hope their project will spread across the United States. The code name: "Tell It to Hansel."

The battle plan: Each member of a veterans' group will call five persons, asking each to call five more. Then on Veterans Day, Nov. 11, fly the American flag, burn headlights, turn on porch lights at night.

In a strategy session this week, senior officials of nine veterans' groups with 20,000 members outlined the plan.

Moratorium Day organizers have scheduled protests Nov. 13, 14 and 15.

Besides the American Legion, the groups participating in the San Diego meeting included the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Military Order of the World Wars, World War I Veterans, American Veterans of World War II, Disabled American Veterans, Retired Officers' Association, Reserve Officers, and Fleet Reserve Association.

